

Gorani: A Distinct and Independent Language Not a Variety of the So-called Kurdish

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Abstract

Spoken mainly in some parts of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, especially around the borders, and known by different names, in fact, the names of its dialects, particularly Hawrami, among the populace, Gorani, having at least 1400-year-old literary background, is the most neglected Iranian language and literature erroneously regarded as a variety of the so-called Kurdish. It has had a far wider and richer geographical and cultural distribution in the past, but today forms some islands in such a way that UNESCO has recognized it as one of the Iranian endangered languages. It is also the sacred language of Ahl-e Haqq. This paper is mainly in search of answering two questions: a) Is Gorani a distinct and independent language or a variety of the so-called Kurdish?, and b) What is the position of the so-called Kurdish among the Iranian languages? For finding the answers of the questions, some peculiarities of Gorani in different linguistic levels including phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary are studied, contrasted with those of the so-called Kurdish and Persian, and analysed both synchronically and diachronically. Having lived among the Gorani, the so-called Kurdish, and Persian speakers for years, the author as a native speaker of Gorani and fluent in both the so-called Kurdish and Persian makes use of his linguistic intuition and knowledge, field observations and experience, interviews, the attitudes of the Gorans and the so-called Kurds towards each other, some scholars' views and written sources in this regard. The data description, contrast, and analysis indicate that, contrary to popular perception, a) Gorani is a distinct and independent language having its own specific various dialects and unique grammar and vocabulary, and b) the so-called Kurdish is not a distinct and independent language, but actually a Persian variety. It was originally a pidgin that then and now has become a creole. Mutual intelligibility without conscious instruction is impossible between Gorani and the so-called Kurdish, but it is more or less possible between the so-called Kurdish and Persian. Interestingly, the majority of similarities are seen between the so-called Kurdish and Persian confirming the idea that the so-called Kurdish is the continuation of Old and Middle Persian and, actually a Persian variety. If some similarities, specifically lexical and morphological, are seen between Gorani and the so-called Kurdish, they are the result of Gorani influence on the so-called Kurdish since it has been the lingua franca, literary, and court language in the so-called Kurdistan until the end of the 19th century in general and the year 1919 in particular. The only reason why Gorani is considered a variety of the so-called Kurdish is the speakers' residence of these two varieties in a specific geographical area, their intermixing, and some linguistic similarities between them due to Gorani influence on the so-called Kurdish, although the direction of this influence has become opposite today.

Keywords: Gorani, Kurdish, Persian, Language, Variety

1. Introduction

Gorani is one of the Cinderellas of Iranian studies, literary and linguistic (Mackenzie, 1965: 255). Spoken mainly in some parts of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, especially around the borders, and known by different names, in fact, the names of its dialects, particularly Hawrami, among the populace, Gorani, having at least 1400-year-old literary background, is the most neglected Iranian language and literature erroneously considered a variety of the so-called Kurdish.² It has had a far wider and richer geographical and cultural distribution in the past (Sadjadi, 2023), but today forms some enclaves and, according to Mackenzie (1966: 3; 1961b: 86), islands in a Kurdish sea after the secondary expansion of the Kurds from the north, which led to their overrunning and gradually absorbing all but the surviving Gorans.

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² Wherever "Kurd", "Kurdish", and "Kurdistan" are mentioned in this paper, they mean "the so-called Kurd", "the so-called Kurdish", and "the so-called Kurdistan" respectively.

It is also the sacred language of Ahl-e Haqq (Yaresan). It is worth noting that UNESCO has recognized Gorani as one of the Iranian endangered languages.³ This paper⁴ is mainly in search of answering two questions: a) Is Gorani a distinct and independent language or a Kurdish variety?, and b) What is the position of Kurdish (both Kurmanji and Sorani) among the Iranian languages? The posed hypotheses are: a) Gorani is a distinct and independent language not a Kurdish variety, and b) Kurdish is not a distinct and independent language, but actually a Persian variety. For finding the answers of the questions and confirming or rejecting hypotheses, some peculiarities of Gorani in different linguistic levels including phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary are studied, contrasted with those of Kurdish and Persian, and analysed both synchronically and diachronically. Having lived among the Gorani, Kurdish, and Persian speakers, the author as a native speaker of Gorani and fluent in both Kurdish and Persian, makes use of his linguistic intuition and knowledge, field observations and experience, interviews, the attitudes of the Gorans and Kurds towards each other, some scholars' views, and written sources in this regard.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In addition to this introductory section, some scholars' views in relation to Gorani are reviewed in section 2. In section 3, some linguistic peculiarities of Gorani in comparison with those of Kurdish and Persian are studied. Finally, the conclusions arrived at in the paper are recapitulated in section 4.

2. Some Scholars' Views

Some scholars's views concerning the position of Gorani among the Iranian languages and specifically its relationship with Kurdish are reviewed here.

Based on the genealogical tree of Iranian languages⁵, Gorani belongs to the northwestern Iranian languages and is the continuation of Median and Parthian, while Kurdish belongs to the southwestern Iranian languages and is the continuation of Old Persian and Middle Persian. Gunter (2004: 58, 59) also has this idea that Gorani, unlike Kurdish which is a southwestern Iranian language, belongs to the northwestern branch of Iranian languages. Paul (2003: 61) believes that there is no clear-cut boundary between north/southwestern Iranian languages and doubts the traditional view in this regard. He argues that it is better to regard a continuum and presents the following one:

The most southern

Persian, Baluchi, Kurdish, Central dialects, Caspian dialects, Semnani, Taleshi, Gorani

The most northern

As it is clear, Gorani is the most northern language, but Kurdish like Persian belongs to the most southern branch of western Iranian languages and dialects. Thus, the traditional view in relation to regarding Kurdish as a northern variety like Gorani, should be revised. Mackenzie (1961a/1⁶) has studied Kurdish dialects and divided them into two groups. What is important in Mackenzie's grouping is that Gorani is not seen in any of the groups and this indicates that it is not a Kurdish variety in his view. By identifying some phonological differences between Gorani and Kurdish and Kurdish borrowings from Gorani, he (1961b) also argues that Gorani is not a Kurdish variety. McCarus (2009: 589) states that although Gorani is a variety that is symbiotic and adjacent to Kurdish-speaking areas and considered a Kurdish variety, in terms of Iranian historical dialectology, it is a west Iranian language distinct from Kurdish. According to Minorsky (1943: 75, 88), the Gorans are distinct from the Kurds, both for linguistic and ethnological reasons. Hawrami, Bajalani, Zazaki, and Gorani proper are the dialects of Gorani. In Asatrian' belief (2009: 5), Gorani is a separate language from Kurdish. The historical background of attributing Gorani a Kurdish origin was probably the fact that since the last mediaeval period it was the language of communication and written cultic poetry (that of Ahl-e Haqqi) in the Central and Southern Kurdistan linguistic regions. Maintaining that Gorani is not a Kurdish variety, Leezenberg (1993) deals with Gorani influence (primarily lexical and morphological) on Kurdish and points out that Gorani has been the lingua franca, literary, and court language in the so-called Kurdistan until the second half of the 19th century in general and the year 1919 in particular. In O'Shea's opinion (2004: 32, 39, 65, 134), in eastern and southern Kurdistan, non-tribal peasants were called Goran, as in the probably pre-Kurdish local language, at least indicating such a possibility. The Gorans consider themselves to be a distinct people

³ <https://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/>

⁴ I dedicate this paper to Rozgar Adak, a native speaker of the Gorani language, from the village of Zhivar in Hawraman, Iran, and now a resident of Britain, who has practically proven that he respects his Gorani language and identity.

⁵ <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/iran/iranstam.htm>

⁶ Volume number

from the Kurds. They have increasingly come to be thought of as Kurds, with a great degree of intermixing over the last fifty years or so. Nevertheless, they exhibit still a distinct language, material and literary culture, political and historical tradition, and religious peculiarism. Gorani is clearly not Kurdish, but probably remnant of the pre-Kurdish inhabitants of the region. Bailey (2018: 1, 6) asserts that Gorani is genetically classified as a member of the north-west Iranian languages and related to the ancient language of Parthian having its own dialects such as Gorani proper, Hawrami, Kandulayi, Shabaki, Bajalani, Macho, Rozhbayani, Gawrajuyi, Kakayi, Zanganayi, Jemur, Bewyani, Shexani. Potts (2014: 563) says that Gorani is a non-Kurdish, northwest Iranian language regarded as one of the original Median varieties. Blau (2010) refers to Gorani as an independent language adding that the literary Gorani is the same as the spoken Gorani which has become literary and lingua franca. In Mardukh's idea (2016: 52), Kurdish and Persian are close to each other and there is mutual understanding between their speakers. Tabibi (2009: 239, 240) remarks that there is no mutual intelligibility between the Gorans and Kurds. He (Ibid) quotes from De Morgan (1895) that Kurdish is a branch of Persian and there are no considerable grammatical differences between them. He (Ibid) also quotes from Nikitin (1959) that Kurdish and Persian are close to each other.

What can be concluded from the above-mentioned scholars' views is that: a) genealogically, Gorani is the continuation of Median and Parthian belonging to the northwestern branch of the Iranian languages, while Kurdish is the continuation of Old and Middle Persian, and like New Persian, belonging to the southwestern branch of the Iranian languages. b) Gorani is an independent language, distinct from Kurdish, having its own specific various dialects such as Hawrami (Takhti, Lohoni, Pavayi, Zhavaroyi, ...), (literary) Gorani, Zazay/ki, Shabaki, Bajalani, Macho, Kan(d)u/olayi, Gawrajoyi, Rozhbayani, Shexani, Bewyani, Halabjayi, Abdolmalaki, Zardayi, Sayyedi, Kakayi, Rejab, Zanganayi, Gahvarayi. c) Kurdish and Persian are very similar to each other and there is mutual intelligibility between their speakers in a such way that Kurdish can be considered a Persian variety whereas Gorani and Kurdish are different from each other and there is no mutual intelligibility between their speakers. d) The Gorans are distinct from the Kurds linguistically and therefore ethnically.

The focus of the present paper is on some linguistic peculiarities of Gorani not been investigated in the works on Gorani so far and corroborating the above conclusions. Thus it seems novel in this regard.

3. Some Gorani Linguistic Peculiarities

In this section, some Gorani linguistics peculiarities are studied and contrasted with those of Kurdish and Persian.

3.1 Phonology

1) The phonological system of Gorani consists of 39 phonemes (31 consonants and 8 simple vowels). These phonemes are illustrated in the following tables.

Table 1: Gorani Consonants

	Bilabials	Labiodentals	Dentals	Alveolars	Alveopalatals	Palatals	Velars	Velarized alveolars	Uvulars	Pharyngeals	Glottals
Stops	b ⁷ [b] ⁸ p[p]		d[d] t[t]				g[g] k[k]		q[q]		ʔ[ʔ]
Fricatives		v[v] f[f]		z[z] s[s]	ʒ[ʒ] ʃ[ʃ]				ɣ[ɣ] χ[χ]	ʕ[ʕ] ħ[ħ]	h[h]
Affricates					ɟ[ɟ] tʃ[tʃ]						
Nasals	m[m]			n[n]	ɲ[ɲ]						
Laterals				l[l]				ɬ[ɬ]			
Flaps				r[r]							
Trills				ʀ[ʀ]							
Approximants			ɹ[ɹ]								
Semi-vowels						j[y]	w[w]				

Table 2: Gorani Vowels

⁷ The first phones are voiced and the second ones under them are voiceless.

⁸ The symbols in square brackets are the symbols used in my transcription.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i[i]		u[u]
Mid	e[e]	ə[ə]	o[ō] ɔ[o]
Open	a[a]		ɑ[ā]

The three vowels /i, u, ā/ are long.

The phonemic system of Kurdish contains 38 phonemes (30 consonants and 8 simple vowels) (McCarus, 2009: 592; Rokhzadi, 2011: 72). Gorani possesses the three consonants /v, ð, ñ/ that Kurdish lacks them. It is worth noting that only Kurmanji has the consonant /v/ which its articulation differs from the Gorani /v/, i.e. it is articulated with more pressure than the Gorani /v/, and Sorani been imposed as official and standard language in the so-called Kurdistan, does not have this phoneme.

Persian phonological system includes 23 consonants and 6 vowels (Windfuhr and Perry, 2009: 425, 426; Samareh, 2007: 80, 102). The eight Gorani consonants /ç, ħ, ʕ, ř, ł, w, ð, ñ/ and the two vowels /ə, o/ are not found in Persian. Another difference is that Gorani voiceless consonant /q/ is voiced, /g/, in Persian. Moreover, Gorani velar consonants /k, g/ are palatal, /c, j/, in Persian.

Sorani like Gorani has the consonants /ł, ç/, while Kurmanji like Persian lacks them. The articulation of the vowel /a/ in Gorani and Sorani is identical, but its production in Kurmanji is like in Persian. Despite Gorani, Sorani, and Persian, the consonants /p, t, č, k/ in Kurmanji are unaspirated in the final position.⁹ As it is clear, Sorani is closer to Gorani whereas Kurmanji is more similar to Persian and this can be a confirmation of the idea that Kurdish is the continuation of Old and Middle Persian and, actually a Persian variety on the one hand, and the Gorani influence on it on the other.¹⁰

II) Unlike Kurdish and Persian words, the majority of Gorani words end in vowels that, according to Abolghassemi (2009: 20), is an indication of a language antiquity.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English ¹¹
tāta	bāwk	pedar	father
ʔadā	dāyk	mādar	mother
wāle	xō(y)šk	xāhar	sister
tavani	bard	sang	stone
tuta	sag	sag	dog
ʔāvi	ʔāw	ʔāb	water
ʔāmā	hāt	ʔāmad	He/She came.
řō	řōž	ruz	day
šava	šaw	šab	night

III) Consonant lenition is a pervasive operation in Gorani. This process including voicing and continuing, is of unique aspects of Gorani phonological system in comparison to Kurdish and Persian phonological systems. In the more frequent voicing process, the consonants /f, š, k, s/ change into their voiced counterparts. The continuing process includes the three consonants /b, d, t/.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
varva	bafər	barf	snow
gōžd	gōšt	gušt	meat
tānga	tānk	tānk	tank
darz	dars	dars	lesson
vārān	bārān	bārān	rain
xodā	xodā	xodā	God

IV) Kurdish and Persian initial /b/ changes into /v/ (or /w/ in some dialects) in Gorani.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
vā	bā	bād	wind
vahār	bahār	bahār	spring (season)

⁹ Personal communication with Iraj Mehrbakhsh, Kurmanji native speaker and Ph.D. student at the University of Tehran, on August 29th, 2023. I am very grateful to him.

¹⁰ For additional examples of Gorani influence on Kurdish, see Mackenzie (1961b) and Leezenberg (1993).

¹¹ English equivalent of the data

vārān	bārān	bārān	rain
vāz	bāz	bāz	open
vis	bis(t)	bist	twenty
vas	bas	bas	enough
varva	bafər	barf	snow
vinu	ʔabinəm	mibinam	I see.

V) Kurdish and Persian intervocalic and final /d/ develops to /ḏ/ in Gorani.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
xodā	xōḏā	xōḏā	God
qadā	qadā	qadā	beggar
saḏ	sad	sad	hundred
ʔāzād	ʔāzād	ʔāzād	free
ʔāzādi	ʔāzādi	ʔāzādi	freedom
yād	yād	yād	memory
čowārda	čowārda	čahārde	fourteen
baḏ	bad	bad	bad

VI) Kurdish and Persian initial and postvocalic /f/ changes into /v/ or /w/ in Gorani.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
vəratay	forōštən	fōruxtan	to sell
dasvəraš	das(t)forōš	dastfōruš	hawker
nawta	naft	naft	petroleum
žənawtay	šənaftən	šenōftan	to hear
kawtay(ra)	(dā)kaftən	(pāyin) ʔōftādan	to fall (down)

VII) The stop consonant /t/ after the fricative consonant /s/ and before vowel is assimilated into /s/ in Gorani. In Kurdish, it is either not assimilated like in Persian, or it is deleted.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
dassa	dasta, dasa	daste	handle, bunch
xassa	xasta, xasa	xaste	weary
bassa	basta, basa	baste	pack, bundle, parcel
dassur	dastur, dasur	dastur	order, instruction
hassara	ʔ/ ¹² hestər, ʔ/hesər	ʔastar	mule
massi	masti, masi	masti	drunkenness

VIII) The stop consonant /d/ after the nasal consonant /n/ and before vowel is assimilated into /n/ in Gorani. In Kurdish, it is either not assimilated like in Persian, or it is deleted.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
zinna	zi/enda, zindu, zina	zende	live
řanna	řanda, řana	rande	plane, grater
banna	banda, bana	bande	slave
ʔaskannar	ʔaskandar, ʔaskanar	ʔaskandar	Alexander
ʔannāza	ʔandāza, ʔanāza	ʔandāze	size

IX) In Gorani, the alveolar nasal consonant /n/ before the bilabial stop consonant /b/ is assimilated into the bilabial nasal /m/ (regressive and partial assimilation), then the consonant /b/ is assimilated into /m/ (progressive and complete assimilation). In Kurdish as in Persian, there is only the regressive and partial assimilation, with the difference that /b/ is deleted in Kurdish, but it remains unchanged in Persian.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
šamma	šama	šambe (šanbe) ¹³	Saturday
pamma	pama	pambe (panbe)	cotton
tammał	tamał	tambal (tanbal)	lazy
hammār	hamār	ʔambār (ʔanbār)	store
šammar	šamar	ʔambar (ʔanbar)	ambergriis

¹² The phone either following or preceding it can occur not both of them.

¹³ What has come in parentheses is the underlying representation.

X) Kurdish and/or Persian initial /g/ develops to /v/ and/or /w/ in Gorani.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
varg	gorg	gōrg	wolf
waresa	gore/is	rasan, rismān, tanāb	rope
vātay	gōtān	gōftan	to say
vārāy	gōrān	gaştan, gardidan	to change
wazi	gəwez	gerdu	walnut

XI) Kurdish initial /k/ changes into /h/ in Gorani.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
har	kar	xar	donkey
hāna	kāni	češme	spring
havrōša, harveša, havreša	karwešk	xarguš	rabbit

XII) Kurdish and/or Persian initial /x/ develops to /h/ in Gorani.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
hāli	xāli	xāli	empty
has	xas	xāšen, qalız	thick
has(s)ura	xazura	xōsōr, perdarzan	father-in-law
has(s)ərwa	xasu	xōsōra, mādarzan	mother-in-law
hawāl	xab/war	xabar	news
hāy	xab/war	bidār	awake
hōše	xōša	xuše	bunch
hun	xəwen	xun	blood
hālō	xālō	xāl(u), dāyi	maternal uncle

XIII) Kurdish and/or Persian initial /j/ changes into either /y/ or /h/ in Gorani.¹⁴

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
yāge	je(qā/a)	ja	place
yahar	jarq	jeqar	liver
yava	jō	jō	barley
yasna	ja/ežən	jašn	celebration
hita	jut	šōxm	ploughing
hi'ta	jut	jōft	pair
hityār	jutyār	šōxmzan	ploughman

XIV) In Gorani stress has three functions: a) it changes only the meaning of the words, e.g.: /'hita/= ploughing //¹⁵ /hi'ta/= pair (shoes, socks, ...). b) it changes both the meaning and the lexical category of the words, e.g.: /'bara/= take (imperative verb) // /ba'ra/= door (noun). c) it is the distinguishing factor of grammatical gender in nouns and adjectives having the same formal markers of grammatical gender. The grammatical gender of the nouns ending in the vowels /-a/ and /-i/ and adjectives ending in the vowel /-a/ is identified by the position of the stress, i.e. the nouns and adjectives ending in the stressed vowels /-'a/ and /-'i/ are masculine and those ending in the unstressed ones are feminine, e.g.: /tā'ta/ (masculine)= father // /'mānga/ (feminine)= moon // məz'gi (masculine)= mosque // /'halči/ (feminine)= mushroom // /pox'ta/ (masculine)= clean // /'barza/ (feminine)= tall (Sadjadi, 2017, 2019a). In both Kurdish and Persian, the change of stress position has only the first two functions. It is noteworthy that the role of stress regarding these two functions is trivial in Persian (Modarresi Ghavami, 2011: 115, 116; Bijankhan, 2013: 54, 55; Rokhzadi, 2011: 90).

¹⁴ For more phonological changes and differences of Gorani with Kurdish and Persian, see Mackenzie (1961b).

¹⁵ The data are spaced out by it.

XV) Karimi Doostan (2001) and Rokhzadi (2001: 85) state that the syllable structure in Kurdish is (C)CV(C)(C)(C). In a recent work by Mohammadi and Bijankhan (2021), criticizing this view, they argue that the syllable structure in Kurdish like in Persian is CV(C)(C) since in phonetic representation onset clusters of consonant-glide is the result of vowel deletion due to the shared place of articulation with the following glide.

The syllable structure in Gorani is (C)CV(C)(C) (Kambuzya and Sadjadi 2013: 77). As it is clear, the difference of syllable structure in Gorani in comparison with Kurdish and Persian is that there is onset two-consonant cluster in Gorani, but it is not found in both Kurdish and Persian. Moreover, according to Karimi Doostan (Ibid), the Kurdish syllable structures with two consonants in their onsets, the second consonant can only be /y/ or /w/. There is not such a constraint in Gorani, e.g.: /šrita/= cassette tape // /bnār/= the foot of a mountain.

3. 2 Morphology

I) All singular nouns in Gorani are either masculine or feminine. The grammatical gender of the noun is identified through its final phone and stress position. Grammatical gender is not found in both Kurdish and Persian. In addition, there are some grammatical gender agreements not seen in both Kurdish and Persian. These agreements are handled in section (3.3: I). The following table demonstrates the formal markers of grammatical gender (Sadjadi, 2019a).

Masculine Nouns	Feminine Nouns
1. ending in consonants	1. ending in the unstressed vowels /-a, -i/
2. ending in the stressed vowels /-'a, -'ā, -'i, -'ō, -'u/	2. ending in the stressed vowels /-'e/ and /-'ā/
3. ending in the consonant /-y/	3. ending in the consonant /-y/

As it is observed in the table, both masculine and feminine nouns end in the stressed vowel /-'a/ and consonant /-y/. Most nouns ending in the stressed vowel /-'a/ are masculine and most nouns ending in the consonant /-y/ are feminine, although there are some nouns having the opposite grammatical gender among both of them. In these cases, what determines the grammatical gender of the nouns is the formal markers of the agreeing elements such as articles (definite and indefinite) and adjectives because articles and adjectives agree with nouns in grammatical gender (Ibid). In addition, the independent subjective personal pronouns (third singular), the independent objective personal pronouns (third singular), the dependent objective personal pronouns (third singular), the possessive pronouns (third singular), the demonstrative pronouns (proximal, distal, and more distal)¹⁶, the indefinite pronouns, and the interrogative pronouns in Gorani are either masculine or feminine. These pronouns are shown in the following tables.

Independent Subjective Personal Pronouns

Pronoun	English
/ʔeḏ/ (masculine and proximal)	he, it
/ʔāḏ/, /ʔaw ¹⁷ / (masculine and distal)	he, it
/'ʔeḏa/ (feminine and proximal)	she, it
/'ʔāḏa/, /'ʔava/ (feminine and distal)	she, it

Independent Objective Personal Pronouns

Pronoun	English
/'ʔeḏi/ (masculine and proximal)	him, it
/'ʔāḏi/, /'ʔavi/ (masculine and distal)	him, it
/'ʔeḏe/ (feminine and proximal)	her, it
/'ʔāḏe/, /'ʔave/ (feminine and distal)	her, it

¹⁶ In both Kurdish and Persian, only proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns are found.

¹⁷ It is /ʔav/ in underlying structure, but as /v/ does not occur in final position in Gorani, it changes into [ʔaw]. It is worth noting that in some dialects of Gorani like Zhavaroyi and Pavayi (some of their accents), /w/ is used instead of /v/ due to Kurdish influence lacking /v/.

Dependent Objective Personal Pronouns

Pronoun	English
/-ø-/ ¹⁸ , /- 'a-/ ¹⁹ (masculine)	him, it
/- 'a-/ ²⁰ , /- 'e-/ ²¹ (feminine)	her, it

Possessive Pronouns

Pronoun	English
/(hə) ²² nu ʔeđi/ (masculine and proximal)	his, its
/(hə)nu ʔāđi/ (masculine and distal)	his, its
/(hə)nu ʔeđe/ (feminine and proximal)	hers, its
/(hə)nu ʔāđe/ (feminine and distal)	hers, its

Demonstrative Pronouns

Pronoun	English	Pronoun	English
/ʔi'na/ (masculine and proximal)	this	/ʔā'na/ (masculine and distal)	that
		/ʔu'na/, /hu'na/, /haw'na/ (masculine and more distal)	
/ʔi'ne/ (feminine and proximal)	this	/ʔā'ne/ (feminine and distal)	that
		/ʔu'ne/, /hu'ne/, /haw'ne/ (feminine and more distal)	
/(ʔa)či'na/, /(ʔa)čev'na/, /(ʔa)čem'na/ (masculine and proximal)	such	/ (ʔa)čā'na/, / (ʔa)čāv'na/, / (ʔa)čām'na/ (masculine and distal)	such
		/ (ʔa)ču'na/ (masculine and more distal)	
/(ʔa)či'ne/, /(ʔa)čev'ne/, /(ʔa)čem'ne/ (feminine and proximal)	such	/ (ʔa)čā'ne/, / (ʔa)čāv'ne/, / (ʔa)čām'ne/ (feminine and distal)	such
		/ (ʔa)ču'ne/ (feminine and more distal)	
/ (ʔa)pes'na/ (masculine and proximal)	such	/ (ʔa)pās'na/ (masculine and distal)	such

¹⁸ In the transitive verbs of simple past tense¹⁹ In the subjunctive past, continuous subjunctive past, present perfect, present perfect continuous, past perfect, past perfect continuous, perfect conditional, and continuous perfect conditional tenses²⁰ In the transitive verbs of simple past tense²¹ In the subjunctive past, continuous subjunctive past, present perfect, present perfect continuous, past perfect, past perfect continuous, perfect conditional, and continuous perfect conditional tenses²² What has come in parentheses is optional.

		/ʔa)pus'na/ (masculine and more distal)	
/ʔa)pes'ne/ (feminine and proximal)	such	/ʔa)pās'ne/ (feminine and distal)	such
		/ʔa)pus'ne/ (feminine and more distal)	

Indefinite Pronouns

Pronoun	English	Pronoun	English
/yō/ (masculine)	one	/'yəva/ (feminine)	one
/yā'rō/ (masculine)	so-and-so	/'yārva/ (feminine)	so-and-so
/hin/ ²³ (masculine)	thing	/'hina/ (feminine)	thing
/hi'na/ ²⁴ (masculine)	thing	/hi'ne/ (feminine)	thing

Interrogative Pronouns

Pronoun	English
/kāmʔ/, /kā'maʔ/ (masculine)	Which?
/'kāmaʔ/, /kā'meʔ/ (feminine)	Which?
/čə'ñōmʔ/ (masculine)	What number?
/čə'ñōmaʔ/ (feminine)	What number?

II) There are some differences between Gorani, Kurdish and Persian in relation to independent personal pronouns and personal endings of transitive and intransitive past tenses. They are illustrated in the following tables.

Independent Personal Pronouns

Number	Person	Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
Singular	1	/mən/, /ʔaz/ ²⁵ , /ʔamən/, /ʔam/	/ʔa)mən/	/man/	I
	2	/ʔa)tō/	/ʔa)tō/	/tō/	you
	3	/ʔād/, /ʔaw/ (masculine)	/ʔaw/	/ʔu/	he, she, it
		/ʔāda/, /ʔava/ (feminine)			
Plural	1	/ʔema/	/ʔema/	/mā/	we
	2	/šəma/, /ʔəšma/	/ʔewa/	/šōmā/	you
	3	/ʔāde/	/ʔawān/	/ʔānhā/	they

²³ With its feminine form is used when we are talking about a person or thing without saying its name (we do not know its name or we do not want to say it).

²⁴ With its feminine form is used in addressing and calling.

²⁵ /ʔaz/ is used in direct case and the other ones in oblique case, especially in the Gorani classic literature. Today, /ʔaz/ is not usually used and the other ones are used for both cases.

Personal Endings of Transitive and Intransitive Past Tenses

	Number	Person	Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
Transitive Past	Singular	1	/-əm/	/-əm/	/-am/	I
		2	/-ət/	/-ət/	/-i/	you
		3	/-əš/	/-i/	/-ø/	he, she, it
	Plural	1	/-mā(n)/	/-mān/	/-im/	we
		2	/-tā(n)/	/-tān/	/-id/	you
		3	/-šā(n) ²⁶	/-yān ²⁷	/-and/ ²⁸	they
Intransitive Past	Singular	1	/-ā/	/-əm/	/-am/	I
		2	/-i/	/-i(t)/	/-i/	you
		3	/ø/(masculine), /a/(feminine)	/-ø/	/-ø/	he, she, it
	Plural	1	/-ime/	/-in/	/-im/	we
		2	/-ide/	/-ən/	/-id/	you
		3	/-e/	/-ən/	/-and/	they

As it is observed, Sorani and Gorani differ concerning the independent personal pronouns and personal endings, e.g. a single ending is used for both the second and third plural persons of intransitive past in Sorani leading to ambiguity, but it is not so in Gorani. According to Mackenzie (1961b: 83, 84), the preservation of the pronominal endings in Sorani is directly due to Gorani influence because they have disappeared in Kurmanji.

III) There are also some differences between Gorani, Kurdish, and Persian regarding personal endings of transitive and intransitive present tenses, the existential verb, the copula, and the verb to be/become.

	Number	Person	Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
Transitive and Intransitive Present Tenses	Singular	1	/-u/	/-(ə)m/	/-am/	I
		2	/-i/	/-i ²⁹ (t)/, /-y ³⁰ (t)/	/-i/	you
		3	/-ō/	/-e(t)/	/-ad/	he, she, it
	Plural	1	/-me/	/-yn/, /-in/	/-im/	we
		2	/-de/	/-(ə)n/	/-id/	you
		3	/-ā/	/-(ə)n/	/-and/	they
Existential Verb (Present)	Singular	1	/han ³¹ -ā/	/ha ³² -m/	/hast ³³ -am/	I am.
		2	/han-i/	/ha-y(t)/	/hast-i/	You are.
		3	/han-ø/(masculine), /han-a/(feminine)	/ha-s/ya/	/hast-ø/	He/She/It is.
	Plural	1	/han-me/	/ha-yn/	/hast-im/	We are.
		2	/han-de/	/ha-n/	/hast-id/	You are.
		3	/han-e/	/ha-n/	/hast-and/	They are.
Existential Verb (Past)	Singular	1	/ben ³⁴ -ā/	/bu ³⁵ -m/	/bud ³⁶ -am/	I was.
		2	/ben-i/	/bu-y(t)/	/bud-i/	You were.
		3	/be-ø/	/bu-ø/	/bud-ø/	He/She/It was.

²⁶ The Gorani possessive adjectives are exactly the same as its personal endings of transitive past tense.

²⁷ The Kurdish possessive adjectives are exactly the same as its personal endings of transitive past tense.

²⁸ The Persian possessive adjectives are as follows: /-am/, /-at/, /-aš/, /-emān/, /-etān/, /-ešān/.

²⁹ Following consonants

³⁰ Following vowels

³¹ The Gorani present stem of the existential verb

³² The Kurdish present stem of the existential verb

³³ The Persian present stem of the existential verb

³⁴ The Gorani past stem of the existential verb

³⁵ The Kurdish past stem of the existential verb

³⁶ The Persian past stem of the existential verb

	Plural	1	/ben-me/	/bu-yn/	/bud-im/	We were.
2		/ben-de/	/bu-n/	/bud-id/	You were.	
3		/ben-e/	/bu-n/	/bud-and/	They were.	
Copula (Present)	Singular	1	/-n ³⁷ -ā/	/-əm/	/-am/	I am... .
		2	/-n-i/	/-i(t)/	/-i/	You are
		3	/-ā/(masculine), /-n-a/(feminine)	/-a/	/-a ³⁸ , /ʔast ³⁹	He/She/It is
	Plural	1	/-n-me/	/-in/	/-im/	We are
		2	/-n-de/	/-ən/	/-id/	You are
		3	/-n-e/	/-ən/	/-and/	They are
To be/Become (Present)	Singular	1	/b ⁴⁰ -u/	/ʔab ⁴¹ -əm/	/-am/	I am/ become.
		2	/b-i/	/ʔab-i(t)/	/-i/	You are/ become.
		3	/b-ō/	/ʔab-e(t)/	/-ad/	He/She/It is/ becomes.
	Plural	1	/bi-me/	/ʔab-in/	/-im/	We are.
		2	/bi-de/	/ʔab-ən/	/-id/	You are.
		3	/b-ā/	/ʔab-ən/	/-and/	They are.
To be/Become (Past)	Singular	1	/bəy ⁴² -ā/	/bu ⁴³ -m/	/-am/	I became.
		2	/bəya-y/	/bu-y(t)/	/-i/	You became.
		3	/b-i/(masculine), /bəy-a/(feminine)	/bu-ø/	/-ø/	He/She/It became.
	Plural	1	/bəyay-me/	/bu-yn/	/-im/	We became.
		2	/bəyay-de/	/bu-n/	/-id/	You became.
		3	/bəy-e/	/bu-n/	/-and/	They became.

As it is said earlier and is clear here too, a single ending is used for both the second and third plural persons in Kurdish, but the Gorani second and third plural persons have their own specific endings. IV) Gorani has two direct and oblique cases. Both Kurdish (Leezenberg, 1993: 4) and Persian lack case. Additionally, there are some case agreements in Gorani that are absent in both Kurdish and Persian. These agreements are discussed in section (3.3: I). The Gorani case markers are shown in the following table.

Direct	Oblique
1. ending in consonants or stressed vowels /-'i, -'ō, -'u, -'a, -'ā/ (singular and masculine), e.g.: (/das/= hand), (/bar'a/= dar), (/gəʃ'i/= shirt), (/dāl'hō/= scarecrow), (/ža'žū/= porcupine), (/za'mā/= bridegroom)	1. /-i ⁴⁵ , -y ⁴⁶ / (singular and masculine), e.g.: (/dasi/= hand), (/baray/= door)
2. ending in unstressed vowels /-a, -i/ and stressed vowels /-'e, -'ā/ (singular and feminine), e.g.: (/māngā/= moon), (/čāštī/= food), (/waywə'le/= doll), (/da'qā/= village) ⁴⁴	2. /-'e/ (singular and feminine), e.g.: (/lu'te/= nose)
/-e/ (plural), e.g.: /māšine/= cars	/-ā(n)/ (plural), e.g.: /māšinā(n)/= cars

³⁷ The Gorani present stem of copula

³⁸ Colloquial Persian

³⁹ Formal Persian

⁴⁰ The Gorani present stem of 'to be/become'

⁴¹ The Kurdish present stem of 'to be/become'

⁴² The Gorani past stem of 'to be/become'

⁴³ The Kurdish past stem of 'to be/become'

⁴⁴ In fact, the singular nouns (both masculine and feminine) in the direct case don't have a specific morphological form, i.e. they don't take a particular morphological affix, but they occur with their markers of grammatical gender. Their position determines their case. In other words, it might be said that their markers of grammatical gender and case are exactly the same.

⁴⁵ Following consonants

⁴⁶ Following vowels

V) There are two singular and plural numbers in Gorani, Kurdish, and Persian, but their plural markers are different. The Gorani plural markers are /-e/ for direct case and /-ā(n)/ for oblique case, while both Kurdish and Persian use the same plural marker, i.e /-ān/, although Persian uses some other plural markers such as /-hā/ and /-āt/ that the latter one is a borrowing from Arabic. Moreover, there are some number agreements in Gorani not found in both Kurdish and Persian. These agreements are dealt with in section (3.3: I).

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /koře/ (direct case) 2. /kořā(n)/ (oblique case)	1. /kořān/ 2. /kořān/	1. /pesarān/ or /pesarhā/ 2. /pesarān/ or /pesarhā/	1. boys 2. boys

VI) The nouns whose referents consist of two or more than two parts, are used in plural in Gorani like English, but in singular in both Kurdish and Persian.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
/pā(n)tōle/	/pā(n)tōl/	/šalvār/	trousers
/pāle/	/kawš/	/kafš/	shoes
/gōrave/	/gōrva/	/jurāb/	socks
/dāwārdi/	/dāwerd/	/qeyçi/	scissors
/šaynake/	/šaynak/	/šaynak/	spectacles

VII) The infinitive in Gorani is formed by adding the suffixes /-ay/ and /-āy/ to the past stem of the verb. In Kurdish (Rokhzadi, 2011: 117) and Persian, it is formed by the addition of the suffixes /-(ə)n/ and /-an/ to the past stem of the verb respectively. As it is clear, the infinitive formation in both Kurdish and Persian is roughly the same. According to Abolghassemi (2010: 147), the infinitive in Old Iranian has been formed by adding /-tanai-/ to the root.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /wārdāy/ 2. /sānāy/	1. /xowārdan/ 2. /sandan/	1. /xordan/ 2. /xaridan/	1. to eat 2. to buy

VIII) The passive morphemes in Gorani are /-ya-/ for present and /-yā-⁴⁷ for past. In Kurdish, both /-ya-/ (present), /-yā-/ (past) and /-re-/ (present), /-rā-/ (past) are used. Mackenzie (1961b: 84) argues that the employment of passive morphemes /-ya-/ and /-yā-/ in Sorani is a direct borrowing from Gorani. According to Leezenberg (1993: 14), Avestan and Old Persian have passive morphemes quite similar to those of Gorani (/iia-, /ya-, and /y- or /ya- respectively). The passive in Kurmanji is formed with the auxiliary verb (/hātən= to come) (Ibid: 3), e.g.: (/de het-a koštən= He will be killed.) (Mackenzie, 1961b: 81). In Persian, passive is formed by adding the forms of the verb (/šōdan= to become) to the past participles (the past stem of verb + /-e/), e.g.: (/kōšt-e šōd-and= They were killed.). As it is observed, both Kurmanji and Persian make use of verb in passivization.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /koš-ya-w/ 2. /koš-yā-ø/	1. /ʔakož-ye-m/, /ʔakož-re-m 2. /kož-yā-ø/, /kož-rā-ø/	1. /kōšte mišavam/ 2. /kōšte šōd-ø/	1. I am/ will be killed. 2. He/She/It was killed.

IX) Gorani has two definite articles, i.e /-aka/ for masculine and /-ake/ for feminine. Only /-aka/ is used in Kurdish that, according to Mackenzie (1961b: 85), is a direct borrowing from Gorani. Formal Persian lacks definite article, but /-a/ is made use of in colloquial Persian.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /koř-aka/ (masculine) 2. /kənāč-ake/ (feminine)	1. /koř-aka/ 2. /kəč-aka/	1. /pesar/ (formal), /pesar-a/ (colloquial) 2. /dōxtar/ (formal), /dōxtar-a/ (colloquial)	1. the boy 2. the girl

⁴⁷ And /-ye-/ for feminine, cf. section (3.3: I)

X) Gorani also possesses two indefinite articles, i.e. /-ew/⁴⁸ for masculine and /-eva/ for feminine. In both Kurdish and Persian, only one indefinite article is used, i.e. /-ek/ in Kurdish and /-i/ in Persian. In colloquial Kurdish, /-e/ is used instead of /-ek/ which is similar to Persian /-i/, with the difference that the Persian indefinite article is a long vowel, but its Kurdish counterpart is a short one.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /čamč-ew/ (masculine) 2. /halč-eva/	1. /kawčək-ek/ (formal), /kawčək-e/ (colloquial) 2. /qārčək-ek/ (formal), /qārčək-e/ (colloquial)	1. /qāšōq-i/ 2. /qārč-i/	1. a spoon 2. a mushroom

XI) There are two forms of Izafê in Gorani, Kurdish, and Persian, i.e. epithetic connecting a noun with a following adjective or epithet and genitival connecting a noun with a following noun, but their markers are different. Gorani has two markers, i.e. /-i⁴⁹, -y⁵⁰/ and /-u⁵¹, -w⁵²/ for epithetic and genitival Izafe respectively, while both Kurdish and Persian have one marker for both of them, i.e. /-i, -y/ and /-e/ in Kurdish and Persian respectively. The only difference between Kurdish and Persian Izafe markers is that the first is a long vowel, but the second is a short one.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /kəteb-i ʕāl/, /šu-y ʔāl/ 2. /kəteb-u rāvini ⁵³ , /šu-w virā ⁵⁴ y/	1. /kəteb-i čāk/, /šu-y čāk/ 2. /kəteb-i rāvin/, /šu-y virā/	1. /ketāb-e xub/, /šōhar- e xub/ 2. /ketāb-e rāvin/, /šōhar-e virā/	1. nice book, nice husband 2. Ravin's book, Vira's husband

XII) In Gorani, the second noun in genitival Izafa takes /-i⁵⁵, -y⁵⁶/, i.e. it is marked; what is not found in both Kurdish and Persian.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /sara-w mār-i/ 2. /bara-w yāna-y/	1. /sar-i mār/ 2. /dərgā-y māl/	1. /sar-e mār/ 2. /dar-e xāne/	1. the head of snake 2. the door of house

XIII) Both Gorani and Kurdish (Sorani) utilize a construction that Mackenzie (1961b: 83) calls it “open compound” whenever the noun phrase is definite. Its sign is the compound vowel /-a/ which comes at the end of both the first word, i.e. the noun that is always singular, and the second word. The second word, i.e. the adjective determines the number, grammatical gender, and case of the noun. This construction is not found in Kurmanji and Persian. Mackenzie (Ibid:85) states that Sorani has borrowed it directly from Gorani.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /pəyā-y ⁵⁷ -a xās-a/ (direct case) 2. /pəyā-y-a xās-aka/ (masculine grammatical gender) 3. /pəyā-y-a xāsa-aka-y (oblique case) 4. /pəyā-y-a xās-ake/ (plural)	1. /pəyāw-a čāk-a/ 2. /pəyāw-a čāk-aka/ 3. /pəyāw-a čāk-aka/ 4. /pəyāw-a čāk-akān/ 5. /žən-a čāk-aka/	1. /mard-e xub/ 2. /mard-e xub/ 3. /mard-e xub/ 4. /mard-ān-e xub/ 5. /zan-e xub/	1. good man 2. the good man 3. the good man 4. the good men 5. the good woman

⁴⁸ It is /-ev/ in underlying structure. Since /v/ does not occur in final position in Gorani, as said earlier, it changes into [-ew]. It is worth noting that in some dialects of Gorani like Zhavaroyi and Pavayi (some of their accents), /w/ is used instead of /v/ due to Kurdish influence lacking /v/.

⁴⁹ Following consonants

⁵⁰ Following vowels

⁵¹ Following consonants

⁵² Following vowels

⁵³ A male proper name

⁵⁴ A female proper name

⁵⁵ Following consonants

⁵⁶ Following vowels

⁵⁷ Consonant epenthesis

5. /ʒan-a xās-ake/ (feminine grammatical gender)			
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XIV) Gorani and Kurdish preverbs and postverbs differ both in form and position. Gorani pre- and postverbs are usually bound morphemes, while Kurdish ones can be both bound and free morphemes. Persian pre- and postverbs are usually free morphemes.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /hor-(ʔ)āmāy/ 2. /ləvāy-hor/ 3. /bar-šəyay/ 4. /ʔāmāy-na/ 5. /nəvis(t)ay-(a)va/ 6. /kawtay-(a)ra/	1. /hał-hātən/ 2. /çuna saraw(a)/ 3. /dar çun/ 4. /hātəna nāwaw(a)/ 5. /nusin-awa/ 6. /dā-kawtən/	1. /bālā ʔāmadan/ 2. /bālā raftan/ 3. /birun raftan, farār kardan/ 4. /vāred šōdan, dāxel ⁵⁸ ʔāmadan/ 5. /bāz-nəvisi kardan/ 6. /pāyin ⁵⁹ ʔōftādan/	1. to come up 2. to go up 3. to go out, to escape 4. to come into, to enter 5. to rewrite 6. to fall

The postverb /-awa/ in Sorani is a direct borrowing from Gorani that is the replacement of Kurmanji preverb /va/ (Mackenzie, 1961b: 84, 85). According to this, Kurmanji /va/ and Persian /bāz/ have the same meaning and position. Moreover, both of them are free morphemes. He (Ibid: 77) argues that the Gorani preverb /hor-/ is from Avestan /ərədwə-/, but its Kurdish equivalents (Sorani /hał-/ and Kurmanji /həl-/) are from Middle Persian /ʔōl/.

XV) Both Kurdish and Persian have a common aspectual-modal marker. The only difference is its form. In Persian and Kurdish, the stressed imperfective prefixes /'mi-/ and /'ʔa-/ added to the present stem of the verb express present and future indicative respectively. There is not such a marker in Gorani, except some dialects like Zhavaroyi and Pavayi in which /m(a)-/ has this function and appears to be the Kurdish influence because these dialects are adjacent to Kurdish-speaking areas.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /war-u/ 2. /vəraš-ā/	1. /ʔa ⁶⁰ -xō-m/ 2. /ʔa.forōš-ən/	1. /mi-xor-am/ 2. /mi-fōruš-im/	1. I eat/ will eat. 2. They sell/ will sell.

XVI) In Gorani, the imperative verb is formed by adding inflectional ending to the present stem of the verb. Unlike Gorani, in both Kurdish and Persian it is formed as follows: «be- + present stem of the verb + inflectional ending». The imperative morpheme /be-/ is not used in Gorani except in the dialects under the influence of Kurdish.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /wān-a/ 1. /wān-de/	1. /be-xəwen-a/ 2. /be-xəwen-ən/	1. /be-xān-ø/ 2. /be-xān-id/	1. Study, Read (Singular) 2. Study, Read (Plural)

XVII) The form and position of prepositions in Gorani, Kurdish, and Persian are different. Unlike Kurdish and Persian, the prepositions in Gorani are used in the form of either free morphemes or bound morphemes (suffixes) but not both of them. Using them together is ungrammatical. In both Kurdish and Persian, they are used only in the form of free morphemes.

⁵⁸ In some cases, the preverb /foru/ with the same meaning is used.

⁵⁹ In some cases, the preverb /forud/ with the same meaning is used.

⁶⁰ Or /da-/ in some Kurdish varieties

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /ʃa, ča, ža/ ⇔ ⁶¹ /-va, -na ⁶² /, e.g.: /ʃa tārān/, /tārān-va/, /tārān-na/, *ʃa tārān-va/, *ʃa tārān-na/ 2. /ba/ ⇔ /-va/, e.g.: /ba təfang/, /təfang-va/, *ba təfang-va/	1. /la/, e.g.: /la tārān/ 2. /ba/, e.g.: /ba təfang/	1. /ʔaz, dar, .../, e.g.: /ʔaz tehrān/, /dar tehran/ 2. /be, bā, .../, e.g.: /bā tōfang/	1. from, in, ..., e.g.: from Tehran, in Tehran 2. to, with, ..., e.g.: with gun

XVIII) The form of English adverb “too, also, as well” is different in Gorani, Kurdish, and Persian, i.e. /-iç⁶³, -yç⁶⁴/, /-iš⁶⁵, -yš⁶⁶/, and /-am/ respectively. In all of them, it is used in the form of a bound morpheme, although the formal Persian makes use of the free morphemes /ham, niz, hamčenin/ instead.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /ʔālmān-iç/ 2. /ʔāmrikā-yç/	1. /ʔālmān-iš/ 2. /ʔāmrikā-yš/	1. /ʔālmān-am/, /ʔālmān ham/ 2. /ʔāmrikā-m/, /ʔāmrikā niz/	1. Germany too 2. America too

XIX) The way of forming subjective adjective (present participle) is different in Gorani, Kurdish, and Persian. In Gorani, if the verb is simple, it is formed by adding the suffix /-ā/ to the end of the present stem of the verb and if it is compound, it is made as follows: «non-verbal element + the present stem of the verbal element». The agent noun formation from compound verbs in Kurdish and Persian looks like that in Gorani, but it is formed by adding the suffix /-ar/ in simple verbs in Kurdish. The latter in Kurdish is a recent phenomenon because it is not found in its early written sources.⁶⁷ It seems to be a borrowing from English /-er, -or/ or agent nouns from compound verbs that usually end in /-ar/, while /-ar/ in the verbal element of compound verbs is not a morpheme on its own, but an integral and inseparable part of the present stem of verbal element. For example, in the Gorani agent noun (qəsa kar/= speaker) from the compound verb (/qəsa karday/= to speak), the present stem of the verbal element is not /-ar/, but it is /-kar/ exclusively ending in /-ar/. The agent noun from simple verbs in Persian is formed in various ways, i.e. there are miscellaneous agent noun morphemes (suffixes) added to the present or past stems of simple verbs such as /-ande/, /-ān/, /-gar/, /-ār/, /-gār/.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /pars-ā/, /zān-ā/, /nəvis-ā/, /vin-ā/, /žənav-ā/ 2. /harmān-bar ⁶⁸	1. /pərs-ar ⁶⁹ /, /zān-ar ⁷⁰ /, /nus-ar/, /bin-ar/, /bis-ar/ 2. /kār-kar ⁷¹	1. /pōrseš-gar, pōrs-ande/, /dān-ande, dān-ā/, /nevis-ande/, /bin-ande/, /šenav-ande/ 2. /kār-gar, kār-kōn/	1. inquisitive, learned, writer, viewer, hearer 2. worker

⁶¹ What has come before the symble ⇔, is free morpheme and what has come after it, is its bound morpheme counterpart.

⁶² In Gorani classic literature, it has been used in the form of a free morpheme, but nowadays it is used only in the form of a bound morpheme.

⁶³ Following consonants

⁶⁴ Following vowels

⁶⁵ Following consonants

⁶⁶ Following vowels

⁶⁷ Unfortunately, this phenomenon, like many other cases, has influenced the agent noun formation in Gorani in recent years that is ungrammatical according to the grammar of Gorani. It is necessary to say that although Gorani has influenced Kurdish because it has been the lingua franca, literary, and court language in the so-called Kurdistan until the end of 19th century and particularly the year 1919, the direction of this influence has become opposite since that year when Gorani lost its former position and Kurdish was developed into the language for official use and in education (Leezenberg, 1993: 3). The advent of Kurdish nationalism, its rise to power, and its synchronicity with striking advances in information and communication technology have resulted in increasing assimilation of the Gorans into the Kurds both linguistically and ethnically.

⁶⁸ It is derived from the Gorani compound verb (/harmān bar-đ-ay/= to work).

⁶⁹ /pərs-ā/ is also used that is certainly a borrowing from Gorani.

⁷⁰ /zān-ā/ is also used that is certainly a borrowing from Gorani.

⁷¹ Kurdish has borrowed /-kar/ from Gorani. It is the present stem of Gorani (/kar-đ-ay/= to do). Its Kurdish equivalent is /kər-d-ən/. Thus if it were Kurdish, it would be /-kər/.

XX) The frequency of simple verbs in comparison with compound verbs in Gorani is much higher than that in Kurdish and Persian. Bateni (2006: 45-62) argues that the high frequency of simple verbs against compound verbs in a language is an indicative of the creativity of that language, and vice versa like Persian which is an unproductive language.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
/tamāmyāy/, /tamāmnāy/	/tawāw bun/, /tawāw kərdən/	/tamām šōdan/, /tamām kardan/	to finish(I ⁷²), to finish(T ⁷³)
/dorōsāy/, /dorōsənāy/	/dorus bun/, /dorus kərdən/	/dōrōst šōdan/, /dōrōst kardan/	to be correct, to correct
/mānyāy/, /mānnāy/	/mān(d)u bun/, /mān(d)u kərdən/	/xaste šōdan/, /xaste kardan/	to get tired, to make tired
/řamāy/, /řamyāy/, /řamnāy/	/řā kərdən/, /řāw nərān/, /řāw nān/	/davidan/, /davānde šōdan/, /davāndan/	to run, to be run, to cause to run
/məsāy/, /məsyāy/, /məsnāy/	/fer bun/, /fer kərān/, /fer kərdən/	/yād gereftan/, /yād gerefte šōdan/, /yād dādan/	to learn, to be learned, to teach
/pevəyāy/, /pevənāy/	/dəyār bun/, /nišān dān/	/paydā budan/, /nešān dādan/	to be visible, to show
/xərbəyāy/, /xərbənāy/	/xərāp bun/, /xərāp kərdən/	/xarāb šōdan/, /xarāb kardan/	to deteriorate, to make worse
/gejyāy/, /gejənāy/	/gej bun/, /gej kərdən/	/gij šōdan/, /gij kardan/	to be confused, to make confused
/dərawsāy/, /dərawsənāy/	/sawz bun/, /sawz kərdən/	/ruidan/(nahāl), /ruyāndan/(nahāl)	to sprout(I), to sprout(T)
/gəžyāy/, /gəžənāy/	/šař kərdən/, /ba šařā dān/	/janqidan/, /janqāndan/	to fight, to cause to fight
/zəyāy/	/dar hātən/	/dar ?āmadan/	to come out

XXI) Unlike Kurdish and Persian, imperfectives (present and past continuous) in Gorani are formed through reduplication as follows: present continuous (infinitive + present stem of main verb + subjective personal endings, e. g.: (/vāřāy vāř-u/= I am changing.)), past continuous (infinitive + present stem + past stem of copula + subjective personal endings, e.g.: (/vāřāy vāř-en-ā/= I was changing.)). The formation of imperfectives in Kurdish is as follows: present continuous (the adjective (/xarik/= busy) + subjective personal endings + the modal marker /ʔa/ + present stem of main verb + subjective personal endings, e.g.: (/xarik-əm ʔa-gōř-əm/= I am (busy) changing.)), past continuous (the adjective /xarik/ + past copula + subjective personal endings + modal marker /ʔa/ + subjective personal endings + past stem of main verb, e.g.: (/xarik bu-m ʔa-m-gōři/= I was (busy) changing.)). In Persian, they are formed as follows: present continuous (present stem of the verb /dāštan/ + subjective personal endings + modal marker /mi-/ + present stem of main verb + subjective personal endings, e.g.: (/dār-am mi-nevis-am./= I am writing.)), past continuous (past stem of the verb /dāštan/ + subjective personal endings + modal marker /mi/ + past stem of main verb + subjective personal endings, e.g.: (/dāšt-am mi-nevešt-am./= I was writing)). The /xarik/ pattern is also used in Gorani (present continuous: /xarik/ + present copula + subjective personal endings; past continuous: /xarik/ + past copula + subjective personal endings), although the reduplication pattern follows it immediately, e.g.: (/xarik-n-ā vāřāy vāř-u/= I am (busy) changing.), (/xarik ben-ā vāřāy vāř-en-ā/= I was (busy) changing.).

XXII) For each one of the concepts “front” and “beginning”, Gorani has a separate word, while both of them are expressed by one word in Kurdish.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /vař/	1. /bar/	1. /ʔāqāz/, /ʔebtedā/	1. beginning
2. /var/	2. /bar/	2. /piš, qabl/	2. front

3. 3 Syntax

I) Grammatical Gender, Case, and Number Agreements

⁷² Intransitive

⁷³ Transitive

As mentioned in the previous section (3. 2: I, IV, V), there are some agreements in grammatical gender, case, and number in Gorani not found in both Kurdish and Persian, i.e. Kurdish and Persian are the same in this regard too.

Adjectives, definite and indefinite articles, and verbs⁷⁴ agree with nouns and pronouns in grammatical gender.

Adjectives

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
/varg-i gaw'r-a/ wolfMAS ⁷⁵ -EIM ⁷⁶ big- MAS	/gorg-i gawra/ wolf-EIM big	/görg-e bözörg/ wolf-EIM big	big wolf
/may-e wəčkə'l-e/ sheepFEM ⁷⁷ -EIM small-FEM	/paz-i čokōla/ sheep-EIM small	/gusfand-e kučak/ sheep-EIM small	small sheep

In the above Gorani examples, as the words /varg/ and /may/ end in /-a/ and /-y/, i.e. they are masculine and feminine respectively, the adjectives /gaw'ra/ and /wəčkə'le/ have agreed with them in grammatical gender and taken /-a/ and /-e/ in order.

Definite and Indefinite Articles

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /šār-aka/ city-MDA ⁷⁸ 2. /may-ake/ sheep-FDA ⁷⁹	1. /šār-aka/ city-DA ⁸⁰ 2. /paz-aka/ sheep-DA	1. /šahr/, /šahr-a/ ⁸¹ city, city-DA 2. /gusfand/, /gusfand-a/ sheep, sheep-DA	1. the city 2. the sheep
1. /šār-ew/ city-MIA ⁸² 2. /may-eva/ sheep-FIA ⁸³	1. /šār-ek/ city-IA ⁸⁴ 2. /paz-ek/ sheep-IA	1. /šahr-i/ city-IA 2. /gusfand-i/ sheep-IA	1. a city 2. a sheep

Based on the above Gorani examples, the words /šār/ and /may/ are masculine and feminine because they end in the consonants /-r/ and /-y/ respectively. Thus they have taken the masculine and feminine definite and indefinite articles, viz /-aka/, /-ake/, /-ew/, and /-eva/ (cf. section (3. 2: IX, X)), i.e. the articles have agreed with them in grammatical gender.

Verbs

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /wət-ø/ sleepPAS ⁸⁵ -3SP ⁸⁶ .MAS 2. /wət-a/sleepPAS- 3SP.FEM	1. /xawt-ø/ sleepPAS-3SP 2. /xawt-ø/ sleepPAS-3SP	1. /xābid-ø/ sleepPAS-3SP 2. /xābid-ø/ sleepPAS-3SP	1. He/It slept. 2. She/It slept.

⁷⁴ The third singular person of intransitive past tense verbs whose past stems end in consonant and all the third singular persons of both intransitive and transitive verbs in the passive voice in subjunctive past, subjunctive continuous past, present perfect, present perfect continuous, past perfect, past perfect continuous, perfect conditional, continuous perfect conditional, and also the third singular person of the existential verb and copula in the present simple tense, and the third singular person of the verb equivalent to (to become) in simple past tense discussed in section (3. 2: III).

⁷⁵ Masculine

⁷⁶ Epithetic Izafe marker

⁷⁷ Feminine

⁷⁸ Masculine definite article

⁷⁹ Feminine definite article

⁸⁰ Definite article

⁸¹ For more information, cf. section (3. 2: IX).

⁸² Masculine indefinite article

⁸³ Feminine indefinite article

⁸⁴ Indefinite article

⁸⁵ Past

⁸⁶ 3rd singular person

1. /koš- yā -n/ killPRES ⁸⁷ - PASS ⁸⁸ .MAS-has beenMAS 2. /koš- ye -na/ killPRES-PASS.FEM- has beenFEM	1. /kož-rā-wa/ killPRE-PASS.-has been 2. /kož-rā-wa/ killPRE-PASS.-has been	1. /kōšt-a šōd-e ʔast/ killPAS-PP ⁸⁹ becomePAS-PP has been 2. /kōšt-a šōd-e ʔast/ killPAS-PP becomePAS-PP has been	1. He/It has been killed. 2. She/It has been killed.
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On the basis of the above Gorani examples, the third singular person of the intransitive past tense verb (/wəṭay/= to sleep) whose past stem, /wət-/, ends in the consonant /-t/ and the third singular person of transitive verb (/koštay/= to kill) in the passive voice in present perfect have agreed with masculine and feminine nouns and/or pronouns and taken /-ø/ and /-yā-/ for masculine and /-a/ and /-ye-/ for feminine (cf. (section 3. 2: P⁹⁰, VIII)).

Adjectives and definite articles agree with nouns and pronouns in case.

Adjectives

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /ʔā pəyā-y-a xās-a/ that manDIR ⁹¹ .MAS.SING ⁹² - CE ⁹³ .OCM ⁹⁴ goodDIR.MAS.SING-OCM 2. /ʔā žan-a xā's-e/ that woma-OCM good- DIR.FEM.SING.OCM	1. /ʔaw pəyāw-a čāk- a/ that man-OCM good- OCM 2. /ʔaw žən-a čāk-a/ that woman-OCM good-OCM	1. /ʔān mard-e xub/ that man-EIM good 2. /ʔān zan-e xub/ that woman-EIM good	1. that good man 2. that good woman
1. /ʔā pəyā-y-a xās-a-y/ that manMAS.SING-CE- OCM goodMAS.SING- OCM-IND ⁹⁵ 2. /ʔā žan-a xā's-e/ that woman-OCM good- IND.FEM.SING.OCM	1. /ʔaw pəyāw-a čāk- a/ that man-OCM good- OCM 2. /ʔaw žən-a čāk-a/ that woman-OCM good-OCM	1. /ʔān mard-e xub/ that man-EIM good 2. /ʔā zan-e xub/ that woman-EIM good	1. that good man 2. that good woman
1. /ʔā pəyā-y-a xās-e/ that man-CE-OCM good- DIR.PLU ⁹⁶ .OCM 2. /ʔā žan-a xās-ā(n)-a/ that woman-OCM good- IND.PLU-OCM	1. /ʔaw pəyāw-a čāk- ān-a/ that man-OCM good- PLU-OCM 2. /ʔaw žən-a čāk-ān- a/ that woman-OCM good-PLU-OCM	1. /ʔān mard-ān-e xub/ that man-PLU-EIM good 2. /ʔā zan-ān-e xub/ that woman-PLU-EIM good	1. those good men 2. those good women

⁸⁷ Present

⁸⁸ Passive

⁸⁹ Past participle

⁹⁰ The tenth table (Intransitive Past)

⁹¹ Direct

⁹² Singular

⁹³ Consonant epenthesis

⁹⁴ Open compound marker

⁹⁵ Indirect

⁹⁶ Plural

As it is clear, the adjectives in the above Gorani examples have agreed with nouns in case and taken consonants, /-^he/, /-y/, /-^he/, /-e/, and /-ā(n)/ (cf. section (3. 2: IV)).

Definite Articles

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /pəyā- ^h ka/ manDir.MAS.SING- DIR.MAS.SING.DA 2. /žan-a ^h ke/ womanFEM- DIR.FEM.SING.DA	1. /pəyāw-aka/ man-DA 2. /žən-aka/ woman-DA	1. /mard/, /mard-a/ ⁹⁷ man, man-DA 2. /zan/, /zan-a/ woman, woman-DA	1. the man 2. the woman
1. /pəyā-k ^h ay/ manMAS.SING- IND.MAS.SING.DA 2. /žan-a ^h ke/ womanFEM- IND.FEM.SING.DA	1. /pəyāw-aka/ man-DA 2. /žən-aka/ woman-DA	1. /mard/, /mard-a/ man, man-DA 2. /zan/, /zan-a/ woman, woman-DA	1. the man 2. the woman
1. /pəyā-y-a ^h ke/ manDIR-CE- DIR.PLU.DA 1. /žan-a ^h kā(n)/ woman-IND.PLU.DA	1. /pəyāw-akān/ man-PLU.DA 2. /žən-akān/ woman-PLU.DA	1. /mard-ān/ man-PLU 2. /zan-ān/ woman-PLU	1. the men 2. the women

According to the above Gorani examples, the definite articles have agreed with nouns in case and taken /-^hka/, /-a^hke/, /-a^hkay/, /-a^hke/, /-a^hke/, /-a^hkā(n)/ (cf. section (3. 2: IV)).

Adjectives and verbs agree with nouns and pronouns in number.

Adjectives

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /kəteb-i çāl/ bookSING-EIM niceSING 2. /kəteb-e çāl-e/ book-PLU.EIM nice- PLU	1. /kəteb-i çäk/ bookSING-EIM niceSING 2. /kəteb-ān-i çäk/ book-PLU-EIM niceSING	1. /kətab-e xub/ bookSING-EIM niceSING 2. /kətab-hā-y-e xub/ book-PLU-CE-PLU niceSING	1. nice book 2. nice books
1. /yak ⁹⁸ kəteb/ one bookSING 2. /panj kəteb-e/ five book-PLU	1. /yak kəteb/ one bookSING 2. /penj kəteb/ five bookSING	1. /yek kətab/ one bookSING 2. /panj kətab/ five bookSING	1. one book 2. five books

As it is observed, in the above Gorani examples nouns have agreed with adjectives in number and taken the plural morpheme /-e/.

Verbs

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /yak kəteb han-ø/ one bookSING EV ⁹⁹ - SING 2. /da kəteb-e han-e/ ten book-PLU EV-	1. /yak kəteb ha-ya./ one bookSING EV- SING 2. /da kəteb ha-ya./ ten bookSING EV-	1. /yek kətab hast-ø/ one bookSING EV- SING 2. /da kətab hast-ø/ ten bookSING EV-	1. There is one book. 2. There are ten books.

⁹⁷ For more information, cf. section (3. 2: IX).

⁹⁸ It is only the adjectival form. The form /^hyəva/ is used in counting.

⁹⁹ Existential verb, cf. section (3. 2: III, the second table).

PLU	SING	SING	
1. /yak xəyār-əş wārd- ø./ one cucumberSING- 3SP eatPAS-SING 2. /yare xəyār-e-ş wārd-e./ three cucumber-PLU- 3SP eatPAS-PLU	1. /yak xəyār-i xowārd-ø./ one cucumberSING- 3SP eatPAS-SING 2. /se xəyār-i xowārd- ø./ three cucumberSING- 3SP eatPAS-SING	1. /yek xayār xōrd-ø./ one cucumberSING eatPAS-3SP 3. /se xayār xōrd-ø./ three cucumberSING eatPAS-3SP	1. He/She/It ate one cucumber. 2. He/She/It ate three cucumbers.

As it is clear, in the Gorani examples the verb has agreed with nouns in number and taken the plural morpheme /-e/. Regarding the second two examples, it is worth noting that in Gorani and Kurdish, unlike Persian, the verb agrees with the direct object. The logical subject, Gorani /-əş/ and Kurdish /-i/, has come at the end of the direct object, (/xəyār/= cucumber), in the form of oblique clitic.

II) In Gorani, indirect object comes at the end of verb in the form of clitic; what is found in neither Kurdish nor Persian.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
/gən-i-mā(n) šōni/ goPRES-2SP ¹⁰⁰ -1PP ¹⁰¹ after	/kaw-it-a šəwen-mān/ go-2SP after-1PP	/dōnbāl-emān be-y-ōft- i/ after-1PP SM ¹⁰² -CE- goPAS-2SP	(May) you go after us.

In these examples, the Gorani indirect object /-mā(n)/ has come at the end of the verb /gən-/, after the subjective clitic /-i-/ in the form of clitic, but both the Kurdish indirect object /-mān/ and its Persian equivalent /-emān/ have come at the end of the particles /šəwen/ and /dōnbāl/ respectively. It needs to be said that the Gorani indirect object can also occur at the end of the particle /šōni/, after the subjective clitic /-i-/ in the form of clitic, e.g: /gən-i šōni-mā(n)/.

III) The Gorani indirect object occurs at the end of question words in the form of clitic; what is impossible in both Kurdish and Persian.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
/çi-mā(n) ma-dəvn-i? why-1PP NEG ¹⁰³ - talkPRES-2SP	/bō(çi) nā-mān-dəven- i?/ why NEG-1PP- talkPRES-2SP	/čērā bā mā sōhbat na-mi-kōn-i?/ why to 1PP talk NEG-IM ¹⁰⁴ -doPRES- 2SP	Why don't you talk to us?

It has to be said that the Gorani indirect object /-mā(n)/ can also come at the end of verb in the form of clitic, e.g: /çi ma-dəvn-i-mā(n)?/.

IV) Gorani indirect object clitic can occur at the end of both verbs and prepositions, but it can come only at the end of prepositions in both Kurdish and Persian.

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /salam-yā pay- mā(n)/ provePAS- PASS.3SP.PAS to-1PP 2. /salam-yā-mā(n)	1. /salmend-rā bō-mān/ provePAS- PASS.3SP.PAS to-1PP 2. */salmend-rā-mān bō/	1. /sābet šōd barāy- emān/ prove PASS.3SP.PAS to-1PP 2. */sābet šōd-emān	1. It was proven to us. 2. It was proven to us.

¹⁰⁰ 2nd singular person

¹⁰¹ 1st plural person

¹⁰² Subjunctive mood

¹⁰³ Negation

¹⁰⁴ Indicative mood

pay/ provePAS- PASS.3SP.PAS-1PP to	provePAS- PASS.3SP.PAS-1PP to	barāye/ prove PASS.3SP.PAS- 1PP to	
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3.4 Vocabulary

Two types of words are studied here: cognate and closed-class words. The reason for studying cognates is that one of the ways for studying kinship relationship among languages is reconstruction and phonological reconstruction is the first part of the work in this regard. To this end, cognate words are used. A word in a language is cognate with a word in another language when both of them have a common ancestor and none of them have been entered the other language as a result of borrowing. For finding cognate sets, it is reasonable to begin with the words that have been in a language for a long time and the probability that they have come from other languages is very little. Experience has shown that the words such as cardinal numbers, body parts, kinship terms, and some of natural phenomena like the sun, day and so on expressing the general and common elements are borrowed less and thus are more suitable for reconstruction (Arlotto, 1994: 129-131). The reason for studying closed-class words is that they are the words whose membership is fixed or limited. New items are not regularly added, as is the case with open-class items. Pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, articles, etc. are all closed-class (Crystal, 2003: 77). Based on this, it can be said that the closed-class words are language-specific and can't be borrowed easily. Thus they are appropriate for studying kinship relationship among languages.

Cognate Words

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
/māzi/	/pəšt/	/pōšt/	back
/kəlka/, /kolka/, /gəlka/, /golka/	/ʔaŋqōs/, /qāmk/	/ʔaŋqōšt/	finger
/hezi/	/dəweka/	/diruz/	yesterday
/yəva/	/yak/	/yek/	one
/dəve/	/du/	/dō/	two
/yare/	/se/	/se/	three
/čarma/	/səpi/	/sepid/, /sefid/	white
/fōjyār/	/xōr/	/xōršid/	sun
/wāfe/	/xō(y)šk/	/xāhar/	sister
/tāta/	/bāwk/, /bāba/	/pedar/, /bābā/	father
/ʔadā/	/dāyk/	/mādar/, /māmān/	mother
/lam(m)a/	/sək/, /zək/	/šekam/	stomach
/vātay/	/qōtən/	/qōftan/	to say
/zeli/	/dəl/	/del/, /qalb/	heart
/vērās(t)ay/	/durin/	/duxtan/	to sew
/yava/	/jō/	/jō/	barley
/wətay/	/xawtən/	/xābidan/	to sleep
/vəratay/	/forōštən/	/fōruxtān/	to sell
/karqa/	/mərišk/, /māmər/	/mōrq/	chicken
/dəm/	/ker/	/kir/	penis
/wəta/	/kon(ā)/, /konāy qəŋq/	/kun/	anus
/tuta/	/saq/	/saq/	dog
/daqā/	/ʔāwāyi/, /qond/	/ʔābādi/, /rustā/	village
/wāmi/	/bādām/, /bāyām/, /bāyam/	/bādām/	almond
/halči/	/qārčək/	/qārč/	mushroom
/zaraži/	/kaw/	/kabk/	partridge
/tavani/	/bard/	/saŋq/	stone
/gəji/	/kəras/	/pirāhan/	shirt
/yāge/	/je(qā)/, /je(qa)/	/jā/	place
/māfāy/	/šekāndən/	/šekastān/	to break
/pəyā/	/merd/	/mard/	man, husband

As the data in the above table show, the Gorani words have the least similarity with both Kurdish and Persian ones. On the contrary, the most similarity is seen between Kurdish and Persian words.

Closed-class Words

Gorani	Kurdish	Persian	English
1. /ʔāḏ/ (masculine and distal) 2. /ʔāḏa/ (feminine and distal)	/ʔaw/	/ʔu/	1. he, it 2. she, it
1. /ʔeḏ/ (masculine and proximal) 2. /ʔeḏa/ (feminine and proximal)	/ʔam(a)/	/ʔin/	1. he, it 2. she, it
1. /ʔa)čina/ (masculine and proximal) 2. /ʔa)čāna/ (masculine and distal) 3. /ʔa)čuna/ (masculine and more distal) ¹⁰⁵	/ʔā)wā/, /wahā/	/čenin/	such
/ja, ča, ža/= /-na, -va/	/la/	/ʔaz/, /dar/	from, in
/na/= /-na/	/la/	/dar/	in
/pay/, /pare/	/bō/	/barāye/	for
1. /-ew/ (masculine indefinite article) 2. /-eva/ (feminine indefinite article)	/-ek/, /-e/	/-i/	a, an
1. /-aka/ (masculine definite article) 2. /-ake/ (feminine definite article)	/-aka/ ¹⁰⁶	/-a/ ¹⁰⁷	the
/čanu/, /čani/	/la gał/, /la tak/, /tak/	/hamrāhe/, /hamrāh bā/, /bā/	with
/we/	/xō/	/xōd/	self
/vana/	/le/	/be/	to
/čana/	/le/	/ʔaz/, /dar/	from, in
/yām/	/yān/, /yā/	/yā/	or
/pesa(w)/	/wak(u)/	/mānande/, /be ʔōnvāne/	like, as
/gərd/, /gəšt/	/hamu/	/hame/	all

The closed-class words in the above table indicate that the Gorani closed-class words differ from those of both Kurdish and Persian in form, position, and function, while the Kurdish and Persian ones are very similar in this regard.

3.5 Gorani Dialects

The Goani dialects can be divided into two groups, synchronically and diachronically. The first group are those dialects that have preserved the linguistic nature of Gorani at present, i.e. they have not been assimilated into their surrounding language varieties like Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian such as Hawrami (Takhti, Lohoni, Pavayi, Zhavaroyi, etc.) that, according to Mackenzie (1966: 4), is the most archaic and best preserved dialect, literary (Gorani), Zazay/ki (with northern, southwestern, and southeastern main varieties), Macho, Bajalani, Shabaki, Bewyani, Gahvarayi, Kan(d)u/olayi, Rejabi, Sayyedi, Zardayi, Gawrājōyi, Halabjāyi, Shexani, Kakayi, Zanganayi, Bewaniji, Jemur, Abdolmalaki, Rozhbayani. It is worth noting that Rejabi, Bewaniji, Sayyedi, and Gahvarayi have been almost totally abandoned in favor of Kurdish (Mahmoudveysi, 2012: 3, 4). The second group are the dialects that have been Gorani in the past, i.e. their substratum is actually Gorani, but by virtue of their specific geographical distribution, they have been assimilated into their neighbouring language varieties such as Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian

¹⁰⁵ For more information, see section (3.2: I, the 6th table).

¹⁰⁶ As said earlier, according to Mackenzie (1961b: 85), Kurdish has borrowed it directly from Gorani.

¹⁰⁷ Colloquial Persian, cf. section (3.2: IX).

such as Laki (e.g. see Meho and Maglaughlin (2001: 5) that consider Laki a Gorani dialect); Lori, Kalhori (e.g. see Bedlisi (1994: 408) and Akupov and Hesarov (1997: 68)); Ilami, Ardalani (e.g. see Kordestani (1930: a, b), Zakibayg (2009/1: 230, 234), Kordestani Mastura (1953: 5, 6, 21, 75), Ardalan (1977: 262)); Garrusi (e. g. Pourhaydari (2019), Zakibayg (2009/1: 230, 234), Kordestani Mastura (1953: 5, 6, 21, 75), Ardalan (1977: 262)); Taleshi (e. g. see Potts (2014: 563)); Tati (e.g. see Potts (2014: 563)); Semnani; Mazandarani; Baluchi; and what is erroneously called Azari Turkish (e. g. see Kasravi (1946)).

The names of the second group dialects, in fact, are not the names of language varieties, but the names of Gorani clans (e.g. see Bedlisi (1994: 408) and Akupov and Hesarov (1997: 68) that refer to Kalhor as a Gorani clan, Mardukh (2016: 113) that states Lak, meaning one hundred thousand, is not the name of a language variety, but a Gorani clan, and Meho and Maglaughlin (2001: 5) that regard Laki as a Gorani dialect)); emirate (for instance, Ardalani, the current dominant language variety of Sanandaj¹⁰⁸, after the name of the Ardalan Gorani emirate whose last capital was this city, while the language of this city and its surrounding has been Gorani until the end of the Ardalan emirate (for more information, e.g. see Kordestani (1930: a, b), Zakibayg (2009/1: 230, 234), Kordestani Mastura (1953: 5, 6, 21, 75), Ardalan (1977: 262)); geographical place (for instance, Garrusi, e.g. see Pourhaydari (2019)); dialect and/or accent (for instance, Gahvarayi, e.g. see Mahmoudveysi (2012: 3, 4)); etc. which have been assigned to the assimilated Gorani. The reasons for corroborating the idea that the second group dialects have been Gorani in the past, are as follows: a) the original inhabitants of the western Iranian plateau in general and the so-called Kurdistan in particular have been Gorans and other groups such as Kurds and Turks have entered the region later on overrunning and absorbing all but the surviving Gorans (for more information, e.g. see Edmonds (1957: 10, 12), Mackenzie (1961b: 86), Kasravi (1946)). Unlike Kurdish-speaking areas, the current Gorani-speaking enclaves are mainly mountainous and difficult to pass. It can be an indicator that they have used these areas and settled in them to be protected from the invasions of the Kurds. b) the presence of the Gorani toponyms throughout the region (e.g. see Sadjadi (2018), (2022a)). c) the existence of Gorani literary men and poets all over the region (e.g. see Mackenzie (1956, 1959, 1965), Bailey (2018: 1-6), Leezenberg (1993), Minorsky (1943), O'Shea (2004, 32, 39, 65, 134), Akupov and Hesarov (1997), Asatrian (2009: 5), Blau (2010), Gunter (2004: 58, 59)). d) lexical and grammatical commonality between the second group dialects and the first ones (e. g. see Sadjadi (2019b)). e) Gorani has been the lingua franca, literary, and court language of the western Iranian plateau until the end of 19th century and particularly the year 1919 in a way that it can be said at least at the time of the coming of Islam, there have been two languages in Iran: Gorani in the west and Persian in the east (e.g. see Mackenzie (1965), Akupov and Hesarov (1997), Asatrian (2009), Blau (2010)). f) Gorani has had a far wider and richer geographical and cultural distribution in the past in comparison with today (at least and mainly the west of present Iran: both the north and south, the east of present Iraq: both the north and south, and the east of present Turkey: both the north and south (e.g. see Sadjadi (2022b), Gunter (2004: 58, 59)), but nowadays it forms enclaves or, according to Mackenzie (1966: 3), islands. Islands precede seas chronologically. An island has been a vast land before it is surrounded by water and has become smaller and smaller in the course of time. g) the label "Kurd" is first encountered in Arabic sources from the first centuries of the Islamic era: it seemed to refer to a specific variety of pastoral nomadism, with any language and ethnicity, rather than a linguistic and/or ethnic group (Bruinessen, 1989: 5). This clearly shows that Kurdish was originally a pidgin that then and now has become a creole (Sadjadi, 2023). Moreover, the term "Kurdistan" was first used by the Seljuk Soltan Sanjar in the middle of the sixth century A.H. (Zakibayg (2009/1: 27), quoted from le Strange).

Given the hierarchical and signifying relationship among the concepts language, dialect, and accent, it is unreasonable to mention language without dialects and accents, and vice versa. When it is said that Gorani possesses its own specific various dialects having their own accents, it signifies that Gorani is a language since dialects and accents are subsets of language, i.e. both of them belong to a larger set called language and every language has its own dialects and accents. On the other hand, when Kurdish is a variety, i.e. a Persian dialect, it can not be a language having its own dialects.

3.6 The Attitudes of the Gorans and Kurds towards Each Other

The terms "Kurd" and "Goran (Hawram(i), Macho, etc.)" are very common among both the Kurds and Gorans. When they meet each other for the first time, the primary question which is usually asked, is, "Are you Kurd or Goran?". Or when a Goran is speaking in Gorani, the Kurds immediately ask him/her to speak in Kurdish (Sorani or Kurmanji) and add that they are not able to understand Gorani because it is very difficult for them. These terms, Kurd and Goran or Kurdish and Gorani, are not used among both the Kurmanji- and Sorani-speaking people.

¹⁰⁸ The center of the Kurdistan province in Iran

This shows two important points clearly. The first one is that there is no mutual intelligibility between Gorani and Kurdish without conscious instruction. Thus Gorani is not Kurdish, and the second one is that the Gorans are not Kurdish. Moreover, the Gorans are known for cleverness, diligence, and craftsmanship among the Kurds, as Leezenberg (1993: 17) also states, denoting the Gorans are not Kurdish. The use of these terms and the existence of these attitudes among both the Kurds and Gorans towards each other demonstrate that Gorani is not Kurdish and the Gorans are not Kurdish since both of them make use of such terms frequently and have such attitudes towards each other substantiating their distinction and separateness both linguistically and ethnically.

4. Conclusion

Answering the research questions, the description, contrast, and analysis of Gorani, Kurdish, and Persian data confirm the posed hypotheses: contrary to popular perception, a) being the continuation of Median and Parthian and belonging to the northwestern branch of the Iranian languages, Gorani is a distinct and independent language having its own specific various dialects, unique vocabulary, and grammar not a Kurdish variety, and b) Kurdish is not a distinct and independent language, but the continuation of Old and Middle Persian diachronically and a Persian variety synchronically, belonging to the southwestern branch of the Iranian languages like New Persian. It was originally a pidgin that then and now has become a creole. The differences between Gorani and Kurdish in the different linguistic levels (phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary) are far more than the differences between Kurdish and Persian. In other words, the majority of similarities are seen between Kurdish and Persian rather than between Gorani and Kurdish leading to more or less mutual intelligibility without conscious instruction between Kurdish and Persian and its total lack between Gorani and Kurdish. Moreover, the attitudes of the Gorans and Kurds towards each other, e.g. the type of terms that are common among them, substantiate their distinction and separateness both linguistically and ethnically. If some similarities, specifically lexical and morphological, are seen between Gorani and Kurdish, they are the result of Gorani influence on Kurdish since it has been the lingua franca, literary, and court language in the western Iranian plateau in general and the so-called Kurdistan in particular until the end of the 19th century and specifically the year 1919. The only reason why Gorani is considered a Kurdish variety is the speakers' residence of these two varieties in a specific geographical area, their intermixing, and some linguistic similarities between them due to Gorani influence on Kurdish. It is necessary to say that the direction of this influence has become opposite since the year 1919 when Gorani lost its former position as a lingua franca, literary, and court language and Kurdish was developed into the language for official use and in education. The advent of Kurdish nationalism, its rise to power, and its synchronicity with striking advances in information and communication technology have resulted in increasing assimilation of the Gorans into the Kurds both linguistically and ethnically, especially in recent decades.

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