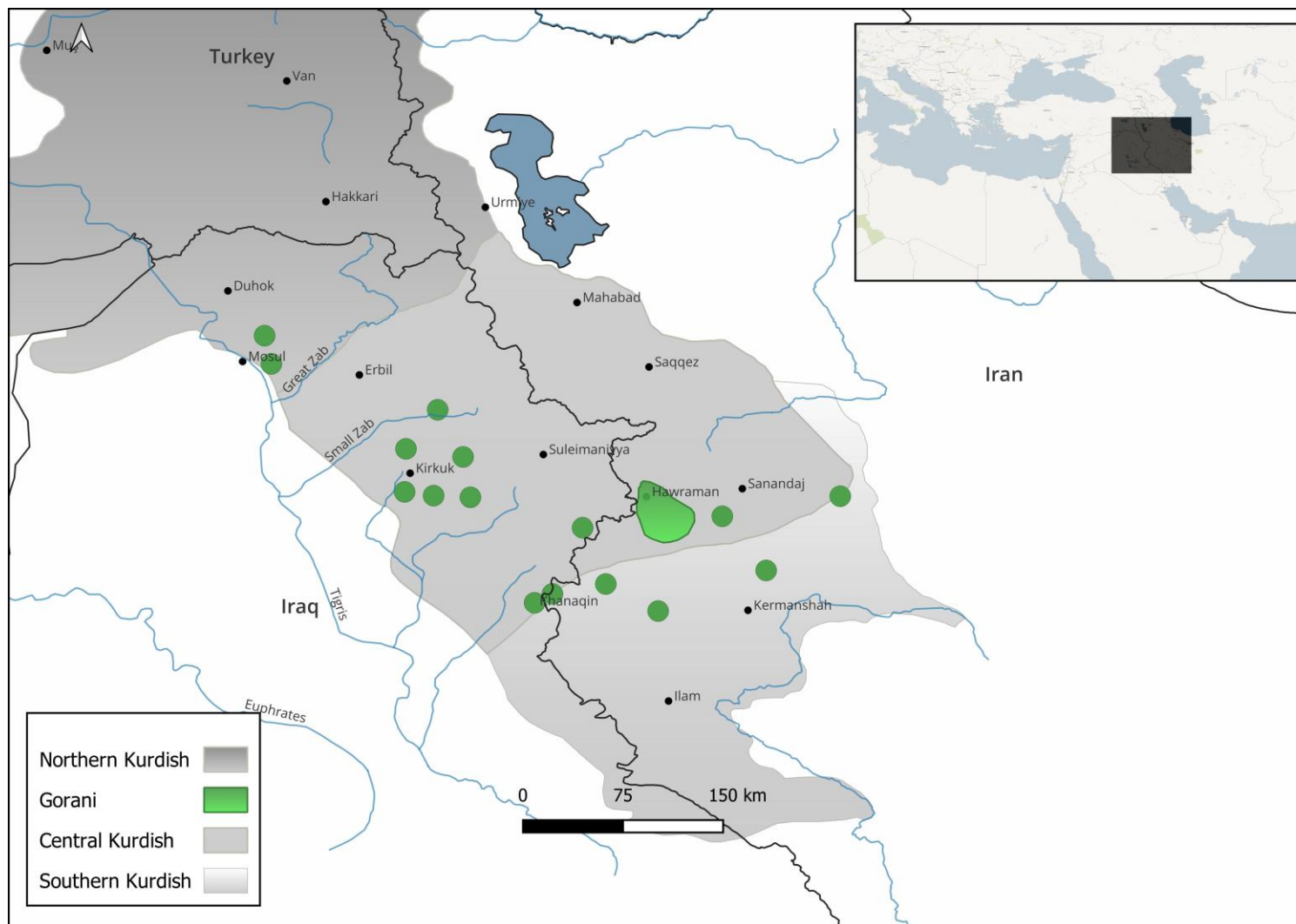


**The Gorani/ Hawrami substrate in Kurdish :
Evidence from Southern Central Kurdish varieties**

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University of Cambridge





Outline of the talk

- Overview of the literature
- Linguistic history of the Southern Central Kurdish zone
- Language contact and its mechanisms
- Contact-induced features in the southern dialect of CK
 - Phonology
 - Morphology
 - Word order
 - Lexicon

Overview of the literature

THE ORIGINS OF KURDISH

By D. N. MacKENZIE

In a paper presented at the 20th International Congress of Orientalists, in Brussels, 1938, Professor V. Minorsky¹ reviewed all the available historical evidence, and some linguistic, relevant to the origins of the Kurdish people. The subject is germane to the present study, for if the origins of the Kurds were known with any certainty the history of their language might be easier to follow.

It may be as well first to dispose of some of the more far-fetched theories in this connexion, for despite Professor Minorsky's paper many of them live on. A number were listed by the late Basile Nikitine in the first chapter of his comprehensive study on the Kurds.² Xenophon's *Kapdoûyou* have always been the favourite choice of those seeking the progenitors of the Kurds,³ but we find attempts to link them with the *Xalde* of Urartu, the *Sagarti*, or *Zikirtu*, and even the *Guti* peoples, always on the strength of 'une consonance plus ou moins évidente avec le nom actuel de ce peuple'. *Xaldi*, happily, has been removed from the field, as it is known to be the name of a god and not a nation.⁴ The other connexions all seem to suffer from inherent impossibility.

In fact the only evident references to the Kurds in the classical authors before our era would seem to be those of Polybius, Livy, and Strabo to the *Kúpριοι*, or *Cyrtii*,⁵ respectively. The two historians mention them only as contingents of slingers in the armies of Media and Asia Minor, while Strabo, more explicitly, names them as wild mountaineers

¹ 'Les origines des Kurdes,' *Actes du XX^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Louvain, 1940, 143.

² *Les Kurdes, étude sociologique et historique*, Paris, 1950, 2-16.

³ See, for example, G. R. Driver, 'The Name Kurd and its Philological connexions,' *JRAS*, 1923, 303, and most recently I. M. Oranskij, *Vvedenie v iranckuju filologiju*, Moscow, 1960, 316.

⁴ See A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*, Munich, 1957, 191, n. 6.

⁵ See Driver, 'The Name Kurd,' 397.

Kurdish as a whole was a continuum of dialects, and the differences between CK and NK dialects originated in the southward migration of Kurds and their convergence with Gorani-speaking people.

The northern variety of Kurdish preserved its "purity", while the variety which converged with Gorani, i.e., CK, became less conservative. The resulting CK variety later overtook Gorani entirely, except for small pockets of existing Gorani dialects within the sea of Kurdish.

Overview of the literature

MacKenzie (1961)

Table 1: Some linguistic features distinguishing between CK and NK¹

	Feature	Gorani	SK/CK	NK
i	person clitics	+	+	-
ii	a definite suffix <i>-eke</i>	+	+	-
iii	morphological passive	+	+	-
iv	open NP-compounds ²	+	+	-
v	telic particle <i>-ewe</i> ³	post-verb	post-verb	pre-verb

Overview of the literature

Leezenberg (1992) ‘Gorani Influence on Central Kurdish: Substratum or Prestige Borrowing?’

The grammatical traits that, for MacKenzie, are indicative of Gorani substrate in CK can be attributed to factors such as independent innovation and internal development.

- Independent innovation: The loss of person clitics and morphological passive in Kurmanji (NK).
- Features such as the definite suffix *-aka* and open compound are too superficial to call for a Gorani substrate in CK

Overview of the literature

Leezenberg (1992) ‘Gorani Influence on Central Kurdish: Substratum or Prestige Borrowing?’

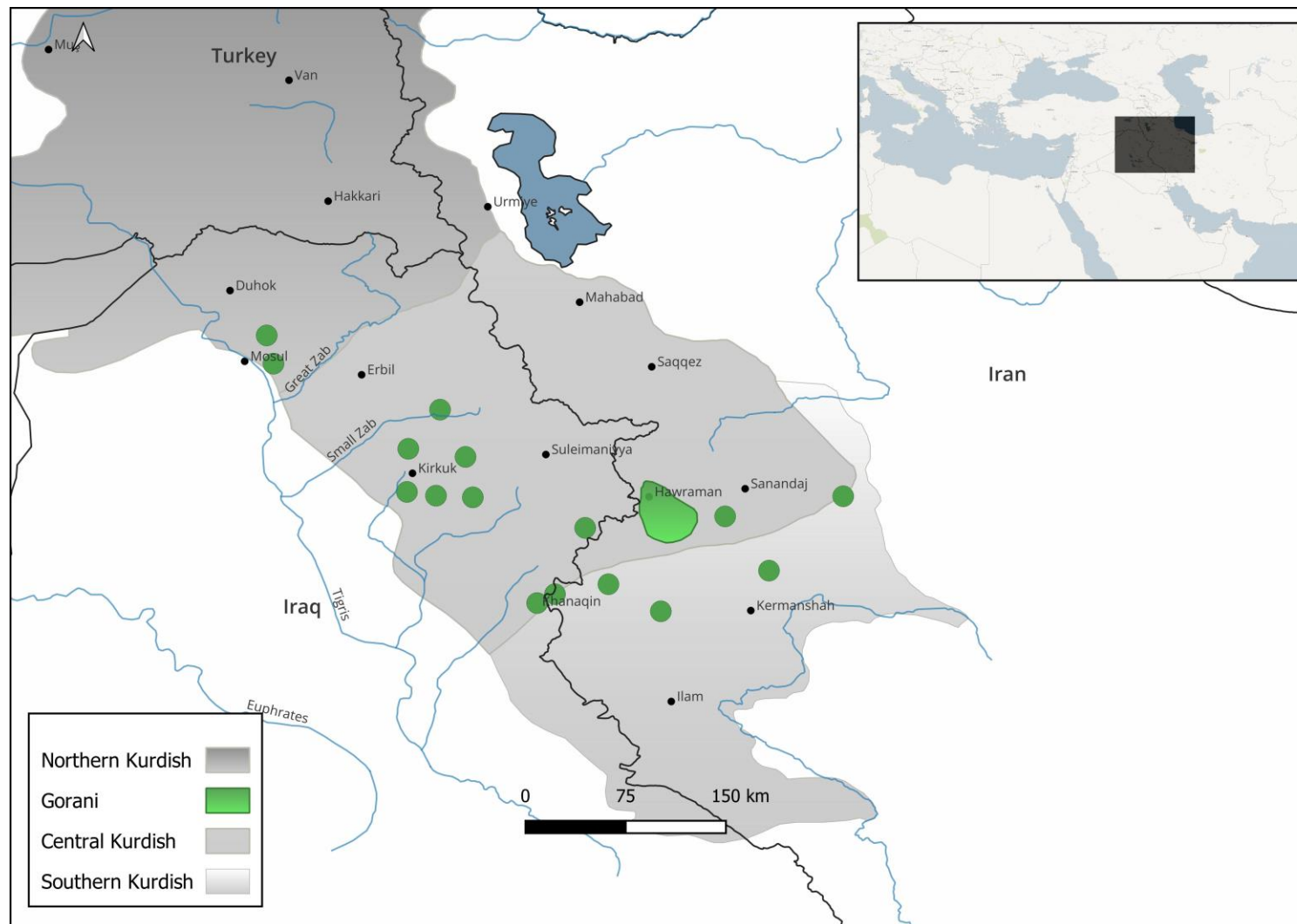
Historical data do not convincingly indicate that the Goran people were subjugated by their Kurdish-speaking neighbours, a point which runs against a substratum scenario.

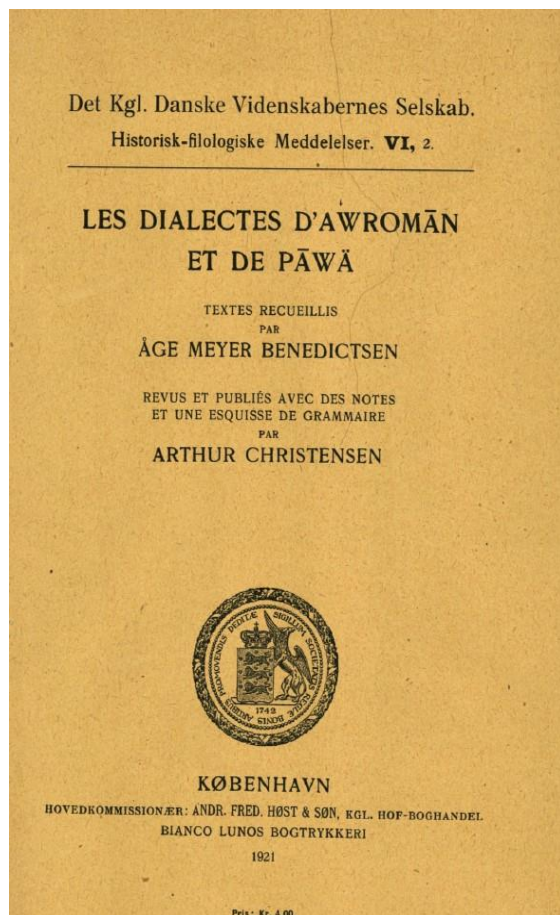
The impact of Gorani on CK is most evident in the lexicon, which calls for ‘borrowing’ rather than ‘substratum influence’. Because of its prestige and its role as a literary language, it is possible that CK extensively borrowed lexical items from Gorani.

Overview of the literature

Both these accounts tackle the history of Kurdish in much earlier times; however, it is known that during the last two centuries, some Gorani-speaking communities have shifted to Kurdish (see below).

Linguistic history of the Southern Central Kurdish zone





In 1900, the Danish linguist Åge Meyer Benedictsen visited Sanandaj. In the introduction to the book '*Les dialectes d'Awroman et de Pawa*', he reports on the language situation in Sanandaj. He writes that 'learned people' in the city knew and spoke *Maço* (an epithet of Gorani/Hawrami, meaning 'he/she says').

À Sänä où le kurde est maintenant la langue commune hors des communautés persane, juive et syrienne, on prétendait que l'awromānī y avait été communément entendu autrefois ['In Sänä [Sanandaj, Kurdish *Sine*], where Kurdish is now the common language outside of the Persian, Jewish and Syriac communities, it was claimed that Awromānī [Hawrami] had been commonly heard there in the past] (Christensen & Benedictsen 1921: 5)

Linguistic history of the region

- A more recent account of the shift from Gorani to Kurdish in the town is given in Kurdistānī (1930). The author was a famous physician from Sanandaj named Dr. Sa'eed Khan Kordestani (1863-1943). He reports with sadness that when he returned to his hometown, Sanandaj, after an absence of fifty years, **“Hawrami, the original ‘sweet’ dialect of the city, is now completely extinct and can be seen spoken only by a handful of old women in the corners and alleyways of Sanandaj.”**

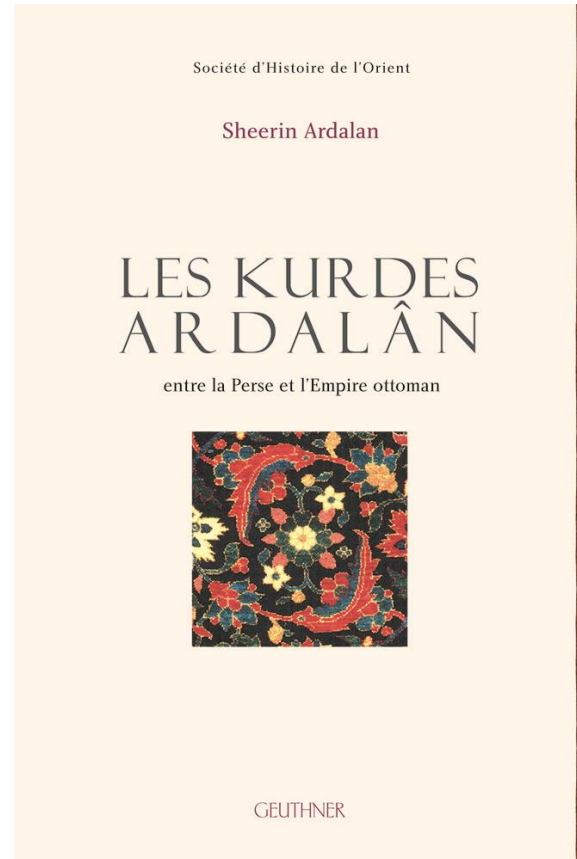
Linguistic history of the region

The shift from Gorani to Kurdish in Sanandaj coincides with a historical hallmark in the Sanandaj region, namely, the fall of the Ardalan dynasty in the second half of the 19th century. Recall that Gorani had institutional support during the Ardalan rule. Understandably, with the fall of the Ardalan dynasty, Gorani lost ground to an increasingly Kurdish-speaking population.

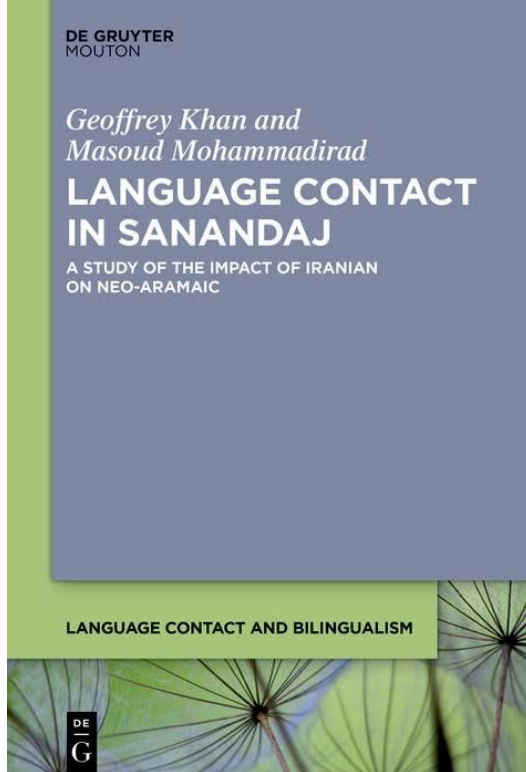
Mahmoudveysi (2016, 3) reports that speakers of Bēwānījī, Rijābī, and Gāhwārāi localities in around Kerend (Iran), which were investigated by Mann and Hadank (1930) as Gorani dialects, have now shifted to vernaculars of Southern Kurdish.

Leezenberg (1992) reports the shift from Gorani to Kurdish in part of Iraqi Kurdistan in the last 120 years ago.

Linguistic history of the region



Linguistic history of the region



	JSNENA	Gorani/ Kurdish
‘father’	<i>tāta</i>	G. <i>tāta</i> ,
‘maternal uncle’	<i>lāla</i>	G. <i>lāla</i> , <i>lālo</i>
‘betrothed’	<i>dasgīrān</i>	G. <i>dasgīrān</i> (Sulemaniyya K. <i>dasgīran</i> ; Sanandaj K. <i>dazūrān</i>)
‘upper arm’	<i>qoḷa</i>	G. <i>qoḷ</i> (upper arm)
‘index finger’	<i>gālka</i> (pl. <i>gālke</i>)	G. <i>gulka</i>
‘spoon’	<i>čamča</i>	G. <i>čamča</i> , <i>čamča</i>
‘chicken coop’	<i>hūlēna</i>	G. <i>hēlyānī</i>
‘side’	<i>ḏim</i>	G. <i>ḏim</i> ; K. <i>dēw</i>
‘a small bird’	<i>mričī</i>	G. <i>mričlē</i>
‘betrothal’	<i>hājbi</i>	G. <i>hījbi</i>
‘mixed’	<i>’āmēta</i>	G. <i>āmēta</i> ; Sanandaj K. <i>āwēta</i>
‘sour, unripe’	<i>hāḷa</i>	G. <i>hāl</i> ‘unripe fruit, especially grape’

Gorani contact-induced features in southern dialects of CK

Borrowing: involves the incorporation of lexical and morphological material from a foreign language into the borrowing language.

‘Substratum influence’, ‘interference’ or ‘imposition’: occurs either as a result of language shift or in situations in which a language is maintained as an indicator of ‘communal identity’ but is heavily influenced by the socially dominant language. It typically involves the importation of phonological and morphosyntactic features into the recipient language.

Kermanshah Persian: *hastam xāna*

Kermanshah Kurdish: *hāma māt*

Unlike borrowing, which could last centuries, language shift can take ‘as little as one generation’

Gorani contact-induced features in southern dialects of CK

A somewhat different aspect raised by the language contact situation between Gorani and CK is that these are genetically related languages that share much of their structure and genetic makeup.

This makes it hard to distinguish the effects of contact-induced change from those of mutual inheritance and drift (see Epps, Huehnergard & Pat-El 2013).

Data and sources

Takht dialect of Hawrami (15 narratives, Mohammadirad *in prep*)

Central Kurdish of Sanandaj region (11 narratives, Mohammadirad 2021)

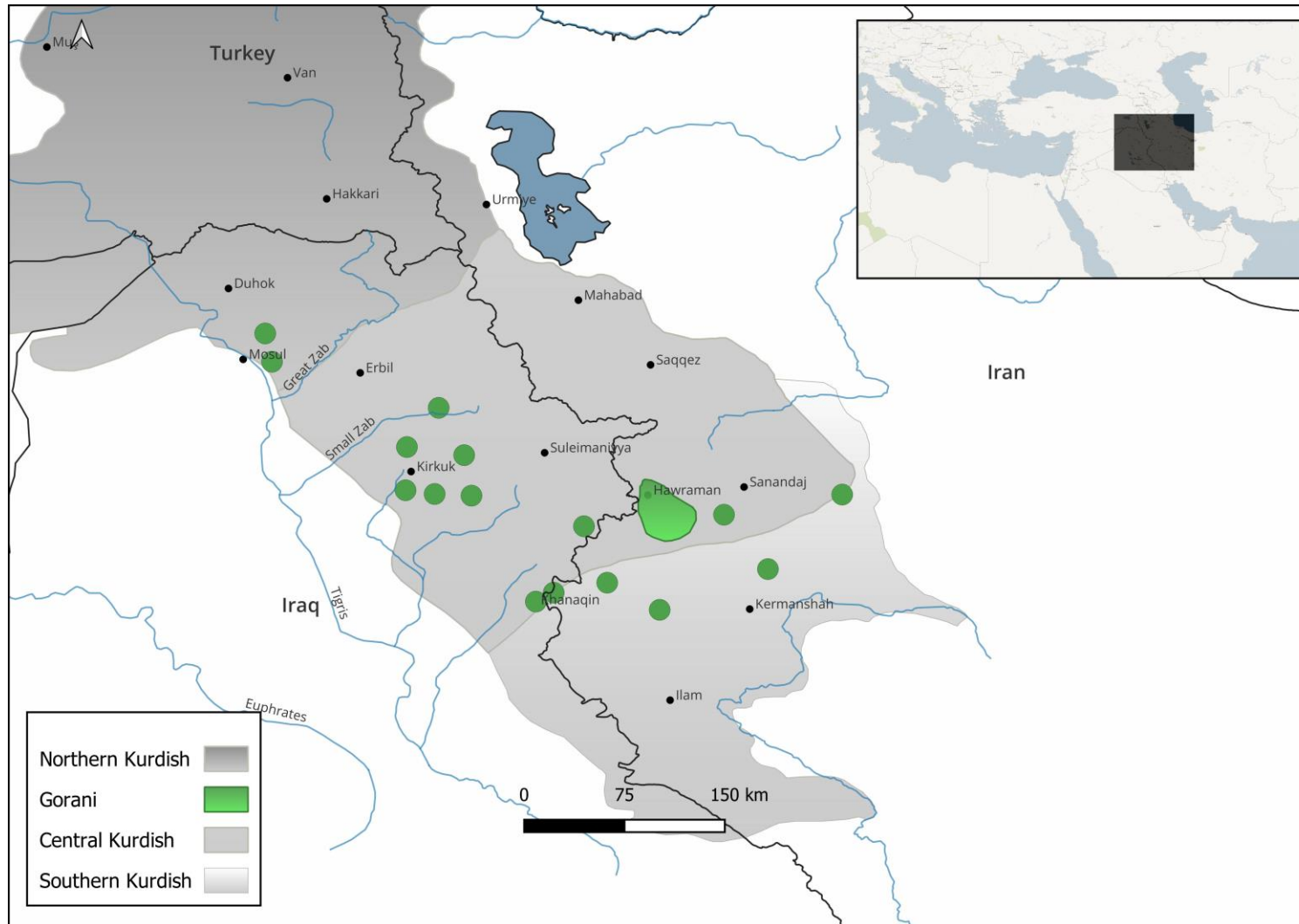
<https://multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/wowa/>

Central Kurdish of Shaqlawa (6 narratives, Khan et al. 2022)

Mukri Central Kurdish (Öpengin 2016)



Contact-induced features in southern dialects of CK



Phonology

*-m > -v/-w

One known isogloss distinguishing between Kurdish and Gorani is the reflex Old Iranian post-vocalic **m*. Historical *m* in the post-vocalic slot is preserved in Gorani but is shifted to /v/ and /w/ in NK and CK, respectively.

(1)	Old Iranian	Gorani	CK	NK	
	Av. <i>nāman-</i>	<i>namê</i>	<i>naw</i>	<i>nav</i>	‘name’
	<i>hāmina</i>	<i>hamin</i>	<i>hawîn</i>	<i>havîn</i>	‘summer’

Phonology

*-m > -v/-w

Paul (2008) considers the shift from *-m > -v/-w one of the most characteristic features of Kurdish, adding further that this shift might have probably started in the New Iranian period (beginning in around the 7th Century CE).

(2)	Gorani	SCK	NCK	NK	
	<i>dem</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>dew</i>	<i>dev</i>	‘mouth’
	<i>nîm</i>	<i>nîm</i>	<i>nîw</i>	<i>nîv</i>	‘half’
	<i>siłam</i>	<i>siłam</i>	<i>siław</i>	<i>siłav</i>	‘hello’ < Arabic. <i>salām</i>

Phonology

*w > b

(3)	Old Iranian	Gorani	CK/ NK	
	Av. <i>vafra</i>	<i>wefr</i>	<i>befr</i>	‘snow’
	Pth., MP. <i>wārān</i>	<i>waran</i>	<i>baran</i>	‘rain’

Phonology

*w > b

(3)	Old Iranian	Gorani	CK/ NK	
	Av. <i>vafra</i>	<i>wefr</i>	<i>befr</i>	‘snow’
	Pth., MP. <i>wārān</i>	<i>waran</i>	<i>baran</i>	‘rain’

(4)	Old Iranian	Gorani	SCK	NCK	NK	
	YA. <i>vaēna</i> ‘to see’	<i>wîn-û/ me-wîn-û</i>	<i>e-wên-im</i>	<i>de-bîn-im</i>	<i>di-bîn-im</i>	‘I see’
	YA. <i>vār</i> ‘to rain’	<i>war-o/ mi-war-o</i>	<i>e-war-ê</i>	<i>de-bar-ê</i>	<i>di-bar-e</i>	‘it rains’

Phonology

The reduction of <nd> to <n> across syllable boundaries:

(5)	Gorani	SCK	NCK		
	<i>manîya</i>	<i>manî, maŋû</i>	<i>mandû</i>	‘tired’	cf. Bah. NK <i>mandî</i>
	<i>anne</i>	<i>ewne</i>	<i>ewende</i>	‘that much’	cf. Bah. NK <i>hinde</i>
	<i>çine</i>	<i>çen</i>	<i>çend, çendî</i>	‘how many’	cf. Bah. NK <i>çend</i>

Phonology

The realisation of ng as /ŋ/

Hawrami

SCK

daŋ

daŋ

‘voice’

taŋ

taŋ

‘tight’

yāŋza

yāŋza

‘eleven’

Phonology

The realisation of ng as /ŋ/

Hawrami

SCK

NCK (Mukri, Erbil)

deŋ

deŋ

deng

‘voice’

teŋ

teŋ

teng

‘tight’

yāŋze

yāŋze

yāzde

‘eleven’

Morphology

Preservation of historical verb stem pairs in SCK due to contact with Gorani.

In NCK varieties the verb ‘to say’ is suppletive: the present stem is *t-* whereas the past stem is *gut-*.

(6)		Gorani	SCK	
	PRS.	<i>waç-</i>	<i>êj-</i>	<i>√waç-</i>
	PST.	<i>wat-</i>	<i>wut-</i>	<i>*uxta-</i>

It can be seen that while NCK varieties developed the suppletive stem for ‘to say’, the SCK dialects, such as Sanandaj, retained the historical stem pair just as Gorani dialects did.

Morphology

Verb stems

SCK

sen-/ senī

ēr-/ hāwird

žinef-/ žineft-

NCK

kiř-/ kiřī-

hēn-/ hēnā

bīs-/ bīst-

‘to buy’

‘to bring’

‘listen’

Morphology

Verb stems

Hawrami

sān-/ sānā-

ār-/ ārd-

ežnīye-/ ežnīyā-

SCK

sen-/ senī

ēr-/ hāwird

žinef-/ žineft-

NCK

kiř-/ kiři-

hēn-/ hēnā

bīs-/ bīst-

‘to buy’

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Morphology

Verb stems

Hawrami

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ār-/ ārd-

ežnīye-/ ežnīyā-

SCK

sen-/ senī

ēr-/ hāwird

žinef-/ žineft-

NCK

kiř-/ kiřī-

hēn-/ hēnā

bīs-/ bīst-

‘to buy’

‘to bring’

‘listen’

Morphology:

Bound affix ordering: person markers

- (7) CK Mukri
nārd=tān-īn
send.pst=**2PL:A=1PL:O**
‘You sent us (away).’
- (8) CK Jaffi (South of Sanandaj, Iran)
hanārd-īn=tān
send.pst-**1PL:O=2PL:A**
‘You sent us (away).’
- (9) Hawrami
kīyāst-īmē=tā
send.pst-**1PL:O=2PL:A**
‘You sent us (away).’

Inflection on the verb is an area of language which is highly liable to error in Second language learning (cf. Clahsen and Muysken 1996)

Bound affix ordering: person markers (Mohammadirad *submitted*)

- (10) Gorani Qal'eh (near Qurveh)

bard=*mān*=*tān*

take.pst=**1PL:O=2PL:A**

‘You took us (away).’

- (11) CK Sanandaj

bird=*mān*=*tān*

take.pst=**1PL:O=2PL:A**

‘You took us (away).’

In language shift situations abstract features tend to be transferred from the substrate language to the dominant language (cf. Muysken 2010, 273)

Grammatical patterns cannot be borrowed without their ordering properties (Moravcsik 1978: 112).

Morphology

Ordering of the person clitic and the copula marker on the existential stem:

- (12) CK Mukri, Suleimaniya
he=man=e cf. *he=ye* ‘there is’
EXIST=1PL=COP.3SG
‘We have (it).’
- (13) CK Erbil
he-yt=man cf. *he-yt* ‘there is’
EXIST-COP.3SG=1PL
‘We have (it).’
- (14) CK Sanandaj, Kalar
he=s=man cf. *he=s* ‘there is’
EXIST=COP.3SG=1PL
‘We have (it).’
- (15) Hawrami
he=n=ma cf. *he=n* ‘there is’
EXIST=COP.3SG.M=1PL
‘We have (it).’

Modality verb ‘should’ (Fr. Il faut), e.g. *ašē bičī* ‘You need to go’

Hawrami

mi-š-o

SCK

e-š-ē

NCK

e-b-ē, de-b-ē

NK

divēt

Word order

Particle verbs

(16) CK Mukri

lē=y da

‘He set off.’

ber dan

‘to herd out’

lē=y e-xuřin

‘They shout at him.’

pē=y zānī

‘He learned about it.’

Particle verbs

(16)	CK Mukri	CK Sanandaj	
	<i>lē=y dā</i>	<i>dā=y lē</i>	‘He set off.’
	<i>ber dan</i>	<i>dan ber</i>	‘to herd out’
	<i>lē=y a-xuř-in</i>	<i>a-xuř-in lē</i>	‘They shout at him.’
	<i>pē=y zānī</i>	<i>zānī pē=y</i>	‘He learned about it.’

Particle verbs

(16)	CK Mukri	CK Sanandaj	Hawrami	
	<i>lē=y dā</i>	<i>dā=y lē</i>	<i>dā=š vana</i>	‘He set off.’
	<i>ber dan</i>	<i>dan ber</i>	<i>day wer</i>	‘to herd out’
	<i>lē=y a-xuř-in</i>	<i>a-xuř-in lē</i>	<i>xuřā=š vana</i>	‘They shout at him.’
	<i>pē=y zānī</i>	<i>zānī pē=y</i>	<i>zānā=š pana</i>	‘He learned about it.’

Particle verbs

(16)	CK Mukri	CK Sanandaj	Hawrami	
	<i>lē=y dā</i>	<i>dā=y lē</i>	<i>dā=š vana</i>	‘He set off.’
	<i>ber dan</i>	<i>dan ber</i>	<i>day wer</i>	‘herd out’
	<i>lē=y a-xuř-in</i>	<i>a-xuř-in lē</i>	<i>xuřā=š vana</i>	‘They shout at him.’
	<i>pē=y zānī</i>	<i>zānī pē=y</i>	<i>zānā=š pana</i>	‘He learned about it.’

Light verb complements

(17) Northern CK

be jiwāb hāt

‘He started to speak.’

be jē=yān hēšt

‘They left (it) behind.’

be jē ma

‘It was left behind.’

we řē e-kew-ē

‘He sets off.’

Light verb complements

(17)	Northern CK	CK Sanandaj	
	<i>ba jiwāb hāt</i>	<i>hāt=e juwāw</i>	‘He started to speak.’
	<i>ba jē=yān hēšt</i>	<i>hēšt=yān=e jē</i>	‘They left (it) behind.’
	<i>ba jē mā</i>	<i>mā jē</i>	‘It was left behind.’
	<i>wa řē a-kaw-ē</i>	<i>e-kef-ēt=e řē</i>	‘He sets off.’

Light verb complements

(17)	Northern CK	CK Sanandaj	Hawrami	
	<i>be jiwāb hāt</i>	<i>hāt=e juwāw</i>	<i>āmā juwāb</i>	‘He started to speak.’
	<i>be jē=yān hēšt</i>	<i>hēšt=yān=e jē</i>	<i>āst=šā jīyā</i>	‘They left (it) behind.’
	<i>be jē mā</i>	<i>mā jē</i>	<i>meno jīyā</i>	‘It was left behind.’
	<i>we řē e-kew-ē</i>	<i>e-kef-ēt=e řē</i>	<i>gin-o řā</i>	‘He sets off.’

Light verb complements

(17)	Northern CK	CK Sanandaj	Hawrami	
	<i>be jiwāb hāt</i>	<i>hāt=e juwāw</i>	<i>āmā juwāb</i>	‘He started to speak.’
	<i>be jē=yān hēšt</i>	<i>hēšt=yān=e jē</i>	<i>āst=šā jīyā</i>	‘They left (it) behind.’
	<i>be jē mā</i>	<i>mā jē</i>	<i>meno jīyā</i>	‘It was left behind.’
	<i>we řē e-kew-ē</i>	<i>e-kef-ēt=e řē</i>	<i>gin-o řā</i>	‘He sets off.’

Locational copula clauses

- (18) NCK
le māṭ=im
at home=cop.1sg
'I am at home.'

Locational copula clauses

(18) NCK

le māṭ=im

at home=cop.1sg

‘I am at home.’

(19) SCK

hā=*m=e māṭ*

deic=1sg.cop=drct home

‘I am at home.’

Locational copula clauses

(18) NCK

le māṭ=im

at home=cop.1sg

‘I am at home.’

(19) SCK

hā=m=e māṭ

deic=1sg.cop=drct home

‘I am at home.’

(20) Hawrami

īnā=nē yāna-na

deic=cop.1sg home-post

‘I am at home.’

Word order profile. The placement of obliques

Addressees of 'say'

e.g. 'I said to my mother'

	n.clauses	Addressee-V	V-Addressee	
CK Mukri	12	100%	0%	(cf. Öpengin 2016)

Word order profile. The placement of obliques

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Hawrami Takht	17	6%	94%	(cf. Mohammadirad <i>in prep</i>)

Word order profile. The placement of obliques

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CK Sanandaj	13	8%	92%	(cf. Mohammadirad 2021)
Hawrami Takht	20	5%	95%	(cf. Mohammadirad <i>in prep</i>)

This is an instance of shift-induced constructional change (Ross 2019)

The additive Particle meaning ‘too, even’

Hawrami =īč

CK Sanandaj =īč

NCK =īš

Particles

sā

(16) Hawrami

<i>a</i>	<i>čē=č</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>sar-ē̇ </i>	<i>duē̇</i>	<i>sarē</i>
PRSNT	here=ADD	well	CLF-INDF	two	CLF-INDF
<i>haywān</i>	<i>sara</i>	<i>bəř-ēn-ē=ū </i>			
animal	head	cut.PRS-PSTC-3PL=and			

Here [at the bride's family] too, they would behead one or two animals.

(17) SCK

<i>min</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>kāwrā.</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>panā</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>xwā</i>
1sg	imp.give.2sg	dem.prox	man	well	refuge	to	God

‘Give me to this man. Well, let's take refuge to God.’

Lexicon borrowings in SCK of Gorani origin

Lexicon

Kin terms

Hawrami

SCK

lālo, lāle

lāle, (xālo)

wewī

wewī

bābā

bāwā

bāweženī

bāwežin

bāwepīyāre

bāwepīyāre

NCK

xāṭ

‘maternal uncle’

būk

‘bride, daughter in law’

bāpīr

‘grandfather’

ziř-dāyk

‘stepmother’

ziř-bāwk

‘stepfather’

Body parts

gulk, gilκ

kilk

zwān

zwān

tewēṭe

tēweṭ

lūte

lūt

qāmik

‘finger’

zimān

‘tongue’

nēwčāwān

‘forehead’

kepo

‘nose’

Lexicon

Adjectives

Hawrami

SCK

NCK

kewe

kew

šīn

‘blue’

čerme

čermū, čermig

sipī

‘white’

berz

berz

bilind

‘high’

kuṭ

kuṭ

kurt

‘short’

qāyim

qāyim

stūr

‘thick’

Conclusion

Gorani-originating features in Southern Sorani varieties include both lexical items and phonological/morphosyntactic features.

Given that borrowing and imposition involve different layers of grammar, the question arises regarding how to accommodate lexical borrowing and imposition within the contact situation in the SCK-speaking region.

It seems that borrowing and imposition reflect different layers of historical contact in SCK. Under this scenario, before the shift from Gorani to Kurdish happened, a symmetric (possibly weak) Kurdish-Gorani bilingualism pattern existed in the region, which, combined with the social prestige associated with Gorani, led to the importation of lexicon from Gorani to Kurdish.

Later, with the language shift from the Gorani-speaking population in the late 19th Century/early 20th Century, phonological and morphosyntactic features of the sort mentioned above entered Kurdish through L2 learning of Gorani-dominant speakers in their production of Kurdish.

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