The Meter and the Literary Language
of Gūrānī Poetry

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des Grades der Doktorin der Philosophie

an der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften der Universität Hamburg

Asien-Afrika-Institut

vorgelegt von

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Hamburg 2016

To my best friends:

Kobra, Rebin, Denise and Nick

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

Gloss	Definition	Gloss	Definition
1PL	First person plural	KAND	Kandūlayī
1SG	First person singular	LG	Literary Gūrānī
2PL	Second person plural	M	Masculine
2SG	Second person singular	NEG	Negation
3PL	Third person plural	OBL	Oblique
3SG	Third person singular	PL	Plural
BP	Bound pronoun	POST	Postposition
COP	Copula	PRS	Present
DEF	Definite	PRT	Particle
DIR	Direct	PST	Past
EZ	Ezāfa	RFLX	Reflexive
F	Feminine	SBJV	Subjunctive
GAW	Gawraǰuyī	SMALL	Diminutive (affectionate attitudinal)
HAW	Hawrāmī	ZAR	Zardayāna
IND	Indicative	=	(equal sign) enclitic boundary
INDF	Indefinite	-	(hyphen) morpheme boundary
IPFV	Imperfective		

Foreword

In this study, I present a description of the meter and literary language of Gūrānī. Towards this end I have worked from photographic reproductions from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (the Berlin State Library) made for me in 2009 by order of Professor Ludwig Paul (a full list of these manuscripts is found at the end of the references). Additionally, I have made use of a manuscript of Gūrānī poetry from the British Library (see section "The Corpus of Gūrānī literature" for a description of this manuscript).

As will be discussed in Chapter 2, "Theoretical introduction", we have focused in this study on the constituents (that is, the linguistic and poetic features) that are relevant to creating meter. For deciding if a constituent is basic, we have identified two conditions: (a) how often it occurs—that is, its number—and (b) its position (compare Donat 2010). The regularity and placement of a constituent is key to producing meter.

In almost all discussions by Iranian scholars about meter in Iranian languages, only one or two constituents, such as syllables and their prosodic character, are counted as basic to meter. For many other languages, it is assumed that there is more than one system of versification. In other words, for every language, various systems of versification are possible. For German, it is believed that there are seven systems of versification based on the following three constituents: the number of syllables, the prosody of syllables, and rhyme (compare Wagenknecht 1981). For Iranian languages, three systems are known. One system is based on the number of syllables and their 'quantity' (that is, their length as short or long syllables). One example of this system is classical Persian poetry. In other words, the long and short syllables in each line appear in a regular system, which is organized into metrical feet. And the lines in turn are organized into combinations of the same or different feet (see Nātel Khānlarī 1966; Najafī 1975, 1980; Thiesen 1982; Shamissa 2004). The second system is assumed to be based on the 'dynamicity' of syllables. This means that 'tact' (that is, the opposition of stressed versus unstressed syllables) is the main constituent in creating of meter. Each line is composed of two or more cola, and each colon is composed of two or more feet. In this system, tact determines the borders of the feet (compare Tabibzadeh 2004).[1] The third system is based on the number of syllables. That means the number of syllables is the only relevant means of creating meter. It has also been assumed in previous studies that

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[1] In the Chapter 2, "Theoretical introduction", we discuss the first and second models in more detail.

Gūrānī poetry is based on the number of syllables (Āšnā 2002; Khaznadār 1967; Mistafā 2012).

In this study, we discuss not only syllables and their prosodic characteristics in the creation of meter, but also other constituents, such as alliteration, assonance, and other kinds of repetition, because, although some scholars do not count them as proper elements of meter, they nevertheless affect the metrical system in profound ways.

Because there are almost no detailed works on Gūrānī poetry, we examined some possible constituents that could be relevant from a metrical perspective. Previously, the poet Gorān (Ashna 2002:158-159) briefly noted the metrical function of stress in Gūrānī poetry. We therefore tested a sample of material to see if stress has a metrical function. We chose some poems and gave them to two native speakers of Hawrāmī who know Gūrānī poetry very well. We recorded these speakers reading the poems, and then we analyzed the recordings by means of two computer programs, Praat and Cool Edit. We were then able to observe the position of stress from the combination of pitch and intensity. We were also able to study the patterns of feet, cola, stress positions, and metrical pauses in order to determine whether or not feet and cola are significant. The border of the feet can be identified by the presence of metrical pauses and the border of the cola by smaller pauses. In both Praat and Cool Edit, one can observe the position of both types of pauses. As a result of this testing, we concluded that the position of the cola is not regular, and it therefore cannot be counted as a metrical constituent. We also concluded that, although stress exists in the lines, it does not appear to follow a regular pattern. The use of stress in poetry does not differ from its use in the spoken language, and consequently, its existence is not relevant as a metrical constituent.

We also noticed that, besides the number of syllables, caesura and rhyme also have metrical value. Furthermore, certain figures of sound, such as alliteration and assonance, also have a strong effect on the metrical system. Even though they do not appear regularly or in certain positions, their effects are important, and they are therefore included in our discussion about meter.

In summary, Gūrānī poetry exhibits a regular structure with a stable number of syllables, a caesura in the middle, monorhyme, and a certain form of the stanza. There is often internal homophony and correspondence between vowels and consonants. The use of similar vowels and consonants as well as repetition of similar words in the texts is also very common. There is not only line-final rhyming that creates a degree of harmony in the text, but there is also

occasionally a line-internal rhyme as well. The frequent use of alliteration, consonance, and vowel repetition, along with the frequent repetition of certain words, also contributes to the harmony of the text while supplying a pleasing sound to the poetry.

It is evident that classical Gūrānī poetry as well as Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry exhibit similar systems. These systems are not identical, however. In the folk poetry of Gūrānī and Kurdish, there is relatively more variation in the number of syllables in a line, while in classical Gūrānī poetry there is always a consistent number of syllables. Another difference is that in some kinds of folk poetry, the dynamicity of syllables has a metrical value, which is comparable to that found in Persian folk poetry. We discuss these points in Chapter 7, "GŪRĀNĪ AND KURDISH FOLK POETRY".

This study is organized as follows: In the first chapter, I give an overview of the state of the research, define the terms "Gūrānī/Gorānī", introduce the location of speakers of the language and dialects, sketch the role of Gūrānī as a literary and sacred language, and finally, introduce the corpus of the materials I had at my disposal as well as my research method.

In the second chapter, I attempt to give a general overview of theories of meter and its relevant constituents.

The third chapter presents an overview of versification in the Old and Middle Iranian languages of Avestan, Middle Persian, Parthian, Khotanese, and Sogdian. This background is necessary to illustrate the roots of the metrical principles of Gūrānī poetry and the link between the past and present.

The fourth chapter presents yet more necessary background on the situation of poetry in the very important historical period of Iran, namely, during the period after the Islamization of Iran, and its effect on the metrical principles. For this purpose, we have chosen to discuss and illustrate first examples from Early New Persian poetry and then from the Fahlavīāt (quatrains).

In the fifth to seventh chapters, I focus on Gūrānī as a literary language and on its meter. In the fifth chapter, the language used for poetry is described. It is also discussed in terms of its differences from the spoken varieties. In the sixth chapter, the metrical form of classical Gūrānī poetry including of the Yārsān is described. In the seventh chapter, the form of the folk poetry in Kurdish and Gūrānī is analyzed.

The   final   chapter   summarizes   my   conclusions.

1. INTRODUCTORY MATTERS

1.1 The state of the research

Much attention has been devoted to the study of the language of Gūrānī, but until now, with the exception of a few notes in a few works, no detailed study has been made of the metrical system of Gūrānī poetry.

In his Baghdad lectures in 1960,[2] ʕabdullāh Silēmān (1904-1962), also known as Gorān,[3] describes Gūrānī poetry as being based on the number of syllables. Accordingly, each line has two feet, each foot contains five syllables, and a pause (caesura) occurs between every two feet. Additionally, Gorān notes that a main stress falls just before the pause, and a weaker stress falls at the end of the line. He compares Gūrānī poetry with the *alexandrine* line in French poetry. In our section called "An analysis of the arrangement of cola and feet" (section 6.1.3), we discuss in detail the function of stress in Gūrānī poetry. There, we note that, in many cases, stress does not fall in the middle of the line and so its presence is inconsistent. In other words, although stress can be identified in some lines, it ultimately has no metrical value.

All other works on Gūrānī poetry make similar statements about meter. Khaznadār, in *la bābat mežūy adabī kurdīyawa* 'About the history of Kurdish literature' (1984:92) and in *kesh u qāfya la sheʔri kurdi-dā* 'Meter and rhyme in Kurdish poetry' (1962:9), also describes Gūrānī poetry as being based on ten syllables, with a pause after the fifth syllable. He also notes that there is monorhyme in every line. He gives the same explanation about the metrical form of Gūrānī poets in his later work *mēžū-y adabī kurdī, volume 1-4* 'The history of Kurdish literature, volume 1-4' (2010).

Nawšīrvān Mistafā Amīn (2012:237), in *ba dam řēgā u guł-činīnawa* 'Along the way picking flowers', refers to the metrical system of Gūrānī as "the literary school of Gūrān". He believes that all of the classical Gūrānī poets (and certain modern ones as well) used the same metrical system and that none composed poems in any other form (op. cit., 304). He also

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[2] The lectures of Abdullāh Silēmān were published in the periodical *Zhin* and then later in a collection by O. Āšnā (2002), together with his texts and translations.

[3] Gorān was familiar with the literature of many countries and followed discussions about modern literature. Among the poets of his time, he was the first Kurdish poet who was against the usage of ʕAruz (the form of Arabic and Persian meter) in Kurdish poetry. He believed the Kurdish poets should use the form of Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry, because of its roots in Kurdish culture.

describes the metrical system of a poet like Besārānī as follows: The first line contains five syllables; the second line contains ten syllables and is divided into two halves, where the first line is repeated in the second half of the second line; except for the first line that has five syllables, all the other lines have ten; the first four lines rhyme, and then each subsequent pair of lines has a monorhyme.

Mistafā Amīn presents the following schema for the beginning of all Gūrānī poems:

- - - - - A (five syllables)

- - - - - - - - - - A (ten syllables)

- - - - - - - - - - A (ten syllables)

- - - - - - - - - - A (ten syllables)

- - - - - - - - - - B (ten syllables)

- - - - - - - - - - B (ten syllables)

(Etc.)

Besides the above brief summary statements, in none of the mentioned works does one find any other description about the Gūrānī metrical system. Nor does one find any discussion or explanation about the function of alliteration and assonance in Gūrānī poetry. However, the authors of these works at least present main observations about the number of syllables, the pause in the middle, and the form of rhyme. But there is no description of their metrical value.

1.2 The name "Gūrānī / Gorānī"

Scholars classify Gūrānī (or Gorānī) as a member of the Northwestern Iranian group of languages. In some Sorānī-speaking areas of Kurdistan, as well as in Hawrāmān, the name of the language is pronounced 'Gorānī'. In Southern Kurdish areas, such as in the province of Kermānšāh, it is pronounced 'Gūrānī'. In this study, we generally use the term *Gūrān* to refer to the ethnic group and *Gūrānī* to refer to the language.

The name Gūrān/Gūrānī has many different and potentially confusing usages.

It is important to begin by mentioning some historical references to the name in two ancient documents. First, the name was mentioned very briefly and parenthetically in Strabo's (*Geographica:* 63/64 BC to about AD 24). Strabo mentions a city named Saraparai, which is near the "Guran and Medes" (cited in Hadank 1930:4). The second important

mention is by the historian Mīr Šaraf-Khān Badlīsī (1543-1599), where he classifies the Kurds into four groups: "Kirmānc, Loř, Kalhoř and Gūrān" (Šarafnāma 2006:13).

From another perspective, Gorān is the name of a large clan in Iraqi Kurdistan. The members of the Gorān clan live mainly in the vicinities of Sulaymaniyah and Mosul. But in the province of Kermānšāh in Iran, Gūrān is not a term for a clan but rather for an ethnicity, used in contrast to Kurdish ethnicity. The Gūrān people in Iran are mostly members of the religious community of the Yārsān (also known as the Ahl-e Ħaq/Haq). The name Gūrān is also used to refer to a geographical area in the province of Kermānšāh.

In addition to the above uses, there is a considerable body of texts in Gūrānī. In this context, the name Gūrānī refers to the literary language used during the rule of the Ardalan dynasty, between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was the language of the royal court, and the sovereigns supported many poets.

In modern times, European scholars such as Oskar Mann (1867-1918), Karl Hadank (1882-1945), and D. N. MacKenzie (1926-2001) have used the term Gūrānī to refer to the dialects in the area of Hawrāmān and in the province of Kermānšāh, as well as for other dialects, such as Bājałānī and Šabakī in Iraqi Kurdistan.

1.3 The dialects of Gūrānī

There are various dialects that different scholars include under Gūrānī. Some of the dialects reported by Oskar Mann (in Hadank 1930) are now extinct, while others are endangered. There are also other dialects of Gūrānī located in Northern Iraq, a number of them not mentioned by Mann.

According to Mann (Hadank 1930), Gūrānī has the following dialects (according to the spelling in Hadank): Kändūlāī, Auramāī, Bājälānī, Bēwänījī, Gähwārāī, Rijābī, Säyyidī, and Zärdāī.

According to our fieldwork in 2007 and 2008, the dialects Bēwänījī, Rijābī, and Gähwārāī no longer exist. Instead, in the areas where these dialects used to be spoken (Bēwänīj, Rijāw, and Gähwārä), the population currently speaks various Southern Kurdish dialects.

In Iraqi Kurdistan, there are also the following Gūrānī dialects: Hawrāmī (Lehon), Māčo (Kākayī, Southern Bājałānī, Zangana, Jimur, Bēwyānī and Šēxānī), Řožbayānī, Šabakī, and Northern Bājałānī. The existence of these dialects was confirmed by a field trip to Iraqi Kurdistan in November-December 2009, when I travelled with Professor Philip Kreyenbroek

to visit members of the Yārsān (the Ahl-e Ḥaq) community, known in Iraq as the Kākayī. The speakers of Gūrānī dialects in Iraq call their dialect Māčo, which literally means 'he says'.

Except for in three villages in Hawrāmān, the majority of the Kākayī speak Gūrānī. Besides the Kākayī, there are other communities that speak dialects of Gūrānī. These include the clans of Zangana, Jimur, Šēxānī, and Bāĵaɫān.[4] According to the information provided by an elderly speaker, Ḥāj-ī Nurī, and the mayor of the city of Xānaqīn, as well as by Ibrāhīm Bāĵaɫān, there are about seventy villages between Xānaqīn and Kirkuk whose speakers belong to these clans and who all speak Māčo. Unfortunately, I could not visit these villages and personally confirm this information.

Other Gūrānī dialects in the area of Kirkuk are named Šēxānī and Řožbayānī. I searched for Šēxānī speakers in Kirkuk and spoke to some men on the street who claimed they spoke Māčo at home. But unfortunately, I could not find an ideal informant. I also searched for speakers of Řožbayānī in Kirkuk. This dialect is currently spoken in only one village, Forqān. The village was destroyed in 1987 by the order of Saddam Hussein. Most of the inhabitants had to move to the city of Čamčamāɫ, which is located between Silēmānī and Kirkuk. Some of them went to live in other Kurdish cities. But after the downfall of Saddam in 2003, some returned to their original village location.

Another dialect is Bāĵaɫānī. We also searched for speakers of this dialect during our trip to the vicinity of Mosul. Our aim was to interview Bāĵaɫānī/Šabakī speakers. We went to a village named Fayzalīyē, located near Mosul, where we met a family. The speakers there strongly refused to identify themselves as Šabak. They believed the Arabs had given them the name of Šabak because the Arabs could not understand their language. The dialect they spoke was different from the Bāĵaɫānī dialect spoken in Kaɫār and Xānaqīn.

Šabak is also found in other places near Mosul. I visited another village, Boybaxt, near Mosul, in the hopes of finding Šabak speakers. The same statement was heard in Boybaxt, too. The family claimed there are only two villages in which the people call themselves Šabak, while the other sixty-nine villages are Bāĵaɫān.

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[4] In an interview with several men between the ages of fifty and sixty years, it was emphasized that until the 1970s, most people in Xānaqīn spoke Māčo. But currently only a few of the older people still speak Māčo. In Xānaqīn, I interviewed Ibrāhīm Bājaɫān, an author who spoke a dialect of Gūrānī. In the neighboring city of Kalār, I also met an elderly speaker, Ḥājī Nurī Bājaɫān, who belongs to the Bājaɫān clan and was a poet.

However, we met an informant from the village of Sofayē, located between Arbil and Mosul, who identified himself as a Šabak. The populations of this village as well as of four others belong to the Kākayī community, and are speakers of Māčo.

In further fieldwork in 2011, I had the good fortune to meet one of the leaders of a Bēwyānī clan named Bahman Ḥamīd Feyzullāh Bēwyānī. He told me about the location of members who speak the dialect of Bēwyānī.

The following table lists the Gūrānī dialects in Iran and Iraq with our preferred spellings:

Gūrānī dialects in Iraq	Gūrānī dialects in Iran
Hawrāmī (Lehon)	Hawrāmī (Lehon, Taxt)
Māčo (Kākayī, Southern Bāǰałānī, Zangana, Jimur, Bēwyānī and Šēxānī)	Kandūlayī
	Zardayāna
Řožbayānī	Gawraǰūyī
Šabakī	Saydāna
Northern Bāǰałānī	

The name Māčo is used in Iraqi Kurdistan to refer to the dialects of different clans who speak very similar dialects of Gūrānī.

The names Šabakī and Bāǰałānī (Northern) appear to refer to the same dialect (I did not recognize any differences).

As mentioned above, Řožbayānī is spoken in only one village near Kirkuk.

Hawrāmī is the main dialect of Gūrānī. There are more speakers of this dialect than of the others.

Kandūlayī, Zardayāna, and Gawraǰūyī are well documented. The Māčo dialect as well as Saydāna and the dialect of villages around Qasr-e Šīrīn are very close to the Zardayāna dialect.

The following map gives an overview of the traditional Gūrānī-speaking areas:[5]
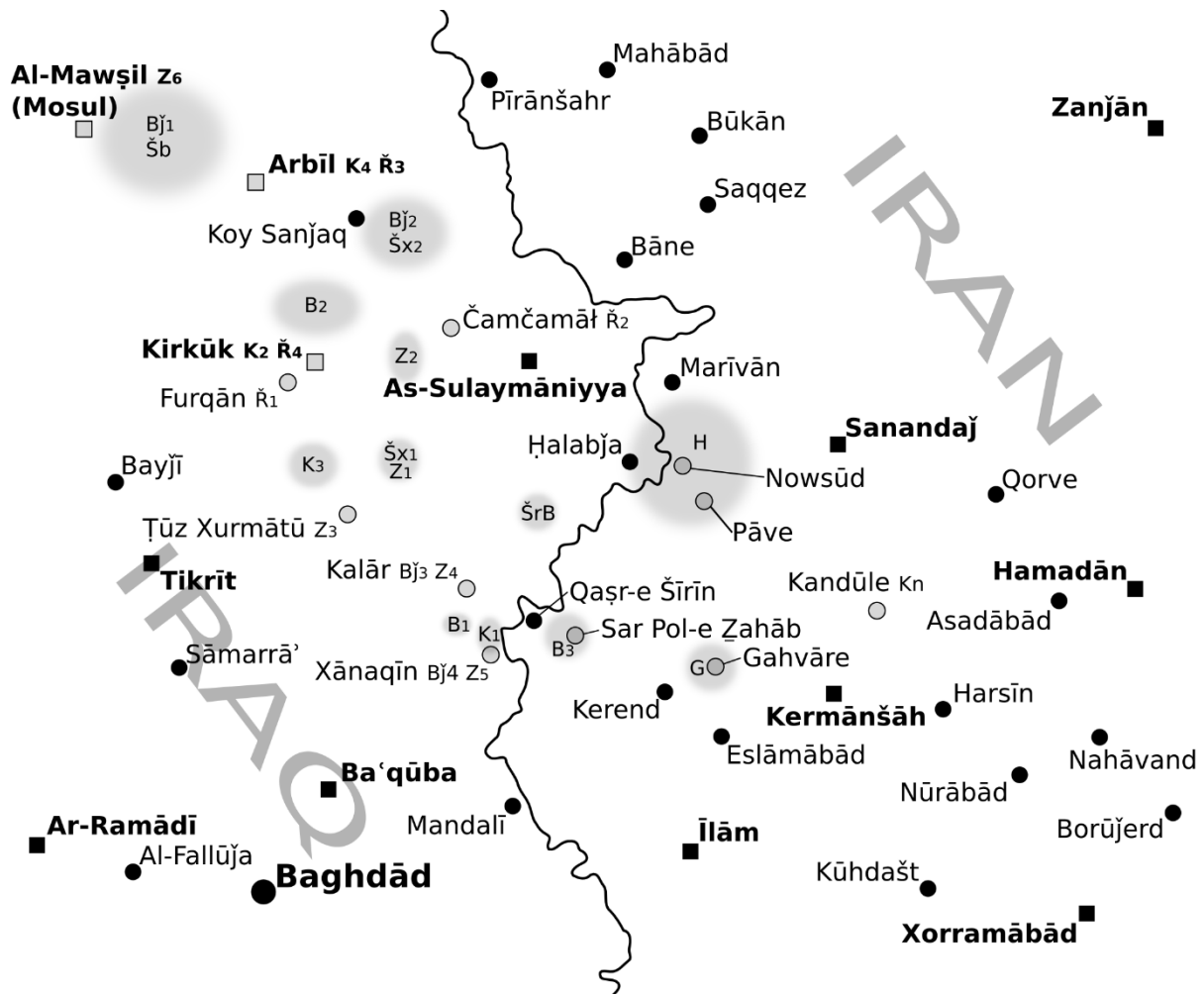
As suggested by the shaded areas on the map,[6] a large number of speakers of Gūrānī dialects live along the border between Iraq and Iran. To the north-east, along the border, there

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[6] **Key to the abbreviations of tribal names and place names:**

B (Bēwyānī)

B1: Sarqizil, Bardī ʿAlī Xwārū/Žūrū, Say Miṣafā, Gořī Ginūž, Kānī Šīrna; B2: Bēwyānī Gawra/Bičūk and about another 15 villages; B3: Bēwyān, Dūšamnān (their main places in this area), Sar Pol-e Zahāb, Dāraka, Qałama, Šāy Tōtyā, Barxu Bārānī Xwārū/Žūrū, Miǰūryānī Ambar/Awbar, Tangī Ḥamām, Sarqałā

G Gawraǰū villages, Zarda

H Hawrāmān area (with the centers of Pāveh and Nowsud)

K (Kākayī)

K1: Xānaqīn, Mēxās, Qarāmīn, Malā Řaḥmān, Dārā, Qałama, ʿAlī Bāpīr, Řamazān, Tapa Čarmē, Ḥāǰī Miṣṭafā;

are speakers located near Marīvān, and in the south around Qasr-e Šīrīn in western Iran and around Xānaqīn in Iraqi Kurdistan.

A large community of Hawrāmī speakers lives in the area known as Hawrāmān, between Marīvān and Sanandaǰ in Iran and Halabǰa in Iraq. One center of that area is the city of Pavēh in the province of Kermānšāh in western Iran. Another center in the same province is the city of Nawsūd.

Three villages of Kandūla, Parīān, and Šarafābād are located between Kermānšāh (Kirmānšāh) and Sanandaǰ, west of Hamadān and northeast of Kermānšāh (see Mann & Hadank 1930:85).

Along the Alvan River, which flows between the cities of Sar Pol-e Zahāb, Qasr-e Šīrīn in Iran and Xānaqīn in Iraq, there are five villages: Say Aḥmay, Say Xalīl, Say Asaylāh, Say Zorāw, and Say Hayās. In the past, there was another village, Say Dāwū, which no longer exists.

To show the locations of the remaining communities of Gūrānī speakers and the names of their villages, we have used abbreviations of tribal names and place names (see the footnote).[7] For example, since Bēwyānī is the name of a Gūrānī-speaking clan whose members are located in various villages, we have subsumed the villages that are close together under the abbreviations B1, B2, and B3 (see the footnote for the village names under each tag).

1.4 Population of Gūrānī speakers

A precise figure for the number of people who speak Gūrānī is unknown. Recent estimates have ranged from around 200,000 to 300,000 (this figure appears in Paul 2007:285) and sometimes even higher. However, it seems that these figures are too low if we consider the possibility that the population of Šabakī speakers alone may be 250,000 (estimates range from 100,000 to 400,000). Moreover, according to the census of 2011 by the Statistics Center of Iran,[8] the primary cities of Hawrāmān in Iran have the following populations: Pāveh and its villages have about 56,000 persons, while Nousūd and Noudša, with their villages, have

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K2: Kirkūk (districts Ḥayy ʿAskarī, Usarāʾ al-Mafqūdīn, etc.); K3: around Tōpzāwa (center of the Kākayī), ʿAlī Sarāy, Ġarǰa Kōyī, Maʿtīq, Dāquq, Zaqar; K4: near Arbīl: Sufaya, Wardak, Kabarlū, Tūlaban, Gazakān

Kn: Kandūla: 3 villages

[7] In transcribing place names, we have generally followed the standard procedures for Persian in Iran, and for Arabic in Iraq.

[8] See http://www.amar.org.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=1228

about 10,000.[9] Sarvābād, which is the other center of Hawrāmān, has approximately 70,000 people.[10] We do not have any clear figures for the population of Gūrānī speakers in the area along the Alvan River, which flows between the cities Sar Pol-e Zahāb and Qasr-e Šīrīn in Iran and Xānaqīn in Iraq (these locations were mentioned in the previous section). Additionally, we do not have any clear figures for the Hawrāmī and Māčo communities in Iraqi Kurdistan. However, the population of the Kākayī community in Iraq has been estimated at about 80,000 persons.[11]

In summary, it is conceivable that the total population of all Gūrānī speakers would be more than 500,000.

1.5 Gūrānī as a literary and sacred language

Gūrānī was a language used for literature for many centuries, from the 1300s in fact, if we begin with Malā Parēšān, until the 1800s. Sorānī (Central Kurdish) was used as a literary language, from about the 1700s onwards. In the Kurdish territory, there were two main bodies of literature. In Northern Kurdistan, there was Kirmānjī literature, while in Central and South Kurdistan, there was Gūrānī literature. There are important works in Kirmānjī that were composed in the 1500s and 1600s by poets including Ali Harīrī (1530-1600), Faqī Tayrān (1563-1641) and Malā-y Jizīrī (1567-1640).[12] In South and Central Kurdistan, Gūrānī poets began composing at probably an earlier time. Khaznadar (2010.2:22-37) points to Malā Parēšān from Dinawar (who lived in the late 1300s)[13] as the father of Gūrānī poetry.

Gūrānī literature flourished between the 1600s and 1800s. During this period, many prominent poets lived, such as Mullā Mustāfā Besārānī (1642-1701), Xānāy Qubādī (1700-1759), Saydī Hawrāmī (1784-1852), Ranǰūrī (1750-1809), Ghulam Razā Arkawāzī (1775-1840), Mirzā Šafī Jāmarēzī (1776-1836), Aḥmad Bag Komāsī (1798-1878), Malā-y Jabbārī (1806-1876), and the most prestigious Gūrānī poet Sayyed Abdul Karīm Tawgozī, known as Mawlawī Kurd (1806-1882). This period of time was concurrent with the government of the Ardalan dynasty. There is no doubt that the rulers of this dynasty were not only interested in literature but some of them were also poets themselves, such as Kalb Alī Xān Ardalan (ruled:

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[9] See http://www.webcitation.org

[10] See http://www.sarvabad.gov.ir

[11] This figure was given to me in personal communication by Rajab Kākayī, who is a writer and member of Kākayī community.

[12] See Khaznadār 2010, vol. 2.

[13] See http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gurani

1657-1671), Amān-Allāh Xān Bozorg (ruled: 1799-1825), Xosraw Xān Nākam (ruled: 1825-1835) and his wife Mastura Kurdistanī (1805-1848) (see Safizade 1998:7-8). However, as Nawšīrwān Mistafā Amīn (2012:240-243) indicates, this language was never the official language of their court. Rather, as in other Iranian areas, Persian was the official language.

Nevertheless, we can claim that, next to Persian, Gūrānī was positioned as the language of literature, and that the dynasty had a stake in the development of Gūrānī poetry. Razā Qulī Xan, the son of the prince Xosraw Xān, granted the pseudonym of Mawlawī Kurd to Sayyed Abdul Karīm Tawgozī, (see Khaznadār 2010:434).

We do not know to what extent other poets were supported by the Ardalan ruler. But we know that after the fall of Ardalan dynasty in 1868, Gūrānī lost its position as the main literary language. With the support of the Bābān dynasty in Sulaymaniyah in the eighteenth century, Sorānī poetry then flourished. Thus, little by little, Sorānī took the place of Gūrānī poetry.

As previously mentioned, Malā Parēšān is considered to be the earliest Gūrānī poet. There is almost no documentation about his life, but there are some poems ascribed to him. During his field research in 1902-1903, Oskar Mann collected many poems as well as a manuscript written by Moħammad Qolī Harsīnī in 1313 A.H. (AD 1896). Harsīnī explains in his foreword that this manuscript contains "the statements of Malā Parēšān".

In Harsīnī's manuscript, there is much Arabic, Persian, and Lakī vocabulary, but the Gūrānī language can be still be easily recognized.

It seems that Gūrānī literature had its beginnings before the time of Malā Parēšān (who probably died in the late 1300s).[14] Some sources point to the name of Pīr Šālyār as the oldest Gūrānī poet.[15] For example, Yāsemī (1961:120-122) notes his name and cites some well-known samples of Pīr Šālyār's poems in Hawrāmān, such as the following:

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[14] See http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gurani
[15] See Yāsemī 1961:120-122; Sajjādī 2010:163-164; Fuad 1970: XI-XII; Khaznadār 2010, volume I: 263-266.

(1)   Yāsemī (1961:120-122)

gošit ja wāta-y pīr šālyār bo	Listen to the words of the Pīr Šālyār,
hošit ja kīyāsta-y simyār bo	Leave your thoughts at the message of the wise Simyār.
dārān gīyān dārān, jarg u dił bargan	The trees are living beings; her heart and liver are the leaves,
gāhē piř bargan, gāhē bē bargan	sometimes they have many leaves, sometimes they have no leaves.
karg ja hēla, hēlā ja kargan	Hen is from egg, egg is from hen,
řuwās ja řuwās, warg ja wargan	Fox is from fox, wolf from wolf.

We do not know exactly when Pīr Šālyār lived. However, in his collection of religious texts of the Yārsān (also known as the Ahl-e Ḥaq),[16] the Saranǰām, Tāherī (2007:52-53) writes that about twenty lines are ascribed to Pīr Šālyār.

The sacred verses of the Yārsān comprise a large collection of poetry composed by Yārsān poets. Unfortunately, little is known about the lives of these poets. As Tāherī (2009:251-252) attests, the sacred texts of the Yārsān were orally transmitted for many centuries. He adds that it was only two hundred years ago that the *kalām-nus*, or 'copyists', first began to write their names at the end of the texts.

The texts of the Yārsān religious community, which were collected in part as hand-copied manuscripts and also as modern printed texts, were composed by different poets over a long period of time. The texts were memorized and passed from generation to generation. In some cases, texts were hand-copied by many different Yārsān writers, and the members of this community concealed their texts from other religious communities.

The manuscripts that now exist have different origins. In the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, some collections of texts were published, for example, by Hawrāmānī (1975), Safīzādah (1996), and Tayeb Tāherī (2007).

The collection by Tayeb Tāherī begins with an introduction and then has three chapters that present poems according to three time periods. The first chapter includes poems believed to have been composed in the period before Sultān Eshāq. The second chapter includes

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[16] In Iraqi Kurdistan, the members of this community call themselves Kākayī.

poems said to have been composed by different poets during the life of Sultān Eshāq,[17] and thus it is called the period of Sultān Eshāq; it also includes poems composed during the life of his father, Šēx Īsā. The third chapter consists of poems composed after the life of Sultān Eshāq.

In each chapter, there are many subsections that are connected with the time (*dawra*, lit. 'period') when certain religious figures led the community. The verses are in the form of four lines (quatrain) or other kinds of strophes.[18] Above every quatrain or strophe, there is the name of the religious leader to whom the text is attributed. For example, in the first chapter, there are eight subsections, such as *dawra-y Bahlul* 'the period of Bahlul' and *dawra-y Šāh Xūšīn* 'the period of Šāh Xūšīn'.

Very little is known about the origins and lives of the Yārsān poets. The earliest group of texts, *dawra-y Perdīvari*, contains some myths about personalities, such as Bābā Xūšīn or Sultān Eshāq. For example, we are told that Šāh Xūšīn is born to a virgin from Luristān named Māmā Jalāla. The people speak negatively about this child. Šāh Xūšīn answers in a four-line poem:

(2)   (Saranǰām 2007:21)

kāka to ghałatit wāt, ghałatit wānā   Brother, you said it wrong, you read it wrong

az yazdānanan hīčkas nazānā   I am God, nobody knew (that)

sāyo haft tawaq zamī u āsmānā   From the seventh level of earth and heaven

wa markaw ǰalāla wa mihmanī āmā   I have come with the cart of Jalāla as a guest

The existence of different versions by different copyists (who spoke different dialects or even were unable to speak the Gūrānī dialects)[19] have led some to conclude that the texts

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[17]According to Burhān Al-ħaq (1963) by Nur Ɛalī Elāhī, Sultān Eshāq was the founder of the Yārsān religion and was born on 1276 AD and lived until 1395 AD.

[18] In the next chapter, the form of strophes is discussed.

[19] During our fieldwork in Iran and Iraq during the Gūrānī project: "Documentation of Gorani, an endangered language of West Iran", supported by the Volkswagen Foundation's DoBeS (Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen) program, we learned that most of the Yārsān members living in Iran do not speak Gūrānī as their mother tongue. Instead, they speak some variety of Central or Southern Kurdish. The exceptions are the villages of Gawraǰū and Zarda (see the introductions in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012 and in Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013), as well as about five villages around Qasr-e Šīrīn. The Yārsān religious texts are composed in Gūrānī, and the religious leaders of this community are required to speak a dialect of this language called *Saydāna* (the language of Sayyeds). The situation in Iraq is different. There, we observed that most of the members of this community speak a dialect of Gūrānī as their mother tongue. The exceptions are three villages in the Hawrāmān area in Iraq called Hawār-a Kon, Dagā Kon, and Dara Tifē.

have not been correctly transmitted and that one cannot be certain about the originality of some parts of the texts. But Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013) have a different opinion. They argue: "Because of their sacred nature, these texts are memorized with great precision, and probably have not changed much since they were composed many centuries ago."

A very significant and interesting point is found in the forms of the versification. Almost all Gūrānī poetry is composed in a form quite different from that of contemporary official Persian poetry. The metrical system of Persian poetry, termed ʕAruz, is 'quantitative', that is, it is based on the quantity of the syllables. But in Gūrānī poetry, quantity, that is syllable length, is not important; rather, it is the number of syllables that matters. The Persian poets adopted the ʕAruz principles of Arabic versification from the period after Islam. These principles are also found in Kirmānjī and other Kurdish poetry. But it must be noted that Kurdish folk poetry and the works of some early Kirmānjī poets like Ali Harīrī (1530-1600) and Faqī Tayrān (1563-1641) are not based on the quantity of syllables. It is the number of syllables and probably the syllable stress pattern on which the meter is based.

The point is that the Gūrānī poets were well acquainted with the system of ʕAruz. Some of them composed in Persian or in Arabic as well.

Thus, we hypothesize, first, that the Gūrānī form of versification is the continuation of the pre-Islamic system of versification of the Iranian world. As we will see in the next chapter, both early New Persian poetry and *fahlavīāt* (which refers to the quatrains of the North-West Iranian languages), as well as Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry, all use similar systems which are suited to the prosody of Iranian languages. The basic system behind Gūrānī court poetry and Yārsān poetry is connected to the system behind Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poetry. In classical Gūrānī poetry, the poets chose one metrical system from Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poetry, namely, a certain number of syllables (ten per line with a caesura in the middle), while in Yārsān poetry and other systems of folk poetry, the number of syllables per line could be seven, eight, or more.

1.6 The corpus of Gūrānī poetry

Gūrānī poetry includes a broad range of different genres. The texts analyzed for our study include works of different genres from the thirteenth century until about the beginning of the twentieth century.

For this study, we had many resources at our disposal. One of these resources was a large collection of verses that Oskar Mann gathered during his two trips to Kurdistan and Persia

from 1901-1903 and 1906-1907 (Kamal 1970: v), and which were subsequently preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. From this collection, the University of Hamburg ordered thirty manuscripts to be used for the present study. The manuscripts that were placed at the disposal of the Asien-Afrika-Institut of the University of Hamburg include the following (listed by name and number):

Long romantic and heroic stories

Petermann II N.13	*Šīrīn u Xusraw*	'Shirin and Khosro
Petermann II N.14	*Šīrīn u Farhād*	'Shirin and Farhad'
1171 Ms.Or.Oct	*Xuršīd u Xwāwar*	'Xurshid and Xwāwar'
1194 & 1198 Ms.Or.Oct	*Ḥaydar u Sinawbar*	'Haydar and Sinawbar'
1198 Ms.Or.Oct	*Laylī u Maǰnūn*	'Layli and Majnun'
1154 Ms.Or.Oct	*Nādir Nāma*	'The writing of Nader'
1173 Ms.Or.Oct	*Muḥammad Xafya*	'Muhammad Khafya'
1181 Ms.Or.Oct	*Bahram u Gułandām*	'Bahram and Gulandam'

Episodes from Šāhnāma

1177 Ms.Or.Oct	*Babr-e Bayan*	'About Rostam's Childhood'
1180 Ms.Or.Oct	*Bahman Farāmarz*	'Bahman Faramarz'
1187 & 1193 Ms.Or.Oct & Petermann II N.14	*Rostam u Sohrab*	'Rostam and Sohrab'
1187 Ms.Or.Oct	*Esfandyār u Rostam*	'Esfandyar and Rostam'
1193 Ms.Or.Oct & Petermann II N.14	*Ḥaft xwān-e Rostam*	'Rostam's Seven Labors'

Legends

1198 Ms.Or.Oct	*ǰang-e ʕAlī ba Kufār*	'Ali's War with Unbelievers'

1193 Ms.Or.Oct	*Sanʕān u Tarsā*	'Sanan and Tarsa'
1198 Ms.Or.Oct	*Tal-e Maɣrebī*	'Tale Maghreb'
1179 Ms.Or.Oct	*Sultān ǰomjima*	'Sultān Jomjom'
1179 Ms.Or.Oct	*Ismāʕīł-Nāma*	'The writing of Ismail'

There are also many other poems. The full list of manuscripts is given in the References.

Another resource for this study is a manuscript from The British Library, Reference Division, in London. This manuscript contains about 84 folios of which folio numbered 8b to 54b contain Gūrānī poetry. The manuscript was written by ʕAbd al- Mumen ben ǰamālladīn Al-Xatīb in Sanandaǰ between 1782 and 1784. Some of these poems were transcribed and translated into English by D. N. MacKenzie in 1965. He also translated a poem by Mawlawī, a poem recorded by Benedicsten in Pāveh, Iran, and an elegy by Aħmad Beg Komāsī. In addition, Anwar Sultānī published the poems of these manuscripts in Kurdish orthography, first in 1998, and then again in 2010 as a second edition.

These manuscripts contain mainly the lyrics from Hawrāmī poets. Most of them were composed by a poet called Maħzūnī, known as Mullā Mistafā Baysārānī.

There are many other sources from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which were published in Iran and Iraq. The names of these books are indicated in the References.

2. THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

2.1 On a theory of versification

The field of metrics has prompted many discussions and debates about the difference between prose and verse, the definition of meter, and what constitutes a metrical system.

As Vollmar (2008:1) affirms, one cannot complain about the lack of literature on this topic. Yet the lack of basic agreement on theory and terminology has constituted a major problem for the study of metrics. Küper (1988:1) complains that the only agreement between scholars is that there is *no* agreement on this topic. Khanlari (1948:2) also complains: "If one asks the poets about verse, they render homage rather than describe it, and the scholars in turn have no better answer than the poets have."[20]

Nevertheless, one finds some basic agreement among the discussions. In verse with meter we find regular structure. The most common definition of meter is based on the recurrence of certain linguistic phenomena, such as the prosodic character of syllables. The prosodic character of syllables is analyzed according to three possible sets of features: tone (even/sharp), "dynamicity" or accentuation (stressed/not-stressed), and "quantity" or duration (short/long). Each language makes use of at least one of these sets of features in its metrical system. For example, in German and English poetry, the stressed syllable (represented here by x´) and the unstressed syllable (represented by x) normally appear in regular patterns. These sequences of stressed and unstressed syllables in turn fit into larger constituents, which are called 'feet', and thus a line of a verse is a combination of poetical feet (compare Wagenknecht 1981; Standop 1989). From the various possible combinations of feet, a poet can create different systems. For example, in the dramatic verses of Shakespeare, 'blank verse' is based on five iambic[21] (x x´) feet in each line: (x x´/ x x´/ x x´/ x x´/ x x´).

Thus, in the case of German and English, what creates recurrence is the accentual pattern of syllables that occur in numerical regularity.

In contrast, in the case of Chinese, what creates recurrence is the regular number of syllables with a specific tonal character (see Frankel 1972). And in French (see Flescher

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[20] The translation is my own.

[21] The terms for different feet are as follows: Iambic:xx´, Trochaic: x´x, Spondeus: x´ x´, Daktylus: x´xx, Anapest xx x´.

1972) and Italian (see Giamatti 1972), it is simply the number of syllables that creates the recurrence.

For Arabic and classical Persian, what is presumed to create recurrence is the patterning of syllable duration that occurs in regular number. Long and short syllables are organized into metrical feet, and lines are constructed based on the combination of the same foot or different feet (see Nātel Khānlarī 1966; Najafī 1975, 1980; Thiesen 1982; Shamissa 2004). The different feet are used to create different patterns of versification. Najafī (2011:203) counts about 400 different patterns for official Persian poetry.

Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad[22] (718-786 AD), who is considered the father of the Arabic metrical system, identified fifteen kinds of meter, which are subdivided into five different groups based on the combination of the same or different feet. Each type of foot had a name. For example, the name of a foot composed of four syllables in the pattern of - u - - (where '-' represents a long syllable and 'u' represents a short syllable) is *fāʕelāton*. This name and the other names derive from the Arabic verb *faʕala* 'to do'. Other scholars later created and added more metrical patterns to this system (that were, for example, better suited to the linguistic requirements of Iranian languages). For example, there was a pattern that was composed of four *mafāʕīlon* feet, that is: u - - - / u - - - / u - - - / u - - - . Other patterns were composed of different feet. For example, one could be composed of *mafāʕīlon* (u - - -) and *faʕulon* (u - -), where the feet alternate: u - - - / u - - / u - - - / u - - . Iranian poets took over this system while making some modifications to suit their poetry. An example from classical Persian poetry will illustrate what they did. Consider the following poem of Hafiz (Behzādī Anduhjerdī 1997:131-132), where we have included the syllable patterns, written from right to left as is the Persian:

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[22] See http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/316139/al-Khalil-ibn-Ahmad.

(3)

نـه هر کـه چهره بر افروخت دلـبریداند

\- - / - u - u / - - u u / - u - u

نـه هر کـه آینـه سازد سکندری داند

\- - / - u - u / - - u u / - u - u

نـه هر که طرف کله کج نهاد و تند نشست

-uu[23] / - u - u / - - u u / - u - u

کـلاه داری و آیین سروری داند

\- - / - u - u / - - u u / - u - u

تو بـندگی چو گدایان به شرط مزد مکـن

-uu/ - u - u / - - u u / - u - u

کـه دوسـت خود روش بـنده پروری داند

-uu/ - u - u / - - u u / - u - u

…

As one can see, the above lines are composed of different feet. The first and third feet in each line are the same, but the second and fourth are different. Additionally, the pattern (read from right to left) - - / - u - u / - - u u / - u - u is repeated in every line (for the final foot, we are counting - - as equal to - u u, that is, the two long syllables are equivalent to two short syllables plus one long syllable).

Of course the above examples represent idealized metrical forms. In many cases we do not have such a perfect system. The traditional scholars assumed many rules based on the changes in patterns of the syllables and called them by different names. In this way, the number of metrical patterns increased. Since then, modern scholars have tried to describe the metrical systems from a linguistic perspective. For example, Najafī (1973) based his analysis of the classical Persian metrical system on three principles: 1) the rule; 2) the exception; and 3) the choice.

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[23] Two short syllables can be counted as one long syllable.

In contrast to classical Persian poetry, we find in Persian folk poetry a system based on the syllable dynamicity (accentuation), and so syllable duration (quantity) has no metrical value in Persian folk poetry. Tact is the main constituent in this kind of poetry. Tabibzadeh (2004) analyzed Persian folk poetry based on the scheme of Hays (1988) that illustrates the hierarchical relationship between the line, colon, and foot. In this scheme, the feet are organized into a higher constituent, the colon, and cola in turn form a line. This organization is summarized as follows:

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                        Line
                        /  \
                       /    \
                      /      \
                   Colon      Colon
                   /  \       /  \
                  /    \     /    \
               Foot   Foot  Foot  Foot
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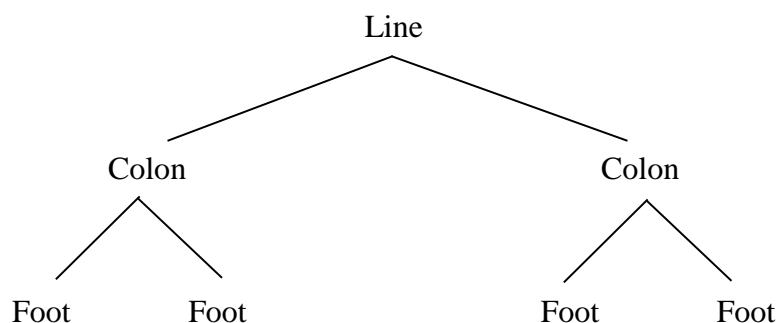
Table 1

According to Tabibzadeh, (2004:71-72), one can acoustically distinguish the borders of each colon and foot during an oral reading of a poem. The main pauses in the line indicate the borders of the cola, while shorter pauses indicate the borders of the feet.

This observation is important for metrical systems in which both the number of syllables and the stress patterns have metrical value (as in folk Persian poetry). By analyzing the borders of cola and feet, one can see whether or not stress has value in a given metrical system. If a colon border can occur in the middle of word, then one can assume that stress plays a role in this system.

The prosodic character of syllables, their number, and the way they are repeated have been widely observed as the basis of metrical analysis and as the most relevant constituents in creating recurrence (compare Lotz 1960, 1972; Fabb 1977). There is no doubt that the number of syllables and their prosodic character make recurrence and thus are fundamental elements of meter. But an interesting question for the present study is whether or not other constituents, like rhyme, caesura, the figures of sound (for example alliteration and assonance) and even the form of strophes can be counted as fundamental metrical constituents. We believe the analysis of these constituents should not be separated from the discussion about meter. Of course, each language can make its own choice about which features are relevant to its metrical system. Our goal has been to analyze which constituents

in Gūrānī poetry are relevant for its metrical system. As we will see later, in Gūrānī poetry, not only the number of syllables, but also rhyme and caesura, have a metrical function. Additionally, some figures of sound, like alliteration and assonance, also strongly affect the metrical system and therefore they too should be counted as belonging to the metrical system. We will return to this discussion later.

In the past, many scholars did not count constituents such as alliteration, assonance, and other figures of sound as having a role in meter, but instead analyzed them separately as elements that were close to meter. For example, Lotz (1960, 1972) considered only two constituents (the number of syllables and their prosodic character) to be relevant to creating meter. According to him, rhyme, assonance, and alliteration did not have any basic relevance: "[they] underline and emphasize the metric structure. These, however, do not by themselves create meter, and they may function independently in prose" (op. cit., 12). Fabb (1977:26) similarly classified constituents like alliteration, rhyme and caesura as "para-metrical phenomena". More specifically, he classified constituents like alliteration and rhyme as types of "sound-patterning rules" and a constituent like caesura as "word-boundary rules". According to Fabb, sound-patterning rules are the rules that connect lines together; for example, the rhyme at the end of each line "connect[s] the lines together". Alliteration can sometimes have a similar function. Following Fabb, word-boundary rules determine whether or not a word boundary is allowed at a certain position in a line. However, he still does not count these constituents as metrical elements, but instead as elements that are "parasitic" to the metrical system and which affect the metrical system strongly.

Fabb (1997:117) explains that the distinction between alliteration and rhyme is based on the fact that, normally, alliteration is unsystematic while rhyme is systematic. Chatman (1960:153) voices a similar opinion, asserting that the most important point about rhyme and alliteration is to distinguish if they are "structural" or "occasional" and, consequently, the structural patterns serve in the metrical arrangement.

In contrast, Wagenknecht (1981) considers rhyme to be definitely metrical. According to him, the recurrence of rhyme in "free knittel verse" in German, which was used mainly in 1700s, is the only constituent with metrical relevance, and so rhyme counts as a metrical constituent. In summary, if a constituent is regular and its place is predictable, it is counted as a metrical constituent. If not, then it is considered to be "sensitive to metrical structure" (Fabb 1999:116).

The figures of sound and rhyme have also been classified by analysts of Persian poetry as distinct from meter (see Khanlari 1966; Najafī 1975; Shamissa 2004). However the definitions that have been given do not clearly explain why one constituent is metrical and another is not. For example, Shamissa (2004:24) proposes the following definition:

بدیع لفظی موسیقی درونی شعر را به وجود می آورد در مقابل موسیقی بیرونی که حاصل وزن است و موسیقی کناری که بر اثر قافیه و ردیف به وجود می آید

> Figures of sound create the internal music of a poem; in contrast, external music is the result of meter, while lateral music is created by identical rhyme [*radīf*] and rhyme.[24]

Following Shamissa, all three elements have exactly the same goal in creating *music of speech* and function within the lines. Shamissa does not give any evidence why rhyme and other figures of sound do not come under the topic of meter even though they achieve similar effects. The only difference between "lateral music" and "internal or external music" is their placement. "Lateral music" is placed at the end, while "internal and external music" are placed within the lines.

So we may ask, if a constituent like alliteration or caesura (pause) can determine the metrical system as the only regular constituent why can they not be classified as metrical constituents? As Donat (2011) asserts, a pause at the end of each line distinguishes verse from prose. Therefore, its metrical role cannot be ignored. And so its role inside the verse can also function as a metrical element. According to Aroui's analysis (2009:16), caesura also belongs to the study of meter. Donat (2011:104) mentions a type of Korean poetry called 'Kasa' where pauses within the lines have a metrical function. In this kind of poetry, only pauses are regular, and there are no any other constituents that have a metrical value. Similarly, Fabb (1977:121) points out a language like Somali, which has "systematical alliteration". Chatman (1960:153) also points to the use of structural alliteration in Old Germanic poetry and structural assonance in Old French. Given such examples, it is clear that figures of sound like alliteration, assonance, and pause can be counted as metrical constituents.

Thus, we come to the conclusion that, in the analysis of metrical systems, all of the constituents that make up a verse should come under consideration. Some constituents can

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[24] The translation is my own.

appear in regular recurrence, while others do not, but the effect of the latter on the metrical system can be very strong and therefore should not be ignored in metrical analysis.

2.2 Metrical Typology

For this study we are interested in the description of meter and its constituents. For analyzing the metrical system of Gūrānī we assume Fabb's definition (1977:11) about meter as a template with rules that control some aspects of the prosody of syllables within a line. In other words, verse requires a certain metrical system.[25] In such a metrical system, certain constituents appear in a regular recurrence. The description of these regular recurrences is the subject of metrical analysis. Finally, a key question for the analysis is to decide which constituents can be counted as metrical.

Among the available typological models, two are most relevant to Gūrānī poetry. The first is a model proposed by Aroui (2009). He developed his model for prosodic metrical systems based on Fabb's (1977) theory about meter. The second model, which is proposed by Donat (2010), is more complex. In Donat's model, which summarized in a matrix, all constituents relevant to creating meter can be accounted for. He does not consider only one or two constituents but all constituents that make a verse metrical—in other words all constituents that distinguish a verse from prose. We shall return to this discussion later.

Fabb (1997:56) considers meter as "a combination of metrical template and matching rules." Following Fabb, there are two kinds of metrical text. The first kind has a prosodic metrical pattern that includes syllables and their prominence. The main character of these constituents is their regularity. Behind these regular constituents there are other regular phenomena that are "sensitive" to meter but they are not counted as metrical constituents (ibid, 26). As we already mentioned in the previous section, he calls them "para-metrical phenomena". Under para-metrical phenomena he includes "word-boundary rules" and "sound-patterning rules". Caesura and bridge are rules that concern word-boundaries (a caesura rule states where a word-boundary, and sometimes a pause must occur, and a bridge rule states where a word-boundary cannot occur), and alliteration and rhyme are classified as sound patterning rules. Since caesura, bridge, alliteration, and rhyme are "para-metrical", they do not count as true metrical constituents according to Fabb.

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[25] Here, we discuss verse in the classical sense and do not include modern verse.

Fabb classifies metrical constituents (syllable and their prominence) based on two categories: "counting meters" and "patterning meters." The former concerns the number of mora or syllables as the basis for meter. The latter concerns the number of prosodic units like tone, quantity, and duration as the basis for meter.

Aroui (2009:10) illustrates Fabb's hypothesis for the prosodic metrical system as follows:

Prosodic metrical systems

Counting meters   Patterning meters

| syllable counting meters (Welsh, French…) | mora counting meters (Japanese …) | quantitative meters (Classical Arabic, Classical Greek …) | accentual meters (English, Italian, Old English …) | tonal meters (Chinese …) |
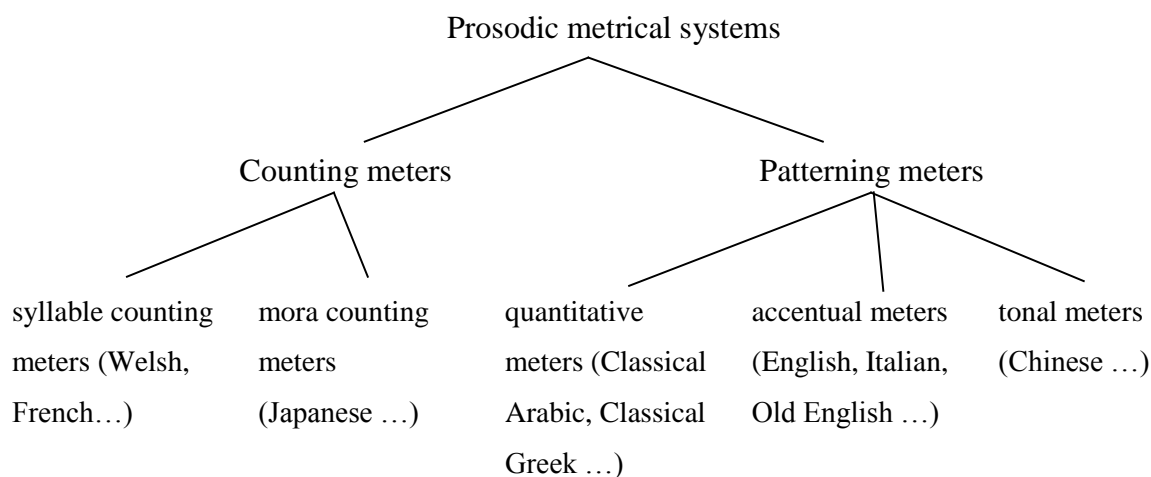
Table 2

According to Fabb, in a patterning meter, there are two kinds of metrical positions for each category. Quantitative meter is based on the quantity of the syllables, and so a metrical template has to do with two different positions: long and short syllables. In an accentual metrical template, the contrast is between stressed and unstressed syllables; a strong position relates to the stressed syllable, and a weak position relates to an unstressed position.

Fabb (1977:32) defines mora as "a prosodic unit, made from segments in the nucleus and coda of the syllable, and itself forming part of the syllable." In the mora counting meters, metrical positions match mora. The Japanese *haiku* is an example of such a metrical form. In syllable-counting meters as well, there is a template according to which, each metrical position matches a syllable.

Aroui proposes the following categories for his metrical typology, which serve in the analysis of different metrical systems: "(1) isochronous metrics, (2) prosodic metrics, (3) para-metrical phenomena, (4) macrostructural metrics" (2009:7). Isochronous metrics is concerned with the metrics of things like folkloric poetry and children's songs. In prosodic metrics, the linguistic material is analyzed.

Aroui asserts that, in the study of metrical forms, it is important to distinguish between "folkloric" poetry and classical or "learned" poetry (ibid., 2). According to him, whereas in

classical poetry, poets consciously handle metrical structures, for poets of folk poetry, it is less important to deal with meter.

The hierarchical system of "prosodic metrical systems" by Fabb is a question of interest for Aroui (2009:11). Since Aroui believes "phonological types" (tone, accent, mora, syllable) are the basis for different meters, he proposes that one changes the places of the main and subcategories, as the following table shows. In other words, patterning and counting meters in Fabb's theory are subcategories in Aroui's theory. For example, Aroui puts the mora counting and quantitative patterning meters in the same category. He argues that in both cases the syllable weight is the basis for meter. Under the accentual meters, he distinguishes between a syllabo-tonic counting frame and a stress counting frame. In the stress counting frame, one counts only the stressed position while in the syllabo-tonic counting frame, all positions are counted. Aroui's categories of prosodic metrical systems are outlined in the following diagram (op. cit., 11):

Prosodic metrical systems

tonal meters		moraic meters		accentual meters		syllabic meters
patterning frame	tone counting frame	patterning frame	mora counting frame	syllabo-tonic counting frame	stress counting frame	counting frame
Chinese	?	Classical Greek, Classical Arabic …	Japanese …	English, Russian, Italian …	Old English, Icelandic …	French, Spanish, Hungarian folk verse …

Table 3

According to the above model, patterning meters refer to moraic, accentual, and tonal systems, while counting meters refer to moraic, accentual, tonal, and syllabic systems.[26]

This proposed model by Aroui refers only to the prosodic metrical systems. As mentioned earlier, Aroui considers folkloric poetry and children's songs to involve metrical systems that come under the study of isochronous metrics.

As mentioned above, the other model of metrical analysis under consideration is one developed by Donat (2010). His system is three-dimensional and involves four linguistic constituents. The four constituents—syllable, syllable prominence, phonetic correspondence and pause—are analyzed, on the one hand, according to "the principle of arrangement", and on the other hand, they are analyzed from both a vertical and a horizontal view.

All four constituents that make recurrence are analyzed from two perspectives: number and position. Donat (2010:110) admits he follows Lotz (1960) in distinguishing between linguistic constituents and principles of arrangement of versification. Donat also differentiates whether or not the constituents of prosody, rhyme, and pause have absolute or relative positions. He considers an absolute position as an obligatory one and a relative position as a regular recurrence that is based on the position of each of the mentioned constituents.

We repeat here the diagram of Donat's matrix, which shows the relation of the

Principles of arrangement / Constituents			Syllable	Syllable prominence	Phonetic correspondence	Pause
Number	horizontal					
	vertical		Line of verse			
Position	horizontal	absolute	■			(+)
		relative	■			
	vertical	absolute	Line of verse			
		relative				

[26] See Aroui (2009:15).

constituents with their alignments (op. cit., 112):

Figure 1. Donat's matrix

According to this matrix, verses can be analyzed based on their metric principles. One difference between the theoretical model behind this matrix and other typological models is the consideration of verse from a "vertical perspective".[27] Rhyme and other types of phonetic correspondence, such as alliteration and assonance, are considered to be metric constituents. The vertical perspective allows us to analyze the different types of strophes as metric principles.

The other important difference in this model is the placement of pause as a metric principle. In almost all types of poetry across languages, pause is a relevant principle. In the final position of a line, a pause divides one line from the next line. Therefore a plus (+) is automatically included in the third line in the matrix.

As we will see in the next chapters, pause counts as a relevant metrical principle in some Iranian poetry like Avestan and Middle Iranian as well in Gūrānī poetry. Thus, it is useful and necessary to consider such a constituent as a metrical principle.

The two above mentioned theoretical models show a new development in metrical analysis. The most important point is that all linguistic units that contribute to the metrical system should be counted as constituents that determine the versification.

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[27] A "vertical perspective" concerns the organization of lines into groups of lines and how they are segmented into stanzas, etc.; see Donat (2011:105).

3. **Poetry in Old and Middle Iranian languages**

3.1 **Avestan versification**

The texts in Avestan, one of the Old Iranian languages, were orally transmitted for many centuries. According to the *Dēnkerd* (translated by E. W. West, 1897, Book 8), the Avestan texts were organized into three sections called *nasks*, and each *nask* contained seven chapters. But several parts have not survived in their entirety. The main part was likely lost after the conquest of Iran by the Arabs.

The majority of the Avestan texts belong to the collection called the Yasna (Y.), which is used in the Zoroastrian liturgy. The Yasna is divided into sections, which are called *hāds*. The other large collection of Avestan texts is called the Yašt.

The Avestan texts including the Yasna, were not written during a single period but come from different times, and so they are not homogeneous texts. The manuscripts that now exist have different origins. The majority of the written, extant texts reflect the language during a time when it was spoken in a relatively late period, that is, as 'Young Avestan' (to be described in the next paragraph). One of the oldest manuscripts, K7a.b, is dated from 1288. The other manuscripts are later, dating from the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and even eighteenth centuries.

Two main dialects are recognizable in the texts: the older dialect, Old Avestan, and the younger (i.e., later) dialect, Young Avestan. The Old Avestan texts are found within chapters 28-53 of the Yasna, and these texts include the Gāthās and the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti. The remaining texts are in Young Avestan. These remaining Young Avestan texts include the Vispered, Xorda Avesta, Sīrōza, Videvdad, besides other parts (for more references see Westergaard 1852-54; Geldner 1886 and 1877; Hoffmann 1970; Kellens 1986; etc.).

Some scholars have divided the Avestan Gāthās into five main groups, according to their different metrical system. Hintze (2007) believed that the following sequence of the Gāthā was the original one: Y. 28-34, 43-46, 47-50, 51, and 53. The sections Y. 35-41 are composed as prose. Bartholomae (1879:3) calls the language of the other three chapters of the Avesta, the "Gatha dialect": Y. 27.13, Y. 27.14 and Y. 54.1.

European scholars have been familiar with the sacred Zoroastrian texts since the eighteenth century. Since the end of the nineteenth century until almost the present time, scholars have worked on trying to describe the metrical principles of Avestan texts. An

overview about the work on the metrical principles of Avestan, especially Young Avestan, shows that this topic has generated a lot of discussion without resulting in a clear view about the metrical system of Young Avestan. The analysis of the metrical system of Young Avestan is more complicated than that of Old Avestan.

In the following pages, we will only attempt to present the most important discussion and hypotheses about this topic. For our purposes, it is not necessary to give a complete analysis of the metrical system of Avestan, but only to survey the important existing opinions.

One important observation to make about the study of meter has to do with its relative progress: Although the knowledge that nineteenth century scholars had about Avestan was limited in comparison to that of scholars of the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries, the significant point is, as Jean Kellens (2006) notes, in harmony with Heinrich Junker (1970), the study of the metrical principles of the Avestan texts at the end of the twentieth century is back to its starting point at the end of the nineteenth century. In other words, there really has not been any significant progress.

How is it that this topic inspired more than one and a half centuries of discussion and the matter has still not been solved? Is it because we are dealing with a dead language and in order to determine the facts of metrical principles, one needs exact knowledge about the prosody, pronunciation, and how syllables divide? Certainly these factors have played an important role, but the fact is that the analysis of the metrical system of Old Avestan is less complicated than that of Young Avestan.

There are three central questions that have featured in the study of the metrical principles of the Avestan texts:

- Are the Avestan texts trustworthy or are they incomplete and full of mistakes?

- How are the syllables to be counted?

- Which parameter determines the metrical system: the number of syllables or the patterns of syllable accentuation?

Most all scholars of the nineteenth century believed that the Avestan texts passed down to us were incomplete. Furthermore, they believed that they were full of mistakes and did not reflect the real language of the Avesta. Stemming from the fact that the Avestan texts were, for many centuries, orally transmitted and not homogeneous, the opinion was that the texts likely were poorly written and that the copyists were unable to control the language. At that

time, this opinion applied to the extant Young Avestan texts. As mentioned above, there was less doubt when it came to the Old Avestan texts. Bailey assumes that the texts were written down about "the middle of the sixth century A.D." (1943:172). The grammatical structure of the Young Avestan texts shows radical changes in comparison to the Old Avestan texts. This difference of structure has raised many questions for scholars about the writing system of the texts in the original form.

One tradition was that the texts were written in pre-Sasanian times, that is, in the Arsacid times. In the Pahlavī books, we find some reports about the origin of the Avestan texts. In Arda Viraf (Ardā Wirāz-Namag) (following Haug's translation, 1872), we read that the whole corpus of the Avestan texts were written on cow skin with gold ink and then deposited in a treasury in Estakhr Papakān. But when Alexander came to Iran, he burned all the texts. In the Dēnkerd, it is reported that two copies were made of all the texts, one of which was deposited in the Ganj-i-hapigan ("the royal treasury") and the other in the Dez-i-Napesht ("the national archives") (Book 4, 1900). According to the Dēnkerd (Book 4), the sacred texts were again collected in the Arsacid period (250 BC to AD 240), and the work was completed in the Sasanian period (AD 240 to AD 642). The nineteenth century scholars believed this tradition, and therefore assumed the existence of a written text in the Arsacid time called *Arsacid Avesta*. But twentieth century scholars came to the conclusion that the tradition of the 'Arsacid Avesta' was actually a legend and that the written texts instead came into existence during a later period. According to the nineteenth century view, the existence of mistakes in the Avestan texts led to the question of whether the younger texts were possibly originally poorly transmitted forms of the Arsacid texts.

Roth (1871) and Geldner (1877) offered a massive analysis of the Young Avestan texts. The main conclusion was that the Arsacid Avestan texts were written with a complicated alphabet that did not reflect the vowels. According to this view, most mistakes and corruptions in Avestan texts were explained by the fact that later, in Sasanian times, the priests were not able to accurately transmit the texts, hence the alphabet had an incomplete system, and as the language was no longer a living language, it was not possible to transmit it correctly (for references, see Andreas 1902; Bailey 1943; Morgenstierne 1973; Hoffmann 1970, etc.).

Friedrich-Carl Andreas put forth the following opinion in 1902.[28] He made two central points about the Avestan texts: 1. "[…], dass die traditionelle Lesung des Awesta-Alphabetes in vielen Punkten falsch ist."[29] and "2. […], dass die Transskriptoren der Sāsānidenzeit zahlreiche Fehler begangen haben."[30] Andreas and others believed they could reconstruct this Arsacid Avesta by means of paleographic methods.

The received opinion of the scholars during this time was that if they discovered the metrical principles of the Avesta, they would have a useful tool for identifying the mistakes in the texts, and then they could restore the texts to their original form! But, by the middle of the next century, scholars had begun to doubt the existence of the Arsacid text or the practical importance thereof. Henning expressed such a doubt when he wrote: "Actually, it has been doubted whether the Avesta has been written even in far later times, before the end of the Sasanian period" (1942, p. 46). Henning himself believed in the existence of the Arsacid text, in accordance with the words of Mani: "He (Zoroaster) did not write any books. But his disciples after his death remembered and wrote the books which they read today" (op. cit., p. 47). Henning therefore writes that there is "no doubt that the Arsacid text of the Avesta existed" (op. cit., p. 47). But at the same time, he believed it was impossible to reconstruct the Arsacid text: "I have no doubt that in no way can we hope to restore the Arsacid text on the ground of any palaeographic analysis of the Avestan script" (op. cit., p. 48). In his opinion, the language of Avestan should be considered a real language and not a language full of mistakes: "Thus one is led to suppose that the language of the Avesta was a real language, as distinct from a paper language" (op. cit., p. 49).

Morgenstierne (1942) pointed out that he did not first intend to deny the existence of the Arsacid Avesta. He did not expect that the orthography would reflect all the details of pronunciation. He accepted the existence of some "incongruences" in the texts, as in any other text. He did not ascribe all incongruences in the Avestan Vulgate texts to their redactors in the Sasanian period, but rather to other factors, such as later copyists being inconsistent in their transmission of the work of the original redactors (op. cit., p. 36). Therefore, he was interested more in the reconstruction of "the traditional pronunciation of the Avesta employed by the Sasanian inventors of the present alphabet" (op. cit., p. 37). By means of a careful

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[28] He announced his opinion in a conference in 1902 in a congress in Hamburg, *Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten- Kongresses.*

[29] The traditional reading of the Avesta alphabet is, in many cases, false.

[30] The transcriber of the Sasanian time had made many mistakes.

analysis, he showed that the changes in the sound system as well indicate that the Avestan alphabet corresponds very closely to its original phonetic system.

Hoffmann (1989) considered the linguistic divergences in many cases to be attributed to the differences between dialects, rather than to mistaken or bad delivery: "Jeder Schreiber hatte gelernt, Avesta-Texte zu rezitieren, und zwar nicht aufgrund von Handschriften, sondern durch mündliche Weitergabe. In den meisten Fällen wird er das, was er kopierte, auswendig gekonnt haben. Mit diesem Klang im Ohr schrieb er ab und 'verbesserte' bewußt oder unbewußt seine Vorlage" (p. 18). According to his analysis, the Avestan Vulgate reflects the pronunciation at the period during which the texts were written down, that is, in the Sasanian period. Hoffmann called the Avestan Vulgate that had been written down in the Sasanian period the *Sasanidischer Archetypus* (p. 35).

According to Hoffmann, the Avestan alphabet was constructed when the Pahlavī alphabet was acquiring its final form (op. cit., p. 34). Therefore, Hoffmann argued that, even if there were an Arsacid Avesta, it could not have had an important role in the transmission of the Avesta due to the fact that it was only based on an oral tradition transmitted by the Avestan Vulgate. He also argued that later in the Sasanian period, a special alphabet had been developed: "Nur Existenz einer mündlichen Tradition bildet nämlich die Voraussetzung dafür, daß überhaupt eine Spezialschrift für das Avestische geschaffen werden konnte" (op. cit., p. 35). For example, the existence of three symbols, such as š, š̍, `š, would mean that in the Sasanian pronunciation, there were three different phonemes for these symbols, therefore, "Das Zeicheninventar gibt also die Laute der 'Sasanidischen Aussprache' des Avestischen wieder" (op. cit., p. 35). According to Hoffmann, this fact allows for the assumption that the oral and written transmission of the Avesta in the Sasanian period would be considered as a unit: "Da der Schrifterfinder nach dem Grundsatz verfuhr, für jeden besonderen Laut einen besonderen Buchstaben zu schaffen, sind im Sasanidischen Archetypus die mündliche und die schriftliche Überlieferung zur Deckung gebracht" (op. cit., p. 188).

Hoffmann's observation was of course very important for the further study of the metrical principles of the Avestan texts. But as mentioned earlier, the problem is that most of the current extant manuscripts date from a much later time than the manuscripts from the Sasanian period. They belong to the time that the copyist could not differentiate, for example, between these kinds of š sounds. But in any case, the mistakes were introduced during the final days of the Sasanian Empire, as the priests disappeared, and consequently, most of the manuscripts disappeared as well.

The other important discussion in past scholarship about the metrical principle of Avestan texts centered around the question of which parameter determines the metrical system.

Westphal (1860) admitted that, aside from the number of syllables and caesura, he did not recognize any other elements such as accentuation or kinds of prosody in the verses. But he did not deny the possibility of any other elements; rather, he left this matter for future research (see. p. 445). Roth (1871) confirmed that no other metrical principle was found, apart from the three strong principles, namely, strophe, verse, and a caesura (see p. 216).

According to Geldner (1877) too, neither quantity nor accentuation played a role in the Young Avestan texts (see p. VII & VIII). Even though he assumed that these texts were poorly transmitted, he still assumed that the number of syllables and strophes were the basis for the metrical principle: "Ueberhaupt halte ich die Ansicht für irrig, dass Gleichmass der Silben und Ebenmass der Strophe als alleiniges Princip auch der unvollkommensten gebundenen Rede keinem Dichter genügt haben könne; dass wir vielmehr noch ein weiteres prosodisches Gesetz finden müssten, um das Wesen dieses Metrum's völlig aufzudecken" (Geldner 1877, p. IX).

However, other scholars, such as Hertel (1927), Meillet (1900; 1925), and Henning (1942), considered accentuation as a metrical principle in these Young Avestan texts. Kuryłowicz also argued in two articles, "L'Accentuation en vieil iranien" (1952) and "Le Mètre des Gāthās de l'Avesta" (1972), that a verse cannot be built by means of only one feature, such as the number of syllables, but that it must involve other features, such as accentuation patterns.

In the next sections, we will go into more detail about these matters.

3.1.1 Old Avestan

In comparison to Young Avestan, the metrical system of Old Avestan shows fewer divergent metrical forms, and in fact, scholars are generally in agreement about the metrical principles. Most scholars also agree that the texts have been transmitted accurately. According to C. Bartholomae (1855-1925), the Old Avestan texts were accurately transmitted, and one can be sure about the verse foot: "der Text der metrisch abgefaßten Fragmente des älteren iranischen Dialekts ist uns im ganzen ziemlich gut überliefert. Das Versmaß stimmt zumeist" (Bartholomae 1879:4).

Scholarly study of the metrical principles of Avestan texts began with an article by Rudolf Georg Hermann Westphal (1826-1892). In his article, "Zur vergleichenden Metrik der indogermanischen Völker" (1860), he analyzed the metrical principles of the poetry of several Indo-European languages, such as Indian, Greek, and Iranian (Avestan) languages. He stated that the Indo-European peoples share identical materials for their oldest myths, legends and themes, and he suggested that their poetry should therefore share features in their poetic form as well. Possibly they have shared the form of their poetry as well (op. cit., p. 437). Prior to Westphal, nobody had analyzed the Avestan metrical system, and he admitted that he was not an expert on Avestan (see p. 445). But he recognized one important metrical principle, namely, there are a certain numbers of syllables in each verse that are divided by a caesura. For counting syllables, he outlined four principles and tested them throughout Y. 9. According to his research, there are many similarities between the Vedic and Avestan poetry. He noted that for Avestan poetry, the same verse structures and combinations of strophes also exist in the Veda (op. cit., p. 445).

Westphal also distinguished certain arrangements of syllables. According to his analysis (op. cit., 448), every two lines of syllables make up a verse. Each line has eight syllables with a caesura, and every three, four, or five lines make a strophe.

The only difference that he recognized in the Veda was that the beginning and end of each verse in the Veda was based on the quantity of syllables, while in Avestan, he did not find any evidence of meter being based on quantity.

For the Old Avestan poetry, he assumed the same principles of Y. 9. for Y. 47-50 (Old Avestan), and he argued that the strophes were based on three lines with a catalectic trimeter, which, according to his analysis, was identical with the Vedic strophe of Virāj (op. cit., p. 449):

…., …., …. |

…., …., …. |

…., …., …. | |

Furthermore, according to his analysis, Y. 43-46 follow almost the same principle as Y. 47-50, except that each strophe has four verses. He describes Y. 28-34 and 51 as following two other principles. The first is composed of lines having fourteen syllables (7+7) with a caesura in the middle and the second one is composed of lines having sixteen syllables (7+9)

with a caesura after the seventh syllable. These forms do not correspond to any structure in Vedic poetry (op. cit., pp. 449-450).

For these five groups of Old Avestan, Bartholomae (1882 II) posited the following metrical principles as well:

Y. 53   7+7+5

Y. 28-34   7+9

Y. 51   7+7

Y. 53, 54   7+5

Y. 43-50   4+7 (op. cit., p. 3)

But Bartholomae (1882 II) himself affirmed that these segmentations are not relevant in every case (see p. 14). The placement of the caesura in the Old Avestan is a questionable point for Bartholomae. It shows more variation and is irregular. In Old Avestan, the number of syllables is more regular than the placement of the caesura, which contrasts with the pattern in Young Avestan, in which the number of syllables is irregular.

For example, in some cases within Y. 28-34, Bartholomae says that the caesura does not appear after the seventh syllable, as would be typical, but rather one caesura appears after the eleventh syllable, and another caesura appears after the fifth syllable. Therefore the verse structure contains two caesuras, 11+5 (see p. 15).

Concerning verses with eleven syllables, Bartholomae is unsure whether the caesura always appears after the fourth syllable, but he sometimes finds it instead after the seventh syllable, which is similar to one of the forms in Vedic poetry, that is, the *nemley triṣṭubh*-verse (see p. 16).

Bartholomae comes to the conclusion that the segmentation of Gāthā verses involves more variety, as illustrated below (op. cit., p. 31):

11 syllables (Y. 43-50)	4+7
	7+4
	5+6
	3+5+3
12 syllables (Y. 43-50, 53,54)	7+5

	4+8
	5+7
14 syllables (Y. 51)	7+7
16 syllables (Y. 7, 27-34)	7+9
	4+7+5
	7+4+5
	4+8+4
	7+5+4
	5+6+5
19 syllables (Y. 53)	7+7+5
	7+4+8
20 syllables (Y. 53)	8+7+5

Table 4

As mentioned above, in comparison with discussion about Young Avestan texts, there has been less discussion about the metrical principles in Old Avestan poetry. Instead scholars have focused their attention especially on the different ways to count syllables. The work of Aurelius Mayr, found in *Über die Resultate der Silbenzählung aus den vier ersten Gathas* (1871), illustrates such an attempt. Mayr's work, in turn, served as the basis for the work of Karl Geldner. The discussion about how to count syllables has also continued until recent times, as illustrated by the work of Pirart (2004) and Kellens (2006).

Kuiper wrote two articles, "Old East Iranian Dialects" (1976) and "On Zarathustra's Language" (1978), which are concerned with the method of counting syllables based on "the laryngeal theory". Assuming that the Avestan texts were written in the "fifth or the sixth century A.D." (p. 73), he notes that one cannot expect that these texts represent the exact pronunciation of the Old Gatha language, even though he confirms that the Gathas have been transmitted accurately in comparison with the later Avestan texts. The topics he dealt with in these two articles concerned the laryngeal theory and its place in Proto-Indo-Iranian and some Old East Iranian languages. He points out that there are two changes. The first one took place when the vocalized *$Ḥ$ in Proto-Indo-Iranian [times] became *i*, and the second one took

place when the consonantal *H became vocalized. He finally discusses their effects on the Gathic language. In his second article (1978), he points out that the meter helps to determine the form of some words, and that more knowledge about the number of syllables is important for determining the metrical principles of Old Avestan.

The other important discussion in the scholarly studies focuses on the placement of accent in Avestan texts. Henning assumed that in the Avestan texts, like Middle Iranian texts, each line of verse has three stressed syllables. Tedesco (1960) counters this hypothesis on the basis of the placement of stress: "But the placing of the stresses seems arbitrary–not only regarding the exact syllable, where Henning knows it, but also regarding the stressed words" (p. 126). Tedesco considered the existence of three stressed syllables per verse to be based on the nature of the language and not to be a metrical principle: "Of course many eight-syllable lines have three stresses indeed–this follows from the nature of the Avestan language; but this does not mean that the number of stresses was constitutive for the metre" (p. 127).

A further problem that many other scholars like Lazard (1984; 1990), Kellens (2006), and Pirart (2004) had with Henning's hypothesis was the fact that Henning does not explain in enough detail, as noted by Tedesco: "The whole presentation is very brief–in proportion to the bearing of the theory–and lacks substantiation" (op. cit., p. 127).

Gippert (1986) considers the metrical principle of Old Avestan poetry from another perspective. He questions whether or not the Old Avestan poetry was originally based on the quantity of syllables. Gippert takes note of one of the Vedic poetic forms, namely, the *Triṣṭubh* strophe, which, similar to some Old Avestan poetic forms, contains four lines of eleven syllables, in each of which a caesura comes after the fourth syllable. It has some traces of a metrical system that is based on the quantity of syllables.[31] Westphal had also noted that the Vedic poetic form was in a transition phase between a metrical system based on the quantity of syllables and one based on the number of syllables. The poetic form based on syllable quantity occurs at the beginning or end of a verse (see Westphal 1860 p. 449).

In a similar way, Gippert (1986) approaches lines in Old Avestan verse that have eleven syllables with a caesura after the fourth syllable. He observes that in many cases after the

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[31] Gippert points out that there are two historical theories, that of Meillet and that of Oldenberg. The theory of Meillet assumes that in Avestan poetry, the ancient Indo-European metrical system based on quantity of syllable had been given up; the theory of Oldenberg assumes that the Avestan metrical system based on the number of syllables is more ancient and that Vedic poetry had later taken on quantity as the defining characteristic (op. cit., p. 258).

caesura, the last seven syllables have this form: │ x x x x U U x (where evidently U represents a short syllable and x a long syllable). Therefore, since one finds these seven-syllable line-portions in most verse types of Old Avestan, he concludes that, nevertheless, there must be a trace of a quantity-based metrical system, even though it later disappeared in this language.

In this form, he sees an ancient form of the Indo-Iranian scheme, which also had traces in the Gāthās and Vedic poetry. Thus, according to Gippert, the pattern of the seven-syllable halfline of this type of the form x x x x U U x does not fit with a metrical system based on accentuation pattern in Avestan poetry (op. cit., p. 271). This hypothesis counters the hypothesis of Kuryłowicz (1925), which assumed that Avestan poetry must be based on the number of syllables and the accent on syllables.

3.1.2 Young Avestan

Geldner's important work on the metrical principles of the Young Avestan texts was published in 1877. He assumed that the Young Avestan texts were "imperfect", "faulty", "damaged" and "delivered fragmentarily", and this was because he assumed they were edited by "unknowing copyists" who, by adding their "own mistakes", made the texts even worse than they had been (op. cit., p. IX). In his book *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta* (1877), he first described a syllable counting method that scholars still use today. In a second step, he tried to divide the texts into poetry and prose. Henning (1942) and Kellens (2006) appreciated Geldner's work for his method of counting syllables and counting the number of the verses in the strophe.

Geldner believed that by means of a correct analysis of the metrical principles of Avestan, one could throw light on the unclear or incorrect places in the Young Avestan texts. In his work, he compared Avestan and Vedic verse. He assumed that the Avestan texts had verses of eight syllables, as in the Veda. He observed that there were many verses of eight syllables in the Young Avestan texts. So he concluded that the basic structure of the Young Avestan texts was the eight-syllable verse, and that verses with six, seven, or thirteen syllables were the result of poor transmission or other mistakes, and in some cases such verses were simply ignored by Geldner. Furthermore, the meter variation was composed of the number of the syllables. According to him, the ten- and twelve-syllable verses hinted at other metrical systems (op. cit., pp. 117-119). One example is quoted here from page 117:

Zehnsilbige Verszeilen, z.B. in einem Zauberspruch

> jat javô dajât   âat daêva hvîçen
>
> jat çudhus dajât   âat daêva tuçen
>
> jat pistrô dajât   âat daêva uruthen
>
> jat gundô dajât   âat daêva perethen.   vd 3, 32.

Diese Strophe entspricht vollständig der indischen grossen Silbenpentade (aksharapankti) aus 4 x 10 oder besser 8 x 5 Silben bestehend.

As Jean Kellens (2006) observed, Geldner seldom emended the texts based on metrical principles. But in several cases in which the verses had more than or fewer than eight syllables, he tried to emend the verses in a way to get eight-syllable verses. For example, in verses with six or seven syllables, he emended a word by adding endings to it. In cases with more than eight syllables, he removed some syllables, because according to him, they disturbed the meter (compare Geldner 1877:112).

In the following passage from Geldner (p. 112), the words in square brackets […] make the number of syllables more than eight syllables:

135. Störungen des Metrums durch Glossen, Wiederholungen, Ergänzungen aus anderen Stellen, namentlich von geläufigen Epithetis, insbesondere aber Einschaltungen von Partikeln, Präpositionen u. dgl. sind so zahlreich, dass ich hier nur eine kleine Blüthenlese zusammenstellen will:

> jahmât [mê] haca frazgadhaitê. jt 5, 96
>
> zaothravâcim [paitis] maremna. jt 5, 123

lies *maramana; mar* findet sich auch ohne die Präposition *paiti* in der Bedeutung 'sich erinnern, gedenken'.

> jaokhstivantem khshajamnem
>
> içanem [hazanrâi] âjaptanãm. jt 8, 49.
>
> nôit haênjô rathô nôit [uzgereptô] drafshô. jt 8, 56.

Even though the work of Geldner did not originally gain many followers, his work still seems relevant today, at least in certain respects. One can especially see evidence of this in the works of Lazard (1984; 1990). In the following pages, these works are discussed in more detail.

Roth (1871), like Geldner, also believed that an analysis of the metrical principles could help one to emend the damaged Young Avestan texts. The following example from Roth involves a strophe that has four verses; each verse is expected to have eleven syllables, and after each fourth syllable, there is a caesura. The example is Y. 50 (cited on p. 223 in Roth):

(4)

1   hukhshathrâ khshéñâtãm   mâ né daskhshathrâ

2   …

3   …

4   gavôi verezjâtãm   tâm né qaraethâi fshujô

According to Roth, lines one and four are faulty, because they have five instead of four syllables preceding the caesura. He argued that it would be helpful to remove the suffix *-tãm* in both lines as follows:

(5)

1   hukhshathrâ khshéñâné   mâ né daskhshathrâ

2   …

3   …

4   gavôi verezjâ   tâm né qaraethâi fshujô

The analysis of Herman Lommel (1922, 1927) contrasts with that of Geldner. Lommel argued that using meter was not an adequate method for studying or reconstructing Avestan verse (see Lommel 1922). Another point that distinguishes Lommel from other scholars was that he believed that some scholars had certain preconceived ideas about the metrical system. They expected they would find certain forms, but if they did not find these forms, they thought that the existing forms were wrong. Lommel noted the methods of scholars before him, such as of Geldner, Roth, and others, who compared the metrical principles of the Veda with those of the Avestan texts: "Man hatte starkes Zutrauen zur eigenen Kenntnis vom Metrum, und hat dafür auf Schritt und Tritt dem Text, aus dem man doch die Kenntnis des Metrums schöpfen muste, misstraut" (Lommel 1922:187). Lommel also criticized Geldner for ignoring the existence of the ten-syllable verses and interpreting them as the eight-syllable verses. He argued that every deviation from eight syllables should not be interpreted as hypercatalectic or incorrect, but that one can accept that other numbers of syllables are possible.

According to Lommel, other possible metrical patterns include:

in sets of three lines:

8+10/ 8+10 / 8+10 or

10+8 / 10+8 / 10+8

in sets of two lines:

8+10 / 8+10 or

10+8 / 10+8

In Lommel's opinion, one must accept such patterns as illustrating other metrical systems and not regard them as mistakes (see Lommel II, 1927:5-25).

Therefore, Lommel was reluctant to emend the Avesta. But according to his analysis, meter may aid in emending some parts if it is grammatically possible. He assumed that the Arsacid text existed and that the extant texts had many mistakes. At the same time, he noted that, if the writers in the Sasanian period had not rewritten the texts based on oral tradition, then it was possible that they had done their job well (see Lommel I, 1922:191).

In very rare cases, he accepted some emendations based on a metrical analysis (see Lommel 1922, I:188).[32] For example, in a case in which the strophe is composed of first a verse of twelve syllables, then eight-syllable verses, and then ends with a verse of fourteen syllables, the existence of nine-syllable verses is interpreted as an aberrance from the normal eight-syllable verse: "Die 9-silbigen Zeilen lassen sich kaum dem Metrum einordnen. Sei es nun, dass da metrische Unregelmäßigkeiten vorliegen, oder Störungen eines ursprünglich glatten metrischen Verlaufs, so können sie jedenfalls doch den metrischen Gesamtcharakter dieses Passus nicht ernstlich beeinträchtigen" (Lommel II 1922:212). Lommel does not explain six-syllable or seven-syllable verses.

Johannes Hertel (1927) analyzed the metrical system of Avestan texts from a musical perspective. He argued that, since all Avestan verses were sung (op. cit., p. 1), the metrical system must be based on a system that allows it to be put to song.

Hertel represents the opinion that the beat built the verse, and not the number of the syllables. Hertel did not explain his methods for determining the placement of the accent and

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[32] In his view, one should accept emendations to the Avestan texts only when the emendations were a correction of the grammar.

caesura. Rather, his analysis was based on the comparison of the Avestan verses with the Rigveda, and also on certain assumptions about the melody of the songs.

Probably one can never know the truth about what melodies were used for these verses, which were composed over a thousand years ago. Nevertheless, some hypothesizing that takes into consideration the musical element may help us to understand the structure of these old texts. The work of Hertel seems to be a step in this direction.

Hertel considered that the nature of syllable stress is based on tone pitch, and he assumed there must be an analogy between tone pitch and melody. In his view, all Young Avestan verses have iambic rhythm. Therefore, eight-syllable verses have four stresses, ten-syllable verses have five stresses, and twelve-syllable verses have six stresses. Moreover, two unstressed syllables and two stressed syllables normally come after each other only in the case of a catalectic verse (in which two stressed syllables can follow each other). Additionally, he assumed there were three different types of stress: weak, middle, and strong stress (op. cit., pp. 31-32).

According to his analysis, the placement of the caesura is independent from the logical structure of the sentence and words: "sie sind also an sich vom logischen Zusammenhange der Wörter im Satze unabhängig, genau so, wie in den griechischen, lateinischen und Sanskritversen" (op. cit., p. 6).

He nevertheless admitted that, in the case of verses where the caesura did not take its normal place, he determined the placement of the caesura based on his rhythmic feeling (op. cit., p. 6). For distinguishing prose and poetry, he argued that one can feel the difference when one hears it. Without this ability to hear the difference between prose and poetry, one cannot understand which passage is prose and which is poetry (op. cit., p. 3).[33] But Hertel, like his contemporaries, hypothesized that the priests had not mastered the Avestan texts and so made many mistakes; but with the discovery of the metrical principles, scholars can give the text its correct form, as well as determine which parts of the Avesta were more recent (i.e., young) and which were older (op. cit., p. 5).

According to Hertel, eight-syllable verses are the most frequent form in the Avestan texts. He agrees that there were ten- and twelve-syllable verses as well. He explains that in the eight- and ten-syllable verse, there is one caesura, but in the twelve-syllable verse, there are

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[33] Pirart (2004) explains that in the Avesta and Pahlavī books, the term of poetry counts only for the Gatha and Ahuna Variya. According to his work, other texts are considered to be poetry from the nineteenth century.

two caesuras. According to this view, the caesura is located either after the fourth, third, or fifth syllable. There are also a few verses in which the caesura is located after the second syllable. In the ten-syllable verse, the caesura can be located after the fifth syllable. It can also be located either after the fourth or sixth syllable. For twelve-syllable verses, Hertel asserts that there are two caesuras. The first is located in the position in which the caesura of an eight-syllable verse normally occurs. The position of the second one depends on the form of eight-syllable verses. Thus, for twelve-syllable verses, one can expect various possibilities, such as:

4+4+4	4+2+6	4+3+5	3+4+5	3+3+6	…

Like Lommel, Hertel also placed the twelve-syllable verses either at the beginning or at the end of the sentences. He explains the appearance of the twelve-syllable verses as follows: "Das Vorkommen katalektischer Verse in ziemlicher Anzahl, die mit ganz verschwindender Ausnahme nur am Ende der Tirade auftreten, erklärt sich natürlich daraus, dass am Ende der Tirade der letzte Ton lang ausgehalten wurde"[34]

According to Hertel, in Young Avestan there exist normally only eight-, ten-, and twelve-syllable verse lines. He considers other forms to be exceptional. In Old Avestan, there are seven-, nine-, and eleven-syllable verses. He considers the seven-syllable verse to be the catalectic form of eight-syllable verse. And finally, he considers the eleven-syllable verse to be the catalectic form of the twelve-syllable verse (op. cit., pp. 11-13).

According to Hertel's analysis, the caesura in ten-syllable verses is normally found after the fifth syllable, but it is also possible that there are other possibilities, that is, where the caesura comes after the fourth or sixth syllable.

In his article entitled "The Disintegration of the Avestic Studies" (1942), Henning also assumes that the Avestan texts are based on the accentuation pattern of syllables and not the number of syllables. This work of Henning represents the most important stage in studies of metrical principles of the Avesta. He criticized the enormous tendency of other scholars to emend the Young Avestan text. He argued that: "This language is not […] a huge mistake" (p. 50). At the same time, he affirmed that "Geldner himself, in his edition of the text of the Avesta, took less notice of the meters than one would have expected" (p. 42). As mentioned above, Henning expressed his doubt concerning the existence of "transliterated ancient

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[34] Hertel 1927, p. 4.

Arsacid text". To be precise, he did not deny the existence of the Arsacid text; rather he did not agree that these texts had been written in the Arsacid period in the consonant scripts. Thus, he believed that it was not possible to restore the Arsacid text.

Henning appreciated Geldner's work in distinguishing the poetry sections from the prose sections in the sacred texts. But he points out as well that Geldner was wrong to assume that the lines regularly have eight syllables. Henning does not consider the lines which have six, seven, nine, ten, and twelve syllables as corrupt forms of eight syllables, but rather, he tries to find another principle of syllables for Young Avestan texts. According to Henning, the metrical principle of Avestan, like Middle Iranian poetry, was based on stressed and unstressed syllables: "All Middle Iranian poetry, Middle Persian, Parthian, and Khotanese, has this feature in common that the number of syllables to a line is variable. The important point throughout is the number of stressed syllables" (op. cit., p. 52). Henning points to Geldner's observation that most of the verses contain three words. So Henning assumed that in each verse, there are three stressed syllables and that "the number of unstressed syllables being free" (op. cit., p. 53). Henning does not explain any more about his method nor about which syllables carry stress. He explains his hypothesis tentatively: "It seems to me that the verse of the Younger Avesta is in no way different from the Middle Iranian line [i.e. verse] of three stressed syllables" (op. cit., p. 53).

It is, of course, an important question: How do we know which syllables carry the stress? Henning himself does not have a definite answer to this question: "… it is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, which syllable of a word bore the stress" (op. cit., p. 54).

The length of time between the writing of the Parthian poems and the later portions of the Avesta is evidence for Henning that the Avestan metrical principle is the same as other Middle Iranian metrical principles. Maybe one reason for Henning's assumption was the following: If the Avestan Vulgate was written down in Middle Iranian times,[35] then why should the metrical principles of the Avestan Vulgate be different than the Parthian or Middle Persian metrical principles?

Lazard answers this by noting that Avestan has a different phonetic system than West Iranian languages like Parthian and Middle Persian. Thus, it would be strange that Avestan would show the same metrical system as West Middle Iranian languages (see Lazard 1984).

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[35] Karl Hoffmann dated the known Avestan Vulgate to the fourth century (see a: Henning 1970:275; b: Kellens, Jean 1986).

In a footnote, Lazard also explains that Khotanese, which has a phonetic system distinct from that of West Iranian languages, also has different metrical principles than other Middle Iranian languages.

Henning's hypothesis was accepted by Gershevitch (1959) but criticized by Tedesco (1960). Although Tedesco agrees with the existence of three stresses in each eight-syllable verse, he does not accept that it can be "constitutive for the meter" (op. cit.p.127). The arbitrary placement of stress in the words raises questions for him as well. In the end, Tedesco rejected Henning's theory because the explanations and justification that Henning gave were too brief.

Not only Tedesco, but also several other scholars such as Gerd Gropp (1967), Lazard (1984; 1990), Kellens (2006), and Pirart (2004) have criticized Henning because he did not give supporting arguments for his claims. Gropp writes "weder Westphal noch Henning geben Begründungen für die ihren metrischen Theorien zugrundeliegenden Zeilenabteilungen, obwohl diese nicht in den Manuskripten überliefert sind" (Gropp 1967:13). According to Gropp, in the Young Avestan texts, there are between four and thirteen syllables per line, and most lines have between seven and nine syllables.

Lazard, in two articles, "La Métrique de l'Avesta Récent" (1984) and "Composition et Métrique dans les Yashts de l'Avesta" (1990), attempted to show that one can accept the eight-syllable verse as a metrical principle. In this way, he challenges Henning's hypothesis that the metrical principle is based on three stressed syllables per verse. In his first article, Lazard uses statistics to show that the majority of verses in Middle Iranian poetry (80%) have between five or six syllables. He uses the same method for the Young Avestan texts, namely, he counts the number of syllables per verse line in the verses that Henning had used in his article on Young Avestan. According to Lazard, the result is not so distant from Middle Iranian poetry (in the list of line types below, the numbers to the right of the colons indicate the number of each type of line):

6 syllables: 2

7 syllables: 8

8 syllables: 18

9 syllables: 5

10 syllables: 2

11 syllables: 2

Lazard (1984) argues that one cannot find evidence for three stressed syllables being the metrical pattern in the rest of the Avestan texts. Henning had based his claim on verses from different passages of the Young Avestan texts and not from continuous passages. Lazard himself uses the continuous text of Y.13.1-70. He finds that the verses with eight-syllables, in contrast to verses with other amounts of syllables (four, five, six, seven, nine, ten, and eleven) account for between forty to sixty-eight percent of all verses. But since for Middle Iranian poetry, the three-stressed-syllable verse line is fairly stable, Lazard argues that the metrical principles of the Young Avestan cannot be the same as those of Middle Iranian poetry. In addition, he believed that Young Avestan poetry should be compared with Old Avestan poetry and Vedic poetry because they show almost the same phonetic and accentual system. It must not be compared with West Middle Iranian poetry because these have different phonetic systems than Avestan (see Lazard 1984; 1990). Lazard spent much time dealing with the question of eight syllables appearing so often in the Avestan Vulgate. For Lazard, the only rule in the Young Avestan is based on the number of syllables, namely, the eight syllable verse line as the original rule of the metrical system. According to Lazard, verses with other than eight syllables, such as five, six, seven, nine, ten, or twelve, are either aberrations from the eight-syllable system or they are the catalectic or hypercatalectic forms of the eight-syllable verse.

The main evidence for Lazard's analysis is the fact that Young Avestan poetry has different verse lengths than Middle Iranian poetry, and therefore, Lazard writes that they cannot have the same metrical system. But Lazard's arguments do not seem reasonable, because in some of his charts, one can see that verses exist which have other numbers of syllables. Therefore, the counts made by Lazard seem to support the existence of verse structures with other numbers of syllables.

Pirart (2004) agrees that verse structures with other numbers of syllables also exist, ones that he calls 'catalectic' and 'hypercatalectic' forms, which are not accidental but should be accepted and even defended. Pirart as well sees the number of syllables as the metrical principle in Avestan texts.

Pirart's method involved first analyzing the structure of the words. He developed thirty-one rules on how to count syllables. Kellens (2006) views the counting of syllables as the most difficult and important aspect of understanding the metrical principles of Young

Avestan texts. According to Kellens, before Pirart, only Geldner had tried to deal with the problem of counting syllables.

According to Kellens (2006), Lazard never discusses how he counted syllables. Kellens points out that all scholars from Geldner to Lazard have assumed that the Avestan alphabet did not correctly reflect the original pronunciation of Avestan texts (op. cit.).

Kellens reviews the practical validity of Pirart's rules for Y. 9 and 10. While he does not agree in many cases (such as in Y. 9.3; Y. 9.4, Y. 9.6, Y. 9.7, Y. 9.9, Y. 9.10, Y. 9.12, Y. 9.13) that the eight-syllable verse occurs, he nevertheless sees Pirart's work as bringing more clarity to the problem of the syllable counting and the beginning of a good way to understand more about the metrical principles of Young Avestan texts (op. cit., p. XX).

In summary, it seems that scholars have not yet found with absolute certainty the rules behind the Avestan metrical system.

3.2 Middle Iranian versification

The most important languages that fall under the designation of Middle Iranian languages are Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, and Khotanese (see Henning 1958, p. 20).

Little written poetry from Middle Iranian languages had been discovered by scholars before the beginning of the 20th century. The only materials known to exist were *Draxt-ī Asūrīg* 'The Babylonian Tree' and *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān* 'Memorial of Zarēr', besides some other short poems like *Andarz-e dānāyān*, *Farox mard* and *Farox peroz*.[36] But the discovery of many manuscripts fragments from the Turfan[37] area of Chinese Turkestan at the beginning of the twentieth century added a considerable number of materials to the corpus of known texts. The fragments in Middle Iranian languages were written partly by Mani (216-277) and Manichean authors in the third and fourth centuries AD. The mother tongue of Mani was Aramaic, but during his life as well as many centuries after his death, his disciples wrote in Middle Iranian languages. They composed many hymns, some of which have been analyzed according to their metrical system by famous Iranists like W.B. Henning, Mary Boyce, and Gilbert Lazard.

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[36] See Amuzgar and Tafazzoli (1996, p. 40).

[37] For more information see: Boyce (1960); Ort (1967); Asmussen (1975); and see:
http://www.bbaw.de/bbaw/Forschung/Forschungsprojekte/turfanforschung/de/Startseite

3.2.1 Middle Persian and Parthian

The poetic corpus of Parthian literature includes the two long poems, *Draxt-ī Asūrīg* and *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān,* as well as Manichean hymns like *Huyadagmān* (45 verses), *Angad Rōšnān* (139 verses), the holiday hymns ('Sundays, Mondays') as well as the *bēma* hymns and other hymns. There are also two long hymn cycles in Middle Persian: *Gōvišn īg grīv zīndag* 'The Speech of the Living Soul' and *Gōvišn īg grīv rōšn* 'The Speech of the Light Soul'. There are also some short poems in Middle Persian called the *Andarz* texts which are found in the text of Jamasp-Asana (for more information about Middle Persian and Parthian poetry, see Henning 1950; Boyce 1954; 1960; Tafazzoli 1999; Rezayi Baghbidi 2009; Asmussen 1975; Ort 1967).

Benveniste (1930, 1932) began to work systematically on the metrical system of the two long poetic works, *Draxt-ī Asūrīg* and *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān*. For *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān*, he realized for the first time that the texts are composed in poetry. Before him, certain scholars like W. Geiger (1890) and Nöldeke (1892) had compared *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān* with the *Dāstān-e pādēšāhī-ye Guštāsp*[38] in the national epic poem *Šāhnāme*.[39] According to Benveniste, *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān* had Arsacid roots, or it was a Sasanian adaptation of an Arsacidian work.

Benveniste hypothesized that the copyists of the two above-mentioned long poetic works did not recognize the poetic form of the texts and made many mistakes, adding or deleting words without consideration of the metrical system. He assumed that, in each verse line, there were six syllables, and on very rare occasion, five syllables. He also assumed that a strophe was composed of either four, five, or six verses. He also reconstructed the texts in poetic form based on a metrical system, but he also sometimes deleted, added, or corrected words wherever the existing lines did not reflect his system. For example, in §32-33 in *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān,* which is in Benveniste's work "Le mémorial de zarēr, poème pahlave mazdéen" (1930:262), he omitted three words, *brāt*, *pas*, and *pa asmān,* which he found to be unimportant. In the end, Benveniste concluded that the metrical system of the Pahlavī text *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān* was based on the number of syllables, and that it was descended from Arsacid poetry.

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[38] Ferdosi in the Šāhnāme has pointed out that this part belongs to poet Daqīqī (see Geiger 1980 and Nöldeke 1892; Māhyār Navābī 2003; Khāleqi Mutlaq 1990).

[39] A detailed bibliography about the work on this collection is found in the Yādgār Zarīrān by Yaḥyā Māhyār Navābī (2003) and Bo Utas (1975).

According to Henning's studies (1933; 1942; 1950), the metrical system of Middle Iranian poetry was based on a certain number of stresses per line verse. Henning (1950) argued that the metrical system of Pahlavī cannot be based on the number of syllables, and so the number of syllables per line in Pahlavī verses is variable. According to Henning, in *Draxt-ī Asūrīg,* the average number of syllables per line is twelve, with the maximum being fourteen and the minimum ten. For Manichean Middle Persian lines, Henning asserts that the number of syllables varies from a maximum of fifteen and a minimum of nine, with the average being twelve. Therefore, he suggested that the metrical system of Pahlavī is accentual: "The alternative theory, namely that the meter is accentual, seems to offer better prospects" (op. cit., 641).

According to Henning, in each line there are three stressed syllables, but the number of unstressed syllables is open. Thus, a line does not have a fixed number of syllables.

Mary Boyce (1950) studied this topic carefully. She tried to give a survey of the metrical system of Parthian poetry based on the hymns, *Huyadagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān.* For both works, Boyce made counts of first the number of syllables in each hymn cycle and then the number of syllables in each half line. According to her study, the number of syllables in each line in *Angad Rōšnān* is between eight and sixteen, and in *Huyadagmān*, it is between ten and seventeen.

Boyce agreed with Henning that the metrical system of Western Middle Iranian poetry was based on stressed syllables. But she did not agree with Henning on the distribution and number of syllables per line. Boyce admitted that the placement of stress in the verse lines in Midddle Iranian is uncertain (op. cit., p. 47). She also observed that in most verse lines in *Huyadagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān*, there were four stressed syllables, and not three, and in each half verse line, there were only two stressed syllables (op. cit., 48). She considered the three-stressed-syllable verse line suggested by Henning as not corresponding to reality, because there are many lines that have only two words, and consequently they can have only two stressed syllables. Boyce proposed four basic patterns of stressed and unstressed syllables (with the possibility that the unstressed syllables can be increased) in each verse line as follows:

> A   unstressed + stressed + unstressed + stressed
>
> B   unstressed + stressed + unstressed + stressed + unstressed
>
> C   unstressed + stressed + stressed + unstressed
>
> D   stressed + unstressed + unstressed + stressed (Boyce 1954:49)

Lazard (1985) also analyzed the metrical system of the hymns, *Huyadagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān.* He focused on the weight of syllables. According to him, syllables may be either heavy or light. He agreed that stress played the important role in Middle Iranian poetry of creating rhythm by means of recurrence. According to Lazard, only heavy syllables can carry stress.

Christiane Reck (2004) analyzes some Manichean hymns in Middle Persian and Parthian. Reck's method is similar to that of Boyce's, which she draws on. Reck also tests the hypotheses of Henning and Lazard. She concludes that the number of stressed syllables in each verse line is based on the number of syllables. Therefore, she agrees with the hypothesis of Henning that there are three or four stressed syllables per verse line. The verse lines that contain ten syllables have four stressed syllables, and the half verse lines that contain seven syllables have three stressed syllables.

Reck also considers the caesura to be an important metrical constituent (op. cit., pp. 84-85). According to her analysis, a caesura has an important role from two perspectives. From a horizontal perspective, the place of caesura is found in the middle of the half verse line so that the tact before it builds the rhythm. From a vertical perspective, the caesura divides the verse lines in the strophes and the verse lines into two half verse lines.

Shaked (1970) also considered the caesura and its position in the line to count as a metrical constituent in Middle Iranian poetry. The position of the caesura in the line is marked in the hymn cycles by one or two dots or a space between the dots that appears in the middle and sometimes at the end of the line (Boyce 1954:24-25).

According to Shaked, the melodic character could be the main factor determining the metrical principle. In addition, he argues that this can explain the problem of the distribution of stress and the existence of unequal syllables in the strophes: "It is possible, for example, that each poetic compositon was attached to a definite melodic accompaniment or to a specific tune, which influenced the rhythmic pattern without setting it within too rigid a scheme" (p. 397).

But Shaked (1970) doubted the hypotheses proposed by Henning and Boyce, that stress can be the metrical princple for Middle Iranian poetry. There are two reasons for this:

- Even when one does not count the prepostions, particles, and clitics, there are more than three syllables in some lines that carry the stress.

- There are lines which are built only from one word, and consequently they cannot have more than one stress.

He therefore concludes that it is "impossible to give any rules for defining the structure of a Middle Iranian verse line" (p. 405).

We can now summarize this section. As mentioned above, there are many different views about the metrical principles of Middle Iranian including Parthian poetry. Because of the complications in the writing system of Middle Persian, one cannot be sure of the exact pronunciation of many words, as Henning notes: "[We] cannot tell how the words were pronounced by the authors, it makes a considerable difference to the meter (whatever it was) whether we put down paδak or paig, mazdayasn or mazdēsn, rōšn or rōšan, aδak or aig, …" (Henning 1950:641).

The main question for many scholars has centered around the question of why is the number of syllables per line and the number of stresses per line irregular. Another point of discussion has centered around the role and position of the pauses.

It seems that the rhyme has no important role in Pahlavī poetry. According to Henning (1950), there is no rhyme in Middle Iranian poetry: "I will say straightway that in the whole of the Western Iranian material so far recognized as poetical there is not a single rhyme in the strict sense (p. 646)." But the poem *Andarz-ē Dānāgān* does have a rhyme pattern like a Qaside. Henning questions the date that it is claimed that the poem was written. He asks doubtfully: "Is this an ancient poem, or merely an imitation of Persian models?" (op. cit., p. 648).

We will suggest that perhaps the metrical form of certain modern Iranian languages such as Gūrānī, especially as observed in the corpus of the religious verses of the Yārsān community, can help us to understand the metrical form of Old and Middle Iranian languages. In a language like Gūrānī, the metrical forms seem to have preserved the older forms. We will take up this topic in Chapter 6.

3.2.2 Khotanese and Sogdian Versification

Relatively few scholars have treated the metrical systems of Khotanese and Sogdian poetry. Scholars that have worked on the metrics of Khotanese poetry include Leumann (1912, 1933-36), Bailey (1945; 1951), Emmerick (1968a; 1968b; 1973), Dresden (1962), and Konow (1934). And for Khotanese, one must distinguish Old Khotanese from Late

Khotanese. While in Old Khotanese, the metrical system is based on the quantity of syllables, in Late Khotanese, the metrical system is based on stress and its distribution in the line. In other words, late Khotanese shows transition from a quantitative system to an accentuation system. Emmerick (1968b) believes that in Old Khotanese, the end of each line is iambic or trochaic, while in Late Khotanese, a regular system cannot be recognized. In Old Khotanese, each line is divided in two half lines that end in a cadence, while in Late Khotanese, each line ends in an accented syllable which is then followed by an unaccented syllable.

Dresden (1962) recognized that in some samples, the distribution of syllables in the line was not regular. The only regular pattern was the number of stressed syllables (four or five). For example, he illustrates the following schema from *Bhadracaryādeśanā* 47r3-4 (pp. 48-49):

```
- - ' - - ' - - - - ' - - ' -
- ' - - - ' - - ' - - - - ' -
- - - ' - - ' - - ' - - - ' -
- - - - ' - - - ' - - - - ' - - ' -
```

As one can see from the above schema, the number of syllables and the distribution of stressed syllable are irregular. In the first and third lines the number of syllables is eleven, in the second it is thirteen, and in the fourth it is fourteen syllables.

Similarly, in Sogdian poetry, stress also plays an important role. E. Provasi (2009) has attempted to give an overview of the structure of Sogdian versification. The nature of syllables in Sogdian is different than in the West Iranian languages (Parthian and Middle Persian), as the arrangement of syllables is based on different rules than Middle Iranian syllabicity. In Sogdian, one differentiates between heavy and light syllables. Provasi is mainly concerned with the syllable types. He uses the same method for analyzing metrical systems that Boyce (1954) used for the Parthian version of the *Huyadagmān* text. Provasi also analyzed the Sogdian version of the *Huyadagmān* text. He presents the hypothesis that the text includes a stanza form, and each stanza is composed of four short lines. Two topics treated in this article include the number of syllables per line and the selection of the syllables that carry the stress. Provasi comes to a similar conclusion as Boyce. According to Provasi, the first half-line is longer than the second half-line. For the first line there are between six and ten syllables, and for the second line there are between six and nine syllables. For all lines he calculates from a minimum of thirteen and a maximum of eighteen syllables.

In his examples, one can observe that in each line there are three stressed syllables, while in a couple of lines, there are six stressed syllables. Here, we look at one of his examples:

(6)   [H.I 3a]

Wispa rāz patγusča taγu zδuṇte   paγuṇte awu δwa zāwar

ʊʊ x' ʊʊx' ʊʊ x'ʊ   ʊx'ʊ ʊx' ʊ x'ʊ

(In the scansion ʊ indicates a light syllable and x' indicates a stressed syllable.)

According to Provasi (2009:350-367), there are certain rules that determine which syllable can carry the stress in the line. He summarizes the main rules as follows: (1) The heavy syllable carries the stress. (2) If the word does not have any heavy syllables, then the stress falls on the final syllable. (3) If there are two heavy syllables, then the second one, or the final one, carries the stress.

According to Provasi's article, the main point about the metrical system of Sogdian is that, in this language too, syllable stress has a metrical value.

As mentioned earlier, in order to determine the metrical principle of the poetry of a language, it is important to have a thorough knowledge about the prosody and syllable structure of that language. For dead languages, it is especially difficult to obtain such thorough knowledge, and it is therefore difficult to determine the metrical principle of their poetry. As we saw for all Old Iranian languages in my discussion in earlier sections of this dissertation, despite the different proposed analyses of the meter, it was difficult to know which analysis was best. However, in many of these languages, such as Old and Young Avestan, the number of syllables and the existence and placement of caesuras have been accepted as the basis for metrical principles. In contrast, in the Middle Iranian languages, stress has an important role as a metrical constituent.

It will be interesting later in this dissertation to compare the metrical system of some New Iranian languages, such as of Early New Persian and of the folk poetry of some Kurdish and Gūrānī dialects in order to see the similarities and differences with the metrical system of the Old Iranian languages.

It will become clear that some languages, like New Persian, classical Sorani Kurdish, and Kirmānjī (the literary Kurdish of the northern Kurdistan) have used a metrical system that is based on the quantity of syllables, and therefore, their principles differ from those found in

the Old Iranian languages. For this reason, we will concentrate only on Early New Persian, the *fahlavīāt*, the folk poetry of Kurdish and Gūrānī, and classical Gūrānī poetry.

4. **Poetry after the coming of Islam**

In this section, we will briefly discuss versification in Persian after the coming of Islam. Our main concern will be with the metrical systems of, first, early New Persian poetry and then that of *fahlavīāt*, which refers to a poetic structure consisting of four lines (quatrains). Most importantly, we will give evidence that these two metrical systems were not based on the quantity of syllables but instead on the number of syllables, the position of stress, and the position of the caesura. But first we must define some terms. The usage of the terms Darī and Pārsī (Arabic form: Fārsī), Pahlavī (Arabic form: Fahlavī) can be confusing. In some works, the terms Darī and Pārsī have been used as synonyms to refer to the same language. In other works, the term Pārsī is used as an adjective with Darī, as in "Pārsī-ye Darī", which denotes "fluent Darī" (see Khāleqī Mutlaq, 2010 draft manuscript, pp. 12-14).[40]

Henning (1958:86-97) explains that Pahlavī was the language of kings and of the area of Pahla (Fahla), while Fārsī was the language of the Zoroastrian priests as well as the language of the province of Fārs. Finally, Darī was the language of the royal court of Madāʔen and the language of the eastern side of the country, especially of Balkh.

The geographer, Ibn-e Khurdādbēh (820-912) in his geographical work, *Al-Masālik w al-Mamālik* (written around 844-848; translated by Khākrand in 1992) notes that Pahla includes the cities Hamadān, Masbazan, Samira, Qom, Nahāvand, Dinavar, and Kermānšāh.[41] As Tafazzoli (1999:158) asserts, this area "is a region comprising Media." In other words, there was a region "Media", but we cannot be sure if a region "Fahla" ever really existed.

As mentioned above, Darī was a royal court language. In the course of time, it was used in the entire system of administration of the Samanid dynasty in East Iran. Darī flourished and spread rapidly. The most important poets in the court of the Samanid dynasty (Persian: سامانیان; AD 819-999) and of Ghaznavid (Persian: غزنویان; AD 975-1186) came from east Iran.

On the subject of whether Darī was the continuation of Middle Persian, Rypka writes: "It cannot be claimed that the Persian written language is the sole continuation of one or of other Middle Persian dialect, for the forms of written language are ultimately due to selection. Yet

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[40] In 2010, this author kindly gave me a manuscript version of this article.
[41] Compare with Azkayī (1996:172).

this much may be said, namely that the fundamentals of Persian are of south-western origin"
(Rypka 1968:72).

4.1 Early New Persian versification

There is very little evidence of Iranian poetry during the two centuries after the downfall
of the Sasanian Empire. Nevertheless, some poems have been documented in the works of
certain historians.[42] Among these poems are a handful that are similar to Arabic poetry in that
their primary metrical constituent is the quantity of syllables. This lack of documented
Iranian poetry is because Arab and many Iranian scholars at that time considered only the
poems based on the quantity of syllables to be real poetry. Poems not based on the quantity of
syllables were not taken into account or documented (compare with Khāleqī Mutlaq 2010). In
a work by the Persian historian, ʕUfī (1171-1242), entitled *Lubāb ul-Albāb* (written about
1228, reproduced in a famous Iranian Anthology, edited by Nafīsī, 1957), it is claimed that
Bahrām-e Gur, the fifteenth Sasanian king, was one of the first to compose poetry in Persian,
even though he ruled from AD 420 to 438. In another historical work, *Tārīx-e Sīstān* (edited
by Bahār 2002:209-210; which was written and edited over a period from about AD 1053 to
1325) it is stated that Vasīf, who was the secretary of Yaʕqub-e Lais-e Safārī (AD 840-879)
(the founder of Safārīd dynasty in Sīstān), was the first New Persian poet. The metrical
system of his poems is similar to later official Persian poetry in that the meter is based on the
quantity of syllables. This is shown by the following scansion[43] of the first couplet:[44] [45]

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[42] Some of these historical works are discussed by the following modern sources: Khāleqī Mutlaq (2010),
Qazvini (1954:34-45), Lazard (1982), and in the article by Rempis (1951) entitled "Die ältesten Dichtungen in
Neupersisch". Of these historical works, I have not had the opportunity to personally study the following: *Tārīx-
e Tabarī* by Tabarī (839-923 AD); *Kitāb ul-Aghānī* by Abulfaraj Esfahānī (897-967 AD); *Al-Masālik w al-
Mamālik* by Ibn-e Khurdādbēh; and *Lubāb ul-Albāb* (written around 1228 by ʕUfi, who lived from 1171 to
1242; this is an ancient Iranian anthology, the modern publication was edited by Nafīsī, 1957). The two
historical works that I have studied are *Tārīx-e Sīstān* (composed before 1460, perhaps in the 1300s, by one or
more unknown authors) and *Al-Muʕajjam fī Maʕāyīr Ašʕār al-ʕAjam* (composed 1232-33) by Qays Rāzī.

[43] A short syllable has the structure of CV (that is, a consonant followed by a short vowel). A long syllable has
the structure of either CV̄ (a consonant followed by a long vowel) or (C)VC(C), that is, any syllable ending in
one or more consonants, thus: VC, CVC, or CVCC (where the vowel may be short or long).

[44] This poem is quoted and transcribed as well by Christian Rempis in the article "Die ältesten Dichtungen in
Neupersisch" (1951). Rempis gives 867-870 as the date of the composition of this poem.

[45] Compare with Shamissa (2004: *āšnāyi ba ʕaruz u qāfye* 'An introduction to prosody', pp. 29-37 and 49-64.

(7)   ای امیری که امیران جهان خاصه و عام

ei, amīr ī, ki amīrān-e ǰahān, xāṣṣa u ʕām   O, you, the Amir, who (is over) all the Amirs
                                               of the world, (over) lords and common men

- u - - / u u - - / u u - - / u u -[46]

بنده و چاکر و مولای و سکبند و غلام

bande uδ čākar u mowlā-y u sakband[47] u   slaves and labourers, majesties and royal
ġulām   servants and other servants

- u - - / u u - - / u u - - / u u -

We know that the Iranian poets' practice of imitating the Arabic metrical system could not have been introduced before Al-Khalīl (who died around AD 786 or 791) who developed *al-Arud*, which was a way of describing the prosody and metrical system of Arabic poetry. Moreover, we assume that Iranian poets adopted the Arabic metrical system as a gradual process that took several centuries. As Khāleqī Mutlaq (1990:48-63) notes, by the second and third centuries after Hijra (that is by AD 815 or 915) Iranian poets were prepared to adopt the Arabic metrical system. He further explains that the completion of this process probably took another two or three centuries, and that, most likely, the first poets to compose poems based on the Arabic metrical system were Iranian poets who knew Arabic poetry well. According to Qazvīnī (1953:36), a poem credited to Abul Abbās Marvazī could not have been the first New Persian poem, since Al-Khalīl died around AD 791, and Marvazī would have composed his poem eighteen years after the death of Al-Khalīl. So, according to Qazvīnī the form of Arabic poetry could not have spread so quickly after the death of Al-Khalīl.

Unfortunately, there are very few documented poems that are not based on the metrical system of Arabic described in the historical works. There are, in fact, only three such short poems that most modern scholars count as examples of early New Persian poetry after the arrival of Islam.

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[46] In traditional prosodic terminology, the scholar used a derivative form of the root of the verb *faʕala* (to do) to describe the rhythm of a particular *rokn* (see Thiesen 1982:13). According to the traditional meter, the meter of this poem is: *faʕelāton faʕelāton, faʕelāton, faʕelāt*. However, it is also possible for the first syllable to be long instead of short. Thus, the poet has the choice of using *fāʕelāton* instead of *faʕelāton* at the beginning of the line.

[47] The term *sakband* refers to a muzzle that binds the mouth of a dog. But during this period in Persia, the term referred to a close servant of the king.

As mentioned before, ʕUfī (1171-1242) in *Lubāb ul-Albāb* identifies Bahrām-e Gur as one of the first persons to compose poetry in Persian; but since Bahrām-e Gur was the fifteenth Sasanian king who ruled from 420 to 438, he cannot be counted as a New Persian poet. Khāleqī Mutlaq writes that the poem of Bahrām-e Gur must instead be accepted as the oldest Darig poem of the Sasanian dynasty. According to Khāleqī Mutlaq, Darig was the oral language of the Sasanian dynasty (AD 224 to 651). However, ʕUfī claimed that he had read the *Divan* of Bahrām-e Gur in the library named Sarpol in the Bokhārā Bazaar. He gave us only one couplet by Bahrām-e Gur:

(8)	manam ān šīr-e gale, manam ān pīl-e yale	I am that lion of that shepherd, I am that strong elephant
	U - - - U U U, U - - - U U U	
	'- - - '- / - - '- // '- - - '- / - - -	

(9)	نام من بهرام گور، کنیتم بوجبله	
	nām-e man bahrām-e gur, konyatam bujebele	My name is Bahram Gur, (and) the name of my father is Bujebele
	- U - - - U -, - U - - U U U	
	'- - '- / - '- / - '- // - '-/ - - '- / - -	

In the above two lines, we have illustrated the metrical structure by means of two types of scansion: one for quantity (short versus long) and one for accent (stressed versus unstressed). The above scansion based on quantity does not reveal a regular system. But the scansion based on accent, which also marks the position of caesura (marked as // appear after the seventh syllable), reveals some degree of regularity.

Ibn-e Mofarigh was another poet who is considered to be one of the pioneers of Persian poetry in the early Islamic period. In *Tārīx-e Sīstān*, there is a long report about him, which is given in a poem. The poem is like a duet in that it has two parts. In one part, some children ask:[48]

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[48] I have chosen to cite the emended text by Christian Rempis.

(10)   شیست⁴⁹ این شیست این شیست

šīst[50] īn šīst īn šīst   What is (this)? What is this? What is this?

- U - - U - -U

In the other part, Ibn-e Mufaragh replies:

(11)   و عصارات زبیب است

uδ ʕusārāt-ē zabīb ast   and (it is) the syrup of dried fruits

 U U - - - U - U -

و سمیه هم روسبی است

uδ sumiyya ham rōspī(k) ast   and Somaye is a prostitute

U U U - - - - -

... آبست و نبیذ است

… āb ast uδ nabīδ ast   (it) is water and honey

- - - U - U - U

و دنبه فربه و پی است

uδ dumbak-ē farbih uδ pī(w) ast and (its) tail is large and fat

U - U - - - U - - U

In both of the above poems, the quantity of syllables, as shown by the scansion, does not reveal any regularity and therefore it has no metrical value. Instead, it seems that their meter is based on patterns of stressed syllables (which we will not try to show here because none of my sources offers a scansion).

Ibn-e Khurdād Beh (AD 820-912), in *Kitāb al-Masālik w'al-Mamālik* (composed around AD 844-848), documented two couplets from Abu al-Yanbaxī ʕabbas ibn-e Tarxān (who died sometime before AD 846). The couplets read as follows (as quoted in Khāleqī Mutlaq 2010):

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[49] Qazvīnī and Khāleqī have quoted this word as *čīst*.

[50] The quantity of the syllable *šīst* is counted as extra-long and is represented by -U.

(12)   سمرقند گندمند

samarqand gandmand   O, ruined (city of) Samarqand!

U - - U - - U

بذینت کی افگند

be dīnat kī afgand   Who did this to you?

- - - - - U - U

از شاش نه بهی؟

az šāš na behī?`   You are … (?)

U - U U U -

همیشه به، فهی!

hamīše beh, fahī   Be always well, bravo!

U - U - U -

The above scansion based on syllable quantity does not reveal any regularity. Instead, it may be that the number of syllables and probably also the position of the caesura are the metrical constituents.

To summarize our discussion so far, early New Persian versification, as illustrated by the above examples (which are not examples of official Persian poetry according to Khāleqī Mutlaq 2010), appears to be more similar to Pre-Islamic poetry than to Arabic-style official Persian poetry. The meter of Arabic-style official Persian poetry is based on the number and quantity of syllables, while these examples of New Persian poetry seem more like later forms of Persian folk poetry, where instead stress patterns count as the main metrical constituent (compare with Tabibzadeh 2004). Therefore, we assume that the Pre-Islamic poetic form was not continued in *official* Persian poetry but in *folk* Persian poetry. In subsequent sections in this dissertation, we shall show that, this type of meter (where stress and probably also caesura are primary constituents), was continued in a variety of folkloric genres, including in *fahlavīāt* as well as in Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poetic forms.

And finally, we can offer the summary observation that the metrical system of many Iranian languages, including the system found in Gūrānī poetry, is based on the prosody of Iranian languages. In contrast, a metrical system based on the quantity of syllables is

something that has been borrowed from other languages, especially Arabic. Although some Iranian poetry, such as official Persian poetry and classical Kurdish poetry, have followed this foreign system, others poetic traditions, including those of folk Persian, folk Kurdish as well as folk and classical Gūrānī, did not follow this system.

4.2 Fahlavīāt

As mentioned above, the area of Pahla (Fahla) included the cities of Hamadān, Masbazan, Samira, Qom, Nahāvand, Dinavar, and Kermānšāh (which are mostly located in West Iran). And the term *fahlavīāt* is based on the place name of Pahla, while it is also the name of a poetic structure consisting of four lines, or "quatrains", which was composed by the poets from the above mentioned area. There are other names for *fahlavīāt*, such as *do beytī, tarāneh,* and *awrāma* (compare with Azkāyī 1996:196).

The last name, *awrāma,* is of special interest for this dissertation. In *Al-Muʕajam,*[51] a work written in about AD 1233, the author, Qays Rāzī, noted that the melodies of *awrāma* are the most pleasant melodies of the *fahlavīāt* and he included the following Persian couplet, which was composed by Pendār Rāzī in the tenth century (cited in Qazvīnī 1973:172):

(13) لحن اورامن و بيت پهلوى   The melody of Awrāman and the verse of Pahlavī

زخمه رود و سماع خسروى   The plectrum[52] of the rud and the dance of Khosravī

Azkāyī (1996:194) also states that *awrāma* was most probably a term that one used for each *beyt* (a couplet, or two lines) of the *fahlavīāt*. The similarity between the proper name Awrāmān (or Hawrāmān), which is the name of a geographical center as well as the name of an important Gūrānī dialect, and the noun *awrāma,* which refers to 'a kind of song', 'couplet', or 'verse', does not seem to be accidental. As we will see in Chapter 7, the couplet in the folk poetry of the languages of Awrāmī and Kurdish is a very common poetic form in the Kurdish area. The Awrāmān area is also very famous throughout the Kurdish area for its songs and melodies. And we will also see in Chapters 6 and 7 that the metrical system of the *fahlavīāt* is similar to that of Gūrānī and Kurdish poetry. So it seems that the *fahlavīāt* poets as well as the Gūrānī and Kurdish poets have continued the form of Middle Iranian poetry. On this point Tafazzoli (1999) notes the following about the *fahlavīāt*: "The *fahlavī* poets

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[51]Qays Rāzī, Šams (edited by Qazvīnī, Muḥammad Ibn-e al-Vahāb, 1973). *Al-Muʕajam fī Maʕāyīr Ašʕār al-ʕAjam*, Tehran. This is an important Persian work about Persian versification, written around AD 1233 by Qays Rāzī.

[52] A *zaxme* (زخمه) is a type of pick used to pluck a stringed instrument such as a rud.

continued the oral tradition of the Parthian and later minstrels following, in early Islamic times, the principles of Middle Iranian prosody." Of course, the same state can be true about Gūrānī and Kurdish.

A major fact about Middle Iranian poetry is, as Khāleqī Mutlaq (2010) notes, the connection between poetry, music, and singing. These three elements were strongly connected to each other. Khāleqī Mutlaq also notes the profession of the *xunyāgar*. A *xunyāgar* wrote poems and sang them while playing an instrument. The instrument was normally a stringed instrument (for example, a *barbat*, *tanbur*, or *čang*). The writer of *Tārīx-e Sīstān* also explains that the Persians used to sing with the rud (a stringed musical instrument) and they sung in the *xusravānī* manner (*Tārīx-e Sīstān* 2002, pp. 209-210). The profession of the *xunyāgar* continued after the coming of Islam too. Rudakī (who lived during the Samanid dynasty) was the most famous poet to sing his poetry accompanied by a *čang*. Nizāmī, in his famous article Čahār Maqāle 'four articles' (ed. by Qazvīnī in 1909), tells a short story about Rudakī. He writes that Amir Nasr Ibn-e Ahmad had spent about four years with his army in Heri. During this time, the soldiers wished to go back to their wives and children in Bukhara, but they were afraid to tell this to him directly. So they asked Rudakī to express their request in a song that would impress the Amir. So Rudakī went to the Amir with his *čang* and sang his famous poem: "*bu-y ju-ye Mulīān āyad hamī*". He so deeply impressed the Amir that the Amir immediately took with his army back to Bukhara (op. cit., pp. 31-33). This story illustrates for us that, even until the time of Rudakī, these three elements (music, poetry and singing) were connected with each other. The close connection between music, poetry, and singing was probably maintained by the *fahlavīāt* poets and then later also by Gūrānī and Kurdish poets. As Azkāyī (1996:197) indicates, today, the *awrāma* in the Kurdish area is called the *hora* and the one who sings one, a *horaxān*, is a person that like the *xunyāgar* sings in the mountains of Kurdistan.

Some of the *fahlavī* poets are unknown by name, and some are known. Some of the famous poets include Hamadānī, Esfahānī, Anvār, Abharī, Zākānī, and Ardabīlī (compare with Ḥuseini Kāzerūnī 2000:51). Tafazzoli (2006:123-128) notes that there were composers from different cities, such as Ardabīl, Maragha, Hamadān, Esfahān, Kāšān, Qazvīn, Rey, Tabrīz, besides others.

The most famous representative of the *fahlavīāt* poets is Bābā Tāher Hamadānī, to whom many poems are credited. Edward Heron Allen quotes from a historical source, Rāḥat Al-Sodūr va Āyat Al-Sorūr (written in 1202-3), noting that Bābā Tāher lived during the Seljuq

dynasty (1037-1194). According to this source, Bābā Tāher had met Toghrol Baig Seljuqi (who ruled between 1037-1063),[53] which means that Bābā Tāher was alive during the middle of the eleventh century. The *fahlavīāt*, especially the *fahlavīāt* of Bābā Tāher, were also normally sung with instrumental accompaniment (see Allen 1976:183).[54]

There has nevertheless been much discussion about the *fahlavīāt* and their meter. In the analysis of the metrical system of the *fahlavīāt*, many scholars mention two things. The first is that the role of music should be considered, and the second is that there is some doubt as to the originality of the poems due to poor transmission by the manuscript copyists (see Hadank 1926:37). These two factors complicate the analysis of the metrical system of the *fahlavīāt*. Besides those two assumptions, it is also assumed by a few scholars that, as in official Persian poetry,[55] the metrical principles of the *fahlavīāt* are based on the quantity of syllables. According to Qays Rāzī (Qazvīnī 1973), the *fahlavīāt* were composed following the pattern of one type of Persian *baḥr-e hazaǰ* meter, a pattern called *baḥr hazaǰ-e mosadas-e maḥzuf,* which involves two *mafāʕīlon* feet (u - - -) followed by one *faʕulon* foot (u - -), that is, where a line had eleven syllables with this structure: u - - -/ u - - -/ u - -. Each *"fahlavīāt"* was composed of four lines of this structure. In contrast, Qays Rāzī recognizes that the *fahlavīāt* do not show a regular metrical system based on the quantity of syllables. He explains that the *fahlavīāt* poets did not use the same regular feet in all four lines. For example, for one line, one kind of *baḥr hazaǰ* was used, such as *mafāʕīlon mafāʕīlon faʕulon* (u - - -/ u - - -/ u - -), and for another line, a kind of *baḥr mašākel* was used, such as *fāʕelāton mafāʕīlon faʕulon* (- u - - / u - - - / u - -), or a different combination of feet was used, like *mafulāton mafāʕīlon faʕulon* (- - - -/ u - - -/ u - -) in the first line and then in the next line *mafāʕīlon faʕulon* (- u - -/ u - -) (compare with Qays Rāzī 1973:28-29 and page 172). According to the opinion of Qays Rāzī, this type of metrical system, which was used by *fahlavī* poets, was not correct. He claimed that the poets of the *fahlavīāt* were ignorant about meter and therefore made many mistakes (compare with op. cit., p. 29).

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[53] Yaghmā Journal 1976, no. 3, pp. 183-185; no. 4, pp. 217-222.

[54] Yaghmā Journal 1976, no. 3, pp. 183-185.

[55] As mentioned in Chapter 2, the metrical system of official Persian poetry is based on the quantity of syllables. In this system, combinations of long and short syllables occur in a larger construction termed a foot. A line is composed of combinations of different feet or the same feet (in each line there are either three or four feet). With some exceptions, the position of long and short syllables must occur in a regular pattern throughout a poem.

The following example will illustrate what Qays Rāzī meant:[56]

(14)   man ân pīr-om ke xânand-om qalandar   I am that old man (master) who is called *qalandar*

- - - - / u - - - / u - -

na xân-om bē, na mân-om bē, na langar   I have no house, nor place to stay, nor anchor

u - - - / u - - - / u - -

ro, hama[57] ro varâyom gerd-e gētī   (in the) day, all the day, I wander around the world

- u - - / u - - - / u - -

šo darâya,[58] va o sang-ē nehom sar   (when) night comes, I lay my head upon a stone.

- u - - / u - - - / u - -

In the above poem, one can see that the first foot in each of the four lines is different. In the first line, the first foot is composed of four long syllables; in the second line, it is composed of a short syllable followed by three long syllables; and in the last two lines, it contains a long syllable followed by a short syllable, followed by two long syllables. According to Qays Rāzī, this sort of variety in the first foot (that is, the different patterns of long and short syllables) illustrates a mixing of different meters that is not allowed.

The assumption that *fahlavī* poets or their later copyists made mistakes led to additional copyists making changes to the poems in order to adapt them to a certain metrical system. In other words, the copyists assumed that each line in *fahlavīāt* meter should be composed of exactly the following three feet: u - - -/ u - - -/ u - -. But when (as in the above example) the different lines began with different feet, such as with *mafʕūlāton* (- - - -), the copyists tried to regularize these feet to *mafāʕīlon* (u - - -). Therefore, it is difficult at the present time to determine the true metrical system of the *fahlavīāt*.

Other scholars have held views that were different from the position of Qays Rāzī. For example, Nātel Khanlarī (1958:71-73) concluded that the metrical system of the *fahlavīāt* is

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[56] I have taken this example from the book *Bābā Tāher-Nāme* by Parvīz Azkāyī. I have used his transcription system.

[57] The word that I have transcribed in Latin script as *hama* has been transcribed by Azkāyī with a double *mm*, that is, as *hamma*. He does not explain why he uses *mm* in this word.

[58] Azkāyī has transcribed this word as *dar'âya*.

not based on the quantity of syllables, but that it is instead based on the number of syllables and to some degree on the syllable stress patterns. Thus, he considered the two constituents, stress and number of syllables, to be the basis for meter in the *fahlavīāt*.

Rezāyatī Kīshe Khale (2005) and Sādeqī (2000) also criticize the analysis of Qays Rāzī. They argue that the metrical system of the *fahlavīāt* was probably not based on the quantity of syllables, and therefore they claim that the metrical system of the *fahlavīāt* should not be compared to the metrical system of official Persian poetry.

To summarize this section (4.2), we have noted the views of scholars and cited some examples of *fahlavīāt* poetry that show that the metrical principle of the *fahlavīāt* is different from the metrical principle of official Persian and Arabic poetry. Although many questions remain, it seems that *fahlavīāt* meter is not a pure system based on the quantity of syllables.

In earlier sections in this dissertation (in Chapter 3), we have argued that, in Pre-Islamic poetry, quantity of syllables was not a metrical constituent, but that instead the meter was based on the three metrical constituents of syllable number, syllable stress pattern, and position of caesura. Moreover, in section 4.1, we argued that these same three metrical constituents (and not syllable quantity) were relevant to the meter of the rare documented cases of early New Persian poems where it was clear that the Arabic metrical system had not yet affected the metrical system.

Later in the section on the traditions of folk poetry in Kurdish and Gūrānī, we will see in a similar way that quantity of syllables has no metrical value, but instead it is, again, syllable number, syllable stress pattern and caesura position that count as the primary metrical constituents.

5. Selected phonological and grammatical features in Literary Gūrānī and in four spoken Gūrānī dialects

This section presents a comparison of selected phonological and grammatical features in Literary Gūrānī (abbreviated in the tables and lists as LG) and in four spoken Gūrānī dialects, namely, Hawrāmī (hereafter abbreviated as HAW), Kandūlayī (KAND), Gawraǰūyī (GAW), and Zardayāna (ZAR). We will use the unabbreviated name 'Hawrāmī' for literary texts. The aim of this section is not to give a complete and detailed characterization of the phonology and grammar of these dialects, but rather to provide an overview of the features that are most important to our study of metrics while also comparing these features in several Gūrānī dialects.

We have chosen these four spoken dialects because there is a moderate amount of material and research available about their grammar. We are also familiar with the details of these dialects and are able to discuss them in a comprehensive manner. Other dialects have been studied less, and so there is less material available.

The representative texts of Literary Gūrānī have been chosen because they exemplify the work of poets from the different areas in which Gūrānī is spoken and they can be compared with each other to show the features they have in common. The poems were written in different time periods from about the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century. The primary texts used in this study are listed in section 1.6.

At the end of each section, we summarize the grammatical features in a table to highlight the similarities and differences between the dialects and Literary Gūrānī.

We emphasize again that in this section we focus only on certain selected grammatical features of these dialects that are important from a metrical point of view. It is not the goal of this chapter to present complete grammatical descriptions of these dialects. For more details, one can refer to the aforementioned sources.

In the final section, 5.5 we present an argument with at least one reason why Literary Gūrānī uses less nominal inflection than the spoken dialects use, namely, for metrical reasons.

5.1 Assumptions and questions about the nature of Literary Gūrānī

In this chapter, we assume that there is a language variety or 'dialect', termed here as Literary Gūrānī, that developed through its use in poetry. Gūrānī poets spoke different

dialects, but their written work showed certain common grammatical characteristics. One could say that the poets developed this dialect for the purposes of writing poetry. Some of the grammatical features of this dialect differ from those in all of the spoken dialects. For example, in the Literary Gūrānī of all the poetic works, there is a reduction of nominal inflection. Furthermore, the agential construction of the past tense clauses differs from that found in the spoken dialects. We discuss these features in more detail in later sections.

One can ask certain questions about the nature of Literary Gūrānī, as Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013:153) have asked:

> To which extent can literary Gurani, which is found in a range of heterogeneous texts, be said to be a single, coherent linguistic system?

> If not, can a clear distinction be made between a literary Gurani that is close to spoken forms of that language, and a 'Kirmānšāhi-style Hawrāmānī', as Mokri and Fattah (2000) appears to do?[59]

Another question about Literary Gūrānī concerns its nature as a linguistic variety. Certain scholars, for example, Blau 2010, Rieu 1881, and MacKenzie (1965; 2002) have suggested that Literary Gūrānī is a 'koiné'.[60]

Other scholars, such as Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013), propose that the Gūrānī used in poetry is best regarded as a 'continuum' instead of a koiné. By 'continuum', they mean "an 'idiom' that is not confined to the language of one particular group, but may include features of a number of languages belonging to the same region." [61]

Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013:151) describe a koiné as follows: "a koiné language is a standard language or dialect that has arisen as a result of contact between two mutually intelligible varieties (dialects) of the same language […] A koiné variety emerges as a new spoken variety in addition to the originating dialects, it does not change any existing dialect."

Their argument is that Literary Gūrānī "never functioned as a spoken language" (op. cit.), and therefore it cannot be considered as a koiné.

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[59] A "Kirmanshahi-style Hawrāmānī" is a style of Hawrāmī used by Hawrāmī speakers who are originally from the Hawrāmān area, but have moved to Kermānšāh. The language of these speakers has been influenced by the Kurdish variety of Kermānšāh and by Persian. The effects are recognizable in the different areas of language, including the phonology, morphology, and lexicon (compare also with Naqshbandi 1996:284-291).

[60] One definition of a koiné is that it is a type of language or dialect that develops when closely related languages or dialects of people from different regions are used in communication with each other over a period of time. A koiné develops through the process of becoming 'deregionalized'. That is, people begin to speak a variety that has become more general through the loss of certain grammatical features that would identify it as belonging to one particular region (Hock & Joseph 1996:387-89, summarized by Denise Bailey, personal communication).

[61] As defined by Philip Kreyenbroek (personal communication).

Although it is true that Literary Gūrānī has functioned as a written rather than spoken language, it is nevertheless clear that this written language belongs to the Gūrānī group. Moreover, as Kreyenbroek (personal communication) indicates, it "may include features of a number of languages belonging to the same region"

In the next sections, based on our studies of various spoken dialects, we will argue that what we are calling "Literary Gūrānī" appears to have developed to serve a literary function. In certain respects, it could be also defined as a koiné, because, as we will see in the next pages, the poets from different Gūrānī-speaking areas used a similar and simplified dialect for their works. We can justify calling it a koiné because of its function in the greater linguistic context to unite poets and other writers who speak different dialects. Even today, the poets from different areas sometimes use this as a sort of classical dialect in their poetry.[62] It can be seen that, in their poetry, they use their own dialects less often than they use this special literary dialect that is only found in poetry. This leads to the conclusion that the poets have developed a dialect for their poems that is not limited to a certain geographical area.

The question of the nature of Literary Gūrānī is indeed a difficult one. Further details about this question are addressed throughout this chapter.

5.1 The sources of the Gūrānī material

5.1.1 The sources of the Literary Gūrānī material

Our source texts used to represent LG for this investigation are of several types. One type is from what we will call the HAW group, which consists of especially HAW poetry from the 1800s, from the following authors:

- ʕAbdil-Qādir Pāvayī (1825 or 1850?-1907?)

- ʕAbdil-Raḥīm Tāwgozī (1806-1882), known as Maʕdūmī or Mawlawī[63]

- Malā Ḥasan Dizłī (1858-1945)

- Saydi Hawrāmī (1820-1887)

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[62] At the end of this chapter, we present one example of poetry that uses Literary Gūrānī and is composed by the contemporary poet, Siyamand Hawrāmī. He has also composed poetry in his own dialect of "Hawrāmī Nawsoudi".

[63] There are differing views about where Mawlawī was born (compare with Anwar Qādir Muḥammad 2010:57-58). Some scholars believe he was born in Hawrāmān, while others believe he was born in Saršāta near Tāwgoz in the province Sulaymaniyah. However, he is counted as a Hawrāmī poet based on his great knowledge about the language and literature of Hawrāmān. He lived many years of his life in Hawrāmān.

Saydī's collected poetry can be divided into two types according to the different metrical systems that the poems use, thus "Type I (poems)" and "Type II". The first type, Type I, belongs to the Gūrānī School. Their metrical system is based on the number of syllables and a caesura in the middle of each line, which divides the line into two equal half-lines, that is, in two hemistichs. The second type, Type II, has a system that is based on the quantity of vowels and the number of syllables.

One example of Saydī's Type II poems was published in the Kurdish journal, Galāwēž III, 9-10. There is a considerable number of such poems in Saydī's collected poetry published in 1971 by Kardoxi. The language used in this type of poetry is close to the Hawrāmī spoken dialects around Hawrāmān-ī Taxt in the Hawrāmān area.

Saydī's Type II poems are the only poems that involve a ʕAruz verse structure.[64] Therefore, the Type II poems cannot be regarded as belonging to the Gūrānī School. In fact, these poems are exceptional for Gūrānī poetry. But from the point of view of meter, it is important to compare this type of poetry with poetry of the Gūrānī School.

Some poems by Malā Ḥasan Dizłī (1858-1945) also partly represent the features of a modern spoken Hawrāmī dialect, while in some cases, they are similar to Literary Gūrānī. These few examples of his poems are very important because they illustrate the effect of the metrical system on the poetical language.

For these reasons, some of the examples by Saydī of the Type II and some by Dizłī are included in the following comparative analysis to show their similarities and differences with Literary Gūrānī.

We also include examples from the following sources:

- The manuscripts preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin collected by Oskar Mann during his trip to Iran in 1901-1904.

- The lyric verses of Hawrāmī poets from the manuscripts of the British Museum (number: Ms.Or. 6444) (1782-4).

- However, no examples are used from the sacred texts of the Yārsān community. The material from that source is treated in a separate section; see Section 6.3.

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[64] As far as I know, there are no other poems based on ʕaruz in Gūrānī dialects.

In the following sections, only the page numbers for the poems by Mawlawī, Pāvayī, Saydī, and Dizłī are indicated. The examples by Mawlawī are taken from the publication *Dīwānī Mawlawī*, edited by Malā ʕAbdil Karīm Mudarīs. The examples by Pāvayī are from two *Dīwān* publications, one edited by Spanjī (1989) and the other by Amini (2008) (for each example, the editor's name and number of pages are indicated). For Saydī, the examples are from his *Dīwān,* edited by Muħammad Amīn Kārdoxī, second edition 2002. And for Dizłī, we have taken the examples from *Diwānī Małā Ħasanī Dizłī Marduxī*, edited by Aħmad Nazīrī (2001).

5.1.2 The sources for the material from the four spoken Gūrānī dialects

For the KAND and HAW material, the source for our comparison of features is the early study of Gūrānī dialects by Oskar Mann and Karl Hadank (1930), *Die Mundarten der Gûrân, besonders das Kändûläî, Auramânî und Bâdschälânî*. Examples from this source are referenced by page number.

Another source for the KAND and HAW material is MacKenzie (2002), *Gurāni*, in which he describes a number of phonological and morphological characteristics of the dialects of Hawrāmī, Kandūlayī, and Bājałānī. Examples from this source are referenced by page number.

A further source for HAW is MacKenzie (1966), in which the Hawrāmī dialect of Nawsoud is described.

A source for GAW is Mahmoudveysi, Bailey, Haig, & Paul (2012), *The Gūrānī language of Gawrajǔ, a village of West Iran*. Examples from this source are referenced by the text number followed by the sentence number, for example, GAW 3:14.

For the ZAR material, we draw on Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013), *The Gūrānī language of Zarda, a village of West Iran*. Examples from this source are referenced by the text number followed by the sentence number, for example, ZAR 3:14.

5.2 Phonology and orthography

5.2.1 The phoneme inventory of Literary Gūrānī

It is not possible to make definitive claims about the exact phonetic values of the phonemes of Literary Gūrānī, because we only have written texts as our source of data. As we will explain further below, the orthography used by the poets was based on the Arabic and Persian orthographies, which did not completely represent all of the sounds in older forms of

Gūrānī. So, for our discussion, we will assume that the Literary Gūrānī phonemes are similar to those of modern spoken dialects (see section 5.2.3 below.)

5.2.2 The orthography of Literary Gūrānī

The actual orthography used in the Literary Gūrānī manuscripts is based on Arabic script. Moreover, some of the texts from the second half of the twentieth century are in Sorani Kurdish orthography, which involve further modifications to the Arabic script.

Nearly all of the examples from the Literary Gūrānī texts that have been reproduced in this dissertation were transcribed by myself from the original Arabic-based script into a Latin-based script; the only cited examples that I did not transcribe are a few lines that MacKenzie transcribed. My Latin-based transcription employs the typical symbols used in Iranian linguistic studies for Iranian languages. Since the original Arabic script does not completely represent all of the sounds in the Gūrānī language, especially certain vowels, I have added them in, making use of my knowledge of Hawrāmī as a native speaker and my knowledge of the other Gūrānī dialects and also of Persian and Kurdish. The details are described below. (Comments about the orthographies used for the data from the spoken Gūrānī dialects are made below in section 5.2.3.)

The following chart presents the Latin-based symbols (with their approximate phonetic values in square brackets) that we have used in our Latin-based transcription. In each case, the Latin symbol is followed by the original Arabic-based orthographic symbol that is used in the actual Literary Gūrānī manuscripts:

t [tʰ]	ط	b [b]	ب
z [z]	ظ	p [pʰ]	پ
ʕ [ʕ]	ع	t [tʰ]	ت
ʔ [ʔ]	ا، ئ،ء	s [s]	ث
gh [ʁ]	غ	č [ʧʰ]	چ
f [f]	ف	ħ [ħ]	ح
q [q]	ق	x [x]	خ
k [kʰ]	ک	d [d]	د
g [g]	گ	z [z]	ذ

l, [l], ł [ɫ]	ل	r, [ɾ], ř [r]	ر
m [m]	م	z [z]	ز
n [n]	ن	ž [ʒ]	ژ
w [w]	و	s [s]	س
h [h]	ه	š [ʃ]	ش
y [j]	ى	s [s]	ص
		z [z]	ض

Table 5: Consonants

ī [iː]	ى
i [ɪ]	-
ē [eː]	ى
e [ɛ]	-
a [æ]	-
ā [aː]	آ، ا
o [o]	و
u [ʊ]	و
ū [uː]	و
ü [y]	وى

Table 6: Vowels

The following points should also be noted regarding the orthographic symbols used in our transcription of the Literary Gūrānī manuscripts. These comments apply especially to some of the Arabic letters that I have interpreted in different ways.

In the original Arabic script manuscripts, the short vowels: /a/, /e/, /u/ and /i/ are not written. In very rare cases, the vowels /a/ and /e/ are represented by a dash or a small line above or below the Arabic letters.

The long vowels /o/ and /ū/, the short vowel /u/, and the semivowel /w/ are all represented by only one orthographic symbol, /و/.

The long vowels /ī/ and /ē/ and the semivowel /y/ are also represented by only one orthographic symbol, /ى/.

There are no Arabic orthographic symbols in the manuscripts that represent the vowels /ü/ and /ö/.

The Gūrānī poets often used the symbols /ط, ظ, ض, ص, ث/ but in some rare cases, they wrote them as / ت, ز, ز, س / ‎, respectively.

The Gūrānī poets also sometimes formed rhymes with /ط/ and /ت/, thus treating these letters as representing the same sound.

There are also some special difficulties in the orthography of the Gūrānī published texts that have employed the Arabic-script Kurdish writing system, such as in the works of ʕAbdil Qādir Pāvayī, ʕAbdil Raħīm Tāwgozī, and Saydī Hawrāmī, besides others. These include:

For the short vowel /u/ and the semivowel /w/, there is one orthographic symbol, / و/.

The long vowel /ī/ and the semivowel /y/ are written as /ى/.

For the short vowel /i/, there is no symbol.

There are no symbols used that represent the vowels /ü/ and /ö/.

The Arabic symbols /ث/, /ص/, /ض/, /ظ/, /ط/ are represented in the Kurdish system as /س/,/س/ , /ز/ , /ز/, /ت/‎, respectively.

5.2.3 The phoneme inventory and orthography of the spoken dialects HAW, GAW, ZAR, and KAND

For the Gawraǰūyī data cited in this dissertation, we follow the phonemic analyses and orthographies developed for Gawraǰūyī in Mahmoudveysi & et al. (2012) and for Zardayāna in Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013); all of our spellings follow the data in those books. For the Hawrāmī and Kandūlayī examples cited here from MacKenzie (1966) and Hadank & Mann (1930), we follow their transcription, which differs in some minor ways from the transcription used for Gawraǰūyī and Zardayāna (to be described below).

Consonants

In all the dialects, there are at least twenty-four consonants, two semivowels, and ten vowels. We will mention some exceptions below. In the following table, the consonants are presented:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	q		(loan: ʔ)
Affricate				č ǰ					
Fricative	(v)	f	s z	š ž		x	(loan: gh)	ħ ʕ	h
Nasal	m		n			(ng)			
Trill			ř						
Tap			r						
Lateral simple/ velarized			l ł						
Semi-vowel	w				y				

Table 7: Consonant phonemes of Gūrānī dialects

The phoneme /v/ is also recorded by Mann (1930:88) for KAND. In other dialects, this phoneme does not exist.

The glottal stop ʔ does not originally belong to the Gūrānī phoneme inventory. However, it appears in some loanwords, such as *suʔāl* 'question' and *masʔala* 'matter, problem'. In many cases, it is deleted. For example, the noun *masʔala* 'matter, problem' is pronounced as *masala* in ZAR (ZAR 1-1:219). There are no minimal pairs nor any distinguishing feature for this phoneme in the Gūrānī dialects. Therefore, it cannot be regarded as part of the Gūrānī phoneme inventory.

The voiced alveolar plosive /d/ in all dialects is realized in initial position and after /r/ as [d], for example, in *bardē* 'has taken' (GAW 3:14) and *kardē* 'has done' (GAW 6:84). But in other positions, its realization is different. In these cases, especially in data from HAW and in some of the poets (for example, in Saydī), we use the symbol /đ/ to represent this sound. For example, in HAW, when this phoneme occurs between two vowels or in postvocalic position, it is pronounced as [ə]. In ZAR, it is realized as [ə], or as a fricative [đ] or semivowel [j], while

in KAND, in these positions, it is always realized as [j]. In final position, it frequently disappears. In HAW and KAND, with some speakers, it disappears, while with others it is realized as [ə]. In ZAR, the pronouns written as *ī(d)* 'he/she (near)' and *ā(d)* 'he/she (far)' are pronounced by younger speakers as *ī* and *ā*, while with older speakers, they are pronounced as *īđ* and *āđ*. In GAW, the plosive is preserved in the final position, for example, as in *wa gard* 'with' (6:91), *mard* 'man' (7:31), and *bāyad* 'should' (5:145). In some cases, however, it is realized as [j][65] as *yāy* 'learn' (7:49).

In our manuscripts, both sounds, /d/ and /đ/, are represented as د . In our Latin-based transcription, we have represented this Arabic letter with /d/ and /đ/ based on the pronunciation rules of spoken HAW.

The two letter symbol /gh/ represents a voiced uvular fricative [ɣ], which is a sound that did not originally exist in the Gūrānī dialects (i.e., it has been borrowed). This sound appears in a few words such as *kāghaz* 'paper' and *ǰighāra* 'cigarette'. Otherwise, what is sometimes represented by the symbol /gh/ is pronounced as a voiceless fricative, that is, by the sound represented by the symbol /x/. Nevertheless, in Literary Gūrānī, it appears as غ and is transcribed into our Latin-based transcription as /gh/, as illustrated by *ǰa gham kayl* 'of sorrow' (Ms.Or.Oct.1175).

The HAW sound sequence /nn/ corresponds to the sequence /nd/ found in other dialects and in Persian.[66] It is illustrated in vocabulary from HAW, for example: *zinna* 'alive' (Persian: *zende*); *manna* (Persian: *mānde*); *mihannis* 'engineer' (Persian: *muhandes*).

The semivowel /y/ is frequently inserted to separate two vowels, while the semivowel /w/ is used to separate a rounded vowel, such as /ū/, /ü/, or /o/, from a following vowel. Examples from HAW include: *ī yāna-y-a* 'this house'; *nī-y-an* 'it is not': *šū-w-aka-š* 'her husband'.[67]

Mann & Hadank use the two letter symbols (digraphs) /zh/, /sh/, and /kh/ for /ž/, /š/, and /x/ respectively. MacKenzie uses /ḥ/ for /ħ/.

Vowels

The vowel system of HAW consists of seven long vowels: /ī, ū, ē, o, ɛ, ɔ, ā/ and three short vowels /i, u, a/.[68] The following table compares the vowel symbols of HAW with those used in

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[65] In our transcription it is written as /y/.
[66] Paul (2007) considers this a phoneme.
[67] The examples are from my own speech.

the other dialects. Note that the KAND data, which is from Mann & Hadank, uses different symbols to represent what we believe are the same sounds (note especially the combinations with the diacritic ˆ). The vowels in the LG row are those that we have used in our transcription of the poems; they represent our interpretation.

	long vowels	short vowels
HAW	/ī, ū, ē, o, ε, ɔ, ā/	/i, u, a/
ZAR	/ ī, ū, ö, ü, ē, o, ā/	/i, u, a/
GAW	/ ī, ū, ö, ü, ē, o, ā/	/i, u, a/
KAND	/î, û, ü̂, ê, ô, â, ā̂/	/i, u, ü, e, o, ä, a, ạ/
LG	/ī, ū, ü, ē, o, ā/	/i, u, a/

Table 8: Comparison of vowel symbols

It appears that all dialects contain the same short vowels as HAW, but there are differences among the long vowels. In KAND, ZAR, and GAW, two of the long vowels are /ö, ü/, while in HAW, we find /ε, ɔ/.

Other points of comparison include:

The three short vowels, namely, /a, i, u/, are found in the spoken varieties, but are not represented in the manuscripts.

The vowel /e/ of the spoken varieties is considered a loan phoneme, as it is found primarily in loanwords, for example, in ZAR *esm* 'name' [3-1:99], *estefāda* 'use' [3-2:59], and *emsāł* 'this year' [3-1:150].

The vowel /ü/ is found in the spoken varieties, such as ZAR and GAW, and also in Literary Gūrānī. It is sometimes written in Persian orthography as وی.

The vowel /ö/ is consistently realized in ZAR and GAW in the word *dö* 'two', but in other cases, it seems to be a variant of /u/. It is found in only a few words, such as ZAR *čö* 'how' [6:46].

In the dialects of KAND, ZAR and GAW, there is a tendency to replace the vowel /ē/ with /ī/, and to replace /o/ with /ū/, as the vowels /o/ and /ē/ are gradually disappearing, as in Southern

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[68] A complete description of these vowels is found in MacKenzie (1966:7-12). MacKenzie uses the symbols ı and i for /i/ and /ī/, respectively.

Kurdish, namely, the dialects in the area of Kermānšāh.[69] Both variants of the vowels are found in ZAR and GAW, and there are pairs of words such as:

(15)   ZAR: *dür* (6:37) and *dūr* (8:30) 'far'

        hüč (2-1:4) and *hīč* (2-3:2) 'nothing'

        řo (1-1:121), *řož* (1-1:245), *řūz* (8:88) 'day'

    GAW: *pül* (6:13) 'money'

    HAW: *pūł* 'money'

5.2.4 Stress in Literary Gūrānī and the spoken Gūrānī dialects

It is not possible to include definitive comments about LG stress here. We can only make observations from the metrical point of view about the position of stress.[70]

Stress plays an important role in Gūrānī dialects. Stress in its strongest degree, as primary stress, is marked in this study by a vertical apostrophe ('). It is marked in its weaker degree, as secondary stress, by a left-to-right slanted apostrophe (ˋ).

The placement of stress is shown in two contexts: First, when the words are isolated as lexemes, and second, when the words occur in phrases and clauses.[71]

Stress in isolated words

In isolated words, primary stress usually falls on the last syllable of the word:[72]

(16)   HAW: *xar'ik* 'busy' (113), *yah'ar* 'liver' (113), *wah'ār* 'spring' (111)

    KAND: *zû'ân* 'tongue' (294), *zhär'äzh* 'partridge' (294)

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[69] Compare with MacKenzie (1965:258).

[70] We discuss this point in more detail later.

[71] In the following section, all the examples for HAW dialects are from MacKenzie (1966), and the examples for KAND are from Hadank & Mann (1930) and only the page numbers are indicated in parentheses. For examples from the GAW and ZAR dialects, the numbers referring to text and sentence are indicated in parentheses. I have marked the position of stress on the material from GAW and ZAR.

[72] However, in certain words, the placement of stress can vary. In Hawrāmī, for example, the placement of stress can mark the difference of gender in feminine and masculine nouns. Nouns that end with the stressed vowels -'ī or -'a are masculine, but nouns that end with those same vowels, though without stress, are feminine.

Nouns ending with stressed -'o and -'ū are always masculine, but nouns ending with stressed -'ē are feminine. See MacKenzie (1966:13) for masculine and feminine nouns. Some examples from my own dialect, HAW, include: *hāł'ē*, 'grape'; *wāł'ē* 'sister'; *nām'ē* 'name' and *žūž'ū* 'hedgehog'. MacKenzie includes one example of such a feminine noun, *kınāč'ē* 'daughter, girl' (19). He also includes the following examples of masculine nouns: *bır'o* 'eyebrow' (90); *mām'o* 'father's brother' (101).

In such cases in Hawrāmī, the placement of stress is predictable. Its placement can be shifted, however, when prefixes or suffixes are added to the root and when the word occurs in relationship to other words, such as when it is in a phrase or in a clause.

GAW: *āsy'āw* 'mill' (3:40), *āy'am* 'human' (3:44)

ZAR: *gan'im* 'wheat'(3-1:33), *naf'ar* 'person' (3-2:4), *gawr'a* 'big' (3-2:84)

A noun in the vocative case is stressed on the first syllable:

(17)   HAW: *ř'oła* 'Child!' (21)

         KAND: *r'ûlä* 'Child!' (172)

         ZAR: *ř'uła* 'Child!' (6:14)

Stress in the verb phrase with affixes

However, when certain suffixes[73] or prefixes[74] occur with finite stems, the suffixes or prefixes receive the primary stress. The following negation prefixes take the primary stress:

(18)   HAW: *n'a-, m'a-*

         KAND: *n'ɩ-, m'ä-*

         ZAR, GAW: *n'a-, n'i-, m'a-*

For Hawrāmī, MacKenzie (1966:36-37) explains that the placement of primary stress on the verb with prefixes, suffixes, and personal endings occurs according to a hierarchy. This hierarchy is summarized in the following figure:

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[73] Besides verbal suffixes and prefixes that receive stress, there are also certain nominal suffixes that do so, including the definite suffixes, the comparative suffix *-tˈar*, and the superlative suffix *-tˈarin*.

[74] These occur with finite stems, such as: *bar* 'out' (in all dialects), *hor* (HAW); *hur* 'up' (7:14), and *hor* 'up' (3-2:175) (ZAR); *haw-* (GAW); *war* (HAW); *wir* (ZAR) 'out, up' (5-1:65); *lā* 'away' (HAW).

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negation prefix

↓

'preverb' suffixes

↓

subjunctive prefix

↓

personal endings of Present Indicative and Imperfect

↓

past stems

↓

past participle

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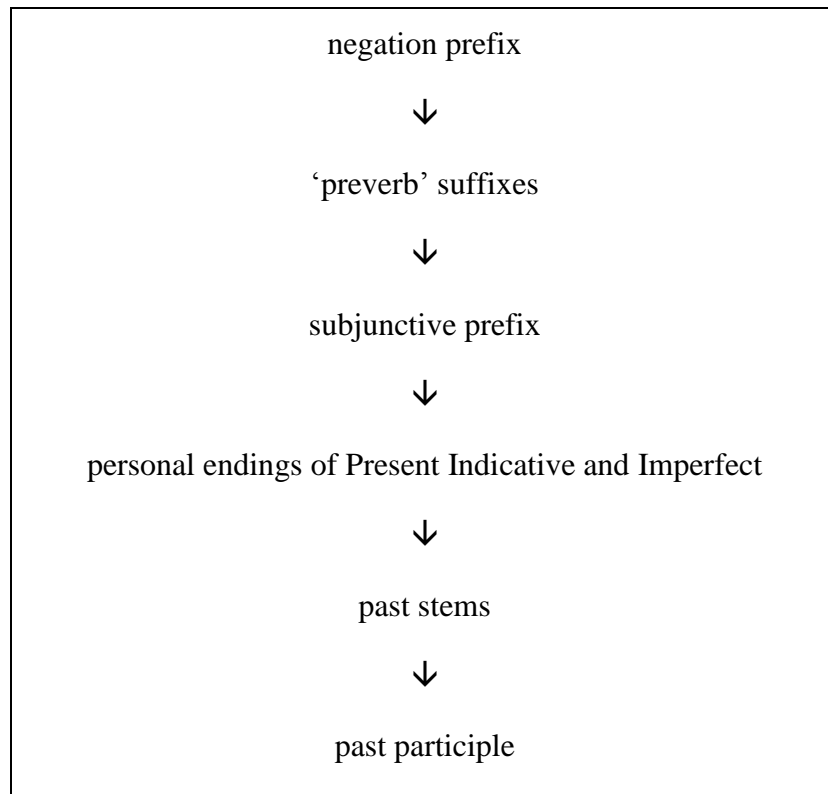
Figure 2: Stress placement hierarchy

This hierarchy is valid for KAND, GAW, and ZAR as well, as illustrated in the following sets of examples. For the examples that follow, the page numbers for HAW data are from MacKenzie (1966).

The first set illustrates the primary stress shifting from the last syllable to the first syllable, that is, to the prefix *ma-*:

(19)   HAW: *mus'u* 'I sleep' (p. 37) but *m'awsu* 'I will not sleep' (p. 37)

The same shift is seen in other dialects:

(20)   KAND: *mäkär'û* 'I do' but *n'ımäkärû* 'I will not do' (p. 139)

ZAR: *maws'ī* but *n'imawsī* 'I will not sleep' (4:181)

GAW: *n'awardamē* 'I haven't eaten (them)' (2:61)

If there are no prefixes in the verbal phrase, then the past stem, or the final syllable of a past participle (if available) receive the stress, as shown in these examples from HAW:

(21)   Past stem: *gēɫ'ā* 'go about' (p. 28)

Past participle: *wit'a* 'having gone to sleep' (p. 36)

Stress in the phrase, clause, and sentence

As we have studied the language and dialects, we have noted that in phrases and clauses, the syllables of some words are pronounced louder than others. The syllables of some words take the loudest or strongest stress, which we will call "primary stress", while others take a weaker stress, which we will call "secondary stress" (perhaps others can take even a weaker, or tertiary, stress). Moreover, a syllable in a word that has secondary stress in one position of a clause may take primary stress in another position.

In what follows we will mostly only talk about primary stress placement.

In a phrase, clause, or sentence, the primary stress tends to fall at the end of the phrase or clause. For example:

(22)   GAW: *maghzakaš barmār'ē* '(he) takes out its brain' (3:61)

But there are some cases in which the primary stress falls at the beginning of the clause. A question word at the beginning of a clause can receive stress, as it is emphasized. For example:

(23)   HAW: *č'ešt be`?* 'What was the matter with you? (p. 60)

Generally, nouns and adverbs are stressed under certain circumstances. For example, these are stressed if there are no other elements available that "attract" stress, such as a negative prefix, a prefix, or any features as in the previously discussed verbal phrase hierarchy. Consider the following circumstances for the expected placement of stress:

- In a phrase, it is usually the final word that takes the primary stress. For example:

(24)   HAW: *sar`aw **pāḏš'āy*** '(long) the head of king' (pp. 68-69, no. 30)

- In a sentence, the primary stress is usually placed on the final word of the whole sentence or clause, which is normally the verb. For example:

(25)   HAW: *r̂u ba čoł`ī w pašt ba āwaḏān`i **lu'ɛ** h`atā yāw`ɛ š`āru **mār'ā*** 'with their faces to the wilderness and their backs to civilization they went until they reached the city of the snakes' (p. 68, no. 33)

         ZAR: *enqełāb hamr̆āy **n'ā**man* 'The Revolution had not come yet' (3-2:91)

         GAW: *maghzakaš barmār'ē* '(he) takes out its brain' (3:61)

- When the verb is not in the sentence-final position, usually the other sentence-final element of the clause or sentence will receive the primary stress. For example:

(26)   HAW: *mārak`a hama- tam`ałš bard huz`uru* **pāḏš'āy** 'The snake took Lazy Hama into the presence of the king' (pp. 68-69, no. 34)

        GAW: *qułang až āsmān* **manĩš'ē** *māya* **ẕw'ān** 'The pickaxe stays (suspended) in the air, begins to speak' (4:169)

But sometimes, even when the verb is not in the sentence-final position, the primary stress falls on it. Of course, when the negative prefix occurs in the sentence, it has priority in receiving the stress.

If a word is especially emphasized, it will also normally receive the primary stress, no matter what position it has in the sentence. As it was mentioned above, the placement of stress can vary, according to its position in the sentence.

5.2.5 Syllable structure

Literary Gūrānī and the four spoken dialects all appear to show the same patterns of syllable structure. The following table shows all the possible types of syllable structure in Gūrānī dialects. The syllable structures in parentheses indicate that two different interpretations are possible. For example, *fra* could be an example of CCV structure, although it could alternatively be interpreted as *fira*, which would have CVCV structure. Similarly, *čwār* would illustrate CCVC structure, but this word could also be interpreted as *čiwār* with CVCVC structure.

	Examples	Reference
V	ā̱mān 'he has come'	Ms.Or.Oct.1173
VC	a̱srīn 'tear'	Ms.Or.Oct. 1175
VCC	āst 'let go.pst'	ZAR 4:197
CV	ḏāna 'wise'	Ms.Or.Oct.1154
CVC	koč 'migration'	Ms.Or.Oct. 1175
CVCC	zułf 'a set of hair'	Ms.Or. 6444.F 32b
(CVCCC)	dayšt 'out, outside'	
(CCV)	fra (or fira) 'a lot'	
(CCVC)	čwār (or čiwār) 'four'	
(CCC)	wšk (or wišk) 'dry'	Mudaris 2006:53

Table 9: Syllable structures

For Literary Gūrānī, the place of the glottal phoneme /ʔ/ and short vowel /i/ is important in determining Gūrānī syllables. It was mentioned in Section 5.2.3 that the phoneme /ʔ/ does not belong to the phonemic system of Gūrānī. However, it can sometimes occur before vowels in initial position.

Unfortunately, there is no study about the position of this phoneme in Gūrānī dialects. For the Persian language, Samara (1985:128-129) assumes that every vowel in initial position begins with a /ʔ/. Based on this analysis, Naqšbandī (1996:56) indicates that in Hawrāmī, as in Persian, every initial vowel is preceded by /ʔ/. Therefore, he excludes the existence of syllable patterns like VC and VCC from the list of syllables of Hawrāmī.

For Kurdish, MacKenzie (1961:6-7) explains that /ʔ/ in certain conditions does not occur before vowels, for example, in intervocalic position, or even in initial position when it follows "a final consonant, the conjunction ū 'and', the Ezāfa ī and the prepositions *baraw, la*" (op. cit., p. 7).

We do not want to exclude the possibility of initial vowels without /ʔ/ for Gūrānī dialects either. Therefore, we assume there are syllable patterns of VC and VCC.

In ZAR, as in all other Gūrānī dialects, initial groups of consonants are common (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:15). The second element of such clusters can be /w/ and /y/,

or consonants /r/, /ř/, /l/, /ł/, for example, as in *čwār* 'four', *pyā* 'man', *fra* 'many', *dł* 'heart', and *dlē* 'in'.

However, in most cases, the consonant clusters of CC (in the syllable patterns of CCV, CCVC or CCVCC) can be interpreted as CVC with the intervention of the short vowel /i/. For example, *fra* can be interpreted as *fira*, and also *př* as *piř*, and *dł* as *dił*.

A consonant cluster based on three consonants (CCC) can be formed when the first consonant is /w/, as in *wšk* 'dry', *wrd* 'small'. Alternatively, it can be interpreted as *wušk* and *wurd*, following the pattern of CVCC.

In some cases, the short vowel /i/ can be deleted, for example in the position of an unstressed syllable or when following a stressed syllable (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:11). It is assumed in the present study that, in most cases, the consonant clusters in the positions of unstressed syllables actually contain the short vowel /i/.

In summary, for syllables with consonant clusters, we observe the following:

- The pattern CVCC is the most frequent one.
- While patterns such as CCV, CCVC and CCVCCC are rare, it is not impossible for them to occur.

5.3 Selected grammatical features of Literary Gūrānī and the four spoken Gūrānī dialects

In the following sections, we will compare some selected grammatical features between Literary Gūrānī and the same four spoken dialects.

5.3.1 Gender marking on nouns

In this section, we examine the noun in relation to grammatical gender.

Gender in the spoken dialects and Literary Gūrānī

For all nouns, HAW has two grammatical genders, which are masculine and feminine. Nouns ending with a consonant, or ending with a stressed *-'o*, *-'u*, *-'ī* and *-'a*, are masculine. Nouns ending in stressed *-'e* and unstressed *-a* and *-ī* are feminine. Nouns ending in *-ā* are mostly masculine, but there are also feminine nouns ending in *-ā*.

In comparison, in KAND, there is no grammatical gender distinction on the noun itself, but only a distinction on the singular definite suffixes, for example, *-äkä* for masculine and *-äkî* for feminine.

In ZAR and GAW, there is no gender distinction. In Literary Gūrānī, there is also no gender distinction.

The comparison of the noun gender distinctions is summarized in the following table:

HAW	KAND	GAW	ZAR	LG
M. *-'o, -'u, -'ī, -'a*, -C F. *-'e, -ī, -a, -ā*	- only in DEF suffix M. *-äkä* F. *-äkî*	-	-	-

Table 10: Gender distinctions for singular nouns

5.3.2 Number and case

Number and case in the spoken dialects

In all Gūrānī dialects, there is a contrast between singular and plural number. In the inflection of nouns (in HAW, adjectives too), there is a distinction of singular and plural number. In all the dialects, singular nouns in direct case are unmarked. Plural nouns are marked depending on their case. In HAW, plural nouns in direct case are marked by *-ē*, and in all other dialects, by *-ān*. In oblique case, a singular noun in HAW is always marked, and in other dialects, the nouns are only sometimes marked (we discuss this topic further below). However, in all the dialects plural nouns in oblique are marked by *-ān*.

As mentioned, in HAW, there is a distinction between two cases, direct and oblique. In contrast, in KAND, ZAR and GAW, there is a process of the loss of the oblique case. For example, HAW shows a distinction with the direct and oblique forms. One of the uses of these cases is shown on plural forms. In contrast, in KAND, ZAR, and GAW, there is no distinction, and the same suffix expresses both cases on a plural noun. The plural marker in ZAR, GAW, and KAND is *-ān*. (In KAND there is also the plural marker *-yäl*). In HAW, case is distinguished on plural nouns, with direct *-ē* and oblique *-ā(n)*.[75]

There are also other forms of plural, such as *-ǧāt*, however, it is not as common as *-ān*.

We will now consider the process of loss of the oblique. The oblique is expected on a noun when the noun occurs in any of the following four types of relationships, as described by MacKenzie (1966:13):

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[75] In HAW of Pāveh, the variant *-ān* is observed.

(I) as "the direct object of a verb, and is at the same time defined",

(II) "in genitival relation to another noun",

(III) when "governed by a preposition", and

(IV) when expressing "the agent, in certain circumstances, of a transitive verb".

In GAW, in contrast to the other dialects, the oblique case (*-ī* and perhaps *-ay*) occurs only rarely, and the process of loss is widespread. The oblique case *-ay* occurs only on a noun preceded by certain prepositions, such as *wa* 'with, to, on, at' or *wa mil* 'upon, at, on', as in this example:

(27)   *matīya wa mil dimiš-**ay*** 'brings it down on its (i.e., the cat's) tail' (1:11)

Even in these instances, it is not certain if the ending is the oblique case or rather a postposition.[76]

In KAND, the loss of oblique case is even more evident, particularly in combination with prepositions. In other words, when prepositions are used, fewer instances of the oblique case are observed.

However, for KAND, in a genitive relation, the oblique marker often occurs. An example from Hadank & Mann (1930:101) illustrates the use of the oblique case in a genitival relation; the ending *-î* on *dâr* marks the oblique case:

(28)   *lâq dâr-î* 'the branch of tree'

For marking the direct object of a verb, KAND has preserved the use of the oblique case, as in the following example:

(29)   yä äshkäft-î pîâ mä-kär-û (Hadank & Mann 1930:344)

         one cave-OBL find IND-do-3SG

         'One cave I will find'

Number and case in Literary Gūrānī

In Literary Gūrānī, there is a distinction between singular and plural nouns. As in the spoken dialects, the singular nouns are unmarked, and the plural nouns are marked by *-ān*.

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[76] See Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2012:13), in the section on "Morphology of nouns and noun phrases".

In Literary Gūrānī, there are generally no case distinctions. Only Saydī's Type II poems, which are an exception in Literary Gūrānī, show case marking. The next example illustrates the oblique marker on several nouns (in bold font). In these lines, we observe that *zinj* 'chin' is in a genitive relationship with *čal* 'cavern'. This noun takes the oblique suffix *-ī* because it follows the Ezāfa *-u*, which is actually the HAW form of the genitive Ezāfa. The same genitive relationship holds between *tof* 'begin' and *jaħēlī* 'youth', with the genitive Ezāfa *-u* and oblique marker *-ī*:

(30)   tama-m bast-ē-na ā čał-u **zinj-ī**

ka da-y čā Kawsar-a[77]-y āw-u ħayt-im

luvo-na sar-u tof-u **jaħēl-ī**

darak pīr nušaran waxt u saʕātim (15)

I saw much desire, that cleft in the chin

(So) that I want the water of life from that Kawsar fountain

To hell (that) I am old, I go to the beginning of my youth

No matter if I am old, I am enjoying the days of my time

But in all other types of Literary Gūrānī, there is a loss similar to that in GAW, even in the poetry from Hawrāmān area, and no case marking is observed. It may be possible even to claim that there never was a case distinction in LG. The lack of case marking is an important difference between the spoken Hawrāmī language and the literary language (LG) of Hawrāmī poets. For example, in the following lines of Mawlawī, the nouns *dił* 'heart', *xat* 'line', and *ħayāt* 'life' are in a genitive relationship with the nouns preceding them. They are therefore in a context that would otherwise require the oblique case, according to Hawrāmī grammar. However, no oblique marker occurs on them:

---

[77] Kawsar is the name for the fountain of life.

(31)   Mawlawī:

pašēw wēna-y wēm nīšta bēm xijił

dīm šādī das dā na darwāzay **dił**

…

na tārīk-ī **xat** maʕnāš majošā

čun āw **hayāt** dił xās xās nošā (Mudařis 2006:106)

In disarray, as I am, I was sitting, bored

I saw happiness knocking on my **heart's** gate

…

In the depth of my darkness, the **lines** (of a letter) were boiling

My heart was filled with the water of **life**

One reason for a missing oblique marker can be to make the words fit the metrical system (we discuss this point in the next pages). For example, in the following lines by Dizłī, if the oblique suffix *-ī* were placed after *bo-y řēhan*, the number of syllables would be more than five. More than five syllables would therefore disrupt the metrical pause in the middle of the line:

(32)   yak sāł ziyādan nīyan ašʕāriš

nimē **bo-y řēħān** ǰa mērghuzāriš (108)

For more than one year, he has been feeling nothing

In the garden (of his heart), he does not scent the basil

However, in many other cases, the absence of the oblique case does not affect the caesura. Consider, for example, the following lines by Pāvayī, where the oblique case is not used:

(33)   tom exlāsim na řū-y **dił** šandan

wēm wa kamtarīn ghulāmān wandan (Amini: 56)

I threw the seed of purity upon the heart

I considered myself less than a servant

In the above lines, after *dił*, the masculine oblique suffix *-ī* is expected, because *dił* is governed by the combined preposition *na řū-y*.

In almost all the texts by Mawlawī and Pāvayī, the plural marker *-ān* is used with no distinction for oblique and direct case.

There is almost never any plural ending in *-ē* (the HAW direct case plural suffix), in the texts by Mawlawī and Pāvayī. For example, in the following lines, the nouns *zām-ān* 'wounds' and *yār-ān* 'friends' and *hawmāł-ān* 'mates' have the plural endings *-ān*. These words with the endings, *zām-ān* and *yār-ān*, are based on Hawrāmī grammatical rules requiring the oblique case (they are in a genitive relationship with the words *ālūda* and *koč*, respectively). But *hāwmāł-ān*, as the subject of the clause, is in direct case, and consequently, the plural ending *-ē* in HAW would normally be required. Nevertheless, in all instances, the plural marker *-ān* has been used instead (in bold below):

(34)   sā xāsan amjār, šūme sīābaxt

           to ālūda-y dard min **zām-ān**-e saxt

           sāqī gard koč **yār-ān** dīyāran

           hāwmāł-ān parīm na īntezāran (232-233)

           It is just good this time, the horrible fate

           You (are) covered by pain, I (am) badly wounded

           Cup-bearer (wine-server)! The dust of (the) departures of friends is visible

           Companions are waiting for me

In some instances, the Arabic plural marker *-āt* rather than *-ā(n)* has been used, as in Pāvayī:

(35)   min-īč wa bē-dang mašūn wa jā-y wēm

           ʕarq čun **sayl-āt** marēzo na jē-m (Amini: 57)

           I am quietly moving to my place

           Sweat is flowing out of me

In Saydī's Type I poems, the plural marker is *-ān* and it has been used for both oblique and direct cases as well:

(36)   sā ka bo-y ʕatrit ba **guł-ān** yāwā

           guł-ān xēzyān pay ʕazm-ī dāwā (34)

           As your scent reached the flowers

           The flowers stand up to the challenge

In the first line of this couplet, the noun *guł-ān* 'flowers' is only marked as plural, though one would have expected it to be marked for oblique case as well, since it is governed by the

preposition *ba*. In the second line, the same noun expresses the subject and is in direct case. In both instances, the poet has used the plural marker *-ān*.

The same plural ending is observed in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin manuscript, no. 1171, the epic poem of *Xuršīd-u Xāwar*. The nouns *amīr* 'lord', *wazīr* 'minister', and *axtar-šumār* 'astronomer' receive the plural ending *-ān*. All three instances are in direct case:

(37)   āmān **amīr-ān wazīr-ān**-e šāh

axtar-šumār-ān dāʕī u dust-xwāh

The Amirs and the ministers of the king have come

The astronomers bragging and desiring to be admired

In the religious poems of Malā Parēšān, preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the same plural ending is used on nouns in direct case:

(38)   **mast-ān**-e majāz dīwān-an mast nīn

hawā-parast-ān xudā-parast nīn

Those are not drunk who are metaphorically drunk, they are mad;

It is those who serve lust who do not serve God

However, in Saydī's Type II poems, the plural direct case marker, *-ē* is observed:

(39)   **mamalǰ**-ē-š nāra-**kułm-ē-š** sūra sāwa

wēš aǰē salwēna midrēna pāwa (17)

Her breast (is like a) pomegranate, her cheeks (like a) red apple

She is like a standing cypress

In the poetry by Dizłī, which is similar to the poetry by Mawlawī and Pāvayī, the plural marker used in most instances for both cases is *-ā*[78] (in the following instances, the poet has used the definite plural marker *-akā*), but the plural marker *-ē* for direct case is also found:

(40)   garden **žaraž-ā**, sosan-**xāłak-ā**

zułfa **sīyā-kā** čama **kāł-akā**

kiłāša **xas-akē** pay āyšā bo

či darbasanī min pā-xirwā bo (77-78)

---

[78] The plural ending in Hawrāmī, as in the dialect of Nawsoud and vicinity, is *-ā*, but in the region of Pāveh and the villages around Marīvān, the plural ending is *-ān*. The poet Dizłī comes from the town of Dizłī, the speech of which is close to the dialect of Nawsoud.

The partridge(-like)-necked girls, the striped lily

The black-haired ones, the color-eyed

The handmade shoes are (only) for them

What do you care if I am barefoot?

To summarize, except for the two poets, Saydī and Dizłī, the poets of the Gūrānī School do not distinguish between direct and oblique cases when forming the plural.

In the following summary table, the case forms are shown. The direct case is unmarked in all dialects. The oblique case is marked by the following suffixes:

	Direct Singular	**Direct Plural**	**Oblique Singular**	**Oblique Plural**
HAW	∅	-ē	M: ī/y; F: ē	-ā(n)
KAND	∅	-ān	-ī/-y	-ān
ZAR	∅	-ān	-ī/y; a (following vowel -ya)	-ān
GAW	∅	-ān	(-ay/-ī)	-ān
LG	∅	-ān	∅	-ān

Table 11: Case forms

5.3.3 Definiteness marker

The definiteness marker can also be added to the noun stem to form a definite noun. By adding morphemes to the noun stem, one can construct the definite or indefinite form, number and case.

Definiteness marker in the spoken dialects

In the spoken Gūrānī dialects, the definiteness marker has the following forms. In KAND, there is the definiteness suffix *-äkä* (masculine sg.), *-äkî* (feminine sg.), and plural *-äkan*. In ZAR and GAW, for both masculine and feminine nouns, there is the suffix *-aka* and the plural suffix *-akān.* In HAW, the definiteness marker also has different forms depending on the

gender, case, and number: *-aka*[79] (masculine), *-akē* (feminine), *-akē* (plural direct), and *-akān* (plural oblique).

Definiteness marker in Literary Gūrānī

MacKenzie (2002) notes that this definite suffix does not exist in the literary koiné. Kreyenbroek and Chamanara (2013:151) also confirm the absence of this suffix.

However, in the texts by HAW poets, the definiteness suffix is frequently found. Some examples are presented below (where bold font indicates the suffix being illustrated). In the first example, by Mawlawī, the singular suffix *-aka* is used:

(41)   Mawlawī:

dīsā hurēza xamyār**aka**-y wēm   Again my unhappiness came into view

bo šād ba wa dīn dīdār**aka**-y wēm   Come! Be happy with it, it is yourself (with the visit
(38)   of your own visitor)

In Dizłī, the plural form of the definiteness suffix is found, as *-akē*:

(42)   kiłāša xās**akē** pay āyšā bo   The good shoes are for them

či darbasanī min pāxarwā bo (78)   What do you care if I am barefoot?

In Saydī's Type I poems, the form of *-aka* is found, which is used for both masculine and feminine nouns:

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[79] Generally, when these morphemes are followed by *a* and *ā,* the form appears as *-ak* or *-yaka* following other vowels; and *-ak* or *-k* followed by a vowel.

(43) arē rand**aka**m, arē rand**aka**m   O my scoundrel, o my scoundrel

  arē hay nāzār šoxī rand**aka**m   O my playful, joyful scoundrel

  arē nāzanīn dił pasand**aka**m   O you, the choice of my heart

  to har aw xwāǰa-w min aw band**aka**m   You are the same God, and I am the same servant

  to xo šartit kard baynat-dār**aka**m   You gave me the promise, my promise-keeper

  wātit har tonī tā sar yār**aka**m   You said, "You will be my only friend until the end"

  īsa sabab čēš arē layl**aka**m   What is the reason now, my Layl?

  maylit kardan sard hay bē-mayl**aka**m   Why are you behaving so coldly, my lost friend?
  (18)

The following table summarizes the forms of the definiteness marker in all four spoken Gūrānī dialects and in Literary Gūrānī (LG):

	HAW	KAND	ZAR	GAW	LG
SG	M. -aka F. -akē	M. -äkä, F. -äkî	-aka	-aka	-aka
PL	Dir. -akē Obl. -akān	-äkan	-akān	-akān	(-akān)

Table 12: Definiteness markers

5.3.4 Indefiniteness marker

Indefiniteness marker in the spoken dialects

The indefiniteness suffix can also be added to a noun stem to mark it as indefinite.

There are various forms of this indefiniteness marker. In ZAR and GAW, there is the suffix *-ēk* (*-k* following *-ē*, and *-yēk* following other vowels). In GAW, there is also the variant of *-ē*. In KAND, there are two suffixes, *-ī* and *-īk*. In HAW, there are the suffixes *-ēw* (masculine) and *-ēwa* (feminine). In all the dialects, the cardinal number *yak* 'one' can also be used preceding a noun to express indefiniteness.

Indefiniteness marker in Literary Gūrānī

In Hawrāmī poetry, the Mawlawī poems use the form *-ēw* and *-ē* as indefiniteness markers, as illustrated by the next two examples:

(44)   das-**ēw-**t daf bo, aw das ǰām-e may (52)

   In one hand you should have a daf,[80] and in the other, the bowl of wine

(45)   warna yanē čēš na ǰārān ǰār-**ē**

   xabar naparsī ǰa řāwyār-**ē** (41)

   What does it mean on several occasions?

   You do not ask the wayfarers about me

In the following two examples by Pāvayī, we find both the indefiniteness suffix marker *-ē* as well as the indefinite adjectival form *yak*:

(46)   dīm řang-**ē** ʕaǰīb, tarħ-**ē** nazanīn (Amini: 156)

   I saw a marvelous color, a pleasing pattern

(47)   **yak** šēr u gurg-**ē** čanī řūbāy-**ē**

   har sē girtišān na wēša ǰāy**ē** (241)

   One lion and a wolf with a fox

   All three found a place in the bush

In both Type I and Type II poems by Saydī, we find both the suffixes *-ēw* (M) / *-ēwa* (F) and *-ē* as well as the adjective form *yak*:

---

[80] The daf is a type of drum, which sometimes has little metal cymbals on it (similar to a tambourine).

Type I:

(48) nāgā tamāšā-y dašt-u sārā kard

Suddenly he looked towards the wilderness

dīš ka sayād-**ē** payda bī ǰa hard

(He) saw a hunter coming down the mountain

yak āhūš kuštan wistan na šān dā

(He) had killed one gazelle; (he) had put it on (his) shoulder

mawyaro ba ǰaxt naw bīyābān dā (92)

He went along with heavy steps in the wilderness

Type II:

(49) nabē ħālim waro aškē ʕazīmī

There was no great lover to take care of me

ř̌o-**ēw** komim kīyāstim pay ħakīmī

One day, I went to see a doctor

…

…

dam-**ēw** nīšta čanīm dasta zironī

One moment she sat with her hands around her knees

wanaš lāłām wa yāsīn u kironī

I appealed to her with the last prayer (Yasin)[81] (from the) Qur'an

…

…

dam-ū ř̌oy yārim ēzā-w luāwa

In the early morning she stood up and went

ħakīm-**ē** čaw dimā nīštmara lāwa (16-17)

Later a doctor sat down close to me

In the following poem by Dizłī, we observe both forms, *-ēwa* and *-ē*:

(50) sar u qing čarma, fra mumtāy bo

čāy-**ēw**a xalīs āwāta xwāz bo (75)

The top and the end should be white, (it should) taste excellent

(It should be) pure tea, something everyone would want

(51) Doʕā-y-**ē** karū baška bo qabūł

īna bižnawa xwā ǰa ř̌asūl (94)

I make a prayer, hopefully it will be accepted

---

[81]Yasin is the name of a Sura in the Qur'an.

Listen to this, (from) God to prophet

In the poems in some of the manuscripts preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, illustrated below by Ms.Or.Oct. 1171 and Ms.Or.Oct. 1159, and in the British Museum, illustrated below by Ms.Or. 6444, the indefinite markers -*ē* and -*ēw* are used. For example:

(52)　　Ms.Or. 6444:f.11b:

　　　　tarz-**ēw** xazan dīm ja fasl-e hāmin

　　　　ba giř masūčyā batar-tar ja min

　　　　I saw some kind of autumn in the season of summer

　　　　It burned worse than me

(53)　　Ms.Or.Oct.1171:

　　　　yak nawjawān-**ē** wēna-y šēr-e mast

　　　　dast-e xarāmān aw girdan ba dast (Xuršīd u Xāwar)

　　　　One teen-aged youth like a drunken lion

　　　　The hand of Xaraman around his neck

(54)　　nāga kanīz-ē wa taʕjīl u jaxt

　　　　āmā šī wa ħāl midrā na pā-y taxt(Xuršīd u Xāwar)

　　　　Suddenly, a servant woman came in a hurry

　　　　She went and she fell down and then she stood up in front of the throne

(55)　　Ms.Or.Oct. 1159:

　　　　qetʕa bāgh-**ē** bē čanī **yak** nahr-**ē**

　　　　nāgā sayad-**ē** āmā wa guzar

　　　　There was a garden with one stream

　　　　Suddenly, a hunter came from the alley

To sum up, in all of the aforementioned texts of LG, the indefinite marker -*ē* is the most frequent form. The following table summarizes the types of indefiniteness markers in the four spoken dialects and in LG:

HAW	KAND	ZAR	GAW	LG
M. -ēw	-ē	-ē	-ē	-ē
F. -ēwa	-ī	-ēk	-ēk	-ēw (and in some rare cases F. ēwa)
		-ī	-ī	
	-īk	-īk		
yak	yak	yak	yak	yak

Table 13: Indefiniteness markers

5.3.5 Ezāfa particle

Ezāfa in the spoken dialects

The Ezāfa particle is found in various forms in the spoken dialects. HAW speakers use the Ezāfa particle *-ū* (*-w* following a vowel) for genitival linking, while they use *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel) for epithetic linking (that is, for adjectives). In ZAR, the Ezāfa particle *-ū* is found as well, but in most cases, there are the forms of *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel) and short *-e* (*-y* following a vowel), the latter of which is more common. In KAND, the Ezāfa particles are *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel) and short *-e* (*-y* following a vowel). In GAW, the Ezāfa particle is usually *-e* (*-y* following a vowel). However, in some cases in GAW, the Ezāfa is absent,[82] for example, in the phrase *kū bīsitün* 'the mountain of Bistoun' (4:64) and in *das min* 'my hand' (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:16). The Ezāfa particle in KAND is also sometimes absent (compare Hadank & Mann 1930:121).

Ezāfa in Literary Gūrānī

The Hawrāmī poets use the genitival Ezāfa *-ū* (*-w* following a vowel), the epithetic Ezāfa *-ī,* and the short vowel Ezāfa *-e* (*-y* following a vowel). But it should be noted that the short vowel Ezāfa *-e* is not actually written as an individual symbol in the manuscripts and published books. The short vowel Ezāfa is only apparent in the Arabic script writing system when it forms part of a diphthong. But even in that instance, it will be omitted for metrical reasons, that is, when it would have coincided with the caesura (compare with MacKenzie 1965:259).

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[82] The exact reason for the absence of the Ezāfa particle is not yet clear to us and deserves more research.

In HAW, the form of the genitival Ezāfa is *-ū* (*-w* following a vowel) and the epithetic Ezāfa is *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel), but in Literary Gūrānī, the short vowel *-e* (*-y* following a vowel) is the most frequent form. Although the short vowel Ezāfa is not actually written in the Arabic script, we assume it would be read orally because of the rules of the language. The exception to this is when this Ezāfa would coincide with a caesura (and in that case it would be deleted for metrical reasons). Moreover, even in the places that the Ezāfa particle *-ū* (*-w* following a vowel) is required in Literary Gūrānī, the HAW poets have used mostly the epithetic Ezāfa particle *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel).

In the following couplet by the HAW poet Pāvayī, several instances of the epithetic Ezāfa particle *-ī* (*-y* following vowels) are found: *yaxa-y layl* 'the dress collar of Layl', *ǰā-y min* 'the place of me', and *manziłgā-y min* 'the house of me'. The poet has used the epithetic Ezāfa *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel) even in the HAW structures in which the genitive Ezāfa *-ū* (*-w* following a vowel) would be expected or required.

(56)   čand sāł yaxa-**y** layl ǰāma-**y** ǰā-**y** min bē

sīna-**y** sīmīniš manziłgā-**y** min bē (Sepanǰī 1989:42)

For years, the dress collar of Layl was my bed

Her silver breast was my home

Like most of the poets of Literary Gūrānī, Pāvayī also uses the Ezāfa particle *-e*, as in these lines:

(57)   ǰa ēš-**e** zāmān awgārim īmšaw

girftār-**e** dard nāxārim īmšaw (Amini: 42)

From the pain of wounds I felt hurt tonight

I am gripped by rough pain tonight

In Mawlawī's poetry as well, the Ezāfa particle *-e* is used in most cases:

(58)   āmāwa wahār, wahār-**e** šādī

bo-y ʕatr-**e** nasīm ghunča-**y** āzādī (61)

Spring comes again, the spring of joy

The breeze of perfume, the bud of freedom

Dizłī, like Pāvayī and Mawlawī, uses three types of Ezāfa: the Hawrāmī genitival Ezāfa *-ū* (*-w*), the epithetic Ezāfa *-ī*, and *-e:*

(59)   swāra ghār ghārēn řaqs-u samā-w zawq

        lanǰa-**w** kināčā malā maro šawq (48)

        The horseman was galloping (as in a) ballroom dance with zeal

        The flirting girls cheer up the Mullah

(60)   min xo dūr ǰa aw čun marda marda

        har ham na xayāł ſumr-**e** wīyarda (Nazīrī 2000:105)

        Away from her, I am in grief

        Every moment in the dream of the lifetime passed

In Saydī's Type II poems, the genitive Ezāfa *-ū* (*-w*) is frequently observed:

(61)   az umromon makanim bē u wiłātim

        sar-**ū** pīrī xwā-y gēran xałātim

        Nīšāt-**ū** kāka bāromī xiǰiłno

        xamēš bargim pažāraš bo xałātim (13)

        Orāmān (Hawrāmān) was my land and country

        God has placed me (now) in Sar-u Piri[83]

        I am busy with Nishat of Kāk Bārom (Nishat, the daughter of Kāk Bahrām)

        Her sadness is my clothing, her pain is my reward

But in Saydī's Type I poems, the genitive Ezāfa *-ū* is used less frequently. Instead, the Ezāfa form *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel) and *-e* are used, as illustrated in the following lines. According to HAW grammar, we would expect the genitive Ezāfa *-ū,* but instead we find the forms *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel) in the phrases *fīdā-y zulfit* and *zulf-ī to*.

(62)   fīdā-**y** zulfit bam, řind-**ī** ǰamīn lāł

        zulf-**ī** to bāzār gułān kard batāł (35)

        I would die for your locks, (your) ruby-like forehead of goodness!

        Your locks have made the flower market worthless

In the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin manuscripts, the same Ezāfa particles *-e* and *-ī* are also observed:

---

[83] Sar-u Piri is a holy place close to Hawrāmān-e Taxt, a village in Hawrāmān.

(63)   Ms.Or.Oct.1173:

bo-**y** ʕatr-**e** laylī bād-**e** šamāł bard

pēčā na damāx Majnūn čun gard

The wind from the north brought the perfume of Layli

It filled the nose of Majnun like a powder

(64)   Ms.or.Oct.1196: Parēšān-Nāma:

ži gufta-**y** řāsān šinaftim nawīd

kušta-**y** ʕašq-**e** aw šahīdan šahīd

The good news that I heard from the truth-tellers

(The one who) is killed from her love is a martyr

The following table summarizes the Ezāfa particles found in the four spoken Gūrānī dialects and in LG (note that the epithetic/genitival distinction only applies to HAW):

Ezāfa					
	HAW	KAND	ZAR	GAW	LG
epithetic	-ī (-y following a vowel)	-ī (-y following a vowel)	-e -ū (-w following a vowel)	-e	-e -ī (-y following a vowel)
genitival	-ū (-w following a vowel)	-e	-ī (-y following a vowel)		-ū (-w following a vowel)

Table 14: Ezāfa particles

5.3.6 Numerical inflection

Numerical inflection in the spoken dialects

In HAW, a noun is marked with the plural *-ē* when it is qualified by a cardinal number greater than one:

(65)   sad sāłē 'a hundred years' (MacKenzie 1966:23)

However, in ZAR and GAW, a noun is not marked even when it is qualified by cardinal numbers:

(66)   ZAR: **dö gēsk** m-ār-o=u

'she brings two kid goats (into the world) and' (6:8)

(67)   GAW: yā **dü māng**, yā **sē māng**, yā **čwār māng** manīšē

'(Rostam) stays there two months or three months or four months' (5:117)

In KAND, both strategies are possible: either a noun may remain unmarked when qualified by a number greater than one; or it may be marked with the plural marker *-ān*, as in *čûâr kur-ân* 'the four sons' (Hadank & Mann 1930:124).

Numerical inflection in Literary Gūrānī

In Saydī's Type II poems, we find examples of numerical inflection like the following:

(68)   tamā-w tom nabrēna u nimabrūš

hazār sāł-**ē**-w hazār panǰ-**ē**-w dimāyī (20)

I did not give up the desire for you (and) I do not give it up

A thousand years and (another) five thousand years after that

However, in all other manuscripts and published books in Literary Gūrānī, no numerical inflection is observed. In the following examples from two different HAW poets, the zero marker (Ø) indicates the absence of the expected numerical inflection:

Pāvayī:

(69)   sad hazār sałwāt-**Ø** dawazda ēkram-**Ø** (Amini: 205)

Hundred thousand greetings and twelve (times) bowing

Ms.Or. 6444:f.41 b:

(70)   sē jār-**Ø** sē zanjīr-**Ø** sē band-**Ø** sē tawq-**Ø**

Three times, three chains, three bonds, three hair clips

5.3.7 Independent personal pronouns

For the independent personal pronouns, HAW makes a distinction in the third person singular between feminine and masculine, while in the other spoken dialects, there is no gender distinction. In all four spoken dialects, there is no gender distinction in the first and second person pronouns.

The independent personal pronouns in the third person singular also function as demonstratives. In HAW, the third person singular pronouns are *ēđ / āđ* 'he (near)' / 'he (far)' for masculine and *ēđa / āđa* 'she (near)' / 'she (far)' for feminine.

In ZAR, there are also the forms written as *ē(d)* and *ā(d)* for both genders, beside the two pronouns *ī* and *ā,* which also function as demonstrative pronouns. (As mentioned earlier in the phonology section, these words are pronounced as *ī* and *ā* by younger speakers, and as *īḏ* and *āḏ* by older speakers. The sound *ḏ* is an allophone of /d/.)

In KAND, *ā* and *aw* are the third person singular forms which also function as demonstrative pronouns.

In GAW, *ān(a)* and *īn(a)* are the third person singular forms and demonstrative pronouns.

In HAW, *āna* and *īna* only function as demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative adjective *ā* 'that' and *ī* 'this' can qualify a noun, which in turn takes the suffixes *-'a* m. and *-'ē* f.

Beside these third person singular pronouns, there is in HAW the pronoun *aw*, which is masculine, and *awa,* which is feminine. In KAND *aw* is used for both genders.

In GAW, there is the form *ēma* 'we', and also the variant *īma*, as a consequence of the vowel alternation of /ē/ and /ī/.

For the third person singular and plural in HAW, there are also oblique forms. In KAND, for all instances, there is the oblique form with *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel) with the exception of *ā*.

HAW, ZAR, and GAW have the second person plural form *šima*.[84] In KAND, the second person plural form is *šuma* (direct case, and *šumay* as oblique).

The full forms of the personal pronouns, including the LG forms to be discussed in the next section, are summarized in the following table:

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[84] In our fieldwork in Iraqi Kurdistan for the DoBeS project "Documentation of Gorani, an endangered language of West Iran", we found that most of the Gūrānī dialects there also use the form *šima* as a second person plural pronoun.

	HAW		ZAR		KAND		GAW	LG
SG	DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL	DIR, OBL	DIR
1	(a)min		min		amin	amnī	min	min
2	tu		tu		tū	tūy	tu	tu
3					ā/aw	awī	ān(a), īn(a)	aw/ēd
M	ēđ /āđ /aw	ēđī / āđī	ē(d)/ā(d), ī/ā					
F	ēđa/āđa/awa	ēđē/āđē						
PL	DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL	DIR	OBL	DIR, OBL	DIR
1	ēma		ēma		īma īmay		ēma / īma	ēma/ īma
2	šima		šimā		šuma, šumay		šima	šima
3	ēđē/āđē// đīšān/āđīšān		īšān/ēšān āšān		īšān/awšān īšānī/awšānī		ānān(a), īnān(a)	(?)

Table 15: Independent personal pronouns

Independent personal pronouns in Literary Gūrānī

In Literary Gūrānī, the poets did not distinguish between feminine and masculine in the third person singular. For the third person singular, most used the forms *aw* 'he/she far' and *ēd/ēđ* 'he/she near'.

In Saydī's Type II poems, he distinguishes between feminine and masculine. In the following lines, the personal pronoun *āđa* indicates the third person singular feminine:

Saydī (Type II)

(71)   **min** ēšaw mēra bēnī **āđa** īsā

doʕāš gēra birona zinda ēsā (177)

I was dead tonight, and she was (like) Jesus (to me)

Her prayer is accepted and makes me alive now

However, in Saydī's Type I poems, this distinction is not observed. In the following couplet, *aw* 'he' is used for feminine:

Saydī (Type I)

(72)   ēšaw kayf-ī min čun har šaw niyan

aw dīday mastiš ǰūyā-y xaw nīyan (100)

Tonight my happiness is not like every night

She, her intoxicated (i.e., gorgeous) eyes do not look for sleep

The same is true of the poems by Dizłī, Pāvayī, Mawlawī and all other manuscripts:

(73)   Dizłī:

aw ba hayāhū, **ēđ** ba nāława

aw ba tap u toz **ēđ** ba pāława (115)

She/he with tumultuousness, she/he with languishing

She/he with agitation, she/he with no motion

(74)   Pāvayī:

guł ǰa ʕašq-e **aw** dayim tāsašan

gułāw īntizār bo-y hanāsašan (Spanjī: 47)

The flower is with desire for her love

The rosewater is missing her breath

Often, the forms *ēđ* 'this' and *aw* 'that' are also used as demonstrative pronouns:

(75)   Mawlawī:

hēz-e pā-y raft u āmāšān niyan

aw sarčamaš wšk, **ēđ** kotā biyan (53)

They have no power for coming and going

That source is dried up, this one has given up

(76)   Ms.Or.Oct. 1198:

sā čun **ēd** farmā sardār-e nīk-baxt

ħātam ja majlis horēzā ba jaxt

As soon as the good-feat commander said this

Hatam stood up quickly

In almost all manuscripts, the form of the first person plural is *ēma/īma*. One example follows:

(77)   Ms.Or. 6444, F. 37b

Ēma u to hāmřāz, šawē tā ba řo

We and you (with) the same secret, from the night until the day,

5.3.8 Tense-aspect-mood constructions

In all spoken dialects, every verb form is based on either a present or past stem. To these stems, prefixes can be added which indicate mood, aspect, and negation. Person and number can be shown by the verb agreement suffixes.

The following tense-aspect-mood constructions are built with the present stem:

- Present Indicative

- Present Subjunctive

- Imperative

- Imperfect (only in HAW)

The following tense-aspect-mood constructions are built with the past stem:

- Past Indicative

- Past Imperfective (not in HAW, but in ZAR, GAW and KAND)

- Past Subjunctive

Other tense-aspect-mood constructions, such as the Present Perfect, are formed with the past stem by adding the present form of the copula verb ('be'). The Pluperfect is formed with the past form of the copula verb. These two constructions are not described in any further detail below.

The Past Subjunctive is also not described in any further detail below.

Some of the tense-aspect-mood constructions in the four dialects are formed as follows:

(I) Present Indicative and Present Subjunctive

The Present Indicative is formed by adding the prefix *mi-* (or *m-* before vowels) and a person-number ending to the present stem (for person-number endings see Table 16 below).

The Present Subjunctive involves the same set of suffixes, but it less consistently employs a prefix, *bi-*. In Literary Gūrānī, for example, the prefix is often absent.

(78)   Mawlawī:

ēsa kē tāqat dūrī to **dār-o**

dak barq-e ghazab wa ǰasam **wār-o** (42)

Who should have the patience for your distance?

May a curse fall on me

The following suffixes indicating person and number occur on both Present Indicative and Present Subjunctive. Forms in parentheses (…) are those that follow a stem ending in a vowel and forms after a slash (/) are variants that some poets have used.

		HAW	ZAR	KAND	GAW	LG
SG						
	1	-ū (-w)	-ī (-y)	-ǖ	-im (-yim), -m	-ū (-w) /-ūn,-ūm,-im
	2	-ī (-y)	-ī (-y)	-ī (-y)	-ī / -yī, -y	-ī (-y)
	3	-o	-o	-ū	-ē (-yē), -wē, -ī (-yī, -y)	-o / -on
PL						
	1	-mē (ymē)	-mē (-ymē)	-im (-m)	-ām	-mē / -īm
	2	-dē (-ydē)	-dē (-ydē)	-dī (-ydī)	-a	-dē / -īn
	3	-ā(n)	-ān	-ān	-in (-yin, -n)	-ān

Table 16: Person-number endings (verb suffixes) in present tense clauses

In Mawlawī, Pāvayī, and Saydī (Type I), besides the less common form of the first person singular ending of present tense *-ū*, there is the ending *-ūn*.

(79)   Pāvayī

ǰa māł-e dinyā laħāfē dār**ūn**

dayim zendegī wa aw mawyār**ūn** (Amini:18)

Of worldly possessions, I have (only) a blanket

And I spend all my life with that

(80)   wātim min xātir wa kē šād kar**ūn**

        nadār**ūn** qudrat to āzād kar**ūn** (Spanǰī:36)

        I said: With whom should I make my mind happy?

        I have no power to make you free

(81)   Mawlawī:

        īmšaw wa har ħāł šaw wa řo bar-**ūn**

        ay xwā sā margē saħar čēs kar-**ūn** (47)

        Tonight, anyway, I will make it to the morning

        O God! Bring me death, what should I do in the early morning?

In all the manuscripts, the first person singular ending *-ū*, *-ūn*, and, in some cases, also the ending *-ūm*, are observed:

(82)   Ms.Or. 6444: f.11 a

        nūr-e bīnāyīm ja dīda jīān

        ba hīč řangē-dā nimatā-w-**ū** dīān

        The light of my eyes left me

        I do not see color any more

(83)   Ms.Or. 6444, f.24 a

        wātiš bē-marwat xabar-sardanī

        čanī nanāł-**ū** mar bē-dardan-**ī**

        He said: You, insensitive (one)! You do not (send) any news

        How can I not groan? Do you not have any pain?

(84)   bāyad bikēš-**ūm** har damī sad āh

        ži kamī tūša ži dirāzī řāh (Parēšān- Nāma)

        I should complain each moment one hundred times

        Because nothing is left with me on this long way

For the first person singular in present, the ending *-im* (or *-m* following vowel) is used, for example, in Mawlawī and in poetry of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin manuscripts:

(85)   Mawlawī:

ta kay čun Maǰnūn wēl-e hardān b**im**

tā kay xam zaday bār-e heǰrān b**im** (51)

How long should I wander like Majnun in the mountains?

How long should I be sad because of you being away?

(86)   Ms.Or.Oct.1181:

sīsad tūmān tā-y sad-dāna gawhar

mada-**m** mizgānīš bałka zīādtar

Three hundred banknotes, (like) a hundred jewels

I give it as a present (for the good news), even more

For the third person singular present ending, *-o* is found in all of the Literary Gūrānī literature:

(87)   Mawlawī

na sabr-im čanī dūrī-t masāz-**o**

na wasłat wa mayl dił-im nawāz-**o** (201)

Not (even) my patience can accept (that) you are far away

Nor my desire is fulfilled with your coming

Nevertheless, the ending *-on* is also found to express third person singular in Literary Gūrānī:

(88)   Ms.Or.Oct.1181

tīrē wa mižgān pēkā na jargim	One eyelash (as an) arrow hit my heart
sākin nimab-**on** tā řož-e margim	I will be filled with pain until my death
…	…
har kas bāwar-**on** xabar ži Bahrām	Everybody that brings me the news from Bahram
madar-**on** wa pēš farāwān anʕām	I will give him a good prize

Third person plural ending *-ān* is also found:

(89)   Ms.Or. 6444 f. 35 b

maš-ān na mazhab tāmām bē-dīnān

īmān **mawraš-ān** zunnār **mawīn-ān**

They convert to the religion of the religionless

They sell faith, (they) wear the belt[85]

(90)   Ms.Or.Oct 1171 *Xuršīd u Xāwar*

kanīzān wa barg šāhāna řāzān

har kas pare wēš sāzī manwāz-**ān**

The maidservants are wearing royal clothes

Everyone plays an instrument

For first person plural, the person-number ending *-mē* is often found, but the ending *-īm* is also observed:

(91)   Ms.Or.Oct. 1181:

wātan pādiša! wa to bo āgāh

payda makar-**īm** Bahrām na har jā

xātir bikar šād manīša ghamgīn

paydāš makar-**īm** na řū-y sarzamīn

They said: O King! Be aware

We find Bahram in every place (where he is)

Make yourself happy, do not be sad

We will find him on earth

Besides the very common person-number ending of second person plural *-dē*, there is also the ending *-īn*:

(92)   Ms.Or.Oct. 1181:

magar gharībī nadyantān bi čam

čanī gharībān makar-**īn** sitam

Have you not ever seen a stranger with your eye(s)?

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[85] In previous times, Moslems forced Christians to wear a belt so that the Christians could be distinguished. In poetry, this phrase is used to refer to Christians or the Christian religion.

(Why) are you so cruel with the strangers?

(II) The Imperative

The Imperative is formed by adding the prefix *b(i)-* to the present stem. The prefix *b(i)-* can be omitted with some compound verbs. The suffix *-a* in GAW can indicate either 2SG or 2PL. The singular imperative can also be formed without the suffix *-a* (see Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:30; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013:51). In HAW, ZAR and KAND the second plural is expressed by *-dē*.

(III) The Past Indicative

We will illustrate the Past Indicative with transitive verbs below in the section called "Agentive construction in past tenses". The intransitive forms of the Past Indicative are not illustrated in this study.[86]

(III) The HAW Imperfect and the Past Imperfective in ZAR, KAND, and GAW

There are two construction types among the dialects that express the meaning of past imperfect (continuous or habitual, etc.). The HAW dialect uses the Imperfect construction, but the other dialects (ZAR, KAND, and GAW) use the Past Imperfective construction. Most frequently, the poets used the Past Imperfective construction. Nevertheless, there are some examples of the HAW Imperfect in Saydī's Type II poems, and in his Type I poems both constructions occur. Both constructions are also used in Dizłī's poetry.

The Imperfect in HAW is built with the present stem plus the imperfect morpheme *-ēn-* followed by a person-number ending. The following table illustrates examples with the present stem *war* 'eat':

	Imperfect endings		Present stem + imperfect person-number endings	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	-ēnē	-ēnmē	warēnē	warēnmē
2	-ēnī*	-ēndē	warēnī	warēndē
3	-ē	-ēnē	warē	warēnē

Table 17: The HAW Imperfect person-number endings

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[86] For the HAW forms of the Past Indicative, see MacKenzie (1966:38). For the GAW forms ("Past Perfective"), see Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012:39), and for the ZAR forms, see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013:51).

The Past Imperfective, which is instead found in ZAR, KAND, and GAW, is not formed with the present stem. Instead, the past stem is used together with the prefix *ma-* (or *m-*, following a vowel).

Some examples of the HAW Imperfect are as follows:

Saydī Type I:

(93)   pāsa **zān-ēnē** yār=ī wafā-dār

as know:PRES-1SG.Imperfect friend=EZ trust-have

ar dūrī=š gin-ū ma-gēr-ū qarār (Kārdoxī 1971:132)

if far=too fall:PRES-1SG IND-find:PRES-1SG peace

I thought, (you) trustworthy friend

If I go far too, I will not find peace

Saydī Type II:

(94)   az āšik **b-ēnē** gēr-ē=m yāw=u ašk-ī

I lover be:PRES-1SG catch:PRES-3SG=BP.1SG fever=EZ love-OBL

Girēn-ē u **sūčn-ē**=m min yāw=u ašk-ī (Kārdoxī 1971:16)

boil:PRES-3SG and burn:PRES-3SG=BP.1SG I fever=EZ love-OBL

I was a lover, the fever of love caught me

It boiled me and burned me, the fever of love

Dizlī:

(95)   tā ǰwān **b-ēnē**, čun šēr=ī piřtāw

until young be:PRES-1SG like lion=EZ strong

malo-y fiř **d-ēnē** pēsa lāša=y gāw

bird-OBL fly give:PRES-1SG as body=EZ cow

har waxt **nam-ēnē** aw karga=w dār-ī

each time catch:PRES-1SG to branch(?) =EZ tree-OBL

šān-ēnē=š bin-ē čwār bin-ē **ār-ē**

plant:PRES=BP.3SG sapling-IND four sapling-PL bring:PRES-3SG

> While I was young as a strong lion
>
> I (would) throw a cow as if it were a bird (!)[87]
>
> Each time I would catch a branch of a tree
>
> I planted it, (and) from each one grew four saplings

As mentioned above, both the Imperfect and the Past Imperfective constructions are found in Dizłī's poems. In Saydī's type I and type II poems, the Imperfect is found too. This construction, however, is not found in the other HAW poets, such as Pāvayī and Mawlawī, nor in any of the other representative of Literary Gūrānī. Instead, they have used the Past Imperfective construction, which is found in ZAR, KAND, and GAW. To summarize, the Past Imperfective is the most frequent construction used by most of Literary Gūrānī poets. Below are two final examples:

Pāvayī:

(96)   **ma-đyā** na řū=y ǰām ǰahān-nimā=y wē=š

IPFV-look:PST on above=EZ cup world-show=EZ RFLX=BP.3SG

m-āmā=š wa nazar šā=w gadā=w darwēš (Amini 2008:158)

IPFV-come:PST=BP.3SG to mind king=and beggar=and dervish

He looked at his mirror of the world

It came to his mind, the king, the beggar, and the dervish

(97)   Ms.Or.Oct. 1181: šāhzāda Bahrām u Gul-andām

samanbū čanī dāya ja manzar

ma-kird-in sayrān farzand=e kišwar

Samanbu (proper name) with a nursemaid from a view (?)

They were looking towards (?) the child king

5.3.9 Agentive construction in past tenses

As mentioned above, the syntactic system of transitive verbs in the past tense in all spoken Gūrānī dialects, as in many other West Iranian languages, including Central Kurdish,

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[87] The translation is following the logic of the poem.

is different from that of intransitive verbs.[88] For this section we use the symbols S, A, and O to describe the clause arguments:[89] S stands for the subject of an intransitive verb, A for the subject of a transitive verb, and O for the object of a transitive verb. The following principles are valid for verbs in present and past tenses for all spoken dialects:

- Present tense clauses: The verb suffix agrees with S and A

- Past tense clauses: The verb suffix agrees with O. (For expressing A in the clause, a bound pronoun (BP) is used. See next section.)

Consider the following two HAW examples of past tense clauses. In both examples, the verb suffix agrees with O, not with A:

(98)   amin to=m dī-yay

         I you=BP.1SG see:PST-2SG

         'I saw you'

(99)   to amin=t dī-yānē

         you me=BP.2SG see:PST-1SG

         'You saw me'

Bound pronouns expressing A in past tense clauses and their host assignment

In the spoken dialects and in Literary Gūrānī, in past tense clauses, the subject of a transitive verb (A-PST) is expressed and cross-referenced by the following bound pronouns:

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[88] Suffixes and bound pronouns in GAW and ZAR are discussed in more detail in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) under the heading "Transitive constructions in the past tenses (the Agential construction)" and in Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013) under the heading "The structure of finite verbs".

[89] For more details, see Haig (2008); Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012); and Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013).

SG		
1	=(i)m
2	=(i)t (pronounced in ZAR and HAW as đ)
3	=(i)š
PL		
1	=mān
2	=tān
3	=šān

Table 18: Bound pronouns in spoken Gūrānī dialects and Literary Gūrānī

In the spoken Gūrānī dialects, the bound pronoun expressing A-PST can attach to different constituents of the clause, which we will refer to here as "hosts". Possible hosts include an element of the verbal phrase, the object, and the indirect object (an adpositional phrase). The following points can be made about which constituent of the clause will be the host:

- If the clause involves only a simple verb (that is, it has no preverb and no other constituent), the verb will be the host. But if there is also a preverb, the preverb will be the preferred host. Compare the position of *=mān* '=BP.1PL' in the following two examples:

(100)   girt-ē=mān

        take:PST-3PL=BP.1PL

        'we took them'

(101)   hor=mān-girt-ē

        preverb=BP.1PL-take:PST-3.PL

        'we took them up'

- In a clause with a compound verb, the compound verb element (rather than the light verb) will normally be the host for A-PST, as in the following HAW example:

(102)   močiāri=**šā** karđ-à '(MacKenzie 1966:53)

        instruct=BP.3PL do:PST-3.SG.F

        'they instructed her'

- If there is also a direct object in the clause, then that element will normally be the first host for A-PST:

(103)   ēma pīyāła-kē=mān št-ē

we tea glass-PL.DEF=BP.1PL wash:PST-3PL

'we washed the tea glasses'

- If there is no direct object, then an indirect object (adpositional phrase) can be the host for A-PST:

(104)   ba Hīvā=mān wāt

to Hiva=BP.1PL say.PST

'we said (something) to Hiva'

- If a free pronoun or noun expresses A-PST, it can never be the host for a bound pronoun that also expresses A-PST.

The previous discussion applies to most of the spoken dialects, but now we must mention how KAND differs.

As pointed out by Haig (2008:240), unlike HAW, in some rare cases in KAND, there is the tendency to attach A-PST to the verb stem even when a direct object or another constituent also occurs in a verbal phrase (which would otherwise qualify as hosts). This is illustrated by the next example:

(105)   yä shäkhs=î khäbîs nâm-î Hârûn-ar-rashîd kärd=**ish** ħâkim Misr-î (Hadank & Mann 1930:305)

one person=INDF cruel name-OBL Harun-ar-Rashid make:PST=**BP.3SG** governor Egypt-OBL

Harun-ar-Rashid made a person named Khabis (to be) the governor of Egypt.'

Theoretically, the noun phrase *yä shäkhs=î Khäbîs nâm-î*, which expresses O-PST, could be the host for A-PST, but the constituent order is marked, and this special order apparently influences the position of the bound pronoun (*=ish*) that expresses A-PST.

In some rare cases, A-PST in KAND is completely absent. For example, in the following clause, A-PST is absent, and the bound pronoun expressing the object is attached to the verb:

(106)   bard=än=im ä yânä (Hadank & Mann 1930:303)

take:PST=COP= BP.1SG to home

'she has taken me home'

In another instance, A-PST is absent, but the verb has a person-number suffix that has the same form as that which would be used in a Present Indicative clause:

(107)   imǰâ zhän-äk-ân dâ-ʸ-in ä dâyirä-kân (Hadank & Mann 1930:303)

then woman-DEF-PL hit:PST-DEF.PL tambourine-PL

'then the women beat the tambourines'

Verb suffixes in past tense clauses and agreement

In the spoken dialects, in past tense clauses, the following verb suffixes are used to indicate agreement with S and with O:

		HAW	ZAR	KAND	GAW
SG	**1**	-nē (-ānē[90])	-nē (-ānē)	-n, -nî[91]	-(i)m (-yim)
	2	-y (-ī)	-y (-ī)	-î	-y
	3	**M** -∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
		F -a			
PL	**1**	-ymē (-īmē)	-ymē (-īmē)	-îmî, îm	-yām
	2	-ydē (-īdē)	-ydē (-īdē)	-îd	-īa
	3	-ē	-y (variant -īn)	-î	-n

Table 19: Verb suffixes: S and O in past tense clauses

In all of the spoken dialects, in past tense clauses, the O-PST verb suffixes are the same suffixes as those that express S in a past intransitive clause. In the following paragraphs, we will concentrate on the use of these suffixes to express O-PST.

As shown in the above table, the spoken dialects distinguish the same categories, with the exception of HAW. In HAW, the suffixes within third person singular show a distinction in grammatical gender (-∅ for masculine and -a for feminine). These suffixes agree with the grammatical gender of the noun that expresses O-PST.

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[90] The forms in (…) follow a consonant.

[91] There are two forms for '1SG' and two forms for '1PL'.

For example, if the noun expressing O-PST is singular and masculine, the verb will not take a suffix, as illustrated here:[92]

(108)   HAW

amin hanār-ēw=m wārd

I pomegranate-M (INDF.M)=BP.1SG eat:PST

'I ate one pomegranate'

But if the noun expressing O-PST is feminine and singular, the verb takes the suffix *-a,* as in the following example:

(109)   HAW

amin sāw-ēwa=m wārd-**a**

I apple-.F (INDF.F)= BP.1SG eat:PST-3SG.F

'I ate one apple'

If the noun expressing O-PST is plural, the verb takes the plural suffix *-ē*:

(110)   HAW

amin dwē hanār-ē=m wārd-**ē**

I two apple-PL=BP.1SG eat:PST-3PL

'I ate two pomegranates'

This last example illustrates another difference in HAW in comparison to the other dialects. The difference concerns how number is marked on a noun and its agreement by means of the suffixes. In HAW, a noun is marked by a plural suffix (-ē) when it is qualified by a cardinal number greater than one, while in other dialects, a noun is not marked in this situation. In the previous example, the noun expressing O-PST, *hanār* 'pomegranate' is marked with the plural suffix *-ē*. In the other dialects, such a noun would not be marked for plural.

As mentioned above, for ZAR, KAND, and GAW, no distinction exists for grammatical gender on third person nouns and pronouns. Moreover, when a noun is qualified by a cardinal number, in these dialects there is no co-occurring number suffix on the noun (unlike HAW). Additionally, there is no co-occurring marking for this type of number and grammatical

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[92] The HAW examples in this chapter are my own (I am a native speaker from Pāveh, which is the center of Hawrāmān in Iran).

gender on the verb. Thus, when there is a noun phrase expressing O-PST, the bound pronoun expressing A-PST (in bold) attaches to the noun phrase without any intervening number or gender marking, as illustrated in the following examples:

ZAR:

(111)   ya gīsk=**im** āwird

one goat=BP.1SG bring:PST

'I brought a goat' (4:7)

(112)   māngāw-aka=**m** hāwird=awa

cow-DEF=BP.1SG bring.PST=PRT

'I brought the cow back' [4:198]

GAW

(113)   min kār=**im** ma-ka(rd)

1SG work= BP.1SG IPFV-do.PST

'I used to work' [elicited data]

(114)   ēma hāya=**mān** dā wan

we egg=BP.1PL give.PST to.her

Did we give her eggs?' [1:63]

KAND:

(115)   yä dâyirä=**sh** âwurd

one tambourine= BP.3SG bring.PST

'(She) brought one tambourine' (Hadank & Mann 1930:303)

Further observations about the expression of A and O in the agentive construction in the spoken dialects

For all spoken dialects (except KAND, see below), when a full noun phrase or an independent pronoun expresses A in a past clause, a bound pronoun (also expressing A-PST) still must be used. For example:

ZAR:

(116)   **ād** ǰi sarawa wē=š=iš wis na žēr pēɫ=ī

he from above RFLX=BP.3SG=BP.3SG throw:PST to bridge=OBL

'he threw himself down from the bridge' (4:50)

When a full noun phrase or independent pronoun expresses O in a present tense clause, a bound pronoun (O-PRES) will not be used, as illustrated in the following HAW sentence:

(117)   **āwi** mɪ-war-u-Ɔ w **nān**=ič mɪ-war-ú

      water IND-drink:PRS-1SG.PRS-PRT and **bread**=too IND-eat:PRS-1SG.PRS

      'I drink water and eat bread too' (MacKenzie 1966:62, example no. 73)

But a bound pronoun in all the spoken dialects can express O in a present tense clause (in place of a full noun phrase or independent pronoun). In such instances, the order is:

(118)   VERB + person-number suffix agreeing with S + bound pronoun expressing O.

As mentioned above, in a past tense clause with a transitive verb in HAW, a bound pronoun must be used to express A-PST even if there is also a full noun phrase or an independent pronoun that expresses A:

(119)   (amɪn)[93] āw=im ward-a

      (I) water=BP.1SG drink:PST-3SG.F

      'I have drunk water' (MacKenzie 1966:62, example no. 74)

If a noun phrase or independent pronoun expresses A-PST, it can **never** be the host for the obligatory A-PST bound pronoun.

One last observation that we can make about HAW and the agentive construction concerns the order of the elements that attach to the verb. If a clause is composed of only a verb, the order of the suffixes and clitics (i.e. bound pronouns) is that, first, the O-PST suffix is attached, and then the A-PST clitic:

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[93] The inclusion of *amɪn* 'I' in MacKenzie's example as an optional element is my own addition.

(120)   HAW

čirya-ydē=mān   čirya-ymē=tān

call:PST-2PL=BP.1PL   call:PST-1PL=BP.2PL

'we called you'   'you called us'

čiry-a=š[94]   čiry-ē=š

call:PST-3SG.F=BP.3SG   call:PST-3PL=BP.3SG

'she/he called her'   'she/he called them'

Literary Gūrānī

In Literary Gūrānī, it is also often observed that the A-PST bound pronoun attaches to the verb even when there are other elements in the clause that would normally have served as the bound pronoun host. This process is found in works by poets from Kandūla as well as in works by poets from other regions, including by HAW poets. In the following examples, this process is illustrated in the work of various poets:

Pāvayī:

(121)   goš dā=**m** wa šino=y šamāɫ=e šāwa

ear give:PST= BP.1SG to breeze=EZ North wind=EZ Shaho

hoš dā=**m** wa nīgā=y rind-ān=e pāwa (Spanǰī: 174)

attention give:PST= BP.1SG on look=EZ wise.man-PL=EZ Pāveh

I listened to the breeze of the north wind of Shaho[95]

I paid attention to the eyes of the wise men from Pāveh[96]

(122)   bē dirang munšī ba farmān=e šā

Without tarry the scribe with order=EZ king

ħāzir bī nāma bi-kard=**iš** īnšā (Spanǰī: 221)

presence be:PST letter SBJV-do:PST=BP.3SG writing

---

[94] The final vowel of the past stem assimilates when followed by another vowel.

[95] The name of a mountain in Pāveh.

[96] This refers to the city of Pāveh, the center of Hawrāmān.

>Without waiting, the scribe with the order of the king

>came in (and began to) write the letter

The bound pronoun =*m* '1SG' in the first and second line of the first example above, and =*iš* '3SG' in the second line of the second example, are attached to their respective verbs, even though there is another element in each verbal phrase (*goš, hoš* and *nāma*, respectively) which would normally have priority as the bound pronoun host.

Moreover, in Literary Gūrānī, as in KAND, the A-PST bound pronoun may often be completely absent. The absence of the A-PST bound pronoun in a past transitive clause is not observed in HAW, ZAR, and GAW.

For example, in the following lines by Mawlawī, the A-PST marker =*š* is expected to attach to *maʕdum*, the last element of the object noun phrase. However, there is no A-PST bound pronoun at all in the clause.

(123)   īmsāł naw-wahār čun xazān=e sard

this year new-spring as autumn=EZ cold

barg=e ward=e bagh, maʕdūm bard pay hard (68)

leaf=EZ flower=EZ garden Maʕdūm bring:PST to mountain.foot

This year the new spring like the cold autumn

brought the leaf of (the) flower of the Maʕdum garden to the foot of the mountain

In the next example, the poet has used the A-PST bound pronoun (the short form =*m* '1SG' because it follows a vowel) in the first line as expected, but in the second line the same bound pronoun (the longer form =*im* because it follows a consonant) has been avoided for metrical reasons. Its addition would increase the number of syllables from five to six:

Mawlawī:

(124)   mutāliʕa=**m** kard wa dam dard=awa

read= BP.1SG do:PST with at pain=POST

ǰafāka-y warīn=**[im]** ǰa yād bard=awa (420)

misbehavior=EZ before=[BP.1SG] from memory bring=POST

I read it with pain

I forgot the misbehavior of the past (time)

As in the data from KAND, the order of constituents in a clause may apparently sometimes explain the absence of A-PST. For example, in the second line of the following example, the element *xarāǰ* from the compound verb *xarāǰ asay* 'take tribute' has been placed after the verb (to create a rhyme), even though in the spoken language it would occur before the verb. This abnormal constituent order apparently explains the absence of the expected A-PST bound pronoun.

(125)   na ǰāga=y pidar ništ wa taxt=e ʕāǰ

in place=EZ father sit:PST on throne=EZ ivory

ǰa šā=y faylaqus ma-stānā xarāǰ (spanǰi 167)

from king=EZ Philip IPFV-take:PST tribute

(He) sat in place of (his) father on the ivory throne

(He) was taking the tribute from King Philip[97]

In the first line of the following example, the expected A-PST bound pronoun is also absent. In the second line, however, the A-PST bound pronoun =*iš* is attached to the verb:

(126)   Ms.Or.Oct. 1194:

wizū tāza kard bi āb=e zułāł

ablution new make:PST.3SG with water=EZ clear

kard=**iš** sitāyiš dānā=y lā-yazāł

make:PST=BP.3SG worship wise=EZ immortal

(He) made the new ablution with clear water

(He) worshiped the wise and immortal God

In almost all of the manuscripts, similar phenomena are observed. The poets either put the bound pronouns in places that would be unexpected in the spoken dialects, or they delete them altogether.

We will conclude this section by examining the position and presence or absence of A-PST bound pronouns in a sixteen line poem from the Saydī Type I poems. In the following poem, the A-PST bound pronoun has been attached to the verbs in lines 2, 3, 6, 11 and 16. The poet has selected their positions to fit the meter, attaching them to different hosts than would be normal in the spoken dialects. For example, in the spoken dialects, in line 2, the bound pronoun =*m* in *war-dā=m* would be expected on the prefix as *war=m-dā;* in line 3, on *dił=m;* in line 6, on *gašt=iš;* and in line 11, as *kabāb=iš kard.* But in lines 8, 9 and 10, there are no A-PST markers, even though in the spoken dialects we would have expected them: for example, in line 8 a bound pronoun could attach to *faryād=š*; in line 9 to either *ba āwāz=š* or *baw-tawr=š;* and in line 10 to *sang=š.* Finally, A-PST did attach to constituents other than the verb in the lines 5, 12, 13 and 14, and in these lines it is like in the spoken dialects. (Note: Line 1 does not have any past construction; lines 4 and 15 contain the intransitive verbs.).

We believe that the word order in a sentence determines the position of the bound pronoun. In poetry, poets are of course free to change the order of words. For example, in some lines, we find the word order of *verb–object–subject*, although in the spoken dialects, the normal order would be *subject +object+ verb,* and the bound pronoun would normally

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[97] The poet refers to the father of Alexander of Macedonia, Philip II.

attach to the object. Consider line 2 as an example. In this line, the verb occurs in first position. We reason that it therefore has priority as the host for the bound pronoun. But in such a case, in non-poetic language in the spoken dialects (as mentioned above) its position would be between the prefix and the verb stem, and the entire phrase would be *dast=im war-dā*. If *dast* were not present in the clause, then we would expect *war=m-dā*.

(127)

1	bāda-y ʕašq-ī to-n min pana-š mast-im	(It is) with the wine of you that I want to get drunk
2	war-**dā=m** ja dāmān ī dunyā dast-im	I lost interest in this world
3	di<u>ł</u> gīroda-y dām zułfī to **kard=im**	I put (my) heart to the locks of your hair
4	pay xāł-it ja māł dunya wiyard-**im**	For your birthmark I would leave this world
	…	…
5	magrawā-w sayłāw na **dīda=š** mawašt	He cried, and rivers came from his eyes
6	řoew pay taqdīr **kard=iš** ʕazmī <u>gašt</u>	One day, by chance, (he) wants to wander
7	xātir puř ja dāx darūn ja xam kayl	His head full of sorrow, inside (of it is) full of pain
8	hor-dārā bē-šarm faryād parē layl	Raised without charm, he cried out for Layl
9	lays ba āwāz baw-tawr malāwnā	Lays[98] wept with a song of sorrow in a way
10	sadā-y zārī aw sang matāwnā (88-89)	(And) his moan melted stone
	…	…
11	<u>kabābe</u> **kard=iš** ba sad soz u xam	(He) made kebab with a hundred passions and sorrows
12	**nimakāw=iš** kard ba asrīnī čam (93)	With the tear(s) of (his) eye(s) he salted it
	…	…
13	baw tawr ka aghyār **pana=š** nazāna	In the way that strangers did not know
14	**majnūn=iš** wa lā-y layl mařasānā	(He) brought Majnun to Layl

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[98] A proper name.

15	majnūn ba dīdār laylī mabī šād	Majnun was happy with the sight of Layl
16	kogā-y xarmānān xam **madā=š** wa bād	The wheat of sorrow he was giving to the wind
	(95)	

5.3.10 Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Literary Gūrānī is mostly shared with the spoken Gūrānī dialects, but one can see that it is influenced by other sources too.

The influence of Persian poetry on the Gūrānī poets can be recognized in some Persian expressions. There are different ways in which the Persian expressions are used in the poems. For example, in long romantic, heroic poems in the beginning of which God or a personality is praised, we see more Persian or Arabic expressions. One example is found in the long story of the Shahzade Bahram (Ms.Or.Oct. 1195). It begins with:

(128)	yā ḥay-e dād-ras	O Living One who gives help!
	yā ḥay-e bēčūn, yā ḥay-e dād-ras	O Living one, One without equal! O Living One who gives help!
	pādiš-y šāhān, yegāna-y aqdas	King of Kings, O holy unique!
	wāḥid u aḥad, pay bē-kasā kas	Alone and singular, you are someone (a close person) for one who has no-one

As can be seen above, at the beginning of this long poem, almost all the expressions are Persian or Arabic: *ḥay-e bēčūn, dād-ras, pādiš-y šāhān, yegāna-y aqdas, wāḥid u aḥad.*

In other types of poetry, such as in lyrics, there is less use of Persian and Arabic expressions. However, Persian metaphors are sometimes used, as illustrated by *lew laʔal* 'ruby lip' (Or 6444: f.25b) and *salw-e xaraaman* 'shaken cypress' (Or 6444 f18b).

For example, in the following poem, one finds fewer Persian expressions. Instead, most of the words are from the Gūrānī dialects as shown in the following poem.

(129) Or: 6444, f. 19a

črāxim bēřām	My light, the untamed sphere
matarsūn ja jawr gardūn-e bēřām	I am afraid of the cruelty of the sphere
māčū nak bē mayl řoyē ja nākām	I mean, may not a day (pass that she) suddenly loses attraction (to me)
wanam šo na qīn, dūr wizot ja lām	She goes away with wrath (and the sphere) takes you far from me
ba wēna-y majnūn řū karū na bař	(Then) I, like Majnun, would head to the desert
řawān bo hūnāw ba asr dīda-y tař	The blood flows with the tear(s) of the wet eye(s)
āyir dūrīt na dił gēro ko	(May not) the fire of your distance in the heart become a flame
bināło ja dāx dard-e dūrī to	(Then) I would complain because of the pain of your distance
qīblam ar gardūn īnaš bo na dił	My Qibla! If the sphere intends this
hałāy war ja gišt min baro wa gił	I wish he (heaven) (would) first take me to the clay (i.e., grave)
pay čēš jā-y ałħad tangnāy giłko	On account of the small hole, the place of the ałħad (a special stone), the narrow place of clay (i.e., the grave)
xāstaran ja dāx dard-e dūrī to	(It) is better than the pain of your distance.

The poets most often used the Gūrānī verb forms, although now and then one finds a Persian verb form. In the following lines from the romantic epic of Xuršīd u Xwāwar, there is an example of a Persian verb form:

(130) sifīd-čināran sar-bardan wa awǰ   The white sycamore trees have risen to the sky

guł hazār-řang **be-ham dādan** mawǰ (100)   The flowers of a thousand colors have been woven (literally, 'hit') together

The form *be-ham dādan* 'have woven' is Persian. A Gūrānī form would be *ba-yak dān* or in HAW, *ba-yo day*. As mentioned above, such conjugations are very rare in Literary Gūrānī.

In Literary Gūrānī, there is some Gūrānī vocabulary, including prepositions, that are used in the poetry by both HAW and non- HAW poets, but they are not used in the spoken language of HAW. Examples include: *fīštar* 'more'; *hanī* 'other'; *na* 'in'; *parē* 'for'; *řāga* 'the way'; *bābo* 'father'; etc.

The sense of 'to have' in the Gūrānī dialects is expressed by a construction that involves a morpheme of existence (for example, HAW: *ha-*) and a bound pronoun, which may attach to the verb or another constituent (compare McKenzie 1966:35 and Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012:34). Besides this morpheme, Literary Gūrānī often uses the Persian verb stem *dār* 'to have'. In the following lines, both stems have been used:

(131)   MS.Or.Oct. 1194:

Māł=im afzūn-an ǰa ganǰ=e qārūn

goods= BP.1SG more=COP.3SG from treasure=EZ Qarun

Sukir muħtāǰ=ī bi-zař na-**dār-**ūn

Thanks.to.God dependent=EZ to-gold NEG-have:PRES-1SG

I have goods from the treasures of Qarun

Thanks (to) God, I do not need gold

…

Duwim wa altāf bānū=y sinawbar

second with kindness.PL lady=EZ Sinawbar

firāwān=**im han** ganǰ u māł u zār

plenty=BP.1SG have:PRES treasure and goods and gold

Second with the kindness of Lady Sinawbar

I have plenty of treasures and goods and gold

Besides Persian influences, there is also evidence of influence of Kurdish in the vocabulary of Literary Gūrānī. One example is that the Kurdish verb *čī* 'go' is observed, in addition to the use of the Gūrānī verbs *šī* and *luwāy*.

5.4 Summary of features

We return here to the question posed by Kreyenbroek & Chamanara, introduced at the beginning of this chapter: "To what extent can literary Gūrānī […] be said to be a single, coherent linguistic system?"

Based on the above discussions, we can conclude that there is, in fact, a coherent linguistic system. Some common morphological features are found in the works of almost all poems from Hawrāmān to Kandūlayī, Kermānšāh, Harsin or Kirkuk and other Gūrānī areas. The features for Literary Gūrānī are summarized as follows:

- There is no gender distinction.

- The plural ending *-ān* is used in almost all Literary Gūrānī works.

- There is no case marking system. Direct and oblique case marking is not observed.

- The Ezāfa particle *-e* is the most common Ezāfa form, and the form *-ī* (*-y* after vowels) is used in many cases as well.

- The spoken dialects differ especially in the forms they use for the third person singular independent personal pronouns. However, in Literary Gūrānī, the poets have used mostly *aw* 'he/she far' and also in some cases *ēd/ēđ* 'he/she (near) for both genders.

- The forms *ya* and also *ēd* 'this' are used as the demonstrative pronouns.

- In the Present Indicative construction, there are similarities in all the literary works. Besides the person-number ending *-ū* for the first singular, there is the form of *-ūn*, and in rare cases, *-ūm.* In none of the spoken dialects studied here (HAW, ZAR, KAND, GAW) is the suffix *-ūn* or *-ūm* used.[99]

- In all of the literary works, in order to express past imperfect (continuous or habitual, etc.) meaning, the Past Imperfective construction (as also found in ZAR, KAND, and GAW) is used, which is formed with the prefix *ma-* and the past stem. (In contrast, HAW uses the Imperfect form, which lacks the prefix and is built instead with the present stem and certain person-number endings.

- In Literary Gūrānī, the agentive construction in past tenses differs from that in the spoken dialects. This is observed in all of the works by the poets from different areas.

All these features show that the Gūrānī poets, as Kreyenbroek & Chamanara indicate, have developed a written language for poetry which was never used as a spoken language.

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[99] In the author's fieldwork in 2005 in Hawrāmānī Taxt, the suffix *-ūn* is recorded.

5.5 The effects of meter on the grammar of Literary Gūrānī

In this section, we want to propose that the metrical system used by the Literary Gūrānī poets has to some degree influenced the grammar of Literary Gūrānī, resulting in a reduction of nominal inflection. Although we can see that some of the dialects show similar changes in their grammar, Literary Gūrānī differs in many ways in its grammar from all the spoken dialects.

As will be shown in Chapter 6, in Literary Gūrānī poetry, the standard line structure consists of a ten-syllable line with two equal hemistichs. Moreover, every couplet involves a monorhyme. Thus, the Gūrānī poet was forced to make his language conform to this metrical frame, and this process encouraged the development of certain differences between Literary Gūrānī and the spoken dialects.

To give evidence for our proposal, we will first look at some verses of Saydī's Type II poems, which, unlike the typical Literary Gūrānī poem, do not use the (classical) ten-syllable line as described in the last paragraph. Instead, the metrical system in Saydī's Type II poems is based on the quantity of vowels. In this system, the poet can actually use different patterns in which the number of syllables can vary and the caesura can occur in different places. For example, some of Saydī's Type II poems employ a pattern that is similar to the metrical system of Arabic and Persian. One pattern, which we illustrate below, is called *Bahre Rajaz.* In this pattern, the following long and short vowels /- - U -/ are repeated four times, that is, in each line, there are sixteen syllables, while in Literary Gūrānī, there are ten syllables in each line.

Thus, Saydī is not limited to using the two five-syllable hemistichs and the couplet rhyme. In his poems with longer lines, that is, in his Type II poems, we find that the nouns are usually inflected and that the forms of past transitive construction verbs are closer to those of the spoken language.

Consider now some lines from one of Saydī's Type II poems, in which each line contains sixteen syllables and has the same pattern of long (-) and short (U) syllables of - - U - / - - U - / - - U - / - - U -

(132)	
(1) kasłam niyo yādim karo, dāłēwa xamxwārīm karo	kas-ła=m ni-y-o yād=im kar-o, dāł-ēwa xamxwārī=m kar-o

I have no dear person (darling) to think about me, (who) worries about me	somebody-SMALL =BP.1SG NEG-be:PRS-3SG remember=BP.1SG do:PRS-3SG little-INDF worry=BP.1SG do:PRS-3SG
(2) kē šīwan u zārīm karo, pay ko milū, bē yār xwēm	kē šīwan u zārī=m kar-o, pay ko mi-l-ū, bē yār xwē=m
Who should cry for me, where do I go without a friend (woe is me, I have no friend)!	who cry and woe=BP.1SG do:PRS-3SG, to where IND-go:PRS-1SG, without friend RFLX=BP.1SG
(3) komēw nabē dādim karo, lāw dostawa yādim karo	kom=ēw na-b-ē dād=im kar-o, lāw dost=awa yād=im kar-o
I had no relative to help me win justice (i.e., help me), may I be remembered by my friend (girlfriend, lover)	relative=INDF NEG-be-3SG justify=BP.1SG do:PRS-3SG, by friend=POST remember=BP.1SG do:PRS-3SG
(4) bałkom zařēw šādim karo, dād u madad, hāwār xwēm	bałkom zař-ēw šād=im kar-o, dād u madad, hāwār xwē=m
Perhaps it makes me happy, justify, help, I need help	perhaps little-INDF happy=BP.1SG do:PRS-3SG, justify and help, aid RFLX=BP.1SG
(5) ar min ginēm čamłam čamēš, čī ēnna kēšēnē xamēš	ar min gin-ē=m čam-ła=m čam-ē=š, čī ēnna kēš-ēnē xam-ē=š
If my eye would fall on her eyes, why was I worrying so (I was not so sad)	if I fall:PRS-1SG=BP.1SG eye-SMALL=BP.1SG eye-PL=BP.3SG, why so.much pull:PRS-1SG worry-PL=BP.3SG
(6) šarbat warēnē čā damēš, wēm xās karēnē čār xwēm	šarbat war-ēnē čā dame=š, wē=m xās kar-ēnē čār xwē=m
I would drink syrup from her mouth, (and so) I would be well, (it is) my remedy	syrup eat:PRS-1SG mouth=BP.3SG RFLX=BP.1SG well do:PRS-1SG remedy RFLX=BP.1SG

We can highlight some features of the above lines, which include no reduction of nominal inflection:

- As mentioned above, each line contains sixteen syllables and is composed of four identical feet, where the syllable pattern is - - U - / - - U - / - - U - / - - U - .

- The HAW imperfective verbs are used in these lines: line 3 (*nabē*), line 5 (*ginēm* and *kēšēnē*), line 6 (*warēnē* and *karēnē*).

- The HAW indefinite marker *-ēw* is found in the words : *dāł-ēw* 'little-INDF' and *zař-ēw* 'little-INDF'

- The HAW plural marker *-ē* is in the words *čam-ē=š* 'eye-PL=BP.3SG' and *xam=ēš* 'worry-PL=BP.3SG'.

- The diminutive (affectionate attitudinal) suffix *-ła*, glossed as '-SMALL', is common in HAW (it also occurs in KAND, and in a few words in ZAR and GAW). It is used to indicate that a noun is small or dear (etc.). Examples include: *kas-ła* 'dear little one', *dā-ła* 'a little', *čam-ła* 'the little eye'.

Now we will present some lines from one of Saydī's Type I poems, in which we can see that there is more reduction of nominal inflection. (The first line is composed of five syllables, and the rest of the lines are composed of two five-syllable hemistichs.)

(133)	
(1) bādī ʕatr-āmēz[100]	bād-ī ʕatr-āmēz
(The poet speaks to the wind) O wind full of perfume	wind=EZ perfume-full
(2) bādī gułšan-gard // waš-boy ʕatr-āmēz	bād-ī gułšan-gard // waš-boy ʕatr-āmēz
O wind, (you) wander in the flowerbed, O pleasant-scented full of perfume (i.e., referring to the wind)	wind=EZ flowerbed-wanderer well-scented perfume-full
(3) payk-barī ʕāšiq // nīma šawān xēz	payk-barī ʕāšiq // nīma-šaw-ān-xēz
O the courier of love! (You) in the middle of the nights stand up (referring to the courier)	courier lover, middle night-PL-stand
(4) boy nāfay tatār // na řūy sārā řēz	bo-y nāfa-y tatār // na řū-y sārā-řēz
O (you are the) scent of the musk of Tatar which has spread (i.e., the scent of musk) on the plains	scent=EZ navel=EZ Tatar on on=EZ plain-spread

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[100] In most of the Literary Gūrānī poems, the first line is based on five syllables.

(5) čun ʕatār ba čīn // zułfī yārawa	čun ʕatār ba čīn// zulf-ī yār=awa
Like a perfume-seller with the layer(s) of the hairs of friend	like perfume.seller with layer hair=EZ friend=POST
(6) āmā ba boy ʕatr // ʕanbar-bārawa	āmā ba bo-y ʕatr // ʕanbar-bār=awa
He comes with the scent of burden of amber (i.e., he has a burden of amber. He comes with it)	come:PST.3SG with scent=EZ perfume.seller amber-burden=POST
(7) parsām ay ʕatār // ya čēš bāritan	parsā-m ay ʕatār // ya čēš bār-it=an
I asked: O perfume seller, what is your burden?	ask:PST-=BP.1SG o perfume.seller this what burden-BP.2SG=COP
(8) wāt boy ʕatrī zulf // gīsūy yāritan	say:PST bo-y ʕatr-ī zulf// gīsū-y yār=it=an
He said (it) is the perfume scent of the hair of your friend.	say:PST scent=EZ perfume=EZ hair braid=EZ friend=BP.2SG=COP

We can highlight the following features of the above lines, especially instances of the reduction of inflection:

- In line 4, *tatār* 'Tatar' should be in the oblique according to the rules of spoken HAW (because it stands in a genitive relationship to the noun *nāfa* 'navel'). If the poet had used the oblique suffix in this position, the number of syllables in this hemistich would have been more than five.

- In line 5, an Ezāfa is required between *čīn* 'layer' and *zulf-ī* 'hair', but it has been omitted because it occurs at the caesura. Also, the word *yār-awa* 'friend' should be in the oblique (in HAW it would normally be *yār-ī-y-awa*), but the additional suffixes would make the number of syllables in this hemistich greater than five.

- In line 6, after *ʕatr* 'perfume.seller' we would expect '=EZ' and after *bār* 'burden' the OBL marker (that is, *bār-ī-y-awa*).

- In line 8, after *zulf* '=EZ' is expected but omitted because of the caesura.

- All Ezāfa forms are *-ī* (*-y* after vowels), and there is no instance of a HAW genitival Ezāfa. For example, in HAW, the first hemistich of line 4 would have to be changed to *bo-w nāfa-w tatār-ī,* and the second hemistich of line 5 to *zulf-u yār-ī-y-awa*.

- The word *bād* 'wind' is Persian; in all Gūrānī dialects 'wind' is *wā* (except in GAW where it is *wād*). The following phrases are also Persian: *bādī ʕatr-āmēz, payk-bar, gułšan-gard, gīsū.*

Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the literary language has been influenced by the metrical system of Gūrānī poetry. The above examples show how this is especially so for nominal inflection. In contrast, the spoken dialects such as Hawrāmī are much more inflected and, consequently, they involve more syllables. For such inflected language, the poet needs a metrical frame in which there is space for more syllables.

Now, as further evidence for our proposal, we can consider some of the poems by Dizłī, which instead conform to the metrical line composed of two five-syllable hemistichs. The language of Dizłī's poems is sometimes close to the spoken language of the Hawrāmān area. This poet inflects his nouns to some degree, but in several places, under influence of the metrical system, he reduces their inflection. Thus, although Dizłī tends to use the spoken dialect in his poetry, he nevertheless often follows certain conventions of other poets of Literary Gūrānī, where the structural limitation of the five-syllable hemistich forces the poet to sometimes deviate from the spoken language.

It is also interesting to see how Dizłī uses the Ezāfa particle. He occasionally uses the Hawrāmī form of the genitive Ezāfa particle *-ū* (*-w* following a vowel). In such instances, he uses the oblique marker, too. However, when for metrical reasons he finds he cannot use the oblique marker, then he uses the Ezāfa particle *-ī* or *-e* following the custom of other poets of Literary Gūrānī. Here we repeat a portion of a poem by Dizłī that we discussed previously in 5.3.8.

(134)   tā ǰwān b-ēnē, čun šēr=**ī** piřtāw

   until young be:PRES-1SG like lion=EZ strong

   malo-**y** fiř d-ēnē pēsa lāša=**y** gāw

   bird-**OBL** fly give:PRES-1SG as body=EZ cow

   har waxt nam-ēnē aw karga=**w** dār-**ī**

   each time catch:PRES-1SG to branch(?)=EZ tree-OBL

   šān-ēnē=**š** bin-ē čwār bin-ē ār-ē

   plant:PRES-1SG=BP.3SG sapling-IND four sapling-PL bring:PRES-3SG

   While I was young as a strong lion

> I (would) throw a cow as if it were a bird (!)
>
> Each time I would catch a branch of a tree
>
> I planted it, (and) from each one grew four saplings

In the first line, *piřtāw* 'strong' should be in the oblique case according to the rules of spoken HAW, because it holds a genitive relation to the noun, *šēr* 'lion', but there is no case marker. In the second line, *malo* 'bird' (the meaning of the final *-o* is not yet clear) expresses the object of the clause, and so it should also be in the oblique case, and in fact, the oblique marker *-y* is present. However, in the second hemistich, no oblique marker occurs on *gāw* 'cow', even though in the spoken language it would be expected. The fully inflected form of the phrase in Hawrāmī would be *pēsa-w lāša-w gāw-ī*. However, here on the word *lāša*, the poet has not used the HAW genitival Ezāfa *-ū* (*-w* following a vowel), but instead, as is customary in Literary Gūrānī, he has used the common Ezāfa *-ī* without an oblique marker. And finally, in the third line, we find that the poet does indeed use the HAW genitive Ezāfa and oblique marker (in bold) in the phrase *karga=**w** dār=**ī*** 'branch(?)=EZ tree-OBL'. So, we can see that, by means of switching back and forth between the inflection rules of spoken HAW versus Literary Gūrānī, the poet can shorten or lengthen a hemistich by one or two syllables as needed.

So we can conclude that the metrical frame chosen for a poem can set limitations or constraints on the language.[101] It appears that for Literary Gūrānī, the typical metrical frame has had an effect on certain morphological aspects in the language.

Our analysis does not mean, however, that it is impossible to use the Gūrānī spoken dialect for poetry. Rather, it only shows one of the difficulties that the poet was faced with when using the spoken dialect.

Another point is that, it appears that Literary Gūrānī is fairly easily understood or quickly learned by most speakers of all of the different Gūrānī dialects, and that this seems to be another reason for using such a dialect for poetry. This claim may be hard to prove, but from my personal observations, it seems that Gūrānī speakers from all the different areas can easily understand it. This is partly because of the many phrases and poetic expressions in it from Persian and Kurdish, which are two second languages that are understood to varying degrees by many Gūrānī speakers in the region. Thus, the ease that all speakers of the Gūrānī dialects

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[101] For the effect of the metrical system based on the quantity of vowels, see Khāleqī Mutlaq (1990).

have with understanding (or quickly learning) Literary Gūrānī seems to have strengthened the position that Literary Gūrānī has as a standard language for poetry, both in the past and in the present.

It is also useful to look at some samples of poetry by a contemporary poet, Rašīd Mawlūdī (1958-), whose pen name is Syāmand Hawrāmī, in order to see what kind of dialect he uses in his verses. He is an excellent speaker of Hawrāmī from Nawsud, which is a city on the Iranian side of Hawrāmān. For his poems, he also uses a metrical scheme based on the number of syllables: each line is composed of ten syllable, with two five-syllable hemistichs and a caesura in the middle.

As he explains, HAW includes two dialects. One is the dialect of Nawsud with its inflectional system, and the other is Literary Gūrānī, in other words, the dialect which has been developed for poetry.

We can observe some of the linguistic features of the HAW dialect of Nawsud in a long poem by Syāmand Hawrāmī, called *Marz*[102] 'The Border', which was composed in 1997. Here are some lines from this poem:

(135)   simora čī-đīm wazī šār-o=wa

squirrel from.this-side walnut hide:PRS-3SG=POST

čēš čaw-đīm han-ē, na-l-o n-ār-o=wa

what from.that-side be:PRES-3PL NEG-go:PRES-3SG= POST

ħurmat=**ū** marz-ī lakadār kar-o

respect=EZ border-OBL spot make:PRES-3SG

simora waxt=ēw dār-aw-dār kar-o

squirrel when=INDF tree-to-tree make:PRES-3SG

A squirrel hides a walnut on this side (of the border)

It is not allowed to go and bring the thing from that side

He does not respect the border

When he jumps from one tree to another

In the lines above, we note the following features:

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[102] The poet's performance of this poem was broadcast by the Kurdish Radio Zāyała from Sweden on 17.03.2013.

In the third line, the genitive Ezāfa form of HAW *-ū*, and the oblique marker *-ī* attached to *marz* 'border' represent the dialect of HAW.

- The consonant /d/ is usually realized as the sound /đ/ when it occurs between vowels, as in HAW, but there are some exceptions.

- The verbs in the Present tense have the forms normal to the HAW dialect of Nawsud, that is they lack the prefix *ma-* (*šāro-wa* 'hide' and *karo* 'do').

So, the above three linguistic features show that for this poem Syāmand Hawrāmī used his native dialect instead of Literary Gūrānī.

Another poem of his that is closer to Literary Gūrānī is called *wila wanawšē*[31] 'The Violet'. Here are some lines from the poem:

(136)   řū nīā na bāx sarw=**e** xaramān

face put:PAST to garden cedar=EZ shaking

šox=**e** nāzanīn sarguł namām-**ān**

fearless=EZ nice.(girl) bud new.sapling-PL

[…]

xayał-**ān**=**e** dard **m-āwird** u **ma-ward**

thought-PL=EZ pain IPFV -bring:PST and IPFV- take.away:PST

ma-kēšā har dam hanās(a)-**ān** =**e** sard

IPFV- breathe:PST each moment breath-PL=EZ cold

She, the shaking cedar, went to the garden

Fearless (girl) like a new sapling

[…]

The thoughts of pain he was bringing and taking away

Each moment she breathed cold breaths

In the lines above, we note the following features that are typical of Literary Gūrānī and not of the spoken dialect:

- The Literary Gūrānī form of the Ezāfa, =*e*, is used (once per line).

- There is no oblique case marker.

- As is normal for Literary Gūrānī, the ending *-ān* is used to mark plural nouns, both for the direct case (as in *xayal-**ān*** 'thoughts') and for the oblique case (as in *namām-**ān*** 'saplings'). For the direct case plural nouns in spoken HAW, we would have expected *-ē*.

- The verbs that express the meaning of past imperfect (continuous or habitual, etc.) do not use the HAW construction, which is built with the present stem, but instead use the other construction, which is formed with the prefix *ma-* and the past stem, as is the norm in Literary Gūrānī: *m-āwird, ma-ward, ma-kēšā*.

So, we can see that this poem was composed using grammatical features of Literary Gūrānī. As we have seen in earlier sections, this type of Gūrānī has been very typical of the literary language. Even the contemporary poets use it to some degree for poetry.

In a personal letter to me, Syāmand Hawrāmī, the poet of the above lines, explained that he distinguishes between two dialects in his poetry: that of Literary Gūrānī and that of his mother-tongue. According to him, when he wants to express emotions or his feeling of love or another inner feeling, he uses the Literary Gūrānī dialect. But when he wishes to describe the nature of the Hawrāmān area, or when he wants to engage with issues that involve the people of Hawrāmān, he uses his native dialect which allows even more freedom to express everything.

Syāmand Hawrāmī is also aware of the limitation (namely how the five-syllable hemistich forces the poet to sometimes deviate from the spoken language), that makes the poets avoid using the fully inflected forms of nouns and other issues that we have discussed. As stated earlier, in Literary Gūrānī, depending on the metrical system they have chosen for a poem, the poets must derivate from the spoken language and, to one degree or another, omit nominal inflection. Hawrāmī believes that he has in Literary Gūrānī a larger vocabulary at his disposal. According to his view, the dialect of Literary Gūrānī is easier for poetry, because the poet has more possibility of relating to meter. He also makes the claim (which we presented above) that Literary Gūrānī has the advantage that it is understandable to all Gūrānī speakers, and that it does not belong to any single area.

As a final point, we can add that it does not seem to be a realistic assumption that Literary Gūrānī is based on the language of speakers who have a Kirmānšāhī-style Hawrāmānī. There are many works by poets from the Hawrāmān area that use Literary Gūrānī. We assume that these poets, of course, control spoken HAW perfectly (when they talk), but they have nevertheless chosen to use Literary Gūrānī for their poems. As mentioned above, the

limitations of the classical metrical system (the ten-syllable line composed of two five-syllable hemstitchs) is the main factor for the differences between Literary Gūrānī and the spoken language.

6. THE METRICAL PRINCIPLES OF CLASSICAL GŪRĀNĪ POETRY

This chapter is dedicated to defining the metrical system of *classical* Gūrānī poetry. We will look at the structure of the line (including the function and arrangement of stress and use of caesura in the line, and the question of whether or not the categories of colon and foot are relevant), and we consider the different types of strophe and rhyme. The use of figures of sound, including alliteration, assonance and consonance, will also be discussed in this chapter.

As we have mentioned briefly in earlier sections of this study, we differentiate between the texts of "folk" Gūrānī poetry and "classical" Gūrānī poetry. We will begin our discussion by outlining the differences between these two types in more detail.

We use the phrase "classical Gūrānī poetry" to refer primarily to a corpus of verses that were composed by a relatively well-known set of poets. While it is true that most of the classical Gūrānī literature was written long ago, especially before 1900, we also use the designation of "classical Gūrānī poetry" or "the classical style" to describe modern poetic texts that imitate the classical style.

The classical texts are written and part of the corpus is published. All classical Gūrānī verses are based on the counting of syllables. Each line contains ten syllables (with the exception of some instances in Yārsān poetry), and there is a caesura in the middle that divides the line into two equal half lines (that is, into two hemstitchs).

The genres of classical Gūrānī poetry include epics, lyrics, elegies, legends, fables, etc. and some important themes are of religious and philosophical nature, besides touching on other topics. All older written works are in the form of poetry, and these include stories, history, elegy, philosophy, and other topics. For example, all the sacred and philosophical texts of Yārsān are in the form of poetry. These texts were orally transmitted for a considerable time, but then later they were written down by scribes.

In comparison, the genres and themes found in the folk poetry only partially overlap with those of classical poetry. The genres in the folk poetry include epics, lyrics, narratives, among other things, and the themes can involve love and sadness, or be of religious and social nature, but many others are of light-hearted nature.

The texts of folk poetry are also distinct in that they are not usually attributed to a specific poet. Furthermore, these texts are normally preserved in oral form, transmitted from one

generation to the next. These texts are often performed with musical accompaniment, when they are sung.

In terms of their metrical systems, the classical poetry and the folk poetry differ from each other in certain aspects. Based on our analysis, it is clear that stress has metrical value in some verse types in folk poetry. In classical poetry, stress has a lesser degree of metrical value. However, there is some similarity between the metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry and one kind of folk poetry, which I call Folk System 1 (discussed in Chapter 7), where in both, the number of syllables and caesura play a role.

In all types of folk poetry, both in verse and in song, the features of alliteration, assonance, consonance and many kinds of repetition play a major role.

The authors of the folk poetry are diverse. Some of the poems have been created by singers who spontaneously composed them to music. Thus, the poet can be simultaneously a singer, composer and instrumentalist. A modern example of a Gūrānī musician-poet would be Hawrāmī singer Osman Kemnayī, although in traditional Hawrāmī songs, musical instruments are not used. From Kurdish society we can mention Hassan Zirak (1921-1972) and Muħammad Mamlē (1925-1999) as examples of musician-poets. Although Zirak was illiterate, he composed many texts for his songs. Such people are also found in many other societies, including Gūrānī society.

Another source for folk poetry is the women who compose them while doing different activities, for example, while singing a child to sleep, working in the home or on the farm, milking livestock, preparing food, or while involved in ceremonies, such as weddings, funerals and burials.

The stimulus for the content of many folk verses and lyrics can be found in village life. Many lyrics have been inspired by the activities of women and men working together on the farm and in the field. Some are in the form of dialogues between men and women.

Nursery rhymes are another form of verse. Many of these verses have been created for playing, and are chanted and sung. Some are for boys, some for girls, and some are for both.

An interesting point is that, while the folk poetry in Gūrānī and Kurdish follow the same metrical principles, the classical poetry in Gūrānī and Kurdish follow different ones. The metrical system of classical Kurdish is like that of Arabic and Persian poetry, which is based on the quantity of syllables (i.e. short and long syllables). It must be noted that the metrical principles of some early Kirmānjī (Kurdish) poets, like Faqi Tayrān (16th century) and ςAli

Harīrī (lived about 15th century), are not based on the quantity of syllables, but rather their poetry is similar to the folk poetry of Gūrānī, of Central Kurdish and of Southern Kurdish that is based on the number of syllables (compare Khaznadār 2010, vol. 2:181-261; Aḥmad Šwān 2012:199-210). In fact, the use of meter based on the quantity of syllables is a later development in Kirmānjī poetry, one that began with Malā-y ǰizirī (1576-?). He was the first to use a metrical system that was similar to the Arabic and Persian systems (compare with Khaznadār 2010:294). And the Kirmānjī poets after him also used this metrical system.

As mentioned above, this chapter, Chapter 6, has the goal of defining the metrical system of *classical* Gūrānī poetry. Then in Chapter 7 we will present a description of Gūrānī and Kurdish *folk* poetry. Our goal there is not necessarily to give a complete picture (since that would be impossible without analyzing the musical component in great detail, which is beyond the goals of our study). Instead, our goal will be to look at different kinds of Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry and consider the similarities between classical and folk Gūrānī poetry, which we will see are many for certain types of folk poetry.

Moreover, we will see that the Gūrānī poetry of the Yārsān differs in some ways from the other kinds of classical Gūrānī poetry. Yārsān poetry has more in common with Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poetry.

6.1 Introductory issues to meter in classical Gūrānī poetry

In Section 2.1, we introduced some metrical typologies, one of which was developed by Donat (2010). According to Donat, there are four linguistic constituents that are most important for analyzing meter: (1) the syllable, (2) the prominence of syllables, (3) the phonetic correspondence of syllables or groups of syllables (e.g. rhyme), and (4) the types of transition between syllables (e.g. pause and caesura).

Syllables and their prosodic character are often considered the most important metrical constituent (see Lotz 1960; Küper 1988; Aroui 2011, etc.). In other words, the prosodic character of syllables—where the character may be (2.1) of the dynamic type (stressed vs. unstressed), (2.2) of the quantitative type (long vs. short), or (2.3) of the tonal type (even vs. sharp)—are counted as the sole metrical principle.

However, the other constituents mentioned by Donat (constituents (3) and (4) above) can also count as metrical constituents. For example, caesura in some Iranian languages, like Avestan and Parthian, is considered to be a metrical constituent. Lazard (1985:372), in his analysis for Parthian, notes the metrical role of caesura, besides that of ictus.

What we have found for classical Gūrānī poetry and will show in the following sections is that, although (1) the syllable clearly counts as a metrical constituent, (2) its prosodic character has a less clear role as a metrical constituent, or only a partial role; and both (3) the phonetic correspondence of syllables or groups of syllables—as rhyme, and (4) the types of transition between syllables—as caesura—do count as metrical constituents.

In order to give the reader a preview of our conclusions, we will summarize here the metrical principles of classical Gūrānī poetry.

1. The minimal unit of classical Gūrānī poetry is the hemistich (half-line)

2. Each hemistich is composed of five syllables.

3. Each line is composed of two hemistichs, that is, each line has ten syllables.

4. A caesura falls between the two hemistichs.

5. Rhyme is counted as a metrical constituent.

6. There is only one kind of obligatory rhyme: the monorhyme.

7. There can be up to four stress syllables per line, two of which are normally predictable, but there are exceptions.

In the next sections, we will discuss these metrical principles in detail. But before beginning our discussion, we should first mention some different opinions on the topic of stress, cola, and feet.

The poet and writer Gorān[103] (1904-1962) considered stress to be a metrical constituent in classical Gūrānī poetry. Tabibzadeh[104] (2013) also counted as metrical constituents things such as stress, cola, and feet in Hawrāmī poetry. Therefore we will consider whether or not these constituents can have metrical value in the classical Gūrānī poetry.

Based on the analysis of Naqšbandī (2012), Tabibzadeh (2013) argues in Hawrāmī poetry the half-lines consists of ictuses, feet and cola. He gives the following examples:

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[103] See Āšnā 2002:158-159.

[104] Tabibzadeh discussed the role of stress in Hawrāmī during a lecture entitled "A comparative study on Parthian meter and some contemporary Iranian Folk meters", which was given at the Summer School of Department of Iranian Studies, at the University of Hamburg, Germany, from the 12th to 23rd of August, 2013.

(137) imʃow| læ **di/dæm** || ʔæsrin| wæ**ta/wæn**   There is a ceremony of tears in my eyes tonight

ʔæsri|ne **di/dæm** || ma**či** | la**fa/wæn**   A tear-flood comes of my eyes

- The first half-line of each line consists of two cola: the first colon has just one foot (*imʃow*) and the second has two feet (*læ **di/dæm***).

- The second half-line of each line also consists of two cola. In this example the first colon has just one foot (*ʔæsrin*) and the second has two feet (*wæta/wæn*).

In two above lines, the division of syllables into feet depends on the ictuses, which means that each final syllable has an ictus. And the division of hemistichs into cola depends on either the presence of the ictuses or of the small pauses that occur when read. In fact, besides the caesura in the middle of each line, there may be other smaller pauses whose positions are neither stable nor predictable in the line.

If Tabibzadeh's analysis were correct, then we should expect the ictuses to occur in regular patterns and this would support his view that the lines of classical Gūrānī poetry have metrical feet and cola. But we believe that neither the ictus nor the foot nor the colon have any true metrical value in classical Gūrānī poetry. In the following section, however, we shall examine in more detail the question of whether or not stress, cola, and feet should be counted as metrical constituents in classical Gūrānī poetry.

6.1.1 Our method for analyzing stress, cola, and feet

To examine whether stress, cola, and feet are metrical constituents in Gūrānī poetry, we chose two Gūrānī poems for analysis. The first poem was read, that is, performed, by three excellent, native, Gūrānī speakers, Aram Mostofi (=AM), Muhammad Rashid Amīnī[105] (=MRA) and Jahangir Mahmoudveysi[106] (=JM). The second poem was read by AM and Ali Ashraf Azizzade (=AA).[107] All the four performers are from Pāveh, the center of Awrāmān, in the province of Kermānšāh, in West Iran.

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[105] Muhammad Rashid Amini is an author from Pāveh, who has a very rich knowledge about Gūrānī poetry.

[106] Jahangir Mahmoudveysi is an author and poet, who is from Pāveh and knows Gūrānī poetry very well.

[107] Aram Mostofi has worked for many years in Radio and TV in both Iran and Iraqi Kurdistan and he has performed many poems. Some of them are on You Tube, for example:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xd47WP0T8-A

He knows Gūrānī poetry very well and is one of the best performers of Gūrānī and Kurdish poetry.

Ashraf Azizzade also knows Gūrānī poetry very well. He is himself a Gūrānī poet, having composed many poems in Gūrānī.

We used two computer programs, Praat and Cool Edit, to help analyze the poems. The poems that were performed were entered into Praat and Cool Edit and then the stress positions were determined based on the *relatively* greater intensity, greater length, and higher pitch.[108]

Below, we will show several screen views (pictures) of a line of Gūrānī poetry, in order to illustrate some of the visual tools that we have used for our analysis.

For example, in Praat, one can see the position of the caesura, which is visible as a relatively long pause. Stress can be identified by the combination of pitch, intensity and length. And pauses that would divide cola from each other (that is, "colon pauses") can also be identified.

The position of these elements can be illustrated in the following pictures in the programs Praat and Cool Edit. The next four pictures are from Praat, and the fifth picture is from Cool Edit.
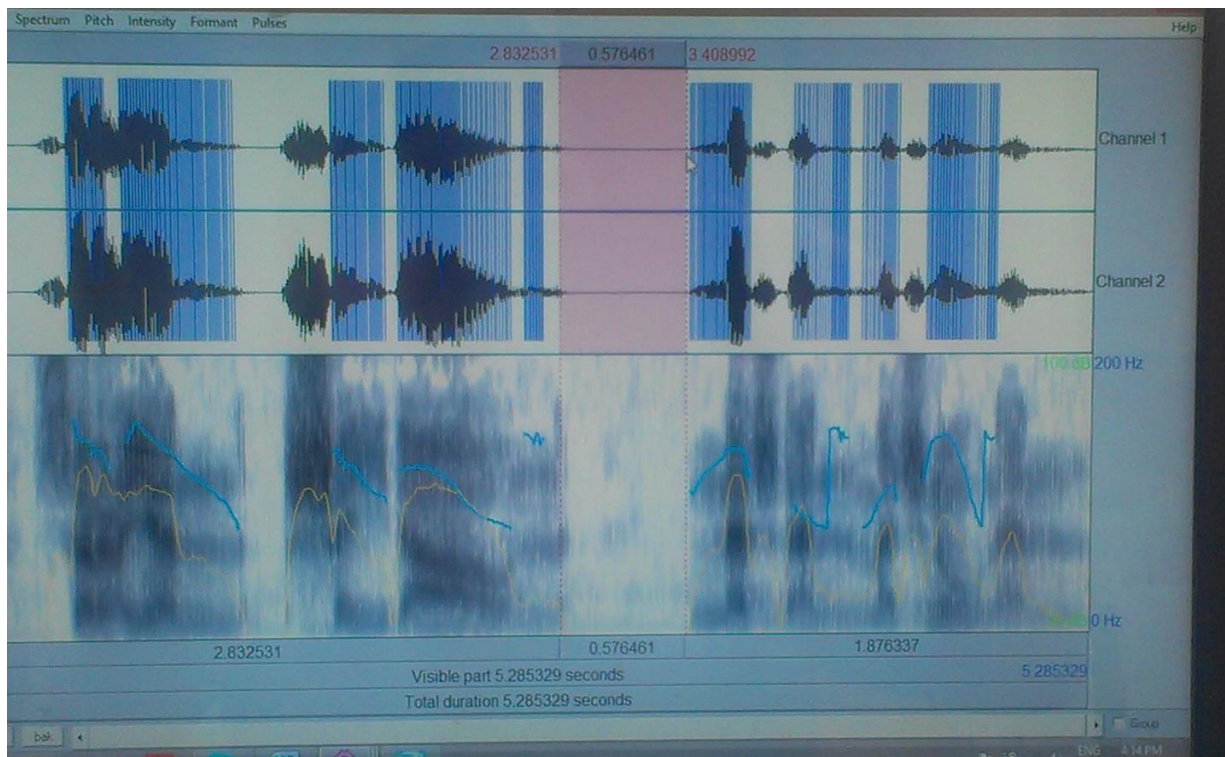
The above picture represents the reading of a ten-syllable line, by the poet Mawlawī, which reads: *sarʕīyan šaydān // naĵdan maĵnūnan* (Mudaris 2006:454-455). It was performed

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[108] We have discussed the problem and interpretation of stress in this poem with the linguist and phonetician Dr. Joan Baart and with the linguists Dr. Nicholas Bailey and Denise Bailey.

by AM. In this picture, we have used pink to mark the position of the caesura, which is in the middle of line.

In the next picture, which involves the same line of text, the position of the colon pause is marked in pink:
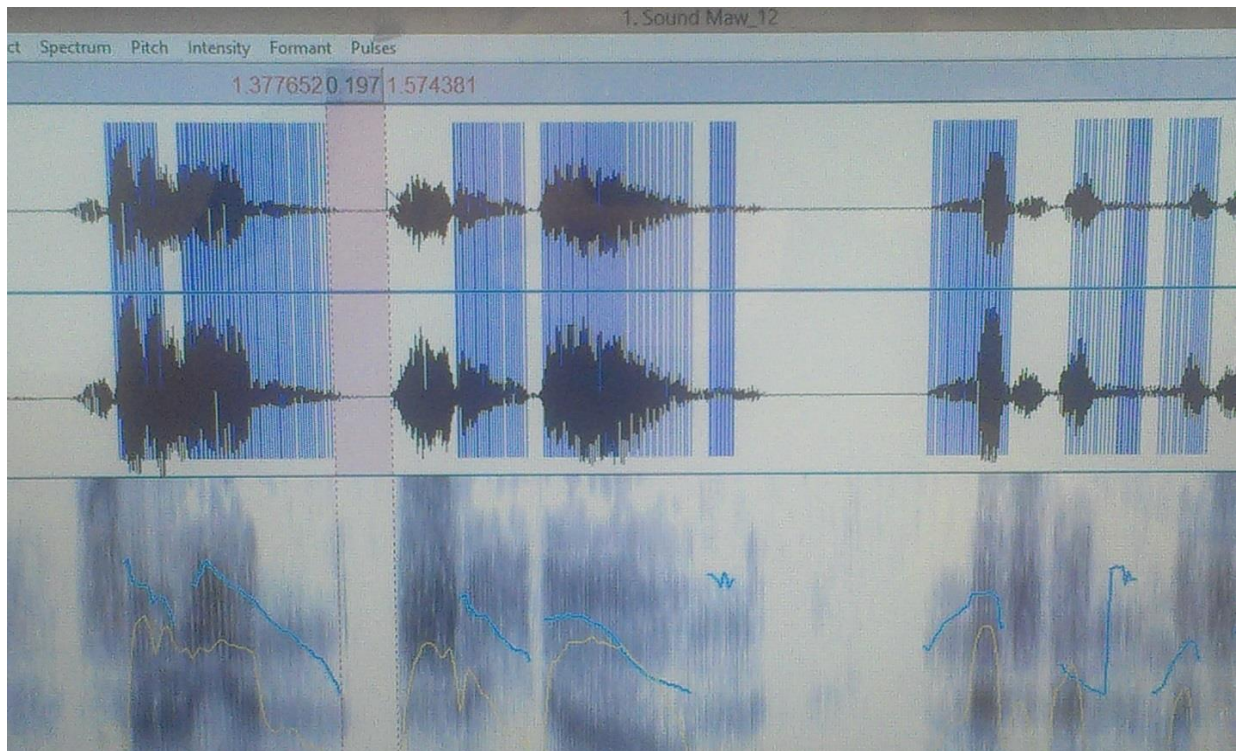
Notice also in the lower half of the screen of the last picture that there are solid (connected) yellow and blue lines. The yellow lines indicate intensity and the blue lines indicate pitch, both of which help us to identify the main stresses. Here is an enlargement of that screen:
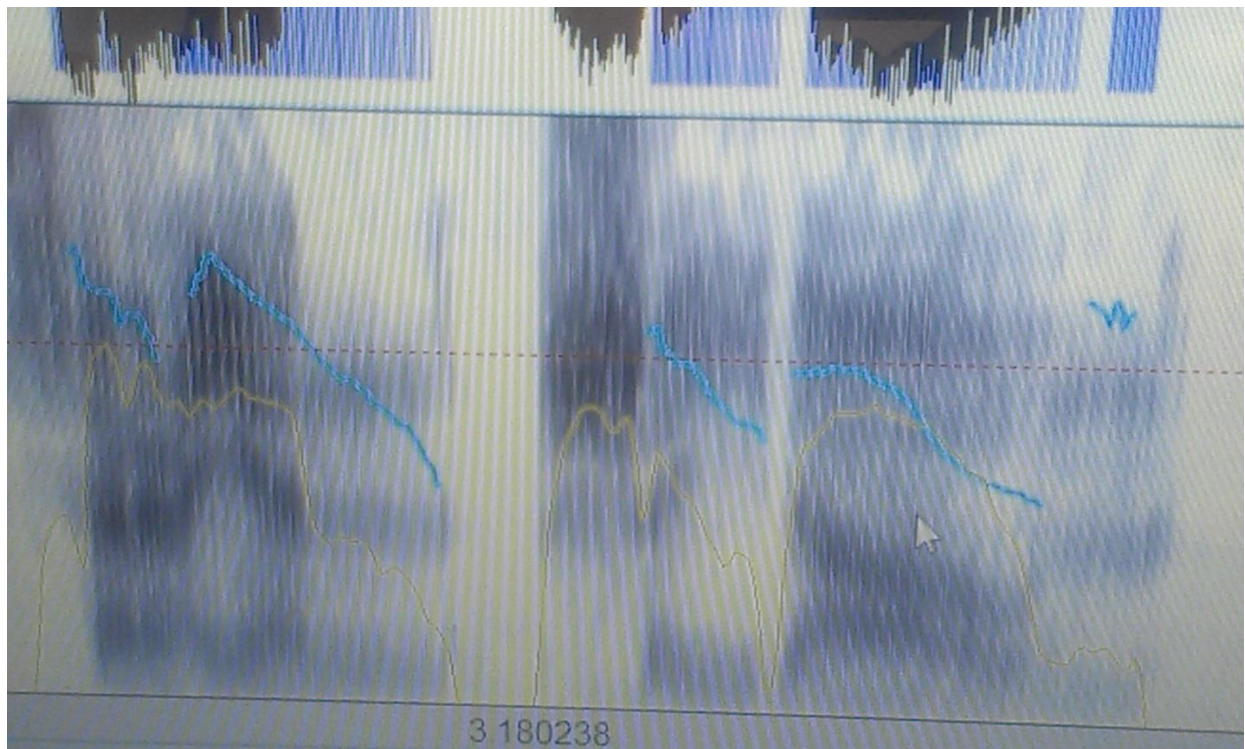
It is also possible to show these same lines in a linear format, as illustrated in the following picture. This view shows the degree of intensity in the line of text.
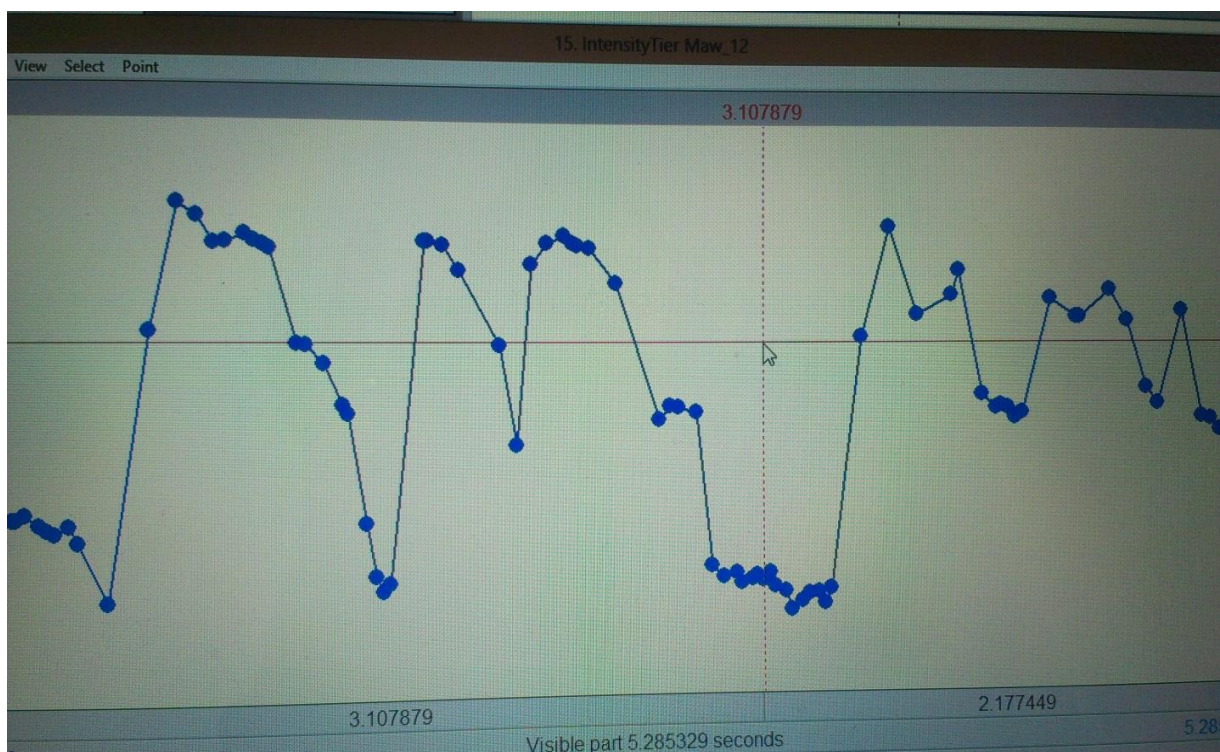
And finally, in Cool Edit, we can view the entire audio file, and with the zoom tool, we can zoom in and see more detail:
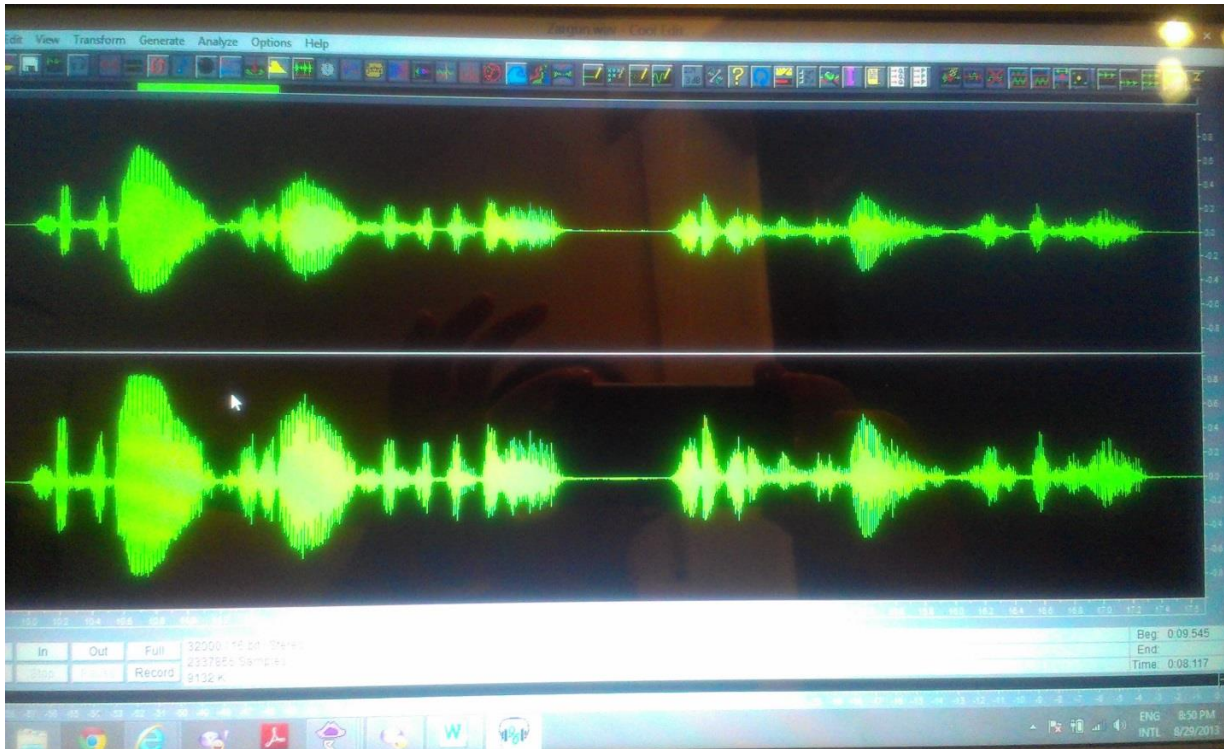
6.1.2 An analysis of the arrangement of stress

Gorān (see Ashna 2002:158-159) assumes that in classical Gūrānī poetry there is one main stress that falls on the syllable before the caesura and a weaker stress that falls on the final syllable of the line. He compares it to the *alexandrine* line in French poetry.

Although there is similarity between the metrical schema of the *alexandrine* line and the metrical schema of Gūrānī poems, there are certain differences. In the French system, the distribution of stress and the degree of its intensity follows from (as one would expect) the natural rules of the French language. In French, stress tends to fall on the end of the phrase, clause, or sentence (compare with Scott 1998:13). In Gūrānī, however, each word can maintain its stress, but within a phrase or clause, the degree of stress can be weaker.

Scott (1998:69) suggests the following graphic representation for the classical *alexandrine* pattern in French poetry:

(138)   (')   "   (')   "'

        - - - - - - // - - - - - -

In the above representation, Scott has marked the degree of intensity of each stress by using different numbers of the vertical apostrophes '. The strongest stress (with three

apostrophes, ''') falls on the end of the line, that is, on the final syllable. Another main stress, which is a bit weaker than the first, falls on the end of the first hemistich, that is, on the sixth syllable. Scott also assumes that there can be two additional weaker stresses, which are present in some lines but not in others (they are indicated by one apostrophe in parentheses in the above representation).

In section 5.2.4, we reviewed the placement of stress in the normal speech of certain Gūrānī dialects. We may assume that stress also plays an important role in Gūrānī poetry, but the important questions that we must ask is: Does stress have the same importance in Gūrānī poetry as it has in normal Gūrānī speech? And are Gūrānī poems based on the regular recurrence of primary or secondary stress?

In languages that have a metrical system in which stress plays an important role, such as in German and English, the stressed and unstressed syllables are arranged in units called feet, which are arranged in patterns of regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables (see Paul & Glier 1964:12). For example, different types of feet consist of different patterns of regular stressed and unstressed syllables, such as iambic: x x´, trochaic: x´ x, spondeus: x´ x´, dactyls: x´ x x, and anapaest: x x x´.

In Persian folk poetry in which stress counts as a metrical constituent, each one-syllable foot must be stressed, and each foot that has more than one syllable must end with a stressed syllable (Tabibzadeh 2004:74). So, in such poetry, there is a regular pattern of stressed syllables.

If we assume that in Gūrānī poetry stress is a metrical constituent, we would expect that in each line, the stressed and unstressed syllables would show a regular recurrence, or at least we would expect that the stressed syllable would determine the border of the feet.

As previously mentioned in section 5.2.4, each word in the Gūrānī language possesses an inherent stress. But the degree of the stress of syllables in the clause or sentence can change (compare MacKenzie 1966:12).

Normally, in each clause there is at least one primary stress and possibly also a secondary stress. Examples of primary and secondary stresses are illustrated in the following three couplets, as transcribed and translated by MacKenzie (1966:84). The stress marks are also from MacKenzie, who shows that, for each line, two stresses are considered, one primary and one secondary (the primary stresses are marked by ´ and the weaker stresses by `):

(139) ar ina nábo, ǰa bonaw tòwa   If it were not (for) this, (namely) on account of you,

gułāni bahār nákaru bòwa   I would not (even) scent the flowers of spring

ar ina nábo, ǰa bonaw tòwa,   If it were not (for) this, (namely) on account of you, (it were for nothing):

mardam námardan, pi kaš-u-kòwa.   Nobody dear to me (my dead) has died (that I should wander thus, like a mad man) in these mountains.

šałłā řoy ʿazal nábiāy wa yằrım,   Would to God that (from) the first day you had not been (ordained to be) my love,

nábyiāy wa bāʿıs dıłakày ɣambằrım   That you had not been the cause of my sorrow-laden heart!

It can be seen that, in the above six lines, the distribution of the primary and secondary stresses do not show any regularity. Let us review the details:

In the first couplet, the primary stress falls on the negative prefix of the verbal phrase of the first hemistich (that is, in the first five syllables), and the secondary stress falls on the second hemistich. However, in the second line, the first hemistich does not show any stress, and the second hemistich has both kinds of stress.

In the second couplet, the first line is a repetition of the first line of the first couplet. In the second line of the second couplet, there are two stresses: one primary and one secondary. The primary stress is on the first hemistich, and the secondary stress is on the second hemistich.

In the third couplet, the first hemistich of the first line has no stress, while the second hemistich has both the primary and secondary stresses. The first hemistich of the second line, has a primary stress, while in the second hemistich, there are two secondary stresses.

In all instances, the primary stress falls on the negative prefixes of the verbal phrases. The placement of stress on the lines seems to be similar to the spoken language, where the negative prefixes have priority in receiving the stress.

The secondary stresses are part of the inherent stress of the words that have been made weaker because of their position in the clauses, as illustrated by the nouns *yār* 'love' and *ɣambār* 'sorrow-laden' where the stress is weaker (third couplet). The definite suffix *-aka* in the noun *dıłaka* 'the heart' carries stress (third couplet), however in this position it acts as a

secondary stress due to the presence of a verbal phrase with a negative prefix in the sentence, which has priority in being stressed.

Let us now look in more detail at the position of stress in one of our performed poems. This poem was performed by three people: Aram Mostofi (=AM), Muhammad Rashid Amini (=MRA), and Jahangir Mahmoudveysi (=JM). The recordings of their readings were entered into the program Praat, and then the stress positions were determined based on the *relatively* greater intensity, greater length, and higher pitch. In the scansion below, we have used apostrophes to mark the stressed syllables (placing them before the stressed syllables). We have also indicated the light (U) and heavy (-) syllables:[109]

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[109] A light syllable is one that contains a consonant and a short vowel (CV). All other syllable structures are heavy (CV̄, CVC, CV̄C, CV̄CC, CVCC, V̄C, V̄CC, VCC).

(140)   Poem No. 1 (Ms.Or. 6444:f10a)

	AM	MRA	JM
1	zargūn kardawa		
	- - - U U[110]	- '- - 'U U	- '- - U 'U
2	naw-wahār zamīn // zargūn kardawa		
	- U '- U '- // - '- - U 'U	- U '- U '- // - '- - 'U U	- U '- U '- // - '- - U 'U
3	sabz-e dār kēšā // sar ǰa pardawa		
	- U '- - '- // '- U - 'U U	- U '- - '- // '- U - 'U U	- U '- - '- // - U - 'U U
4	šaw šawnım ximār // dīdaš bardawa		
	'- - - U '- // - '- - U 'U	'- - - U '- // - '- '- U U	'- - - U '- // - '- - U 'U
5	xēzā bārxānay // bād-e sabāyī		
	- '- - '- - // '- U U - -	- '- - - '- // '- U U - '-	- '- - - '- // '- U U - '-
6	kard wēnay ʕatār // nāfa gušāyī		
	'- - - U '- // - 'U U - -	'- - - U '- // - U U - -	'- - - U '- // - U U - '-
7	čaman pay maǰlis // gułān-e wašbo		
	U - '- - '- // U '- U - '-	U '- - - '- // U '- U - '-	U '- - - '- // U '- U - '-
8	tund kard tanāfān // hordā čatr-e no		
	- '- U - '- // - '- - U '-	'- '- U - - // - '- - U -	- '- U - - // - '- - U -
9	dāxił maǰlisān // mast-e ǰām-e may		
	'- - - U '- // - U '- U '-	- - - U '- // '- U - U '-	- '- - U '- // - U - U '-
10	farmā bolbolān // nawāy sāz-e nay		
	- '- - - '- // U - '- U '-	- '- - - '- // U - '- U '-	- '- - - '- // U - '- U '-
11	kusār nimānā // řang-e [zařgūnī][111]		

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[110] AM did not read this line.

[111] In my copy of the manuscript, the final word in line 11 and the final word in line 12 cannot be read. But in the published version by Sultānī (2010), we find the words *zařgūnī* and *hūnī*, respectively.

U '- U - '- // '- U - - -   U '- - - - // '- U - - '-   U '- - - '- // '- U - - '-

12   šaqāyiq may <u>kard</u> // na ǰām-e [hū<u>nī</u>]

U - '- - '- // U '- U - -   U - '- - '- // U '- U - '-   U - '- - '- // U '- U - '-

13   či<u>nūr</u> damāx <u>barz</u> // so<u>san</u> xamya <u>ko</u>

U '- U - '- // - '- - U '-   U '- U - '- // - '- - U '-   U '- U - '- // - '- - U '-

14   <u>sāqī</u> ša<u>qā</u>yiq // šaw ši<u>fā</u>-y šaw<u>bo</u>

'- - U '- - // - U '- - '-   '- - U - '- // '- U - - -   - '- U - '- // - U '- - '-

The translation of the above poem is as follows:

1   It made it golden again

2   New spring made the earth golden again

3   The green tree brought out the head from the curtain (cover)

4   The night took away the intoxicated (i.e., beautiful) eyes of dew

5   The Saba wind rose up

6   It opened like a perfume seller a perfume bag

7   The foliage for a meeting (i.e., they rise together) of pleasant-scenting flowers

8   They tied the ropes, raised the new parasol (i.e., their foliage)

9   (He) went into the feast, intoxicated by a glass of wine

10   (He) ordered the nightingale, (to start) the song of the ney[112]

11   The mountain displayed the color of gold

12   The red poppy[113] poured wine in the bloody glass

13   The chinur[114] (was) proud, the sosan (a lily) (had) a bent back

14   The red poppy (was) the cub-bearer, (she gives out fragrance) in the night (which is) balmy

The above performances show that there can be up to four stressed syllables per line. Two of the stressed positions are largely predictable while the other two are not. (1) The last syllable in the first hemistich is usually stressed: AM has stressed this syllable in all cases

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[112] The *nay* 'ney' is a flute-like instrument made from a reed.

[113] The *šaqāyiq* is a red poppy.

[114] The chinur is a flower that grows in the mountains of Kurdistan.

except in lines 5 and 14; MRA has also usually stressed the last syllable of the first hemistich; his only exceptions occur in lines 8 and 11; and for JM the only exception occurs in line 8. (2) The other largely predictable position of stress occurs on the last syllable of the second hemistich, although the performers did not stress this syllable nearly as frequently: AM did not stress this syllable in lines 3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14; MRA did not do so in lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 14; and JM did not do so in lines 3 and 8. Stress positions (3) and (4): In these readings, there were usually two other stresses per line (but not always), in which case they could come on the first, second, third, or forth syllable.

At this point, certain questions might occur to the reader, such as: (1) If the stress positions are not entirely regular in the lines or hemistichs, then what is controlling their positions? (2) Although there is clearly some similarity in which syllables the different readers stress, why is there so much variety?

As we mentioned above, there is indeed a strong tendency to stress the final syllables of the hemistichs and lines. To a large degree the position of stress seems to be determined by normal spoken lexical (word) stress patterns. This tends to be on the final syllable of words and phrases, and this fact would explain why the final syllables of hemistichs and lines are often stressed. Besides that, it seems that, because a pause occurs between every pair of hemistichs as well at the end of each line, there is natural tendency for the performers to put more emphasis on the syllables immediately before the pauses. We also note that, when there is a long vowel (especially ā) in the fourth syllable, the forth syllable will receive the stress instead of the fifth syllable. This is illustrated in Poem No. 1, line 5 in the hemistich that reads *xēzā bārxānay*.

But there are some important exceptions to the above tendency to stress the final syllables of the hemistichs and lines, and these exceptions are in harmony with the rules of the spoken language. For example, as we noted in section 5.2.4, the final syllable of the verb stem normally takes the stress, but the stress will move forward to the aspect-mood marker *ma-,* the negative prefix *na-,* or the negative prohibitive prefix *ma-* if one of them is present. Likewise, in nouns and phrases in the vocative, the stress moves forward. We will now illustrate some of these cases:

- In Poem No. 1, line 5 (see above), the final syllable in the verbs *xēzā* 'arose', and *farmā* 'ordered' in line 10, and the only syllable in the verb *kard* 'did/made' in

lines 6 and 8 are stressed, which is in harmony with the rules of the spoken language.

We can mention some other examples from another poem, Poem No. 2, which is presented in section 6.1.3 and which AM and AA read:

- An example of the stress moving forward in a phrase in the vocative case is *yā řab* 'O God', which occurs in Poem No. 2, line 2.

- An example of the stress on the prohibitive verb prefix (*m-*) occurs in Poem No. 2, line 10, in the word *māza* 'don't let'.

It also seems that the individual readers have a certain amount of freedom, in that they can choose to stress one syllable instead of another, and this may explain why their choice of stress positions do not always agree. In other words, such emphasis can vary from reader to reader. However, this freedom applies much less to the last syllable of the first hemistich in each line (and to some extent to the last syllable of the second hemistich).

Consider, for example, line 9 in Poem No. 1, repeated here:

	AM	MRA	JM

9   d̲ā̲x̲ił maǰlis̲ā̲n̲ // mast-e ǰ̲ā̲m̲-e m̲a̲y̲

'- - - U '- // - U '- U '-   - - - U '- // '- U - U '-   - '- - U '- // - U - U '-

(He) went into the feast, intoxicated by a glass
of wine

In this line, AM has stressed the first syllable of the word *dāxił* 'into' of the first hemistich but MRA has not, and JM has stressed the second syllable of the same word. In the spoken dialect, the second syllable of such a word would normally be stressed, but in a larger phrase *dāxił maǰlisān* 'into the feast', the last syllable of the phrase *-sān* would be normally stressed, as all three readers have done. It seems that AM has stressed the first syllable because of the long vowel ā (see below for more discussion); AM tends to emphasize such long ā vowels more than other readers. And finally, JM made a small pause after the first word and for this reason it seems he put a stress on it.

It may be that the above explanations will not completely answer the two questions we raised, although we would hope that with more time we could research these questions more

and find clearer answers. However, we still believe we have enough evidence to conclude that the position of stress is not entirely predictable (that is, it is not entirely regular).

In any case, our sample of recorded poems (Poems No. 1 and No. 2 and another example in section 6.4.4) mostly confirm the assumption of Gorān (see Ashna 2002:158-159) that in each line there will be one stressed syllable placed at the end of the first hemistich. The existence of the second stressed syllable at the end of the line is often confirmed, although it is not as consistently realized by all of the performers.

We can now return to the interesting proposal by Gorān (see Ashna 2002:158-159) where he compares the *alexandrine* line of French poetry with the classical Gūrānī poetic line. As mentioned before, Goran assumes for classical Gūrānī poetry that there is one main stress that falls on the syllable before the caesura and that a weaker stress falls on the final syllable of the line. We mentioned that for the *alexandrine* line Scott (1998:69) suggests there two strong stresses, of which the strongest of these falls on the final syllable of the line, while the other, somewhat weaker stress, falls on the end of the first hemistich. Scott also assumes that there can be two additional weaker stresses, which are present in some lines but not in others.

There are indeed many metrical similarities between the *alexandrine* line of French poetry and the classical Gūrānī poetic line. We will summarize first the similarities and then we will take up some major differences:

- In both kinds of poetry, the number of syllables and the caesura have a metrical function.

- In both this would normally be the final syllable of each hemistich, but in Gūrānī these positions do not necessarily take the strong stress (see below).

- In both, two other stressed syllables are also possible.

But we must emphasize that, unlike of the French *alexandrine* line, in the classical Gūrānī line the position of the strongest stress is not predictable. The strongest syllable can occur on any syllable of either hemistich in the line. In most cases, it occurs in the first hemistichs and not in the second hemistich.

Another important aspect of reading a Gūrānī poem is the use of extra-long 'poetic' vowels, especially the vowel /ā/. According to the traditional way these poems are read, these vowels must be pronounced longer than they would be in normal speech. We have measured some of these vowels using Praat. For example, in the first hemistich of the second line, the

vowel /ā/ in *naw-wahār* 'new spring' was pronounced extremely long by AM (0.431 seconds as measured in Praat) in comparison to other long vowels in that line (ī in *zamīn* is 0.130 seconds and *ū* in *zargūn* is 0.167 seconds). The same is true of ā in all other lines where it occurs. In lines where there is more than one ā vowel, one of them has a longer realization; for example, in the word *bārxāna* in line 5, the first ā is pronounced shorter (0.060 seconds) than the second ā (0.419 seconds). But in lines where there is no ā, another vowel will be especially lengthened; for example, in line 2 where there is no ā vowel, the ū in *zargūn* is pronounced longer than normal (0.496 seconds). We will discuss the role of long vowel ā more in the section *Figures of Sound in Gūrānī Poetry*.

Finally, let us consider the issue of stress in relation to light (U) versus heavy (-) syllables in our above poem. Tabibzadeh (2013) claims that stressed syllables are always heavy, except when a stressed syllable occurs in word-final position. In other words, in word-final position, a stressed syllable can be either light or heavy. Our analysis of the lines in Poem No. 1 above show that the claims of Tabibzadeh hold true.

To summarize, our study of our performed poems shows that stress does exist in classical Gūrānī poetry, and that its placement is predictable in one or possibly two positions. However, the other possible stresses in the line do not have any consistent metrical value since their positions are neither stable nor predictable.

6.1.3 An analysis of the arrangement of cola and feet

As mentioned in 3.1.2, Lazard (1985:372), in his analysis of Parthian verse, points out the role of ictus and considers that the rhythm of the lines is based on the regular recurrence of ictus. In his analysis, he distinguishes between heavy and light syllables. He considers a consonant followed by a short vowel (CV) to be light syllable and all other kinds of syllables to be heavy. He also believes that the ictus falls on the heavy syllables (op. cit., p. 374). He divides the half verses into feet so that an ictus falls on the end of each foot.

Tabibzadeh (2013) is critical of Lazard's theory, because Lazard does not mention the role of cola. In contrast to Lazard, Tabibzadeh claims that "each line consists of some cola and feet."

Tabibzadeh presents the following hierarchy of metrical units:

1. Couplet

2. Line

3. Half-line

4. Colon

5. Foot

He also believes that all West-Iranian languages use the following type of feet:

1. -

2. U -

3. - -

4. U U -

For the two modern West-Iranian languages, Hawrāmī and Kalhorī, he assumes five principles as well:

1. "Each line consists of some cola and feet.

2. Each foot has an ictus on its final syllable.

3. Ictus syllables are usually heavy.

4. When an ictus syllable is light (CV), it is necessarily the final syllable of a word.

5. The non-ictus syllables may be equally [that is, "either"] light or heavy."

Based on these principles, we will examine whether or not cola and feet should really be counted as metrical principles in Gūrānī poetry. We should keep in mind that a constituent can be counted as a metrical principle if it realizes two conditions: 1) it should be predictable; and 2) it should make a regular recurrence.

6.1.3.1 *The arrangement of hemistichs into cola and feet*

Below we will give more complete evidence why the colon does not have any true metrical value in classical Gūrānī poetry. Nevertheless, in a natural reading, we typically find short pauses within the hemistichs, which we have called "colon pauses". With Praat we can clearly identify the placement of such colon pauses and measure their duration.

We mentioned before that Tabibzadeh (2013) assumes for West-Iranian poetry that in the cases of Kalhorī and Hawrāmī "Each foot has an ictus on its final syllable." If this were true, then we should expect to find a regular ictus in each hemistich, and that a correct reading would depend on the position of the ictuses and consequently on the position of feet and cola

in the lines. Their positions would also be predictable and regular. But in fact a correct reading of poems does not depend of the positions of ictuses, feet and cola.

However, for the sake of the argument, we will assume for the moment that, hypothetically speaking, each line could contain some *regular* cola and feet. In such a case, the colon pauses would mark the boundaries of the cola and the ictuses would mark the boundaries of the feet.

As a notation for this study in the examples below, we have marked the border of the cola with |, the border of the feet with / and the caesura with //. Main stress is indicated by ('), which is placed before a stressed syllable:

6.1.3.2 Different kinds of cola

In order to analyze our poems, it is important as a first step to assume different kinds of colon pauses that are used in classical Gūrānī poetry.

Because each line in Gūrānī poetry is divided into two hemistichs and each hemistich contains five syllables, the shape of a colon can only be of one to five syllables. Therefore we can assume the following possible types of cola:

> one-syllable cola
>
> two-syllable cola
>
> three-syllable cola
>
> four-syllable cola
>
> five-syllable cola

Our assumption is that in most cases each hemistich has five syllables without any regular division into cola. However, a normal (traditional) reading will still naturally involve pauses within the hemistichs, which we have called "colon pauses". In the following section we explain where these pauses occur.

6.1.3.3 One-syllable and four-syllable cola

It is theoretically possible to have a one-syllable colon together with a four-syllable colon, and we believe that they occasionally occur, but in our data we have no cases.

6.1.3.4 Two-syllable and three-syllable cola

Cola composed of two and three syllables are more common than cola of one and four syllables. Since each hemistich contains five syllables, whenever a colon consists of two syllables, the other will necessarily have three syllables.

Consider the following examples that are from Poem No. 2 as read by AM (the complete poem is presented a bit later with translation):

(141)

5   tā kay hanāsam ba siyā tam bo?

      - '- | U - '- // U U '- | '-/ -

6   tā kay kunǰ-e dił xazēna-y xam bo?

      - '- | - U' - // U - '- | '-/ -

6.1.3.5 Five-syllable cola

A hemistich itself can comprise a single colon. In fact, hemistichs without division into cola are very common in Gūrānī poetry. For example, in Poem No. 2, there are lines in which each hemistich is composed of a five-syllable colon and there are no further colon divisions. Examples include the first hemistich in line 3 performed by AM and all four hemistichs in lines 3 and 4 performed by AA:

(142) AM   AA

3   tā kay na ǰamīn // lung-e xam pošū?

      - '- / U U '- // '- / U '- | - -   - '- / U U '- // '- / U '- / - -

4   tā kay čun kūra-y // āyir biǰošū?

      - '- | - - '- // - '- | U - -   - '- / - - '- // - '- / U - -

6.1.3.6 The division of hemistichs into cola and feet in the poems

Now we will look in detail at how the hemistichs were divided into cola and feet in the recordings of one of our poems. We have chosen a poem that was read by two of our Hawrāmī informants, AM and AA. The recordings of this poem were entered into Cool Edit and Praat in order to identify the major and minor pauses and cola.

Consider first the following poem, Poem 2, where in the scansion we have indicated the divisions of cola and hemistichs according to the ways that AM and AA each read (that is, performed) the poems.

(142)   Poem No. 2 (Ms.Or. 6444.f30a)

AM	**AA**

1   tā ba kay nošū?

'- / U '- / - -   '- / U '- / - -

2   yā řab! ǰām-e xam // tā ba kay nošū?   O Lord, the glass of sorrow // how long must I drink (it)?

'- / - | - U '- // '- / U '- / - -   '- /- | - U '- // - U '- / - -

3   tā kay na ǰamīn // lung-e xam pošū?   How long must I wear on my forehead the turban of sorrow?

- '- / U U '- // '- / U '- | - -   - '- / U U '- // '- / U '- / - -

4   tā kay čun kūra-y // āyir biǰošū?   How long must I boil as a fiery furnace?

- '- | - - '- // - '- | U - -   - '- / - - '- // - '- / U - -

5   tā kay hanāsam ba siyā tam bo?   How long must my breath be black (and) dusty?

- '- | U - '- // U U '- | '- / -   - '- / U - '- // U U - '- / -

6   tā kay kunǰ-e dił xazēna-y xam bo?   How long must the corner of heart be the store of sorrow?

- '- | - U '- // U - '- | '- / -   - '- / - U '- // U - '- / '- / -

7   tā kay gard-e dił ba sitēza bo?   How long must the dust particles of the heart be in conflict (with each other)?

- '- / - U/ '- // U U '- / U -   - '- /- U '- // U U '- / U -

8   tā kay řēza-y ǰarg, řēza řēza[115] bo? How long must the heart (literally 'liver') be (torn) in pieces?
     [116]

- - - - - // - U - U -   - - - - - // - U - U -

9   īsāfan, ħaddan, nīyāzmand-e dił   (There should be) fairness, a border, necessity of heart.

---

[115] The phrase *řēza řēza* as an attribute to the word *ǰarg* 'liver' refers to how one has so many sorrows that it splits the person's liver into many pieces.

[116] Neither AM nor AA read this line, so the scansion lacks stress marking.

- - '- | - '- // - '- / - U '-   - - '- | - '- // - - - U '-

10   māza ħasratmand // dāx baro wa gił   Do not let me take regrets to the grave.

'- / U - '- /- // '- | U - U '-   '- /U - '- /- // '- | U - U '-

As mentioned above, Tabibzadeh (2013) assumes the following types of feet, which we have used in the analysis of Poem No. 2 above:

1. -

2. U -

3. - -

4. U U -

According to Tabibzadeh's assumption, we should expect that "Each foot has an ictus on its final syllable", that is, each foot (marked by the symbol / in the above scansion) should end with a stressed syllable. But the scansion in our analysis of the above poem does not support this. In several lines, there are feet that lack a stressed syllable. For example, the two final syllables in the second hemistichs of lines no 1-4 only have unstressed syllables. These examples show that the division of lines into feet and cola does not follow a consistent pattern. Therefore, a division of the lines into cola and feet would be unsystematic. In most cases, in fact, there are not even any divisions of hemistichs into cola.

Furthermore, it is clear that AM and AA have different styles of performance. As can be seen in the scansion above, the two performers have two different ways of reading in terms of how they handle potential cola and feet. AA divided fewer hemistichs into cola. Nor does the division of cola by our informants reflect a regular pattern. For example, concerning the first hemistich in line 4, AM has divided it into a colon pattern of 2|3, but AA makes no division into cola. Or consider how in line 5, AM divided the first hemistich into 2|3 and the second into 3|2, but AA makes no division into cola in either hemistich.

Since the above discussion based on examples from these poems shows that the division of hemistichs into cola does not belong to the metrical system of Gūrānī poetry, it follows logically that the division of cola into feet cannot be part of the meter either. This is because the reading of these poems does not depend on the ictus within the lines. As mentioned before, only in one or possibly in two cases do we have regular and predictable stress. Since

the reading of lines does not depend on the ictuses, any division of hemistichs into feet is irrelevant to the metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry.

It does not seem possible to predict when a hemistich should or should not be divided by pauses into cola. A reader is free to create additional cola by inserting or deleting pauses however he or she wants. Once again, this leads us to the conclusion that the division of hemistichs into cola is not part of the metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry.

Although a correct reading of a classical Gūrānī poem requires the use of stresses and pauses, which then can be used to divide a poem into cola and feet, the presence of cola and feet is to a large degree arbitrary and unsystematic, and therefore they are not an essential element of the metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry.

Nevertheless, later in the section on Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poetry, we will see that for Folk System 2, the division of lines into cola and feet is in fact part of the metrical system and that the rhythm of lines depends on the ictus that is found at the end of each foot.

6.2 The metrical principle of classical Gūrānī poetry

Classical Gūrānī poetry makes use of a metrical template where each line has a certain number of syllables (ten syllables), and where each line is composed of two equal hemistichs (that is, half-lines) that are divided by a caesura. Another typical characteristic is the use of one kind of rhyme, the monorhyme, which occurs in couplets. In summary, all types of classical Gūrānī verse involve three characteristics:

1. a regular number of syllables per line

2. a caesura in the middle of the line,

3. the couplet monorhyme

We will now illustrate these three characteristics by means of different poems, including the first ten lines of an elegy by Malā Aḥmad Kandūla:

(143) Ms. 11157; p. 8

malā aħmad kandūla guyad:[117]   Mulla Ahmad Kandūla says:

1   mīrzām pēm yāwā   My Majesty, it came to me

2   xabar ži fawtit // ba gūšim yāwā   The news of your passing away reached my ear

3   čun giřa-y ātaš // darūnim kāwā   As a flame of fire it pierced my inner being

4   ba wēna-y ałmās // ǰargim šikāwā   As a diamond lanced my liver (i.e., heart)

5   čun bād-e wayšūm // wād-e wałga řēz   As a baneful wind, a wind that (makes) the leaves fall

6   ži taraf maġrib // xēzā giř-āxēz   From the west arose a flaming (wind)

7   čun ŧof-e ŧūfān // ałmāsa angēz   As the froth of a (stormy) flood, bringing diamonds (i.e., the droplets are like diamonds)

8   barg-e šaǰara-y // šādīm kard řēz řēz   The (news) shredded the leaves of the tree of my happiness

9   kūh-e šawq-u zawq // diłšādīm tāwā   It melted my joy, the mountain of passionate zeal,

10   čun řēza-y ałmās // ǰargim šikāwā   As bits of diamond (it) lanced my liver

6.2.1 Characteristic (a): a regular number of syllables per line

Characteristic (a) is observable in the above poem by Malā Aħmad Kandūla in that there is a regular number of syllables. With the exception of the first line, each line (مصرع) has 10 syllables (there are some poems where this exception does not apply).

We will now mention some variant structures that concern the first two lines.

In most poems (including the above example), the first line has only five syllables, although the performer is supposed to read it *twice* (and in this way this line can still count as a ten-syllable line). In such cases, there will also be a repetition of an element in the second hemistich of the second line. There are two different ways that this repetition can occur:

> 1. A part of this hemistich is repeated in the second hemistich of the second line as illustrated in the above poem, where *yāwā* 'is reached' is repeated.

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[117] The poem heading is normally in Persian. Here the verb *gūyad* 'he says' is Persian.

2. The exact same five syllable line is repeated in the second hemistich of the second line. This is illustrated in the following poem:

(144) No. 2: MS.OR.OCT.1173 pp. 163-183

xāna-y zanbūran	(It) is the home of bees
dił āšiyāna xāna-y zanbūran	The heart is a hive, (it) is the home of bees
k^{u}lohum sarsidāš sāz-e samtūran	All in all its noise is (like) that of the santur[118]
ġułġula-y sīnam taranga-y tanbūran	The rumblings (as boiling water) in my breast are (like) the sound of the tambur

…

In other poems, the first line is not a five-syllable line but a ten-syllable line like the rest of the lines. In this case, nothing is repeated in the second line. This pattern is illustrated in the following poem by Malā Tāhir Awrāmānī.[119]

(145) Ms.Or. 6444:f.32b, Malā Tāher Awrāmānī dar Radīf

tałēw ǰa řēħān pař šān u šēwa	a spring basil, full of pride and coquetry,
lāfe madā ba bo-y ziłf-e kasēwa	Was boasting of (having the same) scent as the locks of a certain (female) person.
mawāt-iš qatra-y qatrān-bēz-anān	It was saying: I am a drop such as puts pitch to shame
hāmřang u hāmbo-y ziłf-I dēz-anan	I have the same color and scent as (those) blue-black locks

….

6.2.2 Characteristic (b): the caesura and its position

The caesura's position in the middle of the line plays an important role. It allows us to recognize the borders of the hemistichs. For this reason the role of the caesura in Gūrānī poetry is undeniable and it must be counted as a metrical constituent.

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[118] The Santur is an Iranian musical instrument with about 72 strings. It is similar to the hammer dulcimer.

[119] Our transcription and translation of this poem is from MacKenzie (1965: page 265).

In all of the lines of the poems illustrated above, each line divides into two hemistichs of equal size, both having five syllables (with the exception of those poems that begin with a single five-syllable line). The caesura, which divides the two hemistichs, falls after the first five syllables and this is simultaneously always at the end of a word. For example, in the last poem, in the first line *tał̄ēw ǰa řēħān // pař šān u šēwa,* the first hemistich ends with the word *řēħan* 'basil'. However, when a word at the end of the first hemistich would normally end with the Ezāfa particle -*e*, the particle is deleted. This is illustrated in the following poem, where the expected Ezāfa particle is shown in square brackets [-*e*]:

(146) Ms.Or. 6444.f33a

1	řēħān-e bēgard	Pure basil!
2	řēħān-e pal dēz[-e] qatrān-ī[120] bēgard	Pure dark black! (You are) inimitable black as tar
3	mizdānī[121] bo lēt wād-e šabaq zard	May it be your gift (reward), (you) wind of yellow-red (color of the early morning)
4	mayot ba mehmān ziłēxāy bēgard	The pure Zilekha will be your guest
5	horgērot na xāk na řūy sarzamīn	(She) will take you from the earth of the world
6	mapēčot na čīn[-e] kalāfay muškīn	(She) will tie you in the curled musk (hair)
7	wēnay zułfe wēš mačnot ba dasta	Like her hair she will knit you in bunches
8	bo manyo na bot čon āwātwasta	She (Zilekha) puts (her) scent in your scent like a desired person
9	dirēxāt biřyān na řūy sarzamīn	You have no other way on the world
10	pēčyāy na čīn[-e] kalāfay muškīn	You are tied in the layer of curled musk
	…	…

One can see in lines 2, 6, and 10 in the above poem where the Ezāfa particle [-*e*] would have been expected, but because they occur at the end of hemistichs, they have been deleted.

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[120]*Qatrān* is a black liquid that one can collect from a certain kind of pine or it can be derived from coal. For more information see the online dictionary of Dehkhoda: http://www.loghatnaameh.org/dehkhodaworddetail-b85f4adc8de6406a964bfbd6700f4055-fa.html

[121]*Mižda* or *mizda* is the present one receives for giving someone else good news.

However, when another form of the Ezāfa particle, like *-ū* (*-w* following a vowel) or *-ī* (*-y* following a vowel), links two hemistichs together, these Ezāfa particles will not be omitted. Also, the enclitic conjunction =*ū* 'and' (=*w* following a vowel) may connect two hemistichs together as well.

For example, in the following poem by Mawlawī, we find the Ezāfa particle *-y* in lines 1, 2, 3 and 6, where in each case it connects the first and second hemistichs together. In the fifth line, we find the conjunction particle =*w* where it connects the two hemistichs together:

(147) Bāqī 2011:20

1	saršār-e sahbā-y// bazm-e munājāt	Profuse of the smell of life-donated wind of early morning of the ritual of Munajat
2	malǰa-y īltiǰā-y// arbāb-e ħāǰāt	The sources of shelter of need's lord
3	ǰā-y řiǰā-y ǰarga-y// pādišā u darwēš	The place of appeal for kind and Dervish
4	bāragā u panā// pay bēgān-w xwēš	The court of shelter for stranger and kindred
	...	…
5	zārī u/ zikārī-w// zwērī/ kardim	I whimpered, prayed and moaned
6	wa bāragā-y/ pākit// panā/ āwardim	I safeguarded to your sheer court

6.2.3 Characteristic (c): the rhyme and its form

The "regularity" and "predictable position" of a potential constituent are two features on which a constituent can be judged as either metrical or not metrical (compare Fabb 1997:116). If a constituent systematically shows these two features, it counts as a metrical constituent. Since rhyme in our poems fulfills both conditions, it counts as a metrical constituent, but a constituent like alliteration does not count as a metrical constituent, because it involves "unsystematic sound-patterning" (Fabb 1997:116).

There are different types of rhyme and different definitions of rhyme. For our purposes, a most basic definition is that rhyme involves the repetition of sounds at the end of lines, and these lines occur in a specific arrangement, such as in couplets or strophes (that is, in a set of three or more lines).

The most important and most common type of rhyme in classical Literary Gūrānī poetry is the *monorhyme*. Although it is of secondary importance to our study and not the way Iranian scholars talk about it,[122] our use of the term monorhyme includes as subtypes what Western scholars have called "masculine rhyme" and "feminine rhyme". For example, Chatman (1960:152) describes *masculine rhyme,* as the "repetition of final stressed vowels and final consonants and consonant clusters, if any, but *not* of initial consonants in the syllable: *be – agree*." And *feminine rhyme* he describes as "The above, plus any additional unstressed identical syllables: *taker – maker* (but not *taker – sicker*).

A typical example of a monorhyme is illustrated by the following couplet from the *Dīwān* of Mawlawī. Both lines end with same sound *-ardim*, which occur in two different words, *dardim* and *fardim*. Moreover, we can call this example a "couplet monorhyme" because the two lines form a couplet with an "aa" rhyming structure (that is, both lines end in the same sound, as symbolized by one "a").

(148) Mudarīs 2006:89

manʕim makardē, girānan dardim	Don't snub me! My pain is heavy
ar šēwyā bo qāfyay fardim	(Therefore) if my mono-rhyme is disturbed
	(If my monorhyme is disturbed, don't snub me, my pain is heavy!)

In most kinds of classical Gūrānī poems, the monorhyme is the only form of rhyme. It seems it is a part of the typical structure of classical Gūrānī poetry. The monorhyme is so established in Gūrānī poetry that in the *Dīwān* of Mawlawī, from which our above example comes, there is only one poem, which does not have the monorhyme. In this poem, instead of only couplet monorhymes in the pattern of "aa, bb…", we also find the rhyming pattern of "ab, ab…". However, it is interesting to note that, in the above couplet, the poet Mawlawī actually apologizes for what he calls "disturbed" rhymes. The disturbed rhymes do not occur in this above quoted couplet (which is actually part of his introduction to a larger poem) but they come later in the poem.

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[122] Shamissa (2004b:107) says that the most important point about rhyme is to change the first consonant of the last syllable of a word (e.g. **C**V, **C**VC, **C**VCC). According to Shamissa (op. cit., p. 102), line-final rhyme should include part of the root of the word, and any suffix that is added to the root *should not* be counted as part of the rhyme.

The other situation when the poets have avoided the couplet monorhyme is when they change language in a poem. For example, in Yārsān poetry, as we will see in a later section, there is a chapter called *Dīwān ʕĀbidīn*. In this *dīwān* the verses are written in Central Kurdish (that is, in Sorānī) and the monorhyme is not used. It is clear that, as soon as the language of the poetry changes, the poet takes the opportunity to change the rhyme pattern.

Besides monorhyme, the lines in a poem can have *identical rhyme*, which is called *radīf* in the Persian literature. In the case of identical rhyme, an entire word is repeated after the monorhyme. This is illustrated in the following couplet from a longer poem by Mullā Parēšān (we will cite the full poem later). The identical rhyme (or *radīf*) is the word *nīn* 'they are not', which ends each line, and the monorhyme is *-ast*, which comes before that:

(149) MS: 1196 Parēšān Nāma

7	mastān-e maǰāz dēwānan mast nīn	Those are not drunk who are metaphorically drunk, they are mad;
8	hawāparastān xudāparast nīn	it is those who serve lust who do not serve God

In the classical Gūrānī poems, monorhyme and identical rhyme can be arranged in different strophe structures, which include the following types:

- The strophe contains two lines, that is, it is a couplet, and the two lines have a monorhyme (aa)

- The strophe contains four lines, that is, it is a quatrain, and all four lines have the same rhyme (aa aa).

- The strophe contains several lines (e.g. four, six, eight, etc.), in which case the rhymes can have different patterns, such as:

  - aa, aa, aa, aa, aa, …, bb, bb, bb, bb, bb, …

  - aa, aa, aa, aa, .., bb, cc, dd, ee, …

  - aa, bb, cc, dd, …

  - aa, aa, aa, aa, …

- The strophe contains four lines, that is, it is a quatrain, and in addition to a monorhyme, there can also be an identical rhyme, as in the following:

(150)   Ms. or. oct. 1182

qazā ǰiryān kard	Mishap set off
qādir ži qudrat qazā ǰiryān kard	Mishap from the power of mishap set off
čand ži čūbdārān puxta-w biryān kard	It boiled and fried some of the stick-owner
dīda-y diłsozān piř ži giryān kard	It filled the eyes of good people with tears

In the above lines, the word *kard* functions as the identical rhyme, and the words *ǰiryān*, *biryān* and *giryān* function as monorhymes.

- The strophe contains several lines and, apart from a monorhyme, there is an identical rhyme in all of the lines, with exception of the last couplet. This pattern is illustrated in the following example. In all but the last couplet, we find the identical rhyme of *to* 'you', which is connected to the preceding word by the Ezāfa marker (*-e*). Additionally, there is the monorhyme *-(i)yā* in lines 1 to 4; lines 5-6 have *-ēš*, lines 7-8 have *-ēz*, lines 9-10 have *-āmān*, and lines 11-12 have *-ām*.

(151)   Ms.Or. 6444:f. 16b

1	čirāx! siyā-y to	Lamp! Your black (eyes)
2	ba har dū dīda-y mast-e syā-y to	(I swear) by both your intoxicated (i.e., beautiful) black eyes
3	ba nīm nigā-y nāz nāgā-dyā-y to	(I swear) by your short pampered glances
4	ba zułf-e ħabaš pašēwyā-y to	(I swear) by your disheveled locks
5	ba tāq-e abrū-y qałamkēš-e to	(I swear) by your arched and painted eyebrow
6	ba moža-y nāwāk žār-e nēš-e to	(I swear) by your eyelashes with poisoned spikes
7	ba řēza-y řāzān šakar-řēz-e to	(I swear) by your soft falling sugar (speech)
8	ba nāf-e āhū-y ʕanbarbēz-e to	(I swear) by your (scent, which brings) the musk of the navel of deer to shame
9	ba bālā-y čun sałw xarāmān-e to	(I swear) by your high stature (which is) like a swaying cedar
10	ba ǰawr-u safa-y bē-sāmān-e to	(I swear) by your irregular tyranny and ingenuity

| 11 | ba gišt sawgand bo, ǰamīn wēna-y ǰām | It will be sworn by all (these things), (O) forehead like mirror! |
| 12 | dūrī to kardan xāw wanam ḥarām | The distance of you (has caused) me to never sleep in the night. |

- In many strophes, as illustrated in the last poem, an identical rhyme may be used in only some of the pairs of lines, for example, it may occur at the beginning, middle, or end of the poem.

As is clear from the above examples of classical Gūrānī poetry, the monorhyme is the most common type of rhyme. Certain other kinds of rhyming do not even exist in Gūrānī. Even the use of the identical rhyme differs from its use in Persian or Arabic. According to the preference of the poet, some lines may have identical rhymes while others may have none. We know from Persian poetry, for example, that in a *ghazal* poem, if there is an identical rhyme, every second line of each couplet has the same identical rhyme. But in Gūrānī poetry, identical rhymes are not used in this way.

This shows that the classical Gūrānī poets have not been limited to the poetic rules that are dominant in a language like Persian. For the Gūrānī poets, what is important is to manage the homophony and harmony between the lines. One way that this is done is to use the similar sounds at the end of each couplet, that is, by using rhyme. But there are other ways that the poets used similar sounds to create homophony and harmony (or "musicality") between lines. We will take up these other ways in detail in section 6.4.

Let us now consider the following poem of thirty-four lines by Mullā Parēšān and see how the above mentioned characteristics of classical Gūrānī poetry are executed:

MS: 1196 Parēšān Nāma

1	sāqī! bāwara // jāmē pay mastī	Cup-bearer! Bring in a glass of wine for drunkenness
2	sūdim mastīyan ziyān ži hastī	Drunkenness is for the best and existence is a loss
3	ǰāmē ka maġzim bāwaro na ǰoš	a glass that so stirs and excites my mind
4	dunyā-w māfīhā bikam farāmoš	that I forget the world and whatever is inside,
5	na ža-w bāda-y bazm ḥarīfān-e rad	not the wine of a gaggle of good-for-nothings,
6	munhī-ye ałłāh muzill-e xerad	who deny God and corrupt wisdom.
7	mastān-e maǰāz dēwānan mast nīn	Those are not drunk who are metaphorically drunk, they are mad;
8	hawāparastān xudāparast nīn	it is those who serve lust who do not serve God
9	ža-w bāda-y bē ġaš xumxāna-y dīrīn	(Pour) the pure wine from the most ancient of cellars
10	mašrī mardafkan tałx-e lab-šīrīn	Wine to fell a man, a bitter sweet to the lip
11	bidar tā yakǰā pāk ži gunāh būm	Pour it to cleanse from sin once and for all
12	mastī bāwaro, finā fīllāh būm	Bring me to drunkenness that I may be extinct in God
13	musilmānī! gar min tēšna-kāmim	Oh, Muslims! If I am thirsty,
14	kāfir-e zohdim murīd-e ǰāmim	(it is because) I am a traitor to asceticism and a disciple of the glass,
15	bidar binūšām wa yād-e mastān	Pour me a drink in honor of the intoxicated ones
16	panǰa-y ebl'īs hīč paymān diristān	The finger of Satan cannot be trusted
17	sāqī! piř bikar ǰām-e yak manī	Cup-bearer! Fill this glass with enough for three
18	šāyad bigżarim ži māʔ u manī	That from the desire to pour (my own) water I might be free
19	tā ka binūšim ba yād-e kasī	In order to drink in honor of the one,
20	zindigīm margan bē aw nafasī	Without whom every moment of my life is like death

21	yak nafas ba aw // arzad bařř-ū būm	Even one breath at his side is more than the world
22	kāfirim agar ǰūyā-y mīnū būm	Seeking (only) heaven, I'd be an infidel
23	či ħāǰat ba xuld ħūr u qusūran	What do I need with eternity, palaces and houris
24	bahaštparast nīm // dostim manzūran	(when) I don't serve Paradise and seek only my Friend
25	zāhid! to u ħūr-u bahašt-e barīn	O ascetic one, Paradise and its houris are all for you
26	min u xāk-e ko-y // diłribā-y dērīn	For me is the ancient beloved and the earth of his home;
27	min ba āb-e ʕašq xākim sirištan	I was sculpted from clay with the water of love
28	yak ǰafāš ži lām čun hašt bihištan	An ounce of his cruelty is for me the eighth heaven
29	har yarē ži šast sāf u diłbaran	All three are from the pure finger of friend (?)
30	zāmiš ži mīwa-y Tūbā[123] xuštaran	His wound is sweeter than the fruit of Tuba
31	bē zaxm-e xadang muža-y diłārām	Without a wound from the arrow of the beloved's lash
32	nangan pā nīyān wa saħrāy qīyām	'tis a shame to set foot in the plains of battle (i.e., where Hussein was martyred)
33	bē zaxm-e xadang muža-y mah-řuwān	Without a wound from the arrow of a moon-faced beauty's eyelash,
34	nangan wa saħrā-y qīyāmat luwān	'tis a shame to face the plains of resurrection.

We can now summarize the metrical principles of the above poem:

- Each of the 34 lines has ten syllables.

- A caesura divides every line into two hemistichs.

- Every couplet ends with a mono-rhyme. For example, lines 1-2 end with *-astī* (*mastī/hastī*); lines 3-4 with *-ǰoš*; and lines 5-6 end with the feminine rhyme *-eřad*.

- Beside mono-rhyme, we also find identical rhyme in lines 7-8 and 21-22.

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[123] *Tūbā* is the name of the most important tree in Paradise.

* In lines 17-18, there is only identical rhyme.

Here, we can point out the symmetrical features of classical Gūrānī poetry. Not only does each line have the same number of syllables and divide into two equal hemistichs, but the couplet rhyming structure adds to the overall symmetrical schema, as do also the harmony between lines that is created by alliteration, consonance, assonance, and many other kinds of repetitions (we will discuss these latter constituents in the next sections).

Finally, caesura is another main constituent that adds to the symmetrical schema. The exact division of ten syllables into two groups by the caesura is an important constituent that enhances the symmetrical structure.

We can compare our conclusions about the caesura at the end of this section with what we found when looking at the historical background of Iranian poetry. As we saw with the Avestan texts, though there are various competing and uncertain hypotheses about the role of caesura, nevertheless, based on some analyses of the Old Avestan texts (see Chapter 3) the number of syllables and the position of the caesuras functioned as the main metrical constituents. Therefore, it seems that the same constituents have been preserved in classical Gūrānī poetry.

6.2.4 The strophe types used in classical Gūrānī poetry

There are basically four different strophe types that are used in the classical Gūrānī poetry, and normally an individual poem uses only one specific strophe type. This is true of all of the varieties of Gūrānī poetry, including lyric poems, religious poems, tales, epics, etc.

Strophe Type One: What is normally the smallest strophe type consists of two couplets, that is, a set of four lines. In this type of strophe, the first line sometimes consists of only five syllables, as we find in the Yārsān religious *kalām* of (as we mentioned earlier, the performer is supposed to read the first line twice and in this way the line still counts as a ten syllables). The general structure is illustrated here:

(152) - - - - - // (- - - - -) a

       - - - - - // - - - - - a

       - - - - - // - - - - - a

       - - - - - // - - - - - a

This kind of strophe is not used much by the classical Gūrānī poets but it is very common in the folk poetry. However, in Mawlawī's Dīwān, four-line poems are observed:

(153) Mudarīs 2006:130-131

pay kasē xāsan hawā-y sayr-e bāx	For somebody is better to (have) desire to view
māsīwā-y maʕšūq naboš āx u dāx	(who) has, in exception of beloved, no pain
min ǰift-e maʕšūq dard hamřāz[124] iman	Like the beloved, pain is my fellow
čun baz-e sar-čił wāda-y bāziman	Like a young hawk, it is my play time

(154) Mudarīs 2006:432

na to-y ħałqa-y zulf diła-y šēt u wēt	In the ring of your lock, the wild heart
šartiš kard hanī dił nadaro pēt	Promised not to give his head to her
waxt-ē šolā-y řūt nāgā dā dīyār	When the flame of your face suddenly was visible
aw qisa-y šaw bē ēd šola-y nahār	It (the promise) was the word of the night, this the flame of midday (the face of her is like a flame of day)

Strophe Type Two: Mawlawī also used a strophe of smaller size, which is a strophe composed of only one couplet. As Anwar Qādir Miħamd (2010:88) points out, this strophe does not exist in the work of the classical Kurdish and Gūrānī poets who lived before Mawlawī (that is, before the 1800s). Like the four-line strophe, the single couplet strophe is also common in folk poetry. Some examples from Mawlawī's Dīwān are as illustrated here:

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[124] Hamřāz is a close person that you have no secret with him.

(155) Mudarīs 2006:131

      pīrī u faqīrī u kasīfī har sē   To be old, impoverished and dirty, all these three

      nabo wa ħīǰrān bār-e hīč kasē   may nobody hold (these three things) and (may nobody) be away (from the beloved)

(156) Mudarīs 2006:433

      na řo ārāman na šaw xāwman   Neither in the day I have serenity nor in the night I have sleep

      čun čam gil-karān gilārāwiman   My eyes are in pain, like who has eye pain

Strophe Type Three: There is another strophe type used in Gūrānī poetry that is based on and similar to one of the Persian and Arabic strophes, which is called *mosammat*.[125] In the *mosammat*, there are several strophes (sets of lines) that are linked to each other by a refrain. The first line of the refrain is a new line but the second line is always the same.

In many cases, all the strophes between the refrains have the same rhyme (aa), or each strophe may have its own rhyme. Another possibility is that every couplet may have its own unique monorhyme (aa, bb, cc, etc.), but the refrain (which are illustrated below by the lines ending in x) would follow a different rhyme. One example of the schema would be as follows:

---

[125] For the form of *mosammat*, see Shamissa (2001:291-294).

(157) - - - - - (// - - - - - a)

- - - - - // - - - - - a

…

- - - - - // - - - - - x

- - - - - // - - - - - x

- - - - - // - - - - - b

- - - - - // - - - - - b

…

- - - - - // - - - - - x

- - - - - // - - - - - x

…

This kind of strophe is used often in Yārsān poetry (to be discussed more later). An example from classical Gūrānī poetry, where it is used much less frequently, is illustrated from the Dīwān of the poet Pāveyī:

(158)

1	xānim xandašan	The lady is laughing
2	čun ghunča-y naw-xēz dāyim xandašan	Like a burst of buds she is always laughing
3	xaramān-e čīn[126] sar-afkandašan	The Chinese princess is ashamed (because the laughing lady is so beautiful in comparison with her)
4	sad kas čun xuršīd xāwar[127] bandašan	A hundred people like Xurshid Khawar are her slaves
5	ʕar ʕar ǰa bāxān ħayran mandašan	The tree in heaven in the gardens is admired
6	šamāł band zułf šamāł šandašan	The north wind is tied between her locks, the north wind is blowing between them
7	**xaǰāłatiš kard xor wa hawāwa**	**She shamed the sun in the sky**
8	**fazāhā[128] ba la-y xuršīd nimāwa**	**The space is with (the one who) is like the sun**
9	ībteda-y ǰilūs naw-ǰawānīšan	She is at the beginning of her adolescence,
10	ēntehā-y ādāb nukta-dānīšan	(but) she is at the fullness of eloquence and cultural refinement.
…	…	…
17	**čun kabk-e kosār mašo wa řāwa**	**She shamed the sun in the sky**
18	**fazāhā ba lā-y xuršīd nimāwa**	**The space is with (the one who) is like the sun**
	…	….

The above poem is composed of fourteen strophes where each is linked by the refrain. Each strophe is composed of six to eight lines. The sound used to rhyme in the first three strophes is *-an*; that in the fourth strophe is also mostly *-an,* but in the middle there is a couplet that uses *-ardawa*; the rhyme in strophes 5 to 8 is also *-an,* in strophe 9 we also find *-an,* but the rhyme in the last couplet is *-ar*.

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[126] A personality as the beloved person in a Gūrānī narrative long poem called Xuršīd u Xāwar.

[127] The personality as the lover in the narrative poem Xuršīd u Xāwar.

[128] The ending *-hā* can be read as the Persian plural marker on *fazā* 'space', but semantically it makes no sense.

As we can see from the previous example, the Gūrānī poet takes some liberties with his pattern of rhyme or breaks the rules. But he still normally must use the monorhyme. Many lines can use the same rhyme, but the poet is free to also change the rhyme.

Strophe Type Four: The most common type of strophe follows the rhyming pattern in the schema below. In this type of strophe, the number of lines can be as few as four or it can be unlimited:

(159) - - - - - //(- - - - -) a

   - - - - - // - - - - - a

   - - - - - // - - - - - a

   - - - - - // - - - - - a

   - - - - - // - - - - - b

   - - - - - // - - - - - b

   - - - - - // - - - - - c

   - - - - - // - - - - - c

   …

Often, the first four lines have the same rhyme, but it is also possible that every couplet (including the first two) uses a different rhyme or that every couplet uses the same rhyme.

6.3 The sacred poetry of the Yārsān

The Yārsān poets used their poetry to talk about philosophy, religion, and to some extent history. Although in classical Gūrānī poetry one finds other topics and genres (like lyrics, epics, legends, elegies, fables, etc.), the Yārsān poets especially used verse to express their religious thoughts, as one finds in many other sacred traditions. For example, the topic of the following short poem is about the creation and appearance of Mawlā 'God':

(160)   Hawrāmī 1975:190

Mawlwām wa duř bī, duř wa ta-y daryā	My Mawlā was in (a) pearl, the pearl in the sea
wa duř barāmā ǰīhān kard mahyā	He came out from the pearl and made the world
nāwī wēš nīyā wa xāwandigār	He called himself God
ʕarš u quršī u farš awsā dā qarār	Then (he) created heaven, QURSH and earth
ħaftād hazār sāł tāk u tanyā u fard	seventy thousand years alone and sole and single
va řū dalyāwa čawgān bāzī kard	On the sea he (he) played wicket

Music has an important place for the Yārsān people and it plays a central role in their religious rituals. During their rituals, the sacred poems, which are called *kalām,*[129] are chanted. During a ritual that is performed during a *ǰam,*[130] the main parts of the *kalām* are sung by the *kalām-xān* (the lead singer), and the refrain is repeated by the participants in the ritual.[131]

As we have found for other Gūrānī poetry, the structure of many sacred Yārsān poems is based on the ten-syllable line, although one also finds lines with more than ten syllables. The situation is comparable to Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry, as well as to the Old Avestan texts (see section 3.1.1), where the number of lines is not always stable. We will discuss this topic in the following pages.

The Yārsān texts do not differ from other Gūrānī poetry in a substantial way in their strophe structures, but there is a difference in the frequency that certain strophe structures are used in the Yārsān texts. For example, although the quatrain strophe is not used very often in classical Gūrānī poetry, a large portion of Yārsān verses are in quatrains. This is illustrated by all of the verses of *Davra-ye Dāmyārī* 'the Period of Damyārī', that have strophes of the following form:

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[129] See During 1999:83.

[130] The word *ǰam* refers to a religious ceremony of Yārsān people when they gather to perform their different rituals.

[131] See Tāherī 2009:217-233; the film of *To Sing is To Be* by Yiannis Kanakis.

(161) - - - - - a

      - - - - - // - - - - -a

      - - - - - // - - - - -a

      - - - - - // - - - - -a

The collection of Yārsān poems involve many different composers and at the beginning of most verses the name of the composer is indicated, as illustrated in the next example. However, we have very little knowledge about the lives and personalities of the named poets.

(162) Taybi 2007:50:

Fātma luřa maramo:	Fatima Lore says:
gīān pare čēšan	For what is the soul?
har kas to dāro, gīān pare čēšan	Everybody who has you, for what is the soul? (For what he needs the soul?)
wa nāmit qasam, darūnim ēšan	I swear by your name, my inside is full of pain
bē to gīān u zeł hamīša řēšan	Without you the soul and heart are always in pain.

The metrical principles of *most* of the Yārsān poems are similar to those of the classical Gūrānī poems. We can summarize the metrical structure of most Yārsān poems as follows:

- Each line has ten syllables.

- A caesura in the middle of a line divides each line into two equal hemistichs.

- In the poems that use quatrain strophes, the first line always contains five syllables, which are then repeated in the second hemistich of the second line. In poems that use other strophe types, the first line may be either five or ten syllables long.

- Many long poems make use of another type of strophe, which involves intervening couplet-refrains. As mentioned in the previous section about strophe types, this strophe form is similar to the Arabic and Persian *mosammat*. The use of a refrain is not so common in classical Gūrānī poetry but it is very common in Yārsān poetry. An example from Yārsān poetry with entire poems composed with this strophe structure is the *daftar sī-u šiš šāʕira* 'The Collection of Thirty-Six

Poets'. In this collection there are fifty-four strophes (and a total of 836 lines) and at the end of each strophe there is a refrain of six lines that links the strophes.

The following example illustrates a typical structure of a quatrain with the ten-syllable line. There is a caesura in the middle of each line, and all four lines have the feminine monorhyme -*ēɫan*:

(163)   Tāherī 2007:54

Bābā Sarhang maramo:	Baba Sarhang says:
ħaftim sarxēɫan	My seven are the head of the clan
- - - - -	
ja āsimān dā ħaftim sarxēɫan	In the heaven my seven are the head of the clan
- - - - - // - - - - -	
har yak wa řangē na gašt u gēɫan	Each of them in one color is going around
- - - - - // - - - - -	
har yak pay kārē āwāra-u wēɫan	Each of them is for a job wander
- - - - - // - - - - -	

Although the ten-syllable line is the most frequent type of line in the Yārsān poems, the number of syllables and position of the caesura is not always stable. For example, in the following poem, each line has a different number of syllables:

(164)   Safīzāda1976:22

Kāka Ridā maramo:	Kaka Rida says:
yā šā! qāɫē jimyān ča ī mīyānā	O king! There is some noise in this area
- - - - - - // - - - - - (6//5)	
dāšā wa řima-y mīrzā āmānā	They knocked on the knocking noise of Mirzā Āmān
- - - - - // - - - - - (5//5)	
to šā-y bař u bāranī ča sar tā dāmānā	You are the king of the sea and mainland
- - - - - - - // - - - - - - (7//6)	
řima-y mīrzā āmānšān bard bāriš wa dimānā	They took the knocking noise of Mirzā

		Āmān to Dimān
- - - - - - - // - - - - - - - (7//7)		

Poems with lines of different number of syllables occur frequently in Yārsān poetry. The next passage illustrates another example. Besides ten-syllable lines, there are also lines with 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 and even 15 syllables:

(165) Tayebi 2007:270

	Sultān maramo:	Sultan says:
1	yār řangīna	The friend is Rangina
	- - - - (4)	
2	pīr řostam! īna // ǰam čilāna u yār // řangīna	Pir Rostam! this is Jam of forty (persons) and the friend is Rangina
	- - - - - // - - - - - // - - - (5//5//3)	
3	hazār ǰammān byan // čina-w bar-čīna	We had thousands of Jam, generation to generation
	- - - - - // - - - - - (5//5)	
4	har kas māmā u nīšt // nā ǰam warīna	Everybody who came and sat down on that preview Jam
	- - - - - // - - - - - (5//5)	
5	saršān wa šart niyāwā // ča-y řāga-u dīna	they commit (to stay) in this way and religion
	- - - - - - // - - - - - (6//5)	
6	min bāwām šēx ʕīsā bē // dawrim kard parčīna	Me, my father was Šekh Īsā, I put up around him a fence
	- - - - - - - // - - - - - - (7//6)	
7	tā ča Pirdīwar[132] // řawāǰ bo ī dīna	In order to be this in vague there in Pirdiwar
	- - - - - // - - - - - - (5//6)	

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[132] Pirdīwar is the name of a place in Hawrāmān and the most holy place for Yārsān members. The grave of Sultan Ishak is in Pirdīwar.

8   Pīr[133] Rostam har ka bē ǰawzan, niyan amīna   Pir Rostam! Everybody who has not Jawz (Indian nut), is not amen

- - - // - - - - - // - - - - - (3//5//5)

9   bāyad dāwān yār Dāwud[134] gēro Pīr Binyāmīna[135]   Pir Binyamin should request Yār (friend) Dāwud

- - - - - // - - - - - // - - - - (5//5//4)

10   bē šartān nay ǰam// māčān wiřīna   Don't come to the Jam (who) have not committed (to this religion)

- - - - - // - - - - - (5//5)

11   har kas saraš sipāryān āna bitawīna   Everybody who has committed, he is secure.

- - - - - - - // - - - - - - (7//6)

12   dū da hazār wa yakdā bīyān way wīna   Come here two (times) ten thousand and one

- - - - - - - // - - - - - (7//5)

…   …

In this poem we can recognize the following points:

- The lines do not have a consistent number of syllables. They range in length from ten to fourteen syllables. But most contain two hemistichs.

- Lines 2, 8, and 9 each have two caesuras and therefore each divides into three hemistichs. It seems difficult or impossible to articulate a hemistich with more than seven syllables, and so a potential eight-syllable hemistich would require a caesura after the fourth or fifth syllable.

As we will see in the next chapter, the line length of Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poems can vary in the number of syllables, just as it can in some Yārsān poems. The classical Gūrānī poets, in contrast, have chosen to consistently use the ten-syllable line without exception. So it seems that the use of a stable number of syllables is a development that occurred in a later phase of Gūrānī poetry composition. Evidence for this conclusion is the fact that in the later

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[133] Pīr is the term that is used for the heads of the members of this community.

[134] Dāwud is one of the seven angels of the Yārsān religion.

[135] Binyāmīn is another one of the seven angels.

Yārsān texts, as illustrated by texts from the *kalām-e dowreye ā sayyed birāka*, which is from the nineteenth century, most lines have ten syllables. This shows that in the early phase of Yārsān poetry, as in folk poetry, there were some metrical models that did not use a regular line length and other models that did use a regular line (for example, always ten or always eight syllables).

It is not only in the Gūrānī poems of the Yārsān where we can observe an irregular number of syllables per line, but we also find lines of varying numbers of syllables in the Kurdish poems of the Yārsān, that is, in the chapter called *Dīwān ʿĀbidīn*, which is presumed to have been composed by ʿĀbidīn, Nargiza, Małā Nasūra, Małā Qidūrī, Małā Ghafūra, Małā ǰāmī, besides other poets (see Tayebi 2007:529-662). In these Kurdish poems of the Yārsān, we find between eight and fifteen syllables per line. The rhyme scheme is sometimes like that of the Persian *ghazal* where the two lines of the first couplet have the same rhyme (aa), and in later couplets the second line has the same rhyme as the first couplet (a) but the first line is free:

(166)   aa

     ba

     ca

     da

     …

It seems, therefore, that the rhyme is the only metrical principle in this kind of Kurdish poetry from *dīvān ʿĀbidīn,* since no other metrical principle can be observed. Here is an example from this *dīvān*:

(167)   Tayebi 2007:553

nargiza dwēžē:	Narges says:

1   arē bāwa bⁱrāgal, čītān dawē ēwa la ʕābidīn?

Hey, you, brothers, what do you want from ʕĀbidīn

- - - - / - - - // - - - - // - - / - - - - 7+4+6

2   ar čāka u xarāw, bo xoy būga bē-dīn

If he is good or bad, he (has decided) by himself

- - -/ - - // - -/ - -/ - - 5+6

3   či šarē dafrošin, bočī yaqay barnādan

What do you want? Why don't you set him free?

- - -/ - - - // - -/ - -/ - - - 6+7

4   bo xoy zarara, har čī dakā nafrīn

He harms himself, (if) he curses

- - / - - - // - - - -/ - - 5+6

5   šartim kirdiga tā řožī qⁱyāmat

I have made the condition, until the last day

- - - - - // - - -/ - - 5+5

6   bo masḥaf ka la ʕĀbidīn nāwē ǰⁱyā bīn

by the collected papers (Quran), that we never will be split from ʕĀbidīn

- -/ - - - - - - // - - - - 7+5

7   daykam ba fīdā-y am tāza ǰwānīma

I sacrifice my new-youth for (him)

- - /- - - // - - -/ - - - 5+6

8   agarīč bimrē, kas nābē la min kāmīn

(Even) if he dies, nobody is allowed to tell me anything

- - -/ - - // - - - /- -/ - - 5+7

…   …

In this poem, line 1 has seventeen syllables, lines 2, 4 and 7 have eleven, lines 3 and 8 have thirteen, and line 5 has ten.

Tayebi (2007:4-5) claims that many Yārsān texts have been badly transmitted. He argues that the texts were copied by different scribes, some of whom could not speak the Gūrānī dialects and so made mistakes and sometimes modified the texts according to their own dialect.

There is no doubt that some of the incorrect forms are due to problems in scribal transmission. As with other religious texts, the Yārsān texts have been transmitted orally from one generation to the next, and so the possibility of mistakes cannot be excluded. Nevertheless, it seems to us that the metrical principle of some Yārsān poetry is similar to that of the folk poetry. Therefore, it may be that some of the supposed scribal mistakes and irregular line lengths should not be always considered true mistakes, but instead we should accept that a regular number of syllables per line is not a metrical principle.

As mentioned before, this unstable number of syllables in some Yārsān texts is comparable to what we find in some folk Gūrānī poems. Poem 6 in Chapter 7 illustrates this point. In that poem the number of syllables per line is between eleven and sixteen.

This situation is also comparable with what we found in the Avestan texts that have a different number of syllables per line and where there is more than one caesura in some lines. Furthermore, recall that the Avestan texts were chanted and sung (Hertel 1927:1) just as the Yārsān texts are.

Finally, it may be that we can explain the irregular number of syllables per line in the Yārsān poems by appealing to the fact that the poems are mostly sung (just as we note that the Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poetry as well as the Avestan texts are also mostly sung or chanted and also sometimes have irregular line lengths). We might assume, for example, that the texts of the Yārsān with irregular line lengths are suited to melodies that resist a regular number of syllables per line. But in other Gūrānī poems that are not composed as song, we might assume that the poets have chosen a stable number of syllables.

Having said that, we admit that this cannot be the whole picture, because there are texts that are not used as songs but also have a different number of syllables per line.

In the next section, we will look at the use of rhetorical figures of sound in Gūrānī poetry. It will be important to see how they function within the lines of classical Gūrānī poems.

6.4 Figures of sound in Gūrānī poetry

We consider figures of sound to be those constituents that create homophony and harmony within the lines in a poem. The use of figures of sound are not limited to poetry. To a certain extent they may also be used in prose in poetic ways. As Shamissa notes (2004:21), a text with these figures of sound is considered to be more literary than a text without such figures.

The use of such figures of sound causes a text to be less like spoken language and more like poetic language. Since they increase the aesthetic element, they should be counted as belonging to the field of poetry and literature (compare with Shamissa 2004:23). Moreover, they can even be counted as metrical constituents if they occur systematically. If not, then they may be "sensitive to metrical structure" as Fabb describes it (1997:111), by which we understand Fabb means that they may interact closely with the metrical structure in certain ways while still being separate.

We mentioned earlier in section 2.2, constituents like alliteration, assonance, consonance and other figures of sound or sound patterns are not counted as metrical constituents by Iranian scholars and to some extent by Western scholars. Nevertheless, there is agreement on which figures of sound are "sensitive" to meter and increase the musical aspects of verses. Shamissa (2004:24) proposes the following definition:

بدیع لفظی موسیقی درونی شعر را به وجود می آورد در مقابل موسیقی بیرونی که حاصل وزن است و موسیقی کناری که بر اثر قافیه و ردیف به وجود می آید

> Figures of sound create the internal music of a poem; in contrast, external music is the result of meter, while lateral music is created by identical rhyme [*radīf*] and rhyme.[136]

Following Shamissa, the figures of alliteration, assonance, and consonance serve the same goal of creating music in speech. The only difference between "lateral music" and "internal or external music" is their placement. "Lateral music", like rhyme, is placed at the end, while "internal and external" are placed within the lines. It seems, all these figures of sound function to create music in a poem. However, Shamissa does not give any evidence why figures of sound, including rhyme, do not come under the topic of meter even though they achieve similar goals.

We believe these figures of sound belong to a discussion of meter. Earlier in this chapter we discussed rhyme in detail. Rhyme is one way of creating homophony in verse and it has a systematic structure which, by our definitions, qualifies it as a kind of metrical constituent.

In almost all lines of Gūrānī poetry, there are one or two additional figures of sound, such as alliteration, assonance, the repetition of words, etc., that also help to create homophony within the lines. All of these figures of sound share the feature that they involve the *repetition*

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[136] The translation is my own.

of some element, such as of certain consonants or vowels, whether they occur initially, medially, or finally in words, or in certain positions in hemistichs, lines, or strophes.

Repetition can occur at the word level where, for example, syllables with certain sounds are repeated in different words; or it can occur on higher levels, such as between lines, couplets or even different strophes, where sounds or certain words are repeated to create different patterns.

We will now look at the structure of some of these patterns in the following sections. We can examine if these figures of sound occur systematically, like rhymes, or if the poets use them without following any rules.

6.4.1 Alliteration, assonance, and consonance

Alliteration is the repetition of the initial consonant in two or more syllables in a hemistich or a line, or in a couplet or whole strophe (compare with Chatman 1960:152). Assonance is the repetition of a vowel in two or more syllables in a hemistich or a line, or in a couplet or whole strophe. And consonance is the repetition of a consonant in the middle or at the end of two or more syllables in a hemistich or a line, or in a couplet or whole strophe.

We will now examine alliteration, assonance, and consonance in a poem by Mawlawī.[137] The first couplet reads as follows:"

(168)

1	āwāza-y maynat // na darūn sad tarz	Fame of hardship, (is) in (my) inside with hundreds of types,
2	čun čil čang wa čang // xamān bīyan barz	Like forty harps with the claw of sorrow have been raised. (the fame of hardship in my inside with hundreds types, like forty harps, with claw of sorrow have been raised)

In the first line of the above couplet, the vowels /ā/ and /a/ are repeated in every word and by means of such assonance these sounds resonate through the lines. Additionally, in the first hemistich of the second line, the initial consonant /č/ is alliterated, and in the second hemistich of the second line, the initial consonant /b/ is alliterated. The use of the vowels /a/

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[137] This poem has been cited from Bāqī (2011:28), who states that this poem is from the Dīwān of Mawlawī and that it has so far not been published elsewhere.

and /ā/ and the use of consonants /č/ and /b/ as well as the rhyme *-arz* in the words *tarz* and *barz* enhance the poetic form and aesthetic quality of the language in this couplet.

In the next couplet from the same poem (lines 3 and 4), Mawlawī has used the technique of word repetition, by means of the words *hoš … hoš* and *fām … fām*:

(169)

| 3 | bē hošī ǰa hoš // kam fāmī ǰa fām | Less and less awareness, less and less understanding |
| 4 | wa hazār maqām // midrān ǰa fām | With thousands of maqams[138] understanding is stopped. |

In the above couplet, the poet plays with the words *hoš* 'brain' within line 3 and with *fām* 'understanding' between lines 3 and 4 as well as with the assonance of vowel /ā/ in both lines and thereby adds to the musicality of the text. In addition, the words *hazār* 'thousand' and *maqām* 'maqam' with the same number of syllables and the same vowels add harmony to the line as does also the alliteration created between *midrān* and *maqām*.

Similar effects are created in the rest of the lines of this poem. Besides the vowels /ā/ and /a/ being repeated in almost every line, the alliterated consonants grant these lines a harmonic tintinnabulation:

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[138] In Middle-Eastern music, a *maqām* is a musical system which specifies certain rules for singing and playing.

(170)

5	sā nayčī daxīl // bē dēr u dirang	Ney[139] player let grant time, without delay and tarry
6	mutrib fīdāt bām // nay bāwar wa dang	Singer! May I be your sacrifice, bring the ney to voice
7	kaf bida na daf // panǰat na ǐru-y nay	Beat your palm of hand on the daf, your finger on the ney
8	wēna-y bārbad // bazmārā-y kay[140]	Like Barbed,[141] the party maker of (king) Kay
9	nakīsā āsā // das dar wa samtūr	As Nakisa put your hand on the Santur
10	daf u nay u čang // bāwar wa ħuzūr	Bring daf, ney and harp to our presence
11	čilčang nasar čang // panǰat darqarār	Forty harp above (your) fingertip, your finger on the place
12	wa hazār dasān // binwāzom amǰār	With thousands of hands come true (with) me
13	wēt ba ħaqīqat // mast bikar ǰa may	Make yourself drunk with the wine of truth
14	sāzān bisāza // pay wāwaylā-y way	Play (the instrument) for the pity
15	kaf bidar na daf // čang bāwar wa nay	Hit your palm of your hand on the daf, put your finger on the ney
16	hīč mawāčū kay // tū xudā sā day	I do not tell until when, I swear you to the God, go ahead
17	baw āwāz barz // xās bikar ǐrāzān	With that high voice, talk perfectly
18	ba ʕašq-e āzīz // nāzik andāzān	I swear you the dear love of the fine (people)

As previously mentioned, not only do the vowels /a/ and /ā/ serve to create the music of the lines, but there are also other kinds of repetition that help to increase the harmony and music between the lines. A few examples of such repetition in the form of alliteration and consonance include the following:

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[139] The *nay* 'ney' is a flute-like instrument made from a reed.

[140] This line contains only eight syllables. It is possible that this is due to careless transmission, since it is difficult to imagine that a poet like Mawlāna would make a mistake.

[141] Barbed and Nakisa were two famous musicians in the Sasanid court, who lived during the rule of Khosrow Parviz II (590-628).

- In line 5, the sound *d* in the words *dēr* 'delay', *dirang* 'tarry' and *daxīl* 'let' and *r* in the words *dēr* 'delay', *dirang* 'tarry' are alliterated.

- In line 6, the sound *b* in *bām* 'may I be' and *bāwar* 'bring' and the sound *w* in *bāwar* and *wa* are alliterated.

- In line 7, there is a consonance between *kaf* 'palm of hand' and *daf* 'daf' in the first hemistich and in the second hemistich there is alliteration between *na* 'on' and *nay* 'ney'.

- Lines 8 and 9: Alliteration occurs between *barbed* 'Barbed' in the first hemistich of line 8 and *bazm* 'party' in the second hemistich, as well as in the second hemistich of line 9 between *das* 'hand' and *dar* 'put'. In line 9 the sound *s* is repeated in the words *nakīsā* 'Nakīsā', *āsā* 'like, as', *das* 'hand' and *samtūr* 'santur'.

In section 6.1.2, we talked about the special performance of the vowel /ā/ and how it must be pronounced extremely long according to the traditional way these poems are to be read. From some sample recordings, we could document these facts by measuring the length of several instances of /ā/ and compared its length to that of other vowels. We also noted how in lines lacking /ā/ another long vowel would be pronounced longer than normal. Such facts show that the use of extremely long vowels like /ā/ is not accidental, but that it is a deliberate technique used by the poets to create sound harmony in the lines.

The distribution of the vowels /ā/ and /a/ in each line of this poem is shown in the following table. The number of occurrences in each hemistich is given, where // indicates the caesura.

line	ā	a		line	ā	a
1	2//	3//4		10	//1	3//2
2	//1	3//3		11	//1	4//4
3	//2	1//2		12	2//2	3//1
4	2//2	3//1		13	0	3//4
5	1//	2//1		14	3//2	1//3
6	2//1	//4		15	//1	4//4
7	0	4//4		16	1//2	2//1
8	1//2	2//2		17	2//3	2//1
9	3//	1//4		18	1//3	2//1

Table 20: The distribution of the vowels /ā/ and /a/

Note that /ā/ occurs in every line except lines 7 and 13, and that /a/ occurs in every line without exception. The repetition of these vowels in this high volume creates a special reverberation throughout the lines.

In almost every other line of the poem one finds additional examples of assonance, consonance and alliteration.

It is obvious that the poet Mawlawī has great skill with alliteration, assonance, and consonance, besides other techniques. He has distributed evenly the sound patterns throughout the hemistichs, and not a single hemistich lacks some sound figure. However, we would like to emphasize here again that rhyme is the only pattern that has a stable and predictable position in the lines.

Rhyme is a very powerful means of creating harmony and cohesion between lines since it is regular and systematic. Alliteration, assonance, and consonance also create harmony and cohesion but in a different manner, since they function both within a line and between lines, and the overall effect may be to a lesser degree, because they are neither regular nor predictable. Given the similarities, in our opinion these three figures of sound should be included in a discussion of meter.

Mawlawī is not the only poet who masterfully plays with words and figures of sound. These techniques are observed in most works by the classical Gūrānī poets. However,

Mawlawī has done something special in the above poem in the way that he has made use of figures of sound in a harmonious and musical way that suits the context of a poem that is full of the names of musical instruments (for example, ney, daf, čang 'harps', and santur).

Mawlawī's great ability in creating such an atmosphere and the deep philosophical reflections that are found in all of his poetry won him a prestigious place within Kurdistan.

Now let us look at the use of figures of sound in a Yārsān poem. These philosophical and religious poems are usually meant to be accompanied by the tanbūr,[142] and so many of the texts were composed to be sung or chanted. Given the use of the Yārsān texts in a musical setting, it is natural that the texts involve a musicality that is enhanced by the use of figures of sound. We will now illustrate some of these figures of sound from a few different short Yārsān poems:

(171)   Suri 1965:94   /**ā**/

1   šām bī wa mihmān   2   My king was my guest

2   ʕālīnān ʕālī, šām bī wa mihmām   5   High level people! My king was my guest

3   čanī nohsad-u dah bāšī qalandarān   2   with 910 good qalandars[143]

4   bābā tāhir bīm, mard-e hamadān   4   I was Bābā Tāher, the man of Hamadan

In the above lines, the repetition of the vowel /ā/ creates assonance. The frequent occurrence of this vowel is summarized in the middle column in the above chart.

Consider now the following lines of *Dawray Damyārī*:

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[142] A string instrument.

[143] A *qalandar* is a religious person who has reached a very high level of spirituality and who desires only to be close to God.

(172)   Mokri 1967:120   /ā/

        binyāmīn maramo: Binyāmīn says:

1   kāka-y kākānim   3   My older brother

2   dām šart wa dast kāka-y 4   I gave the permission to my older brother
    kākānim

3   ařāgēł yār, yaqa čākānim   4   I am a wanderer of friend, I (belong to) the ripped
                                               collar

4   na silāra dīm xwāǰā-y pinhānim   4   I saw in Silāra the hidden God

As we can see in lines 1 and 2 above, the consonant /k/ and the vowel /ā/ create alliteration and assonance. The repetition of the vowel /ā/ four times in each of lines 2 to 4 enhances the musicality of the lines.

The frequent use of figures of sound is also very common in most Yārsān poems. We will now discuss the first fourteen lines from a poem that comes from *Daftar-e Taymur Banyānī*[144] 'the book of Taymur Banyānī'. The first six lines read as follows:

(173)

1   na xānadānē   In a clan

2   šawqim kaft na sar, na xānidānē   I received the ardor, in a clan

3   ʕaǰab xānadān, sāħib nīšānē   What a clan, a holder of the (divine) mark

4   wa tāqī nīšān zařa u šānē   Above the arch, a mark of high level

5   soħbat-e yārīm na darūn bī ǰam   The talk of (divine) friendship gathered in my
                                             inner being

6   sarmast-e yār bīm, čun parwāna u šam I was drunk with (the love of) the friend (God),
                                             like the moth and candle

Elements that contribute to the musicality of the first four lines include the resonating sound of *ā* throughout, the repetition of *xānadān* 'clan' in lines 1 and 2, the rhyme of *-ānē* in all four lines, as well as how *nīšān* rhymes with *xānadān* in lines 3 and 4.

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[144] This manuscript was kindly placed at my disposal by Sayyd Fereydoon Hosseini.

In the next couplet, lines 5 and 6, the initial words in both lines, *soħbat* 'talk' and *sarmast* 'drunk' respectively involve the same "syllable quantity" in that all of the syllables are not open syllables but closed syllables (for example, each syllable is closed by either a final single consonant or double consonant, CVC or CVCC). Moreover, the fourth syllable of both lines begins with *yār* 'friend'; the third syllable in both is *-e;* the fifth syllables rhyme *rīm / bīm* as do the final syllables where *ǰam* 'collected' rhymes with *šam* 'candle'.

(174)

7	šawq-e yāristān[145] bardim fra u kam	I bore passion for the Yārsān, much and little (?)
8	tā yāwām wa pā-y xaɫwat xāna-y ǰam	Until I reached the threshold of the place of prayer of Jam

In this next couplet, lines 7 and 8 above, the vowel *a* is repeated nine times and the vowel *ā* seven times. And the phrase *xaɫwat-xāna* 'prayer place' involves significant assonance and alliteration.

In the next six lines (lines 9 to 14) we can find other figures of sounds:

(175)

9	dīm burǰē bilūr bē ʕayb bē gham	I saw a crystal tower, faultless, spotless
10	na sar tā wa pā sāzān muħkam	from head to foot, strongly built
11	řawān bīm naw burǰ dar sāʕat dar dam	I went to the tower at that hour and moment
12	dīm qāpī kilīd muhr esm-e aʕzam	I saw the door was closed and stamped with the name of the Greatest (God)
13	wānām esm-e zāt ustād muħtaram	I read the name of God, the respectful Master
14	qāpī gušād bī šīm aw dilē ǰam	The door was opened, I entered the Jam

- In line 9, the consonant /b/ is repeated four times, which, with the words *bē-ʕayb bē-gham* 'faultless, spotless' create a harmonious line.

- In line 10, the vowels /ā/ and /a/ are each repeated four times, the consonant /s/ occurs twice in the words *sar* 'top' and *sāzān* 'built', and the words *tā* 'until' and *pā* 'foot' have the same vowel and syllable shape.

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145 The community of Yārsān.

- In line 11, the preposition *dar* 'at' is repeated in the phrase *dar sāʕat* 'at that hour' and *dar dam* 'at that moment'.

- In lines 12 and 14 the vowel /ī/ occurs three times each, and in line 13 the vowel /ā/ occurs four times. The repetition of the words *qāpī* 'door' and *esm* 'name' in lines 12 to 14 also add to the musicality of these lines.

6.4.2 Internal rhyme (سجع)

As can be seen in the examples in the last section, the poet have different ways of creating internal rhyme. For example, they may change the onset, nucleus or coda of syllables in monosyllabic or polysyllabic words (Shamissa 2004a:33-39). In the poem by Mawlawī illustrated in examples (168) to (170) in section 6.4.1 we saw that the word pairs *pā/tā* 'foot/until' and *kaf/daf* 'palm of hand/daf' differ in their onsets, while *dēr/dirang* 'delay/tarry' and *čil/čang* 'forty/harp' differ in the nuclei and codas.

The Gūrānī poets have often used internal rhyme in their poems. We will now consider the structure of internal rhymes in an elegy by Xānāy Qubadi (1700-1759). In this elegy, we find many carefully chosen pairs or sets of words that involve internal rhyme. Some examples include: *pādišā/šāh* 'king/king'; *karīm/řaħīm* 'merciful/compassionate'; *řahnama/řahbar* 'guide/leader'; *ħakīm/ħalīm/ʕazīm* 'ruler/patient/great'; *kabīr/qadīř* great/almighty'*;* *ħakīm/ħāłzān* ruler/aware'; *samīʕ/basīr* 'the one who hears/the all-seeing one' *qāhir/qudrat* mighty/powerful', *makān/maʔwā* 'space/place', etc. Aside from the internal and external rhyme, the assonance of the vowels /ā/ and /a/ throughout the poem enhances the poetic language of this elegy:

(176)

1	pādišā-y šāhān	King of Kings!
2	karīm u řaħīm pādišā-y šāhān	Merciful and compassionate King of Kings!
3	āgadār-e ħał kul šayʔī ǰahān	O aware of all the things of the world!
4	řahnama-y řahbar gum-karda řāhān	O guide of leaders of lost people!
5	xudā-y lā-makān ħakīm-e ħalīm	O omnipresent God! O patient ruler!
6	nāził-kunanda-y forqān-e ʕazīm	Sender of the great splitter! (i.e., the Quran ?)
7	ħay-e lā-yamūt, kabīr u qadīř	O living and immortal One (God), great and almighty!

8	ħakīm-e ħāłzān, samīʕ u basīr	O aware ruler! The one who hears and the all-seeing one
9	dānanda-y asrār řāga-y nahānī	O knower of mysteries that are hidden away!
10	pādišā-y bē-ʕayb, ħay-e sobħānī	Faultless king! Pure-Divine Eternal One!
11	karam farāwān, řaħmat bīšumār	The One full of grace (and) endless mercy
12	qāhir-e qudrat zāhir u pēwār	Powerful mighty! Visible and invisible![146]
13	lā-makān maʔwāy, fard-e bē-šarīk	The Omnipresent One! The One without Equal!
14	to madī naǰāt wa qabr-e tārīk	You rescue (us) from the dark grave.

….

In many of the above hemistichs and lines, we find phonological and grammatical symmetry between words. Consider for example the following symmetrical pairs of words: *karīm/řaħīm*, *ħakīm/ħalīm*, *kabīr/qadīř*, and *qāhir/zāhir*, which have the same number of vowels and consonants and the same rhymes; or the pairs of words like *řahnama/řahbar* and *samīʕ/basīr*, which have similar sounds.

In this poem, not only do the regular number of syllables, position of caesuras, and use of couplet rhymes create a regular structure, but the internal rhymes, assonance and alliteration embellish this regular system.

The building of symmetry in phonology is a common feature of Gūrānī poetry. Because in Gūrānī each line is divided into two half-lines by a caesura, two symmetrical parts are usually formed and when internal rhyme is used, the aesthetic aspect is enhanced.

Internal rhyme is also frequently observed in Mawlawī's poems. Consider the following *ghazal* by Mawlawī that illustrates the way that he used internal rhyme. The following sets of words illustrate his masterful use of internal rhyme and phonological symmetry: in lines 1-2: *kard/gard/bard* 'made/operator/took'; in lines 3-4: *ganǰa/panǰa/řanǰa* young/finger/tired'; in lines 5-6: *xarīkī/durī/nizīkī* 'busy/far/near'; and in the last couplet, lines 7-8: *tadbīra/taqdīra* 'recourse, solution(?)/fate':

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[146] The meaning of *pēwār* is not entirely clear.

(177)   Mudarīs 2006:206

1	xaylē dērit kard // āfarīn čap-gard	You have delayed much! Bravo, O (Heavens) turning to the left (i.e., in the wrong direction)![147]
2	baw bo dił-šād bīm // awīšit lābard	My heart was pleased with that scent, (you) also took that away
3	īsa aw ganǰa // baw łār-u lanǰa	Now that young (person) with so much coquetry (flirtation and attractiveness)
4	řanǰa kard panǰa // šī pare panǰa	She made her fine toes tired (and) went to the (village of) Panja[148]
5	īsa tan way zām // dīl way xarīkī	Now, my body with this wound, the heart so busy
6	dīdār way dūrī // marg way nizīkī	The seeing (of friends) so far, the death so near
7	aw lā kē barūn // ī řā-w tadbīra	To whom should I bring this recourse (?)
8	āx ǰay tadbīra // đāx ǰay taqdīra	Woe to this recourse (?), woe to this fate!

We can observe internal rhyme in many other poems by Mawlawī. The following poem contains more nice examples:

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[147] The phrase *čap-gard* refers to how the heavens (that is, the universe or world) is turning to the left, by which the poet means that everything is going wrong for him, that is, as his fate.

[148] The words *ganǰa* and *panǰā* have two meanings each. Both are names of villages, and *ganǰa* also means 'young (person)' and *panǰā* means toe.

(178) Mudarīs 2006:454-455

1	wahāran sawzan // āwan sarkāwan	It is spring, it is green, it is water, it is the water source
2	hāža-y wafrāwan // šāxa-y šatāwan	It is the sound of melting snow, it is the sound of wavelets (in the river)
3	sāqīyan bādan// nasīman bādan	It is cup-bearer (wine-server), it is a breeze, it is a wind
4	bulbul ǰa dawrī // gułān āzādan	The nightingale is free around the flowers
5	bazman šādīyan // ʕayšan nīšātan	It is a joyful party, it is joy, it is time for enjoyment, it is a happy mood
6	kayfan šoxīyan // šawqan ḥayātan	It is happiness, it is a time for laughter, it is passion, it is life
7	sangan kosāran // sarkuwan hardan	It is stone, it is mountains, it is the top of the mountain, it is the foot of the mountain
8	xaman maynatan // zūxāwan dardan	It is sorrow, it is misfortune, it is festering wound, it is pain
9	hiǰran dūrīyan // ʕīǰzan fīrāqan	It (his love) is distant, it is far, it is inability, it (his love) is painfully far away
10	wāwaylā-u šīnan // nāła-y ʕušāqan	it is lamentation and weeping in grief, it is the sad moans of lovers
11	sabzan sosanan // nawroz gułānan	It is green, it is a lily, it is the new year of flowers
12	kamaran hardan // milan kałānan	It is mountain, it is the foot of mountain, it is the mountain slopes, it is the mountain heights
13	sarʕīyan šaydān // naǰdan maǰnūnan	It is a crazy one, it is a love-crazed one, it is joy, it is Majnūn (i.e. the famous lover who wanders the mountains)
14	mazāqan ǰāman // piyāła-y hūnan	it is pleasant conversation, it is a glass (of wine), it is a chalice of blood

In the above poem, every hemistich contains two words (with the exception of line 4, which contains three), and most words end with *-an* (with the exception of a few words in lines 2, 4, 10, 13 and 14. The result is that not only does every line have the same rhyme, but

all of the hemistichs do as well, with the exception of the first hemistich in line 4 that ends with *dawr-ī* 'around of'. The internal and lateral rhyming is very harmonious, and the effect on the reader is strong.

6.4.3 The repetition of individual words, phrases, and lines

The next technique concerns the repetition of individual words, phrases, or lines. Consider in the following poem how certain words are repeated:

(179)   Or 6444: f19b

1	čirāxim karam	O my lamp, a mercy (of God)
2	agar karam-dār bikardāš karam	If the One who grants mercy (i.e., God) would do mercy,
3	šawē ēma-w to biyāwāy wa ham	If there were a night in which I and you would be together
4	min čun parwāna, to ba wēna-y šam	I, like a moth, you like a candle
5	lab ba lab binyām, nāf ba nāfawa	would place lip to lip, navel to navel
6	sīna ba sīna-y sīm(īn)—sāfawa	breast upon smooth silvery breast
7	tā sob binyāmān sar wa yak sarīn	until morning we would lay our heads on a pillow
8	kardāmān řāzān wiyarda-y warīn	we would talk about past events
9	qīblam,[149] ǰa-w dimā agar mamardim	O my Qibla, if after this I were to die,
10	ǰa mardanī wēm šādī makardim	I would then enjoy my death

- In lines 1 and 2, *karam* 'mercy' occurs three times.

- In lines 5 and 6, the phrases *lab ba lab* 'lip to lip', *nāf ba nāf* 'navel to navel', and *sīna ba sīna* 'breast upon breast' each involve repetition.

- In lines 9 and 10, the morpheme *mard* 'death' is repeated in the words *mamardim* 'I would die' and in *mardanī* 'my death'.

The technique of repeating an individual word or phrase is also found in the poetry by other poets, including in the Yārsān poetry, where it is common. For example, in all of the

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[149] *Qibla* is the name of the direction that Moslems face to pray. This direction is towards the House of God in Mecca, that is, towards Kaʕbe. The poet calls his lover "Qibla".

poems of the *Dawra-y Dāmyārī* 'the Period of Damyārī', that is, in all quatrains, the first line is repeated in the second hemistich of the second line. This is illustrated in the following poem. Besides the repetition of the entire first line, the word *xwājā* 'God' also occurs twice (lines 2 and 4). An internal rhyme also occurs in the fourth line where *qudratā* 'has power' rhymes with *sarmastā* 'is overjoyed'.

(180)   Mokrī 1967:204

	binyāmīn maramo:	Binyāmīn says:
1	dāmim wa dastā	I have a trap in the hand
2	wa lotf-e xwājām, dāmim wa dastā	by God's mercy I have a trap in the hand
3	dāwud řahbar, wa šūn-e šastā	Dāwud is leader, after sixty[150]
4	xwājām qurdartā, ghułām sarmastā	My God is power, (and) the servant is overjoyed

In many other Gūrānī poets we also find individual words being repeated. In the following poem by Saydī Hawrāmī, the poet uses the noun *šīrīn* in two ways: as the name of a woman and as an adjective meaning 'sweet'. The poet's use of *šīrīn* in almost every line shows not only skill but it grants a pronounced cadence to the poem that sounds very musical and suitable for singing.

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[150] The meaning of this line is unclear.

(181)

1	šīrīn kāłānī	You are sweet merchandise
2	šīrīn to matā-y šīrīn kāłānī	O Šīrīn! You are the (treasured) merchandise of sweet valued-merchandise
3	bāš nāzdārānī, sosan xāłānī	You are the best of the pampered, you are marked as a lily
4	qāmat naw-namām, ʕar ʕar bāłānī	Your stature is like a sapling, your stature like the "tree of heaven" (i.e., like an ailanthus)
5	šīrīnan bažnit, šīrīnan bāłāt	Your figure is sweet, your shape is sweet
6	šīrīnan xāłī sar-gonā-y āłāt	Your birthmark on your red cheek is sweet
7	šīrīnan hošit, šīrīnan fāmit	Your intelligence is sweet, your understanding is sweet
8	šīrīnan šēwat, šīrīnan nāmit	Your form is sweet, your name is sweet (Šīrīn)
9	šīrīnan xamzat, šīrīnan nāzit	Your flirting is sweet, your teasing manner is sweet
10	šīrīnan kalām, gift-u-go u řāzit	Your speech, talk and tales are sweet
11	šīrīnan tāy zułf, šiyā-y girnǰit	Your curly black untamed locks are sweet
12	šīrīn pēč wardan na darwrī zinǰit	It has curled sweet around your cheek
13	to pī šīrīnī ǰa pā ta wa sar	O you, from head to toe are so sweet
14	sar tā pāt dił-časp, dił-kēš u diłbar	From head to toe (you) are hearty, smart and attractive
15	šīrīn! taʕrīfit namazānū čēš	Šīrīn, I do not know how to describe you,
16	sīmā u řuxsārit, nūr mawāro lēš	From your face and stature light is raining
17	šīrīn to šamʕ u min parwānanān	Šīrīn! You are a candle and I am a moth
18	šīrīn to parī u min dēwānanān	Šīrīn! You are an angel and I am crazy (about you)
19	šīrīn ǰa dāxī bē-maylī towa	Šīrīn! from your cold behavior,

20	waxtan čun farhād wēł būn ba kowa	I am close to wandering like Farhād[151] in the mountains
21	saydī čun pay madħ šīrīniš bāsan	Because Saydī is praising Šīrīn,[152]
22	řāzī šīrīniš kotā bo xāsan	It is better to shorten his sweet tale.

In the next poem, by Maħzūnī several words are repeated two or more times. Some examples include the repetition of the woman's name Rehān, of the nouns *bo* 'scent, smell' and *čīn* 'layer', and of the prepositions *na* 'in, above' and *ba* 'with, by', which together give a special sound to the entire poem. There is also much alliteration that enhances the musicality of the poem:

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[151] The famous story of the two lovers, Šīrīn and Farhād by Nizami Ganjavi (1141-1209).

[152] Saydī, the poet, speaks of himself here in the third person.

(182) Ms.Or. 6444: f.33a

1	řēħān-e bēgard	Pure basil!
2	řēħān-e pal dēz// qatrān-ī[153] bēgard	Pure dark black! (You are) inimitable black as tar
3	mizdānī bo lēt // wād-e šabaq zard	May it be your gift (reward), (you) wind of yellow-red (color of the early morning)
4	mayot ba mehmān // ziłēxā-y bēgard	The pure Zilekha will be your guest
5	horgērot na xāk// na řū-y sar-zamīn	(She) will take you from the earth of the world
6	mapēčot na čīn // kalāfa-y muškīn	(She) will tie you in the curled musk (hair)
7	wēna-y zułf-e wēš// mačnot ba dasta	Like her hair she will knit you in bunches
8	bo manyo na bot // čun āwāt-wasta	She (Zilekha) puts (her) scent in your scent like a desired person
9	dirēxāt biřyān // na řū-y sarzamīn	You have no other way on the world
10	pēčiyāy na čīn // kalāfa-y muškīn	You are tied in the layer of curled musk
11	řēħān! ba ʕešq ħaq// čēw maparsū ĵēt	Rehān! (I swear you) by the love of Truth (God), I ask you something
12	bo-y aw waš-taran //yā bo-y wałg-e wēt	Is her scent better, or the scent of your leaf?
13	řēħān wāt ča min // čun parsāy hawāł	Rehān said: because you have asked me,
14	ba dānā-y dāwar // bīnāy bē-zawāł	I swear by the all-knowing One, (by) the immortal Watcher
15	ba šāyī girū // nazā-w namardan	by the King of all beings who was never born and will never die
16	minšān ja azr`at //zułf-e aw kardan	I have been made because of her desire

The repetition of the initial word in each line is another way of creating harmony in a poem. In the following poem, lines 2 to 12 begin with preposition *ba* 'by'. In addition to the

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[153] *Qatrān* is a black liquid that one can collect from a certain kind of pine or it can be derived from coal. For more information see the online dictionary of Dehkhoda: http://www.loghatnaameh.org/dehkhodaworddetail-b85f4adc8de6406a964bfbd6700f4055-fa.html

use of initial *ba*, there are other figures of sound. For example, in lines 2 and 3, the use of the phrases *bē-hamtā* 'incomparable', *bē-misl/bē-mānand* 'without likeness/without counterpart', *bē-band/paywand* 'unbounded/attach', as well as of the repetition of the vowels /a/ and /ā/ and of the alliterated consonant /b/ throughout these lines contributes to the euphony of the poem:

(183)   Ms.Or. 6444: F.41a

1	čirāx bē mānand	Incomparable light
2	ba tā-y bē-hamtā-y bē-misl-u mānand	(I swear) by[154] the incomparable One, without likeness or counterpart
3	ba ħaft āsmān bē-band [u] paywand	(I swear) by the seventh heaven (which) is unbound and unattached
4	ba ʕarš-e ʕazīm bārga-y xudāwand	(I swear) to the great sky, the place of God
5	ba batħā-w yasrib,[155] ba kaʕba[156] u zamzam[157]	(I swear) by (the cities) Batha and Yasreb, by the Kaabe and Zamzam
6	ba nāła-y diłsoz zułmanā-y ādam	(I swear) by the pitiful moan of Adam (that told of) inequity!
	…	…

The repetition of a word in close succession is common way of emphasizing a word, not only in Literary Gūrānī poetry but also in the spoken language. Consider the phrases *das wa das* 'hands to hand' and *bāwān wa bāwān* 'from a generation to the next generation (literally: 'father to father')', which occur in some lines by Abdul Qādir Pāvayī:

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[154] The preposition *ba* here can be translated as '(I swear) by…'.
[155] The old name of the city Medina in Saudi Arabia.
[156] The sacred house of Muslims in Saudi Arabia.
[157] The sacred fountain in Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

(184)   Spanǰī 1989:35

1	das wa das āmān bāwān wa bāwān	(From) hand to hand (an old blanket)[158] has come, (from) generation to generation,
2	īna čil sāłan wa lā-y min yāwān	It has been forty years since it reached me

Consider also how in the following lines by Maħzūnī (from Manuscript Ms.Or. 6444 f.10a) where the musicality of the lines is increased by the phrases *tawq tawq* 'several groups', *saf saf* 'several rows', and *zār zār* 'continuously weeps':

(185)   Ms.Or. 6444 f.10a

činūr,[159] kona zēd laylā-xān kard mayl	The Chinur (flower) wanted to be in the old home of the summer highland meadows
tawq tawq ǰam bastan wēna-y zułf-e layl	The different types (of flowers) cluster by type like the locks of Layl
…	…
saf saf ǰam bastan ǰa barzānawa	They are in rows, they cluster in the highlands
šaqāyiq midrān ǰa lā-nisārān	The red poppy is standing in the shadows of rocks
zār zār magrawo pay durī yārān	She continuously weeps about the inaccessibility of (her) friends

In sections 6.4.1 to 6.4.3, through many examples we have shown some of the different uses of various types of figures of sound that frequently occur in the works of the classical Gūrānī poets. Although the use of these figures is neither systematic nor predictable, we argue that without including them here, our description and analysis of Gūrānī poetry would be incomplete.

In the next and final section of this chapter, we will present an analysis of the metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry based on the scheme of Donat (2010).

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[158] The poet is referring to an "old blanket" that is a symbol of poverty.

[159] The name of a flower found in the high mountains of Kurdistan.

6.4.4 A summary of the metrical principles of classical Gūrānī poetry

From the data presented in the previous sections, we have argued that the metrical system of Gūrānī poetry is based on a regular number of syllables, a regular position of the caesura in the middle of each line and the mono-rhyme. We also saw that there is one stressed syllable at the end of the first hemistich and possibly another at the end of the second hemistich.

As the reader should recall from sections 2.2 and 6.1, according to Donat's typology, there are four possible constituents that are important from the metrical perspective: (1) the syllable, (2) the prominence of syllables (e.g. stressed or unstressed syllables), (3) the phonetic correspondence of syllables or groups of syllables (e.g. rhyme), and (4) the types of transition between syllables (e.g. pause and caesura) (Donat 2010:112). From our study, we conclude that all constituents are relevant features of Gūrānī meter.

Based on the following diagram by Donat (2010:111), we can analyze these four constituents according to two "dimensions of arrangement" (that is, from horizontal and vertical dimensions) and according to the "principle of arrangement" (that is, the number and position of the elements in a line):
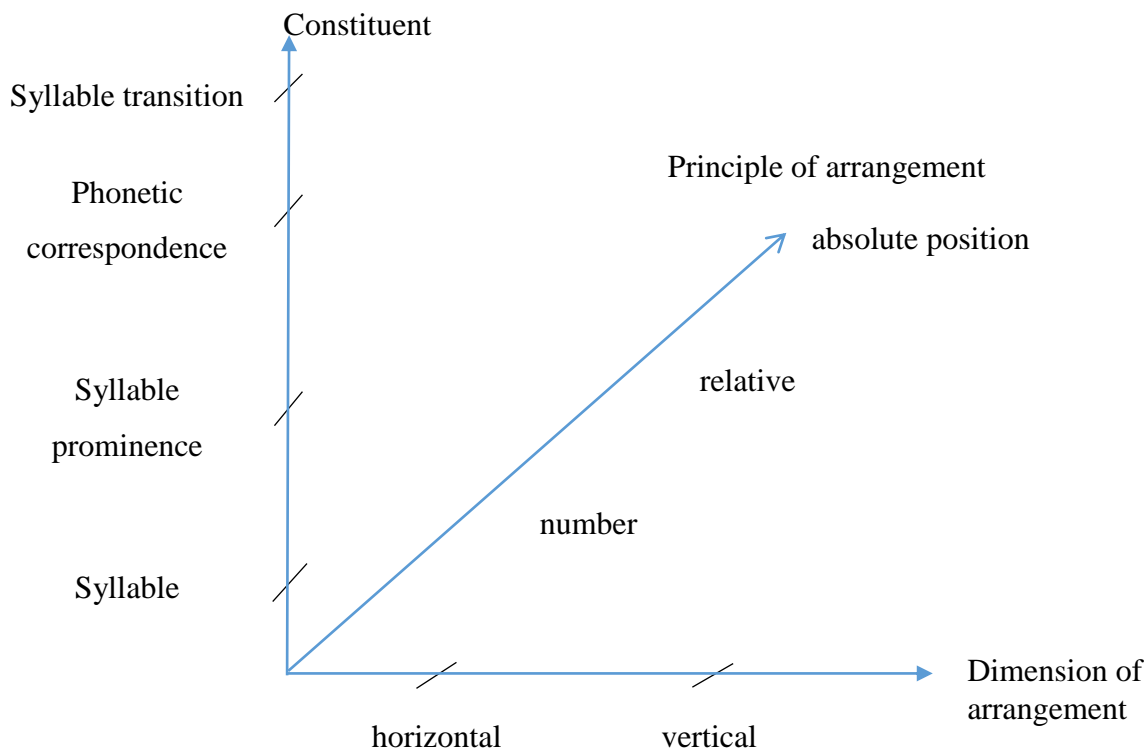
Figure 3

We have seen that there is a stable number of syllables in the horizontal dimension (ten syllables per line), and that there is also phonetic correspondence in the horizontal and

vertical dimensions (rhyme groups, alliteration, assonance and consonance). There is also an absolute syllable transition (the caesura in the middle of the line and the pause at the end of the line).

Rhyme as a type of phonetic correspondence functions as a systematic constituent since its place is absolute and predictable. In contrast, the other types of phonetic correspondence, like alliteration, assonance and consonance (as figures of sound) are not systematic. Therefore, they do not have a position in Donat's matrix.

Nevertheless, we have seen the clear effect that constituents like alliteration, assonance, and consonance have on Gūrānī poetry. The poets give careful attention to creating sound patterns that increase the musicality of the poems and to create symmetry and harmony between the strophes and lines.

Although there is a frequent use of alliteration, assonance and consonance (as figures of sound), it is clear that their use is neither systematic nor predictable. The poets are free to use these figures of sound in their lines as they wish, and through their clever and creative use, the poets enhance the musicality of their poems. Maybe this is a key to understanding why Gūrānī poetry is so popular throughout Kurdistan. In any case, despite the fact that these figures of sound are unsystematic, one cannot deny their important relationship to meter.

And finally, we saw that stress has a metrical value in one position (on the fifth syllable of the first hemistich) and possibly at the end of each line. We shall illustrate this point once more in this chapter by comparing the performances of one last poem, including the differences in stress placement. This poem, which was composed by Saydī, was performed by two Hawrāmī speakers who are excellent readers, Midia Beheshtizade and Aqdas Beheshtizade. Following the poem and scansion, we summarize its important poetic characteristics.

(186)

	MB	AB	
1	dangī yār mayo	- - ' - - -	The voice of the beloved comes
	' - - ' - - -		
2	hay dād hay bē-dād, dangī yār mayo	- ' - - - ' - // - - ' - - -	O woe, O misery! The voice of the beloved comes

- ' - - - ' - // ' - - ' - - -

3   sadā-y nāła u āx, darda-dār   - - - - ' - // - - ' - - -   The voice of moaning and
mayo   groaning, pain-filled it comes

- ' - - - ' - // - - ' - - -

4   dangī nāłīniš piřūzgār mayo   - - - ' - - // - - ' - - -   Her moans come full of pain

 - - - ' - - // - - ' - - -

5   ēšaw kayfī min čun har šaw   - - - - ' - // - - ' - ' - -   Tonight my joy is unlike every
nīyan   night

- ' - - - ' - // - - ' - ' - -

6   aw dīday mastiš ǰūyā-y xaw   - - ' - - - // - - ' - ' -   Her intoxicated (i.e., beautiful)
nīyan   -   eyes are unable to sleep

- - ' - - - // - ' - - ' - -

7   ēš-ī dīdašan, dīdam bē-kayfan   - - - ' - - // - ' - - - -   Her eyes have pain, (therefore) my
 - - - ' - - // - ' - - - ' -   eyes are joyless (i.e., my beloved
                                                               is joyless)

8   dīda-y bad ēšo, dīday yār   - - ' - - - // - ' - - - ' -   May the eyes of the wicked have
ħayfan   pain, may the eyes of (my)
                                                               beloved be well

- ' - ' - - - // - ' - - - ' -

9   yā muʕǰiza-y dast masīħā-y   ' - - - - - // - - ' - -   O (would that a) miracle (would
Maryam   ' -   happen from) the hand of Messiah
                                                               of Maryam!

' - - - - ' - // - - ' - - ' -

10   ēšī dīda-y yār, ēšaw bibo kam   - - - - ' - // - - - - ' -   May the pain of the eyes of my
 - - - - ' - // - ' - - - ' -   beloved be less tonight!

11   ǰawsāwa yārān, dīda-y yār ēšān   - - - - ' - // - - - - '   O friends! From that time, the eyes
 - ' - - - ' - // - - ' - - ' -   -   of the beloved have pain

12   ǰa lā-y xwāwa ēšiš min kēšān   - - - ' - - // - - ' - - ' -   By God, I have endured pain

- ' - - ' - - // - - ' - - -

13	šīrīn manāło ēšī čāwišan	- - - - ' - // - - ' - - -	Šīrīn moans, her eyes have pain
	- - - - ' - // - - ' - - -		
14	saydī na řo xurd, na šaw xāwišan	- - - - ' - // - - ' - - -	Saydī can neither eat by day nor sleep by night
	- - - - ' - // - - ' - - -		

The main characteristics of this poem are as follows:

- There is a total of fourteen lines.

- The first line has five syllables but the rest of the lines have ten syllables.

- The first line is repeated in the second hemistich of the second line.

- The first four lines all involve the same identical three-syllable rhyme *-ār mayo* (*mayo* means 'comes'). The remaining lines have couplet rhyme.

- With the exception of line 1, a caesura divides each line into two five-syllable hemistichs.

- There are some stressed syllables in each line. Many of them are neither predictable nor stable, but the fifth syllable of first hemistich of each line seems to have some degree of regularity, and we find that both readers have often stressed that syllable in the same lines. Exceptions to this tendency occur in lines 1, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 12, where neither reader has stressed that syllable, and in line 9, where AB alone has not stressed it.

Besides the above systematic characteristics, the poet's artistic creativity is evident in the way he plays with certain words. This is seen in his clever play of especially the words *ēš* 'pain' (lines 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, and 13) and *dīda* 'eye' (lines 6, 7, 8, 10, and 11). Besides these word-plays, which heighten the reader's poetic pleasure, he also demonstrates his masterful ability by his use of the words *dang* 'voice', *dād* 'woe', *bē-dād* 'misery', *nāła* 'moan' and *āx* 'groan' in the first four lines. The poet has enhanced the musical atmosphere not only by means of the repetition of the individual words like these, but also by means of alliteration, consonance and assonance between the lines. In lines 1-4, /d/ is alliterated; in lines 5-8 /š/ is alliterated; in line 9 /m/ is repeated four times; and the assonance of the vowel /ā/ resonates beautifully throughout many lines.

In the next chapter, we will look at different types of Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry. We will see that they often make use of a similar metrical system that we have found in classical Gūrānī poetry. Since the texts of folk Gūrānī poetry have been composed for singing, they have a strong connection with music. In folk Kurdish and Gūrānī poetry, the metrical structure of the lines is very important. In folk poetry, the content is less important than the poetic beauty and melody of the text. As Tabibzadeh argues (2003:25), the content of the folk poetry is in many cases lighthearted and not serious. Also, the creators of texts that are sung have the special requirement that the lines must sound well when sung.

7. **Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry**

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 6, there are two overarching metrical systems in Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry. One of these metrical systems, which we will call "Folk System 1", has similarities with the metrical principles of classical Gūrānī poetry. In Folk System 1, the number of syllables as well as caesura, rhyme, and strophe structure have metrical value. However, Folk System 1 is unlike classical Gūrānī, in that Folk System 1 has more variation in the number of syllables per line. In classical Gūrānī, each line contains ten syllables, but in Folk System 1, the syllables per line can range from ten to fifteen, or even more. Nevertheless, in Folk System 1, we can also find texts where the metrical system is identical with classical Gūrānī poetry. Below we will illustrate this point further with several examples.

In the other type of Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry, which we will call "Folk System 2", the main metrical constituent is the ictus, that is, the stressed syllable, or beat. In Folk System 2, the number and patterns of stressed syllables (ictuses) determines the rhythm of the lines, and the cola and feet also have metrical value. We return to this discussion in the next pages.

We will also discuss some types of texts that belong to neither Folk System 1 nor Folk System 2. We shall describe these texts as "texts of rhythmic prose", since they involve no meter except for rhyme and can have lines of very long and irregular length.

In this chapter, we discuss Kurdish together with Gūrānī. This is necessary because the Gūrānī and Hawrāmī lyric texts and songs often involve a combination of both languages. In some cases, various lines in a text are in Kurdish and others are in Gūrānī, while in other cases, a whole text may be in either Gūrānī or Kurdish. It is also a fact that in different regions, many songs can be recognized on the basis of their melodies and not necessary on the basis of their language. We discuss this issue later in this chapter.

Because we are dealing with song texts, one should ideally analyze them from a musical perspective, which is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study. So we are not going to analyze these texts in detail; instead, our aim is primarily to show how they differ from classical Gūrānī poetry, especially as it concerns the constituent of syllable number as well as how it involves the ictus (stress) in certain types of folk song texts.

Before looking more closely at the forms of metrical principles of Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poetry, we must first introduce and define certain genres, categories, and terms.

7.1 Different genres and categories of folk poetry in Gūrānī and Kurdish

In this section, we will outline the most important genres of folk poetry in Gūrānī and Kurdish, including some of the important types of melodies that the poems are sung with. Most of the folk poems in Gūrānī and Kurdish are used as lyrics for songs, and so what we are analyzing is primarily the metrical system of song texts. In this section, we will also illustrate a selection of the poems according to the melody-types they are sung with. One of the selected examples is a text of rhythmic prose (that is, a song text that belongs to neither Folk System 1 nor Folk System 2).

Each area of Kurdistan has its own regional melodies. For example, in the Hawrāmān area there are three important categories of melodies:[160] (1) ***sīyā(w)-čamāna*** 'black eyes'; (2) ***wirda bazm***, which literary means 'a small joy' but is a term for a 'short song', and (3) ***čapła*** 'clap' because it is accompanied by the clapping of hands; these are typically used for festive occasions and involve dance (compare with Nazarī 2012, Ḥāj Amīnī 2002, Muhammad Rashid Amini[161] and Najīb Ḥassanī).[162]

The texts of (1) *sīyā(w)-čamāna* are made up of lines that are essentially prose and not poetry and do not have metrical principles apart from rhyme, and so it has no relationship to the categories of Folk Systems 1 and 2. The texts belonging to this category are mostly composed by famous Gūrānī poets, but the singers of these texts have often added words to the texts. So the number of syllables per line is often not ten and most often actually more than ten. And the songs are much longer (about twenty lines), which can take ten or fifteen minutes to sing (compare with Ḥāj Amīnī 2002 and Nazarī 2012).

In contrast, the song texts of the other two categories, (2) *wirda bazm* and (3) *čapła,* have lines that involve more metrical principles. The category of *wirda bazm* probably always belongs to Folk System 1, and it seems that *čapła* can probably belong to either Folk System 1 or Folk System 2. The lines and number of the lines of the texts that are sung to the melodies of *wirda bazm* and *čapła* are shorter than the texts for the *sīyā(w)-čamāna* melodies. For *wirda bazm* melodies, the singers often use the poems of famous classical Gūrānī poets. But for *čapła* melodies, the singers may use folk poems as well as poems of famous classical

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[160] Īraj Karīmīān (personal communication), a Hawrāmī musician, states that, beside these three melodies, there are two others, *šēxāna* and *darayī,* which have rhythms that are similar to *sīā(w) čamāna.* He also says there are others, such as *saḥrī* and *čamara,* but these melodies are accompanied by musical instruments. Rezā Xuršīdī (personal communication), a Hawrāmī singer, holds a similar opinion as Īraj Karīmīān.

[161] In personal communication with Muhammad Rashid Amini, who is a writer and researcher.

[162] In personal communication with Najīb Ḥassanī, who is a singer and plays the *šimšāł.*

Gūrānī poets. In terms of tempo, *sīyā(w)-čamāna* songs are the slowest, *wirda bazm* songs are faster, and *čapła* songs are the fastest (compare with Nazarī 2012).

Although classical Gūrānī poems are used for both *wirda bazm* and *čapła* songs, their metrical systems differ. With *čapła* melodies, the songs are typically accompanied by clapping, and so the songs require a rhythm with a fast tempo. In such songs, ictus has metrical value, and so the metrical system of *čapła* songs belongs to Folk Systems 2. With *wirda bazm* melodies, the rhythm of the songs is slow and ictus does not have a metrical role, and so their metrical systems belong to Folk System 1.

There are other details about the performances of these different types of Hawrāmī songs that we could mention. For example, all three types are often performed without musical instruments, and typically they are sung by people in pairs or in groups.

As mentioned above, in most of the different kinds of Hawrāmī song texts, classical Gūrānī poems, which normally have ten-syllable lines, are used. Therefore we would expect that the song texts that make use of these classical Hawrāmī song texts would also have ten syllables per line. However, in many song texts, the actual number of syllables is not regular. For example, in a song text, some lines may have thirteen or fourteen syllables, while others may have eleven or twelve.

Ḥāj Amīnī (op. cit., p. 32) explains that, the number of syllables in the text is adjusted to fit a melody. Some examples below illustrate this point.[163] But this explanation does not seem to be valid for all the song texts that have more than ten syllables per line. We will return to this point later.

Now we will present three examples of song texts, one for each of the above Hawrāmī melody types. The first example illustrates a song text that goes with a ***sīyā(w)-čamāna*** melody. The syllable counts of the lines are included in the middle column.

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[163] In the examples, the syllables that might be considered to be added or extra are highlighted by bold.

(187)   Celīl 2006:55

1	ǰa māč karū tū xwā xālit gīyānakam layl	12	Then, I kiss by God your (birth) mark, my soul Layl
2	gīyana šīrīnakam nawīnīšo bāwašto, ar ho, tū xwā, korpa-y mināłit	22	My sweet soul, may you not see in your lap, you, by God, the baby, your child.
3	har kay min marđāw, ay yo kina zułf zard, ǰa bore sarīnim, gīyān layl	20	Any time that I died, you, girl, yellow-haired, then come to my presence (my grave), soul Layl
4	ǰānē šīrīnakam ba diłē-wa ghamgīn, arē ho, tū xwā, malūl bīka šīnim, gīyan layl	25	My sweet soul, with a sad heart, you, by God, woeful, softly cry, soul Layl
5	dak gałā namānowa, ay yo, kinā hām dard, ǰā ba dārānawa, gīyānakam layl	22	May no leaves remain on the trees, you, girl, (who) feels my pain! My soul Layl
6	gīyāna šīrīnakam, wafā har mano, arē ho rafīqī gīyān, lāw yārānawa, gīyanakam layl	25	My sweet soul, truth always remains to the friends, you, the friends of my soul, soul Layl!

…

This song text illustrates a text of rhythmic prose. The lines are very long and their lengths differ greatly, where the first has twelve syllables, the second twenty-two, etc. There is also hardly any metrical constituent. We find three or four pauses per line, but their positions are neither stable nor regular. For example, in line 1, there are pauses after the fourth, eighth, and twelfth syllables. But in line 2, the pauses come after the sixth, fourteenth, and eighteenth syllables, as well as after the twenty-second syllable. These cannot be called caesura because they do not have any metrical value. The pauses seem to occur where they would if the line were normal speech.

However, one metrical constituent is evident in the above text, and that is the monorhyme. This rhyme is evident in the first and second lines as -*āłit*, in the third and fourth lines as -*īnim*, and in the fifth and sixth lines as -*rānawa*. In some lines, there is also an identical rhyme, which occurs as *gīyānakam Layl* 'my soul Layl' or as *gīyān Layl* 'soul Layl'. This repetition of the woman's name Layl, which is a general name for a girl friend, is characteristic of the *sīyā-čamāna*.

The following example illustrates a song text that goes with a ***čapła*** melody:

(188) bīmārim xirē bīmārim   (Hāǰ Amīnī 2002:122)

1	āy bīmārim xrē bīmārim // naxoš-u darđađārim	(1+) 7+7	Oh, I am sick, o plump one! I am sick and in pain (because I am far from you)
2	kᵘra āłam bizano // šīrīn bo to awālim	7+7	Ho, let all the world know, you are sweet, I am for you disconsolate
3	kᵘra yā da ǰawābim / īsa / yā waš-hawālē	14	Ho, give me either an answer now, or good news
4	kᵘra bā biřyo / dⁱłakam / kička ǰa girđ xayālē	14	Ho, let my heart break with every thought
5	min xayāłā bardā // day day ba gēǰāwawā	6+7	The thought just took me to the gulf
6	bīmārim xrē bīmārim // xrē bīmārim xrē bīmārim	7+8	I am sick, o plump one! I am sick,
7	xrē bīmārim naxoš-u darađađārim	5+7	I am sick, o plump one! I am sick, o plump one, I am sick
8	way bang kana aw kiča //oxay bīka tīmārim	7+7	Oh, let's call that girl, take care of me

In the above example of a *čapła* song text, we see that the number of syllables per line varies from twelve to fifteen syllables. Lines 3, 4 and 8 contain fourteen syllables; lines 1, 2, and 6 have fifteen syllables; line 5 has thirteen syllables and line 7 has eleven syllables. The *čapła* song texts normally belong to Folk System 2. We will illustrate another example in section 7.3 where we talk more about the meter.

The position of the caesura is difficult to determine in lines 3 and 4. In line 3, the adverb *īsa* 'now' appears to occur between two hemistichs, and one could place a caesura either before or after that word. A similar situation is observed in line 4, where it would be possible to put a caesura either before or after the word *diłakam* 'my heart'.

The following example illustrates a **wirda bazm** song text. The number of syllables per line in the following song text is almost perfectly stable. With the exception of line 1 and 11, all lines have ten syllables. This song text is not an example of rhythmic prose. We will look

at other song texts with similar structure in the next section when we illustrate examples of Folk System 1.

(189) kanī bāwānim (Hāǰ Amīnī
2002:113)

1	**(ǰā ī)** goš da wa nāłam kanīla u kanī	(2+)5+5	Then this, listen to my moaning, o girl, girl!
2	nāłam kārīya amrakam kanī	5+5	My moaning is very hard, my soul, o girl!
3	qirča-y darūnim kanīla u kanī	5+5	The burning of my inside, o girl, girl!
4	šīn u zārīya kanīla u kanī	5+5	(It) is a soft cry and moan, o girl, girl!
5	čuzānī laylām bāwānim[164] kanī	5+5	What do you know, my Layla, o my family, o girl!
6	diyāran la dūr amrakam kanī	5+5	It is visible from far away, my soul, o girl!
7	kal-ī ʕāšiqān[165] kanī bāwānim	5+5	Kal-i ʕāšiqān (the mountain of lovers), o girl, my family!
8	ziłm[166] u šārazūr[167] kanīla-w kanī[168]	5+5	Ziłm and Sharazur, o girl, girl! (from far away Kal-i ʕāšiqan, Ziłm and Sharhazur are visible)
9	barzī āwyar[169] hay hāwār kanī	5+5	The highness of Āwyar, alas, o girl,
10	hā baran barim kanī gīān kanī[170]	5+5	Is in front of me, o girl, soul girl!
11	dāxī gharībī **(wa)** amrakam kanī	5(+1)+5	The pain of homesickness, o my life girl,
12	daniš ǰa ǰargim kanīla u kanī[171]	5+5	Has hit my heart o girl, girl!
13	bā g^urīsaka-y xam kanī bāwānim	5+5	The strand of sorrow, o girl, girl,

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[164] *Bāwān* refers to the home of one's father. Calling a person *bāwān* shows that the person is very dear and highly respected.

[165] The name of a mountain in Hawrāmān.

[166] The name of a mountain in Hawrāmān.

[167] The first capital of the Ardalān dynasty.

[168] The meaning of lines 6 to 8 is complete together.

[169] The name of a mountain in Sanandaj.

[170] The meaning of lines number 9 and 10 is complete together.

[171] The meaning of lines number 11 and 12 is together.

14	bīdam ba šānā amrakam kanī	5+5	Let me put on my shoulder, o my life girl! (let me put the strand of sorrow in my shoulder)
15	kēša-y xam bikam kanī u kanīl	5+5	(and) to endure the sorrow, o girl, girl
16	la kurdisānā hay hāwār kanī	5+5	In (all) Kurdistan, you, alas o girl!

It is interesting that the above song text could also go with a *čapła* melody. If the singer (or singers) claps and sings the text with quick tempo, it would go with a *čapła* melody, but if the singer sings it slowly and without clapping, then it would go with a *wirda bazm* melody.

The above three illustrated song texts come from Hawrāmān area. In other Gūrānī areas, there are other types of song texts, such as the *čamara* and the *hora.* The **čamara** is found in Southern Kurdistan in the Iranian provinces of Kermānšāh, Ilām and Luristān. The *čamara*[172] is used in funeral ceremonies, where it is accompanied by a percussion instrument. The men and women make a circle and sing together the texts of *čamara* as they bring the body of the deceased to the grave. The **hora**, which may be used to mourn for a dead person as well as in certain happier occasions, is performed without the accompaniment of musical instruments. It is found in most all of the Gūrānī and Southern Kurdish areas.

The structure of the *čamara* and *hora* are very similar to the *sīyā-čamāna* songs of Hawrāmān, in that their texts also have long lines with varying number of syllables. In terms of their meter, it is likely that rhyme serves as the sole metrical constituent in these song texts, too.

Now let us turn to other kinds of Kurdish folk poetry. In Kurdish folk poetry, there are three other types of song texts that are similar in structure to the *sīyā-čamāna* songs. These are termed the **bayt**, **lāwik** and **hayrān**. Unfortunately, Kurdish scholars[173] do not provide any clear definitions for these three types. For example, Mukrī (1950:11-13) believed that the *bayt* consisted of rhythmical prose or poetic lines that are composed according to the number of syllables. According to Mukrī, the *bayt* is called *hayrān* in other parts of Kurdistan, such as in Arbil, Koya, and other places. In the northern area of Kurdistan, in the Bādīnī and Kirmānjī speaking areas, the *bayt* is called *lāwik*. Khaznadār (1962:35-36) describes the *bayt*

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[172] See Rasūl 2008:117.

[173] For example, see for the definition of *gorānī, bayt, lāwik* and *hayrān* in: Mukri 1952; Khaznadār 1962; Bakir 2004; Rasul 2008. And as reference for the collections of folk poetry see: Malā Karīm 2009; Hafīdzāda 1982; Qāzī 2007 and 2009.

as a long thought, narrative, or event that is put into a metrical template which has eight or ten syllables per line. According to his view, in the ten-syllable lines, the rhyme is always in the form of the monorhyme, which occurs in either couplets or in strophes of at least three lines. According to Khaznadār (op. cit., p. 38), in the *lāwik* and *ħayrān*, the number of syllables in the lines is not regular. Rhyme is the most important metrical constituent in both.

Rasul (2008:108-110) also notes that the *bayt* in northern Kurdish is called *lāwik*. She describes *ħayrān* as an old Kurdish song text that has its certain melody.

For our purposes, we will assume *bayt*, *lāwik* and *ħayrān* are examples of rhythmic prose and we can offer the following provisional definitions:

- The *bayt* refers to a long narrative. Some lines are in the form of prose, while other lines are in poetry.

- The terms *lāwik* and *ħayrān* also refer to narratives, but they are composed entirely as rhythmical prose. So the song texts are not poetic verse but prose texts that are sung with a specific rhythm. The terms *lāwik* and *ħayrān* refer to the same type of text, except that *lāwik* is the Bādīnī (or Kirmānjī) name for such a text in Bādīnī while *ħayrān* is the Sorānī name for such a text in Sorānī. The *ħayrān* is used among Sorānī speakers of the region in Iraq between Arbil, Koya, and Rawāndūz, and it is also used in the Mokryān area around Mahābād in Iran. The texts of these narratives typically contain topics about love or heroes.

Since the song texts of *bayt, lāwik* and *ħayrān* are examples of rhythmic prose (and so have no metrical constituents, we will have nothing more to say about them.

At this point we offer the following summary for song texts that we are calling "**texts of rhythmic prose**":[174] In this category, the number of syllables in each line is often irregular and each line is normally very long. With the exception of rhyme, the use of other metrical principles is not evident. Song texts that fit in this category include *sīā(w)-čamāna, čamara, hora, bayt, lāwik* and *ħayrān* (see below).

There is one last important category that we must mention, which is called the ***gorānī.*** The name *gorānī* is a general name for 'song' in Gūrānī and Kurdish, and in fact the term

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[174] Hāj Amīnī (2002:32) divides Hawrāmī song texts into two groups: those with meter and those without. He also explains that a small pause divides each line into two parts.

covers a large variety of song types.[175] The lines in a *gorānī* song text are usually relatively short, and much shorter in fact than song texts of rhythmic prose. These song texts are often accompanied by musical instruments. For the *gorānī*, the use of metrical principles is evident.

In the following sections, we will look at the metrical structure of different types of song texts in order to examine their metrical systems. Section 7.2 concerns text forms that belong to Folk System 1. In this section, we will use examples of first *wirda bazm* song texts and then later of *gorānī* song texts to illustrate the variety of metrical structures. The metrical systems of this category are similar to the metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry, although we will see that the number of syllables in each line in *wirda bazm* song texts is often irregular. In section 7.3, we discuss song texts that belong to Folk System 2, that is, song texts where the number and pattern of stressed syllables (ictuses) determines the rhythm of the lines, and where cola and feet also have metrical value. In this section, we will illustrate Folk System 2 by means of a *čapła* text as well as by some texts from the Kurdish dialects.

7.2 Folk System 1: The metrical structure of Gūrānī and Kurdish song texts

In this section, we look at several song texts that belong to Folk System 1, in order to illustrate the variety of metrical structures belonging to this category. The first two song texts we will look at are Hawrāmī texts that are sung to *wirda bazm* melodies, and then the following song texts are in Kurdish and count as *gorānī* texts. As mentioned before, for *wirda bazm,* the singers often use classical Gūrānī texts, and so this type of Hawrāmī song text can employ the same metrical system as classical Gūrānī poetry, in that there are four constituents: the stable number of syllables in each line, the caesura, the rhyme and strophe.

But we must emphasize that not all song texts belonging to Folk System 1 consistently employ all four metrical constituents. As mentioned earlier, depending of the rhythm of the melodies, the singers have added words to the classical poems and so the lines have varying syllable lengths and often have more than ten syllables.

Consider now first an example of a song text that goes with a *wirda bazm* melody:

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[175] In the Kurdish speaking areas, the term of *gorānī* 'song' is used to refer to song texts. In Hawrāmān, this term is also used in this way, although the same meaning can be expressed by the term *bazm.*

(190)   Celīl 2006:50

1	**min** garmaka-y hamin, **kasakam**, **tu xwā** saram nīyāwa	6+3+7	I, in the warm summer, my sweetheart, by God, I slept
2	**ǰā** dang-u to āmā, **bē-baqā**, mānyām sīyāwa	6+3+5	Then, I heard your voice, you faithless! My fatigue disappeared
3	**ǰā** mānyām nāw řēgā, **gᶦyān**, **to min of** āraq-ī gonām	6+1+8	Then I was tired on the way, soul! You! Me! Hey! the sweat of my cheek
4	**ǰā** min toryāwa nīm, **āx**, šikā būm gonām	6+1+4	Then I am not sulking, oh, I broke down, my soul
5	(ǰā ar) čī nakarū min, xayāɫān-e to	2+5+5	Then, why I don't think about you,
6	āx garma-šīnma, **gᶦyān**, dūbāra ǰa no	5+1+5	Oh, I have a hard whimper, again from the beginning
7	ǰa ērān-u ērāq **gᶦyān-u min ǰā** tīrxašā luwāwa	6+3+7	Then Iran and Iraq went from Tirxasha[176], my soul
8	**ǰā** to ǰa min biřyāy, **tu xwā,** aǰab ǰānēwa	6+2+5	Then you broke with me, by god, what a soul
9	**ǰā** nāmakat yāwā, **gᶦyānakam**, **min** kosim[177] kawtawaw	6+3+6	Then your letter came, my soul, (and) again my drum fell
10	**āx**, dᶦɫaka-y āyrīnim, **gᶦyān**, to dāđ nawtawaw	7+1+5	Oh, my fired heart, soul! You gave to the oil (spread with oil).

In the above song text, we find many lines that have thirteen syllables but others that have ten, eleven, twelve, and fourteen syllables. Lines 1 and 5 have fourteen syllables; line 13 has eleven; lines 16 and 18 have twelve; and line 14 has ten.

As an aside, we could also consider if by deleting certain unimportant words we could correct the lines so that each has only ten syllables. As mentioned earlier, there does not seem

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[176] The meaning of this line is not clear to us.

[177] *Kos* is a sound created by beating a drum. In some areas of Iran, such as in the Kirmānšāh area, when a person has died, the people bring the body to the grave as they beat drums. The verb *kos kawtay* 'fall of drum' means that a person's death is near.

to be any obvious method of determining which words would have been added. Even, if we assume there are some added words to an original poem, the fact is that the added words are still a part of this song texts. Therefore, we assume that the syllable number of the lines in this text, as in many other song texts, can vary. The same is true, we believe, of some of the Yārsān poems. In Section 6.3., we discussed Yārsān poems, which, in contrast to the classical Gūrānī poetic structure, do not always have a stable number of syllables. We can now see that a similar situation holds for certain kinds of Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry, such as the above example of a *wirda bazm* song text. This comparison may help us to understand the form of the Yārsān poems.

Monorhyme is evident in most of the lines in our above example: in the first and second lines as -*īyāwa*, in the fifth and sixth lines as -*o*, in the fifth and sixth lines as -*rānawa*, in the ninth and tenth lines as -*wtawaw*, in the seventh and eighth lines as the postposition -*wa*. In the third and fourth lines, we have the identical rhyme of *gonām* but there is no monorhyme.

Consider next another *wirda bazm* song text, which is published online and sung by Marīā Hawrāmī (2012). This song text has a stable number of syllables, that is, ten per each line. It seems that the ictuses do not have any metrical value in this kind of song. The main metrical constituents are the stable number of syllables, the caesura and rhyme.

(191)

1	ay lāwa lāwa gīan-u min lāwa	5+5	Oh, look here, look here, my soul! Look here
2	jār jār ba ruy nāz lā ka bam lāwa	5+5	Sometime look here at me, with your pleasant countenance
3	agar maylakaw karda bom kona,	5+5	If I have worn out my affection (for you) (literally, 'if I have made my affection old', that is, if I have forgotten you)
4	dozax bašim bo, bā gēłūš pora	5+5	May hell be my portion, (and may I) go through (hell)
5	agar maylakat farāmošim bo	5+5	if I forget your affection
6	sipīdī kafan bāłapošim bo	5+5	May I wear a white shroud
7	jā har čin makarū, xīāł xīāłān	5+5	Then, I dream (about you) so much
8	hīčkas ba xīāł ba mrad	5+5	Nobody has reached (his) goal by dreaming

nayāwān

Since each line in the above song text has ten syllables, we count this as a metrical constituent. We count as the second constituent the caesura in the middle of each line after the fifth syllable, which divides the lines into two equal hemistichs. The other metrical constituent is rhyme. The first four lines end with -*a*. Lines 5 and 6 end with -*ošim,* and they also have the identical rhyme *bo*. The last two lines involve the rhyme of -*ān*.

The last two poems involve a specific type of folk song text from the Gūrānī language of the Hawrāmān area. Now we will look at some song texts from other Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poems that are examples of *gorānī* texts and also belong to Folk System 1. As previously mentioned, *gorānī* is a term that covers a large variety of song types.

The song texts that we are calling *gorānī* most typically have ten syllables per line, although there can also be lines with fewer than ten syllables. The lines with ten syllables, whether they are in the Kurdish or Gūrānī language (with the exception of *čapła* song texts), seem to follow the same metrical principles that we find in classical Gūrānī poetry: a caesura divides each ten syllable line into two hemistichs of five syllables; the caesura always comes after the end of a word; and every couplet uses a monorhyme.

The strophes in a *gorānī* text can be either long or short in the number of lines per strophe. The shortest strophe form is composed of only two lines, that is, of a single couplet.

In contrast to the way that Literary Gūrānī has been used by poets in the classical Gūrānī poetry, the composers of the *gorānī* texts have used the regional dialects of Gūrānī and of Kurdish. For example, the *gorānī* song texts composed by poets from Kermānšāh are based on their regional Kurdish dialects. Likewise, the *gorānī* texts by the Sanandaj poets make use of Kurdish dialects of Sanandaj. The same is also true of Gūrānī song texts, where for example, the poets of Hawrāmān make use of the speech varieties of this area.

The song texts collected by Moḥammad Mukrī in his 1952 book, *Tarānehāy-e Kurdī,* present many song texts from different Gūrānī and Kurdish areas. In this book, one finds many song texts in which all the lines consist of ten syllables, although there are also texts with lines of eight syllables.

We have chosen three examples of texts from Mukrī's collection to look at. These three poems are composed in the regional Kurdish dialects as spoken in the city of Kermānšāh and villages around it. First presented are some examples of strophes with ten syllables per line:

Examples with two-line strophes:

(192)   Mukrī 1951:62

1   baw bičīm na ways[178] pay tawba-   5+5   Come let us go to Ways to do penance
kārī

- - - - - // - - - - -

2   tawba-y   kul   bikaym   ghayr   ži   5+5   We do penance from everything except for
diłdārī   love.

- - - - - // - - - - -

(193)   Mukrī 1951:70

1   īmšaw čan šawa namkirdga māčē   5+5   It is some nights that I have not kissed (even)
one time

- - - - - // - - - - -

2   dāxī aw māča la dił darnāčē   5+5   The pain of that kiss does not go away from the
heart

- - - - - // - - - - -

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[178] Ways is a holy site near the town of Ravānsar in the province of Kirmanshah in west Iran.

An example of a four-line strophe:

(194)   Mukrī 1951:7

1	ar biyayta pīm // māč-ē la nö dam	5+5	If you give me one kiss on the mouth
	- - - - - // - - - - -		
2	řūž-ī čwār ǰāra // qazāt xam la xwam	5+5	Each day four times I wish all the pain from you would come to me
	- - - - - // - - - - -		
3	qazāt xam la xwam // řūžī čwār ǰāra	5+5	May your pain come to me, every day four times
	- - - - - // - - - - -		
4	sibħ u nīma-řū // asr u īwāra	5+5	(in the) morning, midday, afternoon and evening
	- - - - - // - - - - -		

In all three of the above examples, each line contains ten syllables, a caesura divides each line into two equal hemistichs, and in each case there is monorhyme. As mentioned previously, these poems have, in fact, exactly the same metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry, and so, the division of hemistichs into cola and feet is not relevant.

In summary, the above examples show that the metrical principles of song texts which we count as belonging to Folk System 1 are mostly based on the number of syllables, caesura, and rhyme. Nevertheless, in some texts, the number of syllables per line is not relevant as a metrical principle. For this reason, we consider caesura and rhyme to be the primary metrical constituents of all song texts in Folk System 1.

7.3 Folk System 2: Song texts in which stress is metrical

Having completed our discussion of the different types of song texts that belong to Folk System 1, we will now turn to song texts that belong to Folk System 2. Unlike the song texts discussed in the last section (7.2) that used an identical metrical system as found in classical Gūrānī poetry, including a ten-syllable line, the song texts belonging to Folk System 2 often involve a shorter line, most typically one having six, seven, or eight syllables, although they can also have longer lines. More importantly, the Folk System 2 song texts differ from those of the Folk System 1 type and from the rhythmic prose type in that, in these texts, the ictus,

colon, and foot all count as metrical constituents. (We use the term ictus here because only the stressed syllable is relevant, and the number of unstressed syllables is irrelevant.)

The role of the ictus in Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poetry has been noted in various works. For example, Kurdoyov, in the introduction of Khaznadār's book (1962:9), *Kesh u Qāfya la Šeʔrī Kurdī-dā* 'Meter and rhyme in Kurdish poetry', states that the role of ictus in Kurdish poetry should be considered. He argues that the folk poetry with an ictus (with a beat) came about because the texts were being put to music and song. Bakir (2004) also considers the ictus to be a metrical constituent in folk poetry.

Zīāmajīdī and Amīnī (2010) analyzed some folk lyrics of the southern Kurdish dialect, Kalhorī, according to the hierarchical scheme of Hays (1988) and the method that Tabibzadeh (2004) used for analyzing Persian folk poetry. By recognizing the organization of syllables into feet, feet into cola, and cola into lines, they concluded that the ictus has metrical value in these Kurdish song texts. An example of their analysis is as follows (we have adopted their system of transcription, where || indicates the border of the cola and | indicates the border of the feet:

(195)   Zīā-Majīdī and Amīnī (2010)

1   hāji laqlaq mār hāt

       - - | - - || - | -

2   mārə **gwəllangdār** hāt

       - - | - - || - | -

3   ʃətər wa **qatār** hāt

       - - | - - || - | -

4   kākam wa **suwar** hāt

       - - | - - || - | -

In the above poem, each line divides into two cola; the first colon contains four syllables, and the second colon contains two syllables. The cola in turn are divided into feet, and each foot contains either one or two syllables. An ictus (that is, stressed syllable) occurs before every foot border (that is, before every | and ||). The border of the colon is not always at the end of word, and in fact, in each of lines 2, 3, and 4, the border of the two cola falls in the middle of the word (we indicate these words by bold type).

In section 6.1.2, we reviewed the analysis of Tabibzadeh (2013), which was based on Lazard's view about a metrical system in which the ictus has metrical value. Since we believe that in some Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry, the ictus has metrical value, we mention Tabibzadeh's view again here in order to consider its validity for some forms of Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry. Tabibzadeh believes that, for each metrical system, we can identify a primary metrical unit. For a metrical system in which the ictus is a metrical constituent, a line is considered to be a complete metrical unit. That means that, in such a system, a line can contain all the metrical constituents.

For example, in the above lines, each line contains some syllables, stress, feet, and cola.[179]

Tabibzadeh (2013) writes: "Each foot has an ictus on its final syllable". He mentions three other principles:

1. "Ictus syllables are usually heavy[180]

2. When an ictus syllable is light (Cv), it is necessarily the final syllable of a word.

3. The non-ictus syllables may be equally light or heavy."

We believe that these principles apply to many examples of Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry. Our examples will show that the lines can be divided into cola and each colon into feet. We saw in the classical Gūrānī poetry that a caesura never falls in the middle of a word but only at the end of the first hemistich which is simultaneously the end of the word. This is evidence that a caesura is a metrical constituent because its place and appearance is predictable. In contrast to classical Gūrānī poetry, in Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poems of Folk System 2, a pause between two cola can fall in the middle of a word, in which case the ictus would fall on a non-final syllable. In any case, the numbers of ictuses determine the rhythm of the lines. So these facts show that stress has a metrical value in some Kurdish and Gūrānī folk poems.

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[179] If this analysis by Tabibzadeh (2013) were taken as true for classical Gūrānī poetry, then that would mean that the main metrical unit would actually be the hemistich. But this sort of definition does not take into account the important role of rhyme. As we have shown in the previews chapter, rhyme is an important metrical constituent of classical Gūrānī poetry.

[180] A light syllable is one that is composed of a consonant followed by a short vowel. All other syllables structures are heavy.

The first example that we want to present in this section is a Hawrāmī song text that goes with a *čapła* melody. In our notation, we have used the symbol // to mark hemistich boundaries, the symbol | to mark colon boundaries and / for foot boundaries.

(196)   Qāsim Xān (Hāǰ Amīnī 2004:126)

1   īmro čūma aw kala // way way bārān wa bārī   7+7   Today I went to that mountain, oh, oh how it rained

- '- | - '- / - - '- // - '- | - '- / - - '-

2   ay dā ba šānmawa // řēza řēza mirwārī   6+7   It was hitting my shoulder, the small pearl beads

- '- | - '- / - '- // - '- | - '- / - - '-

3   īmřo čūma Alyāwā[181] // Yāsaman[182]im pē yāwā   7+7   I went to Aliāwā, I met Yasaman

- '- | - '- / - - ' - // - '- | - '- / - - '-

4   lār-u lanǰa-w bwa šimšēr // ǰarg[183]-u miniš šikāwā   7+7   Your flirting is (like) a sword that lances my heart (liver)

- '- | - '- / - - ' - // - '- | - '- / - - '-

5   īmřo čūma Qāsim-xān[184] // way way pištī Biyāra[185]   7+7   I went today to Qāsim-xān, oh, oh in the back side of Biyāra

- '- | - '- / - - '- // - '- | - '- / - - ' -

6   ho talār-xānakaw // īsa la m[i]no diyāra   6+7   Oh, your living room is now visible to me

- '- | - '- / - '- // - '- | - '- / - - '-

7   hē, ǰā řēza řēza bī // āzīz to řēznā ǰargim   7+7   Oh, it (my heart) is broken up (literally, chopped up), my dear, you have broken (chopped) my heart

- '- | - '- / - - '- // - '- | - '- / - - '-

8   min kirmāšānīm // īsa s[i]yāwā bargim   5+6   I am from Kermānšāh, now my dress is

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[181] The name of a village.

[182] The name of a woman.

[183] The word *ǰarg* literally means 'liver', but in such poems it can be translated as 'heart'.

[184] The name of a village in Hawrāmān.

[185] The name of a town in Hawrāmān.

black

- '- | - - '- // - '- | - '- / - - '-

9 bā min bičma qāsim xān // way way 7+7 Let me go to Qāsim-Xān, oh, oh in the
  pištī biyāra   back side of Biyāra

- '- / - '- | - - '- // - '- | - '- / - - '-

10 hay way lār-u lanǰakaw // īsa la mⁱno 7+7 Oh, woe, your flirting is now visible to
  diyāra   me.

- '- / - '- | - - '- // - '- | - '- / - - '-

In the above song text, seven out of ten lines contain fourteen syllables. The exceptions are lines 2, 6 and 8. Lines 2 and 6 have thirteen syllables and line 8 has eleven syllables. There is also a caesura in each line that divides it into two hemistichs. A monorhyme also occurs in every couplet. Many of the hemistichs (especially those with seven syllables) have the rhythm of - '- / - '- | - - '- or - '- | - '- / - - '- (which is essentially the same).

In this text, it does not seem possible to make the lines conform to a stable ten-syllable structure by deleting unimportant words, such as prepositions, particles or adverbs. In most cases, such deletions would negatively affect the meaning of the lines. The fact is that most of the lines in this text have fourteen syllables, while some lines have fewer.

Now we will present some short examples of song texts collected by Mukrī that are of a somewhat different sort. Most of these examples are from various Kurdish dialects, although we include one example from Hawrāmī. In each example, the lines are organized into hemistichs, cola and feet; each line contains eight syllables which in turn form two cola; each colon contains two feet, and each foot contains two syllables with an ictus on the final syllable. For the following examples, we have also noted which syllables are light (U) and which are heavy (-), in order to see if the ictus syllables are always heavy.

(197) Mukrī 1951:130-131

1   baw qurāna-y | lēm xwēndūwa   4+4 I swear by the Quran that I have read

        - - / - - | - - / - U

2   bo xom la malām bīstūwa   4+4 (that) I myself have heard from the Mulla

        - - / U U | - - / - U

3   xērī māčēk sad řožūwa   4+4 The pious act of a kiss is (worth) a hundred days of fasting

        - - / - - | - - / - U

(198) Mukrī 1951:129

1   čāwit la **bir**yān řaštirin   4+4 Your eyes are blacker than Biryān (the meaning is unclear)

        - - / U - | - - / U -

2   la mārī řaš wiryātirin   4+4 They (your eyes) are more clever than a black snake

        U - / - - | - - / U -

3   hamū řožē řēgā-girin   4+4 Every day they haunt (my) way

        - - / - - | - - / U -

(199) Mukrī 1951:129

1   qastam baw xāła-y la řūta   4+4 I swear by the mark on your face

        - - / - - | - - / - U

2   finǰāna-y dastit yāqūta   4+4 The cup in your hand is made from ruby

        - - / - - | - - / - U

3   sar hałēna ǰargim sūtā   4+4 Raise your head! My heart is burnt

        - U / - U | - - / - -

(200)   Mukrī 1951:130

1   har čand dakam dił pīr nābē   4+4   Whatever I do the heart does not grow old

         - - / U - | - - / - -

2   dastim la mamkī gīr nābē   4+4   My hand does not grasp the breasts

         - - / U - | - - / - -

3   yār mindāła bom žīr nābē   4+4   The friend (girl) is a child and I cannot calm her.

         - - / - U | - - / - -

All of the above examples have the following characteristics: Each has a three-line strophe; the lines are organized into cola and feet; each line contains eight syllables, which forms two cola; each colon contains two feet, and each foot contains two syllables with an ictus on the final syllable.

These examples also show that most ictus syllables are heavy with the exception of certain lines in (197) and (199). In (197), the final syllables in all three lines are light, and in example (199), the final syllables of lines 1 and 2 (*-ta*) are light. As we have mentioned before, Tabibzadeh (2013) states that "When an ictus syllable is light (Cv), it is necessarily the final syllable of a word". Our findings agree in most respects with his claim: most of the ictuses that fall on light syllables occur in the final position of words and lines. However, there is one counter example. In line 2 of (197), the ictus comes in the middle of the word *malā-m,* and that syllable (*ma-*) is light.

Finally, we note again that the final syllable of each colon is not necessarily at the end of the word. This is illustrated by the word *malām* in line 2 of (197), by *biryān* in line 1 of (198), by *xāła-y* in line 1 and *dastit* in line 2 of (199), and by *mamkī* line 2 of (200). This point shows that the placement of ictus is based on the rhythm of the lines, and therefore counts as a metrical constituent.

We would like to now present some folk poems of some other genres that also illustrate these same metrical principles. In many folk verses, the role of the ictus is especially recognizable in poems that were created for group activities, for example, in poems that children chant while playing, or in poems meant to be chanted or sung while working on the farm. In such poems, the ictus is the most important constituent; the lines, as mentioned

before, are organized in cola and feet, and the ictuses create the rhythm of the lines. Consider the following examples:

Children's verses to be chanted while playing:

The first example of a children's verse is in Hawrāmī:

(201)   Fartāš 2013:17

1	baydē bilmē pay gamay	7	Let's go play!
	- - / - - | - / U -		
2	sinjoqānē dlē pačay	7	(Let's play) Sinjoqane in the Pača[186]
	- - / - - | - / U -		
3	baydē bilmē pay čamay	7	Let's go to Chama[187]
	- - / - - | - / U -		
4	wēy šārālē dlē pamay	7	(Let's play) "Hide (and Seek)" in the wool
	- - / - - | - / U -		
5	halūr pilūr pay gamay	7	"Halūr pilūr" (nonsense words) for a game
	- - / U - | - / U -		
6	sang- u bāz- u sarčamay	7	(Let's play) "sang u baz"[188] at the well
	- - / - - | - / U -		
7	hamłoqᵘwāna-w dlē baray	7	"Hamloqwan"[189] outside the door (i.e., in front of their house)
	- - / - - | - / U -		
8	qāwqāwāna-w sardaray	7	"Qawqawan"[190] in the Sardara[191]
	- - / - - | - / U -		

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[186] *Pača* is a place for keeping of animals such as goat and sheep.

[187] Chama is the name of an old quartier in the city of Pāveh.

[188] *Sang u baz* is the name of a game with stones.

[189] *Hamloqwan* is the name of a game with small stones.

[190] *Qawqawan* is the name of a game.

[191] Sardara is the name of a quartier in the city of Pāveh.

9	bīlbīlāna-w war baray	7	"Bīlbīlān" in front of the door (*war bara* and *dle bara* have the same meaning)

- - / - - | - / U -

10	gorawbāzī u šawčaray	7	(Let's play) "gorawbāzī"[192] and (eat) nuts

- - / - - | - / U -

The above Hawrāmī children's verse is composed of ten lines, where each line has seven syllables and a colon after the forth syllable. It is clear that the rhythm of the lines is based on the recurrence of the ictus. Therefore, it is possible to have a regular division of lines into cola and feet. An ictus occurs on each second, fourth, fifth and seventh syllables. The foot borders are determined by the ictuses.

Now consider the following children's verses that are in Kurdish. As in our last example, in the following examples the ictuses occur in regular recurrence and the lines can be divided in cola and foot:

(202)   Rasul 2008:153

1	hayārāna-w būk bārāna[193]	4+4	It is friends and it is the rain of rain dolls

U - | - - || - | - - U

2	ganim řizī la čāłāna	4+4	The wheat is ruined in its rows

U - | U - || U - | - U

3	ganmī ḥasan-u ḥusaynana	4+5	It is the wheat of Hasan and Husayn (the famous figures honored by Shiites)

- - | U U || - | U - | - U

4	hamū qiř būn la tīnānā	4+4	They all died of thirst

U - | - - || U - | - U

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[192] *Gorawbāzī* is a sock game that is especially played in the evenings.

[193] When it has not rained for many months, children come out with a handmade doll and sing (and thus pray) for rain.

(203) Rasul 2008:154

1	būka ba bārānē	6	The rain doll
	- U/ U -	- / -		
2	saʕāt-ī ǰārānē	6	It is the same time
	U - / - -	- / -		
3	āwī bin daghłānē	6	The water under (the roots of) the wheat and barley
	- - / - -	- / -		
4	damī būkē šīrīn kan	7	Makes the mouth of the doll sweet
	U - / - -	- - / -		
5	la niyātī bārānē	7	In the hope of rain
	U U/ - -	- - / -		

A verse to be chanted while working on the farm:

(204) Rasul 2008:129-130

1	hay narma narma	5	It is soft, soft
	- - / U| - U		
2	hāwīnān čanda garma	7	How warm it is in summer
	- - / -	- U / - U		
3	zistānān šaxta-w sarma	7	In the winter it is hard and cold
	- - / -	- - / - U		
4	hātim narmē řāmūsim	7	I came to lay down
	- - / - -	- - / -		
5	kīžołē ʕayb u šarma	7	Girl, it is a gall and shame
	- - / -	- - / - U		

We will now summarize the common metrical features of Folk System 2.

The poems presented in this section have shown that the ictus has a metrical function in this kind of poetry. The number of syllables per line is between six to nine syllables. It is not necessary that all the lines of a poem have the same number of syllables.

The following metrical constituents were found in all of our examples:

- The basic metrical unit is the line.

- The syllables are organized into cola and feet.

- The foot is the smallest metrical unit.

- The border of cola is determined by an obligatory pause.

- The border of the foot is determined by an ictus.

- The rhythm of the lines is based on the recurrence of the ictus.

The above analysis is in harmony with the analysis of Tabibzadeh, but Tabibzadeh's analysis does not take into consideration rhyme and the structure of the three line strophe.

There are other details that could be highlighted for the poems illustrated above in this section (197 to 204). The matrix by Donat (2010) allows us to highlight the metrical principles of each type of poem in more detail. For example, the subset of poems, (197) to (200), has the following characteristics, which we first list, and then show in Donat's matrix:

- The numbers of lines per strophe are three.

- The lines have eight syllables.

- The syllables are organized into cola and feet.

- The border of cola is determined by an obligatory pause, within each line there is a pause, and at the end of the line there is an end pause as well.

- The border of feet is determined in relation to the position of an ictus.

- The position of the cola and feet has a "relative" arrangement (in Donat's terms).

- Each line contains two cola.

- Each colon contains two feet.

- Each foot contains two syllables.

- The rhythm of the lines is based on the recurrence of the stressed syllables (i.e. ictuses).

- The position of the stressed syllables has a "relative" arrangement (in Donat's terms); they follow each other, every second syllable is stressed.

- There is an "absolute" end rhyme in each line (in Donat's terms).

- The rhyme scheme is "aaa", that is, each of the three lines ends in the same rhyme (that is, monorhyme).

- Since there is no metrical pause between the lines, their relative vertical position is irrelevant. (That is to say, the lines of each poem form a single strophe, and so there can be no pause between strophes nor between the lines that has a metrical function.)

We now show these characteristics graphically in Donat's matrix (2010):

Constituents / Principles of arrangement			Syllable	Syllable prominence	Phonetic cor-respondence	Pause
Number	horizontal		8	4	+ (1)	(+) 1
	vertical		Line of verse		+ (3/1)	–
			3			
Position	horizontal	absolute			end rhyme	(+)
		relative		every second syllable		
	vertical	absolute	Line of verse		+	+
			–			
		relative	–		–	–

Figure 4. Donat's matrix with eight-syllable ictus meter

8. **Conclusion**

The primary task for the analyst to do is to determine which typological category the system belongs to. According to Donat's typology, there are four possible constituents that are important from the metrical perspective: (1) the number of syllables, (2) the prominence of syllables (e.g. stressed or unstressed syllables), (3) the phonetic correspondence of syllables or groups of syllables (e.g. rhyme), and (4) the types of transition between syllables (e.g. pause and caesura) (Donat 2010:112). In our discussion we found that syllable number, syllable prominence, rhyme, and caesura do count as metrical constituents in classical Gūrānī poetry. We also found that the prosodic character of syllables (that is, syllable stress) has a less clear role as a metrical constituent, or only a partial role.

In the second chapter of this study, we discussed the different metrical possibilities. The main point of that discussion was to discover all the constituents that function in a metrical system as metrical constituents. For Gūrānī, we found it is important to consider not only the function of constituents like the number of syllables and the role of stress, but also the function of constituents like figures of sound, the role of rhyme, caesuras, and strophes.

In the course of our research we examined if these constituents are used systematically or unsystematically. While figures of sound are constituents that function in the metrical system but appear unsystematically, rhyme and caesura appear systematically.

We concluded that the metrical system of Gūrānī poetry has been affected by not only the number of syllables, but other constituents like caesura, rhyme, and different figures of sound. We are convinced that a description of Gūrānī poetry is not complete without considering the degree to which these constituents have a role in the meter.

We tried to analyze Gūrānī poetry according to the categories that are suited to this language and not according to the categories of languages like Persian or Arabic. We did this because it is clear that the metrical principles of Gūrānī differ from those of Persian and Arabic.

We also analyzed Gūrānī poetry according to the conventions that the Gūrānī poets themselves have developed for their poetry, especially in regards to the role of stress and the role of long vowels, in particular the long vowel ā. The role of stress in the spoken dialects was first introduced in Chapter 5, and then in Chapter 6 and 7 the role of stress in the poetry

was discussed at length. The special use of the extra-long vowels, especially of ā, is not a feature of the spoken dialects but only of the poetry.

There is no doubt that great Persian poetry affected the Gūrānī poets too. Maybe this effect can be recognized in the Gūrānī poets' use of metaphor, metonymy, and other rhetorical devices. But this effect has been less in the area of metrical principles. This does not mean that Gūrānī poets had no knowledge of the Persian and Arabic metrical systems. Many Gūrānī poets, including Besārānī (1642-1701), Saydī (1785-1849), Abdul Raḥīm Tāwgozī (Mawlawī Kurd) (1806-1882), etc. were educated in the schools of their times where they learned Arabic, Persian, and occasionally Turkish. In the school of these times the students learned official Persian poetry well. Without a doubt the classical Gūrānī poets were well aware of the metrical principles of Persian poetry, even though they did not adopt those principles for Gūrānī poetry.

It seems like the Gūrānī poets made a conscious decision to avoid using the metrical principles of official Persian. The permanent mark of Old Iranian poetry on Gūrānī poetry is clearly visible. The link between the pre-Islamic poetry of Old Iranian and the post-Islamic poetry of Gūrānī does not seem to have been severed as the link between official Persian poetry and the older stages of Iranian poetry was severed. We can conclude that the classical Gūrānī poets preferred to use the existing metrical system instead of adopting a foreign one.

The Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry (that is, the folk song texts) does not follow the rules of the Gūrānī and Kurdish classical poetry. The same is true of Persian folk poetry, which has nothing to do with the metrical principles of official Persian poetry.

Unfortunately, we cannot determine the exact history of the development of classical Gūrānī poetry. We have little or no knowledge about most of the lives of the Gūrānī and Yārsān poets.

Another important purpose of this study was to analyze the linguistic features of the literary language used in Gūrānī poetry. As we mentioned before, the poets apparently developed a language for their poetry that differs from the spoken dialects. The most important features of this language are that it suits the metrical system of Gūrānī poetry and it is relatively understandable for all speakers of all dialects of this language. The differences between the spoken dialects and Literary Gūrānī have of course enhanced the aesthetic appeal of the poetry and consequently the enjoyment for the speakers of this language.

We also tried to trace the roots of the Gūrānī metrical system in its historical context. As previously mentioned, the relationship that Gūrānī poetry has with the poetry of Avestan and the poetry of the Middle Iranian languages of Parthian, Pahlavī, Khotanese and Sogdian is very clear and recognizable. Just as we find in the Avestan poetry that the caesura, strophe and the number of syllables count as metrical constituents, the same is true of Gūrānī poetry as well.

In the poetry of Avestan and in the different Middle Iranian languages, within each system the numbers of syllables per line was variable either in a particular poem or in the entire system. However, there were many poems that had a stable number of syllables per line. For example, in Avestan, the eight-syllable line was common. We found the same situation to be true of Gūrānī folk poetry and of Yārsān poetry; in both types there could be a variable number of syllables per line; but we also saw that the eight-syllable line is very common. In contrast, in classical Gūrānī poetry we consistently find a stable number of syllables per line, ten syllables, to be exact.

We also saw that the caesura is a metrical constituent in Avestan and Middle Iranian poetry, and the same is true of Gūrānī poetry.

In contrast, rhyme is not a metrical constituent in Avestan and Middle Iranian poetry but it is an important metrical constituent in Gūrānī poetry, as we saw.

It seems that stress is not accepted by many scholars as a metrical constituent in Avestan. However, in the Middle Iranian languages, stress is largely accepted as a metrical constituent, and in folk Persian poetry as well, it is clearly an important metrical constituent. Concerning classical Gūrānī poetry, we argued that stress does exist as a metrical constituent to the degree that its placement on one or possibly two places is predictable and stable. We also recognized that there are possibly two other stresses per line, although their placement is neither stable nor predictable. But in Gūrānī and Kurdish folk poetry that belong to Folk System 2, the number and patterns of stressed syllables (ictuses) determines the rhythm of the lines, and the cola and feet also have metrical value.

Other topics of this study included early New Persian poetry and the poetry of the *fahlavīāt*. The aim of these sections was to trace the historical connection between early New Persian, *fahlavīāt* and Gūrānī poetry.

We saw that the metrical principles of early New Persian poetry did not look like those of official Persian, but instead it was clear that they represented a continuation of pre-Islamic

poetry, where the tact is the primary metrical constituent. So Gūrānī poetry was not alone in continuing the metrical tradition of pre-Islamic poetry, and in fact there are other Iranian languages that also represent this tradition.

We also discussed the interesting problem of the *fahlavīāt*. Unfortunately, their form has possibly changed over the course of time. Even a great scholar like Qays Rāzī considered the meter of *fahlavīāt* to be improper because he analyzed it according to the standards of official Persian poetry. However, more recently, some scholars have concluded that the *fahlavīāt* poems were probably originally based on the number of syllables and not on the quantity of syllables.

In this same section on the *fahlavīāt,* we mentioned that the term *awrāma* was used to refer to a kind of melody for the *fahlavīāt* and that this term is most probably associated with the melodies of the area of *Awrāmān* (that is, Hawrāmān).

We also discussed the language that is used in classical Gūrānī poetry. As mentioned in Chapter 5, we assume that a special dialect was developed through its use in poetry that differs from all spoken dialects. We analyzed the features of this dialect in detail, and gave evidence that the metrical system of Literary Gūrānī has to some degree influenced the grammar of Literary Gūrānī. The reduction of nominal inflection has been an important effect of metrical system. Since each line consists of ten syllables with a caesura dividing the line into two equal hemistichs, the poets were forced to conform their language to this frame. In contrast to classical Gūrānī poetry, the poets of Kurdish and Gūrānī folk texts have used the regional dialects of Gūrānī and Central Kurdish, as illustrated in Chapter 7.

In Chapter 7, we also identified three general categories of Kurdish and Gūrānī folk texts according to their meter type or lack of meter: (a) texts of rhythmic prose, (b) texts belonging to Folk System 1, and (c) those belonging to Folk System 2. For texts of rhythmic prose, we found that there was no metrical constituent besides rhyme. The meter of Folk System 1 is similar to that of classical Gūrānī poetry. In Folk System 2, ictus (stress) functions as the main metrical constituent. It is an interesting fact that singers have used many famous classical poems for their Gūrānī song texts, but they have added words to the lines so that the number of syllables per line is no longer ten per line but typically more than ten. Maybe we can conclude that this is the main difference between classical Gūrānī poetry and some of the song texts of Gūrānī.

As a final point, we would like to recall from early in section 6.1 our summary of the metrical constituents of classical Gūrānī poetry:

1. The minimal unit of classical Gūrānī poetry is the hemistich (half-line).

2. Each hemistich is composed of five syllables.

3. Each line is composed of two hemistichs, that is, each line has ten syllables.

4. A caesura falls between the two hemistichs.

5. Rhyme is counted as a metrical constituent.

6. There is only one kind of obligatory rhyme: the monorhyme.

7. There can be up to four stress syllables per line, two of which are normally predictable, but there are exceptions.

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Collected manuscripts by Oskar Mann during the years 1900-1904 in Kandūla and Kermānšāh and Sanandaǰ

The description of the names of works and the names of poets in the following list is based on Fuad (1970). For some manuscripts, no names for the poets or copyists are included. In such cases, we have written: "unknown poet" or the like. In some manuscripts, the first and last pages are missing, and therefore the name of poets is absent. In the instances in which there is no name of a poet, we have written the name of the copyist and the date on which the manuscript was made.

Manuscript	Name of the work and of poet
1152 Ms.Or.Oct	Parēšān-nāma 'Parishan Nama' by Malā Parēšān. Manuscript copyist: Muḥammad Qulī Harsīnī, dated 19.02.1896.
1154 Ms.Or.Oct	Kitāb Nādir 'the book of Nader' by Mīrzā Ałmās Xān, composed in 1763-64
1157 Ms.Or.Oct	A collection of poems (such as an elegy, song, etc.) by different poets: 1. Šex Jafar Paryānī (about 1800). 2. Malā Aḥmad from Kandūla. 3. Mīrzā Šaf-i Kulyāyī (lived in the 18th century). 4. Muḥammad ibn Tahir from Kandūla (one of his elegies has the date 1825). 5. Jānī (lived in the 17th century).
1159 Ms.Or.Oct	Dāstān-e Gurg u Rubāh 'The story of the wolf and fox'. The poet's name is uncertain, but it is possibly Mīrzā Ałmās Xān.
1164 Ms.Or.Oct	Two poems composed in 1902 by Mullā Muḥammad Rizā.
1166 Ms.Or.Oct	A collection of poems by Ḥabīb-Allāh Xān, known as Ḥabīb-Allā-i Kulyāyī (died in 1875 in Kandūla).
1171 Ms.Or.Oct	Xuršīd u Xwāwar 'Khorshid and Khawar' (a romantic story) by Mullā Nur ʕali Kandūlayī (there is no information about the poet).
1172 Ms.Or.Oct	Manīža u Bīžan 'Manizhe and Bizhan' (an episode from the Šāhnāma). The poet's name is uncertain, but it is possibly Ałmās Xān Kanulayī.
1173 Ms.Or.Oct	Part I: Muḥammad Xayfa (Romantic epics). Nothing is known about the poet. Part II: 1. An elegy for the poet's wife, by Aḥmad Bag-i Komāsī (1793-1876).

Manuscript	Name of the work and of poet
	2. A poem by Yusuf, who may be Yusuf Yāska, the poet of Xān Aḥmad Xān court (1592-1636).
1174 Ms.Or.Oct	Karbalāyī Muhammad Walī, some poems, written in 1870.
1177 Ms.Or.Oct	Babr-e Bayān (an episode about Rostam's childhood) by Mīrzā Ałmās Xān.
1178 Ms.Or.Oct	Lyric poems by Bahram (nothing about the author is known). Mūš u gurba 'Cat and mouse' by Ałmās Xān. A quatrain byAłmās Xān.
1179 Ms.Or.Oct	Two items by Mullā Nur-ʕalī Kulyāyī: Part I: Sultan ǰumǰuma (a legend composed in 1834-35). Part II: Īsmāīl Nāma 'Ismail Nama'.
1180 Ms.Or.Oct	Bahman Farāmarz 'Bahman Faramarz' (an episode from the Šāhnāma), by Mullā Bāqir-i Kulyāyī.
1181 Ms.Or.Oct	Bahrām u Gulandām 'Bahram and Gulandam' (a romantic epic), composed in 1713, by Mullā Bāqir-i Kulyāyī.
1182 Ms.Or.Oct	Various authors and topics: Six anecdotes, one poem about a woman of virtue, one poem in praise of the Prophet Sulaiman, by Mullā Fattāḥ Kandūlayī. Various poems byMullā Ḥusayn ʕalī. Various poems by Nāyeb ʕalī Murād (one poem is dated 1713).
1186 Ms.Or.Oct	Part I: Poems about the power of Nādir Šāh. Part II: Some religious poems. (There is nothing known about the poet or date of composition).
1187 Ms.Or.Oct	Part I: Rostam u Sohrāb 'Rostam and Sohrab' (an episode from the Šāhnāma), the poet's name is uncertain, but it may be Ałmās Xān. 2) Esfandyār u Rostam 'Esfandyar and Rostam', by Razā Xān, the father of Ałmās Xān, dated 1603-1604.
1193 Ms.Or.Oct	Part I: Sanʕān u Tarsā 'Sanan and Tarsa' (a romantic love story), composed in 1808-09 by Aḥmad Kawkab (nothing about him known).

Manuscript	Name of the work and of poet
	Part II: Haft Xwān (an episode from the Šāh Nāma), poet is unknown.
	Part III: Rostam u Sohrāb 'Rostam and Sohrab' (an episode from the Šāhnāma), the poet is unknown.
1194 Ms.Or.Oct	Ħaydar u Sinawbar 'Haydar and Sinawbar (a romantic epic) by Aħmad Kawkab. (Nothing is known about him. O. Mann bought the manuscript in Sanandaj.) Manuscript copyist: ʕalī Akbar, dated 1883.
1198 Ms.Or.Oct	Various parts:
	Part I: Laylī u Maǰnun 'Layli and Maǰnun' (the poet is unknown, but the date of the manuscript is 07.02.1879 Manuscript copyist.
	Part II: Ħaydar u Sinawbar 'Haydar and Sinawbar' (unknown poet, Manuscript copyist: Muħammad Sādiq, dated 12.02.1879).
	Part III: Šēx Sanʕān 'Sheyx Sanan' (Manuscript copyist: Muħammad Sādiq, dated 14.02.1879).
	Part IV: Rola bzānī 'Know, my child!' by Malā Xizr-e Ruwārī Hawrāmī (lived 1725-1790).
	Part V: Ħātam Nāma 'Hatam Nama' (unknown poet, manuscript copyist: ʕabdul-Qādir al-Ħusaynī, dated 1881-82).
	Part VI: Dāstān Emām ʕalī 'the story of Imam Ali' (unknown poet, manuscript copyist: ʕabdul-Qādir al-Ħusaynī, dated 1881-82).
	Part VII: Tāl Maghrabī (unknown poet), a legend about Ali and his sons.
1199 Ms.Or.Oct	Bahārīāt (poems of spring) and various poems by Mīrzā Šafīʕ.
	Some poems in ǰāfī (a central Kurdish dialect) by Malā Lutfullāh (Šex-ul Īslām) from Sanandaǰ (1835-1896).
	Some poems by Maʕdūmī (the pen name of Mawlawī).
	Some poems in praise of Imam Ali by Mīrzā Šafīʕ.
	Haft Band (Sufi poems) by Xānāy Qubādī (1700-1759).
	Lyric poems by Faxro-Ulamā, Malā Muħammad Sāɫiħ from Sanandaǰ, 1830-1885.
	Wafāt Nāma by Musā bin Aħmad (nothing is known about the poet).

Manuscript	Name of the work and of poet
	Bahārīāt (a springtime poem) in Persian and Kurdish by Qurbānī Čūlāx (nothing known about the poet). Lyric poems by Walī Šēt or Walī Dēwāna. Sufi poems by Sayyed Aħmad (nothing is known about the poet). Lyric poems by Aħmad Bag Komāsī.
Petermann II N.13	Šīrīn u Xasraw 'Shirin and Xasraw' by Mīrzā Ałmās Xān.
Petermann II N.14	Four parts: Part I: Haft Xwān 'Haft Xwan' (no author). Part II: Rostam u Sohrāb 'Rostam and Sohrab' (no author). Part III: ǰang Nāma Šāhzāda Muħmmad ʕalī Mīrzā bā Kahyā Pādešāh by Mīrzā Karandī (nothing known about this author). Part IV: Šīrīn u Farhād by Mīrzā Šafīʕ Kulyāyī, composed in 1770-71. Nachl. O. Mann (2. Bd.I, see nr. 90-91)

Eine Kurzfassung der Ergebnisse auf Deutsch

Gūrānī wird unter die nordwestlichen iranischen Sprachen eingeordnet. Viele Jahrhunderte lang, etwa vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, war Gūrānī eine Literatursprache.

Im Fokus dieser Studie steht die Literatursprache und das metrische System von klassischer Gūrānī-Poesie. Gūrānī-Poesie benutzt ein metrisches Schema, bei dem jeder Vers eine bestimmte Anzahl von Silben (zehn Silben) hat und in dem sich jeder Vers aus zwei gleichen Halbversen zusammensetzt, die von einer Zäsur getrennt werden. Eine weitere typische Eigenschaft ist der Gebrauch einer bestimmten Reimart, des gereimten Verspaars (Couplet).

Oft gibt es innere Homophonie und Korrespondenzen zwischen Vokalen und Konsonanten. Sowohl der Gebrauch ähnlicher Vokale und Konsonanten als auch die Wiederholung ähnlicher Wörter ist sehr häufig in den Texten. Es gibt nicht nur Reime am Versende, um Harmonie im Text zu erzeugen, sondern auch manchmal einen Reim im Versinneren. Dehalb ist eines der Hauptziele dieser Diskussion, alle Konstituenten, die dem metrischen System dienen, zu identifizieren und als metrische Konstituenten zu zählen. Wir können keine vollständige Beschreibung von klassischer Gūrānī-Poesie erreichen, ohne diese metrischen Konstituenten oder die Konstituenten, die dem Metrum dienen, zu berücksichtigen.

Die Ursprünge des metrischen Systems des klassischen Gūrānī-Poesie werde angesichts dieses historischen Hintergrunds verfolgt. Dieser Hintergrund ist notwendig um die Ursprünge der metrischen Prinzipien der Gūrānī Poesie und die Verbindung zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart aufzuzeigen.

A short summary of the research results

Scholars classify Gūrānī as a member of the Northwestern Iranian group of languages. Gūrānī was used as a language of literature for many centuries, from about the 1300s until the 1800s.

The present study focuses on the literary language and metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry. Gūrānī poetry uses a metrical template in which each line has a certain number of syllables (ten syllables) and each line is composed of two equal hemistiches (that is, two half-

lines) that are divided by a caesura. Another typical characteristic is the use of a particular type of rhyme, that is, the couplet rhyme.

Besides that, we often find homophony and correspondence between vowels and consonants within the lines. Not only are similar vowels and consonants often repeated, but also the same or similar words. Thus, one of the main goals of this study has been to identify all of the metrical features that serve the metrical system and to count them as proper metrical constituents. We cannot claim to have a complete description of the meter of classical Gūrānī poetry without taking into consideration both the proper metrical constituents as well as any other constituent that serves the meter.

In this study, the roots of the metrical system of classical Gūrānī poetry are discussed in light of their historical background. This background is necessary in order to clarify the origins of the metrical system of Gūrānī poetry and the relationship between past and present.

يا الٰه و حجت اسم محمد

روشنگ کے زبليم ماں اُن صاد

لطف بُو ماور ليم کرو قبول

وسروفتی حضرت رسول

يارب رحمت اللہ سرور

دراہم کنات دبنهٔ داور

حضرت رسول حشم المللن

نحتر کُناال رب العالملن

خدايا وحق رسول اکبر

حہ قبر بارک سئوال مکر

کيا يونان مرکز الٰه

بيوسف خدا مار رسل الٰه

کلہ التسبیح حورب مکر

جوریم نووحی بمعبد

حق خدا اعنا بحور مان

داری لبم صراط لمیاک ایان

حہ محتر اورو مزان یکمن ن

بقانم ابری حق گرو دوران

آتش را دو یار حمیده خبر   حال ایسرچ ال کو دردر دسر

ز خوف طوفان اہ نہ ترسلہ نال   جو یار جر کہ حوال پرسدان

ورژ طاف طوف قہر قہار   یاو اچوم برت دردا کار

چوں درد آ نوز مہرسی حوال   یاو اچوم برت شم شرح حال

چند سردار سنخ سر حدم دینے   چند نیم سر منکان آما ہودد

چند دعوا دور سام میہ دینے   کامل گمانان کے کیم دینے

کیومرث کے کاو سم دین   کیقباد کے کاو سم دین

کیف کنہیر و کرسشم دین   سام سیاکش قطاسم دین

مردی منوچہر کنوادم دینے   سہراد باہم نوسارم دینے

رزم روئین تن کو بالم دینے   رموز رستم من زالم دینے

شاہ افراسیاب ایرجم دین   سپاس سلم تورنکم دین

دنیا رابی بوجه ورتهٔ الماس

طریدبو جه لایخواصِ خاص

بماخَشَیَمَ چه خامهٔ خیالم

یادکاری بو تا به قرنِ سال

یادکاری بو پری یا وران

شادی شَوان بو برملاه سرا

هرکسی به شادی بوانی نشیند

دارم به دعا با ورود به یار

یاران کوشتی بدل بدرد دیرینه

وستان خسرو فرهاد شیرینه

شور شیرو شاهورد پرویز

تعزیه خسرو خروش خون ریز

چه حالات آن اکبر بدی کوشی

به احوالِ ساله دلِ مشوج بوشی

پری کیانان به شهر یاران

بپرون اسرین چون پیل واژ

به شیرو شیرین په کم لالان

ہے فرہاد میبون به سنگ سالان

به حال شا ورخسرو خیالان

ہے فرہاد میبون به سنگ سالان

بهرمزچه بوهٔ فصل نوشِروان

نه فرمانش به سکه تا مروان

نه ملک مسکون محالِ ملوک

پادشاهیشی به نو دار بلوک