Received 12 March 2024
Accepted 20 April 2024
(pp. 35-50)

The Kolyā'i Kurdish Tribe and its Language

Habib Borjian[*]

Abstract

The Kolyā'i tribe resides in the westernmost region of the vast expanse occupied by various Kurdish-speaking groups. Their history, culture, and language remain largely obscure due to a lack of scholarly attention. This article, initially intended for publication in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* but never published due to the discontinuation of that reference work, is organized into two sections: the Tribe and the Dialect. The latter section provides a sketch of grammar, historical phonology, and areal typology, comparing it with surrounding and symbiotic languages.

***Keywords*:** Persia's Tribes, Southern Kurdish, Aspectual-modal Merger, Kurdish-specific Diachrony, Kurdish Dialectal Heterogeneity

[*] Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey hb146@columbia.edu

Kolyāʾi Tribe

The bulk of the Kolyāʾi live in the sub-province (*šahrestān*) of Sonqor in the province of Kermānšāhān (Borjian 2017a). The sub-province was formerly designated as Sonqor-e Kolyāʾi or Sonqor o Kolyāʾi, consisting of the *boluk*s of Sonqor, on the upper course of the river Dinavar, and Kolyāʾi, on the upper tributaries of the Gāvarud (Moṣāḥeb 1966: 1350). The current sub-province, with a population of more than 81,000 in 2016, administratively unites the Kurdish Kolyāʾi with Turkophonic Sonqoris. The latter dominate the population of Sonqor (with a population of more than 44,000 in 2016), the seat of the sub-province, while the countryside is chiefly inhabited by Kolyāʾi Kurds. Despite this cohabitation, the Kolyāʾi dialect shows no significant Turkic elements that are not observed in neighboring Kurdish dialects. At least 177 villages in the sub-province, including Saṭar, Bāvela, Pārsima, Gerdakāna, and Taparraš, speak Kurdish, of which 112 are in their titular district (Fattah 2000: 18-19). The Kolyāʾi tribal domain extends across the provincial line into the abutting Kolyāʾi rural district (*dehestān*) of Hamadān province. An outlying habitat of the tribe is the village Kolyāʾi in the Māhidašt district near the city of Kermānšāh.

The ethnogenesis of the tribe is unknown. The Kolyāʾi tribe is absent among the major southern Kurdish tribes named by the 16th-century Kurdish historian Šams-al-Din Bedlisi (*EIr*., q.v.). Kolyāʾi khans claim lineage from a certain Ṣafi Khan who lived in the later Safavid period. It is, however, from the late Zand period that historical sources begin to record the activities of Kolyāʾi chieftains in conjunction with tribal disputes over the national throne. The chief actor, ʿAli-Hemmat Khan, and his brother Naṣir Khan played a significant role in preserving the Zand throne for Loṭf-ʿAli Khan Zand (r. 1789-94) (Solṭāni 1993: 919). As a consequence, ʿAli-Hemmat and his brother Bābā Khan

were executed in 1213/1798 by Fatḥ-ʿAli Shah Qajar. A few years later, the Kolyāʾi and its (present) sub-tribal clan Ṣufivand appear along with Kalhor (*EIr.*, q.v.), Māfi, Karkuʾi, Jalilvand (*EIr.*, q.v.), etc. in a list of southern Kurdish tribes compiled by Jean-Baptiste Louis-Jacques Rousseau (1813: 85-95) at Kermānšāh in 1807.

Major Trevor Chichele Plowden (d. 1899), who passed through Kermānšāh in 1881, states that the Kolyāʾi tribe was wealthy before it was ruined by the exactions of ʿAliqoli Mirzā Ṣarrām-al-Dowla, a grandson of the Qajar prince Dowlatšāh (*EIr.*, q.v.), who had been appointed governor of the Kolyāʾi district (*Gazetteer* 1914: II, 382).

H. L. Rabino's valuable documentation in 1907 describes both the Kolyāʾi district and tribe (Rabino 1920: 12-13, 35). He identified 150 villages there, with an average of 30 houses per village. Vast grain cultivation covered the fields. The tribe consisted of 4,000 families, who had extensive pasturages and reared large numbers of small, hardy horses and mules. Women made carpets, stockings, and wool gloves. The Kolyāʾi were said to be able to turn out 700 fully equipped horsemen. Their chieftains were Aminollāh Khan, Amin-al-Laškar, and Ḥeydar-ʿAli Khan Sartip. The tribe was divided into eight branches: Bagāvand (apparently corresponding to current Bigvand), including the Zamān clan (*ṭāʾefa*); Faʿlakori (Falehkouri); Faʿlakori Širāzi, Sorxābi Faʿlakori, Musiavand, Musiavand Arāqi, Musiavand Širazi, and Ṣufivand. The epithet Širāzi may pertain to returnee clans included in the forced migration of Kurdish tribes to the Shiraz area under Karim Khan Zand (Perry 1975); see also below, under Diachrony, for possible linguistic evidence. Moreover, ethnolinguistic evidence (Borjian, forthcoming) suggests that Kolyāʾis were among the Kurdish deportees to the district of Varāmin, east of Tehran, under the Qajar dynastic rule.

Kermānšāh was the hub of Persian politics during World War I (Calmard 2017). Along with other regional tribes, Kolyāʾi chieftains,

including the rivals Ḥoseynqoli Khan Amir Amjad and Amānollāh Khan Fatḥ-al-Solṭān, played significant roles (Solṭāni 1993: 351). In the tribal army formed in the aftermath of the war, the Kolyā'i provided 200 horsemen, a third of the number of those supplied by the Kalhor and Sanjābi each, and a half of those by the Gurān (cf. Kešāvarz 2003: 192), echoing the relative sizes of major tribes of the region. Intertribal conflicts continued in the political upheavals of the 1940s, during which the chieftains Turaj Ḥeydari and Sirus Khan Bigvand locked horns with ʿAli-Owsaṭ Khan Amjadi over opposing political alignments (Yāquti 2014). In the same period, the influential journalist Fattāḥ Amiri Kolyā'i launched the leftist newspaper *Bāxtarān* (1952-53) (Širiān 2013: 281-82). In the field of literature, there emerged the prolific Kolyā'i novelist and essayist Manṣur Yāquti (b. 1949), who has published in his native Kurdish as well.

For more than a century the tribal chiefs (*ilbegi*) have been from the Bigvand clan, which, together with Musi(a)vand and Ṣufivand, form the largest clans of Kolyā'i. At present Kolyā'is are mostly sedentary agriculturists. The major crop of the region remains wheat (Moʿayyedi 2015: 42) and fruits, including grapes (Faraḥiān and Maleki 2006). The rural economy, as elsewhere in the country, has been shifting to the service sector.

The administrative unit of Sonqor and Kolyā'i, combining geographical and ethnic elements, long preceded those of Čahār Maḥāl and Baxtiāri, Kohgiluya and Boir Aḥmadi, and Sistān and Balučestān, which formed in the mid-twentieth century.

There is no consensus on the religion of the Kolyā'i. Rabino (1920: 35) reports them as Shiʿites, while Vladimir Minorsky (1997: 878) states that the Kolyā'i "are suspected of Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ ... religious tendencies", a view replicated by Ḡolām-Ḥoseyn Moṣāḥeb (1966: 1350). Ismaïl Fattah (2000: 20) states that Kolyā'is are by and large Shi'ites except for a few

villages adhering to the Ahl-e Ḥaqq denomination. Mehrdad Izady (1992: 81), in a list of 743 Kurdish tribes, designates the Kolyā'i as Sunni.

The Kolyā'i are known for their carpets, as already mentioned by Rabino (1920: 13). Kolyā'i designs are nomadic (cf. Azadi 1990), with red or dark blue backgrounds and geometric patterns in an allover style (Figure 1) but also occasionally feature a medallion. The field designs include *bota, xarčang, harāti, mināxāni*, among others (on which, see Ittig 1990). "Kolyā'i" is often used as a general designation for rugs woven in Persian Kurdistan (Moheban 2016: II, 543-44).

Kolyā'i tribesmen and women are easily distinguished from their Sonqori cohabitants by their outfit, which is in general agreement with that of other southern Kurdish tribes (Mohseni/Andrews 1992), even if the terminology is not always identical. Men's clothing includes the turban cloth (*sarwėn*) or felt hat (*kełâw nawina*), the collarless shirt (*kerâs*), the undervest (*žėr kerâs*), the buttoned vest (*qawâ*) or an unbuttoned version with an open neck (*čuxa*), the broad trousers caught close at the ankles (*šawâł ǰâfi*), and the footwear called *kelâš* or *pełâw*, worn over woolen socks (*goramė*).

The traditional women's costume still survives in rural areas. The headdress is based on a cap (*zař kełâw*), headscarf (*dasmâł*), and headband (*sarwėn*). The outfit includes a long floor-length dress (*kerâs*), under which a combination of a long, wide-strapped camisole (*žėr kerâs*) and bloomers (*darpâ*) is worn; the plain velvet waistcoat (*ǰelisqa*), trimmed with braid, is worn in winter under the velvet jacket (*šałta*), with straight sleeves (*âftin*) and front pockets (*gifân*) at the waist; the trousers, buttoned at the ankle (*ǰâfi*) and the shorter under-drawers (*šawâł kol*); skirts (*dâmân*/*dâwân*) are largely modern adoptions. Ornaments include *melwanek* or *žėrzana* 'necklace', *dazünek* or *xeřxâł* 'bracelet', *kelwânek* 'ring', and *myareg* 'beads'.



Figure 1. Kolyā'i carpet, 19th century, 2.3 x 1.3 m. After Moheban 2016: II, 543. Photograph courtesy of Abraham Moheban.

Kolyā'i Dialect

Kolyā'i is classified as a distinct Kurdish dialect (Blau 1989: §4.1.2.3.2.3) and one of seven branches of Southern Kurdish (Fattah 2000: 9; cf. Belelli 2019). No exclusive study of Kolyā'i is published. Ismaïl Fattah's comparative grammar of 45 Southern Kurdish varieties gives Kolyā'i a minimal coverage, without offering texts. He collected data from several settlements, especially from Warwārān and Qarhasar on the east of Sonqor, realizing that the latter village's subdialect is influenced by that of Sahna to its south on account of their common Ahl-e Ḥaqq faith (Fattah 2000: 20). Morādi and Jaliliān's (2015) comparative glossary lists Kolyā'i items along with eight other idioms spoken in

Kermānšāhān province; the authors fail to mention the provenance of their Kolyāʾi data. The present author elicited parts of the latter data in 2018 with Foruḡ Zamāni and Žinā Amjadiān, Kolyāʾi residents of Sonqor, who were fluent in Kolyāʾi but no longer had tribal affiliation owing to their urbanized livelihood.

The aforesaid sources and the few lexemes given by Xanjari and Rāšed-Moḥaṣṣel (2018) display significant morphosyntactic as well as phonological discordance in what all designate as the Kolyāʾi dialect. The variation can be a function of areal and social distribution, in either case showing *par exellence* a marked heterogeneity that exists within a single Kurdish dialect.

Phonology

The vowel inventory is /i/ [iˑ], /ɪ/ [i̯], /ü/ [ʉ], /u/ [u], /o/ [o], /ė/ [e̯], /e/ [ę], /a/ [æ], /â/ [ɑˑ]. Minimal pairs include *mėz* 'urine' ≠ *miz* 'table'; *šɪr* 'milk' ≠ *šėr* 'lion'; *tɪr* 'arrow' ≠ *tėr* 'satisfied, replete'; *si* 'thirty' ≠ *sė, sɪ* 'three' (Fattah 2000: 295); *sɪ* 'thirty' ≠ *sė* 'three' (Morādi and Jaliliān 2015: 132 ff.); *sür* 'red' ≠ *sir* 'garlic' ≠ *seř* 'secret'; *dür* 'far' ≠ *dėr* 'late'.

Consonants are /b č d f g h ǰ k l ł m n ŋ p q r ř s š t w x y z ž/. The uvular /q/ has allophonic variants ranging between the voiced fricative [ʁ] and stop [g], likewise in Persian, without forming minimal pairs. Minimal pairs exist between velar /ł/ and plain /l/ in *kał* 'unripe' ≠ *kal* 'mountain pass' and *bėł* 'spade' ≠ *bɪl* 'put; let!'; and between rolled /ř/ [r] and flapped /r/ [ɾ] in *bař* 'hard soil' ≠ *bar* 'fruit; width'.

Noun Phrase

Morphemes. Nouns normally inflect for number and definiteness. The bare stem (absolute) signifies indefinite non-specific singular or generic plural, e.g., *pešɪ dɪm* 'I saw a cat / (some) cats'. The plural suffix *-ayl* is independent of animacy, e.g., *čėštayl* 'things', *bezenayl* 'goats', *ženayl* 'women'. Indefinite specific nouns are marked with *-ė*(*g*) or *-ė*(*k*) (modified after vowels) in singular and usually by means of *-ân* in plural. Definiteness is marked with singular *-aga* and plural -

agân (less commonly, *-akân*). The deictic suffix *-a* normally co-occurs with demonstrative adjectives. These are all shown with *ketâw* 'book' in Table 1 and the examples that follow.

The *eżāfa* (EZ) marker *-ı/-e* or *-ė* (after open vowels) is normally realized on the noun modified by an adjective or another noun, e.g., *goł-ı zard* 'yellow flower', *řuž-e xâsėg* 'nice day', *mâłaga-ė Parwin* 'Parwin's house'.

Table 1. Declension of 'Book'

	Singular (SG)	Plural (PL)
Absolute	*ketấw*	*ketâw-áyl*
Indefinite specific (IND.SPEC)	*ketấw-ė(g)*	*ketâw-ấn*
Definite (DEF)	*ketâw-agá*	*ketâw-agấn*
Deictic (DEIC)	*ıy ketấw-a*	*ıy ketâw-áyla*

Examples:

pyâ-ėg$_{\text{IND.SPEC.SG}}$ *ke lawra dânıštė dus-em-a* 'the man who is sitting there is my friend'

menâł-ė $_{\text{IND.SPEC.SG}}$ *ke gıra akaė, weresė-ya* 'the child who is crying is hungry'

derem dełŋ-ân$_{\text{IND.SPEC.PL}}$*-em akama war* 'I am putting on my clothes'

harǰâ-ėg$_{\text{IND.SPEC.SG}}$ *ačüm, berâ-ga*$_{\text{DEF.SG}}$*-ė*$_{\text{EZ}}$ *Âmad wagard-e xwam awerdem* 'wherever I would go, I would take Ahmad's brother with me'

dar-aga$_{\text{DEF.SG}}$ *nawas* 'do not shut the door'

nıma-ė$_{\text{EZ}}$ *nân-aga*$_{\text{DEF.SG}}$ *xwârdüm* 'I had eaten half the food'

sėf-agân$_{\text{DEF.PL}}$ *la dâr čenın* 'they picked the apples from trees'

ıy pas-a$_{\text{DEIC.SG}}$ *čarmė-a* 'this sheep is white'

aw žen-ayla$_{\text{DEIC.PL}}$ *kwerd-an* 'those women are Kurdish'

Pronouns. There is a single set of freestanding personal pronouns (Table 2), serving as both subject and object, e.g., *magar aw nânâsın?* 'don't you know him/her?'. Pronominal clitics (PC) function as possessive: *keleg-em awřım* 'I cut my finger'; as a direct object complement: *pâk-ıyân kırdım* 'I noticed them'; with prepositions: *dür wa lė-m bu* 'stay away from me'; and as reflexives: sg. 1 *xwam*, 2 *xwad*, *wėt*, 3 *xway*, *wėš*, pl. 1

xwamân, 2 *xwadân*, *wėtân*, 3 *xwayân*, *wėšâni*. Examples: *xway xway košt* 'he killed himself'; *xwam aw la-nâw keštokâł dɪm* 'I saw him myself in the field'. The third person enclitics sg. -(ɪ)*š* and pl. -(ɪ)*šan* occur only in certain subdialects of Kolyāʾi.

Demonstrative pronouns are (*a*)*ya* 'this', (*a*)*yâna* 'these', *awa* 'that', *awâna* 'those'. Demonstrative adjectives are *ė*, *i*(*y*), *ay* 'this', *aw* 'that'. Other deixes include *ėra*, *laėra* 'here', *awra*, *lawra* 'there'.

Prepositions. Kolyāʾi is mainly prepositional. The polysemic *la*, *lė-* acts as both locative and ablative. Also frequent is *wa* 'to, in'. They may co-occur, e.g., *pül wa lė-m bɪrd* 'he took money from me'. They also form circompositions with the aid of the postposition *-aw*, *-â*(*w*), e.g., *la mâł-aw* 'from the house'. Like *lė-*, the preposition *pė-*/*pɪ-* hosts enclitic pronouns: *âw bėa pɪ-m* 'give me water'. Other typical prepositions are (*la*)*nâw* 'inside', *baraw*, *barâw* 'towards', (*wa*)*gard-e* 'with, by', *ařâ*(*y*) 'for', *tâ* 'until', *barǰa* 'before', *bėǰga* 'except'.

Table 2. Personal Pronouns and Verb Endings

	Independent pronouns	Pronominal Clitics (PC)	Verb endings
sg. 1	*me, mɪ*(*n*)	-(ɪ)*m*	-(*e*)*m*
2	*te, to*	-(ɪ)*d*, -(ɪ)*t*	-ɪ(*d*), -*d*
3	*aw*(*a*)	-*ė*/-*y*	-*ė*(*d*), -*d*, -Ø
pl. 1	*ima*	-(ɪ)*mân*	-(ɪ)*m*(*en*), -*em*
2	*i*(*y*)*wa*	-(ɪ)*dân*, -(ɪ)*tân*	-(ɪ)*n*
3	*awân*(*a*)	-(ɪ)*yân*	-(*e*)*n*

Verb Phrase

Stems. The verbal system is based on two stems: present, used in the present indicative (present-future), present subjunctive, and imperative; and past, used in the preterit, imperfect, present perfect, and pluperfect.

The past-stem formant *-i-* is evident only in a few verbs, e.g., *řas-* : *řasi-* 'arrive'. It is often concealed by two transitivity-related sets of formants, added to the plain present stem: (1) causative *-en-* (pres.) and *-ân-* (past), e.g., *řasen-* : *řasân-* 'deliver'; (2) passive -(*r*)*ya-* (pres.)

and -(*r*)*yâ*- (past), e.g., *xerya*- : *xeryâ*- 'be thrown' (cf. *xa*- : *xes*(*t*)- 'throw'). These two morphemes are employed relevant to the degree of transitivity of the verb, as in intransitive *aters*(*-ya*)*-ėd* versus transitive *aters-en-ėd* 'he scares'.

Stress. The stress falls on the first syllable of personal markers or the last syllable of the stem in the present indicative (*azâním* 'I know', *axwám* 'I eat') and perfect (*dímena*) 'we have seen'; on the last syllable of the stem in the preterit (*kírdım* 'I did'); on respective formants in the imperfect (*awatyắymen* 'we would say'), the pluperfect (*xwârdűm* 'I had eaten'), and the subjunctive (*bénıšen* 'that they sit').

Affixes. Major verb morphemes are the subjunctive *be*-, durative-cum-indicative *a*-, imperfect *-yâ*-, pluperfect *-ü*-, present perfect *-é*- and copula 3sg *-a*(*s*), and personal endings (Table 2). Each morpheme may vary upon morphophonological conditions. Ergative does not exist. See Table 3 for conjugations.

The prefix *a*- is employed consistently in imperfective tenses, i.e., the present indicative and the imperfect, e.g., *a-xwa-m* 'I (will) eat', *a-xwârd-yâ-m* 'I would eat, I used to eat'. However, the prefix also appears in the preterit, present perfect, and pluperfect of many verbs (Table 4). This generalization may have originated from present indicative forms, owing to their high frequency in language usage. Subsequently, the function of the prefix *a*- has partially changed from an original aspectual (imperfective) marker to a modal (indicative) marker, making Kolyā'i unique among Southern Kurdish varieties.

Progressive. These tenses are built analytically on the Persian model, with the auxiliary verb *dėr*- : *dâšt*- 'have' and the present indicative or the imperfect of the main verb, e.g., *Syâwaxš dėrėd at*(*ya*)*ėd mâł* 'S. is coming home'.

Copular verbs. Present copulas are the same as person markers (Table 2), except the third person singular, which is *-a* (emphatic *has*). The negative set is *nim*, *nid*, *nia*, *nimın*, *nin*, *nin* 'I am not, etc.' The third person singular is preterit *bü*, present perfect *büa*(*s*). The verb 'become' is likewise, except the present *abu* or *aw*(*ı*)*d* 'it becomes'.

Table 3. Conjugations of *xesten* 'to throw'

	present	subjunctive	preterit
sg. 1	*a-xa-m*	*be-xa-m*	*(a)xest-em*
2	*a-xa-yd*	*be-xa-yd*	*(a)xest-ɪ*
3	*a-xa-ėd*	*be-xa-ėd*	*(a)xest-Ø*
pl. 1	*a-xa-ym(en)*	*be-xa-ym(en)*	*(a)xest-ɪm(en)*
2	*a-xa-yn*	*be-xa-yn*	*(a)xest-ɪn*
3	*a-xa-n*	*be-xa-n*	*(a)xest-en*

	imperfect	perfect	pluperfect
sg. 1	*a-xest-yâ-m*	*(a)xest-em-a(s)*	*xest-ü-m*
2	*a-xest-yâ-y*	*(a)xest-id-a(s)*	*xest-ü-d*
3	*a-xest-yâ-d*	*(a)xest-ė-a(s)*	*xest-ü–Ø*
pl. 1	*a-xest-yâ-ym(en)*	*(a)xest-ɪm(en)-a(s)*	*xest-ü-men*
2	*a-xest-yâ-yn*	*(a)xest-ɪn-a(s)*	*xest-ü-n*
3	*a-xest-yâ-n*	*(a)xest-en-a(s)*	*xest-ü-n*

Table 4. Verb Forms*

	hâten 'come'	*dɪ(t)en* 'see'	*waten* 'say'	*kɪrdɪn* 'do'
Present	*atyayn*	*a-ün-ɪn*	*aw/üš-ɪn*	*a-ka-n*
Subjunctive	*bâyn*	*b-ün-ɪn*	*b-üš-ɪn*	*bɪ-ka-n*
Imperative	*bân*	*b-ün-en*	*b-üš-ɪn*	*bɪ-ka-n*
Preterit	*ahât-ɪn*	*d-ɪn*	*awat-ɪn*	*(a-)kɪrd-ɪn*
Imperfect	*ahât-yâ-yn*	*a-d-yâ-yn*	*awat-yâ-yn*	*a-kɪd-in*
Perfect	*ahât-ɪn-a(s)*	*d-ɪn-a(s)*	*awat-ɪn-a(s)*	*kɪrd-ɪn-a(s)*
Pluperfect	*ahât-ü-n*	*d-ü-n*	*awat-ü-n*	*kɪrd-ü-n*

*All forms are in the second person plural.

Diachrony

The phonology of Kolyāʾi generally agrees with that of Southern Kurdish but also displays notable Central Kurdish, Gurāni, and Persic influences.

The sound changes generally shared with other Kurdish varieties entail both Northwest (NW) and Southwest (SW) Iranian features:

Proto-Iranian (PIr.) *ś, *ź > NW s, z in *âsk*/*âsė* 'deer', *âsen* 'iron', *pas* (also *paz*) 'sheep', *mâsı* 'fish'; *zâwâ*, *zâmâ* 'groom', *zân-* 'know'.

PIr *rź, *rd > SW ł in *pėł* 'bridge', *deł* 'heart', *sepeł* 'spleen', *bełėn* 'long' (but also NW *barz* 'id.', *barzâ* 'length'); *bėł* 'spade', *sâł* 'year'.

PIr *św > SW s in *sag* 'dog', *šeš* 'louse', but also NW *sepi* 'id.'.

PIr. *hw- > xw, as in *xwaft-* 'sleep', *xwar-* 'eat', *xwâz-* 'want', *xwadân* 'yourselves', but also *wėtân* 'id.' (as in Gurāni).

PIr *tr > s in *âwes* 'pregnant', *se* 'three'.

PIr *-č-, *ǰ > NW ž in *řuž* 'day', *žir*, *žėr* 'under', *rež-* 'pour'; *tiž* 'sharp', *žen* 'woman'.

PIr *dw > SW d in *dar* 'door', *dı* 'other, else'.

PIr *y- > SW *ǰ* in *ǰü*(*ya*) 'barley'.

Distinctive "Kurdish" features (Asatrian and Livshits 1994; Paul 2008) are found in *čı*(*y*)*n* 'to go' (< PIr. *šyau- or *č(i)yau-); loss of the postalveolar fricative in the cluster -šN in *čaw*, 'eye', *tyane*, *tineg* 'thirsty'. To these items, one may add *tėr* 'satiated' (< PIr. *śag-ra-), entailing the sound shift *ś > t (cf. otherwise *ś > s, above) which is shared only with the Shirazi-type in central Fārs (Borjian 2020: §2). Although not attested in living Fārs dialects or medieval Shirzi, this lexeme may have been borrowed during the deportation of Kolyāʾis to Fārs (see above).

Other characteristically Kurdish features are found but incompletely in Kolyāʾi, even less so than most other Southern Kurdish dialects. These are *-m- > Kurd. w, but also m, in *zaü*, *zamın* 'earth', *zâwâ*, *zâmâ* 'groom', *hâw-sâł* 'same age', *hâmsâ* 'neighbor' (cf.

Kalhori *hâwsâ*); *x > Kurd. k, but also x, as in *k(y)anı* 'spring, source', *xanın* 'to laugh', *xeřın* 'to buy'. The outcomes of PIr. *w- are split nearly equally between Southern Kurdish (w-) and Northern and Central Kurdish (b-). It is retained in *werâz* 'boar', *wârân* 'rain', *wâ* 'wind', *wafr* 'snow', *wė* 'willow', *waten* 'to say'; displays dialectal variation in *way/waü*, *bawı* 'bride', *wark*, *barx* 'lamb', *wır*, *bir* 'memory', *weresė*, *bersi* 'hungry'; and is shifted to SW b- in *bayânak* 'pretext', *bıst* 'twenty', *bė* 'moat', *bahayšt* 'paradise', *bafın* 'to weave', or to SW g- in *gwerg* 'wolf', *gweł* 'flower'.

Typology

This brief typology incorporates twelve selective features that set Kolyāʾi among neighboring dialects and symbiotic languages. The features, listed in Table 5, are phonological (1-4), lexical (5), and grammatical (6-12). The compared languages are Gurāni (Gur.); Northern Kurdish (NKd.); Central Kurdish (CKd.); Kermanshahi (Kerm.), the major Southern Kurdish dialect spoken in the city of Kermānšāh and its environ among the Kalhor, Sanjābi, and Zangana tribes (Borjian 2017b); Lori; and formal Persian. Except for the latter, each language is quite heterogeneous due to the lack of a standard form; nevertheless, marginal forms have been disregarded to keep the comparative table uncrowded.

Table 5, where shaded cells signify agreement with Kolyāʾi, illustrates how closely Kolyāʾi accords with the neighboring Kermanshahi Southern Kurdish. While this comes as no surprise, there are also significant features that link Kolyāʾi to contiguous Gurāni, Central Kurdish, and Lori. Another notable outcome of the comparative table is that, within the select few features, Kolyāʾi Kurdish displays more shared features with Lori and Persian than with Northern Kurdish.

Table 5. Typological Features*

no.	Feature	Gur.	NKd.	CKd.	Kerm.	Kolyāʾi	Lori	Pers.
1	*-m- > w	–	+	+	+	+ –	–	–
2	*w-	*w*	*b*	*b*	*w*	*w* *b*	*b*	*b*
3	*x	*h*	*k*	*k*	*k, x*	*k, x*	*h*	*x*
4	‘tongue’	*zuân*	*zimān*	*zimān*	*zwân*	*zwân*	*zawun*	*zabān*
5	‘say’, past	*wāt-*	*gōt-*	*gōt-*	*wat-*	*wat-*	*guwt-*	*goft-*
6	3 sg. PC.	*-š*	–	*-i*	*-i*	*-ė* *(-š)*	*-š*	*-š*
7	case, gender	+ –	+	+ –	–	–	–	–
8	pl. *-yal*, *-gal*	+	–	–	+	+	+ –	–
9	distinct pl. end.	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
10	imperfective	*mi-*	*dı-*	*da-* *a-*	–	*a-*	*i-*	*mi-*
11	imperfect *-ya-*	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
12	ergativity	+	+	+	–	–	–	–

*Yellow shading indicates full agreement with Kolyāʾi; other colors indicate partial agreements.

Bibliography

Asatrian, G./Livshits, V. (1994), “Origine du système consonantique de la langue kurde,” *Acta Kurdica* 1/1: 81-108.

Azadi, S. (1992) “Carpets xiv. Tribal Carpets,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IV/8: 893-896.

Behtuʾi, Ḥ. (1998), *Kord o parākandagi-e u dar gostara-ye Irān-zamin*, Tehran.

Belelli, S. (2019), “Towards a dialectology of Southern Kurdish: Where to Begin?”, *Current Issues in Kurdish Linguistics*, S. Gündoğdu et al. (eds.), Bamberg: BUP, pp. 73-92.

Blau, J. B. (1989), “Le kurd,” *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, R. Schmitt (ed.), Wiesbaden, pp. 327-40.

Borjian, H. (2017a), “Kermanshah i. Geography”, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XVI/3: 316-319.

Borjian, H. (2017a), “Kermanshah vii. Languages and Dialects”, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XVI/3: 324-329.

Borjian, H. (2020), “The Perside Language of Shiraz Jewry: A Historical-Comparative Phonology,” *Iranian Studies* 53/3-4: 403-15.

Borjian, H., "Southern Kurdish in the Anti-Alborz: A Case of Language Isolation," *Studia Iranica*, forthcoming.

Calmard, J. (2017), "Kermanshah iv. History to 1953," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XVI/3: 319-324,

EIr. = *Encyclopædia Iranica* (1987-2020), ed. Ehsan Yarshater, Columbia University, New York.

Faraḥiān, M./Maleki, N. (2006), "Vāžahā-ye marbuṭ ba angur dar guyeš-e Kolyāyi," *Guyeššenāsi* 3/1-2: 138-45.

Fattah, I. K. (2000), *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: étude linguistique et dialectologique*, Acta Iranica 37, Liège; Arabic tr. as D. Esmāʿil Qamandār (2014), *Derāsat al-lahjāt al-Kordiya al-janubiya*, Bagdad.

Gazetteer of Persia (1914), 4 vols., Simla: Government Monotype Press.

Ittig, A. (1990), "Carpets iv. Knotted-pile carpets: Designs, motifs, and patterns," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, IV/8: 845-850.

Izady, Mehrdad R. (1992), *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook*, Washington, D.C.

Kešāvarz, A. (2003), *Kermānšāhān dar jang-e jahāni-e avval*, Kermānšāh.

Mardux Kordestāni, Shaikh Moḥammad (1973), *Tārix-e Kord o Kordestān o tavābeʿyā tārix-e Mardux*, 2 vols., Tehran.

Minorsky, V. (1997), "Sunḳur," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, second edition, IX: 877-878.

Mirniā, S. ʿA. (1990), *Ilhā o ṭāyefahā-ye ʿašāyeri-e Kord-e Irān: Owżāʿ-e ejtemāʿi, eqteṣādi, farhangi, melli*, Tehran.

Moʿayyedi, K. (2015), *Sonqor dar gandomzār-e Kolyāʾi: seyr-i dar owżāʿ-e tārixi, ejtemāʿi, fōlklōrik o farhangi-e Sonqor-e Kolyāʾi*, 2nd ed., Tehran.

Moheban, A. L. (2016), *The Encyclopedia of Antique Carpets: Twenty-Five Centuries of Weaving*, 2 vols., New York

Mohseni, Sh./P. Andrews (1992), "Clothing xvi. Kurdish clothing in Persia," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, V/8: 822-825.

Morādi, M./Jaliliān, Ā. (2015), *Ganjina-ye guyešhā-ye irāni* (*ostān-e Kermānšāh*), Tehran: Farhangestān.

Moṣāḥeb, Ḡ.-Ḥ. (ed.) (1966), *Dāyerat al-maʿāref-e fārsi* (vol. I), Tehran.

Paul, L., "Kurdish Language i. History of the Kurdish Language," *Encyclopædia Iranica* Online, http://dx.doi. org/10.1163/2330-4804_EIRO_COM_362579.

Perry, J. R. (1975), "Forced Migration in Iran during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Iranian Studies* 8/4: 199-215.

Rabino, H. L. (1920), "Kermanchah," *Revue du monde musulman* 38: 1-40.

Razmārā, Ḥ.-ʿA. (1941), *Joḡrāfiā-ye neẓāmi-e Irān: Kermānšāh*, Tehran.

Rousseau, J. L. (1813), "Extrait de l'itinéraire d'un voyage en Perse par le voie de Bagdad," *Fundgruben des Orients* III, F. Hammer Purgstall (ed.), Vienna, pp. 85-98.

Sāzmān-e omur-e ʿašāyer (1983), *Fehrest-e alefbāʾi-e asāmi-e ilāt, ṭawāyef o tirahā-ye ʿašāyeri-e kešvar*, Tehran.

Širiān, M.-Ḥ. (2013), *Tārix-e maṭbuʿāt-e ostān-e Kermānšāh*, Tehran.

Solṭāni, M-ʿA. (1993), *Ilāt o ṭawāyef-e Kermānšāhān* (2 vols.), Tehran.

Xanjari, S./Rāšed-Moḥaṣṣel, M-T. (2018), "Farāyandhā-ye vāji dar guyeš-e kordi-e Sonqor-e Kolyāʾi," *Faṣl-nāma-ye moṭāleʿāt-e zabānhā o guyešhā-ye ḡarb-e Irān* 6/1: 21-41.

Yāquti, M. (2014), "Yādnāma-i barāye il-e Kolyāʾi o xānhā-yaš," M. Yāvari Bigvand (ed.), *Yād-nāma-ye il-e Kolyāʾi*, n.p.