

The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Amədyā

BY

JARED GREENBLATT

BRILL

The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Amədyā

Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics

Editorial board

T. Muraoka, A.D. Rubin and C.H.M. Versteegh

VOLUME 61

The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Amədyā

By
Jared Greenblatt



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2011

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Greenblatt, Jared R., 1980–

The Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Amədyā / By Jared R. Greenblatt.

p. cm. — (Studies in Semitic languages and linguistics ; v. 61)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-90-04-18257-8 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Aramaic language—Dialects—Iraq—‘Amadiyah—Grammar. 2. ‘Amadiyah (Iraq)—Languages. I. Title. II. Series.

PJ5282.G74 2010

492'.2—dc22

2010038213

ISSN 0081-8461

ISBN 978 90 04 18257 8

Copyright 2011 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.=

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ix
Introduction	1
History and Dialectal Classification	1
The Place	3
Extant Research	5
System of Transcription	6
Abbreviations	10
Chapter One Phonetics and Phonology	13
1.1 Consonantal Phonemes	13
1.2 Realisation of Consonantal Phonemes	13
1.3 Vocalic Phonemes and Diphthongs	23
1.4 Realisation of Vocalic Phonemes and Diphthongs	25
1.5 Gemination of Consonants	26
1.6 Stress	30
1.7 Final Devoicing of Consonants	34
1.8 Emphasis and Emphatics	35
1.9 Historical Background of Consonants	36
Chapter Two Nominal Morphology	43
2.1 Class I: Nouns Ending in <i>-a</i> , <i>-ta</i> (f.) or <i>-ṭa</i> (f.)	44
2.1.1 Patterns	44
2.1.2 Derivational Affixes	52
2.1.3 Gender	57
2.1.4 Plural Forms	59
2.2 Class II	64
2.2.1 Types of Noun	65
2.2.2 Gender	67
2.2.3 Plural Types	68
2.3 Annexation of Nouns	71
Chapter Three Pronouns	77
3.1 Independent Personal Pronouns	77
3.2 Possessive Pronominal Suffixes	78

3.3	Independent Possessive Pronouns	80
3.4	Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns	81
3.5	Demonstrative Pronouns	83
3.6	Relative Pronoun	84
3.7	Interrogative Pronouns	85
3.8	Indefinite Pronouns	85
Chapter Four Verbal Morphology		87
4.0	Introduction and Overview of Verbal Inflection	87
4.0.1	The Imperative	88
4.0.2	The Present Base	88
4.0.3	The Past Base	90
4.0.4	The Stative Participle	92
4.0.5	The Infinitive	93
4.1	Stem I Verbs	93
4.1.1	Strong Verbs	93
4.1.2	Verbs I-' (and Verbs I-', II- <i>w</i> ; Verbs I-', III- <i>y</i>)	108
4.1.3	Verbs I- <i>y</i>	118
4.1.4	Verbs II- <i>w</i>	122
4.1.5	Verbs II- <i>y</i>	127
4.1.6	Verbs III-'	131
4.1.7	Verbs III- <i>w</i>	135
4.1.8	Verbs III- <i>y</i>	139
4.1.9	Verbs I- <i>y</i> , III- <i>w</i>	144
4.1.10	Verbs I- <i>y</i> , III- <i>y</i>	148
4.1.11	Verbs II- <i>y</i> , III-'	152
4.1.12	Verbs II- <i>y</i> , III- <i>y</i>	156
4.1.13	Verbs II- <i>w</i> , III- <i>y</i>	160
4.1.14	<i>b</i> -' <i>y</i> 'to want, to wish'	164
4.1.15	<i>y</i> - <i>d</i> -' 'to know'	168
4.1.16	<i>m</i> - <i>ṣ</i> - <i>y</i> 'to be able'	171
4.1.17	<i>y</i> -(<i>h</i>)- <i>w</i> - <i>l</i> 'to give'	175
4.1.18	' <i>atl</i> - 'to have'	179
4.2	Stem II Verbs	183
4.2.1	Strong Verbs	183
4.2.2	Verbs with Weak Radicals and Other Peculiarities	188
4.3	Stem III Verbs	192
4.3.1	Strong Verbs	192
4.3.2	Verbs with Weak Radicals	199

4.3.3	Verbs <i>m-X-Y</i>	207
4.3.4	<i>y-t-w</i> III (<i>m-t-w</i>) ‘to place, to put’	215
4.4	Stem IV Verbs—Quadriliterals	219
4.4.1	Class I	219
4.4.2	Class II	225
4.5	Stem V Verbs—Pentaliterals	230
4.6	The Copula	234
Chapter Five Verbal Function—Indicative vs. Subjunctive		
Moods	241
5.1	Indicative Mood	241
5.1.1	Present Indicative (<i>k-qaṭəl</i>)	241
5.1.2	Present Continuous (<i>walle / -ile (bə)qtala</i>)	243
5.2	Subjunctive Mood	244
5.2.1	Present Subjunctive (<i>qaṭəl</i> form)	244
5.2.2	Present Continuous Subjunctive (<i>hawe (bə)qtala</i>)	249
Chapter Six Adjectives		
6.1	General	251
6.2	Class I Adjectival Patterns	251
6.3	Class II—Invariable Adjectives	255
6.4	Partially Adapted Loanwords	255
Chapter Seven Adverbs and Other Particles		
7.1	Spatial Adverbs	257
7.2	Temporal Adverbs	257
7.3	Interrogative Adverbs	258
7.4	Other Adverbs	258
7.5	Prepositions	259
7.6	Miscellaneous Uninflected Particles	260
Chapter Eight Numerals		
8.1	Cardinal Numerals	261
8.2	Ordinal Numerals	263
8.3	Fractions	263
8.4	Multiples	263
8.5	Days of the Week	264
8.6	Seasons	264

Chapter Nine	Texts and Translations	265
9.0	Introduction to Texts: Methodology and Notes	265
9.1	Text 1: <i>A Rich Jew</i>	268
9.2	Text 2: <i>Sher ad-Din</i>	280
9.3	Text 3: <i>The Judeophilic Bear</i>	308
9.4	Text 4: <i>Giants</i>	316
9.5	Text 5: <i>Bruria</i>	318
9.6	Text 6: <i>How to Make Raki</i>	326
9.7	Text 7: <i>Blacksmith Anecdote</i>	336
9.8	Text 8: <i>Queueing for Watermelons</i>	338
9.9	Text 9: <i>Smoking</i>	340
9.10	Text 10: <i>Snakes, Scorpions, Sticks and a Sheikh</i>	342
Chapter Ten	Glossary	347
References	365

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This monograph is based on fieldwork carried out during my time reading for a doctorate at the University of Cambridge. Thanks are due to the Arts and Humanities Council for the Doctoral Award (2004—2007) which funded this. I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Geoffrey Khan, for his tireless assistance during the course of my doctoral studies, and especially over the final few months, during which his considered and, above all, calm advice was more of a help to me than he can know. Few doctoral students have the good fortune to be supervised by a scholar of the academic calibre of Professor Khan. More importantly, however, he is a *mentsch*.

Thank you to all my informants, for their willingness to co-operate with the often burdensome fieldwork tasks and also to have me try every one of their traditional dishes.

My gratitude is also due, in no small measure, to Dr Hezy Mutzafi, without whom my initial forays into the world of Israeli Neo-Aramaic speakers would surely have been fruitless. His advice and suggestions throughout my time doing fieldwork in Israel and thereafter were invaluable.

Thanks to my wife, Sarah Hindy, for her steadfast support. Thanks are also due to my mother and my sister for all their support (and proofreading) and to the man who did most to encourage me to pursue this work, my late father.

INTRODUCTION

The loss of a language represents...an irreparable loss for us all, the loss of opportunities to glimpse alternative ways of making sense of the human experience. (Mithun 1999: 2)

HISTORY AND DIALECTAL CLASSIFICATION

The use of the blanket term “Neo-Aramaic” in itself, as well as the commonly accepted convention of writing about its so-called “dialects”, may give the uninitiated reader the misguided impression that “Neo-Aramaic” is one, homogenous language. In fact, the name is used to refer to all those modern tongues which can be shown to have their origins in the Aramaic language of old.¹ In actual fact, the major “dialects” of Neo-Aramaic are quite often mutually unintelligible, even in cases of relative geographical proximity.

By the standards of the world’s languages, the degree of variety within Neo-Aramaic is unexpected for such a small language area. This state of affairs is at least partially explained by the fact that the once contiguous language area of the Aramaic language was carved up into numerous non-contiguous enclaves, which then underwent a sustained period of separate development. A brief consideration of the historical circumstances which led to this is perhaps appropriate at this point.

Documents written in the Aramaic language are attested almost continuously from as early as the 9th century BCE. Aramaic, or rather, a relatively homogenised form known as “Imperial Aramaic”, eventually became the official *lingua franca* of the Babylonian and the Achaemenid Persian empires (c. 700–300 B.C.E) and gradually superseded Akkadian as well as the other native languages of the countries which constituted the Persian empires. Even prior to the onset of the Christian era, there already existed a number of discernible varieties

¹ On the other hand, the terminology is perhaps best viewed as an attempt at pragmatism, and there is much to be said for the sacrifice of a proportion of positivism on the altar of brevity, clarity and comprehensibility. Of course, scholars do not always imply that Neo-Aramaic is just one language. For example, Otto Jastrow’s 1997 article in *The Semitic Languages* is entitled “The Neo-Aramaic Languages”.

of Aramaic, which continued to develop into two main branches: the eastern branch, which comprised Babylonian Talmudic, Syriac and Mandaean; and the western branch, which consisted of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Samaritan. The proliferation of the Arabic language which accompanied the Islamic Conquest of the 7th century C.E. initiated the demise of the Aramaic language. Gradually the vast and contiguous Aramaic-speaking world became, to make use of Heinrichs' graphic metaphor,² an archipelago of islands surrounded by the sea of Arabic.

It has been known for some time³ that the immediate ancestors of the modern Neo-Aramaic tongues are to be considered distinct from any one of the historically attested forms of Aramaic.⁴

Although the field of Neo-Aramaic studies is no longer in its infancy, there still remains a large amount of research to be conducted before we are able to make conclusive statements on the subject of dialect classification, insofar as such statements are ever possible at all. Nevertheless, the state of our knowledge in this field allows us tentatively to divide up the known Neo-Aramaic dialects⁵ into four principal groups:⁶

- i) Western Aramaic—Spoken in Syria, in the villages of Ma'lula, Bax'a and Jubb 'Adin, in the Qalamun mountains, these dialects are the remnants of the western dialects of the Late Aramaic period.
- ii) Turoyo Group—Mlahso and Turoyo are the only two documented members of this group. Mlahso is considered to be extinct and the number of speakers of Turoyo is rapidly dwindling.
- iii) Neo-Mandaic—Neo-Mandaic was spoken by the Mandaeans in southern Iran and is now on the verge of extinction. Before the Iran-Iraq war, both Ahwaz and Khorramshahr boasted large Mandaic-speaking populations, but most speakers have now emigrated, or died without passing on the language.

² 1990: x–xi.

³ There is by no means consensus on this issue. See, for instance, Polotsky (1964: 105); Cohen (1971: 949); Kutscher (1953: 967–8) and Hoberman (1989: 6).

⁴ See, for instance, Nöldeke (1868: xxxv–xxxviii) and Maclean (1895, xv, xxv).

⁵ My caveat having been made above, I now revert to using the accepted terminology. It is important that the reader be aware of the assumptions one makes in using such terminology.

⁶ See Hoberman (1989: 4) and Jastrow (1997: *passim*), which is a useful general survey of the whole field of Neo-Aramaic studies.

iv) The North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects (NENA)—These dialects are highly endangered and are still spoken by some Christians in the area sometimes referred to as “Kurdistan”,⁷ i.e. in areas of south-eastern Turkey, northern Iraq and north-western Iran, and by those who originally hail from these areas but now live in more stable climes. The vast majority of all Jews who inhabited the area and spoke NENA *in situ* have now left and are in Israel. The United States of America, Great Britain, Sweden and Canada are other countries with sizeable NENA-speaking communities. There are very many dialects in the NENA group and our knowledge of most of them is inadequate to say the least. It is thus rather difficult to attempt an internal categorisation.⁸

The dialect which constitutes the focus of the present study is a Jewish NENA dialect.⁹

THE PLACE

Amədyā is located at 37° 6' 0 N 43° 30' 0 E, in what is today the very northern tip of Iraq, in the Iraqi governate of Dahuk, about 90km to the northeast of the city of Dahuk (ANA *dohok*) and about 8km from the border with Turkey. It is built on the flat top of a large mountain, at about 1,500m above sea level. It is currently under the official political control of the Kurdish Regional Government.

According to their own oral tradition, Kurdish Jews descend from the Jews exiled from Israel and Judea by the kings of Assyria (as described in 2 Kings 17:6). The Jews of Amədyā preserve an oral tradition which purports to tell of the beginnings of Jewish residence there. One of the synagogues in Amədyā, *knəštət həzzan yosef həzzan dawid* ‘the synagogue of Cantor Joseph and Cantor David’, which stands

⁷ In this monograph I will use the terms *Kurdistan* and *Kurdish* to refer to the area described, despite the fact there is no such separate political entity. Although the term is often used by those with a political axe to grind, I use *Kurdistan* and *Kurdish* purely as convenient descriptive appellations, inasmuch as the Neo-Aramaic speech area does, with a few exceptions, coincide with the area known by some as *Kurdistan*.

⁸ See Fox 1997: 94. Many have tried, however, to provide some sort of classification, starting with Maclean (1895: xiii). See also Tsereteli (1977). For a discussion of some of the more recent evidence concerning the historical time depth of NENA, see Khan 2007. For a specific discussion of Pre-NENA see Hoberman (1997: 53ff).

⁹ For the Jewish NENA dialects, an excellent *Forschungsdiscussion* and bibliography can be found in Hopkins (1993).

until this very day in the upper area of the *maḥallət hudaye* ‘Jewish neighbourhood’, known as *ša’uta ’leta* (‘upper neighbourhood’), is the burial place of the two founders of the Jewish community of Amədyā. According to a tradition given by Asaf (as quoted in Brauer 1948: 46), the date of this founding can be calculated as 795 A.D., but as Brauer puts it: “the source of this tradition is not known” (ibid.). A version of the oral tradition, as related to me by an informant, which I have translated (freely) and abridged considerably is given below:¹⁰

Many years ago, two brothers fled from Persia, where they were facing death by hanging, and arrived in Amədyā... The king of Amədyā had given orders that the city gates be locked at night... These two Jews... arrived exactly at nightfall when the gates were being locked. No matter how they pleaded to be let in, they would not let them in... They slept outside the whole night. They had nothing to sleep on, nothing to cover themselves with, and it was very cold... At first light the gates were opened and they, along with all the other people, entered... The king took ill... And people did not know the reason for the disease. They could not find any treatment for the king. One of his servants related to him what had happened to the two Jews. The king said, “Perhaps it is because of my sin regarding the Jews.” He immediately gave orders that the Jews be brought to him... He said, “Can you cure me of this disease?... They said, “We can pray for you and the disease will go away.”... The king recovered... He said, ‘Ask for whatever you want and I shall give it to you.’ They said, “O King... give us as much land as is covered by the skin of an ox.”... He said, “Fine.”... They then took the skin of an ox and made it into thread... Now, the king was too afraid not to keep his word... [and] with the thread they encircled all of Amədyā... So when people heard that there were great Torah scholars there, they came... They built a synagogue just as was described by Ezekiel the prophet... The men died... They buried them in the courtyard of the synagogue... and built a house there, which they called *be ḥazzane*—‘the house of the cantors’... and people would come on pilgrimages to their graves.

The first concrete evidence of Jewish settlements in Kurdistan is found in the account of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish explorer who visited the area in the latter half of the 12th century C.E., as part of an extensive journey from Zaragoza to the Middle East and Asia. His account mentions the existence of a large, well-established, and prosperous Jewish community in the area.¹¹ Specifically, he refers to a com-

¹⁰ Compare the version given by Brauer (1948: 46), which is very similar in content.

¹¹ Adler 2005: 110.

munity of 25,000 Jews in Amədyā, which is hardly credible,¹² even if one assumes that he is referring to the town of Amədyā as well as all the surrounding villages.¹³ Nevertheless, it is clear that there was a substantial population of Jews.

The American missionary Asahel Grant visited Amədyā in 1839. He reports that, “of one thousand houses, only two hundred and fifty are inhabited. Most of the remaining three-fourths, and a part of the public markets, have been torn down or much dilapidated...”¹⁴ He puts the number of Jews at 100.¹⁵

According to my informants, there were between 40 and 70 (extended) families of Jews who came to Israel from Amədyā, i.e. something in the region of 400 people out of the approximately 30,000 Jews from Kurdistan who had left their homes and come to settle in the newly-formed state of Israel by 1951.¹⁶

The place known in ANA as ‘*amədyā* is known by various different, but related names. In CA it is *al-‘āmediyā* and in Kurdish it is *amedī* or *amede*. I have chosen to refer to it as Amədyā, in the interests of staying faithful to the ANA word.

People from Amədyā are called ‘*amədnaye* (m.s. ‘*amədnaya*, f.s. ‘*amədnəṭa*). In Modern Hebrew they are called עמדים /‘*amédim*/. I have chosen to refer to them as Amedis.

EXTANT RESEARCH

Hitherto, no complete grammar of ANA has been published. Hoberman 1989 is, according to the author, “...based on a single dialect of Neo-Aramaic, the dialect spoken by the Jews of the town of Amadiya...” (ibid.: 1), but it is primarily a discussion of the function of verbal morphology in NENA and not *per se* a description of ANA, as can be seen from the title, which does not refer explicitly to Amədyā: *The Syntax and Semantics of Verb Morphology in Modern Aramaic*:

¹² See, *inter alia*, de Lange (1984: 40–41).

¹³ In the Hebrew versions of Benjamin’s travelogue, Amədyā appears as <עמאריה>, which is most probably owing to the ignorance of scribes, who misread a <ד> as a <ר> (pp. 71–72).

¹⁴ 1839: 45.

¹⁵ Ibid.: 46.

¹⁶ See de Lange 1984: 212 (note to illustration).

A Jewish Dialect of Iraqi Kurdistan. Hoberman freely cites examples from other NA dialects and is concerned primarily with analysing the structure and semantics of the NENA verbal system within a broader linguistic context. Nevertheless, his book proved a constant help to me, in the initial stages of my research when I was attempting to acquire some level of proficiency in ANA when it was a beacon in the darkness, and later on, as a reference work and as a basis for determining the ideal direction for my research. The data for ANA from my informants are at times at variance with those from Hoberman's informants and it seems that the respective idiolects of our informants may differ from each other. Therefore I have chosen to use my ANA corpus as the sole basis for the analyses in this work.

Sabar's dictionary of Neo-Aramaic (2002) includes many words and examples of phrases which are labelled as ANA. The sources of much of the ANA data are Hoberman 1989 and Brauer 1948, which contains many lexical items in descriptions of customs of Amədyā, and Avidani's Haggadah, privately published in 1959, which is in Hebrew with Neo-Aramaic translation (although the language is certainly not pure ANA). The dictionary has been of great use to me, especially in comparing ANA with the Jewish dialects of Zakho and Dohok.

SYSTEM OF TRANSCRIPTION

ANA has been employed, for the most part, as a spoken language and not a written one. There are several old texts in existence, written without exception in the Hebrew alphabet. Contemporary texts, which are very few in number, are written by native speakers who now reside in Israel, and as such also use the Hebrew alphabet. A writing system designed for native speakers will necessarily be different from one designed for linguists and used in a descriptive grammar such as this. After consulting previous grammars of NA, I decided to use a minimalist transcription system of the type used by Khan in his various grammars of Neo-Aramaic dialects (1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2008), with minor differences. In the main, the system aims at representing phonemes and at ignoring phonologically irrelevant phonetic phenomena. Nevertheless, in some cases the distinction between the two is not clear-cut, or there is a particular reason for marking a non-phonological distinction. This will sometimes be to facilitate intra-NA comparative work and it will be used on an *ad hoc* basis when the

phonetic form differs considerably from the underlying phonological form, e.g. <'üdale> for /'widale/, to represent the phonetic realisation [ʔy'd^ha:le].

Marking of Stress

The standard position for stress in ANA is on the penult. Penultimate stress is thus, in the spirit of minimalism, not marked in my transcription. For example:

'arxafke (f.) 'doughy pancake of flour and eggs'
 ʒažərnaya (m.) 'city-dweller'
 səmmalta (f.) 'ladder'
 xä-ga 'one time, once'

When the stress falls on the final syllable, or on any syllable before the penult, it is marked by placing an acute accent on the vowel of the stressed syllable. For example:

qurdistán (f.) 'Kurdistan'
 k-əxlíwalu 'they used to eat them'
 k-əxlíwaloxun 'they used to eat you (pl.)'
 g-maxzənnoxunilə 'I (m.) show it (m.) to you (pl.)'
 g-maxzənwaxunilə 'I (m.) used to show it (m.) to you (pl.)'

Any secondary stress is not marked in the transcription system.

On occasion, an acute accent will indeed be placed on a vowel in the penultimate syllable, for clarity. This is only done where it is deemed necessary for the purposes of a particular discussion, such as in discussing the phonemicity of stress (see 1.6).

Marking of Vocalic Length

Throughout this work I mark a two-way vowel length distinction (that is to say long vs. short) despite the fact that the phonetic reality is in point of fact far more complex.

The two-way vowel length distinction is not marked consistently with explicit signs, as vowel length is, for the most part, positionally determined. In principle, *a*, *i*, *o* and *u* vowels are long in open syllables, and short in closed syllables. /e/ is always long and /ə/ is short. /a/, /o/ and /u/ in stressed final syllables (including monosyllabic words) are in principle long.

Exceptions to these principles are marked in the transcription using a macron to indicate a long vowel (e.g. <ā>) and a breve to indicate a

short vowel (e.g. <ă>).¹⁷ These symbols are also used occasionally for disambiguation, where it is deemed necessary for the purposes of a particular discussion, such as in 0.4.3 below.

Marking of Consonantal Length/Gemination

Consonantal length is phonemic in ANA. For example:

māre ‘master [of]’ *mārre* ‘say (s.) to him!’

As such, I regularly mark length by transcribing the consonant in question twice, as demonstrated in the examples below.¹⁸

The reader will notice that, since consonantal gemination *ex defnito* effects a closing of the preceding syllable, the vowel of that syllable is in principle short, whereas the vowel preceding an ungeminated consonant would be expected to be long. In most cases, then, consonantal length can be said to co-vary with vowel length.¹⁹ This can be illustrated using our examples below, with explicit vowel length markings:

’*āxxele* ‘he is here’ vs. ’*āxele* ‘he is a brother’
qālle ‘raven’ vs. *qāle* ‘his voice’

Other Signs: Diacritics, Punctuation and Formatting

A hyphen (<->) is employed for two purposes. Firstly, it is used with some morphological affixes for ease of reading, and to make the reader aware of the structure of a word which is composed of multiple morphemes.²⁰ For example:

¹⁷ It is important to note that this two-way distinction in vowel length is only an abstraction. Certainly on the phonetic level, the length of vowels is best represented as a continuum. Stressed vowels, for example, are generally the longest, and length usually decreases with distance from the stress.

¹⁸ In phonetic transcription, consonantal length is marked by a postposed colon [:].

¹⁹ Certainly on the phonetic level, it is true to say that often [ṽC ~ ṽC:], where the underlying phonemic value is [vC:]. Thus /’*āxxele*/ is phonetically realised as [’ax:ele ~ ’axele], and /*qālle*/ is phonetically realised as [’qal:e ~ ’qale]. Phonemically, however, the two structures are clearly distinct. For example:

mārre ‘say to him’ vs. *māre* ‘owner [of]’
hālla ‘give to her’ vs. *hāla* (arch.) ‘is it not?, surely’

²⁰ An extension of this usage is to separate Modern Hebrew loanwords (and occasionally toponyms and anthroponyms) from a suffixed copula form. For instance:

’*ayya*^H*betēnu*^H-*ile* ‘this is our home’
^H*tfilā*^H-*ile* ‘it is prayer’
 ’*awādyā*-*ile* ‘it is Obadiah’

'u-g-dare 'and they put'
'ahi-ži 'you too'

The second (and related) usage of the hyphen is to indicate that the words which it conjoins form a single stress unit. For example:

märe-labba 'kind-hearted'
'urxət xa-yómela 'It is one day's journey.'
xā-ga 'once, one time'

A colon (<:>) is used to indicate a vowel which is lengthened, often extremely so, as a rhetorical device. This often occurs to indicate the length of a period of time, or of a distance, but it may be used with other words which the speaker wishes to stress. For example:

mənša'a xa g-ezənwa kəs ma'alləm g-lepənwa toṛa ḥi:l lele. 'From one o'clock I used to go to the Rabbi's house [and] learn Torah well into the night.'
reza yari:xa ta xa šaftiya 'an extremely long queue for a watermelon'
te:le b-lele 'He came in the night.' (This implies that he travelled a great distance, or that his journey was particularly arduous.)
'axxa 'iṭən manzale gu knəšta xəška:ne 'Here in the synagogue there are [some] very dimly-lit rooms.'

Ellipsis marks (<...>) are used to indicate a sustained pause, an interruption or a so-called "false start" by the speaker. In any event, they often indicate that what follows them is not a direct grammatical continuation of what precedes them.

Full-stops (<.>), commas (<,>) question marks (<?>) and exclamation marks (<!>) are used in transcriptions of ANA approximately as in English, as required, in order to clarify the meaning of the text. An exclamation mark is often used, both in the transcription of ANA and in my English translation, to mark explicitly an imperative form of a verb.

All words in ANA and in languages other than English are given in italics.²¹

Words or phrases employed by speakers which are strictly speaking not part of ANA—that is to say, words or phrases which have been acquired holus-bolus as loanwords from Modern Hebrew, Levantine

²¹ Any graphical differences in the form of letters between regular non-italic lettering and italic lettering (such as the difference between <a> and <a>, or the difference between <x> and <x>) is purely a result of the standard form of these fonts and is not meant to imply any difference in phonetic realisation.

Arabic, or from other dialects of Neo-Aramaic²²—are marked by an appropriate superscript capital letter at their beginning and at their end. The use of <^H> indicates a loan from Modern Hebrew,²³ <^A> marks a loan from Arabic and <^Z> serves to indicate a loan from the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Zakho, which is similar to ANA and which tends to be very widely used in the areas of Israel where ANA is and has been spoken. Consider the following by way of example:

^H*kanir' é^H* [< MH ‘apparently’] *ağa lá-xzele ɓaş* ‘It seems that the agha’s eyes have deceived him’

^A*od* ^A*ma* ^A*rúf^A* [< LA ‘grace, favour’] ‘do [me] a favour’

gemər ^Z*ɗalu^Z* [Z ‘to them’ = ANA *ɗaɗu*] *šmuwun* ‘He said to them, “Listen.”’

A subscript dot indicates an “emphatic” or “flat” pronunciation (see 1.8 below). For example <*q̣*> and <*ɓ̣*>. <^o> is used to indicate words which are entirely emphatic, in dialects like Jilu, which exhibit so-called synharmonism.²⁴

ABBREVIATIONS

There follows a list of abbreviations used in this thesis.

1. first person
 2. second person
 3. third person
- A Arabic

²² Words or phrases which were a part of ANA before the mass emigration of its speakers to Israel, be they from Hebrew (e.g. Mediaeval or Biblical), Arabic (Iraqi) or indeed from other dialects of Neo-Aramaic, are generally not marked as they are considered to be part of the “native” lexicon. The intention is to mark those parts of the text which do not represent how ANA would have been used *in situ*, before its speakers came to Israel. In some cases it is clear when this is the case, for example where phonetic evidence or textual attestation is of assistance, but often it is rather difficult to determine. In such cases, an educated guess has to be made, often on the basis of phonetics.

²³ When MH verbal roots have been adapted to ANA morphology, it would be misleading to mark the entire form as a MH borrowing. In such instances I indicate the provenance of the root in a footnote.

²⁴ Although this term was originally coined by Yushmanov, it is also used by Tsereteli (1961), while Hoberman (1988) favours “emphasis harmony”. For an extensive discussion of the phenomenon of synharmonism in the modern dialects of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, see Younansardaroud (2001: 39–60).

act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
ANA	Amədyā Neo-Aramaic—the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of the town of Amədyā
anth.	anthroponym
antiqu.	antiquated
arch.	archaic
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BTA	Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic
c.	common (e.g. of plural form)
CA	Christian Aradhin—the Christian NA dialect of Aradhin (ANA <i>'aradān</i>)
CB	Christian Barwar—the Christian NA dialect of Barwar (ANA <i>barwar</i>)
cnstr.	construct (form)
D	Dohok—the Jewish NA dialect of the town of Dohuk (ANA <i>dohok</i> , A <i>dahuk/dohuk</i>)
E	English—Modern English
excl.	exclamation
F	Farsi
f.	feminine
fig.	figurative
Fr	French
G	German
H	Hebrew
I	Italian
impv.	imperative
indecl.	indeclinable
intrans.	intransitive
inv.	invariable
IrA	Iraqi Arabic
joc.	jocular
K	Kurdish (Sorani, unless otherwise stated)
LA	Levantine Arabic
lit.	literally
MedH	Mediaeval Hebrew
MH	Modern Hebrew—the Hebrew language as spoken in the modern state of Israel
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic

m.	masculine
n.	noun
NA	Neo-Aramaic
NENA	North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic
OA	Older Aramaic ²⁵
part.	participle
pl.	plural
pl. tant.	<i>plurale tantum</i>
pret.	preterite
RH	Rabbinical Hebrew
stat.	stative
S	Syriac
s., sing.	singular
stat.	stative
temp.	temporal
top.	toponym
trans.	transitive
vul.	vulgar
Z	Zakho—the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of the town of Zakho (ANA <i>zaxo</i>)

²⁵ This is employed as a catch-all term for types of Aramaic which are typologically older than NA.

CHAPTER ONE

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

1.1 CONSONANTAL PHONEMES

The inventory of consonantal phonemes in ANA is given in the following table. Any sound whose phonemic status is marginal is given within parentheses. Where voicing is phonologically relevant, unvoiced consonants are given in plain script and voiced consonants in bold-face. Emphatic consonants (see 1.8 below) have a dot placed below them. Areas which have been shaded in represent combinations of place and manner of articulation which are considered to be physically impossible.

Place of Articulation → Manner of articulation ↓	Labial		Coronal				Dorsal			Radical (n/a)	
	Bilabial	Labio- dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retro- flex	Post- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn- geal	Glottal
Plosive	p	b	t	ɸ	ɸ						
Fricative		f v	ɸ	ɸ	s z	ʒ				š ž	
Nasal	m	m*	n								
Tap / Trill				r		ɾ					
Approximant							y	w			
Lateral				l							
Approximant											
Affricates											č j ċ

1.2 REALISATION OF CONSONANTAL PHONEMES

1.2.1 /p/

This phoneme is usually realised as an aspirated unvoiced bilabial plosive [p^h]. For example:

parča [p^hartʃ^ha] ‘slice (of cake etc.)’

maləp [ˈma:ləp^h] ‘that he teach’

k-xepiwa [kxeˈp^hi:wa] ‘they used to wash themselves’

/p/ and other unvoiced stops are unaspirated after an unvoiced fricative in a cluster, for example:

spiq̄a [ʰsp̄i:q̄a] ‘empty’
naxp̄uṭa [naxʰp̄u:ṭa] ‘embarrassment, shame’

1.2.2 /b/

This phoneme is usually realised as a voiced bilabial plosive [b]. For example:

baḡdadnaya [baḡdadˈna:ja] ‘native of Baghdad, Baghdadi’
maḡrab [ˈmaḡrab] ‘west’
qaṣṣaba [qaˈsːa:ba] ‘butcher’

In the environment of unvoiced consonants, it may, depending on the speed of speech, lose its voicing and be realised as an aspirated unvoiced bilabial plosive [pʰ]. In allegro speech, the voicing is less likely to be retained than in normal and lento speech. For example:

qballe [ˈqbəl:e ~ ˈqpʰəl:e] ‘he received’
p-ḡabsilan [pʰḡabˈsi:lan ~ pʰḡapˈsi:lan] ‘they will imprison us’

1.2.3 /p/

This phoneme is usually realised as an unaspirated pharyngealised unvoiced bilabial plosive [pˤ]. For example:

palla [pˤaˈlːa] ‘burning coal, ember’
pāpas [pˤaˈpˤas] ‘King (of cards)’

An exact minimal pair could not be found for /p/ : /pʰ/, which renders the status of the phoneme marginal; however *p* does occur in the same contexts as *p*, with no apparent conditioning factors. For instance:

čarpaya [tʃˈarˈp̄a:ja] ‘bed’ *tarpa* ‘leaf’ [tˤˈarpa]
panni [pˤˈan:i] ‘shade, corner; by the side of’
parri [pʰˈar:i] ‘my feather’

1.2.4 /b/

This phoneme is usually realised as an unaspirated pharyngealised voiced bilabial plosive [bˤ]. For example:

bəḡḡe [ˈbˤəmːe] ‘owl’
araḡaya [ʔaraˈbˤa:ja] ‘Arab’

/b/ is shown to be a separate phoneme from */b/* by the following minimal pair:

b-aza [ba:za] ‘she will go’ *ḥaza* [b^ha:za] ‘hawk’

1.2.5 /t/

This phoneme is usually realised as an aspirated unvoiced dental plosive [t^h]. For example:

tūtun [t^hut^hun] ‘tobacco, tobacco leaf’
xruta [xru:t^ha] ‘evil (adj., f.)’
aššat [ʔaʃ:at^h] ‘this year’

/t/ is unaspirated after an unvoiced fricative in a cluster, for example:

stabīta [st^haʔiθ:a] ‘cushion, pillow’

1.2.6 /d/

This phoneme is usually realised as a voiced dental plosive [d]. For example:

dʔipali [d^hʔi p^ha:li] ‘I folded it (f.s.)’
bedata [beʔda:θa] ‘sleeves’
betwālad [bet^hwalad] ‘womb’

1.2.7 /t/

This phoneme is usually realised as an unaspirated pharyngealised unvoiced dental plosive [t^ʕ]. For example:

ṭate [t^ʕa:θe] ‘for him, to him’
k-paləṭ [k^hp^ha:ləṭ^ʕ] ‘he leaves, he exits’
qaṭiʔa [qa:t^hi:ʔa] ‘stick, walking-stick’

1.2.8 /d/

This phoneme is usually realised as an unaspirated pharyngealised voiced dental plosive [d^ʕ]. For example:

ḍama [d^ʕa:ma] ‘playing-card’
ḍyaʔa [ʔd^ʕya:ʃa] ‘to disappear; to die’

/ḍ/ is shown to be a separate phoneme from */d/* by the following minimal pair:

ʔoda [ʔo:d^ʕa] ‘room’ *ʔoda* [ʔo:da] ‘slave’

1.2.9 /k/

This phoneme is usually realised as an aspirated unvoiced velar plosive [k^h]. For example:

kútroxun [k^hutroxun] ‘the two of you’
p-xayək [p̄x̄a:yək^h] ‘he will scratch’
mḥaki [m^ha:k^hi] ‘speak! (s.)’

1.2.10 /g/

This phoneme is usually realised as a voiced velar plosive [g]. For example:

gutta [guθ:a] ‘spool (of wool), spring, coil’
quləng [qu:ləng] ‘heron, crane’
çangage [tʃ^hanːga:ge] ‘handfuls; wings’

1.2.11 /q/

This phoneme is usually realised as a unvoiced uvular plosive [q]. For example:

qwira [qwi:ra] ‘bastard, son-of-a-bitch’
maqিদanne [maq̄id̄an̄:e] ‘that I (m.) burn it (m.)’
darəq [da:r̄əq] ‘that it fall into ruin’

This phoneme is often realised with a certain amount of fricativisation, i.e. as [χ], especially in post-vocalic positions. For example:

muqtəlile [muχt̄^həːli:le] ‘he had them killed’

1.2.12 /ʔ/

This phoneme is usually realised as an unvoiced glottal plosive [ʔ]. For example:

ʔoxən [ʔo:xən] ‘two days before yesterday; two days after tomorrow’
k-paleʔ [kp̄a:leʔ] ‘he divides up’
bəzʔaʔe [bəzʔa:ʔe] ‘cracks, holes’

Intervocally it may assimilate partially to its preceding vowel. For example:

ʔu-ʔətwale [ʔuwət̄^hwale] ‘and he used to have’

1.2.13 /f/

This phoneme is usually realised as an unvoiced labio-dental fricative [f]. For example:

fəlfəltə [fəl'fəltʰa] '(bell) pepper'
məʃəf ['məʃəf] 'book'
mátəfɪlɛ ['ma:tʰɪfɪlɛ] 'what is it like?'

1.2.14 /v/

This phoneme is usually realised as a voiced labio-dental fricative [v]. For example:

vji'a ['vʰɕʰi:ʃa] 'strange, bizarre'
ʃiva ['ʃi:va] '(small) river'
mivurvərre [ʰmivur'vər:e] 'he spun, whirled; he wound up'

An exact minimal pair could not be found for /v/ : /w/, which renders the status of this phoneme marginal. Indeed, in a number of loan-words, particularly from Kurdish, it appears that *v* ~ *w*. For instance:

kavlana ~ *kawlana* [kʰav'la:na ~ kʰau'la:na] 'scabbard, sheath'
ʔawa ~ *ʔava* [tʰʰa:wa ~ tʰʰa:va] 'shower (of rain)'

However *v* does occur in the same contexts as *w*, with no apparent conditioning factors. For instance:

gova ['go:va] 'cowshed' *gawa* ['ga:wa] 'in her'
pelava ['pʰela:va] 'shoe' *kelawa* ['kʰela:wa] 'she used to measure'

1.2.15 /t/

This phoneme is usually realised as an unvoiced dental fricative [θ]. For example:

tələt ['θələθ] 'third, a third part of'
z'ürut ['zʰʉruθ] 'childhood, youth'
kətyaʔa [kʰəθja:θa] 'chickens'

1.2.16 /d̪/

This phoneme is usually realised as a pharyngealised unaspirated voiced dental fricative [ðʰ]. For example:

d̪á'if [ðʰʰaʃif] 'emaciated, weak'
g̪āḏab [ʰg̪əðʰʰab] 'rage, anger, bile'
h̪ad̪ [h̪əðʰʰ] '(good) luck'

1.2.17 /s/

This phoneme is usually realised as a unvoiced alveolar fricative [s]. For example:

səpola [sə'p^ho:la] 'sleeve, end part of a trouser leg'
benāmus [be'namus] 'ill-mannered'
kallaše [k^ha'l:a:ʃe] 'bodies, corpses, skeletons'

1.2.18 /z/

This phoneme is usually realised as a voiced alveolar fricative [z]. For example:

zadu'ana [zadu'ʔa:na] 'coward; cowardly'
g-lazəmli [gla:'zəmli] 'I need him'
mčazčəz [ʔm^hʃ^hazʃ^həz] 'that it sizzle'

1.2.19 /ʃ/

This phoneme is usually realised as a pharyngealised unvoiced alveolar fricative [s^ʕ]. For example:

ʃane'ta [s^ʕa'neʔ^ha] 'trade, profession'
'almaš [ʔalmas^ʕ] 'diamond'
wašiyə [wa's^ʕiye] 'command, instruction'

1.2.20 /z̤/

This phoneme is usually realised as a pharyngealised unvoiced alveolar fricative [z^ʕ]. For example:

z̤ulum [z^ʕulum] 'violence'
moza [m^ʕo:z^ʕa] '(grape) must'

An exact minimal pair could not be found for /z̤/ : /z/, which renders the status of the phoneme marginal; however *z̤* does occur in the same contexts as *z*, with no apparent conditioning factors. For instance:

zanda [z^ʕanda] 'forearm' *zangin* [zangin] 'rich man'

1.2.21 /ʃ̤/

This phoneme is usually realised as a unvoiced post-alveolar fricative [ʃ̤]. For example:

dabušana [dabuʃ̤a:na] 'sticky'
šulxayuta [ʃ̤ulxa'ju:θa] 'nudity, nakedness'
baš [b^ʕa:ʃ̤] 'good, OK'

1.2.22 /ʒ/

This phoneme is usually realised as a voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ]. For example:

žăžik [ʒaʒik^h] ‘a kind of drained cheese’
žužiya [ʒuʒi:ja] ‘hedgehog’
gulbarruž [gulʹbarruʒ] ‘sunflower’

1.2.23 /x/

This phoneme is usually realised as a unvoiced velar fricative [x]. For example:

xəleʹta [xəleʔt^ha] ‘present, gift’
mənnux [ʹmən:ux] ‘from you (m.s.)’
maxəltə [maʹxəlt^ha] ‘small wooden sieve’

1.2.24 /g/

This phoneme is usually realised as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. For example:

g̃liqa [ʹɣ^oli:qa] ‘closed, locked’
mağara [maʹɣa:ɾʹa] ‘cave’
mənhag̃ [mən^hay] ‘custom, tradition’

1.2.25 /ħ/

This phoneme is usually realised as a unvoiced pharyngeal fricative [ħ]. For example:

ħukkiṭa [ħuʹk^h:i:θa] ‘story, legend’
raħuqa [raʹħu:qa] ‘far’
mašiyah [maʹʃi:yah] ‘Messiah’

1.2.26 /h/

This phoneme is usually realised as a unvoiced glottal fricative¹ [h]. For example:

hudəṭa [huʹde:θa] ‘Jewess’
šahara [ʃaʹha:ra] ‘blind’
p-farəh [ʹpfa:reh] ‘he will be fruitful’

¹ This consonant has no place of articulation in the buccal cavity and as there is no form of contraction in the vocal tract to produce friction, it is generally considered by phoneticians that the word “fricative” is not strictly applicable, although it has been used historically.

1.2.27 /m/

This phoneme is usually realised as a bilabial nasal [m]. For example:

məʃəlmana [məʃel'ma:na] 'Muslim'
simarxa [si'marxa] 'eagle'
ma'alləm [ma'al:əm] 'rabbi, ritual slaughterer'

1.2.28 /m̠/

This phoneme is usually realised as a pharyngealised bilabial nasal [m̠]. For example:

ṁahina [m̠'a'hi:na] 'mare'
ṁamaya [ʃa'm̠'a:ja] 'bald; bald man'

An exact minimal pair could not be found for /m̠/ : /m/, which renders the status of the phoneme marginal; however *ṁ* does occur in the same contexts as *m*, with no apparent conditioning factors. For instance:

ṁamaya [ʃa'm̠'a:ja] 'bald; bald man' *qamaya* [qa'ma:ja] 'first'

1.2.29 /n/

This phoneme is usually realised as a dental nasal [n]. For example:

naxpile [nax'p'i:le] 'that they embarrass him'
q̣tilən [°q̣'t'i:leŋ] 'he was killed'
ətrana [ʔət'ra:na] 'ladle'

It partially assimilates to a following /g/, /q/ or /k/:

beçanga [be'tʃ^hanga] 'armpit'
inglis [ʃinglis] 'England'
quləŋ [qu:ləŋ] 'heron, crane'
jwanqa [tʃ^waŋqa] 'young'
kalunka [k^ha'lun^hk^ha] 'pipe (for smoking)'

1.2.30 /r/

This phoneme is usually realised as an alveolar tap [r], or occasionally (in word-initial contexts or lento speech) a short alveolar trill [r̠]. For example:

ro'el [ro:ʔel ~ 'ro:ʔel] 'three years ago'
para [p^ha:ra] 'coin'
bätər [baθər] 'after'

When geminated, it is pronounced as a strong alveolar trill [r]. For example:

ʾafər̄ra [ʔaʼfəra] ‘manger’
parra [pʰara] ‘feather’
la-mhoyər̄ru [lamhoʔəru] ‘they did not dare’

1.2.31 /r̄/

This phoneme is usually realised as a pharyngealised retroflex approximant [ɣ̣], and sometimes as a pharyngealised alveolar tap [ɾ]. For example:

rumana [ɣ̣ʰuˈmaːna] ‘tall, high’
ʾabɾare [ʔabɾ̣ːaːɾ̣e] ‘rafts, ferrys’
qāɾar [qaɾ̣aɾ̣] ‘choice, decision’

When geminated, it is realised as a pharyngealised alveolar, strongly trilled [ṛ]. For example:

şuṛre [ṣʰuṛːe] ‘secrets’
şuṛrika [ṣʰuṛːikʰa] ‘waterfall’

/r̄/ is a distinct phoneme from /r/, as shown by minimal pairs, such as:

krele [kʰreːle] ‘he was short’ *ḳrele* [kʰɾ̣eːle] ‘he rented’
bər̄ke [bərkʰe] ‘his knee’ *ḅər̄ke* [bəɾ̣kʰe] ‘pool’

The phonemes remain distinct when geminated:

mar̄ra [maṛːa ~ ṃʰaṛːa] ‘spade’ *marra* [ˈmarːa] ‘tell (s.) her!’

1.2.32 /y/

This phoneme is usually realised as a palatal approximant [j]. For example:

yaruqa [jaˈruːqa] ‘green’
ʾatr̄aya [ʔaθ̣ˈraːja] ‘country-dweller, country bumpkin’

Often this consonant will be realised as the palatalisation of the preceding consonant. For example:

lyapa [ʔapa] ‘learning’

1.2.33 /w/

This phoneme is usually realised as a labio-velar approximant [w]. For example:

wa'duṭa [waɪ^adu:θa] 'promise'
kalawaṭa [k^hala'wa:θa] 'daughters-in-law'

Often this consonant will be realised as the labialisation of the preceding consonant. For example:

jwanqa [ɕ^waŋqa] 'young'
kwara [k^{hw}ara] 'large structure for storing grain'

1.2.34 /ʎ/

This phoneme is usually realised as a voiced pharyngeal approximant (or fricative) [ʎ]. For example:

apša [ʎaps^aa] 'gallnut, gall oak'
ja'oda [ɕ^ha'ʎo:da] 'axe, hatchet'
jema [ʎ^he:maʎ] 'mosque'

1.2.35 /l/

This phoneme is usually realised as an alveolar lateral approximant [l]. For example:

laḡma [l^aɣma] 'bridle'
gəllale [gə'l:a:le] 'grasses, herbs'
šqol [ʃqol] 'take! (s.)'

1.2.36 /č/

This phoneme is usually realised as an aspirated unvoiced palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ]. For example:

čaye [tʃ^ha:je] 'tea'
qāčāḡ [qatʃ^haɣ ~ 'qatʃ^hax] 'smuggler'
karpuč [k^harp^hutʃ^h] 'diamond (of playing-cards)'

1.2.37 /ç/

This phoneme is usually realised as a unaspirated unvoiced palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ^h].

- çó'a* [tʃ^ho:ʔa] 'smooth'
- g-mačé'wale* [g^hma'tʃ^heʔwale] 'he used to smooth it out'
- qoç* [qotʃ^h] 'pick! (s.); pluck! (s.)'

1.2.38 /j/

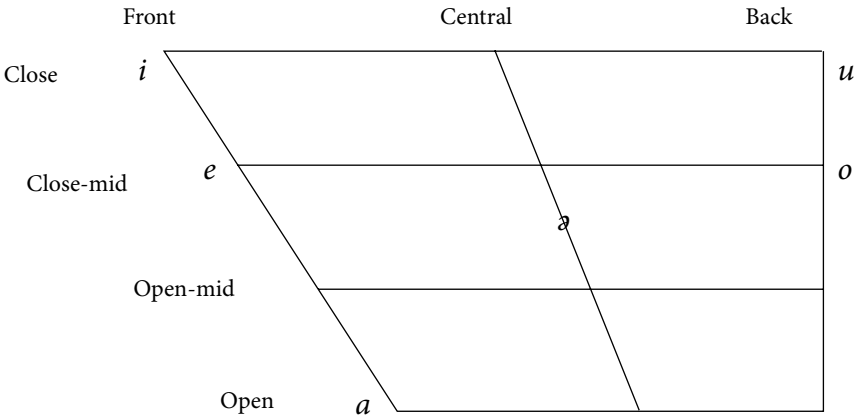
This phoneme is usually realised as an aspirated voiced palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ^h]. For example:

- jämäd* [dʒ^hamad] 'ice'
- 'ajabuða* [ʔadʒ^ha'bu:ða] 'wonder, amazement'
- guj* [gu:dʒ^h] 'load, burden'

It may be palatalised or labialised when followed by a /y/ or /w/. For example:

- jwanqa* [dʒ^wanqa] 'young'
- jyara* [dʒ^y:ara] 'to urinate'

1.3 VOCALIC PHONEMES AND DIPHTHONGS



There are two phonemic diphthongs in ANA: /ay/ and /aw/.

/ay/ occurs primarily in loanwords. For example:

čaydanke ‘tea-kettle’
haywan ‘(wild) animal’
laymuna ‘lemon’
maymunkat ‘monkeys’
ṭaybixe ‘rebuke(s)’

It is also found in the III stem of verbs I-y, for example:

mayde ‘inform (s.)!’ (y-d-’ III)
la mayrəxəttə ‘don’t talk too much (s.)’ (y-r-x III)

Other examples occur when the copula is suffixed to some words ending in vowels:

ma ‘what’ + *-ile* → *mayle* (~ *má’ile*)
kma ‘how much’ + *-ile* → *kmayle* (~ *kmá’ile*)
xa ~ *xá* ‘one’ + *-ile* → *xayle* (~ *xá’ile*)
ṭama ‘why?, for what?’ + *-ile* → *ṭamayle* (~ *ṭamá’ile*)

/aw/ occurs in some words of native stock. For example:

koḍənta ~ *kawḍənta* ‘mule’
muxrawta ‘destruction’
mṭawsərana ‘translator (of sacred texts)’

It also occurs in loanwords, and often alternates with /o/. For example:

awṛāham ‘Abraham’
gawgawke ‘peanuts’
ḥawšiye ‘courtyards’
kawlana (~ *kavlana*)² ‘scabbard, sheath’

Historical *ay becomes /e/ in ANA. For example:

**qayṭa* → *qeṭa* ‘summer’

Historical *aw becomes /o/ in ANA. For example:

**yawma* → *yoma* ‘day’

² See 1.2.14 above.

1.4 REALISATION OF VOCALIC PHONEMES AND DIPHTHONGS

There is a phonemic opposition between long and short vowels. For example:

<i>mare</i>	‘his owner’	<i>māre</i>	‘owner [of]’
<i>maləp</i>	‘that he teach’	<i>māləp</i>	‘teach! (s.)’

1.4.1 /i/

This phoneme is realised as a close, front, unrounded vowel.

1.4.2 /u/

This phoneme is realised as a close back rounded vowel.

1.4.3 /e/

This phoneme is realised as a close-mid front unrounded vowel.

1.4.4 /o/

This phoneme is realised as a close mid back rounded vowel.

Particularly in stressed and/or open syllables, /o/ often undergoes a significant degree of fronting. For example, *tora* [tʰø:ra] ‘bull’, *moṭela* [møʰe:la] ‘she brought’ and *kawód* [kʰaʷø:d] ‘honour, respect’. Where necessary, this sound will be indicated with an <ö> grapheme for clarity, e.g. *töra*, *möṭela*, *kawöd*. Note that this fronting never occurs in the environment of “emphatic” consonants, velar or pharyngealised. For instance *čö’a* ‘smooth; fragile’, *moza* ‘(grape) must’ and *tofana* ‘flood’ are never *čö’a, *möza and *töfana respectively.³

³ On occasion, the so-called emphatic consonants are realised with very weak velarisation (although their unaspirated character is always retained). Nevertheless, the /o/ in the presence of such an emphatic consonant is never realised as [ö]. As such, the quality of the vowel can, in such cases, be as indicative of the emphasis ascribed to the consonant as the actual phonetic features of the consonant itself. This can be seen as the first step on the road to the state of affairs found in some other NA dialects, commonly known as synharmonism (see Garbell 1965: 33–34; Tsereteli 1961: *passim*). Hoberman (1988) favours “emphasis harmony”.

1.4.5 /ə/

This phoneme is realised as a mid central unrounded vowel.

Particularly in the environment of sibilants, /ə/ tends to be fronted and approaches the quality of /i/.

1.4.6 /a/

This phoneme is realised as an open front unrounded vowel.

When short, in closed stressed syllables and in all unstressed syllables, /a/ has a tendency to be realised phonetically as a more centralised vowel, approaching the quality of /ə/.

In the environment of velarised or pharyngealised consonants /a/ is often much further back in the mouth and with lip rounding. For example, *ṛaṭa* [ʔṛṵ:θa ~ ʔṛṵa:θa] ‘lungs’. The same vowel appears in a very few words where there is no visible synchronic cause. In such cases it is marked with a subscript dot: [ạ].

1.4.7 Diphthongs

All ANA diphthongs are falling.

/aw/ is realised as [aʊ], e.g. *muxrawta* [muxraʊtʰa] ‘destruction’.

/ay/ is realised as [aɪ], e.g. *ṭaybixe* [tṵ^ʰaɪbi:xe] ‘rebuke(s)’

1.5 GEMINATION OF CONSONANTS

“Gemination” is the overarching term given to the phenomenon of a consonant being produced for an audibly longer period than its single, ungeminated counterpart. Fricatives, nasals, trills and approximants are geminated by lengthening the time for which they are pronounced. Plosive consonants are geminated by increasing the time for which the air is held in the buccal cavity before it is released. Despite the implication of the name, a geminated consonant is not necessarily pronounced for twice the length of time as its ungeminated counterpart. As such, a more exact term, which is sometimes encountered, is “consonant length”. Indeed, in the IPA, it is marked with the same symbol as vowel length, namely a colon ([:]). Gemination is in principle phonemic. For example:

marre ‘say (s.) to him’ *māre* ‘owner (of)’

Gemination is never phonemic in word-initial or word-final position. Some examples of consonantal gemination are given below:⁴

1.5.1 /p/

dappa [ˈdɑpʰːɑ] ‘plank, board’
kappa [kʰɑpʰːɑ] ‘palm (of hand)’
ʔappeʔa [tʰːɑpʰːeʔʔɑ] ‘slope, sloping hill’

1.5.2 /b/

dabba [ˈdɑbːɑ] ‘bear’
dabbora [dɑbːoːrɑ] ‘bee’
rubba [ˈrʊbːɑ] ‘myriad; majority’

1.5.3 /t/

kattan [kʰətʰːɑn] ‘cotton’
məfattəʃ [mɑˈfɑtʰːiʃ] ‘investigator’
satta [ˈsətʰːɑ] ‘mortar (= bowl for crushing herbs etc.)’

1.5.4 /d/

paddoma [pʰədːoːmɑ] ‘plug (in sink, pipe etc.)’
qadduʃ [qədːuʃ] ‘ceremonial blessing over wine, Kiddush’
sədde ([ˈsədːe] ‘pulpit’

1.5.5 /t/

bəʔtəʔ [ˈbətʰːəʔ] ‘bottle’
xəʔte [xətʰːe] ‘wheat’

1.5.6 /d/

huddəd [ˈhʊdːəd] ‘border [of]’

1.5.7 /k/

yakkana [jaˈkʰɑːnɑ] ‘only child’
čakke [tʃʰakʰːe] ‘jewellery’
hanukka [ˈhɑnʊˈkʰːɑ] ‘Hannuka’

⁴ See 0.4.3. It should be noted that the absence of an example of a lexical item with gemination of a given consonantal phoneme in the corpus of data obtained is not to be construed as absolute proof that the phonological system of the language disallows such a gemination. Certainly, there is no *a priori* phonetic reason why any of the consonants of ANA should not be subject to gemination.

1.5.8 /g/

xəgga [xəg:a] ‘dancing circle’
čugga [tʰug:a] ‘never, not once’

1.5.9 /q/

ħuqqa [ħuq:a] ‘rung (of a ladder)’
məqqayad [məq:ajad] ‘definitely, exactly’
paqqa’yata [pʰəq:aʔ^əja:θa] ‘frogs’

1.5.10 /f/

kaffo [kʰaf:o] ‘foam, layer of scum on soup etc.’

1.5.11 /t/

gutta [‘guθ:a] ‘spool (of wool), spring, coil’

1.5.12 /d/

ħadḏi [ħaḏ^ᶜ:i] ‘my [good] luck’

1.5.13 /s/

’assehra [ʔi:s:eh^əra] ‘beginning of Hebrew month, new moon’
bassimuta [bas:i’mu:θa] ‘pleasantness, sweetness’
pəssota [pʰə’s:ot^əta] ‘pace, step’

1.5.14 /z/

b-lazzi [‘blaz:i] ‘quickly, in a hurry’
məzze [‘məz:e] ‘hairs’
ʔəzza [‘ʔəz:a] ‘rice’

1.5.15 /ʃ/

mašša [‘mas^ʃ:a] ‘matza, unleaved bread eaten on Passover’
qaššaba [qa^ʃ:a:ba] ‘butcher’

1.5.16 /š/

kuššat [kʰuʃ:atʰ] ‘every year’
ħəšše [ħiʃ:e ~ ħəʃ:e] ‘senses, sanity’
xəššim [xiʃ:im ~ xəʃ:im] ‘innocent, ignorant, naïve’

1.5.17 /x/

'axxa [ˈʔax:a] 'here'
 baruxxabba [baruˈx:ab:a] 'welcome'
 čuxxa [tʃʰux:a] 'no-one'

1.5.18 /h/

šahhata [sʰaħ:a:tʰa] 'health'
 ʔahhala [tʰaħ:a:la] 'spleen'

1.5.19 /m/

čamma [tʃʰam:a] 'field, meadow'
 səmmora [səˈm:ɔ:ra] 'squirrel'
 šammaš [ʃam:aʃ] 'Synagogue sexton'
 ʔlumme [tʰʷ[ʷ]u:me] 'loaves (of bread)'
 yamma [jəm:a] 'mother'
 zammara [zaˈm:a:ra] 'singer'

1.5.20 /m̥/

ħəmmə [ħʰəm̥:e] 'owl'

1.5.21 /n/

gehənnam [geˈhən:am] 'hell, Gehenna'
 mənnehile [ˈmən:ehi:le] 'it is from him'
 jənna [tʃʰən:a] 'spirit, ghost'

1.5.22 /r/

parra [pʰara] 'feather'
 qəštarruš [qəʃtʰ[ʷ]aruʃ] 'rainbow'
 la-mhoyərru [lamhoˈjəru] 'they did not dare'

1.5.23 /r̥/

marra [mar̥:a ~ m̥ar̥:a] 'spade'
 šur̥re [ʃur̥:e] 'secrets'
 šur̥rika [ʃur̥:ik̥a] 'waterfall'

1.5.24 /y/

hayya [ˈhaj:a] 'fast, quickly; early'
 xəyyara [xəˈj:a:ra] 'sweet cucumber'
 ʔayya [ˈʔaj:a] 'this (s.)'

1.5.25 /w/

šawwaṭ [ʃaw:at⁵] ‘Shevat (Jewish synodic month)’
ʿarnuwwa [ʔarˈnuw:a] ‘rabbit’
maxtuwwa [maxˈt⁵uw:a] ‘awl’

1.5.26 /l/

məlləsi [mə:l:e:si] ‘sweet and sour’
kallaš [kˈhɑ:l:a:ʃ] ‘body, corpse, skeleton’
maʿalləm [maˈʕal:əm] ‘rabbi, ritual slaughterer’

1.5.27 /č/

kaččaluṭa [kˈhɑtʃːaˈlu:θɑ] ‘disease of the scalp’

1.5.28 /j/

təjjaruṭa [tˈhəʔʃːaˈru:θɑ] ‘trade, business’
wajja [ˈwaʔʃːa] ‘care, concern’

1.6 STRESS

Stress is phonemic in ANA, as is shown by minimal pairs such as:

mánxəple ‘embarrass (s.) him!’ : *manxəple* ‘that he embarrass him’

As a general rule, stress in words of Aramaic stock and adapted loan-words falls on the penult. For instance:⁵

bomáxət ‘the day after tomorrow; the day before yesterday’
koxúṭa (f.) ‘star’
məšəlmánta (f.) ‘Muslim woman’
mtá’óle ‘to play’
nāwičərčərka (m.) ‘great-great-grandson’
šaxína (adj., m.s.) ‘hot, warm’
ṭahhála (f.) ‘spleen’
xatákar (m.) ‘sinner’
wá’dúṭa (f.) ‘promise’

There are some regular (i.e. predictable) exceptions to this rule in the verbal morphology. Examples are given below.

⁵ See 0.4.1 for conventions for marking stress.

The most common first person a-set suffixes (singular *-ən*, *-an* and plural *-ax*) appear to be phonetic reductions of the less common but typologically older first person a-set suffixes (singular *-ena*, *-ana* and plural *-axni*). The six possible first person present subjunctive forms of a strong verb are given below:

1.m.s.	<i>qáṭlən</i>	<i>qáṭlena</i>
1.f.s.	<i>qáṭlan</i>	<i>qáṭlana</i>
1.c.p.	<i>qáṭlax</i>	<i>qáṭlaxni</i> ⁶

When the second person plural a-set suffix is followed by an l-set suffix, stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable:

<i>qaṭlátuli</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + li</i>	‘that you (pl.) kill me’
<i>qaṭlátule</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + le</i>	‘that you (pl.) kill him’
<i>qaṭlátula</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + la</i>	‘that you (pl.) kill her’
<i>qaṭlátulan</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + lan</i>	‘that you (pl.) kill us’
<i>qaṭlátulu</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + lu</i>	‘that you (pl.) kill them’

The addition of the past conversive particle *-wa* to the second person plural a-set suffix also occasions non-penultimate stress:

<i>qaṭlátuwa</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + wa</i>	‘that you used to kill’
------------------	------------------------	-------------------------

This form is stressed on this syllable even when further l-set suffixed are added:

<i>qaṭlátuwali</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + wa + li</i>	‘that you (pl.) used to kill me’
<i>qaṭlátuwale</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + wa + le</i>	‘that you (pl.) used to kill him’
<i>qaṭlátuwala</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + wa + la</i>	‘that you (pl.) used to kill her’
<i>qaṭlátuwalan</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + wa + lan</i>	‘that you (pl.) used to kill us’
<i>qaṭlátuwalu</i>	< <i>qaṭletun + wa + lu</i>	‘that you (pl.) used to kill them’

Forms which are the result of the addition of the particle *-wa* plus an l-set suffix to forms with any of the other a-set suffixes are always stressed on the syllable immediately preceding the *-wa* particle:

<i>qaṭlánwalux</i>	< <i>qaṭlən + wa + lux</i>	‘that I (m.) used to kill you (m.)’
<i>qaṭlánwalax</i>	< <i>qaṭlən + wa + lax</i>	‘that I (m) used to kill you (f.)’
<i>qaṭlánwale</i>	< <i>qaṭlən + wa + le</i>	‘that I (m.) used to kill him’
<i>qaṭlánwala</i>	< <i>qaṭlən + wa + la</i>	‘that I (m.) used to kill her’
<i>qaṭlánwalan</i>	< <i>qaṭlən + wa + lan</i>	‘that I (m.) used to kill us’

⁶ The form *qaṭlaxni* is slightly more common in normal speech. The form *qáṭlaxni* can, however, be assumed to be typologically earlier and is given here for this reason and for the purposes of symmetry.

<i>qaṭlānwaloxun</i>	< <i>qaṭlān + wa + loxun</i>	‘that I (m.) used to kill you (pl.)’
<i>qaṭlānwalu</i>	< <i>qaṭlān + wa + lu</i>	‘that I (m.) used to kill them’
<i>qaṭlānwalux</i>	< <i>qaṭlān + wa + lux</i>	‘that I (f.) used to kill you (m.)’
etc.		
<i>qaṭlātwali</i>	< <i>qaṭlāt + wa + li</i>	‘that you (m.) used to kill me’
etc.		

When a verb with an a-set suffix takes two l-set objects, stress can fall very early in a word. For example:

maxzānnoxunile ‘that I (m.) show it (m.) to you (pl.)’

When a *-wa* particle is included, stress may be pre-pre-pre-antepenultimate (!):

maxzānwaloxunile ‘that I (m.) used to show it (m.) to you’

Two examples of antepenultimate stress are found in the preterite, with the second person plural suffix *-loxun* and with the relatively rare longer form of the first person plural suffix *-leni*:

1.c.p.	<i>qṭālleni</i> (more commonly <i>qṭāllan</i>)
2.c.p.	<i>qṭāllloxun</i>

In fact, whenever the second person plural l-set suffix is used, stress becomes antepenultimate:

<i>qaṭlānnoxun</i>	‘that I (m.) kill you (pl.)’
<i>qaṭlānnoxun</i>	‘that I (f.) kill you (pl.)’
<i>qaṭlāllloxun</i>	‘that he kill you (pl.)’
<i>qaṭlāllloxun</i>	‘that she kill you (pl.)’
<i>qaṭlāllloxun</i>	‘that we kill you (pl.)’
<i>qaṭlāllloxun</i>	‘that they kill you (pl.)’

A considerable number of forms of verbs of Stem III bear stress in non-penultimate position. Some examples are given below:

<i>mānxəpun</i>	‘Embarrass! (pl.)’	(<i>n-x-p</i> III)
<i>māpəlxun</i>	‘Employ! (pl.)’	(<i>p-l-x</i> III)
<i>m-má wərax</i>	‘we will transfer’	(<i>‘-w-r</i> III)
<i>māqərwun</i>	‘Offer up (pl.) [a sacrifice]!’	(<i>q-r-w</i> III)
<i>g-māqəryat</i>	‘you (f.s.) teach to read’	(<i>q-r-y</i> III)
<i>m-māhuyan</i>	‘I (f.) will act as a midwife’	(<i>h-w-y</i> III)
<i>wəlli mūlwəša</i>	‘I have dressed (tr.)’	(<i>l-w-š</i> III)
<i>māzidi</i>	‘that they add’	(<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>))
<i>wəllu mū‘ine</i>	‘they have helped’	(<i>‘-y-n</i> III (<i>m-‘-n</i>))

Quadri- and pentaliteral verbs will also offer up many examples of forms stressed in non-penultimate position.

The addition of the suffixed copula *-ile / -le* and its forms has no effect on the position of stress in a word. For example, *maťóxun* ‘your (pl.) village’, *maťóxunile* ‘it is your (pl.) village.’, or *bnatəd baboxun* ‘your (pl.) father’s daughter’, *bnatəd babóxuniwan* ‘I (f.) am your (pl.) father’s daughter.’

The suffix *-ži/-ši* ‘also, as well’ does not affect the position of the stress in the word to which it is affixed. For example:

Base	Gloss	With <i>-ži/-ši</i> suffix
<i>xá</i>	‘one’	<i>xá-ši</i>
<i>suráye</i>	‘Christians’	<i>suráye-ši</i>
<i>šaqlótule</i>	‘that you (pl.) take it’	<i>šaqlótule-ži</i>
<i>g-naťráxwaloxun</i>	‘we used to protect you (pl.)’	<i>g-naťráxwaloxun-ži</i>

Some compounds show antepenultimate stress:

- ’árbəšu* ‘Wednesday’
- bólelxən* ‘the night before last night; the night after tomorrow night’
(< *b-* ‘on’ + *’o* ‘that’ + *lele* ‘night’ + *xena* ‘other’)
- hár-hadax* ‘the same thing (again)’
- hár-u-har* ‘always’
- pálša’a* ‘half an hour’ (< *pal[ga]* ‘half’ + *ša’a* ‘hour’)
- ťláhošub* ‘Tuesday’

The cliticised copula does not affect the position of the main stress in a word. This can cause the main stress to fall very early on in a polysyllabic word. For example:

- ’árbəšub* ‘Wednesday’ → *’árbəšubile* ‘It is Wednesday.’

Words ending in a vowel (and especially monosyllabic particals such as *ču* ‘no, none’ or *la* ‘no, not’) which are closely bonded (semantically) to the substantive immediately following them often draw the main stress onto themselves. This is particularly common in the case of numerals which are followed by a noun. For example:

- lá-šme’le* ‘he did not hear’ (< *la* ‘no, not’ + *šme’le* ‘he heard’)
- lá-k-xaze* ‘they do not see’ (< *la* ‘no, not’ + *k-xáze* ‘they see’)
- lá-hawət* ‘do not be! (m.s.)’ (< *la* ‘no, not’ + *hávət* ‘that you (m.s.) be’)
- ču-məndi* ‘nothing’ (< *ču* ‘no, none’ + *məndi* ‘thing’)
- má-gəbət mannan?* ‘What do you (m.s.) want from us?’
- tré-yome* ‘two days’⁷

⁷ This is the standard stress pattern in K, e.g. *dé-rož* ‘two days’ (< *de* ‘two’ + *rož* ‘days’).

xá-yoma ‘one day’⁸
xamší-šanne ‘fifty days’
xamšá-’alpe maṭwata ‘five-thousand villages’

Ultimate stress
dā-qṭól ‘kill! (s.)’
dā-šmó ‘hear! (s.)’
ṭamá, ṭamá ‘why, for what’
’ilá ‘G-d’ (< *’ilaha*)
ṭlá ‘three’ (< *ṭlaha*)
xa-o-xāt ‘each other’
məlyón ‘million’
məllesí ‘sweet and sour’
ṭa-xzí ‘come (s.) and see (s.)!’

Despite the fact that, as can be seen from the above outline, stress by no means always falls on the penult, this is certainly the default position and a number of examples can be found in the text corpus of a tendency to level the position of the stress in favour of the penult. For instance, one finds *palgádyom* for the more standard *pálgedyom* ‘midday’, *mirətúli* for the more standard *mirátuli* ‘I told you (pl.)’ and *’atwále* for the more regular *’átwale* ‘he had, he used to have’.

1.7 FINAL DEVOICING OF CONSONANTS

There is a marked tendency for final consonants to be devoiced. This is particularly common with the genitive particle *d*, when it is affixed to the end of a word. Loanwords ending in a consonant are particularly prone to this devoicing, although the original voiced consonant always resurfaces when an ending is affixed.

This devoicing is purely a phonetic process and in principle has no bearing on the phonological make-up of a word. Yet in a number of cases I have judged that it is important enough (and consistent enough) to indicate in my transcription. For example:

⁸ Note the possible opposition here between two uses of *xa*, viz. as a numeral and as a quasi indefinite article: *xá-yoma* ‘[just] one day’ (as opposed to *ṭaba yome* ‘many days’) vs. *xa yóma* ‘one day, a [certain] day (as opposed to *yoma* or *’o yoma* ‘[the] day, that day)’. For example:

’urxət ’izala xá-yoma wewa ‘It was a journey of one day on foot.’

xa yoma ’ana lazəm xazən xa ’urxa ’ayya masāle mṭarṣanna ‘One day I have to find a way of improving this state of affairs.’

This distinction is certainly not consistently made in allegro speech, but is often encountered and can certainly be exploited for the purposes of semantic disambiguation.

pinidos ‘cobbler’ (cf. pl. *pinidoze*)
qačax ‘smuggler’ (cf. pl. *qačage*)
xa qaddət (< *qadda* + -*d*) *šīwa* ‘a stick of wood’
šeryoxət (< *šəryoxe* + -*d*) *pelavu* ‘their shoelaces’
ixalət (< *ixala* + -*d*) *hudaye* ‘Jews’ food’

1.8 EMPHASIS AND EMPHATICS

The Semitic languages are, as a whole, characterised by a series of consonants which are generally referred to as “emphatics”. The name seems to be relatively well established in the parlance of Semiticists and linguists in general, despite the fact that it is a rather vague cover-term for a number of phenomena.⁹ The emphatic consonants are also variously referred to in the corpus of NA and linguistics as ‘flat’ (vs. ‘plain’), ‘pharyngealised’, ‘velarised’, ‘dark’, ‘heavy’ (both vs. ‘light’) or German ‘abruptiv’, to give but a few of the most common terms.

The common denominator of these consonants is the retraction of the tongue and the raising of the tongue root towards the velum, with an accompanying constriction of the pharynx.¹⁰ It appears that pharyngealisation rather than velarisation is primary in ANA, although both are often present to varying degrees.

Emphatic pronunciation in ANA is generally triggered by the historical presence of emphatic consonants in OA (i.e. *ṭ* and *ṣ*). This is not a regular process, however. Compare *ʿašra* ‘ten’ and *ʿasri* ‘twenty’. Emphatic pronunciation is not limited to those consonants which could be emphatic in OA, or even to those which could be emphatic in other varieties of Semitic.

In general, historically emphatic segments are necessary within a word in order to stimulate the production of the new emphatic consonants. However, the presence of one or more liquid consonants /*l*/, /*r*/, /*m*/ or /*n*/ and sometimes the labials /*b*/ and /*p*/, or even the semi-vowel /*w*/ may also trigger emphasis. The process is by no means regular, as there are any number of lexical items which contain one or more of these consonants but nevertheless show no emphatic character. For example, *ṣayə* ‘water’ shows emphasis, whereas *miyana* ‘watery’ does not. Thus one is able to find lexical items distinguished

⁹ For a discussion of the properties of the emphatic consonants in Semitic languages, see, *inter alia*, Tsereteli (1961: 229) and Dolgopolsky (1977).

¹⁰ See, for example, Khan (1999: 21).

from one another solely by emphasis. In some cases, there seems to be no diachronic reason for one item of a pair to have undergone emphaticisation of some of its historically non-emphatic consonants. This is the case in pairs such as:

m̄lele ‘he filled’ : *mlele* ‘it sufficed’

In such pairs, it seems that the potential for emphaticisation has been seized upon by the language and exploited to mark semantic distinctions. The choice of which item of a pair is to be emphasised seems to be essentially arbitrary.

Emphasis is sometimes found in words with religious overtones. For example, *ṭora* ‘Torah, Hebrew Bible’ (< H תורה).

1.9 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CONSONANTS

1.9.1 *The BGDKPT Consonants*

1.9.1.1 *b

The reflex of the original fricative allophone of OA *b is /w/ in ANA. For example:

šwawa ‘neighbour’ (< *š**ba**ba)
šawəq ‘that he leave’ (< *š**a**beq)

A resultant /awC/ (i.e. < *a**b**C) sequence regularly undergoes monophthongisation to /oC/:

šoqa ‘that she leave’ (< *šawqa < *š**a**bqa)
zona ‘time’ (< *zawna < *z**a**bna)

A resultant /uw/ (i.e. < *u**b**) sequence regularly undergoes monophthongisation to /u/:¹¹

duša ‘honey’ (< *duwša < *du**b**ša)
gure ‘men’ (< *guwre < *gu**b**re)

A resultant /əw/ (i.e. < *ə**b**) sequence regularly undergoes monophthongisation to /u/:

kaṭu ‘that he write’ (< *kaṭew < *kaṭ**ə**b)

¹¹ An exception is *nuwya* ‘prophet’ (< *nu**b**ya), which is almost always realised with a distinct -w-. The stative participle of *h-w-y* ‘to be born’ is also almost always *huwya*.

The OA stop allophone is reflected in ANA /b/. For instance:

'*ərba* 'sheep' (< **erba*)

That the OA allophones are no longer positionally determined can be shown by minimal pairs such as:

baxtəd 'wife of, women of' : *waxtəd* 'at the time of, when'

There are a number of cases where one finds ANA *b* after a vowel. ANA *b* is, for instance, the regular reflex where OA **b* was geminated, e.g. *šab̄ta* 'Sabbath' (< **šabb̄ta*). In other cases, there is usually some sort of analogy at play. There is a certain amount of unpredictability as to which ANA reflex of **b* one finds in verbal roots with **b* as the middle radical. As a rule however, the choice is constant throughout the paradigm of a verb. For instance:

z-w-n 'to buy': *g-zawən* 'he buys', *zwənnē* 'he bought', *zwana* 'buying'¹²
d-b-š 'to stick': *g-dabəš* 'he sticks', *dbəšle* 'he stuck', *dbaša* 'sticking'

1.9.1.2 *p

Both the fricative and stop allophones of OA **p* are reflected in ANA *p*. For example:

<i>napqa</i> 'that she go out'	(< * <i>napqa</i>)
<i>palga</i> 'half'	(< * <i>palga</i>)
<i>kepa</i> 'stone'	(< * <i>kefa</i>)

1.9.1.3 *t

The situation for OA **t* is very similar to that for OA **b* as described in 1.9.1.1 above.

The original fricative allophone of OA **t* is reflected as /t̄/ in ANA. The stop allophone has ANA /t/ as its reflex. Minimal pairs for ANA /t̄/ and /t/ are given below:

xet̄a 'a women who has recently given birth' : *xeta* 'another'
t̄a 'come! (s.)' : *ta* 'for, to'

There are a number of cases where one finds ANA *t* after a vowel. ANA *t* is, for instance, the regular reflex where OA **t* was geminated, e.g.

¹² From *z-b-n* II 'to sell' it can be seen that this does not extend through to different verbal stems. In this case the original gemination of the OA **b*- causes its retention.

'*atiqa* 'ancient, old' (< **attiqā*). Similarly, in a number of cases where historically a consonant preceded **t* but is no longer found in ANA, ANA *t* is found, e.g. *kṭuta* f. stat. part. of *k-t-w* 'to write' < **kṭewta*.¹³

In other cases, there is usually some sort of analogy at play. There is a certain amount of unpredictability as to which ANA reflex of OA **t* one finds in verbal roots with **t* as the middle radical. As a rule however, the choice is constant throughout the paradigm of a verb. For instance:

'-*t-y* 'to come': *tele* 'he came', *k-eṭe* 'he comes', '*taya* 'coming'
p-t-x 'to open': *ptaxle* 'he opened', *k-patəx* 'he opens', *ptaxa* 'opening'

/*t/* undergoes a shift to /*t/* when it precedes // or /*n/*. For example:

'*ətle* 'he has' < '*it* + *le*
mətle 'he died' < *m-y-t*
xətna 'bridegroom' < **hitna*

1.9.1.4 **d*

Both the fricative and stop allphones of OA **d* are reflected in ANA *d*. This is unlike the situation for its unvoiced counterpart (OA **t*), where a fricative pronunciation survives in ANA. For example:

dəqna 'beard' (< **dīqna*)
dide 'his, of him' (< **dīde*)

1.9.1.5 **g*

In most cases, the fricative allomorph of **g* has been weakened to /*ʃ/* or \emptyset . For example:

pe'la 'radish' (< **paḡla*)
ra'ša 'that she wake up' (< **raḡša*)
zo'a 'couple, pair' (< **zoḡa*)
na'əs 'that he bite, sting' (< **naḡes*)

Where postvocalic **g* was geminated, the ANA reflex is /*g/*. For example:

duglana 'liar' (< **dugg^olana*)
gəgla 'skein, roll, spool' (< **gəgg^ola* < **gəlg^ola* < **galg^ola*)¹⁴

¹³ See 4.1.7.10.

¹⁴ Cf. BTA גלגל 'wheel', also 'wheel-work at wells, crane, etc.'

In a very few cases, /ǰ/ is retained. For example:

laǰma 'bridle'

Most occurrences of ANA /ǰ/ are, however, in loanwords. For example:

j-ǰ-l 'to occupy oneself' III 'to keep busy, to distract' (< * ž-ǰ-l < A š-ǰ-l)
ǰlaqa 'locking' (< A)
laǰla 'omer' 'Lag Ba-Omer (Jewish festival)' (< H)
maǰara 'cave' (< A)

Sometimes, however, a ǰ in a foreign word will be devoiced. For instance:

šax 'healthy' (< K *saǰ*)

It is to be assumed that the pathway from *ǰ to /ʃ/ had a pharyngeal as an intermediate stage, as evinced by *l-oya* 'inside' < *lʰǰo'a*¹⁵ and *ya'isa* 'husband of wife's sister' < **aǰisa*.

1.9.1.6 *k

The situation for OA *k is parallel to that for OA *b as described in 1.9.1.1 above and that for OA *t in 1.9.1.3 above.

The original fricative allophone of OA *k is reflected as x, which is a separate phoneme /x/ in ANA. The shift of OA *ħ to ANA x (see 1.9.2.1 below) has added considerably to the functional load of /x/. Minimal pairs for ANA /x/ and /k/ are given below:

xalwe 'his milk' : *kalwe* 'dogs'
musxeli 'I taught him to swim' : *muskeli* 'I awarded (to) him'

There are a number of cases where one finds ANA k after a vowel. ANA k is, for instance, the regular reflex where OA *k was geminated, e.g. *rakixa* 'smooth' (< **rakkiħa*).

There is a certain amount of unpredictability as to which ANA reflex of OA *k one finds in verbal roots with OA *k as the middle radical. As rule though, the choice is constant throughout the paradigm of a verb. For instance:

'-x-l 'to eat': *xalle* 'he ate', *k-exəl* 'he eats', *'ixala* 'eating'
r-k-w 'to ride': *rkule* 'he rode', *g-raku* 'he rides', *rkawa* 'riding'

¹⁵ Also, in those dialects of NENA which show synharmonism, words which originally had *[ɣ] may sometimes show flattening (see Tsereteli 1990: 38–9). For example, Jilu *ʳraš* 'that he wake up' (< **r-ǰ-s*) (Fox 1977, glossary).

1.9.2 *Pharyngeal Consonants*

1.9.2.1 *ħ

As is usual in NENA dialects, the unvoiced pharyngeal fricative *ħ has merged with /x/.

<i>moxa</i> ‘brain’	(< * <i>moħa</i>)
<i>naxira</i> ‘nose’	(< * <i>naħira</i> ‘nostril’)
<i>xola</i> ‘rope’	(< * <i>ħabla</i>)
<i>x-z-y</i> ‘to see’	(< * <i>ħ-z-y</i>)

In a few words of Aramaic stock, *ħ has been retained. For instance:

<i>d-b-ħ</i> ‘to slaughter’	(< * <i>d-b-ħ</i>)
<i>ħuqqa</i> ‘rung (of ladder)’	(< * <i>ħawqa</i>)
<i>n-q-ħ</i> ‘to touch’	(< * <i>n-q-ħ</i> ‘to peck?’)
<i>pəšħa</i> ‘Passover’	(< * <i>pishħa</i>)
<i>qarqaħta</i> ‘break of day’	(cf. * <i>q-r-ħ</i> ‘to be bald’) ¹⁶
<i>q-d-ħ</i> ‘to kindle, to light fire’	(< * <i>q-d-ħ</i> ‘to burn, to blaze’)
<i>raħuqa</i> ‘far’	(< * <i>raħoqa</i>)
<i>r-ħ-m</i> II ‘to have mercy’	(< * <i>r-ħ-m</i>)
<i>rumħa</i> ‘spear’	(< * <i>rumħa</i>)

In some of these words, it seems that Arabic or Hebrew cognates have influenced the retention of the pharyngeal (e.g. *d-b-ħ* and *pəšħa*). In others, the phonetic environment has been the deciding factor. Often the presence of a /q/ (as in *raħuqa* and *n-q-ħ*) or of liquid consonants¹⁷ (as in *rumħa* or *r-ħ-m* II) appears to have effected the retention of the pharyngeal. This is, however, not a regular process, as is demonstrated by the existence of lexical items like *p-q-x* ‘to bloom, to blossom’, *qamxa* ‘flour’, *xpaqa* ‘bosom’, *ərxa* ‘guest’ and *xmara* ‘ass’.

By far the most common occurrences of /ħ/ are in loans from Hebrew, Arabic and Kurdish. For example:

<i>‘aqedət</i> <i>əšħaq</i> ‘the Binding of Isaac’ (< H)
<i>dahla</i> ‘thicket, bush’ (< K)
<i>fārah</i> ‘joy, celebration’ (< A)
<i>ħal</i> ‘situation, wealth’ (< A)
<i>ħadiqa</i> ‘garden, park’ (< A)
<i>ħanna</i> ‘Hannah (anth.)’ (< H)
<i>ħanukka</i> ‘festival of Hannuka’ (< H)

¹⁶ One assumes that the semantic shift came about via a meaning of ‘to be clear, blank’.

¹⁷ See 1.8 above.

ḥašwan ‘(Jewish lunar month of) Heshvan’ (H)
ḥawwa ‘Eve (anth.)’ (< H)
ḥirik ‘athletic, strong’ (< K)
ḥ-k-m ‘to rule, to govern’ (< A)
ḥluka ‘plum’ (< K)
maḥalle ‘neighbourhood’ (< A)
mašiyah ‘Messiah’ (< H)
mənḥa ‘afternoon prayer service’ (< H)
raḥat ‘calm, placid’ (< K)

Sometimes a pharyngeal appears in a loanword in ANA, where the source language does not have a pharyngeal. This may be viewed as hypercorrection. For example:

q-ḥ-r ‘to be sad’ (< A *q-h-r*)

1.9.2.2 *‘

As is usual in NENA dialects, the voiced pharyngeal fricative *‘ has, in the vast majority of cases, undergone weakening to /’/:

<i>’ar’a</i> ‘land, earth’	(< *‘ <i>ar’a</i>)
<i>’ena</i> ‘eye’	(< *‘ <i>ayna</i>)
<i>be’ta</i> ‘egg’	(< *‘ <i>be’ta</i>)
<i>šo’a</i> ‘seven’	(< *‘ <i>šab’a</i>)
<i>swa’ta</i> ‘satiety’	(< *‘ <i>šba’ta</i>)
<i>ṭam’a</i> ‘taste’	(< *‘ <i>ṭa’mā</i>)
<i>z’ora</i> ‘small’	(< *‘ <i>z’ora</i>)

Sometimes *‘ has been weakened to \emptyset . For example:

’arba ‘four’ (< *‘*arb’a*)

In some words of Aramaic stock, */‘/ has been retained. For example:

<i>’aqarwa</i> ‘scorpion’	(< *‘ <i>aqarḥa</i> < *‘ <i>aqraḥa</i>)
<i>n-’-r</i> ‘to bray’	(< *‘ <i>n-’-r</i>)
<i>’apša</i> ‘gallnut, gall oak’	(< *‘ <i>apša</i>)

By far the most common occurrences of /’/ are in loans from Hebrew, Arabic and Kurdish. For example:

’abṛa ‘raft, ferry’ (< K/A)¹⁸
’aqedat *’ašḥaq* ‘the Binding of Isaac’ (< H)
’eser dābbarot ‘the Ten Commandments’ (< H)
’olam ‘world’ (< H)

¹⁸ Cf. K *ḥabra* and A *’-b-r* ‘to cross’.

ṛaša 'evil (man)' (< H)

šam'a pl. *šam'e* 'wax; (wax) candle' (< A)

wa'da 'time; season' (< A)

Sometimes a pharyngeal appears in a loanword in ANA, where the source language does not have a pharyngeal. This may be viewed as hypercorrection. For example:

'iyyar '(Jewish lunar month of) Iyar' (< H אֵייר)

'insan 'man, mankind' (< A *'insān*)

'-m-r II 'to be a know-it-all, to correct [someone] incessantly' (< A *'-m-r*)

júr'ata 'courage, bravery' (< K < A *jur'a*)

qur'an 'the Quran' (< A *qur'ān*)

CHAPTER TWO

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

Languages which find themselves in situations of contact with other languages generally undergo a process of mutual lexical borrowing. ANA is no exception in this regard. When presenting a systematic grammar such as that offered herein, it is not satisfactory simply to classify the nouns of ANA according to their putative etymological origins as either borrowed or native. The manifest difficulties associated with ascertaining an unequivocal etymology of each and every lexeme aside, such a classification would not give an accurate description of the synchronic state of ANA, which is after all the primary aim of this study. It is surely far more logical to divide the nouns of the dialect into two synchronically significant categories, viz. nouns that follow (or have been adapted to follow) ANA morphological patterns for nouns and those that do not (or have not). This leaves us with a situation wherein we shall necessarily classify together nouns assumed to be ultimately of Aramaic stock (e.g. *yama* (m.) (arch.) ‘sea’), of Kurdish origin (e.g. *dara* (m.) ‘tree’), Arabic origin (*waṭra* ‘(non-kosher) intestine/s’ < A *watar-* ‘tendon, corde’), or for that matter of any derivation, which end in an *-a* and follow the morphological patterns for the so-called “native” stock as outlined below.¹ These will constitute Class I. The second class of nouns is accordingly composed of those nouns which do not end in *-a*, do not follow the “native” morphological patterns, or both. They may be of Aramaic origin (e.g. *gare* (m.) ‘roof’, *kalo* (f.) ‘bride’) or of foreign origin (e.g. *kursi* (m.) ‘chair’ (< MSA *kursiy-* ‘throne, chair’),² *šamandāfar* ‘train, railway’ (< IrA < F *chemin de fer* ‘railway’), *lewi* ‘Levite’ (< H לוי ‘Levite’)).

¹ Note the necessarily circular nature of this classification: native words are defined as words that correspond to native morphological patterns, which are in turn classified as native because native words fit into them.

² Although the Arabic word itself was originally borrowed from OA כורסיה (which is itself a borrowing from Akkadian), the proximate source of *kursi* in ANA is to be found undoubtedly in Arabic.

2.1 CLASS I: NOUNS ENDING IN -A, -TA (F.) OR -ȚA (F.)

2.1.1 *Patterns*

2.1.1.1 CvCa

CaCa	'axa (m.)	'brother'
	čara (f.)	'long robe and wrap worn by women'
	kaka (m.)	'tooth'
	mara (m.)	'owner, master'
	mața (f.)	'village'
	nașa (m.)	'person'
	nața (f.)	'ear'
	qala (m.)	'voice, sound'
	qașa (m.)	'priest'
	xala (m.)	'vinegar'
CeCa	'eda (m.)	'festival'
	'eta (f.)	'church'
	kepa (m.)	'stone'
	qeța (m.)	'summer'
	sepa (m.)	'sword'
CiCa	tera (m.)	'large bird, fowl'
	'ida (f.)	'hand'
	čila (f.)	'bloke, bugger (joc. or vul.)'
	mița (m.)	'dead person'
	nira (m.)	'yoke'
CoCa	șiwa (m.)	'wood, tree'
	țina (m.)	'mud'
	'oda (m.)	'slave'
	'ođa (f.)	'room'
	bola (m.)	'hair (on head)'
	čoka (f.)	'the outside of the elbow joint'
	koda (f.)	'liver'
	loھا (m.)	'tablet (of stone)'
	moxa (m.)	'brain'
	poza (m.)	'chin'
CuCa	qora (f.)	'grave'
	duka (f.)	'place'
	dușa (m.)	'honey'
	guda (m.)	'interior wall; leather container for liquids; churn'
	susa (m.)	'horse'
	suta (m.)	'dam'
	șula (m.)	'work, job'
	șura (m.)	'wall (of a city)'
	tuma (m.)	'garlic'
	tuna (m.)	'straw'

2.1.1.2 CvCvCa

<i>CaCaCa</i>	<i>‘ašaya</i> (m.)	‘supper’
	<i>bařaza</i> (m.)	‘pig, wild boar’
	<i>jama‘a</i> (f.)	‘community, congregation, group’
	<i>mağara</i> (f.)	‘cave’
	<i>nařaya</i> (m.)	‘warrior, fighter’
	<i>nawaga</i> (m.)	‘grandson’
	<i>qaraya</i> (m.)	‘literate person’
	<i>rakawa</i> (m.)	‘horseman’
	<i>sarada</i> (m.)	‘large wooden sieve’
	<i>warāqa</i> (f.)	‘paper’
	<i>zaqara</i> (m.)	‘weaver’
<i>CăCaCa</i>	<i>zālata</i> (f.)	‘salad’
<i>CaCăCa</i>	<i>tanāga</i> (m.)	‘bin, tin’
<i>CaCəCa</i>	<i>čadəra</i> (f.)	‘tent’
<i>CaCiCa</i>	<i>‘aliqa</i> (m.)	‘fodder’
	<i>daqiqā</i> (f.)	‘minute’
	<i>maħina</i> (f.)	‘mare’
	<i>naxira</i> (m.)	‘nose’
	<i>warida</i> (m.)	‘root; vein’
<i>CaCoCa</i>	<i>‘amoya</i> (m.)	‘paternal uncle’
	<i>ħakoma</i> (m.)	‘king’
	<i>ja‘oda</i> (m.)	‘axe, hatchet’
	<i>sawoya</i> (m.)	‘grandfather’
	<i>xaloya</i> (m.)	‘maternal uncle’
<i>CaCuCa</i>	<i>kanuna</i> (m.)	‘stove’
	<i>řabuqa</i> (m.)	‘rod, stick’
	<i>xabuřa</i> (m.)	‘apple’
	<i>yatuma</i> (m.)	‘orphan, child orphaned of his father’
<i>CiCaCa</i>	<i>ħilana</i> (m.)	‘cheater’
	<i>jigara</i> (f.)	‘cigarette, cigar’
	<i>jirana</i> (m.)	‘neighbour’
	<i>lišana</i> (m.)	‘tongue, language’
	<i>řinana</i> (m.)	‘gum (of mouth)’
<i>CiCăCa</i>	<i>fiřaka</i> (m.)	‘bullet’
<i>CeCiCa</i>	<i>neriya</i> (m.)	‘he-goat’
	<i>sevika</i> (m.)	‘a child orphaned of his mother’
	<i>řerika</i> (m.)	‘(business) partner’
<i>CoCaCa</i>	<i>kolana</i> (m.)	‘path, alley’
	<i>tořana</i> (f.)	‘flood’
<i>CoCăCa</i>	<i>gozaka</i> (m.)	‘ankle’
<i>CoCeCa</i>	<i>xořeba</i> (m.)	‘Sunday’
<i>CoCiCa</i>	<i>qořiya</i> (f.)	‘box, can’
	<i>đodiya</i> (f.)	‘swaddling’
<i>CuCaCa</i>	<i>ğulama</i> (m.)	‘servant, slave’

2.1.1.3 CvCCa

<i>CaCCa</i>	<i>'amta</i> (f.)	'paternal aunt'
	<i>'apša</i> (m.)	'gallnut, gall oak'
	<i>garma</i> (m.)	'bone'
	<i>kałta</i> (f.)	'daughter-in-law'
	<i>lağma</i> (m.)	'bridle'
	<i>mar'a</i> (m.)	'pain, illness'
	<i>zanda</i> (f.)	'forearm'
<i>CaCCa</i>	<i>'amma</i>	'(one) hundred'
	<i>dəbba</i> (f.)	'bear'
	<i>dəqna</i> (m.)	'beard'
	<i>məšxa</i> (m.)	'butter, milk fat'
	<i>nədra</i> (m.)	'vow'
	<i>tałla</i> (f.)	'shadow, shade'
	<i>xatna</i> (m.)	'bridegroom'
<i>CeCCa</i> ³	<i>behra</i> (f.)	'well, pit; lion's den; light'
	<i>dehwa</i> (m.)	'gold'
	<i>le'ma</i> (m.)	'cheek, jaw'
	<i>pe'la</i> (m.)	'radish'
	<i>sehra</i> (m.)	'moon'
	<i>še'da</i> (f.)	'almond'
	<i>te'na</i> (f.)	'fig, fig tree'
<i>CoCCa</i>	<i>te'na</i> (m.)	'burden, load'
	<i>golka</i> (m.)	'calf, young bull'
<i>CuCCa</i>	<i>hoxma</i> (f.)	'intelligence'
	<i>'uṭma</i> (f.)	'thigh'
	<i>'uqba</i> (f.)	'heel'
	<i>buxra</i> (m.)	'first-born (son)'
	<i>nuqba</i> (m.)	'hole'
	<i>rumḥa</i> (f.)	'spear'
	<i>xulma</i> (m.)	'dream'

2.1.1.4 CCvCa

<i>CCaCa</i>	<i>gdada</i> (m.)	'cord, string'
	<i>ktawa</i> (m.)	'letter, writing, manuscript'
	<i>qdala</i> (f.)	'neck'

³ Most ANA nouns of the pattern *CeCCa* seem to have come about as a result of a phonetic variation of an underlying *CaCCa* pattern, conditioned by the presence of /l/ or /h/ (or in theory by /l/, although no examples are found in the corpus) as the second radical. For example, *lə'ma → le'ma. In fact there exists a general phonetic rule that:

$\text{ə} > e / _ , ' , h.$

The same phonetic process is evident in the preterite of verbal roots ending in one of these three root letters. For example *šme'le → šme'le 'he heard', *frāhle → frehle 'he was fertile' and *vja'le → vje'le 'he was strange'.

	<i>šra'a</i> (m.)	'oil-lamp'
	<i>šwawa</i> (m.)	'guest, neighbour'
	<i>xmara</i> (m.)	'ass'
	<i>xwara</i> (m.)	'albumen'
CCiCa	<i>'lina</i> (f.)	'large container'
	<i>mzida</i> (f.)	'leather bag for rice, wheat etc.'
	<i>skina</i> (f.)	'knife'
CCoCa	<i>brona</i> (m.)	'son'
	<i>ṭroša</i> (m.)	'truth'
CCuCa	<i>ḥluka</i> (f.)	'plum'
	<i>stuna</i> (f.)	'pillar, colum'
	<i>xlula</i> (m.)	'wedding, wedding ceremony'

2.1.1.5 CCvCCa

CCəCCa	<i>prəzla</i> (m.)	'iron'
--------	--------------------	--------

2.1.1.6 CCvCvCa

CCoCaCa	<i>ṛ'odana</i> (f.)	'earthquake'
---------	---------------------	--------------

2.1.1.7 CvCCvCa

CaCCaCa	<i>čarpaya</i> (f.)	'bed'
	<i>fassada</i> (m.)	'informer, telltale'
	<i>gammara</i> (m.)	'tanner (of hide)'
	<i>gawwaya</i> (m.)	'beggar'
	<i>kappaṛa</i> (f.)	'expiation'
	<i>kavlana</i> (f.)	'scabbard, sheath'
	<i>qalqala</i> (m.)	'lower shoulder'
	<i>zammara</i> (m.)	'singer'
CaCCəCa	<i>zangəla</i> (m.)	'small, hand-held bell; penis (children's euphemism)'
CaCCiCa	<i>makkina</i> (f.)	'machine'
CaCCoCa	<i>šandoxa</i> (m.)	'pestle, small hammer'
CaCCuCa	<i>kammuna</i> (f.)	'cumin'
	<i>laymuna</i> (f.)	'lemon'
CəCCaCa	<i>'ənnaba</i> (m.)	'milk tooth'
	<i>'əryana</i> (f.)	'rain'
	<i>bəzmara</i> (m.)	'nail'
	<i>dəkkana</i> (f.)	'shop'
	<i>fəstaqa</i> (f.)	'pistachio nut; pistachio tree'
	<i>xəyyara</i> (f.)	'sweet cucumber'
CəCCiCa	<i>məškina</i> (m.)	'poor man, unlucky man'
CəCCoCa	<i>dəbbora</i> (f.)	'bee'
	<i>xəžbona</i> (m.)	'account, bill'
	<i>pəddoma</i> (m.)	'plug (in sink, pipe etc.)'
	<i>šəryoxa</i> (m.)	'shoelace'

<i>CuCCaCa</i>	<i>šubbaka</i> (f.)	‘window’
<i>CuCCiCa</i>	<i>qušriya</i> (f.)	‘vessel for collecting a child’s faeces, chamber pot’

2.1.1.8 CvCvCCa

<i>CiCaCCa</i>	<i>sidanqa</i> (m.)	‘small container (for storing fresh meat)’
	<i>simarxa</i> (m.)	‘eagle’
<i>CiCəCCa</i>	<i>šišərka</i> (m.)	‘cricket’

2.1.1.9 Cvta/Cvṭa (f.)

<i>Cata/Caṭa</i>	<i>maṭa</i>	‘village’
	<i>naṭa</i>	‘ear’
	<i>paṭa</i>	‘face, surface’
	<i>šaṭa</i>	‘year’
<i>Ceta/Ceṭa</i>	<i>xata</i>	‘sister’
	<i>’eta</i>	‘church’
	<i>xeṭa</i>	‘a woman who has given birth in the last 30 days’
<i>Cota</i>	<i>sota</i>	‘grandmother’

2.1.1.10 CvCta/CvCṭa (f.)

<i>CaCta/CaCṭa</i>	<i>daṣṭa</i>	‘field’
	<i>kaṭa</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
	<i>karta</i>	‘bundle’
	<i>masta</i>	‘yoghurt’
	<i>qarta</i>	‘cold, cold weather’
<i>CəCta/CəCṭa</i>	<i>šaḅṭa</i>	‘week; Sabbath’
	<i>gəṇṭa</i>	‘garden’
	<i>kəṣṭa</i>	‘small bag; pocket’
	<i>məṣṭa</i>	‘hair’
	<i>qəṣṭa</i>	‘bow; rainbow’
<i>CeCta/CeCṭa</i> ⁴	<i>ṛəṣṭa</i>	‘cord, washing line’
	<i>səkṭa</i>	‘peg’
	<i>bəṭa</i>	‘egg’
	<i>deṭa</i>	‘perspiration’

⁴ Most nouns of the pattern *CeCta/CeCṭa* seem to have come about as a result of a phonetic variation of an underlying *CəCṭa* pattern, conditioned by the presence of /l/ (or in theory by /l/ or /h/, although no examples are found in the corpus) as the second radical. For example, **dəṭa* → *deṭa*. The general phonetic rule was given in footnote 45 above: $\text{ə} > e / _ , \text{ ; } h$.

<i>CoCta</i> ⁵	<i>bo'ta</i>	'pit (of fruit), roasted seed eaten as a snack'
<i>CuCta /CuCta</i>	<i>dukta</i>	'place'
	<i>gupta</i>	'cheese'
	<i>guṭta</i>	'spool (of wool)'
	<i>jurta</i>	'(pool of) urine'
	<i>pukta</i>	'burp'
	<i>ruqta</i>	'(amount) of spittle'
	<i>susta</i>	'mare'

2.1.1.11 CCvta/CCvta (f.)

<i>CCata/CCaṭa</i>	<i>brata</i>	'daughter'
	<i>xmata</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>CCeta</i>	<i>kṭeta</i>	'chicken'
	<i>ṣteta</i>	'drink, (act of) drinking'
	<i>xyeta</i>	'(act of) living'
<i>CCiṭa</i>	<i>ṣwita</i>	'carpet'
<i>CCoṭa</i>	<i>ṣḷoṭa</i>	'prayer'
<i>CCuṭa</i>	<i>ktuṭa</i>	'amulet'

2.1.1.12 CCvCta/CCvCta (f.)

<i>CCaCta/CCaCṭa</i>	<i>n'asta</i>	'bite, sting'
	<i>sparta</i>	'hope'
	<i>xmarta</i>	'jenny-ass'
	<i>xwarṭa</i>	'afterbirth'
	<i>y'alta</i>	'child (f.)'
	<i>zwa'ta</i>	'pita bread'
<i>CCəCta/CCəCta</i>	<i>ṣəkṭa</i>	'testicle'
	<i>knəṣta</i>	'synagogue'
	<i>ptəḷta</i>	'wick'
	<i>skəṛta</i>	'drunkenness'

⁵ Most nouns of the pattern *CoCta* seem to have come about as a result of a phonetic variation of an underlying *CuCta* pattern, conditioned by the presence of /l/ or /h/ (or in theory by /l/, although no examples are found in the corpus) as the second radical. In general, the *CuCCa* pattern itself is produced by a general phonetic rule that:

-oCC- > -uCC-

Now it would seem that the the presence of /l/, /l/, or /h/ as the first consonant after /o/ in this phonetic environment either blocks the shift, (or perhaps causes a second shift of [u] back to [o]) More fully then:

-oC₁C₂- > -uC₁C₂- / C₁ ≠ ' , ' , h.

<i>CCeCṭa</i> ⁶	<i>yde'ta</i>	'knowledge'
	<i>zde'ta</i>	'fear'
<i>CCuCta/CCuCṭa</i>	<i>nṣuqta</i>	'kiss'
	<i>ṣ'urta</i>	'curse'
	<i>ṭlumta</i>	'loaf (of bread)'
<i>CCoCta/CCoCṭa</i> ⁷	<i>zro'ta</i>	'planting; crop'
	<i>zdo'ta</i>	'fear'

2.1.1.13 CvCvṭa/ CvCvta (*f*.)

<i>CaCṭa/CaCita</i>	<i>dalṭa</i>	'vine'
	<i>garṭa</i>	'balcony, veranda'
	<i>qarṭa</i>	'beam'
<i>CuCṭa</i>	<i>kulṭa</i>	'kidney'
	<i>kusiṭa</i>	'hat'
	<i>nuniṭa</i>	'fish'

2.1.1.14 CCvCṭa

<i>CCaCṭa</i>	<i>stabṭa</i>	'cushion, pillow'
---------------	---------------	-------------------

2.1.1.15 CvCCṭa

<i>CaCCṭa</i>	<i>ṣaqṭa</i>	'channel, conduit'
<i>CəCCṭa</i>	<i>xəṭṭa</i>	'grain of wheat'
<i>CuCCṭa</i>	<i>qurṇṭa</i>	'(external) corner'
	<i>ḥukkṭa</i>	'story, legend, folktale'

2.1.1.16 CvCvCta

<i>CaCaCta</i>	<i>bajanta</i>	'tomato'
	<i>nawagta</i>	'granddaughter'
	<i>qaramta</i>	'blanket'
<i>CaCəCta/</i> <i>CaCəCṭa</i>	<i>'aṣṛta</i>	'evening'
	<i>kaləṭta</i>	'bitch'
	<i>maxəlta</i>	'small wooden sieve'
	<i>qaləṭta</i>	'shell (of nut)'
	<i>saləmta</i>	'cockscorn'
	<i>yabəṣta</i>	'raisin'
	<i>zarəqta</i>	'wasp'

⁶ This is a phonetic variant of *CCəCṭa*, in accordance with the rule given in footnote 2 above: $\text{ə} > e / _ , ' , h$.

⁷ These are phonetic variants of *CCuCta* and *CCuCṭa* above, respectively, in accordance with the rule given in footnote 4 above: $-oC_1C_2- > -uC_1C_2-$, where $C_1 \neq ' , ' , h$.

<i>CaCeCta/</i>		
<i>CaCeCta</i> ⁸	<i>gare'ta</i>	'razor'
	<i>şane'ta</i>	'trade, profession'
	<i>tane'ta</i>	'letter (of the alphabet)'
	<i>qare'ta</i>	'pumpkin'
<i>CaCoCta</i> ⁹	<i>balo'ta</i>	'throat'
	<i>şabo'ta</i>	'finger'
	<i>ta'olta</i>	'game'
<i>CaCuCta/</i>		
<i>CaCuCta</i>	<i>garusta</i>	handmill'
	<i>hakumta</i>	'queen'
	<i>şapukta</i>	'Kurdish jacket'
	<i>yatumta</i>	'orphan (f.)'
<i>CəCeCta</i> ¹⁰	<i>dəme'ta</i>	'tear'
	<i>bəçə'ta</i>	'bastard (f.)'
	<i>xələ'ta</i>	'present, gift'
<i>CeCuCta</i>	<i>mepuxta</i>	'raisin juice / syrup'
<i>CiCaCta</i>	<i>'idamta</i>	'wife of spouse's brother'
	<i>'izalta</i>	'journey'
<i>CiCəCta</i>	<i>şivəkta</i>	'valley'
<i>CoCəCta/</i>		
<i>CoCəCta</i>	<i>dorəkta</i>	'loaf (of bread)'
	<i>koçəkta</i>	'teaspoon, utensil, piece of cutlery'
	<i>kođanta</i>	'mule'
	<i>qođarta</i>	'package, bundle'
	<i>sobərta</i>	'bracelet'
	<i>sotənta</i>	'old woman'
<i>CoCeCta</i> ¹¹	<i>tole'ta</i>	'worm'
<i>CuCaCta</i>	<i>xura'tta</i>	'friend (f.)'
<i>CuCəCta</i>	<i>çuçəkta</i>	'(small) bird'
	<i>huçəkta</i>	'long piece of material attached to sleeve, used as a handguard or a face towel'
	<i>kuləkta</i>	'ulcer'
	<i>şubəlta</i>	'ear of corn'
	<i>xumərta</i>	'bead'

⁸ These are phonetic variants of *CaCəCta* and *CaCəCta* above, respectively, in accordance with the rule given in footnote 2 above: $\text{ə} > \text{e} / _ , \text{'} , \text{h}$.

⁹ This is a phonetic variant of *CaCuCta* below, in accordance with the rule given in footnote 47 above: $-\text{oC}_1\text{C}_2- > -\text{uC}_1\text{C}_2-$, where $\text{C}_1 \neq \text{'} , \text{h}$.

¹⁰ This is a phonetic variant the pattern *CəCəCta* (of which no examples have been found in the corpus) in accordance with the rule given in footnote 45 above: $\text{ə} > \text{e} / _ , \text{'} , \text{h}$.

¹¹ This is a phonetic variant of *CoCəCta*, in accordance with the general phonetic rule discussed in footnote 45 above: $\text{ə} > \text{e} / _ , \text{'} , \text{h}$.

2.1.1.17 CvCCvCta/CvCCvCta (f.)

<i>CaCCaCta</i>	<i>mad'arta</i>	'vomit'
	<i>parčamta</i>	'long hair (on head)'
	<i>qarqah̄ta</i>	'early morning, break of day'
<i>CaCCəCta</i>	<i>qarqəpta</i>	'skull'
<i>CaCCeCta</i> ¹²	<i>paqqe'ta</i>	'frog'
	<i>tāppe'ta</i>	'slope, sloping hill'
<i>CaCCuCta</i>	<i>šargumta</i>	'turnip'
<i>CəCCaCta</i>	<i>səmmalta</i>	'ladder'
	<i>šəkwanta</i>	'ant'
	<i>yəkkanta</i>	'only child (f.)'
<i>CəCCəCta/</i>		
<i>CəCCəCta</i>	<i>čəppəkta</i>	'drop (of liquid)'
	<i>čəngərtā</i>	'rag'
	<i>dəndəkta</i>	'kernel'
	<i>fəlfəltā</i>	'(bell) pepper'
	<i>kərməkta</i>	'worm'
	<i>pərsəntā</i>	'scar'
	<i>pərtəkta</i>	'crumb'
<i>CəCCoCta</i> ¹³	<i>pəssō'ta</i>	'step, pace'
<i>CəCCuCta</i>	<i>šəmmušta</i>	'straw'
<i>CuCCaCta</i>	<i>qundarta</i>	'shoe'
	<i>duglanta</i>	'liar (f.)'
<i>CuCCəCta</i>	<i>gumbəltā</i>	'ball'
	<i>qursəltā</i>	'elbow'
<i>CuCCuCta</i>	<i>qulqulta</i>	'keyhole'

2.1.2 Derivational Affixes

2.1.2.1 -uṭa (f.)

This suffix is employed to derive abstract nouns from a variety of words in the lexicon. The process involves the loss of the base word's *-a* inflection, or the *-a* of a *-ta* / *-ta* feminine inflection, if appropriate, and the subsequent suffixation of *-uṭa*. For example:

¹² This is a phonetic variant of *CaCCəCta*, in accordance with the general phonetic rule discussed in footnote 45 above: $\text{ə} > \text{e} / _ , ' , h$.

¹³ This is a phonetic variant of *CəCCuCta* below, in accordance with the rule given in footnote 47 above:

$-\text{oC}_1\text{C}_2- > -\text{uC}_1\text{C}_2-$, where $\text{C}_1 \neq ' , ' , h$.

De-adjectival nominalisation

<i>bassimuta</i> (f.)	‘pleasantness, sweetness’	(< <i>bassima</i> ‘pleasant, sweet’)
<i>ge’yuta</i> (f.)	‘pride, arrogance’	(< <i>ge’ya</i> ‘proud, arrogant’)
<i>kpinuta</i> (f.)	‘hunger, famine’	(< <i>kpina</i> ‘hungry’)
<i>naxwašuta</i> (f.)	‘illness, state of being ill’	(< <i>naxwaš</i> ‘ill’)
<i>rahatuta</i> (f.)	‘calm (n.), peace and quiet’	(< <i>rahat</i> ‘calm, placid’)
<i>řumanuta</i> (f.)	‘height’	(< <i>řumana</i> ‘high’)
<i>řaxinuta</i> (f.)	‘heat’	(< <i>řaxina</i> ‘hot’)
<i>řidanuta</i> (f.)	‘insanity, madness’	(< <i>řidana</i> ‘insane, mad’)
<i>řulxayuta</i> (f.)	‘nudity, nakedness’	(< <i>řulxaya</i> ‘naked, nude’)
<i>taliluta</i> (f.)	‘wetness, damp (n.)’	(< <i>talila</i> ‘wet’)
<i>xriwuta</i> (f.)	‘evil deed, evil (n.)’	(< <i>xriwa</i> ‘evil (adj.)’)
<i>xwaruta</i> (f.)	‘whiteness; dairy products’	(< <i>xwara</i> ‘white’)
<i>zanginuta</i> (f.)	‘wealth’	(< <i>zangin</i> ‘wealthy’)

The abstract noun may in some cases preserve an earlier form of the adjective, which is no longer to be found in the modern language. For example:

<i>sawuta</i> (f.)	‘old age’	(< * <i>sawa</i> ‘old’, cf. <i>sawona</i> ‘old’)
<i>hawuta</i> (f.)	‘kindness, goodness, favour’	(< <i>hawwa</i> ‘good (obs.)’)

One slightly unexpected form is *z’uruta* ‘childhood, youth’. The word is clearly from the root *z-’r* ‘to be small, young’. The adjective from this root is *z’ora* ‘small, young’ and so one might expect **z’oruta*. Perhaps this was indeed the original form and the current form is the result of vocalic assimilation. Another strange feature of this word is that it often occurs without the expected terminal *-a*: *z’ürut* ~ *z’ürut*. The short *ü* vowel which is sometimes heard seems to preserve the vocalism of a form with the terminal *-a*, in which the stress was on the second *u*, **z’uruta*, in which the first *u* would be unstressed, and therefore pronounced short. After the terminal *-a* is lost, the original short *ü* vowel is retained, even though the factors which conditioned its length are no longer present.¹⁴

¹⁴ It is also possible that this form is a retention of the OA nominal form without the *-a* suffix, which used to be a mark of determination, but which has been semantically bleached in NA. Although the vocalism of the form *z’ürut* ~ *z’ürut* suggests that it is a later innovation in ANA, the fact that it is only attested in an adverbial phrase *mən z’ürut* ~ *mən z’ürut* ‘from youth; always’ may suggest that it is a retention from OA. Below are some examples of its use from the text corpus:

*Denominal nominalisation*¹⁵

<i>'axuṭa</i> (f.)	'brotherhood'	(< <i>'axa</i> (m.) 'brother')
<i>behruṭa</i> (f.)	'brightness'	(< <i>behra</i> (f.) 'light')
<i>bratuṭa</i> (f.)	'virginity'	(< <i>brata</i> (f.) 'girl, virgin')
<i>buxruṭa</i> (f.)	'birthright'	(< <i>buxra</i> (m.) 'first-born son')
<i>ganawuṭa</i> (f.)	'theft'	(< <i>ganawa</i> (m.) 'thief')
<i>palguṭa</i> (f.)	'middle'	(< <i>palga</i> (m.) 'half')
<i>pinidozuṭa</i> (f.)	'cobbling, shoemaking'	(< <i>pinidos</i> (m.) 'cobbler') ¹⁶
<i>qačagaṭa</i> (f.)	'smuggling'	(< <i>qačag</i> (m.) 'smuggler')
<i>sahduṭa</i> (f.)	'testimony'	(< <i>sahda</i> (m.) 'witness')
<i>šammašuṭa</i> (f.)	'synagogue sexton's duties'	(< <i>šammaš</i> (m.) 'synagogue sexton')
<i>təjjaruṭa</i> (f.)	'trade, business; wares'	(< <i>təjjara</i> (m.) 'merchant, trader')

One example of a the suffix *-uṭa* being added to a noun phrase is:

<i>našgyanuṭa</i> (f.)	'the practice of marrying relatives'	(< <i>naš gyana</i> 'relative, lit. person of one's own')
------------------------	--------------------------------------	---

It seems clear that in this case *naš gyana* is reanalysed and treated as if it were a simple noun, **našgyana*.¹⁷

Deverbal nominalisation

Abstract nouns formed in this manner are attested in the following patterns:

<i>CaCaCuṭa</i>		
<i>'ajabuṭa</i> (f.)	'wonder, amazement'	(< <i>'j-b</i> II 'to be surprised')
<i>ğalaṭuṭa</i> (f.)	'mistake, error'	(< <i>ğ-l-ṭ</i> 'to make a mistake')
<i>šaraxuṭa</i> (f.)	'aggression, belligerence'	(< <i>š-r-x</i> 'to shout') ¹⁸
<i>CaCCuṭa</i>		
<i>naxpuṭa</i> (f.)	'embarrassment, shame'	(< <i>n-x-p</i> 'to be embarrassed')
<i>wadūṭa</i> (f.)	'promise'	(< <i>w-'d</i> 'to promise')

mən z'ūruṭ naxwaš wewa məskina 'He was unwell from his youth, the poor thing.'
dayman baba 'u-yəmma ki'əwala brata 'ékela bəṛwəya brat mənīla...mənīlu mišpaḥa dida. 'az *mən z'ūruṭ ki'əwala* 'The father and mother always knew the girl, where she had grown up, whose daughter she was... who her family was. So they knew her from her youth.'

¹⁵ Note that the source noun in these cases may be either Class I or Class II, see 2.2 above.

¹⁶ Note that the final sibilant of *pinidos* also becomes voiced in the plural *pinidoze*.

¹⁷ One is, however, justified in continuing to write *naš gyana* as two separate words in view of the fact that the plural is *naš gyana*, or *našəd gyana*, and not **našgyane* or something similar.

¹⁸ Cf. *šaruxa* 'aggressive, belligerent, antagonistic (especially of a dog or other animal)'.

<i>CəCCuṭa</i>		
<i>pətxuṭa</i> (f.)	‘width’	(< <i>p-t-x</i> ‘to open’)
<i>sənyuṭa</i> (f.)	‘hatred’	(< <i>s-n-y</i> ‘to hate’)
<i>xəbluṭa</i> (f.)	‘leprosy’	(< <i>x-b-l</i> ‘to be leprous’)
<i>yəqrūṭa</i> (f.)	‘weight, heaviness’	(< <i>y-q-r</i> ‘to be heavy’)
<i>yərxuṭa</i> (f.)	‘length’	(< <i>y-r-x</i> ‘to become long’)

A few derived abstract nouns show an infix *-t-* before the *-uṭa* suffix. For example:

<i>ma‘almatuṭa</i> (f.)	‘the state of being a rabbi / ritual slaughterer’
<i>pučyatuṭa</i> (f.)	‘emptiness, vanity’
<i>xuratuṭa</i> (f.)	‘friendship’

An irregularly formed abstract noun is *gorawuṭa* ‘manliness, strength, bravery’ < *gora* ‘man’.

2.1.2.2 -ana

The pattern $C_1aC_2(C_2)aC_3a$ is the ANA reflex of the original OA agentive formation from a root $C_1C_2C_3$.¹⁹ The suffix *-ana* is another common option in ANA. These nouns may be either denominal or deverbal.

Denominal

<i>duglana</i> (f. <i>duglanta</i>)	‘liar’ (< <i>dugla</i> ‘lie’)
<i>ḥilana</i> (f. <i>ḥilanta</i>)	‘cheater’ (< <i>ḥile</i> (f.) ‘cheating’)

Deverbal

<i>m‘amṛana</i> (f. <i>m‘amṛanta</i>)	‘one who corrects others constantly, know-it-all’ (< ‘ <i>m-r</i> ’ ‘to correct’)
<i>magxəkana</i> (f. <i>magxəketa</i>)	‘amusing person’ (< <i>g-x-k</i> III ‘to amuse’)
<i>mahuyana</i> (f. <i>mahuyeta</i>)	‘one who assists in childbirth’ (< <i>h-w-y</i> III ‘to assist in childbirth’)
<i>mapəlxana</i> (f. <i>mapəlxeta</i>)	‘employer’ (< <i>p-l-x</i> III ‘to employ’)
<i>maqəryana</i> (f. <i>maqəryeta</i>)	‘teacher, one who teaches Torah, reading and writing’ (< <i>q-r-y</i> III ‘to teach Torah, literacy’)
<i>maqərwana</i> (f. <i>maqərweṭa</i>)	‘one who brings a sacrifice’ (< <i>q-r-w</i> III ‘to bring near’)

¹⁹ For examples, see 2.1.1.2 and 2.1.1.7 above.

<i>maxiyəyana</i> (f. <i>maxiyəyəta</i>)	‘one who resurrects the dead’ (< <i>x-y-y</i> III ‘to resurrect’)
<i>mhaymənana</i> (f. <i>mhayməneṭa</i>)	‘believer’ (<i>h-y-m-n</i> ‘to believe’)

2.1.2.3 -aya, -naya

These suffixes function primarily as gentilic endings. For example:

<i>amədnaya</i> (f. <i>amədnəṭa</i>)	‘Amedi, native of Amədyā (< <i>aməd[ya]</i> ‘Amədyā’)
<i>arəḅaya</i> (f. <i>arəḅəṭa</i>)	‘Arab’
<i>atrāya</i> (f. <i>atrəṭa</i>)	‘country-dweller, country bumpkin’ (< <i>atrā</i> ‘countryside’)
<i>əngləznaya</i> (f. <i>əngləznəṭa</i>)	‘Englishman’
<i>bağdadnaya</i> (f. <i>bağdadnəṭa</i>)	‘native of Baghdad’
<i>ḅažərnaya</i> (f. <i>ḅažərnəṭa</i>)	‘city-dweller’ (< <i>ḅažir</i> ‘city’)
<i>dohuknaya</i> (f. <i>dohuknəṭa</i>)	‘Dohuki, native of Dohuk’
<i>hudaya</i> (f. <i>hudəṭa</i>)	‘Jew’
<i>ḅavṛaya</i> (f. <i>ḅavṛəṭa</i>)	‘member of Jewish burial society’
<i>moşəlnaya</i> (f. <i>moşəlnəṭa</i>)	‘native of Mosul’
<i>pəlišṭaya</i> (f. <i>pəlišṭəṭa</i>)	‘Philistine’
<i>qurḁaya</i> (f. <i>qurḁəṭa</i>)	‘Kurd, Muslim’
<i>suraya</i> (f. <i>sureṭa</i>)	‘Christian’
<i>turknaya</i> (f. <i>turknəṭa</i>)	‘Turk’
<i>zaxonaya</i> (f. <i>zaxonəṭa</i>)	‘native of Zakho’

The common plural is always formed by substitution of *-e* for *-a*. For example, *amədnaya* ‘Amedi’ → *amədnaye* ‘Amedis’, *ḅavṛaya* ‘member of Jewish burial society’ → *ḅavṛaye* ‘member of Jewish burial society’.

2.1.2.4 Diminutive Suffix

No regular, productive suffix exists for diminution, but many words denoting small objects show a *-k-* or *-ik-*. For example:

<i>čənnika</i>	‘crumb’
<i>kučka</i>	‘puppy’
<i>nawičərka</i>	‘grandson’
<i>yalunke</i>	‘children’

One suffix, *-əkṭa*, is quite common:

2.1.2.4.1 -əkṭa

<i>barbanəkṭa</i> (f.)	‘balcony’
<i>čəgəžəkṭa</i> (f.)	‘spark’
<i>čəppəkṭa</i> (f.)	‘drop (of liquid)’

<i>čučəkta</i> (f.)	‘small bird’
<i>dəndəkta</i> (f.)	‘kernel’
<i>kaləkta</i> (f.)	‘(traditional leather) shoe’
<i>kərməkta</i> (f.)	‘worm’
<i>kočəkta</i> (f.)	‘teaspoon, utensil, piece of cutlery’
<i>pərtəkta</i> (f.)	‘crumb’
<i>pərzəkta</i> (f.)	‘small scar; flake of skin caused by eczema’

2.1.3 Gender

All nouns in ANA are either of masculine or of feminine gender. In the vast majority of cases, nouns with an *-a* inflection (i.e. those of the type exemplified in 2.1.1.1–2.1.1.8 above) are masculine, while those with a *-ta* / *-ta* inflection are feminine. Nouns ending in *-ta* / *-ta* are only ever masculine if the *t* or *ṭ* is, historically speaking, a root consonant, if there has been some kind of phonetic change, or if the word is an adapted borrowing from another language. Some examples are given below:

<i>betā</i> (m.)	‘house’	(The <i>ṭ</i> here is part of the nominal root, c.f. H תִּבַּי, A <i>bayt-</i> , both m.)
<i>mitā</i> (m.)	‘dead man’	(< <i>m-y-ṭ</i> ‘to die’)
<i>motā</i> (m.)	‘death’	(< <i>m-y-ṭ</i> ‘to die’)
<i>phatā</i> (m.)	‘shock’	(< <i>p-h-ṭ</i> ‘to be shocked, to be surprised’)
<i>sutā</i> (m.)	‘dam’	(< K <i>sūt</i> < A <i>sudd-</i>)
<i>xyatā</i> (m.)	‘sowing’	(< <i>x-y-ṭ</i> ‘to sow’)

There is a sizeable group of words in ANA which do not have a *-ta* / *-ta* suffix but which are nevertheless construed as feminine. Of these, some are reflexes of OA and most likely Proto-Semitic words which were feminine. These words often refer to parts of the body which occur in twos, or to natural phenomena. Their cognates in other Semitic languages are usually feminine as well. These words are marked below with an asterisk. Some of the other ANA words which are feminine but lack the *-ta* / *-ta* suffix are adapted borrowings which are feminine in the language from which they are taken. The gender of other ANA words may have been influenced by a substrate or neighbouring language. Given below are some of the most commonly encountered feminine words of this type:

<i>’ala</i>	‘side, direction, place’ (< K or OA <i>il’ā</i>)
<i>’aqərwa*</i>	‘scorpion’
<i>’aqla</i>	‘leg’
<i>’ar’a*</i>	‘land, earth’ (cf. H אֶרֶץ (f.), A <i>’ard-</i> (f.))

' <i>atra</i> *	'place, countryside
' <i>ena</i> *	'eye' (cf. H עין (f.), A 'ayn- (f.))
' <i>aryana</i>	'rain'
' <i>ida</i> *	'hand' (cf. H יד (f.))
' <i>oḏa</i>	'room' (< IrA < T)
' <i>urutxa</i>	'large needle'
' <i>urxa</i> *	'road, way' (cf. BTA אורחא (f.), H דרך(f.))
<i>bariya</i>	'desert' (< A)
<i>bādra</i>	'threshing floor'
<i>behra</i>	'well, pit; lion's den; light'
<i>bārka</i> *	'knee' (cf. H ברך (f.))
<i>čanta</i>	'bag'
<i>čarpaya</i>	'bed' (< K čerpē (f.))
<i>čoka</i>	'the inside of the elbow or knee joint' (< K)
<i>dābba</i> *	'bear'
<i>dākkana</i>	'shop' (cf. A dukkān- (m.), K dukan (f.))
<i>gyana</i>	'soul, self' (< K / P, cf. H נפש, A nafs- (both f.))
<i>ḥadiqa</i>	'garden, park' (< A ḥadiqat- (f.))
<i>jafqa</i>	'group, team'
<i>jāza</i>	'fine, penalty' (A)
<i>kasa</i> *	'stomach' (< OA karsa, cf. H כרס)
<i>kawa</i> *	'window' (cf. A kawwat- (f.), OA כותא)
<i>koda</i>	'liver'
<i>koraxa</i>	'shroud'
<i>mağara</i>	'cave' (< A mağārat- (f.))
<i>marāqa</i>	'soup'
<i>māšwa</i>	'commandment, good deed' (< H מצוה (f.))
<i>māṭra</i>	'rain' (cf. K baran (f.))
<i>mzida</i>	'leather bag for rice, wheat etc.'
<i>naṭa</i> *	'ear' < (< S [eḏ]nātā (pl.), S s. form is f.)
<i>qalma</i>	'louse'
<i>qana</i> *	'horn' (< BTA קרנא (f.))
<i>qdala</i> *	'neck'
<i>qənnaqota</i>	'spider'
<i>ṛ'odana</i>	'earthquake'
<i>ša'a</i>	'hour, time; watch'
<i>sābba</i>	'cause, reason' (< MedH / MH סיבה or A sabbat- (both f.))
<i>šudra</i>	'dress; shirt, tunic' (probably < A šudrat- (f.) 'bodice', but cf. BTA צודרא)
<i>šaqā</i> *	'shin, lower leg'
<i>šaxina</i>	'Divine Presence' (< H שכינה (f.))
<i>še'da</i> *	'almond' (< S šəgda)
<i>šamša</i> *	'sun' (OA, cf. H שמש, A šams- (f.))
<i>šarma</i> *	'posterior'
<i>ṭabi'a</i>	'mood, nature, personality' (A)
<i>te'na</i>	'fig, fig tree' (cf. H תאנה (f.))
<i>ṭəlla</i>	'shadow, shade'

<i>xema</i>	‘tent’ (< A <i>xaymat-</i> (f.))
<i>xmaṭa</i>	‘needle’ (cf. H טַרְמָה (f.) ‘needle’)
<i>yamma*</i>	‘mother’ (cf. H אִמָּה (f.), OA אַמַּא (f.), A ‘umm- (f.))
<i>zanda</i>	‘forearm’ (K < A)

2.1.4 Plural forms

2.1.4.1 Ending -e replaces final -a, -ta / -ṭa

Historically speaking, -e was the masculine plural ending, but in ANA, feminine nouns may also take this ending.

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>’ena</i> (f.)	<i>’ene</i>	‘eye’
<i>’aryana</i> (f.)	<i>’aryane</i>	‘rain’
<i>’urza</i> (m.)	<i>’urze</i>	‘male’
<i>buxra</i> (m.)	<i>buxre</i>	‘first-born’
<i>dugla</i> (m.)	<i>dugle</i>	‘lie’
<i>goza</i> (m.)	<i>goze</i>	‘walnut’
<i>naša</i> (m.)	<i>naše</i>	‘person’
<i>parra</i> (m.)	<i>parre</i>	‘feather’

Feminine nouns ending in -ta / -ṭa drop this feminine marker before adding the -e. For example:

<i>bajanta</i> (f.)	<i>bajane</i>	‘tomato’
<i>dandəkṭa</i> (f.)	<i>dənkḏəke</i>	‘kernel’
<i>šəkwanta</i> (f.)	<i>šəkwane</i>	‘ant’
<i>be’ta</i> (f.)	<i>be’e</i>	‘egg’
<i>bo’ta</i> (f.)	<i>bo’e</i>	‘pit (of fruit)’
<i>fəlfəṭta</i> (f.)	<i>fəlfəle</i>	‘(bell) pepper’
<i>pašo’ta</i> (f.)	<i>pašo’e</i>	‘pace, step’
<i>tole’ta</i> (f.)	<i>tole’e</i>	‘worm’

These nouns are all single items of entities that are usually found in groups.

2.1.4.2 Ending -ane replaces final -a

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>čamma</i> (m.)	<i>čammāne</i>	‘field, meadow’
<i>duka / dukṭa</i> (f.)	<i>dukane</i>	‘place’
<i>guda</i> (m.)	<i>gudane</i>	‘(internal) wall’
<i>karma</i> (m.)	<i>karmāne</i>	‘orchard’
<i>miṭa</i> (m.)	<i>miṭane</i>	‘dead person’
<i>šaqa</i> (f.)	<i>šaḡane</i>	‘shin, lower leg’

<i>šura</i> (m.)	<i>šurane</i>	‘wall (of a city)’
<i>tar’a</i> (m.)	<i>tar’ane</i>	‘door’
<i>tura</i> (m.)	<i>turane</i>	‘mountain’
<i>xabra</i> (m.)	<i>xabrane</i>	‘word, saying’

2.1.4.3 Singular ending -Ca replaced by plural ending -CaCe (“reduplicated plural”)

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>bərka</i> (f.)	<i>bərkake</i>	‘knee’
<i>čoka</i> (f.)	<i>čokake</i>	‘the inside of the elbow or knee joint’
<i>labbā</i> (m.)	<i>labbabe</i>	‘heart’
<i>pəm̄ma</i> (m.)	<i>pəmmame</i>	‘mouth’
<i>gəlla</i> (m.)	<i>gəllale</i>	‘grass, herb’
<i>gəšra</i> (m.)	<i>gəšrare</i>	‘bridge’
<i>kawa</i> (f.)	<i>kawawe</i>	‘window’
<i>le’ma</i> (m.)	<i>le’mame</i>	‘jaw, cheek’
<i>nuqba</i> (m.)	<i>nuqbabe</i>	‘hole’
<i>palga</i> (m.)	<i>palgake</i>	‘half’
<i>pəm̄ma</i> (m.)	<i>pəmmame</i>	‘mouth’
<i>pəsra</i> (m.)	<i>pəsrare</i>	‘meat’
<i>qdala</i> (f.)	<i>qdalale</i>	‘neck’
<i>taḷla</i> (f.)	<i>taḷlale</i>	‘shadow, shade’
<i>xema</i> (f.)	<i>xemame</i>	‘tent’

In cases where the singular form has the ending *-na*, it is impossible to determine whether the noun is more properly to be placed in 2.4.2 above or in this group. For example:

<i>qana</i> (f.)	<i>qanane</i>	‘horn’
------------------	---------------	--------

Likewise, where the singular form has the ending *-’a*, it is impossible to determine whether the noun is more properly to be placed in this group or in 2.1.4.9 below. For example:

<i>bəz’a</i> (m.)	<i>bəz’a’e</i>	‘crack, hole’
-------------------	----------------	---------------

Indeed, such plurals may be the origin of the *-CaCe* plural.

2.1.4.4 Ending -aṭa replaces final -a or -ta / -ṭa

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>’atra</i> (f.)	<i>’atrata</i>	‘countryside’
<i>’ida</i> (f.)	<i>’idaṭa</i>	‘hand, arm’
<i>’urxa</i> (f.)	<i>’urxaṭa</i>	‘road, way’
<i>baxta</i> (f.)	<i>baxtata</i>	‘woman, wife’

<i>beda</i> (f.)	<i>bedaṭa</i>	‘sleeve’
<i>bədra</i> (f.)	<i>bədrəṭa</i>	‘threshing floor’
<i>gūtta</i> (f.)	<i>gūtəṭa</i>	‘spool (of wool)’
<i>ḥušta</i> (f.)	<i>ḥuštəṭa</i>	‘excuse, pretext’
<i>karta</i> (f.)	<i>karəṭa</i>	‘burden, load, bundle’
<i>šabta</i> (f.)	<i>šabəṭa</i>	‘week; Sabbath’
<i>xalta</i> (f.)	<i>xaltəṭa</i>	‘maternal aunt’
<i>yamma</i> (f.)	<i>yəmməṭa</i>	‘mother’

Although the lexemes in this group are predominantly feminine, a masculine noun is occasionally found to form its plural according to this pattern. For instance:

<i>qeṭa</i> (m.)	<i>qeṭəṭa</i>	‘summer’
<i>yoma</i> (m.)	<i>yoməṭa</i> ²⁰	‘day’

2.1.4.5 Ending *-waṭa* added to noun

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>’axa</i> (m.)	<i>’axawəṭa</i>	‘brother’
<i>’eda</i> (m.)	<i>’edawəṭa</i>	‘festival’
<i>’ena</i> (f.)	<i>’enawəṭa</i>	‘well, spring’
<i>’istada</i> (m.)	<i>’istadawəṭa</i>	‘master, teacher, sir’
<i>baba</i> (m.)	<i>babawəṭa</i>	‘father, forefather, ancestor’
<i>ḡulama</i> (m.)	<i>ḡulamawəṭa</i>	‘servant, slave’
<i>xətna</i> (m.)	<i>xətnawəṭa</i>	‘bridegroom’
<i>xulma</i> (m.)	<i>xulmawəṭa</i>	‘dream’

2.1.4.6 Ending *-waṭa* replaces final *-a* or feminine marker *-ta* / *-ṭa*

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>maṭa</i> (f.)	<i>maṭwəṭa</i>	‘village’
<i>paṭa</i> (f.)	<i>paṭwəṭa</i>	‘face’
<i>xmaṭa</i> (f.)	<i>xmawəṭa</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>šlota</i> (f.)	<i>šlowəṭa</i>	‘prayer’
<i>xəṭa</i> (f.)	<i>xəṭwəṭa</i>	‘sister’

2.1.4.7 Ending *-yaṭa* replaces final *-a* or feminine marker *-ta* / *-ṭa*

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>’arməṭa</i> (f.)	<i>’arməlyəṭa</i>	‘widow’
<i>ḡənta</i> (f.)	<i>ḡənyəṭa</i>	‘garden’
<i>loqanta</i> (f.)	<i>loqanyəṭa</i>	‘restaurant’

²⁰ The more commonly occurring plural of this word is *yome*.

<i>nata</i> (f.)	<i>natyaṭa</i>	‘ear’
<i>parparuxta</i> (f.)	<i>parparuxyata</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>pərzəkta</i> (f.)	<i>pərzəkyata</i>	‘small scar; flake of skin caused by eczema’
<i>ptəлта</i> (f.)	<i>ptəlyata</i>	‘wick’
<i>qotarta</i> (f.)	<i>qotaryata</i>	‘package, bundle’
<i>qursəлта</i> (f.)	<i>qursəlyata</i>	‘elbow’
<i>səkta</i> (f.)	<i>səkyata</i>	‘peg’
<i>xmarta</i> (f.)	<i>xmaryata</i>	‘jenny ass’
<i>zummurta</i> (f.)	<i>zummuryata</i>	‘song’

Occasionally the *-t-* of the feminine marking is retained before the plural ending, for example:

<i>’ərota</i> (f.)	<i>’əruṭyata</i>	‘Friday’
<i>xələ’ta</i> (f.)	<i>xələ’tyata</i>	‘present, gift’
<i>zro’ta</i> (f.)	<i>zro’tyata</i>	‘planting; crop’

In at least one case, a *-t-* is infix between the noun and the plural suffix:

<i>jama’a</i> (f.)	<i>jama’atyata</i>	‘community, group’
--------------------	--------------------	--------------------

In at least one case, the *-t-* of the feminine marker becomes *-t-* before the addition of *-yata*:

<i>tane’ta</i> (f.)	<i>tane’tyata</i>	‘letter (of the alphabet)’
---------------------	-------------------	----------------------------

2.1.4.8 Ending *-yata* replaces singular feminine suffix *-iṭa*

<i>dalita</i> (f.)	<i>dalyata</i>	‘vine’
<i>kusita</i> (f.)	<i>kusyata</i>	‘hat’
<i>ḥukkita</i> (f.)	<i>ḥukyata</i>	‘story, legend, folktale’
<i>mobita</i> (f.)	<i>mubyata</i>	‘potful of food’
<i>nunita</i> (f.)	<i>nunyaṭa</i>	‘fish’
<i>qarita</i> (f.)	<i>qaryata</i>	‘beam’
<i>qurṇita</i> (f.)	<i>qurṇyata</i>	‘(external) corner’
<i>šaqqita</i> (f.)	<i>šaqqyata</i>	‘channel, conduit’
<i>stabita</i> (f.)	<i>stabyata</i>	‘cushion, pillow’

2.1.4.9 Ending *-’e* / *-ye* / *-he* added to noun

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>’alpa</i> (m.)	<i>’alpahe</i>	‘thousand’
<i>bəz’a</i> (m.)	<i>bəz’a’e²¹</i>	‘crack, hole’

²¹ This could also be considered to be a reduplicated plural, as in 2.1.4.3. above.

<i>darga</i> (m.)	<i>dargahe</i>	‘gate’
<i>damma</i> (m.)	<i>dammahe</i> ²²	‘blood’
<i>malla</i> (m.)	<i>mallaye</i>	‘mullah’
<i>məşwa</i> (f.)	<i>məşwaye</i>	‘commandment, good deed’
<i>xaṭa</i> (m.)	<i>xaṭa’e</i>	‘sin’

2.1.4.10 Irregular plurals

Other plural forms may reflect OA phonetic features or analogical or phonetic developments within ANA.

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>’aṛmota</i> (f.)	<i>’aṛmone</i>	‘pomegranate, pomegranate tree’
<i>’ərba</i> (m.)	<i>’ərwe</i>	‘sheep’
<i>beṭa</i> (m.)	<i>bate</i>	‘house’
<i>brata</i> (f.)	<i>bnata</i>	‘daughter, girl’
<i>brona</i> (m.)	<i>bnone</i>	‘son, boy’
<i>gora</i> (m.)	<i>gure</i>	‘man’
<i>kalba</i> (m.)	<i>kalwe</i>	‘dog’
<i>kaṭa</i> (m.)	<i>kaṭanane</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>kteta</i> (f.)	<i>kəṭyata</i>	‘chicken’
<i>məsta</i> (f.)	<i>məzze</i>	‘hair’
<i>nawaga</i> (m.)	<i>nawagine</i>	‘grandson’
<i>no’a</i> (m.)	<i>no’ətyata</i> (~ <i>no’e</i>)	‘type, kind’
<i>noquta</i> (f.)	<i>nəqwe</i>	‘female’
<i>qaṭuta</i> (f.)	<i>qaṭwata</i>	‘cat’
<i>sawoya</i> (m.)	<i>sawowata</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>šata</i> (f.)	<i>šanne</i>	‘year’
<i>šula</i> (m.)	<i>šū’ale</i>	‘work, job’
<i>šwiṭa</i> (f.)	<i>šuyata</i>	‘carpet’
<i>ṭora</i> (f.)	<i>səfre ṭora</i>	‘Torah’
<i>xeta</i> (f.)	<i>xayata</i>	‘a women who has given birth in the previous 30 days’
<i>xumərta</i> (f.)	<i>xumre</i>	‘bead’

2.1.4.11 Words with Multiple Possible Plural Forms

Occasionally, words which are homophonous in the singular are distinguished in the plural by the use of different plural endings. For example:

²² The plural of *damma* ‘blood’ is attested only very rarely in natural speech. It is however common in the Neo-Targumic tradition as a translation of Genesis 4:10, in which the construct plural of the BH word for blood appears: *qalat dammahat ’axux k-šarxi ’alli mən ’ar’a* ‘The voice of your brother’s blood calls out to me from the ground.’

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	'ena (f.)	'ene	'eye'
but	'ena (f.)	'enawata	'well, spring'
	'urwa (m.)	'urwe	'big (thing / man)'
but	'urwa (m.)	'urwane	'elder'
	guda (m.)	gudawata, gudane	'(interior) wall'
	guda (m.)	gude	'leather container for liquids; churn'

The regular plural of 'alpa '(one) thousand' is 'alpahe. To form the numbers two thousand, three thousand, four thousand etc., however, the form 'alpe is used.²³ For example, tré-'alpe 'two thousand'.

A word may exhibit two or even three acceptable plural forms, with no evident variation in denotation or connotation. Some examples are given below, with the plurals forms listed in descending order of frequency of occurrence in the text corpus.

Singular	Plurals	Gloss
dabba (f.)	dabbata, dabbē	'bear'
dame'ta (f.)	dam'e, dame'yata	'tear'
dewa (m.)	dewe, dewawe, dewawata	'wolf'
guda (m.)	gudawata, gudane	'[interior] wall'
karma (m.)	karme, karmane, karmawata	'orchard'
yoma (m.)	yome, yomawata, yomata	'day'

2.1.4.12 Pluralia Tantum

'axre	'excrement'
do'e	'whey'
hāšše	'senses, sanity'
ṃaye	'water'
pare	'money'
qumaṛe	'gambling'
šamme	'sky, heaven'
xaye	'life'
xarše	'magic, sorcery'
xmoṭe	'nasal mucus'

2.2 CLASS II

The vast majority of the lexical items in this class are borrowed from other languages and words in this category remain *ex definitio*

²³ See 8.1.5.

unadapted to the “native” Aramaic nominal morphology, at least inasmuch as they do not exhibit the typical masculine nominal ending *-a*, or the feminine ending *-ta* / *-ta*. However, some words in this class are actually reflexes of lexemes from OA. The gender of words in this class is usually determined by the gender of the word in its source language. A reasonably representative sample of lexical items in this class is given below:

2.2.1 *Types of Noun*

This class of noun can be split into two basic subgroups: nouns with consonantal terminations and nouns with vocal terminations.

2.2.1.1 *Nouns with Consonantal Termination*

'āmār (m.)	'command, word'
'aḥsan (m.)	'kindness, favour'
'araqin (m.)	'raki'
'arziḥal (f.)	'petition, official letter'
'askar (f.)	'army, military service'
'ēgel (m.)	'Golden Calf'
bahḥar (f./m.)	'sea, ocean'
barmal (m.)	'kil (type of rug)'
bərin (f.)	'wound, bruise'
burḥan (m.)	'miracle'
dəžmān (m.)	'enemy, foe'
gunahkar (m.)	'sinner'
ḥaxam (m.)	'Rabbi, learned man'
ḥaywan (m.)	'(wild) animal'
jawahər (f.)	'jewel, precious stone'
kallaš (m.)	'body, corpse, skeleton'
kawód (f.)	'honour'
kef (m.)	'happiness, joy'
kohen (m.)	'kohen, Jewish priest'
ma'allām (m.)	'rabbi, ritual slaughterer'
ma'būd (m.)	'idol, false god'
maktab (f.)	'school'
mal'ax (m.)	'angel'
manzal (f.)	'room, storeroom'
markab (f.)	'boat, ship'
maskan (m.)	'place (of residence)'
məfattāš (f.)	'investigator'
mehwan (m.)	'houseguest, visitor'
məlyón (m.)	'million'
muxtar (m.)	'mukhtar'
nāfar (m.)	'person, individual'

<i>naxwaš</i> (m.)	‘ill person’
<i>pinidos</i> (m.)	‘cobbler’
<i>qunax</i> (m.)	‘measure of land, distance of about one day on foot’
<i>raša</i> (m.)	‘evil man’
<i>šaḏḏiq</i> (m.)	‘righteous man’
<i>šanam</i> (m.)	‘idol’
<i>šadday</i> (m.)	‘tablet with the Ten Commandments and the holy name inscribed on it; amulet’
<i>šammaš</i> (m.)	‘Synagogue sexton’
<i>šex</i> (m.)	‘Sheikh’
<i>ṭrumbel</i> (f.)	‘car’
<i>xanjar</i> (f.)	‘dagger’
<i>xaraškar</i> (m.)	‘magician’
<i>xurxus</i> (m.)	‘fan, supporter’
<i>zangin</i> (m.)	‘rich man’

2.2.1.2 Nouns with Vocalic Termination

<i>bānhe</i> (m.)	‘morning’
<i>biškure</i> (m.)	‘ceiling’
<i>čaye</i> (f.)	‘tea’
<i>čeri</i> (m.)	‘autumn’
<i>dapirke</i> (f.)	‘midwife’
<i>gare</i> (m.)	‘roof’
<i>farxaseni</i> (f.)	‘small tray’
<i>galli</i> (m.)	‘valley’
<i>gəbbo</i> (f.)	‘foam’
<i>kaffo</i> (f.)	‘foam, layer of scum on soup etc.’
<i>kalo</i> (f.)	‘bride’
<i>kursi</i> (m.)	‘chair’
<i>lahibe</i> (f.)	‘flame’
<i>lele</i> (m.)	‘night’
<i>lewi</i> (m.)	‘Levite’
<i>maqle</i> (f.)	‘frying pan’
<i>maymunke</i> (f.)	‘monkey’
<i>məndi</i> (m.)	‘thing’
<i>qalle</i> (f.)	‘raven’
<i>qotare</i> (f.)	‘dove’
<i>raḥme</i>	‘pity, mercy’
<i>sako</i> (f.)	‘jacket’
<i>səmbele</i> (m.)	‘moustache’
<i>sukko</i> (f.)	‘festival of Tabernacles; temporary booth or hut erected for the festival of Tabernacles’
<i>tušabi</i> (f.)	‘statue, figure’
<i>xəppo</i> (f.)	‘bridal veil’

2.2.1.2.1 -či suffix

This suffix is used to indicate a profession, or a characteristic of someone. For example:

<i>askarči</i> (m.)	‘soldier’ (cf. <i>askar</i> (f.) ‘army, military service’)
<i>karwanči</i> (m.)	‘member of a caravan’ (cf. <i>karwan</i> (f.) ‘caravan’)
<i>katabči</i> (m.)	‘writer, scribe’ (cf. A <i>kātib-</i> ‘scribe’ and A <i>k-t-b</i> ‘to write’)
<i>kefči</i> (m.)	‘amusing / fun person’ (cf. <i>kef</i> (m.) ‘fun’)
<i>na'alči</i> (m.)	‘farrier’ (cf. <i>na'la</i> (m.) ‘horseshoe’)
<i>qundarči</i> (m.)	‘shoe salesman’ (cf. <i>qundarta</i> (f.) ‘shoe’)

2.2.2 Gender

Having no obvious marker corresponding to the *-ta* / *-ta* of Class I nouns, Class II nouns' gender is unpredictable from their form. Where they are, historically speaking, borrowed from other languages, their gender may correspond to that of the source or it may take on a new gender in ANA, usually by analogy with a native word of similar meaning. Some examples are offered below:

<i>araqin</i> (m.)	‘raki’
<i>arziḥal</i> (f.)	‘petition, official letter’
<i>askar</i> (f.)	‘army, military service’
<i>bāḥar</i> (m.)	‘spring (season)’
<i>bahugar</i> (f.)	‘storm, strong wind’
<i>bərin</i> (f.)	‘wound, bruise’
<i>barmal</i> (m.)	‘kil (type of rug)’
<i>burḥan</i> (m.)	‘miracle, wonder’
<i>dəžmən</i> (m.)	‘enemy, foe’
<i>gan'eden</i> (f.)	‘paradise’ (< H עֲדֵן גֵן (m.), gender perhaps influenced by <i>gənta</i> and/or <i>ḥadiqa</i> (both f.))
<i>gunahkar</i> (m.)	‘sinner’
<i>ḥāwiš</i> (m.)	‘courtyard’
<i>ḥaywan</i> (m.)	‘(wild) animal’
<i>jawahər</i> (f.)	‘jewel, precious stone’
<i>kallaš</i> (m.)	‘body, corpse, skeleton’
<i>kawód</i> (f.)	‘honour, respect’ (< H כְּבוֹד (m.!) ‘honour, glory’)
<i>kef</i> (m.)	‘happiness, joy’
<i>lagan</i> (f.)	‘type of large tray’
<i>ma'bud</i> (m.)	‘idol, false god’
<i>maktab</i> (f.)	‘school’ (the feminine gender is perhaps occasioned here by analogy with A <i>madrassat-</i> (f.) ‘school’)
<i>mal'ax</i> (m.)	‘angel’
<i>manzal</i> (f.)	‘room, storeroom’

<i>markab</i> (f.)	‘boat, ship’
<i>mashaf</i> (m.)	‘(secular) book’
<i>maskan</i> (m.)	‘place (of residence)’
<i>mehwan</i> (m.)	‘houseguest, visitor’
<i>nāfar</i> (m.)	‘person, individual’
<i>qādār</i> (m.)	‘honour, respect’
<i>qazan</i> (f.)	‘pot’
<i>šānam</i> (m.)	‘idol, false god’
<i>sako</i> (f.)	‘jacket’
<i>sukko</i> (f.)	‘festival of Tabernacles (H סוכות); booth or hut built on the festival of Tabernacles (H סוכה)’
<i>ṭrumbel</i> (f.)	‘car’
<i>xanjar</i> (f.)	‘dagger’
<i>xəppo</i> (f.)	‘bridal veil’
<i>žāhər</i> (m.)	‘poison, venom (of snake, scorpion etc.)’

2.2.3 Plural Types

2.2.3.1 Plural in -e from Nouns with a Consonantal Termination

The vast majority of nouns with a consonantal termination take a form of this plural ending. The resulting stressed penultimate vowel is either long in accordance with normal ANA phonological rules, or remains short.

2.2.3.1.1 Long Vowel in Penultimate Syllable

Some examples of plurals with a long vowel in the stressed, penultimate syllable are given below:

<i>‘araqin</i> (f.)	<i>‘araqine</i>	‘raki’
<i>baqšis</i> (m.)	<i>baqšise</i>	‘bribe’
<i>barmal</i> (m.)	<i>barmale</i>	‘kil (type of rug)’
<i>bərin</i> (f.)	<i>bərine</i>	‘wound, bruise’
<i>burḥan</i> (m.)	<i>burḥane</i>	‘miracle, wonder’
<i>ḥaywan</i> (m.)	<i>ḥaywane</i>	‘(wild) animal’
<i>kallaš</i> (m.)	<i>kallaše</i>	‘body, corpse, skeleton’
<i>ma‘bud</i> (m.)	<i>ma‘bude</i>	‘idol, false god’
<i>manzal</i> (f.)	<i>manzale</i>	‘room, storeroom’
<i>maskan</i> (m.)	<i>maskane</i>	‘place (of residence)’
<i>mehwan</i> (m.)	<i>mehwane</i>	‘houseguest, visitor’
<i>malyón</i> (m.)	<i>malyone</i>	‘million’
<i>muxtār</i> (m.)	<i>muxtare</i>	‘mukhtar’
<i>qunax</i> (m.)	<i>qunaḡe</i> ²⁴	‘measure of land, distance of about one day on foot’

²⁴ See Section 1.7 for an explanation of the *x* ~ *ḡ* variation.

<i>raša</i> (m.)	<i>raša'e</i>	'evil man'
<i>šanam</i> (m.)	<i>šaname</i>	'idol'
<i>šadday</i> (m.)	<i>šaddaye</i>	'tablet with the Ten Commandments God's name inscribed on it; amulet'
<i>ṭrumbel</i> (f.)	<i>ṭrumbele</i>	'car'
<i>xanjar</i> (f.)	<i>xanjare</i>	'dagger'
<i>xurxus</i> (m.)	<i>xurxuse</i>	'fan, supporter'
<i>zangin</i> (m.)	<i>zangine</i>	'rich man'

2.2.3.1.2 Short Vowel in Penultimate Syllable

Some examples of plurals with a short vowel in the stressed, penultimate syllable are given below:

<i>'aḥsan</i> (m.)	<i>'aḥsäne</i>	'kindness, favour'
<i>'arziḥal</i> (f.)	<i>'arziḥäle</i>	'petition, official letter'
<i>dəžmən</i> (m.)	<i>dəžməne</i>	'enemy'
<i>gunahkar</i> (m.)	<i>gunahkāre</i>	'sinner'
<i>jawahər</i> (f.)	<i>jəwəḥəre</i>	'jewel, precious stone'
<i>maktab</i> (m.)	<i>maktäbe</i>	'school'
<i>markab</i> (f.)	<i>markäbe</i>	'boat, ship'
<i>näfar</i> (m.)	<i>näfäre</i>	'person, individual'
<i>xaraškar</i> (m.)	<i>xaraškäre</i>	'magician'

2.2.3.2 Plural -ine from Nouns with a Consonantal Termination

Nouns referring to a person (or a being) often take both the plural suffix *-in* and the plural ending *-e*. For instance:

<i>ḥaxam</i> (m.)	<i>ḥaxamine</i>	'Rabbi, learned man'
<i>ma'alləm</i> (m.)	<i>ma'almine</i>	'rabbi, ritual slaughterer'
<i>mal'ax</i> (m.)	<i>mal'axine</i>	'angel'
<i>məfattāš</i> (m.)	<i>məfattāšine</i>	'investigator'
<i>naxwaš</i> (m.)	<i>naxwašine</i>	'ill person'

2.2.3.3 Miscellaneous plural formations from noun with consonantal termination

Examples of some other plural endings which occur are given below:

<i>'ämər</i> (m.)	<i>'amre</i>	'command, word'
<i>baḥḥar</i> (f./m.)	<i>baḥre</i>	'sea, ocean'
<i>bəṭəl</i> (m.)	<i>bəṭle</i>	'bottle'
<i>kohen</i> (m.)	<i>kohanane</i>	'kohen, Jewish priest'
<i>maḥalle</i> (f.)	<i>maḥalle</i>	'neighbourhood'
<i>pinidos</i> (m.)	<i>pinidoze</i> ²⁵	'cobbler'

²⁵ For an explanation of the *s* ~ *z* variation, see Section 1.7.

<i>şadđiq</i> (m.)	<i>şadđiqim</i>	‘righteous man’
<i>şex</i> (m.)	<i>şexaye</i>	‘sheikh’

2.2.3.4 Nouns in consonantal termination without plurals

Some nouns, including abstract nouns and some unique items, do not admit of plural endings. For example:

<i>’eğel</i> (m.)	‘[The] Golden Calf’
<i>kawód</i> (f.)	‘honour’
<i>kef</i> (m.)	‘happiness, joy’

2.2.3.5 Plurals of nouns with vocalic termination

The plurals of these nouns may be formed in a number of ways. Some examples are given below, according to the vocalic termination of the singular.

2.2.3.5.1 Singular in -e

<i>bənhe</i> (m.)	<i>bənhawaṭa</i>	‘morning’
<i>biškure</i> (m.)	<i>biškure</i>	‘ceiling’
<i>dapirke</i> (f.)	<i>dapirkyata</i>	‘midwife’
<i>gare</i> (m.)	<i>garawata</i>	‘roof’
<i>lahibe</i> (f.)	<i>lahibətyata</i>	‘flame’
<i>lele</i> (m.)	<i>lelawata</i>	‘night’
<i>maqle</i> (f.)	<i>maqle</i>	‘frying pan’
<i>maymonke</i> (f.)	<i>maymonkat</i>	‘monkey’
<i>qalle</i> (f.)	<i>qallaṭa</i>	‘raven’
<i>qotəre</i> (f.)	<i>qotəryata</i>	‘dove’
<i>raḥme</i> (f.)	<i>raḥmətyata</i>	‘pity, mercy’
<i>səmbele</i> (m.)	<i>səmbelawata</i>	‘moustache’

At least one noun ending in -e does not have a plural:²⁶

<i>čaye</i> (f.)	–	‘tea’
------------------	---	-------

2.2.3.5.2 Singular in -i

<i>čeri</i> (m.)	<i>čeryawata</i>	‘autumn’
<i>farxaseni</i> (f.)	<i>farxaseniye</i>	‘small tray’
<i>galli</i> (m.)	<i>galliye,</i> <i>gallətyata</i>	‘valley’
<i>kursi</i> (m.)	<i>kursiye</i>	‘chair’

²⁶ The plural of a *xa čaye* ‘one [cup] of tea’ (cf. colloquial *E a tea*, *G ein Tee*), must be expressed by a circumlocution, eg. *řaba qadxdəd čaye* ‘many cups of teas’.

<i>lewi</i> (m.)	<i>lewaye</i>	‘Levite’
<i>məndi</i> (m.)	<i>məndiyane</i>	‘thing’
<i>tušabi</i> (f.)	<i>tušabihe</i>	‘statue, figure’

All nouns which have the suffix *-či* all form plurals by adding *-ye* to the singular form. For example:

<i>‘askarči</i> (m.)	<i>‘askarčiye</i>	‘soldier’
<i>karwanči</i> (m.)	<i>karwančiye</i>	‘member of a caravan’
<i>katəbči</i> (m.)	<i>katəbčiye</i>	‘writer, scribe’
<i>kefči</i> (m.)	<i>kefčiye</i>	‘amusing / fun person’
<i>na‘alči</i> (m.)	<i>na‘alčiye</i>	‘farrier’
<i>qundarči</i> (m.)	<i>qundarčiye</i>	‘shoe salesman’
<i>ṭayyarči</i> (m.)	<i>ṭayyarčiye</i>	‘pilot’

2.2.3.5.3 Singular in -o

<i>kalo</i> (f.)	<i>kalawata</i>	‘bride’
<i>sako</i> (f.)	<i>sakoye</i>	‘jacket’
<i>sukko</i> (f.)	<i>sukkoye</i>	‘festival of Tabernacles; temporary dwelling erected for on the festival of Tabernacles’
<i>xəppo</i> (f.)	<i>xəppoyata</i>	‘bridal veil’

2.3 ANNEXATION OF NOUNS

A noun can be annexed to any noun which follows it and qualifies it by the cliticisation of the particle of annexation *d* (~ *t*). *-a*, *-e* and *-o* endings of a noun’s context form (i.e. independent, non-annexed form) are, as a rule, replaced by *-ə-*, before the particle.²⁷ For example:

	Context s.	Annexed s.	Context pl.	Annexed pl.	Gloss
(i)	<i>kaka</i>	<i>kakəd</i>	<i>kake</i>	<i>kakəd</i>	‘tooth’
(ii)	<i>‘ilaha</i>	<i>‘ilahəd</i>	<i>‘ilaha</i>	<i>‘ilahəd</i>	‘god’
(iii)	<i>maḥalle</i>	<i>maḥalləd</i>	<i>maḥalle</i>	<i>maḥalləd</i>	‘neighbourhood’
(iv)	<i>nuniṭa</i>	<i>nuniṭəd</i>	<i>nunyata</i>	<i>nunyatəd</i>	‘fish’
(v)	<i>xabra</i>	<i>xabrəd</i>	<i>xabrane</i>	<i>xabranəd</i>	‘word, saying’
(vi)	<i>kalba</i>	<i>kalbəd</i>	<i>kalwe</i>	<i>kalwəd</i>	‘dog’
(vii)	<i>sukko</i>	<i>sukkəd</i>	<i>sukkoye</i>	<i>sukkoyəd</i>	‘sukka’ ²⁸

²⁷ At least one noun constitutes a regular exception to this rule: *jama‘a* ‘community’. Its construct form is always *jama‘at*. It seems that this noun was initially borrowed as *jama‘at* (from A via K) and the *-t* suffix has been reanalysed as the particle of annexation. Evidence for this is found in its plural: *jama‘atyata*.

²⁸ ‘a temporary dwelling erected for the festival of Tabernacles’.

Note that in nouns like (i)–(iii) above, the annexed forms of the singular and plural are homophonous, despite their having different underlying structures. In nouns with longer plural endings, or irregular plural forms, the annexed forms of the singular and plural are distinct, as in (iv)–(vii) above.

Some examples are:

kalkəd hudaya ‘the Jew’s shoe’

’ilahət babawaṭeni ‘the God of our forefathers’

xa šaqqiṭəd ṁaye ‘a channel of water’

bəd de’ṭəd paṭux ’axlət laxma ‘By the sweat of your brow shall you eat bread.’

d (~ *t*) is sometimes not cliticised to the head noun, but rather to the following item, in which case the head noun retains its full vowel. This is always the case when the item following the head noun is a demonstrative pronoun, or the copula. For example:

hiwi d-’ilaha ‘the mercy of God’

xabre t-aḡa ‘the words of the agha’

gəlda t-tora ‘cow leather’

šula d-eyya šawa’a ‘the job of this dyer’

Occasionally *d* (~ *t*) is cliticised to both the head noun and its dependent. For example:

šəmməd d-o kepa ‘the name of that stone’

*mən tane’ṭət d-ḡaltānwala mtakānwalila*²⁹ ‘When there was a letter on which I made a mistake, he would correct it for me.’

As mentioned above, annexation to a following clause may occur with a full nominal head. It may also occur with a pronominal head. Some examples are:

baxta d-lazəm ṭablawa bāṭər nədda ‘a woman who had to immerse herself after ritual impurity from menstruation’

*’o-gəḏ*³⁰ *wewa maskan dide šax* ‘at the time when his dwelling-place [i.e. grave] was intact.’

qorəd xrúwala ‘a grave which had been destroyed’

²⁹ < MH *t-k-n*

³⁰ < ’o ‘that’ + *ga* ‘time’ + *-d*

g-dawəqla 'ide g-nabəlle š-'é dukət xrele 'he took his hand and led him to the place where he had defecated.'

dəd, an expanded form of *d*, is also encountered as an particle of annexation. *dəd* is found only with nominal and not pronominal heads. For example:

xora dəd babi 'a friend of my father'
ma'alləm dəd kulla 'amədyə 'the rabbi of the whole of Amədyə'
čarpaye dəd prəzla 'beds of iron'
dəkkane dəd həkuma 'the government's shops'
bəd d-e wa'da dəd 'ətwa hudaye 'at that time, when there were Jews'

Occasionally *-d* (~ *t*) is found together with *dəd*. For example:

qanəd dəd 'ixala 'the food pipe'
bəd šatəd dəd kawəwalan 'in the years when we used to have [one]'
darət dəd xayə 'the Tree of Life'

Quite often, the entire *-əd* (~ *-ət*) ending on the head noun is elided. Note that this does not affect the position of the stress or vowel length. This form has been referred to as the neo-construct.³¹ For example:

tapraya qorət hudaye wewa 'the hillside was the Jews' cemetery'
gor-'amti 'the husband of my paternal aunt'
yom šabta 'the Sabbath day'
la k-xəšəxwa maxəzyəwala z'talez, hil yom gawərwala 'It was not permitted for her to show herself to him, until the day he married her'

If the elision of *-əd* (~ *-ət*) would result in a consonant cluster, an anaptyctic vowel is employed to break up the cluster.

mjoħədli 'aya 'u-gora bəd xəbər toṛa 'She and her husband were arguing over an issue of Torah.' (*xəbra* → **xəbr* → *xəbər*)³²
k-qaṭé walu . . . max kalke, hatxa, max 'əqəl naša 'He would cut them . . . like shoes, like this, like a person's heel.' (*'əqla* → **'əql* → *'əqəl*)³³
'əfəllu t-k-exəl pəsər qurdaye 'even if he eats the meat of Muslims' (*pəsra* → **pəs* → *pəsər*)

³¹ See Mutzafi 2004: *passim*.

³² Note that the *a*-vowel remains short, as the anaptyctic vowel is only phonetic and does not open the first syllable. The same holds true for other neo-construct forms with anaptyxis.

³³ *Ibid.*

Some nouns have neo-construct forms which are phonetically reduced further:

Context s.	Neo-Construct s.	Gloss
<i>brona</i>	<i>bər</i> ³⁴	‘son’
<i>beṭa</i>	<i>be</i> ³⁵	‘house’
<i>baxta</i>	<i>băx</i> ³⁶	‘woman, wife’
<i>mara</i>	<i>măre</i>	‘owner’
<i>palga</i>	<i>păl</i> ³⁷	‘half’

Different types of nominal annexation may occur in one annexation chain. For example:

šme’le qal ’aqlaṭət šammaš ‘He heard the sound of the sexton’s foot steps.’

’axəd bāx-gorəd wewa gu šuqa ‘the brother of the wife of the man who was in the market’

Annexation is commonly used to indicate that a following clause qualifies the head noun, as mentioned above. This is common with all types of pronouns. For example:

’ahi šqol kṭeṭa ’u-’ód mat gəbət ’abba ‘You (s.) take the chicken and do what you want with it.’

mat naše g-zare ‘whatever people plant’

xa d-gəbe yalunke, xa d-gəbe gawər ‘one who wants children, one who wants to marry’

la ki’axwa ’ema d-ixálele ‘We did not know which one was edible (lit. ‘of eating)’

kutxa ^Hlǝf^H ṃaṭo d-’ide maṭyawa ‘each according to his means’³⁸

Ordinal numerals are expressed by annexation of the relevant cardinal numeral to the noun.³⁹ For instance:

³⁴ < pre-ANA cnst. of **bra*, cf. Qaraqosh *’əbra*, Ankawa *’ubra* and Bohtan *’abra*. (Source: NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk.) The diminutive *-on* suffix is clearly a typologically later phenomenon in ANA, cf. *’axa* ‘brother’ with Z *’axona*.

³⁵ It is assumed here that *beṭa* → *beṭ* → *be*. However ANA *be* may be a retention of OA *be*.

³⁶ Presumably, *bāxtəd* → **bāxt* → **bāxət* → *băx*, which explains the short vowel.

³⁷ An identical development to *băx* above, i.e. *pālgəd* → **pālg* → **pāləg* → *păl*.

³⁸ lit. ‘however his hand reaches’

³⁹ See 8.2.

năqəl ʔlaha hār-hadax ‘the third time [was] exactly the same’

yom tre’ xă-ga xət ’istade g-emər ‘On the second day, once again his teacher said...’

Annexation also occurs with the reflexive pronoun *gyan-*, to indicate coreferentiality of the subject and object of the verb. For example:

šabo’təd gyanu p-qaʔ’iwala ‘They would cut off their [own] finger.’

kutxa šqalle sepəd gyane ‘Each [man] took his [own] sword.’

The gender and number of a phrase with annexation is almost always that of the head noun. The only occasional exceptions occur with *ad sensum* agreements. For example:

jama’at ’amədyə gəbəwale ’araqin ‘The community (f.s.) of Amədyə used to like (pl.) raki.’

qalət dəmmahət ’axux k-šarxi ’əlli mən ’ar’a ‘The voice (m.s.) of your brother’s blood (pl.) calls (lit. ‘call (pl.)’) out to me from the ground.’⁴⁰

⁴⁰ This is a word-for-word Neo-Targumic translation of Genesis 4:10, which does not have *ad formam* agreement, unusually for BH. It is sometimes called a ‘plural by attraction’.

CHAPTER THREE

PRONOUNS

3.1 INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The forms of the independent personal pronoun in ANA are given below:

Sing.	1.c.	'ana
	2.c.	'ahi
	3.m.	'awa, 'ahu (antiqu.)
	3.f.	'aya, 'ahi (antiqu.)
Pl.	1.c.	'áxəni
	2.c.	'axtun
	3.c.	'ani

The independent personal pronouns are not generally required to indicate the grammatical subject of a verb and are thus not usually found in sentences which are syntactically unmarked, e.g.:

dayman bəd xurawaṭa g-mḥakaxwa lišana deni xa mən d-o xeta. 'Amongst friends we always used to speak our language with each other'.

The pronouns may, however, be utilised to lend prominence to the grammatical subject. In these cases, the prefixed particle 'ap- may also be used.¹ Consider the following examples:

kulla 'áhiwət sābab 'You are responsible for all of this!'

g-emərwa ta babi gemər xanča xət bronux řawe, 'ana malpənne řořa. 'He said to my father, "Soon your son will have grown up, let me teach him Torah."' "

b-yoməd 'atya řofana b-ya'lən gu safina, 'u-safina b-aza 'iš-maye, p-xayən. 'ana la-g-barya čú-məndi 'əlli. 'On the day the flood comes I will go into the ark and the ark will float on the water [and] I will survive. Nothing will happen to me.'

¹ In fact, an independent pronoun, with or without a prefixed 'ap-, has a number of discourse functions, including indication of narrow focus, of contrastive focus, of a change in subject (grammatical or topical), and of an elaborative clause.

babe mərre, la-mše mħake 'əš-xǎbər babe... 'ap-awa qəmle lwəšle kalke 'u-gəbe 'azəl. 'His father had spoken, he could not speak against the word of his father, so he (i.e. the son) arose, put on his shoes, and made to go.'

mən šqalle 'u-xəlle 'ap-awa 'ene ptəxlu, xzele, 'u; šulxáyele. 'ap-awa g-emər l-baxte ^Hhine^H šulxáyewax, ma 'odax? 'From when he took it and ate it, he eyes were also opened, he saw that he was naked. So he said to his wife, "Look, we are naked! What shall we do?"

On rare occasions, the independent personal pronouns may also be used in apposition to an objective suffix. For example:

qəmlu ptəxlu tar'a k-xazela 'aya 'They got up [and] opened the door [and] saw her'

... 'ətlan šurṭa mənnan, 'ətlan qoḷčiye, māni b-dawəqlan 'axəni, māni 'əmše 'əllan? '...we have an officer with us, we have policemen. Who will [be able to] capture us, who will [be able to] overpower us?"

3.2 POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

Sing.	1.c.	-i
	2.m.	-ux
	2.f.	-ax
	3.m.	-e(h)
	3.f.	-a(h)
Pl.	1.c.	-an, -eni
	2.c.	-oxun
	3.c.	-u, -ohun (antiqu.)

The possessive pronominal suffixes are attached to nouns in order to indicate possession. The final *-h* of the 3.m.s. and 3.f.s. forms surfaces only when the copula, with its initial *i*-vowel, is added, e.g.:

g-ğadrən ya'en kmayle kut məndi 'u-məndi, ma həqqəhile. 'I walk around to find out how much each thing is, what its price is.'

šum'un sawóyile - babi brónehile 'Simon is my grandfather—my father is his son.'

...ki'e kulla tátehila, čuxxa la-mše naqaḥla... mən mqudšale dídehila, max baxtehila '...he knew that she was all his, no-one was allowed to touch her... from the time she had been sanctified to him² she was his, she was like his wife.'

² The process referred to here by the verb *q-d-š* II is that of קידושין lit. 'sanctification', the first part of a Jewish marriage (very roughly equivalent to an engagement),

The pronominal suffixes are attached to nouns which end with a consonant as illustrated by the paradigms given below:

	<i>kef</i> 'fun, joy'	<i>gozhənd</i> 'coconut'
Sing.	1.c. <i>kefi</i>	<i>gozhəndi</i>
	2.m. <i>kefux</i>	<i>gozhəndux</i>
	2.f. <i>kefax</i>	<i>gozhəndax</i>
	3.m. <i>kefe</i>	<i>gozhənde</i>
	3.f. <i>kefa</i>	<i>gozhənda</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>kefan, kefeni</i>	<i>gozhəndan, gozhəndeni</i>
	2.c. <i>kefoxun</i>	<i>gozhəndoxun</i>
	3.c. <i>kefu, kefohun</i>	<i>gozhəndu, gozhəndohun</i>

When they are suffixed to nouns ending in a vowel, this vowel is dropped to form a base ending in a consonant, e.g. *beṭa* 'house' → *beṭ-*. This loss of the final vowel applies also to feminine nouns ending in *-ta*, and to all plurals in *-a* or *-e*, e.g. *məsta* 'hair' → *məst-*, *'axawaṭa* 'brothers' → *'axawaṭ-*, *xaye* 'life' → *xay-*. Nouns which have a final *-i*, *-o*, or *-u* constitute an exception to the rule in that they do not accept these pronominal suffixes at all, and possession must consequently be expressed by the use of the independent possessive pronoun. Examples are given below:

	<i>beṭa</i> 'house'	<i>məsta</i> 'hair'
Sing.	1.c. <i>beṭi</i>	<i>məsti</i>
	2.m. <i>beṭux</i>	<i>məstux</i>
	2.f. <i>beṭax</i>	<i>məstax</i>
	3.m. <i>beṭe</i>	<i>məste</i>
	3.f. <i>beṭa</i>	<i>məsta</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>beṭan, beṭeni</i>	<i>məstan, məsteni</i>
	2.c. <i>beṭoxun</i>	<i>məstoxun</i>
	3.c. <i>beṭu, beṭohun</i>	<i>məstu, məstohun</i>
	<i>bate</i> 'houses'	<i>məzze</i> 'hairs'
Sing.	1.c. <i>bati</i>	<i>məzzi</i>
	2.m. <i>batux</i>	<i>məzzux</i>
	2.f. <i>batax</i>	<i>məzzax</i>
	3.m. <i>bate</i>	<i>məzze</i>
	3.f. <i>bata</i>	<i>məzza</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>batan, bateni</i>	<i>məzzan, məzzeni</i>
	2.c. <i>batoxun</i>	<i>məzzoxun</i>
	3.c. <i>batu, batohun</i>	<i>məzzu, məzzohun</i>

which may be performed a considerable period of time in advance of the actual wedding ceremony.

		<i>lele</i> ‘night’	<i>čeri</i> ‘autumn’
Sing.	1.c.	<i>leli</i>	(<i>čeri didi</i>)
	2.m.	<i>lelux</i>	(<i>čeri didux</i>)
	2.f.	<i>lelax</i>	(<i>čeri didax</i>)
	3.m.	<i>lele</i>	(<i>čeri dide</i>)
	3.f.	<i>lela</i>	(<i>čeri dida</i>)
Pl.	1.c.	<i>lelan, leleni</i>	(<i>čeri deni</i>)
	2.c.	<i>leloxun</i>	(<i>čeri doxun</i>)
	3.c.	<i>lelu, lelohun</i>	(<i>čeri dohun</i>)
		<i>lelawata</i> ‘nights’	<i>čeryawata</i> ‘autumns’
Sing.	1.c.	<i>lelawati</i>	<i>čeryawati</i>
	2.m.	<i>lelawatux</i>	<i>čeryawatux</i>
	2.f.	<i>lelawatax</i>	<i>čeryawatax</i>
	3.m.	<i>lelawate</i>	<i>čeryawate</i>
	3.f.	<i>lelawata</i>	<i>čeryawata</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>lelawatan, lelawateni</i>	<i>čeryawatan, čeryawateni</i>
	2.c.	<i>lelawatoxun</i>	<i>čeryawatoxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>lelawatu, lelawatohun</i>	<i>čeryawatu, čeryawatohun</i>

It is immediately obvious that a certain degree of ambiguity may result from these inflexional paradigms, e.g. *beta* ‘house; her house’, *bate* ‘houses; his houses’. In some cases, forms taken in isolation may have three possible interpretations. For instance *kepe* ‘his stone; stones; his stones’. In such cases, the context will usually serve to disambiguate. Where confusion may arise, speakers tend, where possible, to paraphrase by the use of the independent possessive pronoun (see 3.3). For example, the first and third meanings above can be expressed unambiguously by *kepa dide* ‘his stone’ and *kepe dide* ‘his stones’.

The shorter allomorphs of the 1.pl. and 3.pl. suffixes are more commonly found than the longer ones. *-eni* and *-ohun* are occasionally found with substantives, especially in more archaic texts or in speech where the subject is religious, but they are much more commonly found with prepositions and other particles, e.g. *deni* ‘of us, our(s)’ (never **dan*), *tateni* ~ *taṭan* ‘for us’, *ilaheni* ~ *ilahan* ‘our G-d’, *babawateni* ~ *babawatan* ‘our (fore)fathers’.

3.3 INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The singular forms of the independent possessive pronoun are formed using a base *did-*, whereas the plural forms have the base *d-*. The first and third person plural suffixes do not exhibit two allomorphs as in 3.1 and 3.2. above. The longer alternative is always used, which means

that the resultant forms are without exception disyllabic. Monosyllabic suffixed forms of *d-*, such as **dan* or **du* are ungrammatical.³

Sing.	1.c.	<i>didi</i>
	2.m.	<i>didux</i>
	2.f.	<i>didax</i>
	3.m.	<i>dide</i>
	3.f.	<i>dida</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>deni</i>
	2.c.	<i>doxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>dohun</i>

These forms are most often used as a periphrastic method of indicating possession, with or without annexation e.g. *beṭa didi* ~ *beṭəd didi* ~ *beṭ didi* ~ *beṭi* ‘my house’.⁴ This is particularly common where the use of the possessive suffix on a noun may give rise to ambiguity. For instance, where the speaker wishes to express possession, *beṭa dida* ‘her house’ and *xmara dide* ‘his donkey’ are more commonly found than the respective, ambiguous forms *beṭa* ‘the house, her house’ and *xmare* ‘donkeys, his donkey’.⁵ The possessive pronoun may be annexed to the noun, which may either take a suffixed *-d* (~*t*), or be in the neo-construct state, (e.g. *xmar didi* ~ *xmarəd didi* ‘my donkey’).⁶

The independent possessive pronoun may also denote a more abstract type of possession, often referring to people, which cannot ordinarily be represented by the possessive pronominal suffixes, e.g. *hudaya dide* ‘the Jew from his area’, *naš dide* ‘his people’, *šaṭan dohun* ‘their Satan [whom they worship]’.

3.4 REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

The Persian/Kurdish loanword *gyana* ‘self, soul (antiqu.)’ (cf. P *jān* ‘soul’, K *g(i)yan*) with the possessive pronominal suffixes is used to express the idea of reflexivity:

³ This tendency to avoid monosyllabic preposition + suffix combinations is also observable in forms like *ʿalli* (and not **li*) and *ʿabbux* (and not **bux*).

⁴ See 2.3.

⁵ Another common way of disambiguating such forms is the use of the noun, either in the neo-construct state or with the genitive particle *d*, followed by the reflexive pronoun *gyan-* to indicate simple possession, e.g. *walle xpíqalle xur-gyane* ‘He is hugging his friend.’, where the usual meaning of *xur-gyane* construction would be something like ‘his own friend’.

⁶ For a discussion of annexation in ANA, see 2.3.

Sing.	1.c.	<i>gyani</i>
	2.m.	<i>gyanux</i>
	2.f.	<i>gyanax</i>
	3.m.	<i>gyane</i>
	3.f.	<i>gyana</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>gyanan, gyaneni</i>
	2.c.	<i>gyanoxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>gyanu, gyanohun</i>

These forms are usually found in cases where the grammatical subject is animate and the action is viewed by the speaker as having a direct effect on the grammatical subject. When used as the grammatical direct object of a transitive verb, *gyan-* is, as a rule, constructed as feminine and definite, e.g.:

babi, ma gyanux m'ojəzalux? 'My father, why have you tired yourself out?'
xuwwa qam-'axəlla gyane 'The snake ate itself.'

Some verbs take the reflexive pronoun as a matter of course, and its presence or absence may also differentiate meaning, e.g. *'rəqli* 'I ran' vs. *'riqali gyani* 'I fled'.⁷ It is also sometimes required in idiomatic phrases, e.g.:

'üdale⁸ gyana fəqir tad 'ağa šawəqle, parəqle 'He pretended to be poor so that the Agha would leave him, would let him alone.'

pəšlu bəqtala gyanu 'They started hitting themselves.'

gyan- may also be used with prepositions where the grammatical subject and the grammatical object are co-referential, e.g.:

'u-g-odi farhiye ta gyanu 'They [used to] make celebrations for themselves.'

'ana b-azən qeçənnu ta gyani 'I will go and pick some for myself.'

gyan- is also annexed to a noun to indicate coreferentiality of the verbal subject with another argument, e.g.:

šabo'təd gyanu p-qaṭ'iwala 'They would cut off their [own] finger.'

kutxa šqəlle sepəd gyane 'Each [man] took his own sword.'

⁷ This is often abbreviated to simply *'riqali, gyani* being understood from the feminine direct object implied in the verbal form. One interesting construction, the like of which is not found elsewhere in the text corpus, is *tre 'axawaṭa 'riqa gyanu mən paras* 'Two brothers fled from Persia.' Here, the feminine stative participle *'riqa* agrees with *gyanu*, the direct object, as expected, but the expected suffixed *-lu*, which would agree with *tre axawaṭa*, does not occur.

⁸ < *'widale*

There are three ways of expressing isolation: *b-gyan-*, *b-noš* and *b-tən-* are all used to express the idea of ‘by oneself, alone’ e.g.:

g-yatwi jafqe jafqe, gure b-nošu, jwanqe b-nošu, yalunke z'ore b-nošu, baxtata b-nošu ‘They (used to) sit in groups, the men by themselves, the youths by themselves, the young children by themselves and the women by themselves’,

xa bronā b-tāne 'atli 'ana ‘I have but one son.’

xa yoma ytule b-gyane ‘One day he was sitting by himself...’

Reciprocity is expressed by the phrase *xa-o-xāt*, *xa-o-xeta*, e.g. *la k-xazaxwa xa-o-xāt* ‘We didn’t used to see each other’ When the verb or the sense requires a preposition, it is interposed with the addition of the particle *d-*, as in:

la mḥakax xa mən d-o xeta ‘We don’t speak to each other’

g-yawíwa xalē tyāta xa ta d-o xeta ‘They used to give each other presents.’

Reciprocity may also be expressed using the reciprocal pronoun *'əǵde* or *'əǵdade*, often as part of a prepositional phrase, e.g.:

ṭlaha yarxe la xzelan 'əǵde ‘We didn’t see each other for three months.’,

'awa 'u-babi ǵəbewa xa 'əǵde ‘He and my father liked each other.’

'āxəni k-xayax məǵde, 'ahi qurḍaya, 'ana hudaya ‘We have been living together, you a Muslim, I a Jew.’

qam-ḥabkənnu kullu məǵdade ‘I added them all together’

čunkun kullu məšpaha k-eṭewa kəs-əǵde ‘because all the family would visit each other.’

3.5 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are four levels of deixis: near, far, very far, and absent.

	Near	Far	Very Far	Absent
Masc. Sing.	'ayya	'awāḥa	'awā'ḥa	'o
Fem Sing.	'ayya	'ayāḥa	'ayā'ḥa	'e
Plural	'anna	'anāḥa	'anā'ḥa	'an

These forms are most often used attributively, e.g. *'ayya jwanqa* ‘this youth’, *'o gora* ‘that man’, even with toponyms and anthroponyms, e.g. *'o šum'um* ‘this Simon’, *'e 'aməḍya* ‘this Amidya’. They may also be used as substitutes for the independent personal pronouns:

'o *tele mħakewa mənni* 'He [i.e. the person about whom I have been talking] came to speak with me.'

xurawaṭi kullu m'ojəblu. 'ayya la ki'e, maṭo qəryale haṭara? māni qam-maləple, maṭo yde'le? 'My friends were all amazed. [They said,] 'He doesn't know, how did he read the Haftara? Who taught him, how did he learn?'

'az *dən g-gəzdiwa gəlla ^Hləf' amim^H kawewa xuwwa gu gəlla la k-xazəwale, čik, g-dawəqwala 'idu. 'az 'o qaṭ'iwala.* 'So when they cut away the grass, sometimes there used to be a snake in the grass. *Snip*, it would catch they hand. So they would cut it off.'

The singular near deixis pronoun has not retained the gender distinction found in many other closely-related NENA dialects, such as Aradhin 'awwa (m.s.) vs. 'ayya (f.s.). In Amədyā, the original feminine singular form 'ayya has been generalised and is used for both the masculine and feminine singular.

When any preposition which is not directly prefixed to a word precedes a demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative pronoun takes an initial *d-* prefix, which does not in any way alter the meaning, but is rather a required syntactic feature.

When any demonstrative pronoun has a prefixed *b-*, *d-*, *l-* or *m-*, the initial glottal stop falls away. When 'ayya is preceded by *d-*, *l-*, or *m-*, the diphthong is usually raised to *-ey-*, giving *d-eyya*, *l-eyya* and *m-eyya* respectively. For example:

šamu'el b-ó-lele tele qəmle mərre ta baxte 'Samuel on that very night went and said to his wife'

bātər d-ektəta ... dān g-damxənwa bas k-ətyawa qam 'eni^Hk'ilu^H ktəta šaxila. la-məən damxənwa. 'After that chicken ... when I went to sleep it used to appear before my eyes as if it were a living chicken—I couldn't sleep!'

wulla xa gəgla yaruqa, milana hawewa, b-daraxwa gu d-eyya šətya 'If only there were a green, a blue spool [of wool], we would put it in this warp.'

la ki'e l-eka zəlle. 'axxa taṃa'ha, l-eyya maṭa l-ayəḥa maṭa t'ele 'aḡa baṭre 'He didn't know where he'd gone. Here, there, to this village, to that village the agha went looking for him.'

3.6 RELATIVE PRONOUN

dəd (or its allomorphs *d-*, *t-*, *-(ə)d*, *-t*) may function as a pure relative pronoun in marginal phrases such as *xa mənḏi dəd g-odən* 'something I do', where the subject is very clearly indefinite, but this is very much the exception to the general rule that a resumptive pronoun is required. *dəd* is thus more accurately termed a relative particle, analogous to Hebrew *-š*, e.g.

'o gora *d-qam-yawätte laxma* 'the man to whom you gave bread'

k-xaze 'aşra gure kullu märe tafange t-kefe 'alle. 'He sees ten men, all of them armed, who are coming towards him.'

'e *baxtəd xəzyalux gu šuqa 'áp-aya yəmmi wawa.* 'The woman you saw in the market was my mother.'

Another way of conveying what English would tend to express as a relative clause is by juxtaposition with a resumptive pronoun, the so-called asyndetic relative clause, e.g. *'ətwali xa jiranta 'ətwala gora naxwaš 'weleʒ* 'I had a neighbour whose husband was ill'. This construction occurs commonly with an indefinite antecedent, which may be specific, as demonstrated by the above example. It may, rarely, be found with a definite antecedent, although this may be considered a purely phonetic phenomenon whereby the relative particle (*d-*) is elided. For example:

'e *baxta xəzyali gu šuqa g-maħibənnə* 'I love that woman I saw in the market.'

3.7 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The following are the most common interrogative pronouns in ANA:

<i>māni</i>	'who?'
<i>ma</i> (<i>may-</i> , <i>ma'</i> -)	'what?'
' <i>ema</i>	'which?, what kind of?'
<i>kma</i> (<i>kmay-</i> , <i>kma'</i> -)	'how much?, how many?'

3.8 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The following are the most common indefinite pronouns in ANA:

<i>xa naša</i> , <i>xa</i> , <i>naša</i>	'someone, one'
<i>čuxxa</i>	'no-one'
<i>kutxa</i> (s.), <i>kutxa-u-xa</i> (s.), <i>kullu</i> (pl.)	'everyone'
(<i>xa</i>) <i>məndi</i>	'something'
<i>ču-məndi</i> , <i>ču məndi</i>	'nothing'
<i>kull-</i>	'every, all'
<i>kulle məndi</i> , <i>kud məndi</i> , <i>kum-məndi</i>	'everything'
<i>xamka</i> (<i>xapča</i>)	'some'
<i>ču</i>	'no, G <i>kein</i> '
<i>řaba</i>	'much, many'
<i>xa xət</i> , <i>xa xeta</i>	'another'
<i>ğer</i>	'another, more'

CHAPTER FOUR

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF VERBAL INFLECTION

The majority of verbs in ANA can be analysed as having a trilateral root. There is also a sizeable group of verbs with quadrilateral roots and a limited number of verbs with pentaliteral roots. Verbs from a trilateral root may be conjugated in one of three stems. Stem I evolved primarily from the OA *pə'al* stem, Stem II evolved primarily from the OA *pa'el* stem, and Stem III evolved out of the OA *'ap'el* stem.¹ A comparison of the principal parts of each of the three stems for strong² verbal roots is set out below. In what follows, the letters *V*, *W*, *X*, *Y* and *Z* are used to represent any strong consonants: The following are the principal parts of the ANA verb:

	Stem I	Stem II	Stem III
Imperative	<i>XYoZ</i>	<i>mXāYəZ</i>	<i>maXYəZ</i>
Present Base	<i>XaYəZ-</i>	<i>mXaYəZ-</i>	<i>maXYəZ-</i>
Past Base	<i>XYəZ-</i>	<i>mXoYəZ-</i>	<i>muXYəZ-</i>
Stative Participle	<i>XYiZa</i>	<i>mXuYZa</i>	<i>múXYəZa / múXəYZa</i>
Infinitive	<i>XYaZa</i>	<i>mXaYoZe</i>	<i>maXYoZe</i>

The imperative and infinitive of the ancestor stems of Stem II and Stem III (i.e. OA *pa'el* and *'ap'el* respectively) did not regularly exhibit a prefixed *m-*, although the ancestor forms of the present base, the past base and the stative participle (i.e. the OA participles) did. In ANA, this prefix has spread by analogy throughout all the parts of both Stem II and Stem III verbs, without exception.

Verbs from quadrilateral roots are divided into two classes. The principal parts of both are given below:

¹ The other common stems of OA have not developed into stems in ANA in a uniform manner. There are, however, some remnants of them, particularly in quadrilateral and especially pentaliteral verbal forms, in which an erstwhile morphological affix may have been reanalysed as a component part of the root, and often they may be incorporated into ANA Stems I, II and III.

² I.e. regular, without any weak letters which would cause it to deviate from the regular patterns, in the manner described in this chapter.

	Class I	Class II
Imperative	<i>mWaXYəZ</i>	<i>máWXəYəZ</i>
Present Base	<i>mWaXYəZ-</i>	<i>máWXəYəZ-</i>
Past Base	<i>mWuXYəZ-</i>	<i>məWXoYəZ-</i>
Stative Participle	<i>mWúXYəZa</i>	<i>múWXəYəZa</i>
Infinitive	<i>mWaXYoZe</i>	<i>maWXəYoZe</i>

The principal parts of verbs from pentaliteral roots are:

Imperative	<i>mVǎWəXYəZ</i>
Present Base	<i>mVǎWəXYəZ-</i>
Past Base	<i>mVoWəXYəZ-</i>
Stative Participle	<i>mVúWəXYəZe</i>
Infinitive	<i>mVǎWəXYoZe</i>

4.0.1 *The Imperative*

4.0.1.1 *Stem I Verbs*

The pattern *XYoZ* is a retention of an OA form of the *pə'al* imperative. On occasion a suffix *-ən* is found with the singular imperative: *XYoZən*. There does not appear to be a semantic distinction between *XYoZən* and *XYoZ*.

4.0.1.2 *Stem II, Stem III, Quadriliteral and Pentiliteral Verbs*

The inflections of the imperative for all these kinds of verbs are identical to the patterns of the present base, except that in the imperative the first vowel is stressed and short, without exception. An ahistorical prefix *m-* has spread to the imperative forms, presumably by analogy with the other parts of the verb, such as the present and past base.

4.0.2 *The Present Base*

The present base is a reflex of the OA active participle. The person, gender and number of the grammatical subject are conveyed by the addition of what I refer to as a-set suffixes to the present base. For verbs with a final strong radical, this series of a-set suffixes has the following forms:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-ən (-ena)</i>
	1.f.	<i>-an (-ana)</i>
	2.m.	<i>-ət</i>
	2.f.	<i>-at</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ø</i>
	3.f.	<i>-a</i>

Pl.	1.c.	-ax (-axni)
	2.c.	-etun
	3.c.	-i

The forms given above in parentheses are extended forms and are not used as often as the shorter alternatives. There do exist extended forms for the second person masculine and feminine singular endings (i.e. *-etān* and *-atān* respectively), however their use is confined to very archaic orally-transmitted Biblical translations.

The forms of the third-person suffixes suggest that they are reflexes of the OA suffixes on the participle, whereas it would seem that the first- and second-person suffixes are historically enclitic pronouns.

4.0.2.1 Stem I Verbs

Only in the 3.m.s. form, where there is a zero suffix, is the *-ə-* of the present base (*XaYəZ-*) retained. In all other forms, it is not found and the present base is *XaYZ-*. Thus, for the inflected present base of *q-t-l* 'to kill' one finds *qaṭəl* (3.m.s), but *qaṭla* (3.f.s.), *qaṭlat* (2.f.s.) and *qaṭletun* (2.c.pl.).

4.0.2.2 Stem II Verbs

Just as in the corresponding Stem I forms, the *-ə-* of the present base of Stem II verbs (*mXaYəZ*) is only retained in the 3.m.s. form. In all other forms it is elided and the present base is *mXaYZ-*. Thus, for the inflected present base of *q-d-š* 'to sanctify' one finds *mqaḏəš* (3.m.s.), but *mqaḏši* (3.c.pl.), *mqaḏšax* (1.c.pl.) and *mqaḏšan* (1.m.s.).

4.0.2.3 Stem III Verbs

Like their Stem I and Stem II counterparts, Stem III forms of the inflected present base other than the 3.m.s. do not retain the *-ə-* of the form given in the paradigms above (*máXYəZ-*). In these forms, however, elision of this *-ə-* results in a cluster of three consonants, which is not permitted by the phonotactics of ANA. This cluster is then broken up by the insertion of an anaptyctic schwa vowel [ə] either between the first and second consonants (*máXəYZ-*) or between the second and third consonants (*máXXəY-*).³ The choice of where the anaptyxis

³ Note that the stressed *a* vowel remains short, irrespective of whether the anaptyxis results in its being in a closed or in what would seem to be an open syllable. On a phonological level then, the schwa could be said to be irrelevant. Indeed, it is true to say that from a strictly phonological point of view, the first syllable of all these forms

occurs is lexically determined, often on the basis of phonetics, and a degree of free variation in this regard is found between native speakers, or even within the idiolect of a speaker. Thus, from the third stem of the root *p-l-x* ‘to employ’, one finds *maplax* (3.m.s.), but *mǎpəlxi* (3.c.pl.), *mǎpəlɣət* (2.m.s.) and *mǎpəlɣax* (1.c.pl.), all of which exhibit anaptyxis by a schwa vowel between the first and second radical consonants. From the third stem of the root *n-x-p* ‘to embarrass’ one finds *manxəp* (3.m.s) but *mánxəpat* (2.f.s.), *mánxəpi* (3.c.pl.) and *mánxəpax* (1.c.pl.), all of which exhibit anaptyxis by a schwa vowel between the second and third radical consonants. The stress remains on the first syllable with the addition of all the a-set suffixes except for the 2.c.pl. (-*étun*), which draws the stress onto itself.

4.0.2.4 *Quadriliteral Verbs*

Both Class I and Class II of verbs from quadriliteral roots (see 4.4) add the a-suffixes directly to the present base as given in the above table (i.e. *mWaXYəZ-* for Class I and *máWXəYəZ-* for Class II), without any elision of the schwa vowel. The stress remains on the first syllable with the addition of all the a-set suffixes except for the 2.c.pl. (-*étun*), which draws the stress onto itself. Consider, for example, the forms *mbárbəz* (3.m.s.), *mbárbəzat* (2.f.s.) and *mbarbəzétun* (2.c.pl) from *b-r-b-z* (Class I) ‘to scatter’ and the forms *máštəhər* (3.m.s.) *máštəhəra* (3.f.s.) and *maštəhərətun* (2.c.pl.) from *š-t-h-r* (Class II) ‘to go blind’.

4.0.2.5 *Pentaliteral Verbs*

Pentaliteral verbs add the a-suffixes directly to the present base as given in the above table (i.e. *mVǎWəXYəZ*), without any elision of the final schwa. The stress remains on the first syllable with the addition of all the a-set suffixes except for the 2.c.pl. (-*étun*), which draws the stress onto itself. Consider, for example, the forms *mšǎfəltəq* (3.m.s.), *mšǎfəltəqət* (2.m.s.) and *mšǎfəltəqétun* (2.c.pl) from *š-f-l-t-q* ‘to surprise, to happen suddenly’.

4.0.3 *The Past Base*

The grammatical subject of verbs formed with the past base is indicated by the addition of what I refer to as the l-set suffixes.

always remains closed, which explains why the *a* vowel is never lengthened, as one would expect in an open, stressed syllable.

Sing.	1.c.	-li
	2.m.	-lux
	2.f.	-lax
	3.m.	-le(h)
	3.f.	-la(h)
Pl.	1.c.	-lan (-leni)
	2.c.	-loxun
	3.c.	-lu (-lohun)

Unlike in some dialects of NENA, there is only one set of suffixes for all verbs, regardless of their transitivity. For example, the 1.c.s. forms of *h-m-l* ‘to stand, to be standing’ and *q-t-l* ‘to kill’ are *hmalli* and *qtalli* respectively.

4.0.3.1 Stem I Verbs

The stress always remains on the first syllable of forms from the past base of these verbs (i.e. *XYáZ-*). For example, from *p-l-x* ‘to work’ one finds *pláxloxun* (2.c.pl.), *pláxlan* (1.c.pl.) and *pláxlax* (2.f.s.).

If the verb has a definite object, the past base may be inflected to agree in person, gender and number with it. See 4.1.1.8 below for the relevant forms.

4.0.3.2 Stem II Verbs

In the forms from the past base of these verbs, the stress always remains on the schwa vowel of the past base (i.e. *mXoYáX-*). For example, from *q-d-š* II ‘to sanctify’ one finds *mqodášli* (1.c.s.), *mqodášlan* (1.c.pl.) and *mqodášlax* (2.f.s.).

If the verb has a definite object, the past base may be inflected to agree in person, gender and number with it. See 4.2.1.8 below for the relevant forms. When these a-set suffixes are added to the Stem II past base, it has the form *mXuYX-*, with elision of the schwa vowel and the concomitant reduction of *o* to *u* in a closed syllable. The only form not affected in this way is the 3.m.s. form with the *-ø* ending.

4.0.3.3 Stem III Verbs

In the forms from the past base of these verbs, the stress always remains on the schwa vowel of the past base (i.e. *muXYáZ-*). For example, from *n-x-p* III ‘to embarrass’ one finds *munxápli* (1.c.s.), *munxáplxun* (2.c.pl.) and *munxáplax* (2.f.s.).

If the verb has a definite object, the past base may be inflected to agree in person, gender and number with it. See 4.3.1.8 below for the

relevant forms. When these a-set suffixes are added to the Stem III past base, it has the form *mǔXəYZ-* or *muXYəZ-*, with, the former case, elision of the schwa of the past base (*muXYəZ-*) and subsequent anaptyxis, in precisely the manner described for the inflection of the present base in 4.0.2.3 above. The only form not affected in this way is the 3.m.s. form with the *-ø* ending.

4.0.3.4 *Quadriliteral Verbs*

In the forms from the past base of these verbs, the stress always remains on the schwa vowel of the past base (i.e. *mWuXYəZ-* for Class I verbs and *məWXoYəZ-* for Class II verbs).

If the verb has a definite object, the past base may be inflected to agree in person, gender and number with it. When these a-set suffixes are added to the Class I past base, it has the form *mWuXYəZ-* and when they are added to the Class II past base, it takes the form *muWXəYəZ-*. The only form not affected in this way is the 3.m.s. form with the *-ø* ending.

4.0.3.5 *Pentaliteral Verbs*

In the forms from the past base of these verbs, the stress always remains on the final schwa vowel of the past base (i.e. *mVoWəXYəZ-*).

If the verb has a definite object, the past base may be inflected to agree with it in person, gender and number. When these a-set suffixes are added to the Class I past base, it has the form *mVüWəXYəZ-*. The only form not affected in this way is the 3.m.s. form with the *-ø* ending.

4.0.4 *The Stative Participle*

4.0.4.1 *Stem I Verbs*

The stative participle is a direct descendant of the OA *qtil* form, with the determined state *-a* suffix. The addition of the feminine *-t-* results in a closing of the first syllable, which causes the reduction of [i] to [ə], i.e. **XYiZta* → *XYəZta*.

4.0.4.2 *Stem II, Stem III, Quadriliteral and Pentaliteral Verbs*

The stative participle in all these stems has a characteristic *u*-vowel as the first vowel. In essence, the patterns for Stem I, Stem II, Quadriliteral

and Pentaliteral Verbs (i.e. *mXuZYa*, *muXZYa*, *mWuXYZa*, *muWXYZa* or *muVWXYa* respectively) are identical, but for the number of consonants and how they are inserted into the structure *m-u-a*. Where appropriate, a schwa is inserted (as shown in 4.0 above), to break up any clusters of more than two consonants, which are not tolerated by ANA phonotactics. Note that this never has an effect on the underlying syllabification and therefore the *u*-vowel is always short, even when it appears phonetically to be in an open syllable, e.g. *múpalxa*, the stative participle of *p-l-x* III ‘to employ, to make work’, which has an underlying form **muplxa*, which explains its short *u*-vowel.

4.0.5 *The Infinitive*

4.0.5.1 *Stem I*

The Stem I infinitive form is a direct descendant of the OA *qatala* form.

4.0.5.2 *Stem II, Stem III, Quadriliteral and Pentaliteral Verbs*

The infinitive in all these stems has a characteristic *o*-vowel as the penultimate vowel. In essence, the patterns for Stem I, Stem II, Quadriliteral and Pentaliteral Verbs are identical, (*mXaZoYe*, *maXZoYe*, *maWXYoZe* or *mVaWXYoZe*, respectively), but for the number of consonants and how they are inserted into the structure *m-a-o-e*. Where appropriate, a schwa is inserted (as shown in 4.0.2.3 above), to break up any clusters of more than two consonants, which are not tolerated by ANA phonotactics. Note that this never has an effect on the underlying syllabification.

4.1 STEM I VERBS

Stem I verbs all contain three radicals. One or more of these radicals may be a so-called “weak” radical, such as *ʾ*, *w* or *y*.

4.1.1 *Strong Verbs*

Strong verbs are those verbs which do not contain a weak radical (i.e. *ʾ*, *w* or *y*). This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots *q-t-l* ‘to kill’, *p-t-x* ‘to open’, *t'-n* ‘to carry’, *n-t-r* ‘to protect’, *d-m-x* ‘to sleep’, *s-k-r* ‘to become intoxicated’, *n-š-q* ‘to kiss’, and *m-r-ʾ* ‘to hurt, to ache’.

4.1.1.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>q̄tol</i>
Pl.	<i>q̄tulun</i>

L-set object suffixes may be added to the imperative. The addition of these suffixes to the singular effects the closure of the initial syllable and thus occasions a regular phonetic shift from *o* to *u*. In the plural form, suffixes are added to a base *q̄tūlu-*, the *ū*-vowel of the tonic syllable presumably being as a result of an analogy with the 2.m.s. form with suffixes. The suffixed imperative forms are:

	1.c.s. object	3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object	1.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object
Sing.	<i>q̄tulli</i>	<i>q̄tulle</i>	<i>q̄tulla</i>	<i>q̄tullan</i>	<i>q̄tullu</i>
Pl.	<i>q̄tūluli</i>	<i>q̄tūlule</i>	<i>q̄tūlula</i>	<i>q̄tūlulan</i>	<i>q̄tūlulu</i>

The second-person l-set suffixes may under certain circumstances be added to the imperative forms. For instance, they may express an ethic dative, and the singular forms be used to disambiguate a singular imperative form with respect to gender:

Sing.	m.	<i>q̄tullux</i>
	f.	<i>q̄tullax</i>
Pl.	c.	<i>q̄tūluloxun</i>

4.1.1.2 *Present Subjunctive*

All the forms of the present subjunctive are given below:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>qaṭlən, qáṭlena</i>
	1.f.	<i>qaṭlan, qáṭlana</i>
	2.m.	<i>qaṭlət</i>
	2.f.	<i>qaṭlat</i>
	3.m.	<i>qaṭəl</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>qaṭla</i>
	1.c.	<i>qaṭlax, qaṭlaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>qaṭletun</i>
	3.c.	<i>qaṭli</i>

The l-set suffixes can be affixed to all these forms to indicate the verb's object.

In the first and second person singular forms, the initial *l-* of the suffix exhibits total assimilation to the final *-n* and *-t* respectively. In the second person plural forms the normal suffix *-etun* is replaced by *-étu-* when an object suffix is added. The tonic schwa in such forms can be assumed to be by analogy with the 2.m.s. form. A full paradigm of all forms is given below:

		1.c.s. object	2.m.s. object	2.f.s. object
Sing.	1.m.	N/A	<i>qaṭlānnux</i>	<i>qaṭlānnax</i>
	1.f.	N/A	<i>qaṭlānnux</i>	<i>qaṭlānnax</i>
	2.m.	<i>qaṭlātti</i>	N/A	N/A
	2.f.	<i>qaṭlatti</i>	N/A	N/A
	3.m.	<i>qaṭālli</i>	<i>qaṭāllux</i>	<i>qaṭāllax</i>
	3.f.	<i>qaṭlali</i>	<i>qaṭlalux</i>	<i>qaṭlalex</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	<i>qaṭlaxlux</i>	<i>qaṭlaxlax</i>
	2.c.	<i>qaṭlāstuli</i>	N/A	<i>qaṭlāstulax</i>
	3.c.	<i>qaṭlili</i>	<i>qaṭlilux</i>	<i>qaṭlilax</i>
		3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object	1.c.pl. object
Sing.	1.m.	<i>qaṭlānne</i>	<i>qaṭlānna</i>	N/A
	1.f.	<i>qaṭlānne</i>	<i>qaṭlānna</i>	N/A
	2.m.	<i>qaṭlātte</i>	<i>qaṭlātta</i>	<i>qaṭlāttan</i>
	2.f.	<i>qaṭlātte</i>	<i>qaṭlātta</i>	<i>qaṭlāttan</i>
	3.m.	<i>qaṭālle</i>	<i>qaṭālla</i>	<i>qaṭāllan</i>
	3.f.	<i>qaṭlale</i>	<i>qaṭlala</i>	<i>qaṭlalan</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qaṭlaxle</i>	<i>qaṭlaxla</i>	N/A
	2.c.	<i>qaṭlāstule</i>	<i>qaṭlāstula</i>	<i>qaṭlāstulan</i>
	3.c.	<i>qaṭlile</i>	<i>qaṭlila</i>	<i>qaṭlilan</i>
		2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>qaṭlānnoxun</i>	<i>qaṭlānnu</i>	
	1.f.	<i>qaṭlānnoxun</i>	<i>qaṭlānnu</i>	
	2.m.	N/A	<i>qaṭlāttu</i>	
	2.f.	N/A	<i>qaṭlāttu</i>	
	3.m.	<i>qaṭāllloxun</i>	<i>qaṭāllu</i>	
	3.f.	<i>qaṭlāloxun</i>	<i>qaṭlālu</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qaṭlāxloxun</i>	<i>qaṭlāxlu</i>	
	2.c.	N/A	<i>qaṭlāstulu</i>	
	3.c.	<i>qaṭlīloxun</i>	<i>qaṭlīlu</i>	

In verbs with a third radical *n* or *r*, the 3.m.s. forms with object 1-set suffixes shown total assimilation of the *-l-* of the suffix to the final radical of the root, as is shown below:

		1.c.s. object	2.m.s. object	2.f.s. object
Sing.	3.m.	<i>ta'anni</i>	<i>ta'annux</i>	<i>ta'annax</i>
		<i>naṭərri</i>	<i>naṭərrux</i>	<i>naṭərrax</i>
		3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object	1.c.pl. object
Sing.	3.m.	<i>ta'anne</i>	<i>ta'anna</i>	<i>ta'annan</i>
		<i>naṭərre</i>	<i>naṭərre</i>	<i>naṭərran</i>
		2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object	
Sing.	3.m.	<i>ta'ānnoxun</i>	<i>ta'ānnu</i>	
		<i>naṭārroxun</i>	<i>naṭərri</i>	

4.1.1.3 *Past Subjunctive*

The past subjunctive forms are obtained by the addition of the suffix *-wa*, which is probably a reflex of OA *[h]wā, to the present subjunctive forms (see 4.1.1.2). The 2.pl. ending is subject to a regular shift of *-*etunwa* → -*ātuwa*.

Sing.	1.m.	<i>qaṭlənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>qaṭlanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>qaṭlətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>qaṭlatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>qaṭəlwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>qaṭlawā</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qaṭlaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>qaṭlātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>qaṭliwa</i>

Object l-set suffixes can be affixed to all these forms. A full paradigm of all forms is given below:

		1.c.s. object	2.m.s. object	2.f.s. object
Sing.	1.m.	N/A	<i>qaṭlənwalux</i>	<i>qaṭlənwalax</i>
	1.f.	N/A	<i>qaṭlānwalux</i>	<i>qaṭlānwalax</i>
	2.m.	<i>qaṭlātwali</i>	N/A	N/A
	2.f.	<i>qaṭlātwali</i>	N/A	N/A
	3.m.	<i>qaṭəlwali</i>	<i>qaṭəlwalux</i>	<i>qaṭəlwalax</i>
	3.f.	<i>qaṭlāwali</i>	<i>qaṭlāwalux</i>	<i>qaṭlāwalax</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	<i>qaṭlāxwalux</i>	<i>qaṭlāxwalax</i>
	2.c.	<i>qaṭlātuwali</i>	N/A	<i>qaṭlātuwalax</i>
	3.c.	<i>qaṭliwali</i>	<i>qaṭliwalux</i>	<i>qaṭliwalax</i>
		3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object	1.c.pl. object
Sing.	1.m.	<i>qaṭlənwale</i>	<i>qaṭlənwala</i>	N/A
	1.f.	<i>qaṭlānwale</i>	<i>qaṭlānwala</i>	N/A
	2.m.	<i>qaṭlātwale</i>	<i>qaṭlātwala</i>	<i>qaṭlātwalan</i>
	2.f.	<i>qaṭlātware</i>	<i>qaṭlātware</i>	<i>qaṭlātwaran</i>
	3.m.	<i>qaṭəlware</i>	<i>qaṭəlware</i>	<i>qaṭəlwaran</i>
	3.f.	<i>qaṭlāwale</i>	<i>qaṭlāwala</i>	<i>qaṭlāwalan</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qaṭlāxwale</i>	<i>qaṭlāxwala</i>	N/A
	2.c.	<i>qaṭlātuwale</i>	<i>qaṭlātuwala</i>	<i>qaṭlātuwaran</i>
	3.c.	<i>qaṭliwale</i>	<i>qaṭliwala</i>	<i>qaṭliwalan</i>
		2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>qaṭlənwaloxun</i>	<i>qaṭlənwalu</i>	
	1.f.	<i>qaṭlānwaloxun</i>	<i>qaṭlānwalu</i>	
	2.m.	N/A	<i>qaṭlātwalu</i>	
	2.f.	N/A	<i>qaṭlātwalu</i>	
	3.m.	<i>qaṭəlwaloxun</i>	<i>qaṭəlwalu</i>	

	3.f.	<i>qaṭláwaloxun</i>	<i>qaṭláwalu</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qaṭláxwaloxun</i>	<i>qaṭláxwalu</i>
	2.c.	N/A	<i>qaṭlétuwalu</i>
	3.c.	<i>qaṭlíwaloxun</i>	<i>qaṭlíwalu</i>

4.1.1.4 *Present Indicative*

The present indicative is formed by adding a prefix *k-* (with a root whose initial consonant is unvoiced) or a prefix *g-* (to a root whose initial consonant is voiced) to the present subjunctive form (see 4.1.1.2):

		<i>q-t-l</i>	<i>d-m-x</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-qaṭlən, k-qaṭlena</i>	<i>g-damxən, g-dámxena</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-qaṭlan, k-qaṭlana</i>	<i>g-damxan, g-dámxana</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-qaṭlət</i>	<i>g-damxət</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-qaṭlat</i>	<i>g-damxat</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-qaṭəl</i>	<i>g-daməx</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-qaṭla</i>	<i>g-damxa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-qaṭlax, k-qaṭlaxni</i>	<i>g-damxax, g-damxaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-qaṭletun</i>	<i>g-damxetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-qaṭli</i>	<i>g-damxi</i>

Object l-set suffixes are attached to these forms in precisely the same way as they are attached to the present subjunctive (see 4.1.1.2).

4.1.1.5 *Past Habitual*

The past habitual is formed by adding a prefix *k-* (with a root whose initial consonant is unvoiced) or a prefix *g-* (to a root whose initial consonant is voiced) to the past subjunctive form (see 4.1.1.3):

		<i>q-t-l</i>	<i>d-m-x</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-qaṭlənwa</i>	<i>g-damxənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-qaṭlanwa</i>	<i>g-damxanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-qaṭlətwa</i>	<i>g-damxətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-qaṭlatwa</i>	<i>g-damxatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-qaṭəlwa</i>	<i>g-daməxwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-qaṭlawa</i>	<i>g-damxawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-qaṭlaxwa</i>	<i>g-damxaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-qaṭlétuwa</i>	<i>g-damxétuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-qaṭliwa</i>	<i>g-damxiwa</i>

Object l-set suffixes are attached to these forms in precisely the same way as they are attached to the past subjunctive (See 4.1.1.3).

4.1.1.6 *Future Simple*

The future simple is formed by adding a prefix *p-* (with a root whose initial consonant is unvoiced) or a prefix *b-* (to a root whose initial consonant is voiced) to the present subjunctive form (See 4.1.1.2). When the root is *I-m* the prefix is realised as an *m-*.

		<i>q-t-l</i>	<i>d-m-x</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-qaṭlən, p-qátlena</i>	<i>b-damxən, b-dámxena</i>
	1.f.	<i>p-qaṭlan, p-qátlana</i>	<i>b-damxan, b-dámxana</i>
	2.m.	<i>p-qaṭlət</i>	<i>b-damxət</i>
	2.f.	<i>p-qaṭlat</i>	<i>b-damxat</i>
	3.m.	<i>p-qaṭəl</i>	<i>b-daməx</i>
	3.f.	<i>p-qaṭla</i>	<i>b-damxa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>p-qaṭlax, p-qaṭlaxni</i>	<i>b-damxax, b-damxaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-qaṭletun</i>	<i>b-damxetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-qaṭli</i>	<i>b-damxi</i>
		<i>m-r-ʔ</i>	<i>n-š-q</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-marʔən, m-marʔena</i>	<i>b-našqən, b-nášqena</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-marʔan, m-márʔana</i>	<i>b-našqan, b-nášqana</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-marʔət</i>	<i>b-našqət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-marʔat</i>	<i>b-našqat</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mareʔ</i>	<i>b-našəq</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-marʔa</i>	<i>b-našqa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-marʔax, m-marʔaxni</i>	<i>b-našqax, n-našqaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-marʔetun</i>	<i>b-našqetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-marʔi</i>	<i>b-našqi</i>

Object l-set suffixes are attached to these forms in precisely the same way as they are attached to the present subjunctive (see 4.1.1.2).

The future simple is negated with *la* and the present indicative, e.g. 3.m.s. *la k-qaṭəl* 'he will not kill'. **la p-qaṭəl* is ungrammatical.

4.1.1.7 *Conditional*

The conditional is formed by adding a prefix *p-* (with a root whose initial consonant is unvoiced) or a prefix *b-* (to a root whose initial consonant is voiced) to the past subjunctive form (see 4.1.1.3). When the root is *I-m* the prefix is realised as an *m-*.

		<i>q-t-l</i>	<i>d-m-x</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-qaṭlənwa</i>	<i>b-damxənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>p-qaṭlanwa</i>	<i>b-damxanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>p-qaṭlətwa</i>	<i>b-damxətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>p-qaṭlatwa</i>	<i>b-damxatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>p-qaṭəl wa</i>	<i>b-daməxwa</i>

Pl.	3.f.	<i>p-qaṭla wa</i>	<i>b-damxawa</i>
	1.c.	<i>p-qaṭlaxwa</i>	<i>b-damxaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-qaṭlātuwa</i>	<i>b-damxātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-qaṭliwa</i>	<i>b-damxiwa</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-mar'ənwa</i>	
	1.f.	<i>m-mar'anwa</i>	
	2.m.	<i>m-mar'ətwa</i>	
	2.f.	<i>m-mar'atwa</i>	
	3.m.	<i>m-mare'wa</i>	
	3.f.	<i>m-mar'awa</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-mar'axwa</i>	
	2.c.	<i>m-mar'ātuwa</i>	
	3.c.	<i>m-mar'iwa</i>	

Object l-set suffixes are attached to these forms in precisely the same way as they are attached to the past subjunctive (see 4.1.1.3).

4.1.1.8 Preterite

Sing.	1.c.	<i>qṭalli</i>
	2.m.	<i>qṭallux</i>
	2.f.	<i>qṭallax</i>
	3.m.	<i>qṭalle</i>
	3.f.	<i>qṭalla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qṭallan, qṭálleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>qṭálloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>qṭallu</i>

In verbs with a third radical *n*, *r* or *ṛ* one finds complete assimilation of the initial *l-* of the suffix to the third radical of the verb. The is shown below:

Sing.		<i>t'-n</i>	<i>n-t-r</i>	<i>s-k-r</i>
	1.c.	<i>t'ənni</i>	<i>nṭərri</i>	<i>skərri</i>
	2.m.	<i>t'ənnux</i>	<i>nṭərrux</i>	<i>skərrix</i>
	2.f.	<i>t'ənnax</i>	<i>nṭərrax</i>	<i>skərrix</i>
	3.m.	<i>t'ənne</i>	<i>nṭərre</i>	<i>skərre</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>t'ənna</i>	<i>nṭərri</i>	<i>skərri</i>
	1.c.	<i>t'ənnan, t'ənneni</i>	<i>nṭərran, nṭərreni</i>	<i>skərri, skərreni</i>
	2.c.	<i>t'ənnoxun</i>	<i>nṭərroxun</i>	<i>skərroxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>t'ənnu</i>	<i>nṭərri</i>	<i>skərri</i>

An object can be expressed in this tense by one of two methods. The first is the internal modification of the stem. For a masculine singular object, no modification is necessary. *qṭalli*, *qṭallux* etc. can mean 'I killed him', 'you (m.s.) killed him' etc. as well as 'I killed', 'you (m.s.)

killed' etc. This anomaly is explained by the fact that the basic form *qtalle* is diachronically analysable as *qtil* 'he is killed' + *le* 'by me'.⁴ My informants show no synchronic awareness of any passive meaning in this construction whatsoever. There has been a complete semantic shift from 'he is in a state of having been killed by me' to 'I killed (him).' The past base of the verb (*qtil-*) is inflected with a-set suffixes to represent the object as shown below:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>qtilən</i>
	1.f.	<i>qtilan</i>
	2.m.	<i>qtilət</i>
	2.f.	<i>qtilat</i>
	3.m.	<i>qtil(ən)</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>qtila</i>
	1.c.	<i>qtilax</i>
	2.c.	<i>qtilətun, qtilətu-</i>
	3.c.	<i>qtili</i>

The forms can stand alone⁵—primarily in archaic or archaising contexts, but are most often found with l-set suffixes, as shown below:

		1.m.s. object	1.f.s. object	2.m.s. object
Sing.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>qtilatti</i>
	2.m.	<i>qtilənnux</i>	<i>qtilannux</i>	N/A
	2.f.	<i>qtilənnax</i>	<i>qtilannax</i>	N/A
	3.m.	<i>qtilənnə</i>	<i>qtilanne</i>	<i>qtilatte</i>
	3.f.	<i>qtilənnə</i>	<i>qtilanna</i>	<i>qtilatta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>qtiləttan</i>
	2.c.	<i>qtilənnoxun</i>	<i>qtilannoxun</i>	N/A
	3.c.	<i>qtilənnu</i>	<i>qtilannu</i>	<i>qtiləttu</i>
		2.f.s. object	3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object
Sing.	1.c.	<i>qtilatti</i>	<i>qtəlli</i>	<i>qtilali</i>
	2.m.	N/A	<i>qtəllux</i>	<i>qtilalux</i>
	2.f.	N/A	<i>qtəllax</i>	<i>qtilalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>qtilatte</i>	<i>qtəlle</i>	<i>qtilale</i>
	3.f.	<i>qtilatta</i>	<i>qtəlla</i>	<i>qtilala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qtiləttan</i>	<i>qtəllan</i>	<i>qtilalan</i>
	2.c.	N/A	<i>qtəlləloxun</i>	<i>qtilələloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>qtiləttu</i>	<i>qtəllu</i>	<i>qtilalu</i>

⁴ Diachronically, however, *qtəlle* 'He killed' and *qtille* 'He killed him', despite being phonetically identical, are probably best analysed morphologically as /*qtil* + *li*/ and /*qtil* + *ə* + *li*/ respectively (see Hoberman 1989: 36).

⁵ *qtilən* as the 3.m.s. form occurs only in isolation, and never with an l-set suffix. A form such as *qtilənnux* can only mean 'you (m.s.) killed me (m.s.)' and never *'you (m.s.) killed him', which is expressed by the form *qtəllux*, or unambiguously by *qam-qatlatte*.

		1.c.pl. object	2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object
Sing.	1.m.	N/A	<i>q̄til̄štuli</i>	<i>q̄tilili</i>
	2.m.	<i>q̄tilaxlux</i>	N/A	<i>q̄tililux</i>
	2.f.	<i>q̄tilaxlax</i>	N/A	<i>q̄tililax</i>
	3.m.	<i>q̄tilaxle</i>	<i>q̄til̄štulu</i>	<i>q̄tilile</i>
	3.f.	<i>q̄tilaxla</i>	<i>q̄til̄štula</i>	<i>q̄tilila</i>
Pl.	1.c	N/A	<i>q̄til̄štulan</i>	<i>q̄tililan</i>
	2.c	<i>q̄til̄áxloxun</i>	N/A	<i>q̄til̄iloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>q̄tilaxlu</i>	<i>q̄til̄štulu</i>	<i>q̄tililu</i>

The second way of expressing an object with this tense is by the use of a suppletive form, viz. the present subjunctive form with an object suffix (see 4.1.1.2) and a prefixed *qam-*:

		1.c.s. object	2.m.s. object	2.f.s. object
Sing.	1.m.	N/A	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənnux</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənnax</i>
	1.f.	N/A	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənnux</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənnax</i>
	2.m.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ətti</i>	N/A	N/A
	2.f.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ətti</i>	N/A	N/A
	3.m.	<i>qam-qat̄əlli</i>	<i>qam-qat̄əllux</i>	<i>qam-qat̄əllax</i>
	3.f.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əli</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlux</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlax</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlux</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlax</i>
	2.c.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əštuli</i>	N/A	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əštulax</i>
	3.c.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əli</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlux</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlax</i>
		3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object	1.c.pl. object
Sing.	1.m.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənne</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənna</i>	N/A
	1.f.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənne</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənna</i>	N/A
	2.m.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ətte</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ətta</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əttan</i>
	2.f.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ətte</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ətta</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əttan</i>
	3.m.	<i>qam-qat̄əlle</i>	<i>qam-qat̄əlla</i>	<i>qam-qat̄əllan</i>
	3.f.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əle</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əla</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlan</i>
Pl.	1.c	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əxle</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əxla</i>	N/A
	2.c	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əštule</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əštula</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əštulan</i>
	3.c.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əle</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əla</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlan</i>
		2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənnoxun</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənnu</i>	
	1.f.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənnoxun</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄ənnu</i>	
	2.m.	N/A	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əttu</i>	
	2.f.	N/A	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əttu</i>	
	3.m.	<i>qam-qat̄əllloxun</i>	<i>qam-qat̄əllu</i>	
	3.f.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əloxun</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlu</i>	
Pl.	1.c	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əxloxun</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əxlu</i>	
	2.c	N/A	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əštulu</i>	
	3.c.	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əloxun</i>	<i>qam-qat̄l̄əlu</i>	

4.1.1.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>qtǎlwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>qtǎlwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>qtǎlwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>qtǎlwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>qtǎlwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qtǎlwalan, qtǎlwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>qtǎlwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>qtǎlwalu</i>

Just as in the preterite, in the plupreterite an object may be expressed by one of two methods. The first is the internal modification of the stem. These forms are shown below:

		1.m.s. object	1.f.s. object	2.m.s. object
Sing.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>qtilǎtwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>qtilǎnwalux</i>	<i>qtilǎnwalux</i>	N/A
	2.f.	<i>qtilǎnwalax</i>	<i>qtilǎnwalax</i>	N/A
	3.m.	<i>qtilǎnwale</i>	<i>qtilǎnwale</i>	<i>qtilǎtwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>qtilǎnwala</i>	<i>qtilǎnwala</i>	<i>qtilǎtwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>qtilǎtwalan</i>
	2.c.	<i>qtilǎnwaloxun</i>	<i>qtilǎnwaloxun</i>	N/A
	3.c.	<i>qtilǎnwalu</i>	<i>qtilǎnwalu</i>	<i>qtilǎtwalu</i>
		2.f.s. object	3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object
Sing.	1.c.	<i>qtilǎtwali</i>	<i>qtǎlwali</i>	<i>qtilǎwali</i>
	2.m.	N/A	<i>qtǎlwalux</i>	<i>qtilǎwalux</i>
	2.f.	N/A	<i>qtǎlwalax</i>	<i>qtilǎwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>qtilǎtwale</i>	<i>qtǎlwale</i>	<i>qtilǎwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>qtilǎtwala</i>	<i>qtǎlwala</i>	<i>qtilǎwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>qtilǎtwalan</i>	<i>qtǎlwalan</i>	<i>qtilǎwalan</i>
	2.c.	N/A	<i>qtǎlwaloxun</i>	<i>qtilǎwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>qtilǎtwalu</i>	<i>qtǎlwalu</i>	<i>qtilǎwalu</i>
		1.c.pl. object	2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object
Sing.	1.m.	N/A	<i>qtilǎtuwali</i>	<i>qtilǎwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>qtilǎxwalux</i>	N/A	<i>qtilǎwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>qtilǎxwalax</i>	N/A	<i>qtilǎwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>qtilǎxwale</i>	<i>qtilǎtuwale</i>	<i>qtilǎwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>qtilǎxwala</i>	<i>qtilǎtuwala</i>	<i>qtilǎwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	<i>qtilǎtuwalan</i>	<i>qtilǎwalan</i>
	2.c.	<i>qtilǎxwaloxun</i>	N/A	<i>qtilǎwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>qtilǎxwalu</i>	<i>qtilǎtuwalu</i>	<i>qtilǎwalu</i>

The second way of expressing an object with this tense is by the use of a suppletive form, viz. the past subjunctive form with an object suffix (see 4.1.1.3) and a prefixed *qam-*:

Sing.	1.m.	1.c.s. object	2.m.s. object	2.f.s. object
		N/A	<i>qam-qaṭl̄nwalux</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄nwalax</i>
	1.f.	N/A	<i>qam-qaṭl̄nwalux</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄nwalax</i>
				<i>qam-qaṭl̄nwalax</i>
	2.m.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stwali</i>	N/A	N/A
	2.f.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stwali</i>	N/A	N/A
3.m.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄šwali</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄šwalux</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄šwalax</i>	
Pl.	3.f.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄wali</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walux</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walax</i>
				<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walax</i>
	1.c.	N/A	<i>qam-qaṭl̄xwalux</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄xwalax</i>
	2.c.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwali</i>	N/A	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwax</i>
	3.c.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄wali</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walux</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walax</i>
				<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walax</i>
Sing.	1.m.	3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object	1.c.pl. object
		<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄wale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄wala</i>	N/A
	1.f.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄wale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄wala</i>	N/A
			<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄wala</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwalan</i>
	2.m.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stwale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stwala</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwalan</i>
	2.f.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stwale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stwala</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwalan</i>
			<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwalan</i>	
3.m.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄šwale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄šwala</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄šwalan</i>	
Pl.	3.f.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄wale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄wala</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walan</i>
				<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walan</i>
	1.c	<i>qam-qaṭl̄xwale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄xwala</i>	N/A
	2.c	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwala</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwalan</i>
	3.c.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄wale</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄wala</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walan</i>
				<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walan</i>
Sing.	1.m.	2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object	
		<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄waloxun</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄walu</i>	
	1.f.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄waloxun</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄n̄walu</i>	
			<i>qam-qaṭl̄stwalu</i>	
	2.m.	N/A	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stwalu</i>	
	2.f.	N/A	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walu</i>	
		<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walu</i>		
3.m.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄šwaloxun</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄šwalu</i>		
Pl.	3.f.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄waloxun</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walu</i>	
			<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walu</i>	
	1.c	<i>qam-qaṭl̄xwaloxun</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄xwalu</i>	
	2.c	N/A	<i>qam-qaṭl̄stuwalu</i>	
	3.c.	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄waloxun</i>	<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walu</i>	
			<i>qam-qaṭl̄l̄walu</i>	

4.1.1.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili q̄ṭila
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili q̄ṭalta
	2.m.	-iwət q̄ṭila
	2.f.	-iwat q̄ṭalta
	3.m.	-ile q̄ṭila
	3.f.	-ila q̄ṭalta
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax q̄ṭile
	2.c.	-iwetun q̄ṭile
	3.c.	-ilu q̄ṭile

In certain situations, the deictic copula is used with the stative participle in place of the present copula (see section 4.6.2 below). The full paradigm is given below:

Sing.	1.m.	wəlli q̄ṭila
	1.f.	wəlli q̄ṭalta
	2.m.	wəllət q̄ṭila
	2.f.	wəllat q̄ṭalta
	3.m.	wəlle q̄ṭila
	3.f.	wəlla q̄ṭalta
Pl.	1.c.	wəllan q̄ṭile
	2.c.	wəlloxun q̄ṭile
	3.c.	wəllu q̄ṭile

Objects are expressed by the elision of the final vowel of the stative participle and the affixation of *-əl-* and an l-set suffix.⁶ Note that when this structure is used, the stress is not shifted and remains on the first syllable of the participle. Note also that in the masculine the number distinction usually maintained by the final vowel of the participle is obscured and grammatical number can only be discerned from the auxiliary verb. By way of illustration I give below the full paradigm for the second person:

⁶ Historically this formation can be seen to have evolved from the indication of the object by means of the preposition *'əll-*. For example: *wəlle q̄ṭila 'əlli* → *wəlle q̄ṭiləlli*. The use of *'əll-* in this way is still grammatical but does not normally occur in natural speech. It is common when an informant is asked to repeat in lento speech a construction with the stative participle, e.g. *'áwele f'inəlli* 'he has carried me (here)' was repeated as *'áwele f'ina 'əlli*.

		1.c.s. object	3.m.s. object	3f.s. object
Sing.	2.m.	-iwət q̄t̄iləlli	-iwət q̄t̄iləlle	-iwət q̄t̄iləlla
	2.f.	-iwat q̄t̄əltəlli	-iwat q̄t̄əltəlle	-iwat q̄t̄əltəlla
Pl.	2.c.	-iwetun q̄t̄iləlli	-iwetun q̄t̄iləlle	-iwetun q̄t̄iləlla
		1.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object.	
Sing.	2.m.	-iwət q̄t̄iləllan	-iwət q̄t̄iləllu	
	2.f.	-iwat q̄t̄əltəllan	-iwat q̄t̄əltəllu	
Pl.	2.c.	-iwetun q̄t̄iləllan	-iwetun q̄t̄iləllu	

4.1.1.11 Past Perfect

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	wənwa q̄t̄ila
	1.f.	wanwa q̄t̄əltə
	2.m.	wətwa q̄t̄ila
	2.f.	watwa q̄t̄əltə
	3.m.	wewa q̄t̄ila
	3.f.	wawa q̄t̄əltə
Pl.	1.c.	waxwa q̄t̄ile
	2.c.	wūtwa, wūtunwa q̄t̄ile
	3.c.	wewa q̄t̄ile

Objects are expressed exactly as for the present perfect (see 4.1.1.9).

4.1.1.12 Future Perfect

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	pawən q̄t̄ila
	1.f.	pojan q̄t̄əltə
	2.m.	pawət q̄t̄ila
	2.f.	pojat q̄t̄əltə
	3.m.	pawe q̄t̄ila
	3.f.	poya q̄t̄əltə
Pl.	1.c.	pawax q̄t̄ile
	2.c.	pawetun q̄t̄ile
	3.c.	pawe q̄t̄ile

Objects are expressed exactly as for the present perfect (see 4.1.1.9).

4.1.1.13 Present Continuous

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili bəqtala</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili bəqtala</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət bəqtala</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat bəqtala</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile bəqtala</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila bəqtala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax bəqtala</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun bəqtala</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu bəqtala</i>

In certain situations, the deictic copula is used in place of the present copula (see section 4.6.2 below). The full paradigm is given below:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>wəlli bəqtala</i>
	1.f.	<i>wəlli bəqtala</i>
	2.m.	<i>wəllət bəqtala</i>
	2.f.	<i>wəllat bəqtala</i>
	3.m.	<i>wəlle bəqtala</i>
	3.f.	<i>wəlla bəqtala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>wəllan bəqtala</i>
	2.c.	<i>wəlloxun bəqtala</i>
	3.c.	<i>wəllu bəqtala</i>

Objects are expressed by the elision of the final vowel of the infinitive and by the affixation of *-əl-* and an l-set suffix.⁷ Note that when this structure is used, the stress is not shifted and remains on the first syllable of the participle.

By way of illustration I give below the full paradigm for the second person:

		1.c.s. object	3.m.s. object	3f.s. object
Sing.	2.m.	<i>-iwət bəqtáləlli</i>	<i>-iwət bəqtáləlle</i>	<i>-iwət bəqtáləlla</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat bəqtáləlli</i>	<i>-iwat bəqtáləlle</i>	<i>-iwat bəqtáləlla</i>
Pl.	2.c.	<i>-iwetun bəqtáləlli</i>	<i>-iwetun bəqtáləlle</i>	<i>-iwetun bəqtáləlla</i>
		1.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object.	
Sing.	2.m.	<i>-iwət bəqtáləllan</i>	<i>-iwət bəqtáləllu</i>	
	2.f.	<i>-iwat bəqtáləllan</i>	<i>-iwat bəqtáləllu</i>	
Pl.	2.c.	<i>-iwetun bəqtáləllan</i>	<i>-iwetun bəqtáləllu</i>	

4.1.1.14 Past Continuous

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)-* prefix:

⁷ Historically this can be seen to have evolved from the indication of the object by means of the preposition *'əlli-*. For example: *wəlle bəqtala 'əlli* → *wəlle bəqtáləlli*.

Sing.	1.m.	<i>wənwa bəqtala</i>
	1.f.	<i>wanwa bəqtala</i>
	2.m.	<i>wətwa bəqtala</i>
	2.f.	<i>watwa bəqtala</i>
	3.m.	<i>wewa bəqtala</i>
	3.f.	<i>wawa bəqtala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>waxwa bəqtala</i>
	2.c.	<i>wütwa, wütunwa bəqtala</i>
	3.c.	<i>wewa bəqtala</i>

Objects are attached in the same way as for the present continuous (See 4.1.1.13)

4.1.1.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)-* prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>pawən bəqtala</i>
	1.f.	<i>pojan bəqtala</i>
	2.m.	<i>pawət bəqtala</i>
	2.f.	<i>pojat bəqtala</i>
	3.m.	<i>pawe bəqtala</i>
	3.f.	<i>poja bəqtala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>pawax bəqtala</i>
	2.c.	<i>pawetun bəqtala</i>
	3.c.	<i>pawe bəqtala</i>

Objects are attached in the same way as for the present continuous (see 4.1.1.13).

4.1.1.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.1.1.16.1 *Infinitive*

qtala

4.1.1.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

The masculine verbal noun is identical in form to the infinitive, and the feminine is formed by an infix *-t-* between the third root consonant and the nominal suffix *-a*.

Masc.	<i>qtala</i>
Fem.	<i>qtalta</i>

4.1.2 Verbs I-ʾ (and Verbs I-ʾ, II-w; Verbs I-ʾ, III-y)

Verbs I-ʾ can be divided into two subgroups. Subgroup A verbs do not show the initial ʾ radical in the majority of their forms. Generally the ʾ radical resurfaces only in the subjunctive, the verbal nouns and the infinitive. Subgroup B verbs, on the other, tend to retain the ʾ radical.

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots ʾ-m-r ‘to say’, ʾ-t-y⁸ ‘to come’, ʾ-x-l ‘to eat’, ʾ-z-l ‘to go’ (all subgroup A), ʾ-w-r ‘to pass’ and ʾ-w-d ‘to do’ (both subgroup B).⁹

4.1.2.1. Imperative

Subgroup A:

	ʾ-m-r	ʾ-t-y	ʾ-x-l	ʾ-z-l ¹⁰
Sing.	<i>mar</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>xol</i>	<i>si</i>
Pl.	<i>marun</i>	<i>tawun</i>	<i>xulun</i>	<i>suwun</i>

Subgroup B:

	ʾ-w-d	ʾ-w-r
Sing.	<i>wod</i>	<i>wor</i>
Pl.	<i>wudun</i>	<i>wurun</i>

4.1.2.2 Present Subjunctive

Subgroup A:

		ʾ-m-r	ʾ-t-y
Sing.	1.m.	<i>ʾamrən, ʾámrena</i>	<i>ʾatən, ʾátena</i>
	1.f.	<i>ʾamran, ʾámrana</i>	<i>ʾatyan, ʾátyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>ʾamrət</i>	<i>ʾatət</i>
	2.f.	<i>ʾamrat</i>	<i>ʾatyat</i>
3.m.		<i>ʾamər</i>	<i>ʾate</i>
	3.f.	<i>ʾamra</i>	<i>ʾatya</i>
	Pl.	1.c.	<i>ʾamrax, ʾamraxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>ʾamretun</i>	<i>ʾatetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>ʾamri</i>	<i>ʾate</i>
		ʾ-x-l	ʾ-z-l

⁸ This verbs also exhibits the characteristics associated with verbs III-y (see 4.1.8 for details).

⁹ Subgroup B consists of these two roots only. It is interesting to note, firstly, that both verbs are II-w (see 4.1.4 below for details) and, secondly, that both verbs derive historically from verbs I-ʾ, i.e. OA עבר and עבר respectively.

¹⁰ The imperative forms of this root are suppletive.

Sing.	1.m.	'axlən, 'áxləna	'azən, 'ázena
	1.f.	'axlan, 'ámrana	'azan, 'ázana
	2.m.	'axlət	'azət
	2.f.	'axlat	'azət
	3.m.	'axəl	'azel
	3.f.	'axla	'aza
Pl.	1.c.	'axlax, 'axlaxni	'azax, 'azaxni
	2.c.	'axletun	'azetun
	3.c.	'axli	'azi

Subgroup B:

Sing.		'-w-r	'-w-d
	1.m.	'orən, 'órena	'odən, 'ódəna
	1.f.	'oran, 'órana	'odan, 'ódana
	2.m.	'orət	'odət
	2.f.	'orat	'odat
	3.m.	'awər	'awəd
Pl.	3.f.	'ora	'oda
	1.c.	'orax, 'oraxni	'odax, 'odaxni
	2.c.	'oretun	'odetun
3.c.	'ori	'odi	

4.1.2.3 Past Subjunctive

Subgroup A:

Sing.		'-m-r	'-t-y
	1.m.	'amrənwa	'aṭənwa
	1.f.	'amranwa	'aṭyanwa
	2.m.	'amrətwa	'aṭətwa
	2.f.	'amratwa	'aṭyatwa
	3.m.	'amərwa	'aṭəwa
Pl.	3.f.	'amrawa	'aṭyawa
	1.c.	'amraxwa	'aṭaxwa
	2.c.	'amrātuwa	'aṭātuwa
3.c.	'amriwa	'aṭəwa	
Sing.		'-x-l	'-z-l
	1.m.	'axlənwa	'azənwa
	1.f.	'axlanwa	'azanwa
	2.m.	'axlətwa	'azətwa
	2.f.	'axlatwa	'azətwa
	3.m.	'axəlwa	'azelwa
Pl.	3.f.	'axlawa	'azawa
	1.c.	'axlaxwa	'azaxwa
	2.c.	'axlātuwa	'azātuwa
3.c.	'axliwa	'aziwa	

Subgroup B:

		'-w-r	'-w-d
Sing.	1.m.	'orənwa	'odənwa
	1.f.	'oranwa	'odanwa
	2.m.	'orətwa	'odətwa
	2.f.	'oratwa	'odatwa
	3.m.	'awərwa	'awədwa
	3.f.	'orawa	'odawa
Pl.	1.c.	'oraxwa	'odaxwa
	2.c.	'orātuwa	'odātuwa
	3.c.	'oriwa	'odiwa

4.1.2.4 Present Indicative

The present indicative is formed by dropping the initial ' and adding a prefix *k-* or *g-* to the present subjunctive form. Subgroup B roots always take a *g-* prefix, while the choice is lexically determined in subgroup A roots. Note also the change in the quality of the initial vowel after the prefix, from *-a-* to *-e-* (or, in a closed syllable, its allophonic variant *-ə-*) in the majority of forms, the only exception being in the subgroup B roots, the forms of which exhibit some differences, owing to the presence of the *-w-*.

Subgroup A:

		'-m-r	'-t-y
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-əmɾən, g-ámɾena</i>	<i>k-ətən, k-étena</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-əmɾan, g-ámɾana</i>	<i>k-ətyan, k-átyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-əmɾət</i>	<i>k-ətət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-əmɾat</i>	<i>k-ətɣat</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-emər</i>	<i>k-eɛɛ</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-əmra</i>	<i>k-ətɣa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-əmɾax, g-əmɾaxni</i>	<i>k-ətax, k-étaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-əmɾetun</i>	<i>k-ətətun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-əmri</i>	<i>k-eɛɛ</i>
		'-x-l	'-z-l
Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-əxlən, k-áxləna</i>	<i>g-ezən, g-ézena</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-əxlan, k-áxlana</i>	<i>g-ezan, g-ézana</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-əxlət</i>	<i>g-ezət</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-əxlat</i>	<i>g-ezat</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-exəl</i>	<i>g-ezəl</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-əxla</i>	<i>g-eza</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-əxlax, k-əxlaxni</i>	<i>g-ezax, g-ezaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-əxletun</i>	<i>g-ezetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-əxli</i>	<i>g-ezi</i>

Subgroup B:

		'-w-r	'-w-d
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-orən, g-órena</i>	<i>g-odən, g-ódena</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-oran, g-órana</i>	<i>g-odan, g-ódana</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-orət</i>	<i>g-odət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-orat</i>	<i>g-odat</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-ewər</i>	<i>g-ewəd</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-ora</i>	<i>g-oda</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-orax, g-oraxni</i>	<i>g-odax, g-odaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-oretun</i>	<i>g-odetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-ori</i>	<i>g-odi</i>

4.1.2.5 *Past Habitual*

The past habitual is formed regularly, by the suffixation of *-wa* to the present indicative (see 4.1.2.3).

Subgroup A:

		'-m-r	'-t-y
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-əmərənwa</i>	<i>k-eṭənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-əmranwa</i>	<i>k-əṭyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-əmratwa</i>	<i>k-eṭətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-əmratwa</i>	<i>k-əṭyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-emərwa</i>	<i>k-eṭewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-əmrawa</i>	<i>k-əṭyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-əmraxwa</i>	<i>k-eṭaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-əmratuwa</i>	<i>k-eṭətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-əmriwa</i>	<i>k-eṭewa</i>
		'-x-l	'-z-l
Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-əxlənwa</i>	<i>g-ezənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-əxlanwa</i>	<i>g-ezanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-əxlətwa</i>	<i>g-ezətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-əxlatwa</i>	<i>g-ezatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-exəlwa</i>	<i>g-ezəlwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-əxlawā</i>	<i>g-ezawā</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-əxlaxwa</i>	<i>g-ezaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-əxlətuwa</i>	<i>g-ezətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-əxliwa</i>	<i>g-eziwa</i>

Subgroup B:

		'-w-r	'-w-d
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-orənwa</i>	<i>g-odənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-oranwa</i>	<i>g-odanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-orətwa</i>	<i>g-odətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-oratwa</i>	<i>g-odatwa</i>

	3.m.	<i>g-ewərwa</i>	<i>g-ewədwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-orawa</i>	<i>g-odawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-oraxwa</i>	<i>g-odaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-orətuwa</i>	<i>g-odətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-oriwa</i>	<i>g-odiwa</i>

4.1.2.6 Future Simple

The future simple is formed for both subgroup A and subgroup B by dropping the initial ' - and adding a prefix *b-* to the present subjunctive form (see 4.1.2.2).

Subgroup A:

		'- <i>m-r</i>	'- <i>t-y</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-amrən, b-ámrena</i>	<i>b-aṭən, b-átena</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-amran, b-ámrana</i>	<i>b-aṭyan, b-átyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-amrət</i>	<i>b-aṭət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-amrat</i>	<i>b-aṭyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-amər</i>	<i>b-aṭe</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-amra</i>	<i>b-aṭya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-amrax, b-amraxni</i>	<i>b-aṭax, b-aṭaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-amretun</i>	<i>b-aṭetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-amri</i>	<i>b-aṭe</i>
		'- <i>x-l</i>	'- <i>z-l</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-axlən, b-áxləna</i>	<i>b-azən, b-ázəna</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-axlan, b-ámrana</i>	<i>b-azan, b-ázana</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-axlət</i>	<i>b-azət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-axlat</i>	<i>b-azət</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-axəl</i>	<i>b-azel</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-axla</i>	<i>b-aza</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-axlax, b-axlaxni</i>	<i>b-azax, b-azaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-axletun</i>	<i>b-azetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-axli</i>	<i>b-azi</i>

Subgroup B:

		'- <i>w-r</i>	'- <i>w-d</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-orən, b-órena</i>	<i>b-odən, b-ódena</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-oran, b-órana</i>	<i>b-odan, b-ódana</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-orət</i>	<i>b-odət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-orat</i>	<i>b-odat</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-awər</i>	<i>b-awəd</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-ora</i>	<i>b-oda</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-orax, b-oraxni</i>	<i>b-odax, b-odaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-oretun</i>	<i>b-odetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-ori</i>	<i>b-odi</i>

4.1.2.7 *Conditional*

The conditional is formed by dropping the initial ' and adding a prefix *b-* to the past subjunctive form (see 4.1.2.3).

Subgroup A:

		'-m-r	'-t-y
Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-amrənwa</i>	<i>b-aṭənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-amranwa</i>	<i>b-aṭyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-amrətwa</i>	<i>b-aṭətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-amratwa</i>	<i>b-aṭyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-amərwa</i>	<i>b-aṭewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-amrawa</i>	<i>b-aṭyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-amraxwa</i>	<i>b-aṭaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-amrətuwa</i>	<i>b-aṭətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-amriwa</i>	<i>b-aṭewa</i>
		'-x-l	'-z-l
Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-axlənwa</i>	<i>b-azənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-axlanwa</i>	<i>b-azanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-axlətwa</i>	<i>b-azətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-axlatwa</i>	<i>b-azatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-axəlwa</i>	<i>b-azelwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-axlawa</i>	<i>b-azawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-axlaxwa</i>	<i>b-azaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-axlətuwa</i>	<i>b-azətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-axliwa</i>	<i>b-aziwa</i>

Subgroup B:

		'-w-r	'-w-d
Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-orənwa</i>	<i>b-odənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-oranwa</i>	<i>b-odanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-orətwa</i>	<i>b-odətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-oratwa</i>	<i>b-odatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-awərwa</i>	<i>b-awədwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-orawa</i>	<i>b-odawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-oraxwa</i>	<i>b-odaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-orətuwa</i>	<i>b-odətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-oriwa</i>	<i>b-odiwa</i>

4.1.2.8 *Preterite*

Subgroup A:

		'-m-r	'-t-y
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mərri</i>	<i>ṭeli</i>
	2.m.	<i>mərrux</i>	<i>ṭelux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mərrax</i>	<i>ṭelax</i>

	3.m.	<i>mərre</i>	<i>ṭele</i>
	3.f.	<i>mər̄ra</i>	<i>ṭela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mər̄ran, mārreni</i>	<i>ṭelan, ṭeleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mārroxun</i>	<i>ṭéloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mər̄ru</i>	<i>ṭelu</i>
		^ʾ -x-l	^ʾ -z-l
Sing.	1.c.	<i>xəlli</i>	<i>zəlli</i>
	2.m.	<i>xəllux</i>	<i>zəllux</i>
	2.f.	<i>xəllax</i>	<i>zəllax</i>
	3.m.	<i>xəlle</i>	<i>zəlle</i>
	3.f.	<i>xəlla</i>	<i>zəlla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>xəllan, xəlleni</i>	<i>zəllan, zəlleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>xəllloxun</i>	<i>zəllloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>xəllu</i>	<i>zəlllu</i>

Subgroup B:

		^ʾ -w-r	^ʾ -w-d
Sing.	1.c.	<i>ʾwərri</i>	<i>ʾwədli</i>
	2.m.	<i>ʾwərrux</i>	<i>ʾwədlux</i>
	2.f.	<i>ʾwərrax</i>	<i>ʾwədlax</i>
	3.m.	<i>ʾwərre</i>	<i>ʾwədle</i>
	3.f.	<i>ʾwər̄ra</i>	<i>ʾwədla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>ʾwər̄ran, ʾwər̄reni</i>	<i>ʾwədlan, ʾwədleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>ʾwər̄roxun</i>	<i>ʾwəddloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>ʾwər̄ru</i>	<i>ʾwədlu</i>

4.1.2.9 Plupreterite

Subgroup A:

		^ʾ -m-r	^ʾ -t-y
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mārwali</i>	<i>ṭəwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>mārwalux</i>	<i>ṭəwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mārwalax</i>	<i>ṭəwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mārwale</i>	<i>ṭəwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>mārwala</i>	<i>ṭəwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mārwalan</i>	<i>ṭəwalan</i>
	2.c.	<i>mārwaloxun</i>	<i>ṭəloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mārwalu</i>	<i>ṭəwalu</i>
		^ʾ -x-l	^ʾ -z-l
Sing.	1.c.	<i>xəlwali</i>	<i>zəlwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>xəlwalux</i>	<i>zəlwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>xəlwalax</i>	<i>zəlwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>xəlwale</i>	<i>zəlwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>xəlwala</i>	<i>zəlwala</i>

Pl.	1.c.	<i>xəlwalan</i>	<i>zəlwalan</i>
	2.c.	<i>xəlwaloxun</i>	<i>zəlwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>xəlwalu</i>	<i>zəlwalu</i>

Subgroup B:

		^ʔ -w-r	^ʔ -w-d
Sing.	1.c.	^ʔ wərwali	^ʔ wədwali
	2.m.	^ʔ wərwalux	^ʔ wədwalux
	2.f.	^ʔ wərwalax	^ʔ wədwalax
	3.m.	^ʔ wərwale	^ʔ wədwale
	3.f.	^ʔ wərwala	^ʔ wədwala
Pl.	1.c.	^ʔ wərwalan,	^ʔ wədwalan
	2.c.	^ʔ wərwaloxun	^ʔ wədwaloxun
	3.c.	^ʔ wərwalu	^ʔ wədwalu

4.1.2.10 Present Perfect

Subgroup A:

		^ʔ -m-r	^ʔ -t-y
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili mira	-iwən, -ili ʔətya
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili mərta	-iwan, -ili ʔiṭa
	2.m.	-iwət mira	-iwət ʔətya
	2.f.	-iwat mərta	-iwat ʔiṭa
	3.m.	-ile mira	-ile ʔətya
	3.f.	-ila mərta	-ile ʔiṭa
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax mire	-iwax ʔətye
	2.c.	-iwetun mire	-iwetun ʔətye
	3.c.	-ilu mire	-ilu ʔətye
		^ʔ -x-l	^ʔ -z-l
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili xila	-iwən, -ili zila
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili xəlta	-iwan, -ili zəlta
	2.m.	-iwət xila	-iwət zila
	2.f.	-iwat xəlta	-iwat zəlta
	3.m.	-ile xila	-ile zila
	3.f.	-ila xəlta	-ile zəlta
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax xile	-iwax zile
	2.c.	-iwetun xile	-iwetun zile
	3.c.	-ilu xile	-ilu zile

Subgroup B:

		^ʔ -w-r	^ʔ -w-d
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili ʔwira	-iwən, -ili ʔwida
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili ʔwərta	-iwan, -ili ʔwəṭta ¹¹

¹¹ > *wəṭta

	2.m.	-iwət 'wira	-iwət 'wida
	2.f.	-iwat 'wərta	-iwat 'wəttā
	3.m.	-ile 'wira	-ile 'wida
	3.f.	-ila 'wərta	-ile 'wəttā
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax 'wire	-iwax 'wide
	2.c.	-iwetun 'wire	-iwetun 'wide
	3.c.	-ilu wire 'wire	-ilu 'wide

4.1.2.11 Past Perfect

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs I-' are illustrated above in 4.1.2.9. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.2.12 Future Perfect

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs I-' are illustrated above in 4.1.2.9. See 4.6.7 for the forms of the future copula.

4.1.2.13 Present Continuous

Subgroup A:

		'-m-r	'-t-y
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bimara	-iwən, -ili biṭaya
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bimara	-iwan, -ili biṭaya
	2.m.	-iwət bimara	-iwət biṭaya
	2.f.	-iwat bimara	-iwat biṭaya
	3.m.	-ile bimara	-ile biṭaya
	3.f.	-ila bimara	-ila biṭaya
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bimara	-iwax biṭaya
	2.c.	-iwetun bimara	-iwetun biṭaya
	3.c.	-ilu bimara	-ilu biṭaya
		'-x-l	'-z-l
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bixala	-iwən, -ili bizala
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bixala	-iwan, -ili bizala
	2.m.	-iwət bixala	-iwət bizala
	2.f.	-iwat bixala	-iwat bizala
	3.m.	-ile bixala	-ile bizala
	3.f.	-ila bixala	-ila bizala
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bixala	-iwax bizala
	2.c.	-iwetun bixala	-iwetun bizala
	3.c.	-ilu bixala	-ilu bizala

Subgroup B:

		^ʔ -w-r	^ʔ -w-d
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bə'wara	-iwən, -ili bə'wada ¹²
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bə'wara	-iwan, -ili bə'wada
	2.m.	-iwət bə'wara	-iwət bə'wada
	2.f.	-iwat bə'wara	-iwat bə'wada
	3.m.	-ile bə'wara	-ile bə'wada
	3.f.	-ila bə'wara	-ila bə'wada
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bə'wara	-iwax bə'wada
	2.c.	-iwetun bə'wara	-iwetun bə'wada
	3.c.	-ilu bə'wara	-ilu bə'wada

4.1.2.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix. The forms of the infinitive with a *b(ə)*- prefix for verbs I-' are given in 4.1.2.12 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.2.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix. The forms of the infinitive with a *b(ə)*- prefix for verbs I-' are given in 4.1.2.12 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.2.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.2.16.1 *Infinitive*

Subgroup A:

^ʔ -m-r	^ʔ -t-y	^ʔ -x-l	^ʔ -z-l
'imara	'itaya	'ixala	'izala

Subgroup B:

^ʔ -w-r	^ʔ -w-d
'wada	'wara

¹² In allegro speech, the form *bə'ada* is often encountered.

4.1.2.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

For both subgroups of verbs I-ʾ, the masculine verbal noun is identical in form to the infinitive, and the feminine is formed as shown below.

Subgroup A:

	ʾ-m-r	ʾ-t-y	ʾ-x-l	ʾ-z-l
Masc.	ʾimara	ʾitaya	ʾixala	ʾizala
Fem.	ʾimarta	ʾiteta ¹³	ʾixalta	ʾizalta

Subgroup B:

	ʾ-w-r	ʾ-w-d
Masc.	ʾwara	ʾwada
Fem.	ʾwarta	ʾwadta

4.1.3 *Verbs I-y*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the root *y-s-q* ‘to ascend’.

4.1.3.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>ysoq</i>
Pl.	<i>ysuqun</i>

4.1.3.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>yasqan, yásqena</i>
	1.f.	<i>yasqan, yásqana</i>
	2.m.	<i>yasqat</i>
	2.f.	<i>yasqat</i>
	3.m.	<i>yasəq</i>
	3.f.	<i>yasqa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>yasqax, yasqaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>yasqetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>yasqi</i>

¹³ The anomalous nature of this form is due to the final -y of the root. The historical development of this form can be reconstructed as **itayta* → **iteta* → **iteta*. Note that this pathway necessarily presupposes that the monophthongisation of */ay/ to /e/ occurred at some point before the spirantisation of postvocalic */b/, */d/, */g/, */k/, */p/ and */t/ ceased to be productive.

4.1.3.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>yasqənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>yasqanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>yasqətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>yasqatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>yasəqwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>yasqawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>yasqaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>yasqātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>yasqiwa</i>

4.1.3.4 *Present Indicative*

In the forms of the present indicative, the regular initial *g-yaC-* structure is commonly contracted down to *g-eC-*. The uncontracted form is the form most often encountered in lento speech, especially when forms are elicited metalinguistically from an informant.

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-yasqən, g-yásqena</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-yasqan, g-yásqana</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-yasqət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-yasqat</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-yasəq</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-yasqa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-yasqax, g-yasqaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-yasqetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-yasqi</i>

4.1.3.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-yasqənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-yasqanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-yasqətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-yasqatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-yasəqwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-yasqawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-yasqaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-yasqātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-yasqiwa</i>

4.1.3.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-yasqən, b-yásqena</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-yasqan, b-yásqana</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-yasqət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-yasqat</i>

- | | | |
|-----|------|-----------------------------|
| | 3.m. | <i>b-yasəq</i> |
| | 3.f. | <i>b-yasqa</i> |
| Pl. | 1.c. | <i>b-yasqax, b-yasqaxni</i> |
| | 2.c. | <i>b-yasqetun</i> |
| | 3.c. | <i>b-yasqi</i> |

4.1.3.7 Conditional

- | | | |
|-------|------|--------------------|
| Sing. | 1.m. | <i>b-yasqənwa</i> |
| | 1.f. | <i>b-yasqanwa</i> |
| | 2.m. | <i>b-yasqətwa</i> |
| | 2.f. | <i>b-yasqatwa</i> |
| | 3.m. | <i>b-yasəqwa</i> |
| | 3.f. | <i>b-yasqawa</i> |
| Pl. | 1.c. | <i>b-yasqaxwa</i> |
| | 2.c. | <i>b-yasqətuwa</i> |
| | 3.c. | <i>b-yasqiwa</i> |

4.1.3.8 Preterite

- | | | |
|-------|------|--------------------------|
| Sing. | 1.c. | <i>ysəqli</i> |
| | 2.m. | <i>ysəqlux</i> |
| | 2.f. | <i>ysəqlax</i> |
| | 3.m. | <i>ysəqle</i> |
| | 3.f. | <i>ysəqla</i> |
| Pl. | 1.c. | <i>ysəqlan, ysəqleni</i> |
| | 2.c. | <i>ysəqloxun</i> |
| | 3.c. | <i>ysəqlu</i> |

The above forms of the preterite can be phonetically realised in a wide variety of ways, specifically as regards the initial *y*-. For example /*ysəqle*/ : [*ʏsəqle*] ~ [*ʔsəqle*] ~ [*səqle*]. With a preceding vowel, however, the underlying form represented by the transcription resurfaces (e.g. 'u-*ysəqle* [*ʊysəqle*] 'and he went up').

4.1.3.9 Pluperterite

- | | | |
|-------|------|------------------------------|
| Sing. | 1.c. | <i>ysəqwali</i> |
| | 2.m. | <i>ysəqwalux</i> |
| | 2.f. | <i>ysəqwalax</i> |
| | 3.m. | <i>ysəqwale</i> |
| | 3.f. | <i>ysəqwala</i> |
| Pl. | 1.c. | <i>ysəqwalan, ysəqwaleni</i> |
| | 2.c. | <i>ysəqwaloxun</i> |
| | 3.c. | <i>ysəqwalu</i> |

In the same way as for the forms of the preterite (see 4.1.3.8 above), the initial *y-* of these forms may be phonetically realised in a number of different ways, e.g. /*ysəqwaloxun*/ : [*ʔisəqwaloxun*] ~ [*ʔisəqwaloxun*] ~ [*səqwaloxun*].

4.1.3.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili ysiqa</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili ysəqta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət ysiqa</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat ysəqta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile ysiqa</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila ysəqta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax ysiqe</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun ysiqe</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu ysiqe</i>

4.1.3.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs I-*y* are illustrated above in 4.1.3.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.3.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs I-*y* are illustrated above in 4.1.3.10. See 4.6.7 for the forms of the future copula.

4.1.3.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)-* prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili bisaqa</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili bisaqa</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət bisaqa</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat bisaqa</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile bisaqa</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila bisaqa</i>

- Pl. 1.c. *-iwax bisaqa*
 2.c. *-iwetun bisaqa*
 3.c. *-ilu bisaqa*

4.1.3.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs I-*y* is given in 4.1.3.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.3.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs I-*y* is given in 4.1.3.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.3.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.1.3.16.1 *Infinitive*

ysaqa

4.1.3.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

The masculine verbal noun is identical in form to the infinitive, and the feminine is formed by an infix *-t-* between the third root consonant and the nominal suffix *-a*.

Masc. *ysaqa*
 Fem. *ysaqta*

4.1.4 *Verbs II-w*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots *l-w-š* ‘to dress, to put on [clothes]’ and *k-w-š* ‘to descend’.

Diachronically, the /w/ in these verbs is the result of a shift from an earlier postvocalic allophone of */b/, represented as *[b], which was fricativised.¹⁴ For instance, **labəš* → *lawəš*.¹⁵

¹⁴ This allophone was most probably realised phonetically as a labial-dental or a bilabial fricative ([v] or [β]) or perhaps as a bilabial approximant [β].

¹⁵ See 1.9.1.1.

4.1.4.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>lwoš</i>
Pl.	<i>lwušun</i>

4.1.4.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>lošən¹⁶, lóšena</i>
	1.f.	<i>lošan, lóšana</i>
	2.m.	<i>lošət</i>
	2.f.	<i>lošat</i>
	3.m.	<i>lawəš</i>
	3.f.	<i>loša</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>lošax, lošaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>lošetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>loši</i>

4.1.4.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>lošənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>lošanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>lošətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>lošatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>lawəšwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>lošawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>lošaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>lošətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>lošiwa</i>

4.1.4.4 *Present Indicative*

Sing.		<i>l-w-š</i>	<i>k-w-š</i>
	1.m.	<i>g-lošən, g-lóšena</i>	<i>k-košən, -kóšena</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-lošan, g-lóšana</i>	<i>k-košan, k-kóšana</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-lošət</i>	<i>k-košət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-lošat</i>	<i>k-košat</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-lawəš</i>	<i>k-kawəš</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>g-loša</i>	<i>k-koša</i>
	1.c.	<i>g-lošax, g-lošaxni</i>	<i>k-košax, k-košaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-lošetun</i>	<i>k-košetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-loši</i>	<i>k-koši</i>

¹⁶ < *lawšən

4.1.4.5 *Past Habitual*

		<i>l-w-š</i>	<i>k-w-š</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-lošanwa</i>	<i>k-košanwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-lošanwa</i>	<i>k-košanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-lošatwa</i>	<i>k-košatwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-lošatwa</i>	<i>k-košatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-lawəšwa</i>	<i>k-kawəšwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-lošawa</i>	<i>k-košawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-lošaxwa</i>	<i>k-košaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-lošətuwa</i>	<i>k-košətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-lošiwa</i>	<i>k-košiwa</i>

4.1.4.6 *Future Simple*

		<i>l-w-š</i>	<i>k-w-š</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-lošan, b-lóšena</i>	<i>p-košan, p-kóšena</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-lošan, b-lóšana</i>	<i>p-košan, p-kóšena</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-lošət</i>	<i>p-košət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-lošət</i>	<i>p-košət</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-lawəš</i>	<i>p-kawəš</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-loša</i>	<i>p-koša</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-lošax, b-lošaxni</i>	<i>p-košax, p-košaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-lošetun</i>	<i>p-košetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-loši</i>	<i>p-koši</i>

4.1.4.7 *Conditional*

		<i>l-w-š</i>	<i>k-w-š</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-lošanwa</i>	<i>p-košanwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-lošanwa</i>	<i>p-košanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-lošatwa</i>	<i>p-košatwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-lošatwa</i>	<i>p-košatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-lawəšwa</i>	<i>p-kawəšwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-lošawa</i>	<i>p-košawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-lošaxwa</i>	<i>p-košaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-lošətuwa</i>	<i>p-košətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-lošiwa</i>	<i>p-košiwa</i>

4.1.4.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>lwəšli</i>
	2.m.	<i>lwəšlux</i>
	2.f.	<i>lwəšlax</i>
	3.m.	<i>lwəšle</i>
	3.f.	<i>lwəšla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>lwəšlan, lwəšleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>lwəšloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>lwəšlu</i>

4.1.4.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>lwəšwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>lwəšwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>lwəšwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>lwəšwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>lwəšwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>lwəšwalan, lwəšwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>lwəšwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>lwəšwalu</i>

4.1.4.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili lwiša</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili lwəšta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət lwiša</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat lwəšta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile lwiša</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>-ila lwəšta</i>
	1.c.	<i>-iwax lwiše</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun lwiše</i>
3.c.	<i>-ilu lwiše</i>	

4.1.4.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-*w* are illustrated above in 4.1.4.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.4.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-*w* are illustrated above in 4.1.4.10. See 4.6.7 for the forms of the future copula.

4.1.4.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)-* prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bəlwaša
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bəlwaša
	2.m.	-iwət bəlwaša
	2.f.	-iwat bəlwaša
	3.m.	-ile bəlwaša
	3.f.	-ila bəlwaša
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bəlwaša
	2.c.	-iwetun bəlwaša
	3.c.	-ilu bəlwaša

4.1.4.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b(ə)*- prefix for verbs II-*w* is given in 4.1.4.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.4.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs II-*w* is given in 4.1.4.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.4.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.1.4.16.1 *Infinitive*

lwaša

4.1.4.16.1 *Verbal Nouns*

The masculine verbal noun is identical in form to the infinitive, and the feminine is formed by an infix *-t-* between the third root consonant and the nominal suffix *-a*.

Masc.	<i>lwaša</i>
Fem.	<i>lwašta</i>

4.1.5 *Verbs II-y*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots *p-y-š* ‘to remain, to become’ and *m-y-š* ‘to suck’.

4.1.5.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>poš</i>
Pl.	<i>pušun</i>

4.1.5.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>pešən¹⁷, péšena</i>
	1.f.	<i>pešan, léšana</i>
	2.m.	<i>pešət</i>
	2.f.	<i>pešat</i>
	3.m.	<i>payəš</i>
	3.f.	<i>peša</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>pešax, pešaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>pešetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>peši</i>

4.1.5.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>pešənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>pešanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>pešətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>pešatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>payəšwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>pešawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>pešaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>pešətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>pešawa</i>

4.1.5.4 *Present Indicative*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-y-š</i>	<i>m-y-š</i>
		<i>k-pešən, k-péšena</i>	<i>g-mešən, g-méšena</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-pešan, k-péšana</i>	<i>g-mešan, g-méšana</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-pešət</i>	<i>g-mešət</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-pešat</i>	<i>g-mešat</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-payəš</i>	<i>g-mayəš</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>k-peša</i>	<i>g-meša</i>
	1.c.	<i>k-pešax, k-pešaxni</i>	<i>g-mešax, g-méšaxni</i>

¹⁷ < *payšən

2.c.	<i>k-pešetun</i>	<i>g-mešetun</i>
3.c.	<i>k-peši</i>	<i>g-meši</i>

4.1.5.5. *Past Habitual*

		<i>p-y-š</i>	<i>m-y-š</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-pešanwa</i>	<i>g-mešanwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-pešanwa</i>	<i>g-mešanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-pešatwa</i>	<i>g-mešatwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-pešatwa</i>	<i>g-mešatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-payəšwa</i>	<i>g-mayəšwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-pešawa</i>	<i>g-mešawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-pešaxwa</i>	<i>g-mešaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-pešātuwa</i>	<i>g-mešātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-pešiwa</i>	<i>g-mešiwa</i>

4.1.5.6 *Future Simple*

		<i>p-y-š</i>	<i>m-y-š</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-pešan, p-pešena</i>	<i>b-mešan, b-mešena</i>
	1.f.	<i>p-pešan, p-pešana</i>	<i>b-mešan, b-mešana</i>
	2.m.	<i>p-pešət</i>	<i>b-mešət</i>
	2.f.	<i>p-pešət</i>	<i>b-mešət</i>
	3.m.	<i>p-payəš</i>	<i>b-mayəš</i>
	3.f.	<i>p-peša</i>	<i>b-meša</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>p-pešax, p-pešaxni</i>	<i>b-mešax, b-mešaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-pešetun</i>	<i>b-mešetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-peši</i>	<i>b-meši</i>

4.1.5.7 *Conditional*

		<i>p-y-š</i>	<i>m-y-š</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-pešanwa</i>	<i>b-mešanwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>p-pešanwa</i>	<i>b-mešanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>p-pešatwa</i>	<i>b-mešatwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>p-pešatwa</i>	<i>b-mešatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>p-payəšwa</i>	<i>b-mayəšwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>p-pešawa</i>	<i>b-mešawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>p-pešaxwa</i>	<i>b-mešaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-pešātuwa</i>	<i>b-mešātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-pešiwa</i>	<i>b-mešiwa</i>

4.1.5.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>pəšli</i>
	2.m.	<i>pəšlux</i>
	2.f.	<i>pəšlax</i>

	3.m.	<i>pəšle</i>
	3.f.	<i>pəšla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>pəšlan, pəšleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>pəšloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>pəšlu</i>

4.1.5.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>pəšwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>pəšwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>pəšwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>pəšwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>pəšwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>pəšwalan, pəšwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>pəšwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>pəšwalu</i>

4.1.5.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili piša</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili pəšta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət piša</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat pəšta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile piša</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila pəšta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax piše</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun piše</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu piše</i>

4.1.5.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-y are illustrated above in 4.1.5.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.5.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-y are illustrated above in 4.1.5.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.5.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili bəpyaša</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili bəpyaša</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət bəpyaša</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat bəpyaša</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile bəpyaša</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila bəpyaša</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax bəpyaša</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun bəpyaša</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu bəpyaša</i>

4.1.5.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs II-*y* is given in 4.1.5.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.5.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs II-*y* is given in 4.1.5.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.5.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.5.16.1 *Infinitive*

pyaša

4.1.5.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

The masculine verbal noun is identical in form to the infinitive, and the feminine is formed by an infixed *-t-* between the third root consonant and the nominal suffix *-a*.

Masc.	<i>pyaša</i>
Fem.	<i>pyašta</i>

4.1.6 Verbs III-'

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots *š-m-* 'to hear' and *z-d-* 'to be afraid'.

4.1.6.1 Imperative

Sing.	<i>šmo'</i>
Pl.	<i>šmu'un</i>

4.1.6.2 Present Subjunctive

Sing.	1.m.	<i>šam'an, šám'ena</i>
	1.f.	<i>šam'an, šám'ana</i>
	2.m.	<i>šam'at</i>
	2.f.	<i>šam'at</i>
	3.m.	<i>šame'</i>
	3.f.	<i>šam'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>šam'ax, šam'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>šam'etun</i>
	3.c.	<i>šam'i</i>

4.1.6.3 Past Subjunctive

Sing.	1.m.	<i>šam'anwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>šam'anwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>šam'atwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>šam'atwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>šame'wa</i>
	3.f.	<i>šam'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>šam'axwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>šam'ätuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>šam'iwa</i>

4.1.6.4 Present Indicative

		<i>š-m-</i>	<i>z-d-</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-šam'an, k-šám'ena</i>	<i>g-zad'an, g-zád'ena</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-šam'an, k-šám'ana</i>	<i>g-zad'an, g-zád'ana</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-šam'at</i>	<i>g-zad'at</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-šam'at</i>	<i>g-zad'at</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-šame'</i>	<i>g-zade'</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-šam'a</i>	<i>g-zad'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-šam'ax, k-šam'axni</i>	<i>g-zad'ax, g-zad'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-šam'etun</i>	<i>g-zad'etun</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-šam'i</i>	<i>g-zad'i</i>

4.1.6.5 *Past Habitual*

	<i>š-m'</i>	<i>z-d'</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>k-šam'ənwa</i>	<i>g-zad'ənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>k-šam'anwa</i>	<i>g-zad'anwa</i>
	2.m. <i>k-šam'ətwa</i>	<i>g-zad'ətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>k-šam'atwa</i>	<i>g-zad'atwa</i>
	3.m. <i>k-šame'wa</i>	<i>g-zade'wa</i>
	3.f. <i>k-šam'awa</i>	<i>g-zad'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>k-šam'axwa</i>	<i>g-zad'axwa</i>
	2.c. <i>k-šam'ətuwa</i>	<i>g-zad'ətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>k-šam'iwa</i>	<i>g-zad'iwa</i>

4.1.6.6 *Future Simple*

	<i>š-m'</i>	<i>z-d'</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>p-šam'ən, p-šám'ena</i>	<i>b-zad'ən, b-zád'ena</i>
	1.f. <i>p-šam'an, p-šám'ana</i>	<i>b-zad'an, b-zád'ana</i>
	2.m. <i>p-šam'ət</i>	<i>b-zad'ət</i>
	2.f. <i>p-šam'at</i>	<i>b-zad'at</i>
	3.m. <i>p-šame'</i>	<i>b-zade'</i>
	3.f. <i>p-šam'a</i>	<i>b-zad'a</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>p-šam'ax, p-šam'axni</i>	<i>b-zad'ax, b-zad'axni</i>
	2.c. <i>p-šam'etun</i>	<i>b-zad'etun</i>
	3.c. <i>p-šam'i</i>	<i>b-zad'i</i>

4.1.6.7 *Conditional*

	<i>š-m'</i>	<i>z-d'</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>p-šam'ənwa</i>	<i>b-zad'ənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>p-šam'anwa</i>	<i>b-zad'anwa</i>
	2.m. <i>p-šam'ətwa</i>	<i>b-zad'ətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>p-šam'atwa</i>	<i>b-zad'atwa</i>
	3.m. <i>p-šame'wa</i>	<i>b-zadə'wa</i>
	3.f. <i>p-šam'awa</i>	<i>b-zad'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>p-šam'axwa</i>	<i>b-zad'axwa</i>
	2.c. <i>p-šam'ətuwa</i>	<i>b-zad'ətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>p-šam'i wa</i>	<i>b-zad'iwa</i>

4.1.6.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c. <i>šme'li</i> ¹⁸
	2.m. <i>šme'lux</i>

¹⁸ < *šmə'li

	2.f.	<i>šme'lax</i>
	3.m.	<i>šme'le</i>
	3.f.	<i>šme'la</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>šme'lan, šme'leni</i>
	2.c.	<i>šme'loxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>šme'lu</i>

4.1.6.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>šme'wali</i>
	2.m.	<i>šme'walux</i>
	2.f.	<i>šme'walax</i>
	3.m.	<i>šme'wale</i>
	3.f.	<i>šme'wala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>šme'walan, šme'waleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>šme'waloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>šme'walu</i>

4.1.6.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili šmi'a</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili šme'ta¹⁹</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət šmi'a</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat šme'ta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile šmi'a</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila šme'ta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax šmi'e</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun šmi'e</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu šmi'e</i>

4.1.6.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs III-' are illustrated above in 4.1.6.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

¹⁹ < *šmə'ta

4.1.6.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs III-' are illustrated above in 4.1.6.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.6.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)-* prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bəšma'a
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bəšma'a
	2.m.	-iwət bəšma'a
	2.f.	-iwat bəšma'a
	3.m.	-ile bəšma'a
	3.f.	-ila bəšma'a
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bəšma'a
	2.c.	-iwetun bəšma'a
	3.c.	-ilu bəšma'a

4.1.6.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs III-' is given in 4.1.6.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.6.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs III-' is given in 4.1.6.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.6.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.6.16.1 *Infinitive*

šma'a

4.1.6.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

The masculine verbal noun is identical in form to the infinitive, and the feminine is formed by an infix *-t-* between the third root consonant and the nominal suffix *-a*.

Masc.	<i>šma'a</i>
Fem.	<i>šma'ta</i>

4.1.7 *Verbs III-w*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots *k-t-w* 'to write' and *n-š-w* 'to plant'.

4.1.7.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>k̄tu</i> ²⁰
Pl.	<i>k̄tuwun</i>

4.1.7.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>kaṭwən, káṭwena</i>
	1.f.	<i>kaṭwan, káṭwana</i>
	2.m.	<i>kaṭwət</i>
	2.f.	<i>kaṭwat</i>
	3.m.	<i>kaṭu</i> ²¹
	3.f.	<i>kaṭwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>kaṭwax, kaṭwaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>kaṭwetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>kaṭwi</i>

4.1.7.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>kaṭwənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>kaṭwanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>kaṭwətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>kaṭwətwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>kaṭuwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>kaṭwawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>kaṭwaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>kaṭwátuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>kaṭwiwa</i>

²⁰ < **k̄təw*

²¹ < **kaṭəw*

4.1.7.4 *Present Indicative*

	<i>k-t-w</i>	<i>n-ş-w</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>k-kaṭwən, k-káṭwena</i>	<i>g-naşwən, g-náşwena</i>
	1.f. <i>k-kaṭwan, k-káṭwana</i>	<i>g-naşwan, g-náşwana</i>
	2.m. <i>k-kaṭwət</i>	<i>g-naşwət</i>
	2.f. <i>k-kaṭwat</i>	<i>g-naşwat</i>
	3.m. <i>k-kaṭu</i>	<i>g-naşu</i>
	3.f. <i>k-kaṭwa</i>	<i>g-naşwa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>k-kaṭwax, k-kaṭwaxni</i>	<i>g-naşwax, g-naşwaxni</i>
	2.c. <i>k-kaṭwetun</i>	<i>g-naşwetun</i>
	3.c. <i>k-kaṭwi</i>	<i>g-naşwi</i>

4.1.7.5 *Past Habitual*

	<i>k-t-w</i>	<i>n-ş-w</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>k-kaṭwənwa</i>	<i>g-naşwənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>k-kaṭwanwa</i>	<i>g-naşwanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>k-kaṭwətwa</i>	<i>g-naşwətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>k-kaṭwat</i>	<i>g-naşwatwa</i>
	3.m. <i>k-kaṭuwa</i>	<i>g-naşuwa</i>
	3.f. <i>k-kaṭwawa</i>	<i>g-naşwawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>k-kaṭwaxwa</i>	<i>g-naşwaxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>k-kaṭwətuwa</i>	<i>g-naşwətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>k-kaṭwi wa</i>	<i>g-naşwiwa</i>

4.1.7.6 *Future Simple*

	<i>k-t-w</i>	<i>n-ş-w</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>p-kaṭwən, p-káṭwena</i>	<i>b-naşwən, b-náşwena</i>
	1.f. <i>p-kaṭwan, p-káṭwana</i>	<i>b-naşwan, b-náşwana</i>
	2.m. <i>p-kaṭwət</i>	<i>b-naşwət</i>
	2.f. <i>p-kaṭwat</i>	<i>b-naşwat</i>
	3.m. <i>p-kaṭu</i>	<i>b-naşu</i>
	3.f. <i>p-kaṭwa</i>	<i>b-naşwa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>p-kaṭwax, p-kaṭwaxni</i>	<i>b-naşwax, b-naşwaxni</i>
	2.c. <i>p-kaṭwetun</i>	<i>b-naşwetun</i>
	3.c. <i>p-kaṭwi</i>	<i>b-naşwi</i>

4.1.7.7 *Conditional*

	<i>k-t-w</i>	<i>n-ş-w</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>p-kaṭwənwa</i>	<i>b-naşwənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>p-kaṭwanwa</i>	<i>b-naşwanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>p-kaṭwətwa</i>	<i>b-naşwətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>p-kaṭwat</i>	<i>b-naşwatwa</i>
	3.m. <i>p-kaṭuwa</i>	<i>b-naşuwa</i>
	3.f. <i>p-kaṭwawa</i>	<i>b-naşwawa</i>

Pl.	1.c.	<i>p-kaṭwaxwa</i>	<i>b-naṣwaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-kaṭwātuwa</i>	<i>b-naṣwātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-kaṭwi wa</i>	<i>b-naṣwiwa</i>

4.1.7.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>kt̥ul̥i²²</i>
	2.m.	<i>kt̥ulux</i>
	2.f.	<i>kṭulax</i>
	3.m.	<i>kṭule</i>
	3.f.	<i>kṭula</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>kṭulan, kṭúleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>kṭúloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>kt̥ulu</i>

4.1.7.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>kt̥úwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>kt̥úwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>kt̥úwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>kt̥úwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>kt̥úwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>kt̥úwalan, kṭúwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>kt̥úwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>kt̥úwalu</i>

4.1.7.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili kṭiwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili kṭuta²³</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət kṭiwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat kṭuta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile kṭiwa</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>-ila kṭuta</i>
	1.c.	<i>-iwax kṭiwe</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun kṭiwe</i>
3.c.	<i>-ilu kṭiwe</i>	

²² < *kṭəwli

²³ < *kṭəwta

4.1.7.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs III-*w* are illustrated above in 4.1.7.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.7.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs III-*w* are illustrated above in 4.1.7.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.7.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bəktawa
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bəktawa
	2.m.	-iwət bəktawa
	2.f.	-iwat bəktawa
	3.m.	-ile bəktawa
	3.f.	-ila bəktawa
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bəktawa
	2.c.	-iwetun bəktawa
	3.c.	-ilu bəktawa

4.1.7.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs III-*w* is given in 4.1.7.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.7.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs III-*w* is given in 4.1.7.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.7.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.7.16.1 *Infinitive**k̄tawa*4.1.7.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

The masculine verbal noun is identical in form to the infinitive and no feminine form is attested in the text corpus or volunteered by informants.

Masc. *k̄tawa-*4.1.8 *Verbs III-y*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots *š-t-y* ‘to drink’ and *n-š-y* ‘to forget’

4.1.8.1 *Imperative*

Sing. *šti*
Pl. *štuwun*

4.1.8.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>šatən, šátena</i>
	1.f.	<i>šatyan, šátyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>šatət</i>
	2.f.	<i>šatyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>šate²⁴</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>šatya</i>
	1.c.	<i>šatax, šataxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>šatetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>šate</i>

4.1.8.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>šatənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>šatyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>šatətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>šatyatwa</i>

²⁴ < *šatəy

	3.m.	<i>šatewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>šatyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>šataxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>šatātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>šatewa</i>

4.1.8.4 *Present Indicative*

		<i>š-t-y</i>	<i>n-š-y</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-šatən, k-šátena</i>	<i>g-našən, g-nášena</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-šatyan, k-šátyana</i>	<i>g-našyan, g-nášyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-šatət</i>	<i>g-našət</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-šatyat</i>	<i>g-našyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-šate</i>	<i>g-naše</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-šatya</i>	<i>g-našya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-šatax, k-šataxni</i>	<i>g-našax, g-našaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-šatetun</i>	<i>g-našetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-šate</i>	<i>g-naše</i>

4.1.8.5 *Past Habitual*

		<i>š-t-y</i>	<i>n-š-y</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-šatənwa</i>	<i>g-našənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-šatyanwa</i>	<i>g-našyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-šatətwa</i>	<i>g-našətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-šatyatwa</i>	<i>g-našyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-šatewa</i>	<i>g-našewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-šatyawa</i>	<i>g-našyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-šataxwa</i>	<i>g-našaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-šatātuwa</i>	<i>g-našātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-šatewa</i>	<i>g-našewa</i>

4.1.8.6 *Future Simple*

		<i>š-t-y</i>	<i>n-š-y</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-šatən, p-šátena</i>	<i>b-našən, b-nášena</i>
	1.f.	<i>p-šatyan, p-šátyana</i>	<i>b-našyan, b-nášyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>p-šatət</i>	<i>b-našət</i>
	2.f.	<i>p-šatyat</i>	<i>b-našyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>p-šate</i>	<i>b-naše</i>
	3.f.	<i>p-šatya</i>	<i>b-našya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>p-šatax, p-šataxni</i>	<i>b-našax, b-našaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-šatetun</i>	<i>b-našetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-šate</i>	<i>b-naše</i>

4.1.8.7 *Conditional*

		<i>š-t-y</i>	<i>n-š-y</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-šatanwa</i>	<i>b-našənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>p-šatyanwa</i>	<i>b-našyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>p-šatətwa</i>	<i>b-našətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>p-šatyatwa</i>	<i>b-našyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>p-šatewa</i>	<i>b-našewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>p-šatyawa</i>	<i>b-našyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>p-šataxwa</i>	<i>b-našaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-šatātuwa</i>	<i>b-našātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-šatewa</i>	<i>b-našewa</i>

4.1.8.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>šteli</i> ²⁵
	2.m.	<i>štelux</i>
	2.f.	<i>štelax</i>
	3.m.	<i>štele</i>
	3.f.	<i>štela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>štelan, šteleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>štéloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>štelu</i>

4.1.8.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>štéwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>štéwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>štéwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>štéwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>štéwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>štéwalan, štéwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>štéwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>štéwalu</i>

4.1.8.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili šətya</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili štiṭa</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət šətya</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat štiṭa</i>

²⁵ < *štayli

	3.m.	-ile šətya
	3.f.	-ila štiṭa
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax šətye
	2.c.	-iwetun šətye
	3.c.	-ilu šətye

4.1.8.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs III-y are illustrated above in 4.1.8.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.8.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs III-y are illustrated above in 4.1.8.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.8.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bəštaya
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bəštaya
	2.m.	-iwət bəštaya
	2.f.	-iwat bəštaya
	3.m.	-ile bəštaya
	3.f.	-ila bəštaya
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bəštaya
	2.c.	-iwetun bəštaya
	3.c.	-ilu bəštaya

4.1.8.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs III-y is given in 4.1.8.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.8.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs III-*y* is given in 4.1.8.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.8.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.8.16.1 *Infinitive*

štaya

4.1.8.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

Masc.	<i>štaya</i>
Fem.	<i>štetā</i>

The next paradigms given are for Stem I Verbs with multiple weak radicals.

As a rule, when a verbal root contains more than one weak radical, it will, as far as possible, follow the pattern of irregularity for all of these weak radicals. For example, the root *'-t-y* 'to come' declines in accordance with the patterns for verbs I-' (subgroup A) as far as prefixes are concerned and in accordance with the patterns for verbs III-*y* as far as suffixes are concerned. So, for instance, in *k-ətyat* 'you (f.s.) come', the initial part of the form is analogous with the forms of verbs I-' such as *k-əxlat* 'you (f.s.) eat' (< *'-x-l*). In forms like *k-ete* 'you (pl.) come', one can see influence of both weak radicals. Its initial part follows the same pattern as forms of verbs I-' such as *k-exəl* 'he eats' (< *'-x-l*) and the latter part is analogous to forms of verbs III-*y* such as *k-šate* 'he drinks' (< *š-t-y*).

In cases where two (or even three) weak radicals are found adjacent in a root the various irregularities sometimes combine to produce forms which are less predictable.

Examples of verbal roots exhibiting all of these types of multiple weakness are given in what follows.

The paradigms for the verbs I-', II-*w*, as exemplified by *'-w-d* 'to make, to do' and *'-w-r* 'to pass', are given above in the section dealing with verbs I-', i.e. 4.1.2.

The paradigms for verbs I-', III-*y*, as exemplified by the verb *'-t-y* 'to come', are given above in the section dealing with verbs I-', i.e. 4.1.2.

4.1.9 Verbs I-y, III-w

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the root *y-t-w* ‘to sit, to sit down’.

4.1.9.1 Imperative

Sing.	<i>ytu ~ tu</i>
Pl.	<i>ytuwun ~ tuwun</i>

4.1.9.2 Present Subjunctive

Sing.	1.m.	<i>yatwən, yátwena</i>
	1.f.	<i>yatwan, yátwana</i>
	2.m.	<i>yatwət</i>
	2.f.	<i>yatwat</i>
	3.m.	<i>yatu</i>
	3.f.	<i>yatwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>yatwax, yatwaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>yatwetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>yatwi</i>

4.1.9.3 Past Subjunctive

Sing.	1.m.	<i>yatwənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>yatwanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>yatwətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>yatwatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>yatuwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>yatwawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>yatwaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>yatwátuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>yatwiwa</i>

4.1.9.4 Present Indicative

In the forms of the present indicative, the regular initial *g-yaC-* structure is very commonly contracted down to *g-eC-*. The uncontracted form is the form most often encountered in *lento* speech, especially when forms are elicited metalinguistically from an informant.

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-yatwən, g-yátwena</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-yatwan, g-yátwana</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-yatwət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-yatwat</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-yatu</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-yatwa</i>

- Pl. 1.c. *g-yatwax, g-yatwaxni*
 2.c. *g-yatwetun*
 3.c. *g-yatwi*

4.1.9.5 *Past Habitual*

- Sing. 1.m. *g-yatwənwa*
 1.f. *g-yatwanwa*
 2.m. *g-yatwətwa*
 2.f. *g-yatwatwa*
 3.m. *g-yatuwa*
 3.f. *g-yatwawa*
 Pl. 1.c. *g-yatwaxwa*
 2.c. *g-yatwətuwa*
 3.c. *g-yatwiwa*

4.1.9.6 *Future Simple*

- Sing. 1.m. *b-yatwən, b-yátwena*
 1.f. *b-yatwan, b-yátwana*
 2.m. *b-yatwət*
 2.f. *b-yatwat*
 3.m. *b-yatu*
 3.f. *b-yatwa*
 Pl. 1.c. *b-yatwax, b-yatwaxni*
 2.c. *b-yatwetun*
 3.c. *b-yatwi*

4.1.9.7 *Conditional*

- Sing. 1.m. *b-yatwənwa*
 1.f. *b-yatwanwa*
 2.m. *b-yatwətwa*
 2.f. *b-yatwatwa*
 3.m. *b-yatuwa*
 3.f. *b-yatwawa*
 Pl. 1.c. *b-yatwaxwa*
 2.c. *b-yatwətuwa*
 3.c. *b-yatwiwa*

4.1.9.8 *Preterite*

- Sing. 1.c. *ytuli*
 2.m. *ytulux*
 2.f. *ytulax*
 3.m. *ytule*
 3.f. *ytula*

- Pl. 1.c. *ytulan, ytúleni*
 2.c. *ytúloxun*
 3.c. *ytulu*

The above forms of the preterite can be realised phonetically in a wide variety of ways, specifically as regards the initial *y-*. For example /*ytule*/: [*yitule*] ~ [*'itule*] ~ [*tule*].

4.1.9.9 *Plupreterite*

- Sing. 1.c. *ytúwali*
 2.m. *ytúwalux*
 2.f. *ytúwalax*
 3.m. *ytúwale*
 3.f. *ytúwala*
 Pl. 1.c. *ytúwalan, ytúwaleni*
 2.c. *ytúwaloxun*
 3.c. *ytúwalu*

In the same way as for in the forms of the preterite (see 4.1.9.8 above), the initial *y-* of these forms may be phonetically realised in a number of different ways, e.g. /*ytúwaloxun*/ : [*yitúwaloxun*] ~ [*'itúwaloxun*] ~ [*túwaloxun*].

4.1.9.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

- Sing. 1.m. *-iwə̀n, -ili ytiwa*
 1.f. *-iwan, -ili ytuta²⁶*
 2.m. *-iwət ytiwa*
 2.f. *-iwat ytuta*
 3.m. *-ile ytiwa*
 3.f. *-ila ytuta*
 Pl. 1.c. *-iwax ytiwe*
 2.c. *-iwetun ytiwe*
 3.c. *-ilu ytiwe*

4.1.9.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative

²⁶ < **ytəwta*

participle of verbs I-*y*, III-*w* are illustrated above in 4.1.9.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.9.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs I-*y*, III-*w* are illustrated above in 4.1.9.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.9.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bitawa
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bitawa
	2.m.	-iwət bitawa
	2.f.	-iwat bitawa
	3.m.	-ile bitawa
	3.f.	-ila bitawa
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bitawa
	2.c.	-iwetun bitawa
	3.c.	-ilu bitawa

4.1.9.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b*- prefix for verbs I-*y*, III-*w* is given in 4.1.9.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.9.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b*- prefix for verbs I-*y*, III-*w* is given in 4.1.9.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.9.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.1.9.16.1 *Infinitive*

ytawa

4.1.9.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

The masculine verbal noun is identical in form to the infinitive, and the feminine is formed by an infix *-t-* between the third root consonant and the nominal suffix *-a*.

Masc.	<i>ytawa</i>
Fem.	<i>ytawta</i>

4.1.10 *Verbs I-y, III-y*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the root *y-m-y* ‘to take an oath, to swear’.

4.1.10.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>ymi</i>
Pl.	<i>ymuwun</i>

4.1.10.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>yamən, yámena</i>
	1.f.	<i>yamyān, yámyāna</i>
	2.m.	<i>yamət</i>
	2.f.	<i>yamyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>yame</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>yamya</i>
	1.c.	<i>yamax, yamaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>yametun</i>
	3.c.	<i>yame</i>

4.1.10.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>yamənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>yamyānwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>yamətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>yamyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>yamewa</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>yamyawa</i>
	1.c.	<i>yamaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>yamātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>yamewa</i>

4.1.10.4 *Present Indicative*

In the forms of the present indicative, the regular initial *g-yaC-* structure is very commonly contracted down to *g-eC-*. The uncontracted form is the form most often encountered in lento speech, especially when forms are elicited metalinguistically from an informant.

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-yamən, g-yámena</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-yamyān, g-yámyāna</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-yamət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-yamyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-yame</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-yamyā</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-yamax, g-yamaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-yametun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-yame</i>

4.1.10.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-yamənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-yamyānwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-yamətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-yamyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-yamewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-yamyāwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-yamaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-yamátuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-yamewa</i>

4.1.10.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-yamən, b-yámena</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-yamyān, b-yámyāna</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-yamət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-yamyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-yame</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-yamyā</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-yamax, b-yamaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-yametun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-yame</i>

4.1.10.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-yamənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-yamyānwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-yamətwa</i>

	2.f.	<i>b-yamyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-yamewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-yamyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-yamaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-yamātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-yamewa</i>

4.1.10.8 Preterite

Sing.	1.c.	<i>ymeli</i>
	2.m.	<i>ymelux</i>
	2.f.	<i>ymelax</i>
	3.m.	<i>ymele</i>
	3.f.	<i>ymela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>ymelan, yméleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>yméloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>ymelu</i>

4.1.10.9 Plupreterite

Sing.	1.c.	<i>yméwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>yméwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>yméwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>yméwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>yméwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>yméwalan, yméwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>yméwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>yméwalu</i>

4.1.10.10 Present Perfect

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili yəmya</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili ymiṭa</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət yəmya</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat ymiṭa</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile yəmya</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila ymiṭa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax yəmye</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun yəmye</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu yəmye</i>

4.1.10.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs I-*y*, III-*y* are illustrated above in 4.1.10.11. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.10.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs I-*y*, III-*y* are illustrated above in 4.1.10.11. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.10.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili bimaya
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili bimaya
	2.m.	-iwət bimaya
	2.f.	-iwat bimaya
	3.m.	-ile bimaya
	3.f.	-ila bimaya
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax bimaya
	2.c.	-iwetun bimaya
	3.c.	-ilu bimaya

4.1.10.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs I-*y*, III-*y* is given in 4.1.10.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.10.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs I-*y*, III-*y* is given in 4.1.10.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.10.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.10.16.1 *Infinitive**ymaya*4.1.10.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*Masc. *ymaya*Fem. *ymeta*4.1.11 *Verbs II-y, III²*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the root *r-y-* 'to crush'

4.1.11.1 *Imperative*Sing. *ro'*Pl. *ru'un*4.1.11.2 *Present Subjunctive*Sing. 1.m. *re'an*1.f. *re'an*2.m. *re'at*2.f. *re'at*3.m. *re'e*3.f. *re'a*Pl. 1.c. *re'ax, re'axni*2.c. *re'etun*3.c. *re'i*4.1.11.3 *Past Subjunctive*Sing. 1.m. *re'anwa*1.f. *re'anwa*2.m. *re'atwa*2.f. *re'atwa*3.m. *re'ewa*3.f. *re'awa*Pl. 1.c. *re'axwa*2.c. *re'atuwa*3.c. *re'iwa*

4.1.11.4 *Present Indicative*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-re'an</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-re'an</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-re'at</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-re'at</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-re'e</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-re'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-re'ax, g-re'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-re'etun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-re'i</i>

4.1.11.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-re'anwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-re'anwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-re'atwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-re'atwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-re'ewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-re'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-re'axwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-re'atwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-re'iwa</i>

4.1.11.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-re'an</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-re'an</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-re'at</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-re'at</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-re'e</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-re'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-re'ax, b-hawaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-re'etun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-re'i</i>

4.1.11.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-re'anwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-re'anwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-re'atwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-re'atwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-re'ewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-re'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-re'axwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-re'atwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-re'iwa</i>

4.1.11.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>re'li</i>
	2.m.	<i>re'lux</i>
	2.f.	<i>re'lax</i>
	3.m.	<i>re'le</i>
	3.f.	<i>re'la</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>re'lan, ré'leni</i>
	2.c.	<i>ré'loxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>re'lu</i>

4.1.11.9 *Pluperterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>ré'wali</i>
	2.m.	<i>ré'walux</i>
	2.f.	<i>ré'walax</i>
	3.m.	<i>ré'wale</i>
	3.f.	<i>ré'wala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>ré'walan, ré'waleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>ré'waloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>ré'walu</i>

4.1.11.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili ri'a</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili re'ta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət ri'a</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat re'ta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile ri'a</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>-ila re'ta</i>
	1.c.	<i>-iwax ri'e</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun ri'e</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu ri'e</i>

4.1.11.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-*w*, III-*y* are illustrated above in 4.1.11.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.11.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-*w*, III-*y* are illustrated above in 4.1.11.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.11.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	- <i>iwən</i> , - <i>ili (bə)rya'a</i>
	1.f.	- <i>iwān</i> , - <i>ili (bə)rya'a</i>
	2.m.	- <i>iwət (bə)rya'a</i>
	2.f.	- <i>iwat (bə)rya'a</i>
	3.m.	- <i>ile (bə)rya'a</i>
	3.f.	- <i>ila (bə)rya'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	- <i>iwax (bə)rya'a</i>
	2.c.	- <i>iwetun (bə)rya'a</i>
	3.c.	- <i>ilu (bə)rya'a</i>

4.1.11.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b*- prefix for verbs II-*y*, III-*'* is given in 4.1.11.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.11.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b*- prefix for verbs II-*y*, III-*'* is given in 4.1.11.13. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.11.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.11.16.1 *Infinitive*

rya'a

4.1.11.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

Masc.	<i>rya'a</i>
Fem.	<i>rya'ta</i>

4.1.12 *Verbs II-y, III-y*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the root *x-y-y* 'to live'.

4.1.12.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>xyi</i>
Pl.	<i>xyuwun</i>

4.1.12.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>xayən</i>
	1.f.	<i>xayan</i>
	2.m.	<i>xayət</i>
	2.f.	<i>xayat</i>
	3.m.	<i>xaye</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>xaya</i>
	1.c.	<i>xayax, xayaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>xayetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>xaye</i>

4.1.12.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>xayənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>xayanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>xayətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>xayatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>xayewa</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>xayawa</i>
	1.c.	<i>xayaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>xayətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>xayewa</i>

4.1.12.4 *Present Indicative*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-xayən</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-xayan</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-xayət</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-xayat</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-xaye</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-xaya</i>

- Pl. 1.c. *k-xayax, k-xayaxni*
 2.c. *k-xayetun*
 3.c. *k-xaye*

4.1.12.5 *Past Habitual*

- Sing. 1.m. *k-xayənwa*
 1.f. *k-xayanwa*
 2.m. *k-xayətwa*
 2.f. *k-xayatwa*
 3.m. *k-xayewa*
 3.f. *k-xayawa*
 Pl. 1.c. *k-xayaxwa*
 2.c. *k-xayətuwa*
 3.c. *k-xayewa*

4.1.12.6 *Future Simple*

- Sing. 1.m. *p-xayən*
 1.f. *p-xayan*
 2.m. *p-xayət*
 2.f. *p-xayat*
 3.m. *p-xaye*
 3.f. *p-xaya*
 Pl. 1.c. *p-xayax, p-xayaxni*
 2.c. *p-xayetun*
 3.c. *p-xaye*

4.1.12.7 *Conditional*

- Sing. 1.m. *p-xayənwa*
 1.f. *p-xayanwa*
 2.m. *p-xayətwa*
 2.f. *p-xayatwa*
 3.m. *p-xayewa*
 3.f. *p-xayawa*
 Pl. 1.c. *p-xayaxwa*
 2.c. *p-xayətuwa*
 3.c. *p-xayewa*

4.1.12.8 *Preterite*

- Sing. 1.c. *xyeli*
 2.m. *xyelux*
 2.f. *xyelax*
 3.m. *xyele*
 3.f. *xyela*

Pl.	1.c.	<i>xyelan, xyéleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>xyéloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>xyelu</i>

4.1.12.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>xyéwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>xyéwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>xyéwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>xyéwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>xyéwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>xyéwalan, xyéwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>xyéwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>xyéwalu</i>

4.1.12.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili xiya</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili xyīta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət xiya</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat xyīta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile xiya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax xiye</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun xiye</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu xiye</i>

4.1.12.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-y, III-y are illustrated above in 4.1.12.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.12.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-y, III-y are illustrated above in 4.1.12.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.12.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili bəxyaya</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili bəxyaya</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət bəxyaya</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat bəxyaya</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile bəxyaya</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila bəxyaya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwa\bar{x} bəxyaya</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun bəxyaya</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu bəxyaya</i>

4.1.12.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs II-*y*, III-*y* is given in 4.1.12.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.12.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b-* prefix for verbs II-*y*, III-*y* is given in 4.1.12.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.12.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.12.16.1 *Infinitive*

xyaya

4.1.12.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

Masc.	<i>xyaya</i>
Fem.	<i>xye\bar{t}a</i>

4.1.13 *Verbs II-w, III-y*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots *h-w-y*²⁷ ‘to be born’ and *ṛ-w-y* ‘to grow up’.

4.1.13.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>hwi</i>
Pl.	<i>hwuwun</i>

4.1.13.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>hawən</i>
	1.f.	<i>hoyan</i>
	2.m.	<i>hawət</i>
	2.f.	<i>hoyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>hawe</i>
	3.f.	<i>hoya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>hawax, hawaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>hawətun</i>
	3.c.	<i>hawe</i>

4.1.13.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>hawənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>hoyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>hawətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>hoyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>hawewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>hoyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>hawaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>hawətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>hawewa</i>

4.1.13.4 *Present Indicative*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-hawən</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-hoyan</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-hawət</i>

²⁷ As a rule, the initial *h-* of this root is treated as a strong consonant. Occasionally and exclusively in allegro speech, it may be dropped when a prefix is added, as occurs regularly in the partially homophonous (and etymologically identical) root *h-w-y* ‘to be’.

	2.f.	<i>k-hoyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-hawe</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-hoya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-hawax, k-hawaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-hawetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-hawe</i>

4.1.13.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>k-hawənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>k-hoyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>k-hawətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>k-hoyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>k-hawewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>k-hoyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>k-hawaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>k-hawətwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>k-hawewa</i>

4.1.13.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-hawən</i>
	1.f.	<i>p-hoyan</i>
	2.m.	<i>p-hawət</i>
	2.f.	<i>p-hoyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>p-hawe</i>
	3.f.	<i>p-hoya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>p-hawax, p-hawaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-hawetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-hawe</i>

4.1.13.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>p-hawənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>p-hoyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>p-hawətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>p-hoyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>p-hawewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>p-hoyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>p-hawaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>p-hawətwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>p-hawewa</i>

4.1.13.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>hweli</i>
	2.m.	<i>hwelux</i>
	2.f.	<i>hwelax</i>
	3.m.	<i>hwele</i>
	3.f.	<i>hwela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>hwelan, hwéleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>hwéloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>hwelu</i>

4.1.13.9 *Pluperterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>hwéwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>hwéwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>hwéwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>hwéwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>hwéwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>hwéwalan, hwéwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>hwéwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>hwéwalu</i>

4.1.13.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili huya</i> ²⁸
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili hwiṭa</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət huya</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat hwiṭa</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile huya</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>-ila hwiṭa</i>
	1.c.	<i>-iwax huye</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun huye</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu huye</i>

4.1.13.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-*w*, III-*y* are illustrated above in 4.1.13.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

²⁸ < **huwya*

4.1.13.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of verbs II-*w*, III-*y* are illustrated above in 4.1.13.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.13.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	- <i>iwən</i> , - <i>ili bəhwaya</i>
	1.f.	- <i>iwən</i> , - <i>ili bəhwaya</i>
	2.m.	- <i>iwət bəhwaya</i>
	2.f.	- <i>iwət bəhwaya</i>
	3.m.	- <i>ile bəhwaya</i>
	3.f.	- <i>ila bəhwaya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	- <i>iwax bəhwaya</i>
	2.c.	- <i>iwetun bəhwaya</i>
	3.c.	- <i>ilu bəhwaya</i>

4.1.13.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b*- prefix for verbs II-*w*, III-*y* is given in 4.1.13.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.13.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b*- prefix for verbs II-*w*, III-*y* is given in 4.1.13.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.13.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.13.16.1 *Infinitive*

hwaya

4.1.13.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

	<i>h-w-y</i>	<i>ʔ-w-y</i>
Masc.	<i>hwaya</i>	<i>ʔwaya</i>
Fem.	<i>hwayta</i> ²⁹	<i>ʔweṭa</i>

The next paradigms given are for Stem I Verbs with show multiple irregularities.

4.1.14 *b-ʔ-y 'to want, to wish'*4.1.14.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>bʔi</i>
Pl.	<i>bʔuwun</i>

4.1.14.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>baʔən</i>
	1.f.	<i>baʔan</i>
	2.m.	<i>baʔət</i>
	2.f.	<i>baʔat</i>
	3.m.	<i>baʔe</i>
	3.f.	<i>baʔa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>baʔax, baʔaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>baʔetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>baʔe</i>

4.1.14.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>baʔənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>baʔanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>baʔətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>baʔatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>baʔewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>baʔawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>baʔaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>baʔətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>baʔewa</i>

4.1.14.4 *Present Indicative*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>gəbən</i>
	1.f.	<i>gəban</i>

²⁹ This form is exceptional. One would expect *hweṭa*, but informants reject such a form.

	2.m.	<i>gəbət</i>
	2.f.	<i>gəbat</i>
	3.m.	<i>gəbe</i>
	3.f.	<i>gəba</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>gəbax, gəb'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>gəbetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>gəbe</i>

When the present indicative is negated, the negating particle (*la*) will usually combine with the relevant form above to form a single stress group and the first *-ə-* of the present indicative forms will be absent.

	1.f.	<i>lá-gban</i>
	2.m.	<i>lá-gbət</i>
	2.f.	<i>lá-gbat</i>
	3.m.	<i>lá-gbe</i>
	3.f.	<i>lá-gba</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>lá-gbax</i>
	2.c.	<i>la-gbetun ~ lá-gbetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>lá-gbe</i>

4.1.14.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>gəbənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>gəbanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>gəbətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>gəbatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>gəbewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>gəbawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>gəbaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>gəbātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>gəbewa</i>

4.1.14.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-ba'ən</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-ba'an</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-ba'ət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-ba'at</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-ba'e</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-ba'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-ba'ax, b-ba'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-ba'etun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-ba'e</i>

4.1.14.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-ba'anwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-ba'anwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-ba'atwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-ba'atwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-ba'ewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-ba'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-ba'axwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-ba'atuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-ba'ewa</i>

4.1.14.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>b'eli</i>
	2.m.	<i>b'elux</i>
	2.f.	<i>b'elax</i>
	3.m.	<i>b'ele</i>
	3.f.	<i>b'ela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b'elan, b'éleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b'éloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b'elu</i>

4.1.14.9 *Pluperterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>b'éwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>b'éwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>b'éwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>b'éwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>b'éwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b'éwalan, b'éwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b'éwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b'éwalu</i>

4.1.14.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is not used for this verb.

4.1.14.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is not used for this verb.

4.1.14.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is not used for this verb.

4.1.14.3 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili (bə)b'aya</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili (bə)b'aya</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət (bə)b'aya</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat (bə)b'aya</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile (bə)b'aya</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila (bə)b'aya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax (bə)b'aya</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun (bə)b'aya</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu (bə)b'aya</i>

4.1.14.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b-* prefix for this verb is given in 4.1.14.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.14.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b-* prefix for this verb is given in 4.1.14.13 above. The forms of the future copula are in 4.6.7 below.

4.1.14.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.14.16.1 *Infinitive*

b'aya

4.1.14.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

m.	<i>b'aya</i>
f.	<i>b'eta</i>

4.1.15 y-d- 'to know'

4.1.15.1 Imperative

Sing.	<i>ydo</i> ³⁰
Pl.	<i>ydu'un</i>

4.1.15.2 Present Subjunctive

Sing.	1.m.	<i>ya'an</i>
	1.f.	<i>ya'an</i>
	2.m.	<i>ya'ət</i>
	2.f.	<i>ya'at</i>
	3.m.	<i>ya'e</i>
	3.f.	<i>ya'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>ya'ax, ya'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>ya'etun</i>
	3.c.	<i>ya'e</i>

4.1.15.3 Past Subjunctive

Sing.	1.m.	<i>ya'anwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>ya'anwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>ya'ətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>ya'atwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>ya'ewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>ya'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>ya'axwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>ya'ətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>ya'ewa</i>

4.1.15.4 Present Indicative

Sing.	1.m.	<i>ki'an</i>
	1.f.	<i>ki'an</i>
	2.m.	<i>ki'ət</i>
	2.f.	<i>ki'at</i>
	3.m.	<i>ki'e</i>
	3.f.	<i>ki'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>ki'ax, ki'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>ki'etun</i>
	3.c.	<i>ki'e</i>

³⁰ The 2nd person present subjunctive forms of this particular verb are very commonly used in commands. The imperative forms given here are more forceful than ordinary imperatives.

4.1.15.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>ki'ənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>ki'anwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>ki'ətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>ki'atwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>ki'ewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>ki'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>ki'axwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>ki'ətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>ki'ewa</i>

4.1.15.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-ya'ən</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-ya'an</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-ya'ət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-ya'at</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-ya'e</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-ya'a</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-ya'ax, b-ba'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-ya'etun</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-ya'e</i>

4.1.15.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-ya'ənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-ya'anwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-ya'ətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-ya'atwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-ya'ewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-ya'awa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-ya'axwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>b-ya'ətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>b-ya'ewa</i>

4.1.15.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>yde'li</i>
	2.m.	<i>yde'lux</i>
	2.f.	<i>yde'lax</i>
	3.m.	<i>yde'le</i>
	3.f.	<i>yde'la</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>yde'lan, yde'leni</i>
	2.c.	<i>yde'loxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>yde'lu</i>

4.1.15.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>ydé'wali</i>
	2.m.	<i>ydé'walux</i>
	2.f.	<i>ydé'walax</i>
	3.m.	<i>ydé'wale</i>
	3.f.	<i>ydé'wala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>ydé'walan, ydé'waleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>ydé'waloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>ydé'walu</i>

4.1.15.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili ydi'a</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili yde'ta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət ydi'a</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat yde'ta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile ydi'a</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>-ila yde'ta</i>
	1.c.	<i>-iwax ydi'e</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun ydi'e</i>
3.c.	<i>-ilu ydi'e</i>	

4.1.15.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 4.1.15.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.15.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 4.1.15.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.15.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili yda'a, bida'a
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili yda'a, bida'a
	2.m.	-iwət yda'a, bida'a
	2.f.	-iwat yda'a, bida'a
	3.m.	-ile yda'a, bida'a
	3.f.	-ila yda'a, bida'a
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax yda'a, bida'a
	2.c.	-iwetun yda'a, bida'a
	3.c.	-ilu yda'a, bida'a

4.1.15.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b-* prefix for this verb is given in 4.1.15.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.15.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b-* prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b-* prefix for this verb is given in 4.1.15.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.15.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.1.15.16.1 *Infinitive*

yda'a

4.1.15.16.2 *Verbal Noun*

yda'a

4.1.16 *m-ṣ-y 'to be able'*

4.1.16.1 *Imperative*

The imperative of this verb is not used.

4.1.16.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	'əmṣən
	1.f.	'əmṣan

	2.m.	'əmʃət
	2.f.	'əmʃat
	3.m.	'əmʃe
	3.f.	'əmʃa
Pl.	1.c.	'əmʃax, 'əmʃaxni
	2.c.	'əmʃetun
	3.c.	'əmʃe

4.1.16.3 Past Subjunctive

Sing.	1.m.	'əmʃənwa
	1.f.	'əmʃanwa
	2.m.	'əmʃətwa
	2.f.	'əmʃatwa
	3.m.	'əmʃewa
	3.f.	'əmʃawa
Pl.	1.c.	'əmʃaxwa
	2.c.	'əmʃətuwa
	3.c.	'əmʃewa

4.1.16.4 Present Indicative

Sing.	1.m.	'əmʃən
	1.f.	'əmʃan
	2.m.	'əmʃət
	2.f.	'əmʃat
	3.m.	'əmʃe
	3.f.	'əmʃa
Pl.	1.c.	'əmʃax, 'əmʃaxni
	2.c.	'əmʃetun
	3.c.	'əmʃe

The present indicative (and morphologically related forms) of this verb regularly lack the expected *k-* (or *g-*) prefix. In especially lento speech and some poetic texts, forms with a *g-* prefix are encountered:

Sing.	1.m.	g-'əmʃən
	1.f.	g-'əmʃan
	2.m.	g-'əmʃət
	2.f.	g-'əmʃat
	3.m.	g-'əmʃe
	3.f.	g-'əmʃa
Pl.	1.c.	g-'əmʃax, g-'əmʃaxni
	2.c.	g-'əmʃetun
	3.c.	g-'əmʃe

4.1.16.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	'əmʃənwa
	1.f.	'əmʃənwa
	2.m.	'əmʃətwa
	2.f.	'əmʃatwa
	3.m.	'əmʃewa
	3.f.	'əmʃawa
Pl.	1.c.	'əmʃaxwa
	2.c.	'əmʃätuwa
	3.c.	'əmʃewa

Forms with the expected *k-* (or *g-*) prefix do not occur in speech, be it narrative or metalinguistic. They are however accepted by all informants.

4.1.16.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	'əmʃən
	1.f.	'əmʃən
	2.m.	'əmʃət
	2.f.	'əmʃat
	3.m.	'əmʃe
	3.f.	'əmʃa
Pl.	1.c.	'əmʃax, 'əmʃaxni
	2.c.	'əmʃetun
	3.c.	'əmʃe

The present indicative (and morphologically related forms regularly) lack the expected *p-* (or *b-*) prefix. In especially lento speech and some poetic texts, forms with a *b-* prefix are encountered:

Sing.	1.m.	b-'əmʃən
	1.f.	b-'əmʃən
	2.m.	b-'əmʃət
	2.f.	b-'əmʃat
	3.m.	b-'əmʃe
	3.f.	b-'əmʃa
Pl.	1.c.	b-'əmʃax, b-'əmʃaxni
	2.c.	b-'əmʃetun
	3.c.	b-'əmʃe

4.1.16.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	'əmʃənwa
	1.f.	'əmʃənwa
	2.m.	'əmʃətwa

	2.f.	'əmʃatwa
	3.m.	'əmʃewa
	3.f.	'əmʃawa
Pl.	1.c.	'əmʃaxwa
	2.c.	'əmʃətuwa
	3.c.	'əmʃewa

Forms with the expected *p-* (or *b-*) tense prefix do not occur in speech, be it narrative or metalinguistic. They are however accepted by all informants.

4.1.16.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	mʃeli
	2.m.	mʃelux
	2.f.	mʃelax
	3.m.	mʃele
	3.f.	mʃela
Pl.	1.c.	mʃelan, mʃeleni
	2.c.	mʃéloxun
	3.c.	mʃelu

4.1.16.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	mʃéwali
	2.m.	mʃéwalux
	2.f.	mʃéwalax
	3.m.	mʃéwale
	3.f.	mʃéwala
Pl.	1.c.	mʃéwalan, mʃéwaleni
	2.c.	mʃéwaloxun
	3.c.	mʃéwalu

4.1.16.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect of this verb is not used.

4.1.16.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect of this verb is not used.

4.1.16.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect of this verb is not used.

4.1.16.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous of this verb is not used.

4.1.16.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous of this verb is not used.

4.1.16.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous of this verb is not used.

4.1.16.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.1.16.16.1 *Infinitive*

mṣaya

4.1.16.16.2 *Verbal Noun*

mṣaya

4.1.17 *y(-h)-w-l 'to give'*

Although this verb has four radicals, it is treated here in section 4.1 as none of its inflectional forms ever contains more than three radicals.

4.1.17.1 *Imperative*

Sing. *hal*
Pl. *halun*

4.1.17.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>yawən</i>
	1.f.	<i>yawan</i>
	2.m.	<i>yawət</i>
	2.f.	<i>yawat</i>
	3.m.	<i>yawəl</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>yawa</i>
	1.c.	<i>yawax, ya'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>yawetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>yawi</i>

4.1.17.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>yawənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>yawanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>yawətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>yawatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>yawəlwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>yawawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>yawaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>yawətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>yawiwa</i>

4.1.17.4 *Present Indicative*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-yawən</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-yawan</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-yawət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-yawat</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-yawəl</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-yawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-yawax, g-ya'axni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-yawetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-yawi</i>

4.1.17.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-yawənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-yawanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-yawətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-yawatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-yawəlwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-yawawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-yawaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-yawətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-yawiwa</i>

4.1.17.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>b-yawən</i>
	1.f.	<i>b-yawan</i>
	2.m.	<i>b-yawət</i>
	2.f.	<i>b-yawat</i>
	3.m.	<i>b-yawəl</i>
	3.f.	<i>b-yawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>b-yawax, b-ya'axni</i>

- 2.c. *b-yawetun*
 3.c. *b-yawi*

4.1.17.7 *Conditional*

- Sing. 1.m. *b-yawənwa*
 1.f. *b-yawanwa*
 2.m. *b-yawətwa*
 2.f. *b-yawatwa*
 3.m. *b-yawəlwa*
 3.f. *b-yawawa*
 Pl. 1.c. *b-yawaxwa*
 2.c. *b-yawātuwa*
 3.c. *b-yawiwa*

4.1.17.8 *Preterite*

- Sing. 1.c. *huli*³¹
 2.m. *hulux*
 2.f. *hulax*
 3.m. *hule*
 3.f. *hula*
 Pl. 1.c. *hulan, húleni*
 2.c. *húloxun*
 3.c. *hulu*

4.1.17.9 *Plupreterite*

- Sing. 1.c. *húwali*
 2.m. *húwalux*
 2.f. *húwalax*
 3.m. *húwale*
 3.f. *húwala*
 Pl. 1.c. *húwalan, húwaleni*
 2.c. *húwaloxun*
 3.c. *húwalu*

4.1.17.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

³¹ The marginal forms *h(w)əlli*, *h(w)əllux*, etc. are very occasionally given in meta-linguistic questioning, but never in natural speech.

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili hiwa
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili huta ³²
	2.m.	-iwət hiwa
	2.f.	-iwat huta
	3.m.	-ile hiwa
	3.f.	-ila huta
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax hiwe
	2.c.	-iwetun hiwe
	3.c.	-ilu hiwe

4.1.17.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 1.10.4.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.17.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 1.10.4.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.1.17.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili (bə)hyawa
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili (bə)hyawa
	2.m.	-iwət (bə)hyawa
	2.f.	-iwat (bə)hyawa
	3.m.	-ile (bə)hyawa
	3.f.	-ila (bə)hyawa
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax (bə)hyawa
	2.c.	-iwetun (bə)hyawa
	3.c.	-ilu (bə)hyawa

4.1.17.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with

³² < *həwta

the optional *b(a)*- prefix for this verb is given in 4.1.17.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.17.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(a)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b(a)*- prefix for this verb is given in 4.1.17.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.1.17.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.1.17.16.1 *Infinitive*

hyawa

4.1.17.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

m.	<i>hyawa</i>
f.	<i>hyawta</i>

4.1.18 'ətl- 'to have'

The concept of possession is expression using a pseudo-verb constructed from the predicative particle 'iṭ (with regular reduction to 'əṭ-) and l-set suffixes.³³ In some forms the constituent parts are forms of the copula (see 4.1.19 below) and l-set suffixes.

Negation is effected by using *liṭ* (i.e. *ləṭ-*) in place of 'iṭ, or by adding *la* as shown below.

4.1.18.1 *Imperative*

There is no imperative for this verb.

4.1.18.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>haweli</i>
	2.m.	<i>hawelux</i>
	2.f.	<i>hawelax</i>
	3.m.	<i>hawele</i>
	3.f.	<i>hawela</i>

³³ Note that the cluster *-tl-* becomes *-l-*. See 1.9.1.3.

Pl.	1.c.	<i>hawelan</i>
	2.c.	<i>hawéloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>hawelu</i>

This form is negated with *la*:

Sing.	1.c.	<i>la haweli</i>
	2.m.	<i>la hawelux</i>
	etc.	

4.1.18.3 Past Subjunctive

Sing.	1.c.	<i>hawéwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>hawéwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>hawéwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>hawéwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>hawéwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>hawéwalan</i>
	2.c.	<i>hawéwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>hawéwalu</i>

This form is negated with *la*:

Sing.	1.c.	<i>la hawéwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>la hawéwalux</i>
	etc.	

4.1.18.4 Present Indicative

Sing.	1.c.	<i>'atli</i>
	2.m.	<i>'atlux</i>
	2.f.	<i>'atlax</i>
	3.m.	<i>'atle</i>
	3.f.	<i>'atla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>'atlan</i>
	2.c.	<i>'atloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>'atlu</i>

The negated forms are:

Sing.	1.c.	<i>lätli</i>
	2.m.	<i>lätlux</i>
	2.f.	<i>lätlax</i>
	3.m.	<i>lätle</i>
	3.f.	<i>lätla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>lätlan</i>
	2.c.	<i>lätloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>lätlu</i>

4.1.18.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.c.	' <i>ɔ</i> twali
	2.m.	' <i>ɔ</i> twalux
	2.f.	' <i>ɔ</i> twalax
	3.m.	' <i>ɔ</i> twale
	3.f.	' <i>ɔ</i> twala
Pl.	1.c.	' <i>ɔ</i> twalan
	2.c.	' <i>ɔ</i> twaloxun
	3.c.	' <i>ɔ</i> twalu

The negated forms are:

Sing.	1.c.	<i>l</i> ' <i>ɔ</i> twali
	2.m.	<i>l</i> ' <i>ɔ</i> twalux
	2.f.	<i>l</i> ' <i>ɔ</i> twalax
	3.m.	<i>l</i> ' <i>ɔ</i> twale
	3.f.	<i>l</i> ' <i>ɔ</i> twala
Pl.	1.c.	<i>l</i> ' <i>ɔ</i> twalan
	2.c.	<i>l</i> ' <i>ɔ</i> twaloxun
	3.c.	<i>l</i> ' <i>ɔ</i> twalu

4.1.18.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>paweli</i>
	2.m.	<i>pawelux</i>
	2.f.	<i>pawelax</i>
	3.m.	<i>pawe</i>
	3.f.	<i>pawela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>pawelan</i>
	2.c.	<i>pawéloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>pawelu</i>

4.1.18.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>pawánwali</i>
	1.f.	<i>pawánwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>pawánwali</i>
	2.f.	<i>pawánwali</i>
	3.m.	<i>pawánwali</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>pawánwali</i>
	1.c.	<i>pawánwali</i>
	2.c.	<i>pawánwali</i>
	3.c.	<i>pawánwali</i>

Negation is expressed as *la* with the past subjunctive:

Sing.	1.c.	<i>la hawéwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>la hawéwalux</i>
	etc.	

4.1.18.8 *Preterite*

The forms are identical with the past habitual (see 4.1.18.5).

4.1.18.9 *Plupreterite*

The forms are identical with the past habitual (see 4.1.18.5).

4.1.18.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is not used for this verb.

4.1.18.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is not used for this verb.

4.1.18.12 *Future Perfect*

The present perfect is not used for this verb.

4.1.18.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is not used for this verb.

4.1.18.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is not used for this verb.

4.1.18.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is not used for this verb.

4.1.18.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

There exist no infinitive or verbal nouns for this verb.

4.2 STEM II VERBS

4.2.1 *Strong Verbs*

These verbs are exemplified in what follows by *q-d-š* II ‘to sanctify, to keep holy’, *b-q-r* II ‘to ask’ and *q-r-ṛ* II ‘to choose’

4.2.1.1 *Imperative*

Sing. *mqādāš*
Pl. *mqadšun*

4.2.1.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing. 1.m. *mqadšən, mqádšena*
1.f. *mqadšan, mqádšana*
2.m. *mqadšət*
2.f. *mqadšat*
3.m. *mqadša*
3.f. *mqadš*
Pl. 1.c. *mqadšax, mqadšaxni*
2.c. *mqadšetun*
3.c. *mqadši*

4.2.1.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing. 1.m. *mqadšənwa*
1.f. *mqadšanwa*
2.m. *mqadšətwa*
2.f. *mqadšatwa*
3.m. *mqadšawa*
3.f. *mqadšwa*
Pl. 1.c. *mqadšaxwa*
2.c. *mqadšətuwa*
3.c. *mqadšiwa*

4.2.1.4 *Present Indicative*

Sing. 1.m. *g-mqadšən, g-mqádšena*
1.f. *g-mqadšan, g-mqádšana*
2.m. *g-mqadšət*
2.f. *g-mqadšat*
3.m. *g-mqadša*
3.f. *g-mqadš*
Pl. 1.c. *g-mqadšax, g-mqadšaxni*
2.c. *g-mqadšetun*
3.c. *g-mqadši*

4.2.1.5 *Past Habitual*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-mqadšənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-mqadšanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-mqadšətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-mqadšatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-mqadšawa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-mqadəšwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-mqadšaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-mqadšətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-mqadšiwa</i>

4.2.1.6 *Future Simple*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-mqadšən, m-mqádšena</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mqadšan, m-mqádšana</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mqadšət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mqadšat</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mqadša</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-mqadəš</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-mqadšax, m-mqadšaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-mqadšetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-mqadši</i>

4.2.1.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-mqadšənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mqadšanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mqadšətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mqadšatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mqadšawa</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-mqadəšwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-mqadšaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-mqadšətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-mqadšiwa</i>

4.2.1.8 *Preterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>mqodəšli</i>
	2.m.	<i>mqodəšlux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mqodəšlax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mqodəšle</i>
	3.f.	<i>mqodəšla</i>
	Pl.	1.c.
2.c.		<i>mqodəšloxun</i>
3.c.		<i>mqodəšlu</i>

In verbs with a third radical *r*, *ɾ* or *n*, one finds complete assimilation of the initial *l-* of the suffix to the third radical of the verb. The is shown below:

		<i>b-q-r</i> II	<i>q-ɾ-r</i> II
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mboqərri</i>	<i>mqorəɾri</i>
	2.m.	<i>mboqərrux</i>	<i>mqorəɾɾux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mboqərrax</i>	<i>mqorəɾɾax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mboqərre</i>	<i>mqorəɾre</i>
	3.f.	<i>mboqərre</i>	<i>mqorəɾre</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mboqərran,</i> <i>mboqərreni</i>	<i>mqorəɾran</i> <i>mqorəɾreni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mboqərroxun</i>	<i>mqorəɾɾoxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mboqərriu</i>	<i>mqorəɾri</i>

An object is expressed in this tense by one of two methods. The first is the internal modification of the stem. The past base of the verb is inflected with a-set suffixes to represent the object. This is done with a 3.m.s. subject as shown below:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>mqudšən</i>
	1.f.	<i>mqudšan</i>
	2.m.	<i>mqudšət</i>
	2.f.	<i>mqudšat</i>
	3.m.	<i>mqudšət</i> / <i>mqudšən</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>mqudša</i>
	1.c.	<i>mqudšax</i>
	2.c.	<i>mqudšetun, mqudšətu-</i>
3.c.	<i>mqudši</i>	

The forms can stand alone³⁴—primarily in archaic or archaising contexts, but are most often found with *l*-set suffixes, as shown below:

		1.m.s. object	1.f.s. object	2.m.s. object
Sing.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>mqudšətti</i>
	2.m.	<i>mqudšənnux</i>	<i>mqudšənnux</i>	N/A
	2.f.	<i>mqudšənnax</i>	<i>mqudšənnax</i>	N/A
	3.m.	<i>mqudšənne</i>	<i>mqudšənne</i>	<i>mqudšətte</i>
	3.f.	<i>mqudšənna</i>	<i>mqudšənna</i>	<i>mqudšətta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>mqudšəttan</i>
	2.c.	<i>mqudšənnoxun</i>	<i>mqudšənnoxun</i>	N/A
	3.c.	<i>mqudšənnu</i>	<i>mqudšənnu</i>	<i>mqudšəttu</i>

³⁴ *mqudšən* as the 3.m.s. form occurs only in isolation, and never with an *l*-set suffix. A form such as *mqudšənnux* can only mean 'you (m.s.) sanctified me (m.)'.

		2.f.s. object	3.m.s. object	3.f.s object
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mqudšatti</i>	<i>mqodəšli</i>	<i>mqudšali</i>
	2.m.	N/A	<i>mqudəšlux</i>	<i>mqudšalux</i>
	2.f.	N/A	<i>mqudəšlax</i>	<i>mqudšalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mqudšatte</i>	<i>mqudəšle</i>	<i>mqudšale</i>
	3.f.	<i>mqudšatta</i>	<i>mqudəšla</i>	<i>mqudšala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mqudšattan</i>	<i>mqudəšlan</i>	<i>mqudšalan</i>
	2.c.	N/A	<i>mqudəšloxun</i>	<i>mqudšáloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mqudšattu</i>	<i>mqudəšlu</i>	<i>mqudšalu</i>
		1.c.pl. object	2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object
Sing.	1.m.	N/A	<i>mqudšətuli</i>	<i>mqudšili</i>
	2.m.	<i>mqudšaxlux</i>	N/A	<i>mqudšilux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mqudšaxlax</i>	N/A	<i>mqudšilax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mqudšaxle</i>	<i>mqudšətulu</i>	<i>mqudšile</i>
	3.f.	<i>mqudšaxla</i>	<i>mqudšətula</i>	<i>mqudšila</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	<i>mqudšətulan</i>	<i>mqudšilan</i>
	2.c.	<i>mqudšáxloxun</i>	N/A	<i>mqudšíloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mqudšaxlu</i>	<i>mqudšətulu</i>	<i>mqudšilu</i>

The second way of expressing an object with this tense is by the use of a suppletive form, viz. the present subjunctive form with an object suffix (see 4.2.1.2) and a prefixed *qam-*.

4.2.1.9 *Plupreterite*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>mqudəšwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>mqudəšwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mqudəšwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mqudəšwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>mqudəšwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mqudəšwalan, mqudəšwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mqudəšwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mqudəšwalu</i>

4.2.1.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili mqudša</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili mqudašta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət mqudša</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat mqudašta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile mqudša</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>-ila mqudašta</i>
	1.c.	<i>-iwax mqudše</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun mqudše</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu mqudše</i>

4.2.1.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 4.2.1.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.2.1.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 4.2.1.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.2.1.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili (bə)mqadoše
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili (bə)mqadoše
	2.m.	-iwət (bə)mqadoše
	2.f.	-iwat (bə)mqadoše
	3.m.	-ile (bə)mqadoše
	3.f.	-ila (bə)mqadoše
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax (bə)mqadoše
	2.c.	-iwetun (bə)mqadoše
	3.c.	-ilu (bə)mqadoše

4.2.1.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for this verb is given in 4.2.1.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.2.1.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for this verb is given in 4.2.1.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7

4.2.1.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.2.1.16.1 *Infinitive*

mqadoše

4.2.1.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

m. *mqadoše*
f. *mqadašta*

4.2.2 *Verbs with Weak Radicals and Other Peculiarities*

The verbs cited in what follows are š-t-t II 'to shoo (chickens)', q-l-w II 'to clean', ḥ-k-y II 'to speak, to talk'

4.2.2.1 *Imperative*

	š-t-t II	q-l-w II	ḥ-k-y II
Sing.	<i>mšātət</i>	<i>mqalu</i>	<i>mḥaki</i>
Pl.	<i>mšātətun</i>	<i>mqalu</i>	<i>mḥakun</i>

4.2.2.2 *Present Subjunctive*

		š-t-t II	q-l-w II	ḥ-k-y II
Sing.	1.m.	<i>mšātətən, mšātətēna</i>	<i>mqalwən, mqálwēna</i>	<i>mḥakən, mḥákēna</i>
	1.f.	<i>mšātətān, mšātətāna</i>	<i>mqalwan, mqálwana</i>	<i>mḥakyan, mḥákyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>mšātətət</i>	<i>mqalwət</i>	<i>mḥakət</i>
	2.f.	<i>mšātətāt</i>	<i>mqalwat</i>	<i>mḥakyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>mšātət</i>	<i>mqalu</i>	<i>mḥake</i>
	3.f.	<i>mšātətā</i>	<i>mqalwa</i>	<i>mḥakya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mšātətāx, mšātətāxni</i>	<i>mqalwāx, mqalwāxni</i>	<i>mḥakāx, mḥakāxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mšātətētun</i>	<i>mqalwetun</i>	<i>mḥaketun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mšātəti</i>	<i>mqalwi</i>	<i>mḥake</i>

4.2.2.3 *Past Subjunctive*

		š-t-t II	q-l-w II	ḥ-k-y II
Sing.	1.m.	<i>mšātətənwa</i>	<i>mqalwənwa</i>	<i>mḥakənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>mšātətānwa</i>	<i>mqalwanwa</i>	<i>mḥakyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>mšātətətwa</i>	<i>mqalwətwa</i>	<i>mḥakətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>mšātətātwa</i>	<i>mqalwatwa</i>	<i>mḥakyatwa</i>

	3.m.	<i>mšatətwa</i>	<i>mqaluwa</i>	<i>mḥakewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>mšatətawa</i>	<i>mqalwawa</i>	<i>mḥakyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mšatətaxwa</i>	<i>mqalwaxwa</i>	<i>mḥakaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>mšatətətuwa</i>	<i>mqalwətuwa</i>	<i>mḥakətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>mšatətiwa</i>	<i>mqalwiwa</i>	<i>mḥakewa</i>

4.2.2.4 Present Indicative

		š-t-t II	q-l-w II	ḥ-k-y II
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-mšātətən,</i> <i>g-mšātətəna</i>	<i>g-mqalwən,</i> <i>g-mqálwəna</i>	<i>g-mḥakən,</i> <i>g-mḥákəna</i> <i>g-mḥákəna</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-mšātətən,</i> <i>g-mšātətəna</i>	<i>g-mqalwan,</i> <i>g-mqálwana</i>	<i>g-mḥakyan,</i> <i>g-mḥákyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-mšātətət</i>	<i>g-mqalwət</i>	<i>g-mḥakət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-mšātətət</i>	<i>g-mqalwat</i>	<i>g-mḥakyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-mšātət</i>	<i>g-mqalu</i>	<i>g-mḥake</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-mšātətə</i>	<i>g-mqalwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-mšātətəx,</i> <i>g-mšātətəxni</i>	<i>g-mqalwax,</i> <i>g-mqalwaxni</i>	<i>g-mḥakax,</i> <i>g-mḥakaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-mšātətətun</i>	<i>g-mqalwetun</i>	<i>g-mḥaketun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-mšātəti</i>	<i>g-mqalwi</i>	<i>g-mḥake</i>

4.2.2.5 Past Habitual

		š-t-t II	q-l-w II	ḥ-k-y II
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-mšātətənwa</i>	<i>g-mqalwənwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-mšātətənwa</i>	<i>g-mqalwanwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-mšātətətwa</i>	<i>g-mqalwətwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-mšātətətwa</i>	<i>g-mqalwatwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-mšātətwa</i>	<i>g-mqaluwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-mšātətawa</i>	<i>g-mqalwawa</i>	<i>g-mḥakyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-mšātətəxwa</i>	<i>g-mqalwaxwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-mšātətətuwa</i>	<i>g-mqalwətuwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-mšātətiwa</i>	<i>g-mqalwiwa</i>	<i>g-mḥakewa</i>

4.2.2.6 Future Simple

		š-t-t II	q-l-w II	ḥ-k-y II
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-mšātətən,</i> <i>m-mšātətəna</i>	<i>m-mqalwən,</i> <i>m-mqálwəna</i>	<i>m-mḥakən,</i> <i>m-mḥákəna</i> <i>m-mḥákəna</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mšātətən,</i> <i>m-mšātətəna</i>	<i>m-mqalwan,</i> <i>m-mqálwana</i>	<i>m-mḥakyan,</i> <i>m-mḥákyana</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mšātətət</i>	<i>m-mqalwət</i>	<i>m-mḥakət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mšātətət</i>	<i>m-mqalwat</i>	<i>m-mḥakyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mšātət</i>	<i>m-mqalu</i>	<i>m-mḥake</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-mšātətə</i>	<i>m-mqalwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakya</i>

4.2.2.7 *Conditional*

		<i>š-t-t</i> II	<i>q-l-w</i> II	<i>h-k-y</i> II
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-mšatətənwa</i>	<i>m-mqalwənwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mšatətənwa</i>	<i>m-mqalwanwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mšatətətwa</i>	<i>m-mqalwətwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mšatətətwa</i>	<i>m-mqalwatwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mšatətwa</i>	<i>m-mqaluwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-mšatətawa</i>	<i>m-mqalwawa</i>	<i>m-mḥakyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-mšatətaxwa</i>	<i>m-mqalwaxwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-mšatətətuwa</i>	<i>m-mqalwətuwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-mšatətətiwa</i>	<i>m-mqalwiwa</i>	<i>m-mḥakewa</i>

4.2.2.8 *Preterite*

		<i>š-t-t</i> II	<i>q-l-w</i> II	<i>h-k-y</i> II
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mšotətli</i>	<i>mqoluli</i>	<i>mḥokeli</i> ³⁵
	2.m.	<i>mšotətlux</i>	<i>mqolulux</i>	<i>mḥokelux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mšotətlix</i>	<i>mqolulax</i>	<i>mḥokelax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mšotətli</i>	<i>mqolule</i>	<i>mḥokele</i>
	3.f.	<i>mšotətli</i>	<i>mqolula</i>	<i>mḥokela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mšotətlan</i> <i>mšotətleni</i>	<i>mqolulan</i> , <i>mqolúleni</i>	<i>mḥokelan</i> , <i>mḥokéleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mšotətloxun</i>	<i>mqolúloxun</i>	<i>mḥokéloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mšotətlu</i>	<i>mqolulu</i>	<i>mḥokelu</i>

4.2.2.9 *Pluperterite*

		<i>š-t-t</i> II	<i>q-l-w</i> II	<i>h-k-y</i> II
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mšotətwali</i>	<i>mqolúwali</i>	<i>mḥokéwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>mšotətwalux</i>	<i>mqolúwalux</i>	<i>mḥokéwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mšotətwalax</i>	<i>mqolúwalax</i>	<i>mḥokéwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mšotətware</i>	<i>mqolúwale</i>	<i>mḥokéwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>mšotətwała</i>	<i>mqolúwala</i>	<i>mḥokéwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mšotətwalan</i> <i>mšotətleni</i>	<i>mqolúwalan</i> , <i>mqolúleni</i>	<i>mḥokéwalan</i> , <i>mḥokéwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mšotətloxun</i>	<i>mqolúloxun</i>	<i>mḥokéwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mšotətwalu</i>	<i>mqolúwalu</i>	<i>mḥokéwalu</i>

4.2.2.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

³⁵ The preterite of this verb often occurs as *mḥukeli*, presumably under the influence of Z *mḥukeli*, which is also common in informants' speech.

		š-t-t II	q-l-w II	h-k-y II
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili mšūtata	-iwən, -ili mqułwa	-iwən, -ili mḥukya
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili msutatta	-iwan, -ili mquławta	-iwan, -ili mḥuketa
	2.m.	-iwət mšūtata	-iwət mqułwa	-iwət mḥukya
	2.f.	-iwat msutatta	-iwat mquławta	-iwat mḥuketa
	3.m.	-ile mšūtata	-ile mqułwa	-ile mḥukya
	3.f.	-ila msutatta	-ila mquławta	-ila mḥuketa
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax mšūtate	-iwax mqułwe	-iwax mḥukye
	2.c.	-iwetun mšūtate	-iwetun mqułwe	-iwetun mḥukye
	3.c.	-ilu mšūtate	-ilu mqułwe	-ilu mḥukye

4.2.2.11 Past Perfect

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 4.2.2.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.2.2.12 Future Perfect

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 4.2.2.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.2.2.13 Present Continuous

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

		š-t-t II	h-k-y II
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili (bə)mšatote	-iwən, -ili (bə)mḥakoye
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili (bə)mšatote	-iwan, -ili (bə)mḥakoye
	2.m.	-iwət (bə)mšatote	-iwət (bə)mḥakoye
	2.f.	-iwat (bə)mšatote	-iwat (bə)mḥakoye
	3.m.	-ile (bə)mšatote	-ile (bə)mḥakoye
	3.f.	-ila (bə)mšatote	-ila (bə)mḥakoye
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax (bə)mšatote	-iwax (bə)mḥakoye
	2.c.	-iwetun (bə)mšatote	-iwetun (bə)mḥakoye
	3.c.	-ilu (bə)mšatote	-ilu (bə)mḥakoye

4.2.2.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for this verb is given in 4.2.2.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.2.2.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for this verb is given in 4.2.2.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.2.2.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.2.2.16.1 *Infinitive*

š-t-t II	q-l-w II	h-k-y II
<i>mšatote</i>	<i>mqalowe</i>	<i>mħakoye</i>

4.2.2.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

	š-t-t II	q-l-w II	h-k-y II
m.	<i>mšatote</i>	<i>mqalowe</i>	<i>mħakoye</i>
f.	–	<i>mqalawta</i>	<i>mħaketa</i>

4.3 STEM III VERBS

4.3.1 *Strong Verbs*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the verbs *n-x-p* III ‘to embarrass, to shame’, *p-l-x* III ‘to employ, to make work’, *š-x-n* III ‘to heat up’ *t-x-r* III ‘to remind’, *’-w-r* III ‘to transfer, bring over’ and *h-d-r* ‘to prepare, to make ready’.

4.3.1.1 *Imperative*

	<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	<i>’-w-r</i> III
Sing.	<i>manxəp</i>	<i>mapləx</i>	<i>má’wər</i>
Pl.	<i>mánxəpun</i>	<i>mápləxun</i>	<i>má’wərən</i>

4.3.1.2 *Present Subjunctive*

	<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	'-w-r III
Sing.	1.m. <i>mánxəpən</i>	<i>má̌pəlxən</i>	<i>má'wəran</i>
	1.f. <i>mánxəpan</i>	<i>má̌pəlxan</i>	<i>má'wəran</i>
	2.m. <i>mánxəpət</i>	<i>má̌pəlxət</i>	<i>má'wərat</i>
	2.f. <i>mánxəpat</i>	<i>má̌pəlxat</i>	<i>má'wərat</i>
	3.m. <i>manxəp</i>	<i>mapləx</i>	<i>ma'wər</i>
	3.f. <i>mánxəpa</i>	<i>má̌pəlxə</i>	<i>má'wəra</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>mánxəpax</i>	<i>má̌pəlxax</i>	<i>má'wərax</i>
	2.c. <i>manxəpetun</i>	<i>mapəlxetun</i>	<i>ma'wəretun</i>
	3.c. <i>mánxəpi</i>	<i>má̌pəlxə</i>	<i>má'wəri</i>

4.3.1.3 *Past Subjunctive*

	<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	'-w-r III
Sing.	1.m. <i>manxəpənwa</i>	<i>mapəlxənwa</i>	<i>ma'wəranwa</i>
	1.f. <i>manxəpanwa</i>	<i>mapəlxanwa</i>	<i>ma'wəranwa</i>
	2.m. <i>manxəpətwa</i>	<i>mapəlxətwa</i>	<i>ma'wəratwa</i>
	2.f. <i>manxəpatwa</i>	<i>mapəlxatwa</i>	<i>ma'wəratwa</i>
	3.m. <i>manxəpwa</i>	<i>mapləxwa</i>	<i>ma'wərwa</i>
	3.f. <i>manxəpawa</i>	<i>mapəlxawa</i>	<i>ma'wərawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>manxəpaxwa</i>	<i>mapəlxaxwa</i>	<i>ma'wəraxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>manxəpətuwa</i>	<i>mapəlxətuwa</i>	<i>ma'wəretuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>manxəpiwa</i>	<i>mapəlxə</i>	<i>ma'wəriwa</i>

4.3.1.4 *Present Indicative*

	<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III'	-w-r III
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-mánxəpən</i>	<i>g-má̌pəlxən</i>	<i>g-má'wəran</i>
	1.f. <i>g-mánxəpan</i>	<i>g-má̌pəlxan</i>	<i>g-má'wəran</i>
	2.m. <i>g-mánxəpət</i>	<i>g-má̌pəlxət</i>	<i>g-má'wərat</i>
	2.f. <i>g-mánxəpat</i>	<i>g-má̌pəlxat</i>	<i>g-má'wərat</i>
	3.m. <i>g-manxəp</i>	<i>g-mapləx</i>	<i>g-ma'wər</i>
	3.f. <i>g-mánxəpa</i>	<i>g-má̌pəlxə</i>	<i>g-má'wəra</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>g-mánxəpax</i>	<i>g-má̌pəlxax</i>	<i>g-má'wərax</i>
	2.c. <i>g-manxəpetun</i>	<i>g-mapəlxetun</i>	<i>g-má'wəretun</i>
	3.c. <i>g-mánxəpi</i>	<i>g-má̌pəlxə</i>	<i>g-má'wəri</i>

4.3.1.5 *Past Habitual*

	<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	'-w-r III
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-manxəpənwa</i>	<i>g-mapəlxənwa</i>	<i>g-má'wəranwa</i>
	1.f. <i>g-manxəpanwa</i>	<i>g-mapəlxanwa</i>	<i>g-má'wəranwa</i>
	2.m. <i>g-manxəpətwa</i>	<i>g-mapəlxətwa</i>	<i>g-má'wəratwa</i>

	2.f.	<i>g-manxəpatwa</i>	<i>g-mapəlxatwa</i>	<i>g-má'wəratwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-manxəpwa</i>	<i>g-mapləxwa</i>	<i>g-má'wərwə</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-manxəpawa</i>	<i>g-mapəlxawa</i>	<i>g-má'wərawə</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-manxəpaxwa</i>	<i>g-mapəlxaxwa</i>	<i>g-má'wəraxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-manxəpətuwa</i>	<i>g-mapəlxətuwa</i>	<i>g-má'wəřətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-manxəpiwa</i>	<i>g-mapəlxəiwa</i>	<i>g-má'wəriwa</i>

4.3.1.6 *Future Simple*

		<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	<i>'-w-r</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-mánxəpən</i>	<i>m-mápləxən</i>	<i>m-má'wəran</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mánxəpən</i>	<i>m-mápləxən</i>	<i>m-má'wəran</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mánxəpət</i>	<i>m-mápləxət</i>	<i>m-má'wərat</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mánxəpat</i>	<i>m-mápləxət</i>	<i>m-má'wərat</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-manxəp</i>	<i>m-mapləx</i>	<i>m-má'wər</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-mánxəpa</i>	<i>m-mápləxa</i>	<i>m-má'wəra</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-mánxəpax</i>	<i>m-mápləxax</i>	<i>m-má'wərax</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-manxəpətu</i>	<i>m-mapəlxətu</i>	<i>m-má'wəřətu</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-mánxəpi</i>	<i>m-mápləxi</i>	<i>m-má'wəri</i>

4.3.1.7 *Conditional*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-manxəpənwa</i>	<i>m-mapəlxənwa</i>	<i>m-má'wəranwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-manxəpənwa</i>	<i>m-mapəlxənwa</i>	<i>m-má'wəranwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-manxəpətwa</i>	<i>m-mapəlxətwa</i>	<i>m-má'wəratwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-manxəpatwa</i>	<i>m-mapəlxətwa</i>	<i>m-má'wəratwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-manxəpwa</i>	<i>m-mapləxwa</i>	<i>m-má'wərwə</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-manxəpawa</i>	<i>m-mapəlxawa</i>	<i>m-má'wərawə</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-manxəpaxwa</i>	<i>m-mapəlxaxwa</i>	<i>m-má'wəraxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-manxəpətuwa</i>	<i>m-mapəlxətuwa</i>	<i>m-má'wəřətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-manxəpiwa</i>	<i>m-mapəlxəiwa</i>	<i>m-má'wəriwa</i>

4.3.1.8 *Preterite*

		<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	<i>'-w-r</i> III
Sing.	1.c.	<i>munxəpli</i>	<i>mupləxli</i>	<i>mu'wəřri</i>
	2.m.	<i>munxəplux</i>	<i>mupləxlux</i>	<i>mu'wəřrux</i>
	2.f.	<i>munxəplax</i>	<i>mupləxlax</i>	<i>mu'wəřrax</i>
	3.m.	<i>munxəple</i>	<i>mupləxle</i>	<i>mu'wəřre</i>
	3.f.	<i>munxəpla</i>	<i>mupləxla</i>	<i>mu'wəřra</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>munxəplan,</i> <i>munxəpleni</i>	<i>mupləxlan,</i> <i>mupləxleni</i>	<i>mu'wəřran,</i> <i>mu'wəřreni</i>
	2.c.	<i>munxəploxun</i>	<i>mupləxloxun</i>	<i>mu'wəřroxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>munxəpli</i>	<i>mupləxli</i>	<i>mu'wəřri</i>

An object is expressed in this tense by one of two methods. The first is the internal modification of the stem. The past base of the verb is inflected with a-set suffixes to represent the object. This is done with a 3.m.s subject as shown below:

		<i>n-x-p</i> III		<i>p-l-x</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>múnxəpən</i>		<i>múpəlxən</i>
	1.f.	<i>múnxəpən</i>		<i>múpəlxən</i>
	2.m.	<i>múnxəpət</i>		<i>múpəlxət</i>
	2.f.	<i>múnxəpat</i>		<i>múpəlxət</i>
	3.m.	<i>múnxəp(ən)</i>		<i>mupləx / múpəlxən</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>múnxəpa</i>		<i>múpəlxə</i>
	1.c.	<i>múnxəpax</i>		<i>múpəlxax</i>
	2.c.	<i>munxəpetun, munxəpətu-</i>		<i>múpəlxetun, múpəlxətu-</i>
	3.c.	<i>múnxəpi</i>		<i>múpəlxə</i>

These forms can stand alone³⁶ – primarily in archaic or archaising contexts, but are most often found with l-set suffixes, as shown below:

		1.m.s. object	1.f.s. object	2.m.s. object
Sing.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>munxəpətti</i>
	2.m.	<i>munxəpənnux</i>	<i>munxəpənnux</i>	N/A
	2.f.	<i>munxəpənnax</i>	<i>munxəpənnax</i>	N/A
	3.m.	<i>munxəpənne</i>	<i>munxəpənne</i>	<i>munxəpətte</i>
	3.f.	<i>munxəpənna</i>	<i>munxəpənna</i>	<i>munxəpətta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>munxəpəttan</i>
	2.c.	<i>munxəpənnoxun</i>	<i>munxəpənnoxun</i>	N/A
	3.c.	<i>munxəpənnu</i>	<i>munxəpənnu</i>	<i>munxəpəttu</i>
		2.f.s. object	3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object
Sing.	1.c.	<i>munxəpətti</i>	<i>munxəpli</i>	<i>munxəpəli</i>
	2.m.	N/A	<i>munxəplux</i>	<i>munxəpəlux</i>
	2.f.	N/A	<i>munxəplax</i>	<i>munxəpəlax</i>
	3.m.	<i>munxəpatte</i>	<i>munxəple</i>	<i>munxəpəle</i>
	3.f.	<i>munxəpatta</i>	<i>munxəpla</i>	<i>munxəpəla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>munxəpəttan</i>	<i>munxəplan</i>	<i>munxəpəlan</i>
	2.c.	N/A	<i>munxəploxon</i>	<i>munxəpəloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>munxəpəttu</i>	<i>munxəplu</i>	<i>munxəpəlu</i>
		1.c.pl. object	2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object
Sing.	1.m.	N/A	<i>munxəpətuli</i>	<i>munxəpəli</i>
	2.m.	<i>munxəpəxlux</i>	N/A	<i>munxəpəlux</i>
	2.f.	<i>munxəpəxlax</i>	N/A	<i>munxəpəlax</i>

³⁶ *múnxəpən* and *múpəlxən* as the 3.m.s. forms occur only in isolation, and never with an l-set suffix. A form such as *munxəpənnux* can only mean 'you (m.s) embarrassed me (m)'.

	3.m.	<i>munxəpaxle</i>	<i>munxəpātulu</i>	<i>munxəpile</i>	
	3.f.	<i>munxəpaxla</i>	<i>munxəpātula</i>	<i>munxəpila</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	<i>munxəpātulan</i>	<i>munxəpilan</i>	
	2.c.	<i>munxəpáxloxun</i>	N/A	<i>munxəpíloxun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>munxəpaxlu</i>	<i>munxəpātulu</i>	<i>munxəpilu</i>	
		1.m.s. object	1.f.s. object	2.m.s. object	
Sing.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>müpəlxətti</i>	
	2.m.	<i>müpəlxənnux</i>	<i>müpəlxənnux</i>	N/A	
	2.f.	<i>müpəlxənnax</i>	<i>müpəlxənnax</i>	N/A	
		3.m.	<i>müpəlxənne</i>	<i>müpəlxənne</i>	<i>müpəlxətte</i>
		3.f.	<i>müpəlxənna</i>	<i>müpəlxənna</i>	<i>müpəlxətta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	N/A	<i>müpəlxəttan</i>	
	2.c.	<i>müpəlxə́nnoxun</i>	<i>müpəlxə́nnoxun</i>	N/A	
	3.c.	<i>müpəlxə́nnu</i>	<i>müpəlxə́nnu</i>	<i>müpəlxə́ttu</i>	
		2.f.s. object	3.m.s. object	3.f.s. object	
Sing.	1.c.	<i>müpəlxətti</i>	<i>mupləxli</i>	<i>müpəlxəli</i>	
	2.m.	N/A	<i>mupləxlux</i>	<i>müpəlxəlux</i>	
	2.f.	N/A	<i>mupləxlax</i>	<i>müpəlxəlax</i>	
		3.m.	<i>müpəlxətte</i>	<i>mupləxle</i>	<i>müpəlxəle</i>
		3.f.	<i>müpəlxətta</i>	<i>mupləxla</i>	<i>müpəlxəla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>müpəlxəttan</i>	<i>mupləxlan</i>	<i>müpəlxəlan</i>	
	2.c.	N/A	<i>muplə́xloxun</i>	<i>müpəlxə́loxun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>müpəlxə́ttu</i>	<i>muplə́xlu</i>	<i>müpəlxə́lu</i>	
		1.c.pl. object	2.c.pl. object	3.c.pl. object	
Sing.	1.m.	N/A	<i>müpəlxə́tuli</i>	<i>müpəlxə́li</i>	
	2.m.	<i>müpəlxə́xlux</i>	N/A	<i>müpəlxə́lux</i>	
	2.f.	<i>müpəlxə́xlax</i>	N/A	<i>müpəlxə́lax</i>	
		3.m.	<i>müpəlxə́xle</i>	<i>müpəlxə́le</i>	
		3.f.	<i>müpəlxə́xla</i>	<i>müpəlxə́la</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	N/A	<i>müpəlxə́tulan</i>	<i>müpəlxə́lan</i>	
	2.c.	<i>müpəlxə́xloxun</i>	N/A	<i>müpəlxə́loxun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>müpəlxə́xlu</i>	<i>müpəlxə́tulu</i>	<i>müpəlxə́lu</i>	

The second way of expressing an object with this tense is by the use of a suppletive form, viz. the present subjunctive form with an object suffix (see 4.3.1.2) and a prefixed *qam-*.

4.3.1.9 *Plupreterite*

		<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	<i>ʔ-w-r</i> III	
Sing.	1.c.	<i>munxə́pwali</i>	<i>muplə́xwali</i>	<i>mu'wə́rwali</i>	
	2.m.	<i>munxə́pwalux</i>	<i>muplə́xwalux</i>	<i>mu'wə́rwalux</i>	
	2.f.	<i>munxə́pwalax</i>	<i>muplə́xwalax</i>	<i>mu'wə́rwalax</i>	
		3.m.	<i>munxə́pwale</i>	<i>muplə́xwale</i>	<i>mu'wə́rwale</i>
		3.f.	<i>munxə́pwala</i>	<i>muplə́xwala</i>	<i>mu'wə́rwala</i>

Pl.	1.c.	<i>munxáplan</i>	<i>mupláxwalan</i>	<i>mu'wárwalan</i>
		<i>munxápwaleni</i>	<i>mupláxwaleni</i>	<i>mu'wárwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>munxápwaloxun</i>	<i>mupláxwaloxun</i>	<i>mu'wárwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>munxápwali</i>	<i>mupláxwali</i>	<i>mu'wárwali</i>

4.3.1.10 Present Perfect

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

		<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili múnxəpa</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili múpəlxə</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili munxapta</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili muplaxta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət múnxəpa</i>	<i>-iwət múpəlxə</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat munxapta</i>	<i>-iwat muplaxta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile múnxəpa</i>	<i>-ile múpəlxə</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila munxapta</i>	<i>-ila muplaxta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax múnxəpe</i>	<i>-iwax múpəlxə</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun múnxəpe</i>	<i>-iwetun múpəlxə</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu múnxəpe</i>	<i>-ilu múpəlxə</i>
		<i>'-w-r</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili mú'wəra</i>	
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili mu'warta</i>	
	2.m.	<i>-iwət mú'wəra</i>	
	2.f.	<i>-iwat mu'warta</i>	
	3.m.	<i>-ile mú'wəra</i>	
	3.f.	<i>-ila mu'warta</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax mú'wəre</i>	
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun mú'wəre</i>	
	3.c.	<i>-ilu mú'wəre</i>	

4.3.1.11 Past Perfect

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of these verbs are illustrated above in 4.3.1.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.3.1.12 Future Perfect

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle these verbs are illustrated above in 4.3.1.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.3.1.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

		<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili (bə)maploxe</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili (bə)maploxe</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-iwət (bə)maploxe</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-iwat (bə)maploxe</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-ile (bə)maploxe</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-ila (bə)maploxe</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-iwax (bə)maploxe</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-iwetun (bə)maploxe</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu (bə)manxope</i>	<i>-ilu (bə)maploxe</i>

4.3.1.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The forms of the infinitive with and without the optional *b-* prefix for these verbs are given in 4.3.1.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.3.1.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b-* prefix. The forms of the infinitive with and without the optional *b-* prefix for these verbs are given in 4.3.1.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.3.1.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.3.1.16.1 *Infinitive*

<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	<i>'-w-r</i> III
<i>manxope</i>	<i>maploxe</i>	<i>ma'wore</i>

4.3.1.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

	<i>n-x-p</i> III	<i>p-l-x</i> III	<i>'-w-r</i> III
m.	<i>manxope</i>	<i>maploxe</i>	<i>ma'wore</i>
f.	<i>manxapta</i>	<i>maplaxta</i>	<i>ma'warta</i>

4.3.2 *Verbs with Weak Radicals*

This section deals with verbs of Stem III with have one or more weak letters. The verbs treated in what follows are *q-r-y* III ‘to teach [to read] to dictate’, *q-r-w* III ‘to bring near; to offer up [a sacrifice]’, *x-y-y* III ‘to resurrect’, *h-w-y* III ‘to aid in birth, to act as a midwife’, *š-t-y* ‘to water (e.g. crops), to make drink (e.g. livestock)’, *k-w-š* III ‘to bring down’ and *l-w-š* III ‘to dress (trans.)’.

4.3.2.1 *Imperative*

	<i>q-r-y</i> III	<i>q-r-w</i> III	<i>x-y-y</i> III	<i>h-w-y</i> III	<i>š-t-y</i> III
Sing.	<i>maqri</i>	<i>maqrū</i>	<i>maxyi</i>	<i>mahwi</i>	<i>mašti</i>
Pl.	<i>maqrūn</i>	<i>māqərūwun</i>	<i>maxyun</i>	<i>mahwun</i>	<i>maštun</i>
		<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>l-w-š</i> III		
Sing.	<i>makwəš</i> ~ <i>mākus</i>		<i>malwəš</i>		
Pl.	<i>mākwəšun</i> ~ <i>mākušun</i>		<i>mālwəšun</i>		

4.3.2.2 *Present Subjunctive*

		<i>q-r-y</i> III	<i>q-r-w</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>maqrən</i>	<i>māqərwan</i>	
	1.f.	<i>māqəryan</i>	<i>māqərwān</i>	
	2.m.	<i>maqrət</i>	<i>māqərwət</i>	
	2.f.	<i>māqəryat</i>	<i>māqərwāt</i>	
	3.m.	<i>maqre</i>	<i>maqrū</i>	
	3.f.	<i>māqərya</i>	<i>māqərwā</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>maqrax</i>	<i>māqərwax</i>	
	2.c.	<i>maqrətun</i>	<i>maqərwētun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>maqre</i>	<i>māqərwi</i>	
		<i>x-y-y</i> III	<i>h-w-y</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>maxyən</i>	<i>mahwən</i>	
	1.f.	<i>māxyiyan</i>	<i>māhuyan</i>	
	2.m.	<i>maxyət</i>	<i>mahwət</i>	
	2.f.	<i>māxyiyat</i>	<i>māhuyat</i>	
	3.m.	<i>maxye</i>	<i>mahwe</i>	
	3.f.	<i>māxyiya</i>	<i>māhuya</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>maxyax</i>	<i>mahwax</i>	
	2.c.	<i>maxyetun</i>	<i>mahwetun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>maxye</i>	<i>mahwe</i>	
		<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>š-t-y</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>mākwəšən</i> ~ <i>mākušən</i>		<i>maštən</i>
	1.f.	<i>mākwəšan</i> ~ <i>mākušan</i>		<i>māštiyan</i>
	2.m.	<i>mākwəšət</i> ~ <i>mākušət</i>		<i>maštət</i>

	2.f.	<i>mákwəšat ~ mákušat</i>	<i>máštíyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>makwəš ~ mákuš mašte</i>	
	3.f.	<i>mákwəša ~ mákuša</i>	<i>máštíya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mákwəšax ~ mákušax</i>	<i>maštax</i>
	2.c.	<i>makwəšetun ~ makušetun</i>	<i>maštetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mákwəši ~ mákuši</i>	<i>mašte</i>

4.3.2.3 Past Subjunctive

		<i>q-r-y III</i>	<i>q-r-w III</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>maqərənwa</i>	<i>maqərwanwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>maqəryanwa</i>	<i>maqərwānwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>maqərətwa</i>	<i>maqərwətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>maqəryatwa</i>	<i>maqərwatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>maqrewa</i>	<i>maqruwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>maqəryawa</i>	<i>maqərwawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>maqraxwa</i>	<i>maqərwaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>maqərótúwa</i>	<i>maqərwátúwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>maqrewa</i>	<i>maqərwiwa</i>
		<i>x-y-y III</i>	<i>h-w-y III</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>maxyənwa</i>	<i>mahwənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>maxyíyanwa</i>	<i>mahuyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>maxyətwa</i>	<i>mahwətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>maxyíyatwa</i>	<i>mahuyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>maxyewa</i>	<i>mahwewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>maxyíyawa</i>	<i>mahuyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>maxyaxwa</i>	<i>ma'inax</i>
	2.c.	<i>maxyátúwa</i>	<i>ma'inátúwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>maxyewa</i>	<i>mahwewa</i>
		<i>k-w-š III</i>	<i>š-t-y III</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>makwəšənwa ~ makušənwa</i>	<i>maštənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>makwəšanwa ~ makušanwa</i>	<i>maštíyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>makwəšətwa ~ makušətwa</i>	<i>maštətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>makwəšatwa ~ makušatwa</i>	<i>maštíyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>makwəšwa ~ makušwa</i>	<i>maštewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>makwəšawa ~ makušawa</i>	<i>maštíyatwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>makwəšawa ~ makušawax</i>	<i>maštaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>makwəšátúwa ~ makušátúwa</i>	<i>maštátúwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>makwəšiwa ~ makušiwa</i>	<i>maštewa</i>

4.3.2.4 Present Indicative

		<i>q-r-y III</i>	<i>q-r-w III</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-maqərən</i>	<i>g-máqərwən</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-máqəryan</i>	<i>g-máqərwān</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-maqərət</i>	<i>g-máqərwət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-máqəryat</i>	<i>g-máqərwat</i>

	3.m.	<i>g-maqre</i>	<i>g-maqru</i>	
	3.f.	<i>g-máqərya</i>	<i>g-máqərwa</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-maqrax</i>	<i>g-máqər wax</i>	
	2.c.	<i>g-maqretun</i>	<i>g-maqər wetun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>g-maqre</i>	<i>g-máqərwi</i>	
		<i>x-y-y</i> III	<i>h-w-y</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-maxyən</i>	<i>g-mahwən</i>	
	1.f.	<i>g-máxyiyan</i>	<i>g-máhuyan</i>	
	2.m.	<i>g-maxyət</i>	<i>g-mahwət</i>	
	2.f.	<i>g-máxyiyat</i>	<i>g-máhuyat</i>	
	3.m.	<i>g-maxye</i>	<i>g-mahwe</i>	
	3.f.	<i>g-máxyiya</i>	<i>g-máhuya</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-maxyax</i>	<i>g-mahwax</i>	
	2.c.	<i>g-maxyetun</i>	<i>g-mahwetun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>g-maxye</i>	<i>g-mahwe</i>	
		<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>š-t-y</i> III	
	1.m.	<i>g-mákwəšan ~ g-mákušan</i>	<i>g-maštən</i>	
	1.f.	<i>g-mákwəšan ~ g-mákušan</i>	<i>g-máštīyan</i>	
	2.m.	<i>g-mákwəšət ~ g-mákušət</i>	<i>g-maštət</i>	
	2.f.	<i>g-mákwəšət ~ g-mákušət</i>	<i>g-máštīyat</i>	
	3.m.	<i>g-makwəš ~ g-mákuš</i>	<i>g-mašte</i>	
	3.f.	<i>g-mákwəša ~ g-mákuša</i>	<i>g-máštīya</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-mákwəšax ~ g-mákušax</i>	<i>g-maštax</i>	
	2.c.	<i>g-makwəšetun ~ g-makušetun</i>	<i>g-maštētun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>g-mákwəši ~ g-mákuši</i>	<i>g-mašte</i>	

4.3.2.5 *Past Habitual*

		<i>q-r-y</i> III	<i>q-r-w</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-maqrənwa</i>	<i>g-maqər wənwa</i>	
	1.f.	<i>g-maqəryanwa</i>	<i>g-maqər wanwa</i>	
	2.m.	<i>g-maqrətwa</i>	<i>g-maqər wətwa</i>	
	2.f.	<i>g-maqəryatwa</i>	<i>g-maqər watwa</i>	
	3.m.	<i>g-maqrewa</i>	<i>g-maqruwa</i>	
	3.f.	<i>g-maqəryawa</i>	<i>g-maqər wawa</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-maqraxwa</i>	<i>g-maqər waxwa</i>	
	2.c.	<i>g-maqrətowa</i>	<i>g-maqər wətowa</i>	
	3.c.	<i>g-maqrewa</i>	<i>g-maqərwiwa</i>	
		<i>x-y-y</i> III	<i>h-w-y</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-maxyənwa</i>	<i>g-mahwənwa</i>	
	1.f.	<i>g-maxyiyanwa</i>	<i>g-mahuyanwa</i>	
	2.m.	<i>g-maxyətwa</i>	<i>g-mahwətwa</i>	
	2.f.	<i>g-máxyiyatwa</i>	<i>g-mahuyatwa</i>	
	3.m.	<i>g-maxyewa</i>	<i>g-mahwewa</i>	
	3.f.	<i>g-máxyiyawa</i>	<i>g-mahuyawa</i>	

Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-maxyaxwa</i>	<i>g-mahwaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-maxyətuwa</i>	<i>g-mahwətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-maxyewa</i>	<i>g-mahwewa</i>
		<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>š-t-y</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-makwəšanwa</i> ~ <i>g-makušanwa</i>	<i>g-maštənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-makwəšanwa</i> ~ <i>g-makušanwa</i>	<i>g-maštijanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-makwəšətwa</i> ~ <i>g-makušətwa</i>	<i>g-maštətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-makwəšətwa</i> ~ <i>g-makušətwa</i>	<i>g-maštijətwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-makwəšwa</i> ~ <i>g-makušwa</i>	<i>g-maštewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-makwəšawa</i> ~ <i>g-makušawa</i>	<i>g-maštijətwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-makwəšax</i> ~ <i>g-makušax</i>	<i>g-maštaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-makwəšətwa</i> ~ <i>g-makušətwa</i>	<i>g-maštətwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-makwəšiwa</i> ~ <i>g-makušiwa</i>	<i>g-maštewa</i>

4.3.2.6 Future Simple

		<i>q-r-y</i> III	<i>q-r-w</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-maqrən</i>	<i>m-măqərwan</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-măqəryan</i>	<i>m-măqərwan</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-maqrət</i>	<i>m-măqərwət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-măqəryat</i>	<i>m-măqərwat</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-maqrə</i>	<i>m-maqrū</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-măqərya</i>	<i>m-măqərwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-maqrax</i>	<i>m-măqərwx</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-maqrətun</i>	<i>m-maqrəwətun</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-maqrə</i>	<i>m-măqərwi</i>
		<i>x-y-y</i> III	<i>h-w-y</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-maxyən</i>	<i>m-mahwən</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-máxyiyan</i>	<i>m-măhuyan</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-maxyət</i>	<i>m-mahwət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-máxyiyat</i>	<i>m-măhuyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-maxyə</i>	<i>m-mahwe</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-máxyiya</i>	<i>m-măhuya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-maxyax</i>	<i>m-mahwax</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-maxyətun</i>	<i>m-mahwətun</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-maxyə</i>	<i>m-mahwe</i>
		<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>š-t-y</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-mákwəšan</i> ~ <i>m-măkušan</i>	<i>m-maštən</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mákwəšan</i> ~ <i>m-măkušan</i>	<i>m-máštijan</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mákwəšət</i> ~ <i>m-măkušət</i>	<i>m-maštət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mákwəšət</i> ~ <i>m-măkušət</i>	<i>m-máštijət</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-makwəš</i> ~ <i>m-măkuš</i>	<i>m-mašte</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-mákwəša</i> ~ <i>m-măkuša</i>	<i>m-máštija</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-mákwəšax</i> ~ <i>m-măkušax</i>	<i>m-maštax</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-makwəšetun</i> ~ <i>m-makušetun</i>	<i>m-maštətun</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-mákwəši</i> ~ <i>m-măkuši</i>	<i>m-mašte</i>

4.3.2.7 *Conditional*

		<i>q-r-y</i> III	<i>q-r-w</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-maqrənwa</i>	<i>m-maqərwənwa</i>	
	1.f.	<i>m-maqəryanwa</i>	<i>m-maqərwanwa</i>	
	2.m.	<i>m-maqrətwa</i>	<i>m-maqərwətwa</i>	
	2.f.	<i>m-maqəryatwa</i>	<i>m-maqərwatwa</i>	
	3.m.	<i>m-maqrewa</i>	<i>m-maqruwa</i>	
	3.f.	<i>m-maqəryawa</i>	<i>m-maqərwawa</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-maqraxwa</i>	<i>m-maqərwaxwa</i>	
	2.c.	<i>m-maqrātuwa</i>	<i>m-maqərwātuwa</i>	
	3.c.	<i>m-maqrewa</i>	<i>m-maqərwiwa</i>	
		<i>x-y-y</i> III	<i>h-w-y</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-maxyənwa</i>	<i>m-mahwənwa</i>	
	1.f.	<i>m-maxyiyanwa</i>	<i>m-mahuyanwa</i>	
	2.m.	<i>m-maxyətwa</i>	<i>m-mahwətwa</i>	
	2.f.	<i>m-maxyiyatwa</i>	<i>m-mahuyatwa</i>	
	3.m.	<i>m-maxyewa</i>	<i>m-mahwewa</i>	
	3.f.	<i>m-maxyiyawa</i>	<i>m-mahuyawa</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-maxyaxwa</i>	<i>m-mahwaxwa</i>	
	2.c.	<i>m-maxyətuwa</i>	<i>m-mahwətuwa</i>	
	3.c.	<i>m-maxyewa</i>	<i>m-mahwewa</i>	
		<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>š-t-y</i> III	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-makwəšənwa</i> ~ <i>m-makušənwa</i>		<i>m-maštənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-makwəšanwa</i> ~ <i>m-makušanwa</i>		<i>m-maštiyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-makwəšətwa</i> ~ <i>m-makušətwa</i>		<i>m-maštətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-makwəšatwa</i> ~ <i>m-makušatwa</i>		<i>m-maštiyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-makwəšwa</i> ~ <i>m-makušwa</i>		<i>m-maštewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-makwəšawa</i> ~ <i>m-makušawa</i>		<i>m-maštiyatwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-makwəšawa</i> ~ <i>m-makušawax</i>		<i>m-maštaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-makwəšətuwa</i> ~ <i>m-makušətuwa</i>		<i>m-maštətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-makwəšiwa</i> ~ <i>m-makušiwa</i>		<i>m-maštewa</i>

4.3.2.8 *Preterite*

		<i>q-r-y</i> III	<i>q-r-w</i> III	<i>x-y-y</i> III
Sing.	1.c.	<i>muqreli</i>	<i>muqruli</i>	<i>muxyeli</i>
	2.m.	<i>muqrelux</i>	<i>muqrulux</i>	<i>muxyelux</i>
	2.f.	<i>muqrelax</i>	<i>muqrulax</i>	<i>muxyelax</i>
	3.m.	<i>muqrele</i>	<i>muqrule</i>	<i>muxyele</i>
	3.f.	<i>muqrela</i>	<i>muqrula</i>	<i>muxyela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>muqrelan,</i> <i>muqréleni</i>	<i>muqrulan,</i> <i>muqrúleni</i>	<i>muxyelan</i> <i>muxyéleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>muqréloxun</i>	<i>muqrúloxun</i>	<i>muxyéloxun</i>
	1.c.	<i>muqreli</i>	<i>muqrulu</i>	<i>muxyelu</i>

		<i>h-w-y</i> III	<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>l-w-š</i> III
Sing.	1.c.	<i>muhweli</i>	<i>mok(w)əšli</i>	<i>mulwəšli</i>
	2.m.	<i>muhwelux</i>	<i>mok(w)əšlux</i>	<i>mulwəšlux</i>
	2.f.	<i>muhwelax</i>	<i>mok(w)əšlax</i>	<i>mulwəšlax</i>
	3.m.	<i>muhwele</i>	<i>mok(w)əšle</i>	<i>mulwəšle</i>
	3.f.	<i>muhwela</i>	<i>mok(w)əšla</i>	<i>mulwəšla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>muhwelan,</i> <i>muhwéleni</i>	<i>mok(w)əšlan,</i> <i>mok(w)əšleni</i>	<i>mulwəšlan</i> <i>mulwəšleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>muhwéloxun</i>	<i>mok(w)əšloxun</i>	<i>mulwəšloxun</i>
	1.c.	<i>muhwelu</i>	<i>mok(w)əšlu</i>	<i>mulwəšlu</i>

4.3.2.9 *Plupreterite*

		<i>q-r-y</i> III	<i>q-r-w</i> III
Sing.	1.c.	<i>muqréwali</i>	<i>muqrúwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>muqréwalux</i>	<i>muqrúwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>muqréwalax</i>	<i>muqrúwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>muqréwale</i>	<i>muqrúwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>muqréwala</i>	<i>muqrúwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>muqréwalan,</i> <i>muqréleni</i>	<i>muqrúwalan,</i> <i>muqrúwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>muqréwaloxun</i>	<i>muqrúwaloxun</i>
	1.c.	<i>muqréwalu</i>	<i>muqrúwalu</i>
		<i>h-w-y</i> III	<i>k-w-š</i> III
Sing.	1.c.	<i>muhwéwali</i>	<i>mok(w)əšwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>muhwéwalux</i>	<i>mok(w)əšwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>muhwéwalax</i>	<i>mok(w)əšwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>muhwéwale</i>	<i>mok(w)əšwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>muhwéwala</i>	<i>mok(w)əšwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>muhwéwalan,</i> <i>muhwéwaleni</i>	<i>mok(w)əšwalan,</i> <i>mok(w)əšwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>muhwéwaloxun</i>	<i>mok(w)əšwaloxun</i>
	1.c.	<i>muhwéwalu</i>	<i>mok(w)əšwalu</i>

4.3.2.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

		<i>q-r-w</i> III	<i>q-r-y</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili múqərwa</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili múqərya</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili muqrawta</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili muqreṭa</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət múqərwa</i>	<i>-iwət múqərya</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat muqrawta</i>	<i>-iwat muqreṭa</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile múqərwa</i>	<i>-ile múqərya</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila muqrawta</i>	<i>-ila muqreṭa</i>

Pl.	1.c.	-iwax mǔqərwe	-iwax mǔqərwe
	2.c.	-iwetun mǔqərwe	-iwetun mǔqurye
	3.c.	-ilu mǔqərwe	-ilu mǔqərwe
		<i>x-y-y</i> III	<i>h-w-y</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili muxya	-iwən, -ili mǔhuya
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili muxyeta	-iwan, -ili muhweta
	2.m.	-iwət muxya	-iwət mǔhuya
	2.f.	-iwat muxyeta	-iwat muhweta
	3.m.	-ile muxya	-ile mǔhuya
	3.f.	-ila muxyeta	-ila muhweta
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax muxye	-iwax mǔhuye
	2.c.	-iwetun muxye	-iwetun mǔhuye
	3.c.	-ilu muxye	-ilu mǔhuye
		<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>l-w-š</i> III
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili mǔkwəša ~ mǔkuša	-iwən, -ili mǔlwəša
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili mukwašta	-iwan, -ili mulwašta
	2.m.	-iwət mǔkwəša ~ mǔkuša	-iwət mǔlwəša
	2.f.	-iwat mukwašta	-iwat mulwašta
	3.m.	-ile mǔkwəša ~ mǔkuša	-ile mǔlwəša
	3.f.	-ila mukwašta	-ila mulwašta
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax mǔkwəše ~ mǔkuše	-iwax mǔlwəše
	2.c.	-iwetun mǔkwəše ~ mǔkuše	-iwetun mǔlwəše
	3.c.	-ilu mǔkwəše ~ mǔkuše	-ilu mǔlwəše

4.3.2.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of these verbs are illustrated above in 3.2.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.3.2.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle these verbs are illustrated above in 4.3.2.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.3.2.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>q-r-w</i> III -iwən, -ili (bə)maqrowe	<i>l-w-š</i> III -iwən, -ili (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili (bə)maqrowe	-iwan, -ili (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše
	2.m.	-iwət (bə)maqrowe	-iwət (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše
	2.f.	-iwat (bə)maqrowe	-iwat (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše
	3.m.	-ile (bə)maqrowe	-ile (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše
	3.f.	-ila (bə)maqrowe	-ila (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax (bə)maqrowe	-iwax (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše
	2.c.	-iwetun (bə)maqrowe	-iwetun (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše
	3.c.	-ilu (bə)maqrowe	-ilu (bə)malwoše ~ (bə)maloše

4.3.2.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for these verbs is given in 4.3.2.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.3.2.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for these verbs is given in 4.3.2.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.3.2.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.3.2.16.1 *Infinitive*

Masc.	<i>q-r-y</i> III <i>maqroye</i>	<i>q-r-w</i> III <i>maqrowe</i>	<i>x-y-y</i> III <i>maxyoye</i>	<i>h-w-y</i> III <i>mahwoye</i>
Masc.	<i>k-w-š</i> III <i>makwoše ~ makoše</i>	<i>l-w-š</i> III <i>malwoše ~ maloše</i>		

4.3.2.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

	<i>q-r-y</i> III	<i>q-r-w</i> III	<i>x-y-y</i> III	<i>h-w-y</i> III
Masc.	<i>maqroye</i>	<i>maqrowe</i>	<i>maxyoye</i>	<i>mahwoye</i>
Fem.	<i>maqreṭa</i>	<i>maqrawta</i>	<i>maxyēṭa</i>	<i>mahweṭa</i>
	<i>k-w-š</i> III	<i>l-w-š</i> III		
Masc.	<i>makwoše ~ makoše</i>	<i>malwoše ~ maloše</i>		
Fem.	<i>makwašta</i>	<i>malwašta</i>		

4.3.3 *Verbs m-X-Y*

This section deals with verbs of Stem III which have an infinitive of the form *maXoYe*. These verbs are usually causatives of Stem I verbs of the pattern ^ʾX-Y, y-X-Y, X-y-Y or X-Y-Y.³⁷ This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by *l-y-p* III (*m-l-p*) ‘to teach’, *z-y-d* III (*m-z-d*) ‘to add, to increase (trans.)’, ^ʾx-l III (*m-x-l*) ‘to feed’, ^ʾ-t-y III (*m-t-y*) ‘to bring’ and ^ʾ-y-n III (*m-ʾ-n*) ‘to help’.

4.3.3.1 *Imperative*

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	<i>māləp</i>	<i>māzəd</i>
Pl.	<i>malpun</i>	<i>māzidun</i>
	^ʾ -t-y III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	^ʾ -y-n III (<i>m-ʾ-n</i>)
Sing.	<i>meṭi</i>	<i>māʾən</i>
Pl.	<i>meṭun</i>	<i>māʾinun</i>
	^ʾ -x-l III (<i>m-x-l</i>)	
Sing.	<i>māxəl</i>	
Pl.	<i>maxlun</i>	

4.3.3.2 *Present Subjunctive*

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>malpən</i>	<i>māzidən</i>
	1.f. <i>malpan</i>	<i>māzidan</i>

³⁷ This is not to say that all causatives of Stem I verbs with these patterns fall into this category. ^ʾ-w-r III, for instance, has a regular infinitive of the form *maʾwore* and has the ^ʾ throughout its inflectional paradigm. For this reason, verbs which do fall into this category are referred to by placing *m-X-Y* in brackets after the root. For example, causative of ^ʾ-t-y, which has an infinitive of the form *maṭoye* would be classified as ^ʾ-t-y III (*m-t-y*) ‘to bring’, whereas the causative of ^ʾ-w-r (infinitive *maʾwore*) would simply be written ^ʾ-w-r III ‘to transfer, bring over’. Also, the causative of ^ʾ-y-n (infinitive *maʾone*) is referred to as ^ʾ-y-n III (*m-ʾ-n*), whereas the verb ‘to resurrect’, the causative *x-y-y* (infinitive *maxyoye*) is referred to as simply *x-y-y* III.

	2.m. <i>malpət</i>	<i>māzidət</i>
	2.f. <i>malpat</i>	<i>māzidat</i>
	3.m. <i>maləp</i>	<i>mazəd</i>
	3.f. <i>malpa</i>	<i>māzida</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>malpax</i>	<i>māzidax</i>
	2.c. <i>malpetun</i>	<i>mazidetun</i>
	3.c. <i>malpi</i>	<i>māzidi</i>
	ʾ-t-y III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	ʾ-y-n III (<i>m-ʾ-n</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>meṭən</i>	<i>māʾinən</i>
	1.f. <i>məṭyan</i>	<i>māʾinan</i>
	2.m. <i>meṭət</i>	<i>māʾinət</i>
	2.f. <i>məṭyat</i>	<i>māʾinat</i>
	3.m. <i>meṭe</i>	<i>maʾən</i>
	3.f. <i>məṭya</i>	<i>māʾina</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>meṭax</i>	<i>māʾinax</i>
	2.c. <i>meṭetun</i>	<i>maʾinetun</i>
	3.c. <i>meṭe</i>	<i>māʾini</i>
	ʾ-x-l III (<i>m-x-l</i>)	
Sing.	1.m. <i>maxlən</i>	
	1.f. <i>maxlan</i>	
	2.m. <i>maxlət</i>	
	2.f. <i>maxlat</i>	
	3.m. <i>maxəl</i>	
	3.f. <i>maxla</i>	
Pl.	1.c. <i>maxlax</i>	
	2.c. <i>maxletun</i>	
	3.c. <i>maxli</i>	

4.3.3.3 Past Subjunctive

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>malpənwa</i>	<i>mazidənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>malpanwa</i>	<i>mazidanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>malpətwa</i>	<i>mazidətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>malpatwa</i>	<i>mazidatwa</i>
	3.m. <i>maləpwa</i>	<i>mazədwa</i>
	3.f. <i>malpawa</i>	<i>mazidawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>malpaxwa</i>	<i>mazidaxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>malpətuwa</i>	<i>mazidətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>malpiwa</i>	<i>mazidiwa</i>
	ʾ-t-y III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	ʾ-y-n III (<i>m-ʾ-n</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>meṭənwa</i>	<i>māʾinənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>məṭyanwa</i>	<i>māʾinanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>meṭətwa</i>	<i>māʾinətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>məṭyatwa</i>	<i>māʾinatwa</i>

	3.m.	<i>meṭewa</i>	<i>ma'ənwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>məṭyawa</i>	<i>ma'inawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>meṭaxwa</i>	<i>ma'inaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>meṭetun</i>	<i>ma'inətuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>meṭewa</i>	<i>ma'iniwa</i>
	'-x-l	III (<i>m-x-l</i>)	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>maxlənwa</i>	
	1.f.	<i>maxlanwa</i>	
	2.m.	<i>maxlətwa</i>	
	2.f.	<i>maxlatwa</i>	
	3.m.	<i>maxəlwa</i>	
	3.f.	<i>maxlawa</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>maxlaxwa</i>	
	2.c.	<i>maxlətuwa</i>	
	3.c.	<i>maxliwa</i>	

4.3.3.4 Present Indicative

	<i>l-y-p</i>	III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i>	III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-malpən</i>	<i>g-māzidən</i>	
	1.f.	<i>g-malpan</i>	<i>g-māzidan</i>	
	2.m.	<i>g-malpət</i>	<i>g-māzidət</i>	
	2.f.	<i>g-malpat</i>	<i>g-māzidat</i>	
	3.m.	<i>g-maləp</i>	<i>g-mazəd</i>	
	3.f.	<i>g-malpa</i>	<i>g-māzida</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-malpax</i>	<i>g-māzidax</i>	
	2.c.	<i>g-malpetun</i>	<i>g-mazidetun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>g-malpi</i>	<i>g-māzidi</i>	
	'-t-y	III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	'-y-n	III (<i>m-'-n</i>)
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-meṭən</i>	<i>g-mā'inən</i>	
	1.f.	<i>g-məṭyan</i>	<i>g-mā'inan</i>	
	2.m.	<i>g-meṭət</i>	<i>g-mā'inət</i>	
	2.f.	<i>g-məṭyat</i>	<i>g-mā'inat</i>	
	3.m.	<i>g-meṭe</i>	<i>g-ma'ən</i>	
	3.f.	<i>g-məṭya</i>	<i>g-mā'ina</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-meṭax</i>	<i>g-mā'inax</i>	
	2.c.	<i>g-meṭetun</i>	<i>g-mā'inetun</i>	
	3.c.	<i>g-meṭe</i>	<i>g-mā'ini</i>	
	'-x-l	III (<i>m-x-l</i>)		
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-maxlən</i>		
	1.f.	<i>g-maxlan</i>		
	2.m.	<i>g-maxlət</i>		
	2.f.	<i>g-maxlat</i>		
	3.m.	<i>g-maxəl</i>		
	3.f.	<i>g-maxla</i>		

- Pl. 1.c. *g-maxlax*
 2.c. *g-maxletun*
 3.c. *g-maxli*

4.3.3.5 Past Habitual

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-malpənwa</i>	<i>g-mazidənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>g-malpanwa</i>	<i>g-mazidanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>g-malpətwa</i>	<i>g-mazidətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>g-malpatwa</i>	<i>g-mazidatwa</i>
	3.m. <i>g-maləpwa</i>	<i>g-mazədwa</i>
	3.f. <i>g-malpawa</i>	<i>g-mazidawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>g-malpaxwa</i>	<i>g-mazidaxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>g-malpetunwa</i>	<i>g-mazidətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>g-malpiwa</i>	<i>g-mazidiwa</i>
	<i>'-t-y</i> III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	<i>'-y-n</i> III (<i>m-'-n</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-meṭənwa</i>	<i>g-ma'inənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>g-məṭyanwa</i>	<i>g-ma'inanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>g-meṭətwa</i>	<i>g-ma'inətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>g-məṭyatwa</i>	<i>g-ma'inatwa</i>
	3.m. <i>g-meṭewa</i>	<i>g-ma'ənwa</i>
	3.f. <i>g-məṭyawa</i>	<i>g-ma'inawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>g-meṭaxwa</i>	<i>g-ma'inaxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>g-meṭətuwa</i>	<i>g-ma'inətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>g-meṭewa</i>	<i>g-ma'iniwa</i>
	<i>'-x-l</i> III (<i>m-x-l</i>)	
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-maxlənwa</i>	
	1.f. <i>g-maxlanwa</i>	
	2.m. <i>g-maxlətwa</i>	
	2.f. <i>g-maxlatwa</i>	
	3.m. <i>g-maxəlwa</i>	
	3.f. <i>g-maxlawa</i>	
Pl.	1.c. <i>g-maxlaxwa</i>	
	2.c. <i>g-maxlétuwa</i>	
	3.c. <i>g-maxliwa</i>	

4.3.3.6 Future Simple

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>m-malpən</i>	<i>m-máʒidən</i>
	1.f. <i>m-malpan</i>	<i>m-máʒidan</i>
	2.m. <i>m-malpət</i>	<i>m-máʒidət</i>
	2.f. <i>m-malpat</i>	<i>m-máʒidat</i>
	3.m. <i>m-maləp</i>	<i>m-mazəd</i>
	3.f. <i>m-malpa</i>	<i>m-máʒida</i>

Pl.	1.c. <i>m-malṗax</i>	<i>m-máʒidax</i>
	2.c. <i>m-malṗetun</i>	<i>m-mazidetun</i>
	3.c. <i>m-malṗi</i>	<i>m-máʒidi</i>
	^ʔ -t-y III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	^ʔ -y-n III (<i>m-ʔ-n</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>m-metən</i>	<i>m-máʒinən</i>
	1.f. <i>m-mətyan</i>	<i>m-máʒinan</i>
	2.m. <i>m-metət</i>	<i>m-máʒinət</i>
	2.f. <i>m-mətyat</i>	<i>m-máʒinat</i>
	3.m. <i>m-mete</i>	<i>m-maʒən</i>
	3.f. <i>m-mətya</i>	<i>m-máʒina</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>m-metax</i>	<i>m-máʒinax</i>
	2.c. <i>m-metətun</i>	<i>m-maʒinetun</i>
	3.c. <i>m-mete</i>	<i>m-máʒini</i>
	^ʔ -x-l III (<i>m-x-l</i>)	
Sing.	1.m. <i>m-maxlən</i>	
	1.f. <i>m-maxlan</i>	
	2.m. <i>m-maxlət</i>	
	2.f. <i>m-maxlat</i>	
	3.m. <i>m-maxəl</i>	
	3.f. <i>m-maxla</i>	
Pl.	1.c. <i>m-maxlax</i>	
	2.c. <i>m-maxletun</i>	
	3.c. <i>m-maxli</i>	

4.3.3.7 *Conditional*

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>m-malṗənwa</i>	<i>m-mazidənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>m-malṗanwa</i>	<i>m-mazidanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>m-malṗətwa</i>	<i>m-mazidətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>m-malṗatwa</i>	<i>m-mazidatwa</i>
	3.m. <i>m-malṗəwa</i>	<i>m-mazədwa</i>
	3.f. <i>m-malṗawa</i>	<i>m-mazidawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>m-malṗaxwa</i>	<i>m-mazidaxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>m-malṗetunwa</i>	<i>m-mazidətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>m-malṗiwa</i>	<i>m-mazidiwa</i>
	^ʔ -t-y III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	^ʔ -y-n III (<i>m-ʔ-n</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>m-metənwa</i>	<i>m-máʒinənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>m-mətyanwa</i>	<i>m-máʒinanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>m-metətwa</i>	<i>m-maʒinətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>m-mətyatwa</i>	<i>m-maʒinatwa</i>
	3.m. <i>m-metəwa</i>	<i>m-maʒənwa</i>
	3.f. <i>m-mətyawa</i>	<i>m-máʒinawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>m-metaxwa</i>	<i>m-máʒinaxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>m-metətətuwa</i>	<i>m-maʒinətətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>m-metəwa</i>	<i>m-maʒiniwa</i>

	'-x-l III (<i>m-x-l</i>)
Sing.	1.m. <i>m-maxlənwa</i> 1.f. <i>m-maxlanwa</i> 2.m. <i>m-maxlətwa</i> 2.f. <i>m-maxlatwa</i> 3.m. <i>m-maxəlwa</i> 3.f. <i>m-maxlawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>m-maxlaxwa</i> 2.c. <i>m-maxlétuwa</i> 3.c. <i>m-maxliwa</i>

4.3.3.8 *Preterite*

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.c. <i>moləpli</i> 2.m. <i>moləplux</i> 2.f. <i>moləplax</i> 3.m. <i>moləple</i> 3.f. <i>moləpla</i>	<i>mozədli</i> <i>mozədlux</i> <i>mozədlax</i> <i>mozədle</i> <i>mozədla</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>moləplan, moləpleni</i> 2.c. <i>moləploxun</i> 1.c. <i>moləplu</i>	<i>mozədlan, mozədleni</i> <i>mozədlloxun</i> <i>mozədli</i>
	'-t-y III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	'-y-n III (<i>m-'-n</i>)
Sing.	1.c. <i>moṭeli</i> 2.m. <i>moṭelux</i> 2.f. <i>moṭelax</i> 3.m. <i>moṭele</i> 3.f. <i>moṭela</i>	<i>mo'ənni</i> <i>mo'ənnux</i> <i>mo'ənnax</i> <i>mo'ənne</i> <i>mo'ənna</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>moṭelan, moṭéleni</i> 2.c. <i>moṭéloxun</i> 1.c. <i>moṭelu</i>	<i>mo'ənnan, mo'ənneni</i> <i>mo'ənnloxun</i> <i>mo'ənnu</i>

4.3.3.9 *Plupreterite*

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.c. <i>moləpwali</i> 2.m. <i>moləpwalux</i> 2.f. <i>moləpwalax</i> 3.m. <i>moləpwale</i> 3.f. <i>moləpwala</i>	<i>mozədwali</i> <i>mozədwalux</i> <i>mozədwalax</i> <i>mozədwale</i> <i>mozədwala</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>moləpwalan, moləpwaleni</i> 2.c. <i>moləpwaloxun</i> 1.c. <i>moləpwalu</i>	<i>mozədwalan, mozədwaleni</i> <i>mozədwaloxun</i> <i>mozədwalu</i>
	'-t-y III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	'-y-n III (<i>m-'-n</i>)
Sing.	1.c. <i>moṭéwali</i> 2.m. <i>moṭéwalux</i>	<i>mo'ənwali</i> <i>mo'ənwalux</i>

	2.f.	<i>moṭéwalax</i>	<i>mo'ánwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>moṭéwale</i>	<i>mo'ánwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>moṭéwala</i>	<i>mo'ánwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>moṭéwalan, moṭéwaleni</i>	<i>mo'ánwalan, mo'ánwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>moṭéwaloxun</i>	<i>mo'ánwaloxun</i>
	1.c.	<i>moṭéwalu</i>	<i>mo'ánwalu</i>

4.3.3.10 Present Perfect

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

		<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili mulpa</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili múzida</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili mulapta</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili muzatta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət mulpa</i>	<i>-iwət múzida</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat mulapta</i>	<i>-iwat muzatta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile mulpa</i>	<i>-ile múzida</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila mulapta</i>	<i>-ila muzatta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax mulpe</i>	<i>-iwax múzide</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun mulpe</i>	<i>-iwetun múzide</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu mulpe</i>	<i>-ilu múzide</i>
		<i>'-t-y</i> III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	<i>'-y-n</i> III (<i>m-'-n</i>)
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili mutya</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili mú'ina</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili muteta</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili mu'anta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət mutya</i>	<i>-iwət mú'ina</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat muteta</i>	<i>-iwat mu'anta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile mutya</i>	<i>-ile mú'ina</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila muteta</i>	<i>-ila mu'anta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax mutye</i>	<i>-iwax mú'ine</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun mutye</i>	<i>-iwetun mú'ine</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu mutye</i>	<i>-ilu mú'ine</i>
		<i>'-x-l</i> III (<i>m-x-l</i>)	
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili muxla</i>	
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili muxalta</i>	
	2.m.	<i>-iwət muxla</i>	
	2.f.	<i>-iwat muxalta</i>	
	3.m.	<i>-ile muxla</i>	
	3.f.	<i>-ila muxalta</i>	
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax muxle</i>	
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun muxle</i>	
	3.c.	<i>-ilu muxle</i>	

4.3.3.11 Past Perfect

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative

participle of these verbs are illustrated above in 4.3.3.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.3.3.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle these verbs are illustrated above in 4.3.3.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.3.3.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

		³ -t-y III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
Sing.	1.m.	-iwən, -ili (bə)maṭoye	-iwən, -ili (bə)mazode
	1.f.	-iwan, -ili (bə)maṭoye	-iwan, -ili (bə)mazode
	2.m.	-iwət (bə)maṭoye	-iwət (bə)mazode
	2.f.	-iwat (bə)maṭoye	-iwat (bə)mazode
	3.m.	-ile (bə)maṭoye	-ile (bə)mazode
	3.f.	-ila (bə)maṭoye	-ila (bə)mazode
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax (bə)maṭoye	-iwax (bə)mazode
	2.c.	-iwetun (bə)maṭoye	-iwetun (bə)mazode
	3.c.	-ilu (bə)maṭoye	-ilu (bə)mazode

4.3.3.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for these verbs is given in 4.3.3.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.3.3.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for these verbs is given in 4.3.3.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.3.3.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*4.3.3.16.1 *Infinitive*

<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
<i>malope</i>	<i>mazode</i>
^ʾ <i>t-y</i> III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	^ʾ <i>y-n</i> III (<i>m-ʾ-n</i>)
<i>matoye</i>	<i>maʾone</i>

4.3.3.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

	<i>l-y-p</i> III (<i>m-l-p</i>)	<i>z-y-d</i> III (<i>m-z-d</i>)
m.	<i>malope</i>	<i>mazode</i>
f.	<i>malapta</i>	N/A
	^ʾ <i>t-y</i> III (<i>m-t-y</i>)	^ʾ <i>y-n</i> III (<i>m-ʾ-n</i>)
m.	<i>matoye</i>	<i>maʾone</i>
f.	<i>mateta</i>	<i>maʾanta</i>

4.3.4 *y-t-w* III (*m-t-w*) ‘to place, to put’

This verb exhibits a number of unpredictable forms

4.3.4.1 *Imperative*

Sing.	<i>mattu</i>
Pl.	<i>matwun</i>

4.3.4.2 *Present Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>matwən, mātvena</i>
	1.f.	<i>matwan, mātwana</i>
	2.m.	<i>matwət</i>
	2.f.	<i>matwat</i>
	3.m.	<i>mattu</i>
	3.f.	<i>matwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>matwax, matwaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>matwetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>matwi</i>

4.3.4.3 *Past Subjunctive*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>matwənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>matwanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>matwətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>matwatwa</i>

- 3.m. *mattuwa*
 3.f. *matwawa*
 Pl. 1.c. *matwaxwa*
 2.c. *matwātuwa*
 3.c. *matwiwa*

4.3.4.4 *Present Indicative*

- Sing. 1.m. *g-matwən, g-mátwena*
 1.f. *g-matwan, g-mátwana*
 2.m. *g-matwət*
 2.f. *g-matwat*
 3.m. *g-mattu*
 3.f. *g-matwa*
 Pl. 1.c. *g-matwax, g-matwaxni*
 2.c. *g-matwetun*
 3.c. *g-matwi*

4.3.4.5 *Past Habitual*

- Sing. 1.m. *g-matwənwa*
 1.f. *g-matwanwa*
 2.m. *g-matwətwa*
 2.f. *g-matwatwa*
 3.m. *g-mattuwa*
 3.f. *g-matwawa*
 Pl. 1.c. *g-matwaxwa*
 2.c. *g-matwātuwa*
 3.c. *g-matwiwa*

4.3.4.6 *Future Simple*

- Sing. 1.m. *m-matwən, m-mátwena*
 1.f. *m-matwan, m-mátwana*
 2.m. *m-matwət*
 2.f. *m-matwat*
 3.m. *m-mattu*
 3.f. *m-matwa*
 Pl. 1.c. *m-matwax, m-matwaxni*
 2.c. *m-matwetun*
 3.c. *m-matwi*

4.3.4.7 *Conditional*

- Sing. 1.m. *m-matwənwa*
 1.f. *m-matwanwa*
 2.m. *m-matwətwa*

	2.f.	<i>m-matwatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mattuwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-matwawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-matwaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-matwātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-matwiwa</i>

4.3.4.8 Preterite

Sing.	1.c.	<i>muttuli</i>
	2.m.	<i>muttulux</i>
	2.f.	<i>muttulax</i>
	3.m.	<i>muttule</i>
	3.f.	<i>muttula</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>muttulan, muttúleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>muttúloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>muttulu</i>

4.3.4.9 Pluperterite

Sing.	1.c.	<i>muttúwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>muttúwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>muttúwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>muttúwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>muttúwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>muttúwalan, muttúwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>muttúwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>muttúwalu</i>

4.3.4.10 Present Perfect

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili mutwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili mutawta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət mutwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat mutawta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile mutwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila mutawta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax mutwe</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun mutwe</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu mutwe</i>

4.3.4.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 4.3.4.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.3.4.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of this verb are illustrated above in 4.3.4.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.3.4.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix:

Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili (bə)matowe</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili (bə)matowe</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət (bə)matowe</i>
Pl.	2.f.	<i>-iwat (bə)matowe</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile (bə)matowe</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila (bə)matowe</i>
	1.c.	<i>-iwax (bə)matowe</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun (bə)matowe</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu (bə)matowe</i>

4.3.4.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a *b(ə)*- prefix for this verb is given in 4.3.4.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.3.4.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with a

b(ə)- prefix for verbs II-*w* is given in 4.3.4.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.3.4.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.3.4.16.1 *Infinitive*

matowe

4.3.4.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

Masc. *matowe*
Fem. *matawta*

4.4 STEM IV VERBS—QUADRILITERALS

4.4.1 *Class I*

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the roots *b-r-b-z* ‘to scatter’, *t-w-s-r* ‘to translate (a holy text)’, *š-y-d-n* ‘to go crazy, to drive crazy’ and *h-y-m-n* ‘to believe’.

4.4.1.1 *Imperative*

	<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>t-w-s-r</i>	<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	<i>mbarbəz</i>	<i>mṭawsər</i>	<i>mšaydən</i>	<i>mhaymən</i> ~ <i>mhemən</i> ³⁸
Pl.	<i>mbarbəzun</i>	<i>mṭawsərun</i>	<i>mšáydənun</i>	<i>mháymənun</i> ~ <i>mhémanun</i>

4.4.1.2 *Present Subjunctive*

	<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>t-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>mbarbəzən, mbarbəzena</i>	<i>mṭáwsərən, mṭáwsərəna</i>
	1.f. <i>mbarbəzan, mbarbəzana</i>	<i>mṭáwsəran, mṭáwsərana</i>
	2.m. <i>mbarbəzət</i>	<i>mṭáwsərət</i>
	2.f. <i>mbarbəzat</i>	<i>mṭáwsərat</i>
	3.m. <i>mbarbəz</i>	<i>mṭáwsər</i>
	3.f. <i>mbarbəza</i>	<i>mṭáwsəra</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>mbarbəzax, mbarbəzaxni</i>	<i>mṭáwsərax, mṭáwsəraxni</i>
	2.c. <i>mbarbəzetun</i>	<i>mṭáwsəretun</i>
	3.c. <i>mbarbəzi</i>	<i>mṭáwsəri</i>

³⁸ These and other forms of *h-y-m-n* show a contraction of *-*ay-* to -*e-*.

	<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>mšáydnən, mšaydənena</i>	<i>mhémənən, mhemənenə</i>
	1.f. <i>mšáydnənən, mšaydənənənə</i>	<i>mhémənənən, mhemənenənənə</i>
	2.m. <i>mšáydnət</i>	<i>mhémənət</i>
	2.f. <i>mšáydnət</i>	<i>mhémənət</i>
	3.m. <i>mšaydən</i>	<i>mhemən</i>
	3.f. <i>mšáydnə</i>	<i>mhémənə</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>mšáydnəx, mšaydənəxni</i>	<i>mhémənəx, mhemənəxni</i>
	2.c. <i>mšaydənətun</i>	<i>mhemənətun</i>
	3.c. <i>mšáydnə</i>	<i>mhémənə</i>

4.4.1.3 Past Subjunctive

	<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>ʔ-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>mbarbəzənwa</i>	<i>mʔawsəranwa</i>
	1.f. <i>mbarbəzənwa</i>	<i>mʔawsəranwa</i>
	2.m. <i>mbarbəzətwa</i>	<i>mʔawsəratwa</i>
	2.f. <i>mbarbəzətwa</i>	<i>mʔawsəratwa</i>
	3.m. <i>mbarbəzwa</i>	<i>mʔawsərawa</i>
	3.f. <i>mbarbəzawa</i>	<i>mʔawsərawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>mbarbəzəxwa</i>	<i>mʔawsəraxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>mbarbəzətuwa</i>	<i>mʔawsəratuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>mbarbəziwa</i>	<i>mʔawsəriwa</i>

	<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>mšaydənənwa</i>	<i>mhemənənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>mšaydənənwa</i>	<i>mhemənənwa</i>
	2.m. <i>mšaydənətwa</i>	<i>mhemənətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>mšaydənətwa</i>	<i>mhemənətwa</i>
	3.m. <i>mšaydənwa</i>	<i>mhemənwa</i>
	3.f. <i>mšaydənawa</i>	<i>mhemənawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>mšaydənəxwa</i>	<i>mhemənəxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>mšaydənətuwa</i>	<i>mhemənətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>mšaydəniwa</i>	<i>mheməniwa</i>

4.4.1.4 Present Indicative

	<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>ʔ-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-mbárbəzən, g-mbarbəzənə</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsəran, g-mʔáwsərənə</i>
	1.f. <i>g-mbárbəzən, g-mbarbəzənə</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsəran, g-mʔáwsərənə</i>
	2.m. <i>g-mbárbəzət</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsərat</i>
	2.f. <i>g-mbárbəzət</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsərat</i>
	3.m. <i>g-mbarbəz</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsər</i>
	3.f. <i>g-mbárbəzə</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsərə</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>g-mbárbəzəx, g-mbarbəzəxni</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsərax, g-mʔáwsərəxni</i>
	2.c. <i>g-mbarbəzətun</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsəretun</i>
	3.c. <i>g-mbárbəzi</i>	<i>g-mʔáwsəri</i>

		<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-mšáydənən, g-mšáydənena</i>	<i>g-mhémənən, g-mhemənena</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-mšáydənən, g-mšáydənana</i>	<i>g-mhémənən, g-mhemənana</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-mšáydənət</i>	<i>g-mhémənət</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-mšáydənət</i>	<i>g-mhémənət</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-mšáydən</i>	<i>g-mhemən</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-mšáydəna</i>	<i>g-mhéməna</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-mšáydənax, g-mšáydənaxni</i>	<i>g-mhémənax, g-mhemənaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-mšáydənətun</i>	<i>g-mhemənətun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-mšáydəni</i>	<i>g-mhéməni</i>

4.4.1.5 *Past Habitual*

		<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>ʈ-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-mbarbəzənwa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsərənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-mbarbəzənwa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsərənwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-mbarbəzətwa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsərətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-mbarbəzətwa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsərətwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-mbarbəzwa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsərwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-mbarbəzawa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsərawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-mbarbəzaxwa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsəraxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-mbarbəzātuwa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsərātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-mbarbəziwa</i>	<i>g-mṭawsəriwa</i>

		<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>g-mšáydənənwa</i>	<i>g-mhemənənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-mšáydənənwa</i>	<i>g-mhemənənwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-mšáydənətwa</i>	<i>g-mhemənətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-mšáydənətwa</i>	<i>g-mhemənətwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-mšáydənwa</i>	<i>g-mhemənwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>g-mšáydənawa</i>	<i>g-mhemənawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-mšáydənaxwa</i>	<i>g-mhemənaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-mšáydənātuwa</i>	<i>g-mhemənātuwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-mšáydəniwa</i>	<i>g-mheməniwa</i>

4.4.1.6 *Future Simple*

		<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>ʈ-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-mbárbəzən, m-mbarbəzəna</i>	<i>m-mṭáwsərən, m-mṭáwsərəna</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mbárbəzən, m-mbarbəzəna</i>	<i>m-mṭáwsərən, m-mṭáwsərana</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mbárbəzət</i>	<i>m-mṭáwsərət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mbárbəzət</i>	<i>m-mṭáwsərət</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mbarbəz</i>	<i>m-mṭáwsər</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-mbárbəza</i>	<i>m-mṭáwsəra</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-mbárbəzax,</i>	<i>m-mṭáwsərax,</i>

		<i>m-m̄barb̄əzaxni</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄əraxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzetun</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄əretun</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-m̄b̄ərb̄əzi</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄əri</i>
		<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənən,</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənən,</i>
		<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənəna</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənəna</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənan,</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənan,</i>
		<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənana</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənana</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənət</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənat</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənat</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ən</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ən</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄əna</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄əna</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənax,</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənax,</i>
		<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənaxni</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənaxni</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənetun</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄əni</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄əni</i>

4.4.1.7 Conditional

		<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>t̄-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzənwa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄ərənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzanwa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄əranwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzətwa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄ərətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzatwa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄ərətwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzwa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄ərwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzawa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄ərawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzaxwa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄əraxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əzət̄uwa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄ərət̄uwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-m̄barb̄əziwa</i>	<i>m-m̄t̄aws̄əriwa</i>
		<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənənwa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənanwa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənətwa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənatwa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənwa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənwa</i>
	3.f.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənawa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənaxwa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄ənət̄uwa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄ənət̄uwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>m-m̄š̄əyd̄əniwa</i>	<i>m-m̄h̄ém̄əniwa</i>

4.4.1.8 *Preterite*

		<i>b-r-b-z</i>		<i>ʈ-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mburbəzli</i>		<i>mʈusərri</i> ³⁹
	2.m.	<i>mburbəzlux</i>		<i>mʈusərrix</i>
	2.f.	<i>mburbəzlax</i>		<i>mʈusərrax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mburbəzle</i>		<i>mʈusərre</i>
	3.f.	<i>mburbəzla</i>		<i>mʈusərri</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mburbəzlan, mburbəzleni</i>		<i>mʈusərran, mʈusərreni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mburbəzloxun</i>		<i>mʈusərroxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mburbəzlu</i>		<i>mʈusərri</i>
		<i>š-y-d-n</i>		<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mšuydənni</i>		<i>mhomənni</i>
	2.m.	<i>mšuydənnux</i>		<i>mhomənnux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mšuydənnax</i>		<i>mhomənnax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mšuydənne</i>		<i>mhomənne</i>
	3.f.	<i>mšuydənna</i>		<i>mhomənna</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mšuydənnan, mšuydənneni</i>		<i>mhomənnan, mhomənneni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mšuydənnoxun</i>		<i>mhomənnoxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mšuydənnu</i>		<i>mhomənnu</i>

4.4.1.9 *Plupreterite*

		<i>b-r-b-z</i>		<i>ʈ-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mburbəzwali</i>		<i>mʈusərwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>mburbəzlux</i>		<i>mʈusərwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mburbəzlax</i>		<i>mʈusərwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mburbəzle</i>		<i>mʈusərwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>mburbəzla</i>		<i>mʈusərwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mburbəzwalan, mburbəzwaleni</i>		<i>mʈusərwalan, mʈusərwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mburbəzloxun</i>		<i>mʈusərwaroxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mburbəzlu</i>		<i>mʈusərwalu</i>
		<i>š-y-d-n</i>		<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mšuydənwali</i>		<i>mhomənwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>mšuydənwalux</i>		<i>mhomənwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mšuydənwalax</i>		<i>mhomənwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mšuydənwale</i>		<i>mhomənwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>mšuydənwala</i>		<i>mhomənwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mšuydənwalan, mšuydənwaleni</i>		<i>mhomənwalan, mhomənwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mšuydənnoxun</i>		<i>mhomənnoxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mšuydənwalu</i>		<i>mhomənwalu</i>

³⁹ These forms show a contraction of *-uw- → -u-, e.g. *mʈuwsərri → mʈusərri.

4.4.1.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

	<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>ṭ-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. -iwən, -ili mbúrbəza	-iwən, -ili mṭúsəra
	1.f. -iwan, -ili mburbazta	-iwan, -ili mṭusarta
	2.m. -iwət mbúrbəza	-iwət mṭúsəra
	2.f. -iwat mburbazta	-iwat mṭusarta
	3.m. -ile mbúrbəza	-ile mṭúsəra
	3.f. -ila mburbazta	-ila mṭusarta
Pl.	1.c. -iwax mbúrbəze	-iwax mṭúsəre
	2.c. -iwetun mbúrbəze	-iwetun mṭúsəre
	3.c. -ilu mbúrbəze	-ilu mṭúsəre

4.4.1.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of these verbs are illustrated above in 4.4.1.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.4.1.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle these verbs are illustrated above in 4.4.1.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.4.1.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

	<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>ṭ-w-s-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. -iwən, -ili (bə)mbarboze	-iwən, -ili (bə)mṭawsore
	1.f. -iwan, -ili (bə)mbarboze	-iwan, -ili (bə)mṭawsore
	2.m. -iwət (bə)mbarboze	-iwət (bə)mṭawsore
	2.f. -iwat (bə)mbarboze	-iwat (bə)mṭawsore
	3.m. -ile (bə)mbarboze	-ile (bə)mṭawsore
	3.f. -ila (bə)mbarboze	-ila (bə)mṭawsore
Pl.	1.c. -iwax (bə)mbarboze	-iwax (bə)mṭawsore
	2.c. -iwetun (bə)mbarboze	-iwetun (bə)mṭawsore
	3.c. -ilu (bə)mbarboze	-ilu (bə)mṭawsore

		<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili (bə)mhamone</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili (bə)mhamone</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-iwət (bə)mhamone</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-iwat (bə)mhamone</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-ile (bə)mhamone</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-ila (bə)mhamone</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-iwax (bə)mhamone</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-iwetun (bə)mhamone</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu (bə)mšaydone</i>	<i>-ilu (bə)mhamone</i>

4.4.1.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)-* prefix. The forms of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)-* prefix for these verbs are given in 4.4.1.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.4.1.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)-* prefix. The forms of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)-* prefix for these verbs are given in 4.4.1.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.4.1.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.4.1.16.1 *Infinitive*

<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>	<i>ṭ-w-s-r</i>
<i>mbarboze</i>	<i>mšaydone</i>	<i>mhamone ~ mhaymone</i>	<i>mṭawsore</i>

4.4.1.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

	<i>b-r-b-z</i>	<i>š-y-d-n</i>	<i>h-y-m-n</i>	<i>ṭ-w-s-r</i>
m.	<i>mbarboze</i>	<i>mšaydone</i>	<i>mhemone ~ mhaymone</i>	<i>mṭawsore</i>
f.	<i>mbarbazta</i>	<i>mšaydanta</i>	<i>mhemanta</i>	<i>mṭawsarta</i>

4.4.2 *Class II*

This class of verbs is exemplified in what follows by *š-t-h-y* ‘to desire’ and *š-t-h-r* ‘to go blind’.

4.4.2.1 *Imperative*

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	<i>máštəhi</i>	<i>máštəhər</i>
Pl.	<i>máštəhun</i>	<i>máštəhərun</i>

4.4.2.2 *Present Subjunctive*

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>máštəhən</i>	<i>máštəhərən</i>
	1.f. <i>máštəhəyan</i>	<i>máštəhəran</i>
	2.m. <i>máštəhət</i>	<i>máštəhərat</i>
	2.f. <i>máštəhəyat</i>	<i>máštəhərat</i>
	3.m. <i>máštəhe</i>	<i>máštəhər</i>
	3.f. <i>máštəhəya</i>	<i>máštəhəra</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>máštəhax</i>	<i>máštəhərax</i>
	2.c. <i>maštəhetun</i>	<i>maštəhəretun</i>
	3.c. <i>máštəhi</i>	<i>máštəhəri</i>

4.4.2.3 *Past Subjunctive*

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>maštəhənwa</i>	<i>maštəhərənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>maštəhəyanwa</i>	<i>maštəhəranwa</i>
	2.m. <i>maštəhətwa</i>	<i>maštəhəratwa</i>
	2.f. <i>maštəhəyatwa</i>	<i>maštəhəratwa</i>
	3.m. <i>maštəhewa</i>	<i>maštəhərwa</i>
	3.f. <i>maštəhəyawa</i>	<i>maštəhərawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>maštəhaxwa</i>	<i>maštəhəraxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>maštəhətuwa</i>	<i>maštəhəratuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>maštəhiwa</i>	<i>maštəhəriwa</i>

4.4.2.4 *Present Indicative*

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-máštəhən</i>	<i>g-máštəhərən</i>
	1.f. <i>g-máštəhəyan</i>	<i>g-máštəhəran</i>
	2.m. <i>g-máštəhət</i>	<i>g-máštəhərat</i>
	2.f. <i>g-máštəhəyat</i>	<i>g-máštəhərat</i>
	3.m. <i>g-máštəhe</i>	<i>g-máštəhər</i>
	3.f. <i>g-máštəhəya</i>	<i>g-máštəhəra</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>g-máštəhax</i>	<i>g-máštəhərax</i>
	2.c. <i>g-maštəhetun</i>	<i>g-maštəhəretun</i>
	3.c. <i>g-máštəhi</i>	<i>g-máštəhəri</i>

4.4.2.5 *Past Habitual*

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-maštəhənwa</i>	<i>g-maštəhərənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>g-maštəhəyanwa</i>	<i>g-maštəhəranwa</i>
	2.m. <i>g-maštəhətwa</i>	<i>g-maštəhəratwa</i>
	2.f. <i>g-maštəhəyatwa</i>	<i>g-maštəhəratwa</i>
	3.m. <i>g-maštəhewa</i>	<i>g-maštəhərwa</i>
	3.f. <i>g-maštəhəyawa</i>	<i>g-maštəhərawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>g-maštəhaxwa</i>	<i>g-maštəhəraxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>g-maštəhətuwa</i>	<i>g-maštəhəratuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>g-maštəhiwa</i>	<i>g-maštəhəriwa</i>

4.4.2.6 *Future Simple*

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>m-māštəhən</i>	<i>m-māštəhərən</i>
	1.f. <i>m-māštəhəyan</i>	<i>m-māštəhəran</i>
	2.m. <i>m-māštəhət</i>	<i>m-māštəhərat</i>
	2.f. <i>m-māštəhəyat</i>	<i>m-māštəhərat</i>
	3.m. <i>m-māštəhe</i>	<i>m-māštəhər</i>
	3.f. <i>m-māštəhəya</i>	<i>m-māštəhəra</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>m-māštəhax</i>	<i>m-māštəhərax</i>
	2.c. <i>m-māštəhetun</i>	<i>m-māštəhəretun</i>
	3.c. <i>m-māštəhi</i>	<i>m-māštəhəri</i>

4.4.2.7 *Conditional*

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>m-maštəhənwa</i>	<i>m-maštəhərənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>m-maštəhəyanwa</i>	<i>m-maštəhəranwa</i>
	2.m. <i>m-maštəhətwa</i>	<i>m-maštəhəratwa</i>
	2.f. <i>m-maštəhəyatwa</i>	<i>m-maštəhəratwa</i>
	3.m. <i>m-maštəhewa</i>	<i>m-maštəhərwa</i>
	3.f. <i>m-maštəhəyawa</i>	<i>m-maštəhərawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>m-maštəhaxwa</i>	<i>m-maštəhəraxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>m-maštəhətuwa</i>	<i>m-maštəhəratuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>m-maštəhiwa</i>	<i>m-maštəhəriwa</i>

4.4.2.8 *Preterite*

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.c. <i>məštoheli</i>	<i>məštohərri</i>
	2.m. <i>məštohelux</i>	<i>məštohərrux</i>
	2.f. <i>məštohelax</i>	<i>məštohərrax</i>
	3.m. <i>məštohele</i>	<i>məštohərre</i>

	3.f.	<i>məʃtohela</i>	<i>məʃtohərra</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>məʃtohelan, məʃtohéleni</i>	<i>məʃtohərran, məʃtohárreni</i>
	2.c.	<i>məʃtohéloxun</i>	<i>məʃtohárroxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>məʃtohelu</i>	<i>məʃtohərru</i>

4.4.2.9 *Plupreterite*

		<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.c.	<i>məʃtohéwali</i>	<i>məʃtohárwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>məʃtohéwalux</i>	<i>məʃtohárwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>məʃtohéwalax</i>	<i>məʃtohárwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>məʃtohéwale</i>	<i>məʃtohárwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>məʃtohéwala</i>	<i>məʃtohárwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>məʃtohéwalan, məʃtohéwaleni</i>	<i>məʃtohárwalan, məʃtohárwalni</i>
	2.c.	<i>məʃtohéloxun</i>	<i>məʃtohárwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>məʃtohéwalu</i>	<i>məʃtohárwalu</i>

4.4.2.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

		<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili múštəhəya</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili múštəhəra</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili múštəhəyəta</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili múštəhəarta</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət múštəhəya</i>	<i>-iwət múštəhəra</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwət múštəhəyəta</i>	<i>-iwət múštəhəarta</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile múštəhəya</i>	<i>-ile múštəhəra</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila múštəhəyəta</i>	<i>-ila múštəhəarta</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax múštəhəye</i>	<i>-iwax múštəhəre</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun múštəhəye</i>	<i>-iwetun múštəhəre</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu múštəhəye</i>	<i>-ilu múštəhəre</i>

4.4.2.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of these verbs are illustrated above in 4.4.2.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.4.2.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the

stative participle these verbs are illustrated above in 4.4.2.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.4.2.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

	<i>š-t-h-y</i>	<i>š-t-h-r</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>-iwən, -ili (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili (bə)maštəhore</i>
	1.f. <i>-iwan, -ili (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili (bə)maštəhore</i>
	2.m. <i>-iwət (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-iwət (bə)maštəhore</i>
	2.f. <i>-iwat (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-iwat (bə)maštəhore</i>
	3.m. <i>-ile (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-ile (bə)maštəhore</i>
	3.f. <i>-ila (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-ila (bə)maštəhore</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>-iwax (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-iwax (bə)maštəhore</i>
	2.c. <i>-iwetun (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-iwetun (bə)maštəhore</i>
	3.c. <i>-ilu (bə)maštəhoye</i>	<i>-ilu (bə)maštəhore</i>

4.4.2.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The forms of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for these verbs are given in 4.4.2.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.4.2.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix. The forms of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for these verbs are given in 4.4.2.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.4.2.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.4.2.16.1 *Infinitive*

məštəhore

4.4.2.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

	<i>š-t-h-r</i>	<i>š-t-h-y</i>
m.	<i>məštəhore</i>	<i>məštəhoye</i>
f.	<i>məštəharta</i>	<i>məštəheṭa</i>

4.5 STEM V VERBS—PENTALITERALS

This class of verb is exemplified in what follows by the root *š-f-l-t-q* ‘to surprise, to happen suddenly’ and *š-t-m-l-y* ‘to complete’.

4.5.1 Imperative

	<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
Sing.	<i>mšāfəltəq</i>	<i>māštəmli</i>
Pl.	<i>mšāfəltəqun</i>	<i>māštəmlun</i>

4.5.2 Present Subjunctive

	<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>mšāfəltəqən</i>	<i>māštəmlən</i>
	1.f. <i>mšāfəltəqan</i>	<i>māštəməlyan</i>
	2.m. <i>mšāfəltəqət</i>	<i>māštəmlət</i>
	2.f. <i>mšāfəltəqat</i>	<i>māštəməlyat</i>
	3.m. <i>mšāfəltəq</i>	<i>māštəməl</i>
	3.f. <i>mšāfəltəqa</i>	<i>māštəməlyat</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>mšāfəltəqax</i>	<i>māštəmlax</i>
	2.c. <i>mšāfəltəqetun</i>	<i>māštəmlətun</i>
	3.c. <i>mšāfəltəqi</i>	<i>māštəmli</i>

4.5.3 Past Subjunctive

	<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>mšafəltəqənwa</i>	<i>māštəmlənwa</i>
	1.f. <i>mšafəltəqanwa</i>	<i>māštəməlyanwa</i>
	2.m. <i>mšafəltəqətwa</i>	<i>māštəmlətwa</i>
	2.f. <i>mšafəltəqatwa</i>	<i>māštəməlyatwa</i>
	3.m. <i>mšafəltəqwa</i>	<i>māštəməlwa</i>
	3.f. <i>mšafəltəqawa</i>	<i>māštəməlyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>mšafəltəqaxwa</i>	<i>māštəmlaxwa</i>
	2.c. <i>mšafəltəqətuwa</i>	<i>aštəmlətuwa</i>
	3.c. <i>mšafəltəqiwa</i>	<i>māštəmlīwa</i>

4.5.4 Present Indicative

	<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>g-mšāfəltəqən</i>	<i>g-māštəmlən</i>
	1.f. <i>g-mšāfəltəqan</i>	<i>g-māštəməlyan</i>
	2.m. <i>g-mšāfəltəqət</i>	<i>g-māštəmlət</i>
	2.f. <i>g-mšāfəltəqat</i>	<i>g-māštəməlyat</i>
	3.m. <i>g-mšāfəltəq</i>	<i>g-māštəməl</i>
	3.f. <i>g-mšāfəltəqa</i>	<i>g-māštəməlyat</i>

Pl.	1.c.	<i>g-mšafəltəqax</i>	<i>g-máštəmlax</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-mšafəltəqetun</i>	<i>g-maštəmlətun</i>
	3.c.	<i>g-mšafəltəqi</i>	<i>g-máštəmli</i>

4.5.5 Past Habitual

Sing.		<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
	1.m.	<i>g-mšafəltəqənwa</i>	<i>g-maštəmlənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>g-mšafəltəqanwa</i>	<i>g-maštəməlyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>g-mšafəltəqətwa</i>	<i>g-maštəmlətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>g-mšafəltəqatwa</i>	<i>g-maštəməlyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>g-mšafəltəqwa</i>	<i>g-maštəməlwa</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>g-mšafəltəqawa</i>	<i>g-maštəməlyawa</i>
	1.c.	<i>g-mšafəltəqaxwa</i>	<i>g-maštəmlaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>g-mšafəltəqətuwa</i>	<i>g-maštəmlətuwa</i>
3.c.	<i>g-mšafəltəqiwa</i>	<i>g-maštəmliwa</i>	

4.5.6 Future Simple

Sing.		<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
	1.m.	<i>m-mšafəltəqən</i>	<i>m-máštəmlən</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mšafəltəqan</i>	<i>m-maštəməlyan</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mšafəltəqət</i>	<i>m-maštəmlət</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mšafəltəqat</i>	<i>m-maštəməlyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mšafəltəq</i>	<i>m-maštəməl</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>m-mšafəltəqa</i>	<i>m-maštəməlyat</i>
	1.c.	<i>m-mšafəltəqax</i>	<i>m-maštəmlax</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-mšafəltəqetun</i>	<i>m-maštəmlətun</i>
3.c.	<i>m-mšafəltəqi</i>	<i>m-maštəmli</i>	

4.5.7 Conditional

Sing.		<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
	1.m.	<i>m-mšafəltəqənwa</i>	<i>m-maštəmlənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>m-mšafəltəqanwa</i>	<i>m-maštəməlyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>m-mšafəltəqətwa</i>	<i>m-maštəmlətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>m-mšafəltəqatwa</i>	<i>m-maštəməlyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>m-mšafəltəqwa</i>	<i>m-maštəməlwa</i>
Pl.	3.f.	<i>m-mšafəltəqawa</i>	<i>m-maštəməlyawa</i>
	1.c.	<i>m-mšafəltəqaxwa</i>	<i>m-maštəmlaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>m-mšafəltəqətuwa</i>	<i>m-maštəmlətuwa</i>
3.c.	<i>m-mšafəltəqiwa</i>	<i>m-maštəmliwa</i>	

4.5.8 Preterite

Sing.		<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
	1.c.	<i>mšofəltəqli</i>	<i>məštumleli</i>

	2.m.	<i>mšofaltaqlux</i>	<i>məštumlélux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mšofaltaqlax</i>	<i>məštumlélax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mšofaltaqle</i>	<i>məštumlele</i>
	3.f.	<i>mšofaltaqla</i>	<i>məštumlela</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mšofaltaqlan, mšofaltáqleni</i>	<i>məštumlélan, məštumléleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mšofaltáqloxun</i>	<i>məštumléloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mšofaltaqlu</i>	<i>məštumlelu</i>

4.5.9 *Plupreterite*

		<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
Sing.	1.c.	<i>mšofaltáqwali</i>	<i>məštumléwali</i>
	2.m.	<i>mšofaltáqwalux</i>	<i>məštumléwalux</i>
	2.f.	<i>mšofaltáqwalax</i>	<i>məštumléwalax</i>
	3.m.	<i>mšofaltáqwale</i>	<i>məštumléwale</i>
	3.f.	<i>mšofaltáqwala</i>	<i>məštumléwala</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>mšofaltáqwalan, mšofaltáqwaleni</i>	<i>məštumléwalan, məštumléwaleni</i>
	2.c.	<i>mšofaltáqwaloxun</i>	<i>məštumléwaloxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>mšofaltáqwalu</i>	<i>məštumléwalu</i>

4.5.10 *Present Perfect*

The present perfect is formed by the present copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender:

		<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
Sing.	1.m.	<i>-iwən, -ili mšúfaltaqa</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili múštəmalya</i>
	1.f.	<i>-iwan, -ili mšufaltaqta</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili muštəmleṭa</i>
	2.m.	<i>-iwət mšúfaltaqa</i>	<i>-iwət múštəmalya</i>
	2.f.	<i>-iwat mšufaltaqta</i>	<i>-iwat muštəmleṭa</i>
	3.m.	<i>-ile mšúfaltaqa</i>	<i>-ile múštəmalya</i>
	3.f.	<i>-ila mšufaltaqta</i>	<i>-ila muštəmleṭa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>-iwax mšúfaltaqe</i>	<i>-iwax múštəmalye</i>
	2.c.	<i>-iwetun mšúfaltaqe</i>	<i>-iwetun muštəmalye</i>
	3.c.	<i>-ilu mšúfaltaqe</i>	<i>-ilu múštəmalye</i>

4.5.11 *Past Perfect*

The past perfect is formed by the past copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the stative participle of these verbs are illustrated above in 4.5.10. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.5.12 *Future Perfect*

The future perfect is formed by the future copula and the stative participle of the verb, inflected for number and gender. The forms of the

stative participle of these verbs are illustrated above in 4.5.10. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.5.13 *Present Continuous*

The present continuous is formed by the present copula and the infinitive of the verb with an optional *b(ə)*- prefix:

	<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
Sing.	1.m. <i>-iwən, -ili (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-iwən, -ili (bə)maštəmloye</i>
	1.f. <i>-iwan, -ili (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-iwan, -ili (bə)maštəmloye</i>
	2.m. <i>-iwət (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-iwət (bə)maštəmloye</i>
	2.f. <i>-iwat (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-iwat (bə)maštəmloye</i>
	3.m. <i>-ile (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-ile (bə)maštəmloye</i>
	3.f. <i>-ila (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-ila (bə)maštəmloye</i>
Pl.	1.c. <i>-iwax (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-iwax (bə)maštəmloye</i>
	2.c. <i>-iwetun (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-iwetun (bə)maštəmloye</i>
	3.c. <i>-ilu (bə)mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>-ilu (bə)maštəmloye</i>

4.5.14 *Past Continuous*

The past continuous is formed by the past copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for these is given in 4.5.13 above. The forms of the past copula are given in 4.6.4 below.

4.5.15 *Future Continuous*

The future continuous is formed by the future copula and the infinitive of the verb with a *b(ə)*- prefix. The form of the infinitive with and without the optional *b(ə)*- prefix for these is given in 4.5.13 above. The forms of the future copula are given below in 4.6.7.

4.5.16 *Other Parts of the Verb*

4.5.16.1 *Infinitive*

<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
<i>mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>məštəmloye</i>

4.5.16.2 *Verbal Nouns*

<i>š-f-l-t-q</i>	<i>š-t-m-l-y</i>
<i>mšafəltoqe</i>	<i>məštəmloye</i>
<i>mšafəltaqta</i>	<i>məštəmleṭa</i>

4.6 THE COPULA

A nominal or prepositional phrase which is the predicate of a clause will, as a rule, contain a copula that is added to the predicate. Inasmuch as many of the compound verbal forms given in this section have, as one of their constituent parts, one of the forms of the copula, the copula is discussed here.

4.6.1 *The Present Copula*

In order to mark either a prepositional or nominal phrase as the predicate of a clause, a copula is generally suffixed to the relevant phrase. The forms of this copula are given below:

Sing.	1.m.	-iwān (-iwēna), -ili
	1.f.	-iwan (-iwana), -ili
	2.m.	-iwāt
	2.f.	-iwat
	3.m.	-ile
	3.f.	-ila
Pl.	1.c.	-iwax (-iwaxni)
	2.c.	-iwetun, -itun
	3.c.	-ilu

For example:

náxwašilu, rešu g-mare', šwuqlu 'They are ill, they have headaches - leave (s.) them.'

When the copula is affixed to a word ending in *-a*, the initial *-i-* regularly coalesces with the *-a* to form an *-e-* vowel.⁴⁰ Diachronically, this process can be reconstructed as:

(1) **-a 'ile* → (2) **-a'ile* → (3) **-ayle* (→ (4) **-ele*) → (5) *-ele*

The above pathway is justifiably reconstructible on phonetic grounds, and also on the basis of some internal evidence, and comparison with other Neo-Aramaic dialects.

⁴⁰ This happens with the huge majority of ANA words and even borrowings. Nevertheless, on occasion, and especially when a MH word is used within a text, the vowels do not coalesce. For example:

'ayya^Hbetenu^H-ile 'this is our home'
^Htfilá^H-ile 'it is prayer'
 'awádyá-ile 'it is Obadiah'

Stage (1) is still found in a number of NENA dialects, such as Christian Barwar.⁴¹

There is a certain amount of evidence of stages (2) and (3) within ANA itself, where these forms are retained in monosyllabic words ending in *-a*. For example:

- (i) *ma* ‘what’ + *-ile* → *má’ile* ~ *mayle*
ṭamá lazəm ya’ət ḥaqqe má’ile? ‘Why do you (m.) have to know how much it is?’
moṭele ’istad’olam kullu ḥaywane g-emər də-xazax māruli šəmmohun maylu ‘The Lord brought all the animals [to the angels] and said, “Now, let us see. Tell me what their names are.”’
- (ii) *kma* ‘how much’ + *-ile* → *kmá’ile* ~ *kmayle*
g-emər babi ’ana qamaye g-ğadrən ya’en kmá’ile kud məndi ’u-məndi ‘He said, “Father, first I will walk around, to find how much all the things are.”’
kmayle gəldət tora, ’aqqada gəbax ‘As large as the skin of a bull—that is how much we want.’
- (iii) *xa* ~ *xa’* ‘one’ + *-ile* → *xayle*
la ki’e dəd wət ’ətya. xayle xəzyəllux? ‘No-one knows that you (m.) have come. Has anyone seen you?’
- (iv) *ṭama* ‘why?, for what?’ + *-ile* → *ṭamayle*
ma tēloxun gu knəšta, baqraya šaliḥot. ’adyo lewa yarxət šaliḥot! ṭamayla? ‘Why have you come into the synagogue and read the prayers of forgiveness? Today is not [a day in] the month of the prayers of forgiveness [i.e. Elul]. What is it for?’

Regarding the shift (3) → (4) → (5), it is impossible to know for certain if the above characterisation reflects how it occurred. Certainly, historical **/ay/* in ANA shifted to */e/*, for example **bayta* → *bəta* ‘house’, **gayba* → *geba* ‘that it overflow’. In other NENA dialects, the monophthongisation produced a more open → vowel, which is phonetically closer to the diphthong. For example, in CA **bayta* → *bəta*. In ANA, however, there is no direct evidence of such an intermediate stage. All *e* vowels, be they historically reconstructable as from **/ay/* or not, are synchronically of the same quality.

⁴¹ Khan 2008: 180.

Some examples of this coalescence of *-a* and *-i* to give *-e-* from the text corpus are:⁴²

g-emər mat 'odət 'əlli, 'ana hudáyeli [*hudaya* 'Jew' + *-ili*], *la-k-pešən məšəlmana!* 'He said, "Whatever you do to me, I am a Jew. I will not become a Muslim."'

našət xa-dúkewax [*duka* 'place' + *-iwax*] 'We are from the same place (lit. 'people of one place').'

When suffixed to a vowel with a final vowel other than *-a*, the copula lacks its initial *-i*. For example:

šum'un babəd bábile [*babi* 'my father' + *-(i)le*] 'Simon is the father of my father.'

'ani xmárelu [*xmare* 'asses' + *-(i)lu*] *lá-xzelu šaxina* 'They are asses; they did not see the Divine Presence.'

kálola [*kalo* 'bride' + *-(i)la*] 'She is the bride.'

qanəd maye 'u-qanəd dəd 'ixala kútrulu [*kutru* 'both' + *-ilu*] *dḅiḅe* 'The water pipe and the food pipe are both severed.'

Notice that the cliticised copula does not affect the position of the main stress in a word. This can cause the main stress to fall very early on in a polysyllabic word. For example:

'ərbəšub 'Wednesday' + *-ile* → *'ərbəšubile* 'It is Wednesday.'

4.6.2 *The Deictic Copula*

The deictic copula may, in some cases, be used with no discernible distinction from the normal copula. For example:

⁴² Very rarely in the text corpus one finds that the copula simply drops the *-i-* when cliticised to a nominal which ends in an *-a*. This can be assumed to be under influence from the very closely-related dialects of NA, mostly notably from Z, and to a lesser extent from D, with both of which all of my informants have had over fifty years of contact in Israel. Therefore these forms are always marked as non-native forms in the texts. For example:

raba xoš-'górale' 'He is a really manly man.'

The expected form in ANA would, of course, reflect an original form with the underlying *-i* of the suffix, which has combined with the *-a* of *gora* to form *górele* (**góra-ile* → **górayle* (→ **górele*) → *górele*). Indeed, this is the standard form found throughout the text corpus. For instance:

kutxa maxzewa gyane māni bəš xoš-górele 'Everyone would [try to show] who was (lit. 'who is') the most manly man.'

'ayya yalunka górele 'This boy is a [real] man.'

'ana wəlli dāryəllu mūtəwəllu kəs xa wəkil hudaya 'I have deposited it with a certain Jewish agent.'⁴³

Sometimes it appears to be used solely as a bearer of person, gender and number for the infinitive form of the verb. For example:

'ayya xəḷṭ, 'ilaha mdobəšle 'əlli, wəllu bimara m-sābab dōxunila 'This disease, with which God has stricken me - they are saying it is on account of you.'

wəlli bəxzaya nūrela tpaṛa 'əbba! 'I can see a fire blazing in it.'

Often, however, it seems to have a more locative or a more deictic function than the normal copula. Compare BH הנה⁴⁴ and A *'inna*. It can perhaps be described as having a presentative function, or as indicating the contingent present. For example:

'o mašəf wəlle kəsle 'That book is at his house.'

mərru taṭa bronux wəlle skiṛa la-mše 'azəl 'They said to her, "Your son is drunk and cannot walk."

xa baxta wəlla ytuta 'axxa 'A woman is sitting there.'

A detailed syntactic study of the text corpus is required to establish the exact nature of the distinction between the normal and deictic copulae.

The forms of the deictic copula are:

Sing.	1.c.	<i>wəlli</i>
	2.m.	<i>wəllət, (wət)</i>
	2.f.	<i>wəllat</i>
	3.m.	<i>wəlle</i>
	3.f.	<i>wəlla</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>wəllax, (wūx)</i>
	2.c.	<i>wəlləxun</i>
	3.c.	<i>wəllu, (wullu)</i>

4.6.3 *The Negative Copula*

Sing.	1.c.	<i>lewi</i>
	2.m.	<i>lewət</i>
	2.f.	<i>lewat</i>

⁴³ It is unclear exactly how this construction differs in meaning from *'āneli dāryəllu mūtəwəllu kəs xa wəkil hudaya*. It seems that the sentence with the regular copula may give more prominence to the personal pronoun *'ana*, i.e. 'I [and no-one else] have deposited...', but this requires further study.

⁴⁴ In the oral Neo-Targumic tradition, BH הנה is consistently rendered by *wəlle*.

	3.m.	<i>lewe</i>
	3.f.	<i>lewa</i>
Plu	1.c.	<i>lewax (léwaxni)</i>
	2.c.	<i>léwetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>lewu</i>

4.6.4 *The Past Copula*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>wənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>wanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>wətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>watwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>wewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>wawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>waxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>wütwa, wütunwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>wewa</i>

4.6.5 *The Subjunctive Copula*

The subjunctive copula and other forms below derive from a root *h-w-y* ‘to be’.

Sing.	1.m.	<i>hawən</i>
	1.f.	<i>hoyan</i>
	2.m.	<i>hawət</i>
	2.f.	<i>hoyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>hawe</i>
	3.f.	<i>hoya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>hawax</i>
	2.c.	<i>hawetun</i>
	3.c.	<i>hawe</i>

4.6.6 *The Past Subjunctive Copula*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>hawənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>hoyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>hawətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>hoyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>hawewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>hoyawa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>hawaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>hawətwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>hawewa</i>

4.6.7 *The Future Copula*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>pawən</i>
	1.f.	<i>poyan</i>
	2.m.	<i>pawət</i>
	2.f.	<i>poyat</i>
	3.m.	<i>pawe</i>
	3.f.	<i>poya</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>pawax</i>
	2.c.	<i>pawətun</i>
	3.c.	<i>pawe</i>

4.6.8 *The Conditional Copula*

Sing.	1.m.	<i>pawənwa</i>
	1.f.	<i>poyanwa</i>
	2.m.	<i>pawətwa</i>
	2.f.	<i>poyatwa</i>
	3.m.	<i>pawewa</i>
	3.f.	<i>poyawwa</i>
Pl.	1.c.	<i>pawaxwa</i>
	2.c.	<i>pawətwa</i>
	3.c.	<i>pawewa</i>

CHAPTER FIVE

VERBAL FUNCTION—INDICATIVE VS. SUBJUNCTIVE MOODS

Word-limit considerations preclude an exhaustive analysis of the function of all the various verbal forms of ANA. Nevertheless, in this section I shall enumerate and give examples of the functions of indicative and subjunctive moods in the present tense.¹

5.1 INDICATIVE MOOD

5.1.1 *Present Indicative*² (k-qaṭəl)

The present indicative is negated with *la*,³ i.e. *la k-qaṭəl*.⁴ It is the unmarked tense for actions or states in the present, that is to say, for progressive actions, events and states (i.e. those which are perceived by the speaker to be occurring, current, at the time of the speech act.) For example:

kma tore gəbetun? 'How many bulls do you (pl.) want?'

la k-exəl 'awa bas 'ana k-əxlan 'He is not eating, but I (f.) am eating.'

ṭamá g-mṭašəṭta gyanux mən qami? 'Why are you (m.) hiding from me?'

¹ Hoberman, in the context of a more general discussion of verbal function gives a number of examples of usages of the present indicative (1989: 42–51) and subjunctive (ibid.: 58–71). Indeed, my findings agree to a large extent with his. However for the reasons given in the introduction to this thesis, I prefer to present my findings as an independent data set, with my own brief analysis.

² As discussed in the previous section, these names for tenses are purely for convenience of reference and should not be taken as a reference to function. For clarity, the form of each tense in the 3rd person m.s. is given, using the root *q-ṭ-l* as exemplary.

³ This same very construction is used to negate the simple future. *la k-qaṭəl* is thus ambiguous in that it may mean 'he does not kill' or 'he will not kill'.

⁴ It is not uncommon for *la* to attract the stress: *lá-k-qaṭəl*. With verbs I-', the -k- is often realised as a geminate, with the concomitant shortening of the preceding *a*-vowel, e.g. [*lá-kk-exəl*] 'he does not eat', but I transcribe this form phonologically, i.e. *lá-k-exəl*, as the gemination is not phonemic in any way.

This verbal form is also used to express habitual states or universal truths, such as the inherent or usual properties or typical actions of an object or a person. For example:

məşəlmane la k-šate ‘Muslims do not drink [alcohol].’

kṭeta d-hoya ‘aqla twərta la k-xaşəx dabḥila ‘It is forbidden to slaughter any chicken which has a broken leg.’

dän g-odət ‘araqin rexa k-fayər kulla maḥalle, kulla ša’uṭa rexa g-ezəl ‘When you (m.) make raki, the smell wafts through the whole area, it permeates the whole neighbourhood.’

In this sense, a special form of the verb ‘to be’ (i.e. *kawe*) is employed, and not the standard copula. A distinction is thus always preserved between phrases such as *məlxa ‘əš-mézile* ‘The salt is on the table [at the moment]’, which implies that the salt is currently to be found there, and *məlxa ‘əš-méz kawe* ‘The salt is [usually] on table’, which implies that the salt is kept there, or, at least, generally to be found there. On the other hand, a phrase which contains a different verb would be ambiguous. For example *k-šame’ qalət brate* could be taken to mean either ‘He hears his daughter’s voice [now]’ or ‘He [generally] hears his daughter’s voice.’⁵

Further examples of the usage of the distinct habitual forms of the verb ‘to be’ in context are given below:

gemər he wəlla mopəqli xa ‘araqin, ta-xzi! ta-ṭmó! tad maxzənnux ma kawe ‘araqin ɬaş. He said, “Yes, by G-d I (m.) have made some great raki. Come and see! Come and taste [it] , so that I (m.) can show you what good raki is!”

tela b-lele palgədlel, ša’a tre’sər b-lele kullu kawe dmixe, tela g-maxya l-tar’a tāx tāx tāx! ‘She came at night, at midnight—at twelve o’clock at night [when] everyone is asleep—she came and knocked on the door: *bang, bang, bang.*’

⁵ Note that when the habitual vs. present action distinction is not obvious from the context and he feels it necessary, the speaker has a number of devices at his disposal to disambiguate these two senses. He may do so by employing the present continuous tense, which is formed by using the copula, which, as described above, has distinct forms for the habitual and present action meanings respectively. Although the present subjunctive continuous is not encountered in the text corpus, it is freely given as a form by all informants. Thus *wəlle bəšma’a qalət brate* ‘He hears his daughter’s voice [now].’ is clearly distinct from *kawe bəšma’a qalət brate* ‘He [usually/often] hears his daughter’s voice.’ The present action meaning can be expressed unambiguously by periphrastic means, such as the addition of an adverb: *‘atta k-šame’ qalət brate* ‘He hears his daughter’s voice now.’, as can the habitual meaning: *kudyom k-šame’ qalət brate* ‘He hears his daughter’s voice every day.’

The present indicative may be used for actions which began in the past, but which continue to the time of the speech act. This aspect of meaning is often conveyed in English by a present perfect or present perfect continuous. For example:

kma šanne 'āxəni k-xayax məğde, 'ahi quṛdaya, 'ana hudaya, kutxa 'əš din-gyane. 'We have been living together for a few years, you a Muslim, I a Jew—each according to his own religion.'

palgət xayī g-lepən ʔora tama 'For half my life I (m.) have been learning Torah there.'

The present indicative may be used in the sense of a narrative past historic tense (as it is often referred to in European languages), especially with the copula, and with verbs which commonly occur in narrative contexts, such as '-m-r 'to say', x-z-y 'to see' and '-z-l 'to go'. Within a narrative, this usage is often found after one or more finite verbs in the past tense have already been used to establish the temporality of the actions. For example:

...gu maṭwaṭa, lətwa ču xarje... k-palxətwa 'u-k-exlətwa. čuxxa la k-šaqaḷwa mənnux ču məndi... g-emər ʔaṭe 'istadi lətli pare. 'ana maṭo b-yasqən 'amədyā. 'In the villages there were no taxes... would work and you would eat. No-one would take anything from you... He said [lit. 'says'] to him, "Sir, I have no money. How can I go up to Amədyā?"

5.1.2 Present Continuous (wəlle / -ile (bə)qṭala)

The present continuous is negated by using the negative copula *lewe*, i.e. *lewe (bə)qṭala*. It is used to refer to an action which is perceived by the speaker as occurring at the same time as the speech act. Although the present indicative may also serve this function, and it is indeed often more or less interchangeable with the present continuous, the latter is often used where the ongoing nature of the action is stressed. Some verbs, by virtue of their semantics, show a higher frequency of one or the other. In general, verbs of perception (e.g. x-z-y 'to see', š-m-' 'to hear') or verbs describing a mental state (e.g. z-d-' 'to be afraid', y-d-' 'to know) are very seldom found in the present continuous. For instance, the present continuous of x-š-w 'to think' does not occur in the entire text corpus, despite its being a common verb.

There follow some examples of the present continuous from the text corpus:

ktétela bizala gu gənta 'u-bixala! wəlla bixala! bəŋqara 'u-bixala!... wəlla dḅəhta! tamá lewa bəmyata? ‘The chicken is walking around in the garden and eating! It’s eating! Pecking and eating!... It has been slaughtered! Why isn’t it dying?’

... bas 'atta 'atli šula. wəlli bə'ada šula, wəlli bəma'one xəmyani. lamşən šoqəŋne xəmyani. ‘[I would come] but now I have work [to do]. I am doing work, I am helping my father-in-law. I (m.) cannot leave my father-in-law.’

Although a past continuous does exist, the present continuous (especially with the deictic copula) is often used after a finite verb in the past tense. For example:

qam-maxzəŋna ktəta wəlla bixala ‘I showed him the chicken, which was eating (lit. ‘it is eating’).’

As mentioned in 5.1.1. above, the special habitual conjugation of the verb ‘to be’ may also be used with the present continuous tense, i.e. *kawe (bə)qṭala*. For example:

g-yátwaxni gu šuqa k-šatax čaye mən ʔarpəd nənxə, 'u-'áni-ži kawə bəmxaya ʔula ‘We sit in the market [and] drink tea with mint leaves, and they are [usually] playing board games.’

Like the present simple, the present continuous may be used for actions which began in the past, but which continue to the time of the speech act, often conveyed in English by a present perfect or present perfect continuous. When the continuous is used, there is an element of stress on the current process. For example:

ktawux ʔṭele l-'idi 'ana mən d-ó-yoma wəlli bəʔ'aya 'alle ‘Your letter reached me and from that day I have been searching for him.’

5.2 SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

5.2.1 Present Subjunctive (*qaṭəl form*)

The present subjunctive is negated with *la*, i.e. *la qaṭəl*. It is mostly found in subordinate clauses, although it has a number of fairly common usages in main clauses. It may express many different shades of meaning, but the unifying factor of all of them is that the action is perceived as prospective, potential, or in some way not ‘factual’ enough to warrant the use of the indicative.

In a main clause, the present subjunctive most often expresses exhortation or volition. This is often found in fixed expressions and constructions, although it is also a productive usage. For example:

mḥakənnux xa ḥukkīta ʿalle ‘Let me (m.) tell you a story about him’
pa waʿaduṭa hoyā ʿu-ʿana malpənne bronux ‘Well then, I promise you (lit. ‘let it be a promise’) that I (m.) will teach your (m.) son.’
qawāt hawelux ‘Greetings! (lit. ‘may you (m.) have strength)’
həššar hawət ʿidux la raʿla ‘Take care (m.) that your hand does not shake.’

In this sense, the present subjunctive may be preceded by the particle *šud*. For example:

har xa yoma m-meṭən, šud meṭən b-idux ‘I’m going to die one day anyway; let me die at your hands!’
mat barya šud barya ‘Whatever happens, happens!’
ʿistadi tamá b-yawəlla ta qurḍaya? ma, ʿana lewi hudaya? šud yawəlla taṭi! ‘My lord, how can he give her to a Muslim? Am I not a Jew (m.)? Let him give her to me!’

The subjunctive verb negated with a preceding *la* is the standard method of expressing a negative command. For example:

ʿanna tre dare la naqḥət, la ʿaxlət mənnu ‘Do not touch (m.s.) these two trees [and] do not eat from them!’
la ʿodət hatxa! ‘Do not do (m.s.) that!’
gemər šamuʿel, la mayrəxətta ‘He said, “Samuel, do not talk too much (m.s.)!”’
xmara la hawət! ‘Do not be (m.s.) an ass!’

The present subjunctive may also express necessity or possibility. For example:

xalwa ʿu-pəsrā la darelu gu-ʿuḡde. kočəkyəṭəd xalwa hawə jūda ‘One is not to put dairy and meat [products] together; dairy spoons are to be separate.’
ʿana ma ʿamrənnux bronī? ‘What can I (m.) say to you, my son?’
ʿana-ži g-emər ma ʿamrən, ma ʿodən? ‘“And as for me,” he said, “what can I (m.) say? What can I (m.) do?”’
ʿeka ʿazən? ‘Where am I (m.) to go?’
b-šabṭa maqḥərənnux?! ‘[Would you want me (f.) to] upset you (m.) on the Sabbath?!’

yalunkət rabbi me'ir la 'azi šlota? '[How can it be that] the sons of Rabbi Meir do not go to the synagogue?'

It may also be used in the protasis of a conditional sentence, with or without an equivalent of 'if', such as *hakka, ən* or *ənkan*.⁶ For example:

šoqətte hatxa p-payəš 'amma-'areš '[If] you (m.s.) leave him like this, he will become an ignoramus.'

...ən la ya'ən bəšto mənne mat gəbət b-yawənnux '...if I (m.) do not know more than him, I will give you whatever you want.'

hakka metatti xa pəška bassima, makušənnaxila 'If you bring me a nice piece of dried beef, I will get it (f.) down for you.'

gora la hawe l-beṭa 'aya g-yawa ṭawsir 'If her husband was not at home, she would give the explanation.'

la g-napqetun m-gu beta la 'axletun la šatetun! 'You are not leaving the house without eating and drinking!'

A related use is in expressions of the type 'whether...or not', where a subjunctive form and a negated subjunctive are used together. For instance:

ba'ya la ba'ya, mən baba 'u-amawaṭa qbəllu, 'áp-aya lazəm qablawa. 'Whether she wanted [to marry a certain man] or not, once her father and uncles had accepted him, she also had to accept [him].'

'ate la 'ate, palgədyom b-ázaxni. 'Whether he comes or not, we are going at midday.'

qadome p-pešət qurḏaya gəbət la-gbət. 'Tomorrow you will become a Muslim, whether you want to or not.'

The present subjunctive is also used in relative clauses, where the head of the clause is indefinite and non-specific.⁷ The relative particle *d-* may or may not be found in such constructions. For example:

⁶ As is shown by the examples given, the apodosis, if there is one, is in the future simple. This construction is parallel to the very common spoken English sequence of tenses in sentences like *Leave him like this and he will become an ignoramus*.

⁷ Where the head is definite, the indicative mood is used. For example: *k-xaze 'ašra gure kullu māre tafange t-k-ete 'alle* 'He sees ten men, all of them armed, who are coming towards him.'

Also, when the head is indefinite and specific, the indicative mood is used. For example:

g-əmri 'istadan ḥakoma la-gbax ču məndi. hallan xa 'ar'a dəd gəldət xa tora...ḥakoma...g-əmər 'ana 'ən la maqimənnə xabri 'e naqla p-qatlili!...mat gəbe ḥālulu. 'They said, "O lord, our king, we do not want anything. Give us a

kut 'azəl l-o beṭa ^Hbámmakom^H g-mayə! 'Anyone who goes into that house dies on the spot!'

xa d-hawewa bəš 'ašir g-'azámwalu kullu kəs gyane 'Someone who was richer would invite all of them to his house.'

'ayya hudaya la g-ezəl gu xa dukəd la hoya knešta 'That Jew will not go to any place which does not have a synagogue.'

kṭeṭa d-hoya 'aqla twərta la k-xašəx dabḥila 'It is forbidden to slaughter any chicken which has a broken leg.'

g-emər mat 'odət 'əlli, 'ana hudáyeli, la-k-pešən məšəlmana! 'He said, "Whatever you do to me, I am a Jew—I will not become a Muslim!"'

lewe xa məndi 'odətte bəd ṭəšwa cuxxa la ya'e 'It is not something you can do in secret, without anyone finding out.'

The uses of the present subjunctive in subordinate clauses are many. The clause may be the complement of a number of verbs and expresses some kind of modality, including obligation, wish, permission or possibility. To express obligation, the subjunctive clause may be the complement of the impersonal particle *lazəm* (< A *lāzim*) and, to a lesser extent, *gəbe* (which is historically the lexicalised third-person singular present simple of *b-'y* 'to want'). Possibility can be expressed using *layku*. This construction with the subjunctive is used whether the subject is the same in both clauses or not. Some examples are given below:

la-mše bəd xurṭuṭa šaqlilan 'They cannot take us by force.'

'ana gəbən 'odət hadax dəd maxzətta dəd 'aqəla qalúlele 'I want you (m.) to act in such a way as to show her that she is weak-minded.'

xzi, məddala raba nāxwasile, gəban 'odanne maraqət kṭeṭa 'Look (m.s.), Məddala is very ill; I (f.) want to make him some chicken soup.'

'ahi lazəm 'atət pešət qurḍaya 'You must come [and] become a Muslim.'

lazəm qorile l-warya mən qoraṭa 'They have to bury him outside the graveyard.'

la ki'e ma 'odi 'əbban 'They do not know what to do with us.'

babi, gəbe 'azax 'Father, we have to go.'

piece of land the size of the hide of an ox." ... The king... said, "If I do not keep my word, this time they will kill me! Give (pl.) them what they want!"

muxtar mərre ta qaşa maydə' gu 'eta baxtağa la 'azi mən şalib qam tar'a
 'The mukhtar said to the priest, "Announce in the church that women
 are not to walk around with their crucifixes on the outside".'

halli ʔlaha yome xaşwən 'Give (s.) me 3 days to think.'

layku 'awəd xa fətna qaʔəl xa mənnoxun 'Perhaps he will devise a plot
 to kill one of you (pl.).'

The subordinate clause may occasionally precede the main clause:

ma 'odən? naşən mənna la-mşən. What am I (m.) to do? I (m.) cannot
 fight it (f.)

'aza...xəpyeğa lewa bassəmta 'For her to walk around barefoot was not
 nice.'

The main clause may be in the present perfect:

'istádile mira 'ahi...malpatti 'My teacher said that you (f.) are to teach
 me.'

wəlle ʔmıla 'axxa, wəlle 'ətya qaʔəllux 'ədyo! 'He is waiting here, he has
 come to kill you today!'

The main clause may also be in a past tense:

zde'li 'amrənne 'jəzli 'I was afraid to tell him that I was tired.'

qam-şadərri 'ahi malpatti 'He sent me so that you (f.) would teach me.'

qam-marəmənna skina mən 'ar'a, teli badqənnə 'I picked up the knife
 from the ground, I tried to examine it (f).'

The main clause may have an imperative verb:

márrule 'awa 'aṭe 'Tell (pl.) him to come!'

şwuqlu 'atta xanča xət heş damxi 'Leave them [for] now, so that they
 can sleep a bit longer.'

ʔmol bəd panni d-guda ʔil da'ran 'Stand in the shade of the wall until I
 (f.) return.'

The main clause may have a preterite as its verb, which governs the
 temporal reference of the present subjunctive:

xa yoma babi mquřəre 'aṭe xaze maṭo g-lepax 'One day my father
 decided to come [and] see how we learn[ed].'

The main clause may also be in the future simple:

'awa b-amərrux ma 'odət 'He will tell you (m.) what to do.'

xarəye p-şarxannu 'aṭe 'Afterwards I (f.) will call them to come.'

Another common use is to express intent, purpose or result. These subjunctive clauses may stand alone, without formal subordination, but they are often preceded by a subordinating particle, such as *tad*, *šud*, *dəd*, *d-*. For example:

gemər babi 'ana qamaye g-ğadrən ya'en kmá'ile kud mändi 'u-mändi 'He said, "Father, I am going to walk around first to find out how much each thing is." '

'ana ma 'odən tad 'ana la fanən bəd tofana 'What should I do so that I do not perish in the flood?'

g-maxewa gyanu... 'u-k-şarxi şağan dohun 'ate 'They hit themselves... and shout, [so that] their Satan will come.'

marre ta gorax šud 'amər hadax 'Tell your (f.s.) husband to say thus.'

5.2.2 Present Continuous Subjunctive (*hawe* (bə)q̄tala)

Although a present continuous subjunctive doubtlessly exists in ANA, no examples occur in the text corpus. Nevertheless, all informants volunteer the *hawe bəq̄tala* form when prompted to translate a sentence with an appropriate sense, as described for the present subjunctive above in 5.2.1 For instance:

gəbən hawe bəmkayofe 'I want them to be having fun'

lazəm hawetun bəlwaşa hərge doxun 'You (pl.) had better be putting on your (pl.) clothes!'

'iṭən gu maṭa xa hudaṣət hawe bəşraxa haware? 'Is there a Jew in the village shouting for help?'

CHAPTER SIX

ADJECTIVES

6.1 GENERAL

Most adjectives follow the noun they modify. There are usually separate forms for adjectives which modify masculine and feminine nouns, as well as a common plural. For example:

gora bassima ‘a nice man’
baxta bassəmta ‘a nice woman’
gure bassime ‘nice men’
baxtaṭa bassime ‘nice woman’

An adjective can be used without a noun. For example:

xa bassima ‘a nice one (m.)’
’o bassima ‘that nice one (m.)’
’e bassəmta ‘that nice one (f.)’
’an bassime ‘those nice ones (c.)’

Adjectives are, like nouns, divided into two classes. Class I contains the “native” stock and adapted borrowings, while Class II the unadapted borrowed adjectives.¹

6.2 CLASS I ADJECTIVAL PATTERNS

6.2.1 CvCa

<i>CaCa</i> ²	<i>xata</i>	<i>xaṭta</i> (f.)	<i>xaṭe</i> (pl.)	‘new’
	<i>naya</i>	<i>neṭa</i> (f.) ³	<i>naye</i> (pl.)	‘raw, underdone’

¹ For a discussion of these classes see Section 2 above.

² The adjective *urwa* ‘big, large, great’ (pl. *urwe*) has a f. form *rap̣ta* (< **raḅta*), which would seem to be derived from a form of this pattern, viz. **ṛaba* ‘big, large, great (m.s.)’, which survives in ANA as an adverb with the meaning ‘very; much’.

³ OA **-ay-* > *-e*. Note that this shift must have occurred in the direct ancestor of ANA earlier than the end of the shift of post-vocalic **-t* > *-ṭ*, i.e. **nayta* > **neta* > ANA *neṭa*. If the shifts had happened in the reverse order, we would expect **nayta* > **neta* > ANA **neta*.

CoCa	<i>koma</i> <i>čõ'a</i>	<i>kumta</i> (f.) ⁴ <i>ču'ta</i> (f.)	<i>kome</i> (pl.) <i>čõ'e</i> (pl.)	'black' 'smooth; fragile'
------	----------------------------	---	--	------------------------------

6.2.2 CCvCa

CCaCa	<i>xwara</i>	<i>xwarta</i> (f.)	<i>xware</i> (pl.)	'white'
CCoCa	<i>p̄toxa</i> <i>smoqa</i> <i>z'ora</i>	<i>p̄tuxta</i> (f.) <i>smuqta</i> (f.) <i>z'urta</i> (f.)	<i>p̄toxe</i> (pl.) <i>smoqe</i> (pl.) <i>z'ore</i> (pl.)	'wide' 'red' 'small'

6.2.3 CvCvCa

CaCaCa	<i>šahara</i> <i>xaraya</i>	<i>šaharta</i> (f.) <i>xarəta</i> (f.)	<i>šahare</i> (pl.) <i>xaraye</i> (pl.)	'blind' 'final, last'
CaCiCa	<i>'atiqa</i> <i>marira</i> <i>qarira</i> <i>naqida</i> <i>šaxina</i> <i>yarixa</i>	<i>'atəqta</i> (f.) <i>marərtə</i> (f.) <i>qarəttə</i> (f.) ⁵ <i>naqəttə</i> (f.) ⁶ <i>šaxəntə</i> (f.) <i>yarəxtə</i> (f.)	<i>'atiqe</i> (pl.) <i>marira</i> (pl.) <i>qarire</i> (pl.) <i>naqide</i> (pl.) <i>šaxine</i> (pl.) <i>yarixe</i> (pl.)	'ancient, old' 'bitter' 'cold' 'thin (e.g. stick)' 'hot, warm' 'long'
CaCoCa	<i>naxopa</i>	<i>naxupta</i> (f.) <i>zadõ'a</i>	<i>naxope</i> (pl.) <i>zadõ'ta</i> (f.) ⁷	'embarrassed, shy' <i>zadõ'e</i> (pl.) 'afraid, cowardly'
CaCuCa	<i>qalula</i> <i>rahuqa</i> <i>yaqura</i> <i>xamuša</i>	<i>qalhulta</i> (f.) <i>rahuqta</i> (f.) <i>yaqurta</i> (f.) <i>xamušta</i> (f.)	<i>qalule</i> (pl.) <i>rahuqe</i> (pl.) <i>yaqure</i> (pl.) <i>xamuše</i> (pl.)	'easy, light' 'far, distant' 'heavy' 'sour; pickled'

6.2.4 *Adjectives from Stative Participles of Stem I Verbs*
(CiCa, CCiCa, CəCya)

The stative participles of verbs can of course be used as adjectives. Words which have the form of stative participles (and can thus be assumed originally to have been stative participles) can only truly be considered adjectives in a synchronic sense if they have undergone a

⁴ In general, ANA -oCC- > -uCC-, see footnote 45 above.

⁵ **qarərtə* > *qarəttə*. In general, ANA -iCC- > -əCC-. However, the assimilation of the second /r/ to the /-t/ of the feminine ending is irregular.

⁶ **naqidta* > *naqəttə*.

⁷ In general, ANA -oCC- > -uCC-. Now it would seem that the presence of /l/, /l/, or /h/ as the first consonant after /o/ in this phonetic environment either blocks the shift or perhaps causes a second shift of [o] back to [u]. More fully then:

-oC₁C₂- > -uC₁C₂- / C₁ ≠ ' , ' , h.

clear semantic shift, or when their corresponding verbal stem is not in synchronic use. Examples of adjectives of this type which have undergone semantic shifts are:

<i>lipa</i>	<i>ləpta</i> (f.)	<i>lipe</i> (pl.)	‘used to, accustomed to’ (cf. <i>l-y-p</i> ‘to learn’)
<i>qərya</i>	<i>qriṭa</i> (f.)	<i>qərye</i> (pl.)	‘well-read; well-educated’ (cf. <i>q-r-y</i> ‘to read’)
<i>xšiwa</i>	<i>xšuta</i> (f.)	<i>xšiwe</i> (pl.)	‘important’ (cf. <i>x-š-w</i> ‘to think’)

Examples of adjectives whose corresponding verbal form are ungrammatical, are:

<i>brixa</i>	<i>bṛəxta</i> (f.)	<i>brixe</i>	‘blesséd, holy’ (< * <i>b-ṛ-x</i>) ⁸
<i>qliwa</i>	<i>qluta</i> (f.)	<i>qliwe</i>	‘clean’ (< * <i>q-l-w</i>) ⁹

The majority of words which are rendered into English as adjectives are in fact ANA stative participles. For example:

<i>’iqa</i>	<i>’əqta</i> (f.)	<i>’iqe</i> (pl.)	‘narrow’ (< <i>’-y-q</i> ‘to be narrow’)
<i>’jiza</i>	<i>’jəzta</i> (f.)	<i>’jize</i> (pl.)	‘tired’ (< <i>’-j-z</i> ‘to tire’)
<i>friḥa</i>	<i>freḥta</i> (f.)	<i>friḥe</i> (pl.)	‘happy’ (< <i>f-r-ḥ</i> ‘to be happy’)
<i>sqila</i>	<i>sqəlta</i> (f.)	<i>sqile</i> (pl.)	‘nice, pretty’ (< <i>s-q-l</i> ‘to be beautiful’)

6.2.5 Adjectives formed with -ana

This productive suffix is used predominantly for denominal adjectivisation. On occasion no base word can be located in ANA (although there is always a root). Sometimes a slight semantic shift can be seen. For example:

<i>gumḥulta</i> ‘ball’ + -ana:			
<i>gumḥolana</i>	<i>gumḥolanta</i> (f.)	<i>gumḥolane</i> (pl.)	‘round’
<i>xəška</i> ‘darkness’ + -ana:			
<i>xəškana</i>	<i>xəškanta</i> (f.)	<i>xəškane</i> (pl.)	‘dim, dimly lit’
<i>ṃaye</i> ‘water’ + -ana:			
<i>mayana</i> ¹⁰	<i>mayanta</i> (f.)	<i>mayane</i> (pl.)	‘watery, moist’

⁸ This verb only exists as *b-ṛ-x* II ‘to bless’, with the corresponding stative participle *mburxa*.

⁹ This verb only exists as *q-l-w* II ‘to clean’, with the corresponding stative participle *mqlwa*.

¹⁰ Note the absence in this word of /ṃ/, cf. *ṃaye* ‘water’.

An adjective with no base noun in ANA is:

<i>šidana</i>	<i>šidanta</i> (f.)	<i>šidane</i> (pl.)	‘crazy, insane’
			(cf. <i>š-y-d-n</i> ‘to go crazy, to drive crazy’)

6.2.5 Adjectives formed with -aya

On occasion the base of an adjective in -aya is itself a word in ANA. For example:

<i>’atraya</i>	<i>’atreta</i> (f.)	<i>’atraye</i> (pl.)	‘country-dweller, country bumpkin’ (< <i>’atra</i> ‘countryside; land’)
<i>palgaya</i>	<i>palgeta</i> (f.)	<i>palgaye</i> (pl.)	‘middle (adj.), medium-sized’ (< <i>palga</i> ‘half’)
<i>qamaya</i>	<i>qameṭa</i> (f.)	<i>qamaye</i> (pl.)	‘first, initial; original’ (< <i>qam-</i> ‘in front of’)

On occasion, there are no other traces of the base in NA. For example:

<i>pəlištaya</i>	<i>pəlišṭeta</i> (f.)	<i>pəlašṭaye</i> (pl.)	‘Philistine’ (< H פְּלִשְׁתִּי)
<i>qaračaya</i>	<i>qaračeta</i> (f.)	<i>qaračaye</i> (pl.)	‘gypsy’ (< K < T)

Most often, however, although the base itself does not occur as an independent word, there are words in ANA or other languages which clearly share a root with the base. For example:

<i>’arəḃaya</i>	<i>’arəḃeta</i> (f.)	<i>’arəḃaye</i> (pl.)	‘Arabic, Muslim’, (cf. <i>’arabki</i> ‘Arabic (language)’)
<i>’laya</i>	<i>’leta</i> (f.)	<i>’laye</i> (pl.)	‘upper’ (cf. <i>’alal</i> ‘upper part; up(wards)’)
<i>qurḏaya</i>	<i>qurḏeta</i> (f.)	<i>qurḏaye</i> (pl.)	‘(Muslim) Kurd’ (cf. <i>qurḏistān</i> ‘Kurdistan’)
<i>xarəya</i>	<i>xareṭa</i> (f.)	<i>xarəye</i> (pl.)	‘final, latter, last’ (cf. OA אַחֲרֵן)
<i>xtaya</i>	<i>xteta</i> (f.)	<i>xtaye</i> (pl.)	‘lower, bottom’ (cf. <i>xe</i> , <i>xeṭ-</i> ‘underneath’)
<i>šulxaya</i>	<i>šulxeta</i> (f.)	<i>šulxaye</i> (pl.)	‘naked’ (cf. <i>š-l-x</i> ‘to remove clothes’)

6.2.6 Adjectives formed with -naya

-naya is used with colour terms to lend them a sense of inexactness. For example:

kumnaya ‘blackish’ (< *koma*, *kumta* (f.) ‘black’)
smuqnaya ‘reddish’ (< *smoqa*, *smuqta* (f.) ‘red’)
xwarnaya ‘whitish’ (< *xwara* ‘white’)

6.3 CLASS II—INVARIABLE ADJECTIVES

The following is a sampling of the many unadapted loanwords which are used as adjectives in ANA, which lack any marking for number or gender:

<i>‘aqəl</i>	‘clever’
<i>baš</i>	‘good, OK’
<i>ḏā‘if</i>	‘emaciated, weak’
<i>dilxwaš</i>	‘healthy, not ill’
<i>gəran</i>	‘expensive’
<i>ħadər</i>	‘ready, present’
<i>məfləs</i>	‘penniless’
<i>našax</i>	‘ill, unwell’
<i>naxwaš</i>	‘ill, sick’
<i>pis</i>	‘dirty, dangerous, disgusting’
<i>puč</i>	‘empty, useless, unimportant’
<i>qahweyi</i>	‘brown’
<i>šalāḥi</i>	‘polite, appropriate (e.g. behaviour)’
<i>šax</i>	‘alive, healthy; intact’
<i>stewir</i>	‘sterile, infertile’
<i>xav</i>	‘raw, uncooked’
<i>xoš</i>	‘good, nice’, always precedes noun, e.g. <i>xoš-gora</i> ‘a good man’
<i>zābun</i>	‘weak’

One invariable adjective has a native Aramaic etymology:

b-xaye ‘alive’ (cf. H בַּחַיִּים ‘alive’)

6.4 PARTIALLY ADAPTED LOANWORDS

The following are examples of loanwords which have been partially adapted to ANA Class I morphology:

<i>karra</i>	<i>karre</i> (f.)	<i>karre</i> (pl.)	‘deaf’
<i>fāqir</i>	<i>fāqir</i> (f.) ¹¹	<i>faqire</i> (pl.)	‘poor’
<i>taza</i>	<i>taza</i> (f.)	<i>taze</i> (pl.)	‘beautiful, tasty’

¹¹ Occasionally the form *faqarta* is encountered. *fāqir* is evidently still actively in the process of being absorbed fully into Class I.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADVERBS AND OTHER PARTICLES

There is no productive suffix for forming adverbs. Many adverbs are borrowed from other languages and many are native nouns whose meaning has been extended, with or without an appropriate preposition. The relative paucity of adjectival forms can be overcome by the use of an appropriate nominal with the preposition *bəd*, *b-*, e.g. *bəd təšwa* 'secretly', *bəd xurtuṭa* 'violently, forcefully', *bəd reza* 'consecutively', *b-xa naqla* 'at once'. Often paraphrasis is called for, e.g. *k-ḥaməl 'u-kase yarəqtela* 'He is waiting patiently', lit. 'He is waiting and his stomach is long.'

7.1 SPATIAL ADVERBS

'axxa 'here', *l-axxa* 'hither', *m-axxa* 'hence'
'əgde, *'əgdade* 'together', *mən 'əgde*, *məgde* 'together, with each other', *gu 'əgde*, *'ələl*, *mən-'ələl* 'above'
'əltax 'below', *mən-'əltax* 'from below'
'oya 'inside', *gu 'oya* 'on the inside', *l-'oya* 'inside (a house)', *gu'gde* 'in together, in each other'
bəxurxuṭ 'inside-out'
jüda (inv.) 'separate(ly), apart'
qam-tar'a 'outside'
tama, *ṭama* 'there (absent)', *l-tama* ~ *l-tam* 'thither'
ṭamaha, *ṭama'ha* 'there (in sight)'

7.2 TEMPORAL ADVERBS

'adlel 'tonight'
'aššat 'this year'
'ašarta 'in the evening'
'atta 'now'
'ədyo 'today', *'ədyo bənhe* 'this morning'
'o-gəd 'when, at the time when'
'oxən 'two days before yesterday; two days after tomorrow'
baddal bənhe 'at first light of dawn'
baṭər hadax 'afterwards'
bənhe 'in the morning'
b-lele 'at night'
bólelxən 'the night before last night; the night after tomorrow night'

bomáxət 'the day after tomorrow; the day before yesterday'
dayman 'always'
drangi 'late'
har 'still, even now'
hár-u-har 'always'
hayya 1. 'early' 2. 'fast, quickly'
heš 1. 'still, not yet' 2. 'more'
kudlel 'every night'
kudyom 'every day'
kuššat 'every year'
lelxən 'last night; tomorrow night'
mən-reša 'from the beginning'
mən-žnu 'again, from the start'
qadome 'tomorrow'
qamaye 'formerly; originally, a long time ago'
ro'el 'three years ago'
šafəltaqí, b-šafəltaqí 'suddenly'
šətqe(l) 'last year'
tartel 'two years ago'
təmmal 'yesterday'
təmmal b-lele 'yesterday night'
xá-dana 'all at once, all of a sudden'
xaraye 'later, afterwards'
xá-ga xət 'once again, another time'
xamka naqle 'sometimes'
žni 'then, afterwards'

7.3 INTERROGATIVE ADVERBS

'eka 'where; whither'
'imal 'when'
kma 'how many'
ṁato 'how'
meka 'whence'
ṁamá, ṁamá 'why'

7.4 OTHER ADVERBS

bālaš 'for free, in vain'
bāle ~ bálé 'but, however, indeed, G *doch*, F *si*'
balki, bálkiən 'perhaps, maybe'
bamri 'almost as if; perhaps'
baš 'well'
b-lāzi 'quickly, hurriedly'

b-zor 'barely, with difficulty'
bəš-xət 'more; again'
hedi 'slowly, softly, gently'
hoya la hoya 'definitely'
hatxa 'thus, like this'
l-qama l-qama 'gradually, slowly'
məqqayad 'definitely, exactly, precisely'
raba 'much, a lot'
raba naqle 'often, many times'
yimkən 'perhaps'
xət ~ xet 'more'

7.5 PREPOSITIONS

It is obvious that one-to-one correspondences for ANA to English prepositions do not exist. Indeed, many prepositions have an extremely large range of English meanings. Therefore I have attempted to give each preposition with as many potential translations as possible, to give the reader some idea of the variety of their usage.

'ax (antiqu.) see *max*, *dax*
b- 'in, on, on, by, by means of, using'
baħs 'about, concerning (a person)'
barabatr- 'towards the back of, backwards'
bārhambar, *barámbar* 'opposite, against (current etc.)'
barmaqābəl 'opposite, against'
barqul 'opposite'
bātər, *batr-* 'after, behind', *bātər bātər* 'along behind, following'
ben 'between'
-d, *-t* 'of', genitive particle (see 2.3)
dax, *daxwatəd* 'like, as'
d-la 'without, lacking'
dórmandor 'surrounding, around'
gu, *gaw-* 'in, within, inside'
gādər 'next to, beside'
gādərwan 'around, surrounding'
ħil 'until, up until, as far as'
kəs, *kəsl-* 'at, with, F *chez*'
l- 'to, for, about, regarding, concerning, on'
l-dəpən 'to the side of, next to'
mabayn 'between'
max, *maxwatəd* 'like, as, similar to'
mən, *mənn-* 'from; from when, since, because of; with; as a result of',
mən-gu 'from within, out of', *mən xe* 'underneath'
mən-qám, *m-qam* 'because of; for (the sake of)'
pexamitəd 'because of, owing to'

qābəl 'before, in front of'
qam- 'in front of; in (e.g. the sun, the shade)'; against, in the face of
qamaqam- '(directly, consistently) in front of'
qamtar'əd 'outside (of)'
rəš, 'aš, reš- 'on, upon, on top of, by means of, regarding, concerning'
sābab, m-sābab, mən sābab 'because of'
šwin 'instead of, in place of'
ta, ta, taṭ- 'for, to, for the benefit of'
xe, xeṭ- 'under, below', *mən xe* 'underneath'
xur 'as, like'

7.6 MISCELLANEOUS UNINFLECTED PARTICLES

'afəllu 'even (if)'
'ap- 'also, even', connective particle
'an ~ 'on 'or'
'əlla 'if not, but, except'
'ən 'if'
'ənkan 'if'
'ənkat 'if'
'u- 'and, but'
bas 'only, just'
bəš 'more'
ču 'none, G *kein*'
čunkun 'because'
hakka 'if'
hāla (antiqu.) 'is it not?, surely'
ham, haṃ 'also'
hāma 'just because, for no particular reason'
haṃán 'only just, barely'
hənnə 'what's-it-called, thingy'
he 'yes, indeed'
la, la' 'no, not'
mədrəš (antiqu.) 'again, more'
qaṭ 'at all'
ya vocative particle
-ži, -ši 'also, as well', connective particle

CHAPTER EIGHT

NUMERALS

8.1 CARDINAL NUMERALS

8.1.1 1 to 10

xa, xa' 'one'
tre, tre' 'two'
ṭlaha 'three'
'arba 'four'
xamša 'five'
'ašta 'six'
šo'a 'seven'
tmanyā 'eight'
'ač'a 'nine'
'ašra 'ten'

There are no separate masculine and feminine forms, e.g. *xa gora* 'one man', *xa baxta* 'one woman'.

8.1.2 11 to 19

xade'sər 'eleven'
tre'sər 'twelve'
talta'sər 'thirteen'
'arba'sər 'fourteen'
xamša'sər 'fifteen'
'ašta'sər 'sixteen'
ṭmane'sər 'eighteen'
'ač'a'sər 'nineteen'

8.1.3 Tens

'asri 'twenty'
ṭlati 'thirty'
'arbi 'forty'
xamši 'fifty'
'ašti 'sixty'
šo'i 'seventy'
ṭmani 'eighty'
'ač'i 'ninety'

8.1.4 *Hundreds*

'əmma '(a) hundred', xá-'əmma 'one hundred'
 tré-'əmma ~ tremma 'two hundred'
 t̥láha-'əmma ~ t̥lamma 'three hundred'
 'árba-'əmma ~ 'arbamma 'four hundred'
 xámša-'əmma ~ xamšamma 'five hundred'
 ...etc.

8.1.5 *Thousands*

'alpa (pl. 'alpahe) 'thousand'
 tré-'alpe 'two thousand'
 t̥láha-'alpe 'three thousand'
 ...etc.

8.1.6 *Combinations of Numerals*

Cardinal number are combined in descending order, usually with the conjunction 'u- to connect different units. For example:

'əsri 'u-xá 'twenty-one'
 tremma 'u-xamši 'u-'arba 'three hundred and fifty-four'
 t̥láha-'alpe ('u-)tremma 'u- t̥mani 'u-tre 'three thousand three hundred and eighty-two.'

8.1.7 *Cardinal Numerals with Pronominal Suffixes*

When the cardinals are combined with the pronominal suffixes, they have a fossilised prefix *kut-* (from *kud* 'all').

2
kutreni, kutran 'the two of us, both of us'
kútroxun 'the two of you, both of you'
kutru, kutrohun 'the two of them, both of them'

3
kuṭlaheni, kuṭlahan 'the three of us'
kuṭláhoxun 'the three of you'
kuṭláhohun, kúṭlohun 'the three of them'

4
kut'arbeni, kut'arban 'the four of us'
kut'árboxun 'the four of you'
kut'árbohun 'the four of them'

etc.

8.2 ORDINAL NUMERALS

qamaya f. *qameta* pl. *qamaye* ‘first’

Dedicated forms for the rest of the ordinal numerals do not exist. The concepts ‘second’, ‘third’, etc. are expressed by annexation with the particle *d-* and the cardinal number. For instance:

yoməd tre ‘the second day’
gorəd ’əşra ‘the tenth man’

Alternatively, the noun qualified may be in the so-called neo-construct state, which is formed by the loss of *-a*.¹ For example:

yom tre ‘the second day’
gor ’əşra ‘the tenth man’

8.3 FRACTIONS

The only special forms for fractions are:

palga ‘a half’
tələt ‘a third’
rub’a ‘a quarter’

Constructions like ‘one and a half’, ‘two and a half’ etc. are expressed by adding *’u-palge*² after the relevant cardinal number or noun thus: *xa ’u-palge* ‘one and a half’, *tre ’u-palge* ‘two and a half’, *tlaha ’u-palge* ‘three and a half’, *şa’a ’u-palge* ‘an hour and a half’.

Fractions for which there is no special form must be expressed by circumlocution, e.g. *xa mən šo’a* ‘one seventh’, *’arba mən šo’a* ‘four sevenths’.

8.4 MULTIPLES

Multiples are expressed by *xa ’u-* with the relevant cardinal numeral. For example:

¹ See 2.3 for a discussion of the annexation of ANA nouns.

² The *-e* suffix is historically the 3rd person m.s. possessive suffix, which was generalised from its use in phrases such as *yoma* (m.) *’u-palge* to all similar constructions, irrespective of the gender of the numbered item, e.g. *şa’a* (f.) *’u-palge* ‘an hour and a half’.

'*amədyā xa 'u-'arba, xa 'u-'əšta biš ɾap̄ta mən maşada* 'Amədyā [is] four, six times bigger than Masada.'

8.5 DAYS OF THE WEEK

xošeba (m.) ~ *yom(əd)* *xošeba* 'Sunday'
trošub (m.) ~ *yom(əd)* *trošub* 'Monday'
ɸlāhošub (m.) ~ *yom(əd)* *ɸlāhošub* 'Tuesday'
'ərbəšub (m.) ~ *yom(əd)* *'ərbəšub* 'Wednesday'
xamšub (m.) ~ *yom(əd)* *xamšub* 'Thursday'
'ərota (f.) ~ *yom(əd)* *'ərota* 'Friday'
šab̄ta (f.) ~ *yom(əd)* *šab̄ta* 'Saturday; the Sabbath'

8.6 SEASONS

qeṭa (m.) 'summer'
čeri (m.) 'autumn'
səṭwa (m.) 'winter'
bāhar (m.) 'spring'

CHAPTER NINE

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

9.0 INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS: METHODOLOGY AND NOTES

The ten texts which follow are selections from a larger corpus which I recorded in Israel over the period from December 2004–December 2005. I have tried to include texts which cover a range of topics and styles, primarily folk-tale, oral history, personal accounts and factual.

All 4 informants were born and raised in Amədyā and came to Israel with the mass exodus of Jews from Iraq in 1951. All had basic secondary education. The texts were all recorded with the informants' prior knowledge and consent, and I made use of a small, unobtrusive clip-on microphone, in order to minimise the overformal and overly self-conscious use of language which can be occasioned by the awareness that one is being recorded to be studied. Nevertheless, it is practically a certainty that an informant will engage in some kind of metalinguistic commentary, especially when he has noticed that he has involuntarily used a MH word. These sorts of digressions (when they are in MH) are omitted from the transcriptions. Some other phenomena which seem also to be brought about by the awareness of being recorded, or rather, by the concomitant desire to speak what is perceived as “more correct” or “more pure” ANA, have been retained. For example:

- (i) *suwun bnuwun ta gyanoxun beṭata, beṭawata, bate, betawata* ‘go [and] build houses for yourselves’ (Text 1: *A Rich Jew*, 5 and see also footnote *ad loc.*)
- (ii) ^H*gəzbar* ^H*ma g-əmriwa bəd hudətki? naṭər pare, naṭər pare.* ‘What did they call a ‘treasurer’ in the language of the Jews? A *naṭər pare*, yes, a *naṭər pare*.¹ (Text 1: *A Rich Jew*, 15)
- (iii) *hatxa g-ewədwa* ^H*ləhitparnés*^H, *k-xayewa mən d-anna* ‘This is how he would make a living, he lived from these [things].’ (Text 3: *The Judeophilic Bear*, 6)

¹ Literally, this translates as ‘a protector of monies’.

- (iv) 'o 'aġa k-šamərwa 'alle, g-darewa bala 'alle 'this aġha, he used to look after him, to look out for him' (Text 2, *Sher Ad-Din*, 3)

In (i), the informant becomes aware that he has used a non-grammatical form of the plural of *beṭa* 'house', i.e. **beṭata*. In his eagerness to give the "correct" form he gives first *beṭawata* (a grammatical plural), then *bate* (the most common grammatical plural of this word), and then reverts back to *beṭawata*. (ii) is representative of a fairly common occurrence amongst modern-day speakers of ANA, in that MH vocabulary items penetrate ANA speech. Often the informant becomes conscious of such an item and attempts to translate, as here. (iii) and (iv) are also representative of the phenomenon of MH interference. In (iii) the verb 'w-d 'to do, to make' is used with the MH infinitive,² whilst in (iv) the MH verbal root š-m-r 'to guard, protect' (= ANA n-ṭ-r) has been incorporated into the ANA morphological system as a Stem I verb. In both (iii) and (iv), the informant notices the MH influence and attempts correct himself using a paraphrase in ANA.

All of the texts have been transcribed with the help of the original informant or another native speaker of ANA. I have made every effort to keep the transcriptions as true to the audio recordings as possible, but there are a number of cases where the recording was muffled or the speech of an informant was unclear (even *post facto* to that informant himself!) and these are marked with the word "[indistinct]".

It must also be borne in mind that it is characteristic of the informal atmosphere I attempted to create during the recording of these texts that the content may be repetitious or factually incorrect. There are also occasionally *non-sequiturs* or inconsistencies within the body of a text.

Traduttore, traditore

The translation of these texts into English presents numerous difficulties. Inasmuch as all translation is, in and of itself, a treacherous undertaking, this is hardly surprising. However, there are other issues

² Cf. the analogous usage of K *kirdin* (and P *kardan*) in compound verbs, which may indeed be the source of this construction. Note also that the borrowed MH element is invariable in ANA and any direct object pronoun must be attached directly to the finite verb. For instance:

g-ewad ^H*lexabbéd*^H 'he respects'
g-ewadle ^H*lexabbéd*^H 'he respects him'

specific to the type of texts and translations dealt with here. The cultural milieu of my informants is very different from that of an average English speaker in that they i) grew up in a pre-industrial society and ii) are religious (or, at least, knowledgeable) Jews. Where specific issues require explanation I have attempt to supply such in a footnote. Also, the translations presented here must serve a dual function. Firstly, to the greatest extent possible, they must provide a literal translation of the originals, to enable to reader to decipher, with the aid of the accompanying grammar, which English words translate which ANA words. Secondly, the translations cannot be so literal that they compromise the understanding of the text. For example, tenses must occasionally be changed to facilitate a smooth and comprehensible English version. The same holds true for those prepositions which are used differently in the two languages, e.g. where some verbs require obligatory prepositions. English equivalents must often be sought for ANA expressions, as well. In short, these two criteria often conflict. It is hoped that suitable compromises have been achieved.

9.1 TEXT 1: A RICH JEW

- (1) gor-'amti 'ətwale ʁaba daštata. zangin wewa, g-yawəlwa ta 'aʁəbaye 'afəllu, ta qurdaye.
- (2) b-atəwa b-amrɪwale šalom šme'lan l-flan ʃura, 'ayya d-qam-zonətte. monəxlan 'itən tama 'enawata, g-napqi məye 'u-duka bassəmtela, 'əmşax bodaxla zaro'ta.
- (3) b-zar'axla, b-odaxla 'u-p-xayax mənna. 'ilaha 'ayən, zayəd metaxlux. g-emərwa kma gəbetun?
- (4) g-yawəlwalu tore, g-zawənwalu tore mən pare dide. kma tore gəbetun? 'əşra tore? g-yawəlwalu 'əşra tore. kma xmaryata gəbetun? kma torata, kma kođəne, kma hənna?
- (5) suwun bnuwun ta gyanoxun betata,³ betawata, bate, betawata 'u-pluxun ta gyanoxun, zadle mənnoxun métuli! 'ana g-mhémənən 'əlloxun.
- (6) xamka naqle k-eṭəwa g-metəwale la ki'e mǎnile 'afəllu! la ki'əwalu mǎnilu. meka k-eṭetun 'axtun?
- (7) b-amrɪwale ma la k-taxrət? zwənnux ʃaṭan 'aqqada tore, 'aqqada torata, xmaryata...fla:n ʃura wawa. 'wədlan tama, moqəmlan maṭa, bnəlan maṭa, 'u-gyanan dwiqalan 'u-g-zar'ax, 'ilaha hule. 'ayya sáhmuxile moṭəlan.
- (8) (JG: 'az ^Hkanir'ə^H 'ətwale ʁaba pare.) 'ətwale pare ʁaba 'u-náše-ži tama la wewa ʃilane. naše ʁaşṭ wewa. naše g-zad'iwa mən 'ilaha.
- (9) kullu qurdaye g-zad'iwa mən 'ilaha. g-əmri 'atta la yawax 'ilaha b-dawəqlan b-'awon, xarəye mǎni ki'e ma b-aṭya b-rešan!
- (10) g-metəwa, g-metəwa ta hudaya, 'afəllu t-ile hudaya. mhəkənnux xa ʃukkita 'əlle.
- (11) xǎ-ga tele xa ^Hpakíd^H gu 'amədyə (JG: šurṭa ya'ni?)

³ The informant gives several plural forms for *betə* at this point. The form **betata* appears to be a *lapsus linguae* and is not accepted by any informants.

- (1) My uncle⁴ used to have many fields. He was a rich man [and] he would even give [money] to Arabs, to Muslims.
- (2) They would come and say to him, “Shalom, we have heard about such-and-such a mountain, the one that you have bought. We have looked [and] there are springs there, with water flowing out [of them] and [it] is a beautiful place. We can sow it [i.e. the land].
- (3) We will sow it [i.e. the land], we will work it and we will live from it. With God’s help, if there is a surplus, we will bring [it] to you.” He would say, “How much do you want?”
- (4) He would give them bulls. He would buy them bulls with his own money. [He would say,] “How many bulls do you want? Ten bulls?” [So] he would give them ten bulls. “How many jenny-asses do you want? How many cows, how many mules? How many what’s-it-called?”
- (5) Go [and] build houses for yourselves and work for yourselves. If you have a surplus, bring [it] to me. I trust you.”
- (6) Sometimes [people] would come and bring [money and] he would not even know who they were! He wouldn’t recognise who they were. [He would say,] “Where have you [pl.] come from?”
- (7) They would say to him, “Do you really not remember? You bought us this many bulls, this many cows, jenny-asses... it was such-and-such a mountain. We did it there, we established a town, we built a town and we established ourselves and we plant [crops]. God has given [us]. This is your portion.
- (8) (JG: So it seems like he had a lot of money.) He had a lot of money and also, people over there were not cheaters. People were straight. People were afraid of God.
- (9) All the Muslims were afraid of God. They [would] say, “If we do not give [what we owe], God will hold us accountable for our sin [and] then who knows what will happen to us?!”
- (10) [So] they would bring [what they owed]; they would bring [it] to the Jew, even though he was a Jew. Let me tell you a story about him.
- (11) Once a clerk came to Amədyā. (JG: An officer, you mean?)

⁴ More specifically, ‘the husband of my paternal aunt’.

- (12) *la' xa, max 'urwəd ɓəžər. qam-šadrile hawe ^Hgəzbar^H ta baladiya d-'aməɗya. hudaya. ʔele, 'afəllu qurɗaye g-yawəlɓale kawód, max reš ɓəžər wele.*
- (13) *xa mənɗi g-əmriwa, ma wewa šəmme? 'urwəd baladiya, 'urwəd baladiya wewa.*
- (14) *kullu pare d-jam'iwa mən ɓəžər, kullu pare k-etewa xe 'ide. 'awa g-jamé'walu, g-mšadárwalu l-bağdad. g-mšadərwa ta hukuma.*
- (15) *'awa bas ^Hpakid^H wewa. ^Hgəzbar^H ma g-əmriwa bəd hudəʔki? naʔər pare, naʔər pare.*
- (16) *bas ma? 'o hudaya xanča la wewa hatxa ɓriza b-dine. k-etewa šlota bas šabaʔa 'u-'edawaʔa. šabaʔa 'u-'edawaʔa k-etewa šlota.*
- (17) *'u-k-exəlwa ^Hgam^H pəsɾət qurɗaye, max d-axxa, naša ^Hɓiloni^H, la wewa ɓriza bəd dine.*
- (18) *g-mta'əlwa qumaɾe. mto'əlle qumaɾe mən naše 'urwane tama xsərre kup-parəd gu ^Hkasefet^H. kulle šəbat pare, kulle qam-xasərre.*
- (19) *qurɗaye 'ayya hudaya la gəbəwale g-əmri 'eh 'əɗyo p-šanqaxle!*
- (20) *xa-u-tré šqəllu, moɾəmlu ^Htelefon^H ta bağdad g-əmri... muyde'lu ta šurʔa, ta ɓukuma dəd 'ayya naša pare kullu xilile. lit qūruš gu ^Hkasefet^H, gu xazina.*
- (21) *dúrtəɗyom mšodərri məfattəš mən ɓukuma...mšodərri xa məfattəš mən ɓukuma xaze mɓatəš ʔrəšela dúglela mayla.*
- (22) *ʔele məfattəš, 'awa 'u-^Hpəkidi^Hm dide, hənna, kullu mənne-mənne g-əmri ʔate deh, ʔelan yawət ^Hdin 'u-ɓešbon^H kma pare 'itən gu quppa.*

- (12) No. A [man], like the governor of a city. They sent him to be the treasurer for the city council of Amadya. A Jew. He came [and] and even the Muslims treated him with respect. He was like the city's mayor.
- (13) They used to call him a [certain] thing—what was his name? The city council governor. He was the city council governor.
- (14) All the monies which they used to collect up from the city, all the monies were paid through him. He would collect them and send them to Baghdad. He would send [the money] to the government.
- (15) But he was just a clerk. What did they call a 'treasurer' in the language of the Jews? A *naṭar pare*, yes, a *naṭar pare*.⁵
- (16) But what [happened]? This Jew was not particularly religious. He would come to prayer services only [on] Sabbaths and festivals. [On] Sabbaths and festivals he would come to prayer services.
- (17) And he also used to eat Muslims' meat, like here,⁶ a secular person—he was not religious.
- (18) He used to gamble. He gambled with important people over there [and] lost all of the money in the safe. The whole box of money; he lost it all.
- (19) The Muslims did not like this Jew [and] they said, "Ha, today we will hang him!"
- (20) Straight away they took, they picked up the telephone [and called] Baghdad. They said... they informed the police, the government, that this man had squandered⁷ all the money. [They said that] there wasn't a penny in the safe, in the cash box.
- (21) The following day, they sent an inspector from the government... They sent an inspector to have a look and investigate whether it was true or false or what.
- (22) The inspector came, he and his clerks, the what's-it-called, everyone with him, [and] they said to him, "We have come so that you can give us an account of how many money is in the cash box, if you please."

⁵ Literally, this translates as 'a protector of monies'.

⁶ I.e. in Israel. Jewish society in Israel is often, rather oversimplistically, viewed as being divided into a דתי 'religious' and a חילוני 'secular, irreligious' segment.

⁷ Lit. 'eaten'.

- (23) *ma b-amərru? kullele mǧulbəllu. meṭi maṣḥaf, maṣḥaf dəd wüd kṭiwəllu tama xazax ma 'atlan.*
- (24) *wəlle kṭiwa gu maṣḥaf dide, ma 'iṭən gu quppa dide...k-xaze 'aqqada 'alpe dinaṛe ya'ni ṛaba pare. ḥázərila, 'wədlə ṛaba pare. xa šata mǧum'i pare ṛábelu, xa šata mǧam'i pare ṛábelu. 'u-lətle xa qūrūš.*
- (25) *ki'e p-šanqile. tama hatxa, ḥukuma hatxa, kud ganuwa la g-darewa gu ḥābəs, ^Hyašár^H g-mtaltəwale. 'awa 'u-yalunke 'u-kullu.*
- (26) *g-emər ta baxte ki'at ma? rešan zəlle 'əbba, p-šanqilan kullan. ki'at gyanax 'áni, wəlli mǧulbəllu kullu pare, liṭən xa qūrūs gu d-eyya quppa.*
- (27) *'atta b-ya'e, 'atta b-azi b-amri ta ḥukuma gu baǧdad b-doqili p-ḥəbsilan, p-šanqilan kullan. g-əmra ṭate ma 'odan?*
- (28) *g-emər baxxad 'ilaha silax kəs 'uṛwanət hudaye, kəs šalom bər moše, marre xazax ma b-awəd. marre ḥal 'u-masəle deni hátxela, baxxad 'ilaha mxálašlan!*
- (29) *xzi 'áxəni la ki'ax ma 'odax. gori kullu qam-ǧaləblu pare 'u-'atta ṭelu məfattəš mən baǧdad 'u-lətlan pare.*
- (30) *ṭela b-lele palǧədlel, ša'a tre'sər b-lele kullu kawə dmixe, ṭela g-maxya l-tar'a tax tax tax! qəmlu ptəxlu tar'a k-xazela 'aya.*
- (31) *'u baruxabba, ki'e naša 'úrwele, baruxabba b-eyya lele mayla, ma, gérila? k-xazela g-baxya.*
- (32) *g-əmra ṭaṭu wəlla ḥa:l 'u-masəle hátxela. gori kulla quppa wəlle mǧxsərəlla. mto'əlle wəllu ǧlibəllu, wəllu ǧlibəllu mənne 'u-'ədyo ṭele məfattəš k-ṭa'e g-emər kelu pare? qadome kullan p-šanqilan, kullan p-xanqilan.*

- (23) What could he tell them? He had lost it all. “Bring the book, the book in which you have written [the amounts of money] down, so that we can see what we have.”
- (24) He had written in his book what was in his cash box...they saw so-and-so many thousands of dinars, that is to say, a lot of money. [Amədyā] is a city—it makes a lot of money. One hour’s collected money was a lot; when they collected money for an hour it was a lot. And he did not have a penny.
- (25) He knew that they would hang him. There [it was] like that, the government [was] like that. Anyone who stole was not put in jail. They would hang him. Him and his children and everyone.
- (26) He said to his wife, “You know what? We will pay for this with our lives; they are going to hang all of us. You know yourself that it was me: I lost all the money [and] there is not a penny in that cash box.
- (27) Now they are going to find out. Now they are going to go and tell the government in Baghdad and they will arrest me and imprison us. They are going to hang all of us.” She said to him, “What should I do?”
- (28) He said, “For God’s sake, go to the elders of the Jews, to the house of Shalom, the son of Moses [and] tell him [and] let us see what he does. Say to him, ‘Such and such has happened to us. For God’s sake, save us!’
- (29) Look, we don’t know what to do. My husband has lost all the money and now an inspector has come from Baghdad and we do not have the money.’”
- (30) She came at night, [at] midnight, twelve o’clock at night, when everyone is usually asleep. She came and banged on the door: *knock, knock, knock*. They got up and opened the door and saw her.
- (31) “Welcome!” They knew that she was an important person. “Welcome. [But] what is it [that brings you here] at this [time] of night? Is everything all right?” He saw that she was crying.
- (32) She said to them, “Such and such a thing has happened. My husband has gambled away the entire [amount of money in] the cash box—he gambled and lost it. They won it from him and today an inspector has come [and] he is looking [around and] asking where the money is. Tomorrow they are going to hang us all. They are going to hang all of us.”

- (33) *g-emər ʔaʔa pə ʔana b-eyya lele ʔana meka metənnax pare? b-eyya lele, ma kullu nāšelu dmiʔe. b-azənwa b-ğadraxwa beʔa l-beʔa m-jamʔaxwa xazax ma ʔəmʂax mjamʔax ^Havál^H kiʔax kullu naše faqirelu. quppa lazəm hawela ʔaba pare.*
- (34) *g-əmra he wəlla ʔabelu pare. g-emər ^Htov^H marri ^Həfaħót^H kma pare ʔitən tad yaʔən, xazax ʔəmʂən la-mʂən, ʔana meka? mjamʔax mən kulla jamaʔa.*
- (35) *ʔaz mərri ʔaʔe, wewa ktiwəlla kma párelu, ʔalpahe dinaʔe. ħməlle, mərre ʔaʔa kiʔat ma? si mar ta d-an məfattəšine, marru pare doxun ħádərili. lewe gori dəryəllu gu quppa.*
- (36) *marre ta gorax šud ʔamər hadax ʔana lewi dəryəllu gu quppa čunkun ʔaxxa ʔitən qurdaye ganəwelu. zdeʔli darənnu gu quppa b-ganwilu ʔəlli.*
- (37) *ʔana wəlli dəryəllu mıtəwəllu kəs xa wəkil hudaya. ʔitən xa hudaya wəkil didile, g-mħémənən ʔəbbe, wəlli mıtəwəllu kəsle.*
- (38) *bas ʔatta lélele. b-eyya lele ʔana la-mʂən ʔazən ʔamrənne hallu pare. ħmulun bənhe ʔu-xazax ma b-odax. hatxa marre gorax ʔamər ʔaʔu. ʔilaha mraħmánile ħil bənhe, xazax ma b-odax.*
- (39) *ʔawa ma ʔwədle? qəmle b-gyane zəlle kəs šammaš t-knəšta g-emər ʔaʔe qu, qu, lewa dən dmaxa!*
- (40) *ğulamux b-eyya lele, ma təlux ʔaxxa? g-emər ħa:l ʔu-masəlat flan-kas hátxela. wəllu mpila gu ʔeqo, kullu p-xanqilu.*
- (41) *hudáyelu, ʔafəllu d-k-exəl pəsər qurdaye, ^Havál^H hudáyele. lazəm xalšaxle. məšwela ʔayya bəšto mən ʔayya liʔən gu ʔolam. g-emər ʔaʔe ħulamux, ma gəbət ʔodax?*
- (42) *g-emər gəbən ħadrət beʔa l-beʔa ħil bənhe, la ʔoʔət, si beʔa l-beʔa xzi kmat ʔəmʂət... kud yawəl kmat gəbe. xa yawəl pəl-dinaʔ, xa yawəl xa daʔham. mat b-yawəl meʔi.*

- (33) He said to her, “So where am I supposed to get money from for you at this [time of] night? At this [time of] night, all the people are asleep. I would go and we would go around [from] house to house and collect [money] to see what we could collect, but we know [that] the people are all poor. There is supposed to be a lot of money in the cash box.”
- (34) She said, “Yes indeed. A lot of money.” He said, “OK, at the very least tell me how much money there is [supposed to be] so that I know, [and] we’ll see if I can or cannot [get enough]. We will collect from the whole community.”
- (35) So she told him—he, her husband, had written down for her how much money it was: thousands of dinars. He waited [and then] said to her, “Do you know what? Go and tell those inspectors, tell them that their money is ready and waiting. [Say to them,] ‘My husband did not put it into the cash box’.
- (36) Tell your husband to say the following: ‘I did not put it into the cash box because there are Muslims here [who are] thieves. I was afraid to put it into the cash box [in case] they stole it from me.
- (37) I have put it...I have deposited it with a certain Jewish agent. I use a certain Jewish agent, [whom] I trust. I have deposited it with him.
- (38) But now it is nighttime. At this [time] of night I cannot go and tell him to give me money. Wait [until] tomorrow morning and we will see what we can do.’ Tell your husband to say that to them. May God have mercy until tomorrow morning. We’ll see what we can do.”
- (39) So what did he do? He himself went to the synagogue sexton’s house [and] said to him, “Get up, get up. Now is not the time to sleep!”
- (40) [The sexton said,] “[I am] your servant, [but] why have you come here at this [time of] night?” He said, “Such-and-such has happened to so-and-so. He is in dire straits [and] they are going to hang all of them.
- (41) They are Jews, even if he eats the meat of Muslims. But he is a Jew. We have to save him. It is a commandment. There is nothing in the world better than [fulfilling] this commandment.” He said to him, “[I am] your servant. What do you want me to do?”
- (42) He said, “I want you to go around from house to house [all night] until tomorrow morning—don’t go to sleep—go from house to house, as much as you can...let everyone give us much as he can. Let one person give half a dinar, let another give one dirham. Bring whatever he gives.”

- (43) *qəmle hadax 'wədle. 'awa 'u tre ʃlaha xeta ǵdərrou kulla ʒəzər, kulla maħallət hudaye. mərru ʃaʃu ʒal 'u-masäle deni hətxela, ʃalom ben mósəle mira, ki'ewa ʃəmme, kullu ki'ele, kutxa kmat 'əmşe, yawəl.*
- (44) *'az hulu, kutxa mat 'əmşe [indistinct] ʃelu, qam-matwíwalu pare kəsle g-əmri 'anna pare, ʃaba párele la mjum'a. naše faqire, lətwalu!*
- (45) *'ani moʃelu g-emər 'axtun məşwa doxun 'widáloxun, 'e xeta 'ana k-tármena.*
- (46) *ʃelu bənhe, ʃelu qolçiyə, ʃurʃe dəd ʒukuma ʃak ʃak m-maxe l-beta pʃaxle tar'a 'u: baruxabba, baruxabba ʃeloxun! xulun xa məndi, ʃtuwun. g-əmri la, ǵəbax ya'ax l-pare.*
- (47) *g-emər máloxun, ma hatxa b-lázitun, la g-napqetun m-gu bəta la 'axletun la ʃatetun! 'áxəni hətxela 'ade deni. mərrə ymeli hətxela 'ade deni hətxela.*
- (48) *'wədle ʃaʃu ʃtaya, 'ixala, qam-^Hbentayim^H majǵəllu čunkun gabaye heš la wewa xliše mjam'i pare mən kulla jama'a, xámkelu dmixe, la-mşelu.*
- (49) *ywəšla xa tre ʃlaha ʃa'e tama kəsle 'ixala bə'ádəllu, 'axxa mbašole kuttele... lewa ʃalāhi... 'ani ʒməllu. pare doxun hədǵəřilu.*
- (50) *'aqqada pare wəllu kəsli. g-emər 'ana la g-odən ʒile 'əlləloxun. mbáqrule naʃər pare doxun. 'aqqada pare wəllu hiwe kəsle. kullu pare 'áxxelu...*
- (51) *'ən t-ila hadax, ʃrəşewət, də-ʃawun 'axlax. dǵəħle ʃaʃu xa 'ərba, dǵəħle 'ərba g-emər pə ʒmulun pəsra ʃawən. qam-majǵəllu, ʒil xləşlu gabbaye.*
- (52) *g-emər ʃaʃu deh kma ǵəbetun? pare ǵəbətulu naqdi 'ən la, ʃaqlilu, ǵanwilu mənnəloxun. ki'etun 'axxa 'itən məşəlmane b-doqíloxun b-ǵalbi kullu.*

- (43) So he went and did so. He and two [or] three others went around the entire city, the whole neighbourhood of the Jews. They said to them, “Such-and-such a thing has happened. Shalom, son of Moses has said—they knew his name, everyone knew him—that everyone should give what he can.”
- (44) So they gave. Everyone what he could [indistinct] they came [and] placed the money before him [and] said, “This [amount] of money is a lot (of money) and [enough] has not been gathered. People [are] poor; they don’t have [money].”
- (45) They brought it to him [and] he said, “You have discharged your obligation. I will donate the rest.”
- (46) They came the next morning, the policemen came, the government officers. *Bang bang*, they knocked on the [door of the] house. He opened the door and said, “Welcome! You [pl.] are very welcome! Eat [pl.] something, drink [pl.]!” They said, “No, we want to know about the money.”
- (47) He said, “What is [the matter] with you [pl.]? Are you in such a hurry? You [pl.] are not leaving the house without eating and drinking! This is our custom.” He said, “I swear to you [pl.] that it is so, that our custom is so.”
- (48) He made them a drink, [some] food, [and] kept them occupied in the meantime, because the gabbais [sic] had not yet finished collecting money from the whole community—some [people] were sleeping, [and] they couldn’t [collect from] them.
- (49) One, two, three hours passed there at his home, while he was making food for them. Here he was making *kubbe*...it’s not polite...they waited. “Your money is ready and waiting,” [he told them].
- (50) “Such-and-such an amount of money is here in my house.” He said, “I am not [trying] to cheat you. Ask your own treasurer. Such-and-such an amount of money had been given to him. All of the money is here.”
- (51) “If that’s the case, you are right,” [they said]. He said, “Come, let us eat. He slaughtered a sheep for them. He slaughtered a sheep [and] said, “Won’t you stay while I roast the meat?” He kept them occupied, until the gabbais finished.
- (52) He said to them, ‘Now, how much do you [pl.] want? Do you [pl.] want the money in cash or not, [for people] might take it, steal it from you [pl.]. You [pl.] know that there are Muslims here [who] will take [it] from you [and] you will lose it all.

- (53) 'an mšadránnoxun l-mošəl. maṭo gəbetun? g-əmri la, hallan, hallu b-idan, k-xazət 'ətlan šurṭa mənnan, 'ətlan qoḷčiye, māni b-dawəqlan 'axəni, māni 'əmše 'əllan?
- (54) kəlle kullu pare mən kəsle, muṭqile pare, qəmle hule ṭaṭu. qaṭ qam-xaləşle, qam-xaləşle, 'o naşa qam-xaləşle.
- (55) ^Hbəxol-zot^H la qam-faydale. yde'lu g-əmri 'anna hudaye 'itən məşwa kəslu mxalşi hudaya, dān hudaya napəl b-'eqo, qurṭaye la g-mdagli, mtulfənnu ṭaṭan dəd 'ahiwət mǧúlbəlla kulla quppa.
- (56) 'ahi la g-maqṭə'ət 'aqəlan xaşwax lewət mǧúlbəlla. 'ayya hudaya qam-yawəllu pare mən kise hule ṭaṭux, gəbe maxləşla qdalux mən šanqa.
- (57) qam-baṭlile mən 'awoda 'u-zəlle l-baǧdad, zəlle l-dukəd gyane. lətwale laxma. ma paləx? la ki'e čū-məndi 'awəd, šule wewa g-ewədwa ^Hḥešbonót^H, 'u-'urwa, xa naşa šəmme 'urwa wewa, max qaymāqam wewa. wəlla xləşle.
- (58) 'az 'awa g-əmrrənnux hadax pare 'ətwale. hadax 'ətwale pare 'əmşewa yawəlwa. xa naşa baš, raba naşa baš wewa. qam-maxləşle, hule kullu, kulla quppa qam-yawila, mən kisəd gyane.

- (53) Or [should] I send it to Mosul for you [pl.]? How do you [pl.] want [it?]" They said, "No, give [it] to us, hand it over to us, you [can] see that we have an officer with us, we have policemen. Who will [be able to] capture us, who will [be able to] overpower us?"
- (54) He weighed out all the money, [which he had] in his house, he took out the money and then gave it to them. Thus he saved him, he saved him, he saved the man.
- (55) Nevertheless it did not help him. They knew. They said, "These Jews have a commandment to save [the life of] a Jew, when a Jew is in trouble. Muslims don't lie [and people] phoned us [to say] that you had lost the whole cash box.
- (56) You will not [be able to] persuade us into thinking that you didn't lose it. This [other] Jew gave money from his own pocket, he gave it to you [because] he wanted to save your neck from the gallows."
- (57) They fired him from his job and he went to Baghdad, he went to his place. He did not have bread [to eat]. What job could he do? He did not know how to do anything, [as] his job was book-keeping. And [he had been] an important man, like a district governor. But now it was [all] over.
- (58) So I am telling you, he [i.e. Shalom] had a lot of money. He had so much that he was able to give. A good man, he was a very good man. He saved him, he gave it all, he gave all [the money from] the cash box, from his own pocket.

9.2 TEXT 2: *SHER AD-DIN*⁸

- (1) *ʒg-maḥkeʒ ʿatwa ʿu-lətwa xa ʿ bəd barwari bala bəd qurḍəstán, huḍḍət túrkiya ʿu-qurḍəstán. xa hudaya wewa skina gu məšəlmane, matət məšəlmane.*
- (2) *ʿatwa tama xa ʿağa məšəlmana, ʿawa ʿu-ʿó hudaya gəbewa xa-o-xət. ʿtamá? hudaya ʿbaš wewa. g-yawəlwale xələ ʿtyata.*
- (3) *ʿu-ʿó məšəlmána-ži, ʿo ʿağa k-šamərwa ʿalle, g-darewa bala ʿalle, g-darewa bale ʿalle d-la mamər ʿile, la ʿodi d-la ləbbe.*
- (4) *ʿo hudaya xa talmid-ḥaxam wewa, řav, qərya wewa ʿbaš. xā-ga bəd ʿedət sukko, sukko wewa, yom šabta, řav wewa ytiwa čarməkaní gu sukko dide k-qarewa, mašaf gu xane bəqraya.*
- (5) *ʿağa k-paləṭ qam-tar ʿa, k-xaze sukkət hudaya núrele řpele ʿabba. ʿaz ʿağa xšule šábtela ʿadyo, hudaye lá-g-mačmele nura ʿu-sukkət hudaya dídehila ʿu-hudaya gəbele.*
- (6) *šřaxle tre ġulamawate g-emər řatu hayya ʿruqun kes hudaya máčmula sukko dide, nura řpərre ʿabba, nura ʿləqle ʿabba!*
- (7) *ʿan tre ġulamata⁹ hayya hayya moləzlu, ʿrəqlu řtəlu l-be-hudaya.*
- (8) *k-xaze hudáyele ytiwa gu sukko, mášəfile gu xane, bəqraya. manoxe, b-sukko lit ču nura! lewa ʿləqta! g-əmri ^Hkanir ʿé^H ʿağa lá-xzele ʿbaš.*
- (9) *d ʿərru l-beta, g-emər ma ʿwədləxun? mučəmyáloxun nura? g-əmri ağa, ču nura lətwa! sukko ... hudaya ʿáwele ytiwa gu sukkət gyane, wəlle bəqraya, mášəfile gu xane. ču nura lit, čú-məndi lit!*
- (10) *ḥa! maṭo g-əmretun? nřəqle xā-ga xeta ʿağa. nřəqle qam-tar ʿa menəx řřəselu dúglelu.*
- (11) *g-menəx wəlla lahíbela bənpaqa. wəlle bəxzaya lahibe yseqta bəd sukko.*
- (12) *kalwe yalunkət kalwe! šřaxle ʿallu, g-əmřənnəxun menxun, sukko řpərre b-nura! g-gaxketun ʿəlli?!*
- (13) *ʿáni-ži ʿrəqlu háyya-hayya, zde ʿlu mən ʿağa, ʿəmše qatəllu. ʿrəqlu xā-ga xət tad xaze, hudaya wəlle ytiwa bəqraya, har lit čú-məndi.*

⁸ The protagonist's sobriquet is *sher ʿad-din*, probably 'the lion of religion' < K *sher* 'lion', MSA *dīn* 'religion'.

⁹ < *ġulamawata*

- (1) They say, once upon a time there was a [man] in Barwari Bala in Kurdistan, [on] the border of Turkey and Kurdistan, a certain Jew had settled amongst Muslims, [in] a Muslim village.
- (2) There was a Muslim agha there [and] he and the Jew were fond of each other. Why? The Jew was good [to him]; he gave him gifts.
- (3) And as for this Muslim, this agha, he used to look after him, to look out for him, so that [people] would not harm him and not do anything which was detrimental to him.
- (4) This Jew was a gifted scholar, a rabbi [and] he was very learned. Once, during the festival of Tabernacles—it was the festival of Tabernacles [and] it was [also] the Sabbath day—the rabbi was sitting down in the Oriental sitting posture in his sukka [with] a book in his lap, [and he was] reading.
- (5) The agha went outside and saw that a fire had broken out in the Jew's sukka. So the agha thought, "Today is the Sabbath, [when] Jews don't extinguish fire." And it was the sukka of his Jew, of whom he was fond.
- (6) He called his two servants [and] said to them, "Quickly run to the Jew's house [and] extinguish [the fire in] his sukka—it has gone up in flames, it has caught fire!"
- (7) These two servants very quickly hurried; they ran to the Jew's house.
- (8) They saw [that] the Jew was seated in the sukka; a book was in his lap [and he was] reading. Looking around, [they saw that] there was no fire in the sukka. It had not caught fire! They said, "It seems that the agha's eyes have deceived him."
- (9) They returned to the palace. He said, "What did you do? Did you extinguish the fire?" They said, "Agha, there was no fire! [And as for] the Jew, he is seated in his sukka, reading, and a book is in his lap. There is no fire. There is nothing!"
- (10) "Huh! What are you saying?" The agha went outside again. He went outdoors to see if they were telling the truth or lying.
- (11) He looked [and] behold! flames [were] coming out [of it]. He saw flames coming from the sukka.
- (12) "Sons of bitches!" he shouted at them, "I'm telling you: look! The sukka has gone up in flames! Are you ridiculing me?!"
- (13) So they ran very quickly [to the sukka, for] they were afraid of the agha—he had the authority to kill them. They ran [there] again to have a look, [but] the Jew was seated, reading and still there was nothing.

- (14) *nāqəl ʔlaha hár-hadax. k-xaze 'ağa k-şarəx 'əllu. max qamaye, 'ağa k-xaze nura 'u-'ani lá-k-xaze ču məndi.*
- (15) *'u-k-eʔe g-əmri ta 'ağa, 'ağa, gəbət mqaʔləttan qʔullan, ^Havál^H 'anna tre naqle mšudraxlux liʔən ču məndi! la nura la qəʔma, ču məndi liʔən. ʔa-xzi b-gyanux! hudaya wəlle tama ytiwa wəlle bəqraya. ču məndi lewe bə'ada ču məndi. ču-núre-ši lítena.*
- (16) *'ağa fhəmlə, g-emər ma, la g-bare 'ani hawe duglane, 'ani la-g-mdagli šqaʔta 'anna ʔlaha naqle 'u-xzeli 'rəqlu zəllu xzelu. bálkiən 'ana la-k-xazən ʔaš? 'ána-zi k-xazən! ma 'ana lewi šidana! xun la mšuydənni! wəlli bəxzaya núrela ʔpaʔa 'əbba!*
- (17) *'az fhəmlə g-emər hoya 'u-la hoya 'ayya šaxínela sqəʔta reše! 'ayya hudaya xa naša naš-'iláhele. šađđíq-ile. šaxina sqəʔla reše. 'ayya lazəm xa naša mquđšele 'ayya hudaya. ʔásila.*
- (18) *g-emər ʔaʔtu suwun l-beʔa. durtədyóm g-emər ysúqule, suwun mārúle šamu'el 'aʔe kəsli, šəmme šamu'el wewa. zəllu g-əmri ʔaʔe šamu'el, 'ağa k-şarəxlux.*
- (19) *bále 'ágele, xabre t-ağa lazəm maqimile. lwəšle kalkəd gyane, qule zəlle kəs 'ağa. də-tú baruxxabba ʔelux g-emər 'ağa 'əlle. xérila 'ağa! gemər, ma mšudərrux baʔri? mayla briʔa? xa məndi?*
- (20) *g-emər he, he. xa məndi ʔaba 'urwa. xeʔ 'ağa, 'ana mayli? 'ana hudáyewən, čú-məndi la k-əʔya m-idi! g-emər la, la, lá-'amrət hadax. 'ana ki'ən 'ahi xa naša 'urwa 'úrwewət.*
- (21) *la, gulumux, 'ana čú-məndi lewi, 'ana hudaya, xa naša puč xa naša fəqir, məskina, lətli ču məndi. lewi 'ana xa naša hadax 'urwa, yde'le 'ayya 'ağa b-awədle xa balaye.*
- (22) *g-emər šamu'el, la mayrəxəttə. 'ana təmmal yom šabʔa monəxli ʔlahá-naqle rešux. 'ahi wətwa ytiwa gu sukko, 'ana xzeli šaxinət 'ilaha wəlla sqəʔta rešux max nura.*

- (14) The third time [they found] the same thing. They saw that the agha would shout at them. Just as before, the agha saw a fire and they did not see anything.
- (15) And they came and said to the agha, “Agha, if you want to have us killed, [then] kill us, but these three times [that] you have sent us [there], there has been nothing! No fire and no ashes, there was nothing. Look for yourself! The Jew is there, seated, he is reading. He isn’t doing anything. There are no fires either.”
- (16) The agha understood: “It isn’t possible that they are liars, they wouldn’t have lied these three times just for the sake of it. And I saw how they ran [there]. They went [there] and looked. Perhaps my eyes deceive me? [No,] I can see perfectly well! I’m not insane! I haven’t gone mad! I can see a fire blazing in it.”
- (17) So he understood and said, “It is surely the Divine Presence hovering above him! This Jew is a man of God. He is a righteous man. The Divine Presence is hovering above him. He must be a holy man, this Jew. This is good.”
- (18) He said to them, “Go home!” The next day, he said, “Bring him up [to me], go and tell Samuel to present himself before me.”—his name was Samuel—They went and said to him, “Samuel, the agha is calling for you.”
- (19) Now he was the agha, one had to obey his word. He [i.e. Samuel] put on his shoes, arose and presented himself before the agha. “Do sit down [m.s.], welcome,” said the agha to him. “May you have prosperity agha!”, he said, “Why have you sent for me? What has happened? [Has] something [happened]?”
- (20) He said, “Yes, yes. Something very great.” “May you have prosperity, [O] agha, what am I? I am a Jew, I am of no relevance.”¹⁰ He said, “No, no, don’t say that. I know that you are a great, great man.”
- (21) “No, [I am] your servant, I am nothing, I [am] a Jew, an unimportant person, a poor person, pitiful, I have nothing. I am not a person of such greatness.” He knew that this agha was going to cause [him] some problems.
- (22) He said, “Samuel, don’t talk too much! Yesterday, the Sabbath day, I looked above you[r head] three times. You were seated in your sukka [and] I saw the Presence of God hovering above you like a fire.

¹⁰ Lit. ‘nothing comes from my hand.’”

- (23) *ɫlahá-naqle mšudrili ɣulamawaɫi tad maçmela nura, telu kud-ɫlaha naqle g-əmri ɫaɫi ču nura lit. 'ani xmárelu lá-xzelu šaxina. čunkun 'ani xmare la k-xaze. bas 'ana, 'áp-ana naša ^Hmeyuħád^H-ili. 'ilaha qam-galelu 'eni, xəzyali šaxina.*
- (24) *az 'ahi xa naša mɣúdšewət. ki'ən məqqayad 'ahi xa naša mɣúdšewət. ɫlaha naqle b-'eni xzeli šaxina sqəɫta rešux.*
- (25) *'az g-emər ^Zɫale^Z 'ağa, 'ana xa naša hudaya pučkana. 'üdale¹¹ gyane fəqir tad 'ağa šawəqle, parəqle.*
- (26) *g-emər ^Zɫale^Z šamu'el la k-faydalux. 'ahi lazəm 'atət pešət qurdaya. 'ahi b-odaxlux sayyid deni, sayyid, 'ap-ani xa 'urwəd dóhunile, bəš 'urwa mən malla, šex, 'itən pə xa naša mɣudša g-əmriwale sayyid g-əmriwale 'ani ɫaɫe. 'ahi b-odaxlux ^Hroš-dát^H deni, sayyid deni. 'ahi mšalət qaman 'u-xəlaš.*
- (27) *qoɾa qurdaya 'ana kma šənne, 'əxəni k-xayax məgde, 'ahi qurdaya, 'ana hudaya, kutxa 'əš-din-gyane. ma-lux 'ədyo? ma brele 'əllux? 'ağa! ma, xulma xzelux?!*
- (28) *g-emər šamu'el, la meyrəxəttə. b-xudrešux qadome p-pešət qurdaya gəbət la-gbət. 'ən la p-qatlənnux.*
- (29) *ma 'awəd? ki'e 'ağa p-qatəlle. 'ən la šame' b-xəbər 'ağa, p-qatəlwale. g-emər ^Zɫale^Z ^Htoɪ^H 'ağa, halli ɫlaha yome xašwən 'u-b-yawənnux, xaɾaye b-amrənnux xabri. mad'ərənnux xabra, 'ən he 'on la.*
- (30) *g-emər ɫaɫe šamu'əl si ɫlaha yomaɫa xšu ta gyanux, bəɫər-bəɫər ɫlaha yomaɫa 'atət 'axxa g-əmriwale. g-emər xabrux 'əš-'eni 'istadi.*
- (31) *šamu'el b-ó-lele ɫele qəmle mərre ta baxte ta yalunke g-emər la 'amretun, la mbaqretun 'əlli, 'ana zəlli.*

¹¹ < 'widale

- (23) Three times I sent my servants to extinguish the fire [and] all three times they came and told me [that] there was no fire. They are asses, they cannot see the Divine Presence. Because they [are] asses they cannot see [it]. I, however, am also a special person. God uncovered my eyes and I saw the Divine Presence.
- (24) So, you are a holy person. I know for certain [that] you are a holy person. Three times, with my [own] eyes, I saw the Divine Presence hovering above you.”
- (25) So he said to him, “Agha, I [am] an irrelevant Jewish man.” He made himself [out to be] worthless so that the agha would leave him be, would let him alone.
- (26) He said to him, “Samuel, it’s no use. You must come and become a Muslim. We will make you our *sayyid*.” A *sayyid* is an elder of theirs, greater than a mullah, a sheikh. When a person is holy, they used to call him, they call him a *sayyid*. “We will make you the head of our religion, our *sayyid*. You will lead us in prayer and that’s the end of it.”
- (27) “Come now, [O] Muslim. For some years I...we have lived together, you a Muslim, I a Jew, each according to his own religion. What is the matter with you today? What has happened to you? Agha! Have you had [some sort of] dream?!”
- (28) He said, “Samuel, don’t talk too much. By your life, tomorrow you will become a Muslim, whether you want to or not. If not, I shall kill you.”
- (29) What was he to do? He knew that the agha would kill him. If he did not obey the agha’s words, he would kill him. He said to him, “All right, give me three days to think and I’ll give you...afterwards I’ll tell you my response. I’ll reply to you [saying] yes or no.”
- (30) He said to him, “Samuel, go for three days and think it over. After three days you are to come [back] here, I tell you.” He said, “You have my word,¹² my lord.”
- (31) That [very] night, Samuel arose and said to his wife, to his children, “Do not say [anything], do not ask me [anything], I’m going away.¹³

¹² Literally, ‘your word upon my eye.’

¹³ Literally, ‘I went away; I have gone away.’

- (32) *kud 'aṭe mbaqārroxun 'eka zälle mar la kí axni 'u-la-g-əmránnoxun 'éka-ži. la g-galánnoxun 'eka b-azən tad la napletun b-balaye.*
- (33) *'ana lazəm 'azən šoqənna 'ayya maṭa. 'ən la', 'ağa gəbe qaṭəlli. hatxa, masäle didi hátxela. mərre ṭaṭa qam-^Zmaḥkela^Z kullu ta yalunke pəšlu bəbxaya, ma 'odi?*
- (34) *ma, 'eka b-azət? g-emər la g-əmránnoxun 'eka, tad la mbaqrí-loxun, maxéloxun.*
- (35) *har b-ó-lele mxele l-'urxa. 'urxət ṭlaha yomaṭa. mən tama mṭele l-'amədyā.*
- (36) *bāṭər 'urxət ṭlaha yomaṭa bəd 'izaltəd 'aqle, mṭele l-'amədyā bəd lele, naše dmixe, 'eka b-azəl? zälle rašṭ gu knəšta.*
- (37) *'u-ytule gu knəšta mṣaloye qam 'ilahət gyane 'u-ytule bəlyapa. ya 'ilaha mxāḷəšli mən d-eyya bāla!*
- (38) *bənhe k-eṭe šammaš k-xaze xa naša wəlle šišit b-reše 'u-ytiwa, ləbbe pqe'le šammaš. kí'e wəlle sídalla knəšta čuxxa lətwa. k-xaze xa naša 'ayya mayle? mayle? zde'le, raba zde'le.*
- (39) *kulle lele ytúwale tama ḥil bənhe. látwale 'eka 'azəlwa. 'u-lá-gbele mar'əšwa naše. 'az ytule gu knəšta. 'u-šammaš xzele g-emər ya-mánile? yimkən šédile yimkən xa...mánile? g-zad'iwa naše qamaye.*
- (40) *šamu'el fhəmle, šme'le qal 'aqlatət šammaš g-emər ṭaṭe ṭa ṭa lá-zad'ət. ṭa, 'áneli. zälle kəsle, 'istadi mayla? xérila?*
- (41) *g-emər si marre ma'alləm 'aṭe 'axxa gəbən mḥakən mənne. mən-hadax l-hadax ma'alləm y'əlle ta ṣlota, dan-ṣlotela. ma'alləm kí'ele, baruxxabba šamu'el, 'ahi 'u-axxa?*
- (42) *g-emər qamaye ṭa-mṣalax, xaṛaye b-amrənnux. mṣoḷelu, xḷəšlu mən ṣlota, mərre ta-ma'alləm g-emər ḥa:l 'u-masäle didi hátxela.*

- (32) Say (s.) to anyone who comes and asks you where I have gone¹⁴ that you don't know, and I'm not even going to tell you where [I'm going]. I'm not going to reveal (to you) where I'm going, so you don't land up in trouble.
- (33) I have to leave this village. If I don't, the agha is minded to kill me. My story is as follows ...” He spoke to her [and] she told it all to the children [and] they started to cry. What were they to do?
- (34) “But where will you go?” He said, “I'm not going to tell you where, so that they do not ask you, [or] beat you up.
- (35) On the selfsame night, he set off on the road. [It was] a journey of three days. From there he arrived in Amədyā.
- (36) After a journey of three days on foot, he arrived in Amədyā at night-time, [when] people were asleep. Where could he go? He went straight to the synagogue.
- (37) And he sat in the synagogue praying to (his) God and he sat learning. “O God, save me from this predicament!”
- (38) In the morning the sexton came and saw a man, sitting down, with a prayer shawl over his head. The sexton's heart jumped with fear. He knew that [when] he had closed up the synagogue no-one was there. He saw a man—what could it be? What was it? He was afraid. He was very afraid.
- (39) He had sat there the whole night until the morning. He had nowhere to go and he didn't want to wake people up. So he sat in the synagogue. And the sexton saw him and said [to himself], “Who could that be? Maybe it's a demon, maybe a... who is it?” People used to be fearful in those days.
- (40) Samuel understood, he heard the sound of the sexton's footsteps [and] said to him, “Come, come, don't be afraid. Come, it's me.” He went over to him: “My lord, what is it? Is everything all right?”
- (41) He said, “Go and tell the rabbi to come here. I want to speak with him.” In the meantime, the rabbi had entered for prayers—it was time for [morning] prayer. Now the rabbi knew him: “Welcome Samuel, what are you doing here?”
- (42) He said, “First let's pray, then I'll tell you.” They prayed and when they had finished their prayer[s], he told the rabbi his whole story:

¹⁴ Literally, ‘your word upon my eye.’

- (43) *hatxa tela b-reši, 'ağa deni hatxa mərre ZtaliZ, 'riqali gyani 'ega la-ki'an ma 'odən. la-ki'an 'eka 'azən. gəbən 'arqanna mtašeli xa duka mtašənnə gyani la tafəq 'əbbi.*
- (44) *'ən tafeq 'əbbi p-qaṭəlli d-la ZmahkətaZ həma p-qaṭəl. g-emər taṭe la zad'ət, 'axxa čuxxa la ki'e dəd wət 'ətya. xayle xəzyəllux? g-emər la'. bas 'ahi 'u-šammaš ki'etun 'əbbi.*
- (45) *g-emər ki'ət ma, 'axxa 'itən manzale gu knəšta xəška:ne. čuxxa lewe y'ila gawu. 'ətwa xamka manzale gum'ane: 'u-raḥuqe. kma čuxxa yimkən, xā-ga b-sata yimkən xa g-ya'elwa gawu.*
- (46) *g-emər si tama 'u-xəška ytu tama, 'aṭe mbaqri 'əllux-ži, čuxxa la-k-xazelux. čuxxa la ki'e d-'itən tama manzal. hadax wewa sīdəllu tar'ane, lətwalu kma tar'a.*
- (47) *g-emər bəšila. 'āxəni m-metaxlux 'ixala 'u-štaya ḥil 'ilaha mfaṛəjla 'əllux 'u-xazax mtaṭo balaye p-xaṣax, ḥil mxaxax mən d-an balaye.*
- (48) *ḥil naše, ^Hulay^H 'ağa ṭa'e 'əllux, payəš, xaze la k-xazelux, payəš b-hiwi, p-šawəqlux. g-emər hiwi d-'ilaha. štoya hadax, b-odən xabrux.*
- (49) *y'əlle gu xa manzal d-an xašuke hadax tama, pəšle tama, pəšle max xa šabṭa, bəš-zodana, la ki'an.*
- (50) *^Hbentayim^H 'ağa kullu dukane ṭ'ele šamu'el də'le! la ki'e leka zəlle. 'axxa ṭama'ha l-eyya maṭa l-ayəḥa maṭa ṭ'ele 'ağa baṭre 'u-lewu bəxzəyəlle. šamu'el deni 'ar'a qam-bal'ale. la ki'e čuxxa b-ema 'ala zəlle.*
- (51) *ḥil xa yoma ytule b-gyane g-emər lá-g-barya! 'ayya hudaya la g-ezəl gu xa dukəd la hoyə knešta. lazəm 'azəl gu hudaye. ki'ənnə. maṭo, 'eka mšale? meka b-axəl 'ixala ^Aḥalál^A? lazəm, hudáyele, la-mše la 'axel. pawe zila l-'amədyə.*
- (52) *mšudərre ta ḥakomət 'amədyə g-emər ṭaṭe mənni 'ana 'aḡət flan duka, barwarnaye. tama g-əmriwalu barwarnaye, 'e duka. dən kṭawi maṭe b-'idux, 'itən xa naša mən kəslan wəlle 'ətya kəsləxun 'riqəlla gyane g-əmriwəle šamu'el, ḥal 'u-masəle dide hatxa wawa.*

- (43) “This is what has happened to me: My agha said such-and-such to me, [so] I fled, but I don’t know what to do [or] where to go. I want to flee, to hide, I want a place to hide so that he won’t come across me.
- (44) If he comes across me, he’ll kill me without any discussion. He’ll simply kill [me].” He said to him, “Do not be afraid. No-one here knows that you have come. Did anyone see you?” He said, “No. Just you and the sexton know about me.”
- (45) He said, “Do you know what? Here in the synagogue there are [some] very dimly-lit rooms, no-one has entered them. There are some very deep rooms, and distant [too].” As if maybe no-one... maybe once a year someone used to go into them.
- (46) He said, “Go there and stay there [in] the dark. Even if they come and ask after you, no-one will have seen you, No-one knows that there is a room there.” The doors had been, sort of, sealed over, so they didn’t have anything like a door.
- (47) He said, “All right.” “We will bring you food and drink until God puts everything in order for you and we see how we can end this predicament, until we can save [you] from this predicament.
- (48) Until people... perhaps the agha will look for you, and he will end up... he will see that he cannot find you and he will give up hope and leave you alone.” He said, “May God have mercy. [I hope] that it will be so. I will do as you say.”
- (49) He went into one of those dark rooms over there [and] stayed there. He stayed there for about a week or more, I don’t know.
- (50) Meanwhile, the agha had searched everywhere—Samuel had disappeared! He didn’t know where he had gone. The agha searched for him here and there, in this village and in that village, but they couldn’t find him. “The earth has swallowed up our Samuel.” They didn’t know which area he had gone to.
- (51) Until one day he was sitting alone [and] he said, “It’s impossible! This Jew would not go to a place which had no synagogue. He must have gone to [a place with] Jews. I know him. How... where would he pray? From where [would he get] kosher food to eat? It must be [so]. He is a Jew [and] he cannot refrain from eating. He will have gone to Amadya.”
- (52) He sent [a message] to the king of Amadya, saying to him, “Verily, I am the agha of such-and-such a place, the Barwaris.”—there they were called the Barwaris, [those from] that place—“By the time my letter reaches you, there will be a person from amongst us called Samuel, who has run away to your area. His story was as follows.”

- (53) *mḥukyale maṭo xzele b-reše. gəbənne m-gu-tré kepe. metätte ṭati. ṭa'ət 'alle, metätte. 'ağa hənna ḥakoma xzele, qam-qarele kṭawa g-emər ^Htoṽ^H, suwun ṭuwun mərre ta qolčiye, suwun ṭuwun l-eyya hudaya xzuwun 'ékele.*
- (54) *ṭelu qolčiye bəṭ'aya, mbaqore, xá-yoma, tré-yome, la ki'e, la ki'e 'ékele. kud mbaqrile g-emər lá-ki'ena, lewi xázyälle. ṭelu mərri ta ḥakoma la qam-xazaxle. mšodərre ğer qolčiye, g-emər lá-g-barya, lazəm xazaxle.*
- (55) *mšodərre ta 'ağa ḥakoma, g-emər ḥakoma, 'áxəni 'anna kma yomaṭa wüx bəṭ'aya maṭo d-mərrux b-yomət mṭele kṭawa didux. kṭawux mṭele l-'idi 'ana mən d-ó-yoma wəlli bəṭ'aya 'əlle.*
- (56) *lewe bəd, b-eyya 'ala deni. lewe b-taráf deni. yímkənilə zila l-ğər ṭaraf. 'áxəni ṭelan kullu dukane la qam-xazaxle. gemər, xā-ga xət mšodərre ṭaṭe kṭawa g-emərre ḥakoma ya'ət. 'o naša wəlle kəsloxun.*
- (57) *hudaye g-mtašəlmile, layku hudáyelu mṭúšyälle. 'ən maxəttu hudaye gəzrət 'əllu xa gəzeṛa b-yawile b-idux. 'ahi mzaḥəmlu, xzi, hakka mzaḥəmttu baš, b-yawile.*
- (58) *ṭele ḥakoma šrəxle ma'alləm 'u-šrəxle 'urwanət 'amədyə g-emər ṭawun kəsli gəben mḥaken mənnoxun.*
- (59) *ysəqlu, ḥakómele. zəllu kəs ḥakoma bəle ḥakoma ma gəbət mənnan. g-emər ^Zṭalu^Z šmuwun. naša wəlle 'ətyə kəsloxun, šamu'el wəlle kəsloxun, 'axtun wəlloxun mṭúšyälle la gəbetun... [indistinct].*
- (60) *'ətloxun ṭlaha yomaṭa. 'ən b-yawətuli, b-yawətule b-'idi 'ən b-darən sepa gəwəxun xəṛaye kúlloxun p-qəṭlənnoxun! p-qəṭlənnoxun kúlloxun, mat qəṭlən k-qəṭlən 'u-'ən ^Hbasóf^H la k-xazənne, kúlloxun p-kardənnoxun baš.*
- (61) *ma 'wədlu hudaye? gəzeṛa rəptela, ma 'əmşe qam ḥakoma, qam məšəlmana? g-zad'i məskínelu hudaye, ma 'ətlu?*
- (62) *ṭelu gu knəšta pəšlu bəbxaya 'u-şəmlu, şlowaṭa, 'u-g-yatwi kulle lele mşaloye qam 'ilaha. mxałəşlan, ya-'ilaha mxałəşlan!*

- (53) He told him what he had seen above his head. “Find him for me wherever he may be, bring him to me! Search for him and bring him [to me].” The agha, that is to say, the king saw, read the letter [and] said “Fine. Go and look,”—he said to his officers—“go and look for this Jew [and] find out where he is.”
- (54) The officers came searching, asking around, [for] a day, [for] two days. They didn’t find out, they didn’t find out where he was. Everyone they asked said, “I don’t know. I haven’t seen him.” They came and said to the king, “We haven’t found him.” He sent other officers, [for] he said, “It’s impossible. We have to find him.”
- (55) The king sent [a message] to the agha. The king said, “These [past] few days we have been searching, according to what you said, from the day your letter arrived. Your letter came into my possession [and] from that day I have been searching for him.
- (56) He is not in our area. He is not in our region. Perhaps he has gone to another region. We have searched everywhere [and] not found him.” He said, once again he sent him [a message and] said to him, “[O] King, know [this]. That person is amongst you.
- (57) The Jews are sheltering him; the Jews are probably hiding him, if you strike out at the Jews, issue a decree against them, they will give him up to you. Just you make them suffer and see. If you make them suffer greatly, they will give him [to you].”
- (58) So then the king called for the rabbi and he called for the [Jewish] elders of Amadya, saying, “Present yourselves to me. I wish to speak with you.”
- (59) [So] they went up. He was the king. They went to the king: “Yes [O] king, what do you want from us?” He said to them, “Listen. A man has come to you—Samuel is amongst you. You are hiding him [and] do not want... [indistinct].
- (60) You have three days. Either you will give [him] to me, you will give him up to me, or I will put you to the sword, and eventually I will kill all of you! I will kill all of you, I will kill as many as takes my fancy and if, in the end, I do not find him, I will banish all of you, completely!”
- (61) What did the Jews do? It was a powerful decree, what could they do against a king, against a Muslim? They were afraid, the Jews were pitiful. What did they have?
- (62) They came into the synagogue [and] began to cry and they fasted. [They said] prayers and they sat the whole night, praying before God: “Save us, O God, save us!”

- (63) *šamu'əl šme'le, k-xaze kulla jama'a jme'la, mayla? lewe 'eda, lewe čũ-məndi lewe yom kuppur, malu 'anna naše? wewa ytiwa gu manzal, čuxxa la ki'e, bas ma'alləm 'u-šammaš ki'e.*
- (64) *tele ma'alləm kəsle, y'alle kəsle g-meṭele 'ixala, g-emər marri təmmal ma wawa? kullu jama'a g-baxewa 'u-k-šarxiwa 'u-saliḥot, 'ədyo lewa yom šaliḥot!*
- (65) *g-emər 'ahi lətlux šula. 'āxəni g-mšalax ta 'ilaha, g-emər la', b-amrətti. g-emər ta ma'alləm lazəm 'amrətti, ma? ma tēloxun gu knəšta, baqraya šaliḥot. 'ədyo lewa yarxət šaliḥot! ṭamayla?*
- (66) *ma'alləm mḥukele ṭaṭe g-emər ḥa:l 'u-masālət ḥakoma hátxela. 'aḡa didux mšodərre ktawa ta ḥakoma 'u-mərre lazəm yawaxlux b-ide.*
- (67) *'ən la yawaxlux 'az ḥakoma 'atta mfuṣmənne 'əllan 'u-g-emər b-darən sepe 'əbban hakka la yawaxlux.*
- (68) *'u-g-mšalax qam 'ilaha yimkən 'ilaha mxaḥərṣan 'ilaha 'ayya balaye mapədlan. m-réšan-ži 'u-m-réšux-ži!*
- (69) *g-emər la la la', xālaš. 'ana la k-qablən. 'ayya 'ana kulla mutyali b-rešoxun? səbab didi? 'ayya ša'ar 'wədli ṭaṭoxun? la k-xašəx, ^Hassúr^H-ila! 'ilá¹⁵ b-dawəqli b-'awon!*
- (70) *suwun, háluli, marun ta ḥakoma bənhe meṭáxloxunile. meṭáxloxun 'əššalla 'u-mnəbluli kəsle. hiwət 'ilaha ma b-bare ma t-ile 'ilaha kṭiwa šud barya!*
- (71) *qoṛa p-qəṭlilux šamu'el, kí axni wəllu bəṭ'aya 'əllux kma yomaṭa, qoṭčiye, naše, litən 'urxa, litən duka d-la ṭ'elu 'əllux. qṭa'a rešux! p-qəṭlilux, ^Hbattuwaḥ^H!¹⁶*
- (72) *g-emər šud qəṭlili. mat 'iláhele kṭiwa, 'ən 'iláhele kṭiwəlla qəṭlili šud qəṭlili! mat 'ilaha kaṭu, yimkən goṛal didi hátxele. māni ki'e? g-emər ḥaš, hakka 'ahi gəbət, b-amrax, b-azax.*

¹⁵ < 'ilaha

¹⁶ < MH בטוח

- (63) Samuel heard. He noticed [that] the whole community had gathered. What was it? It wasn't a festival, It wasn't anything. it wasn't the Day of Atonement—what was the matter with these people? He was seated in the room [but] no-one knew. Only the rabbi and the sexton knew.
- (64) The rabbi came to him. He entered his room and brought him food. He said, "Tell me, what was yesterday? The whole community was crying and shouting and [saying] prayers of forgiveness. Today is not a day [when one says] prayers of forgiveness!"
- (65) He said, "It's none of your business. We are praying to God." He said, "No, you're going to tell me." He said to the rabbi, "You have to tell me. Why? Why have you come into the synagogue and read the prayers of forgiveness? Today is not [a day in] the month of the prayers of forgiveness [i.e. Elul]. What is it for?"
- (66) The rabbi told him, he said, "The story of the king is as follows: Your agha sent a letter to the king and he said [that] we have to give you up to him.
- (67) If we do not give you up, then... the king has recently issued an edict against us and he says that he will put us to the sword if we do not give you up.
- (68) And we are praying before God in order that God may perhaps annul our sins for us, that God may solve this predicament for us. Your fate is our fate!"
- (69) He said, "No, no, no, that's enough. I cannot allow [this]. Have I brought all this upon you? [Is it] on my account? Have I caused this sorrow for you? It is not permitted, it is forbidden! God will hold me accountable for the sin."
- (70) Go, give me up, say to the king, 'In the morning we will bring him to you. We will bring [him] to you, God willing,' and take me to him. May God have mercy—whatever happens, whatever God has written, let it happen!"
- (71) "Oh, but they will kill you Samuel. We know they have been searching for you for a few days, officers, people. There is no way, no place they have not searched for you. They will cut off your head. They will definitely kill you!"
- (72) He said, "Let them kill me! Whatever God has written. If God has written (it) that they are to kill me, let them kill me. Whatever God writes—perhaps my fate is thus. Who knows?" He said, "All right, if [this is what] you want, we will tell [the king], we will go [to him]."

- (73) *zəllu mərru ta ḥakoma, ḥakoma, qadome metáxluxile šamu'el. yde'lan 'ékele, řelan 'əlle, qam-xazaxle, m-metáxluxile. 'eh, m-metáštule, feřal, la g-odən čú-məndi 'əlloxun. mfahłənnoxun kúłloxun.*
- (74) *dúrtədyom telu, dwəqlu 'idət šamu'el qam-nablile qam-yawile ta ḥakoma. 'a: g-emər řate šamu'el, gyanux 'riqalux ha? b-xudreřu, 'ana la g-msapənnux b-'idət 'ağa.*
- (75) *bāle 'ağa didux 'ana la g-zad'ən mənne, 'ana bəř qúwyeli, bəř 'úrveli mənne. 'ana ḥakómewən. 'ana k-ḥakmən, 'ağa didux-ři k-ḥakmən.*
- (76) *bāle 'ağa didux mərre řaři 'ahi xa nařa mqúdsəwət. ki'ənnə kulla ḥukkita didux. wəlle mḥúkyəlla řaři.*
- (77) *'az lazəm, 'ána-ři g-əmrən, 'ağa didux ḥaqqánele, lazəm 'ahi peřət məřəlmana, peřət qurđaya, b-odaxlux sayyid deni.*
- (78) *peřət, lətlux ma zad'ət. 'ən la', p-qatłaxlux! g-emər ya-ḥakoma, gəbetun qatłətuli. 'ana lá-g-zad'ən mənnoxun.*
- (79) *'ən 'iláhele gžírəlla 'əlli 'atən qəřla b-'idoxun, řud 'atən qəřla! 'ana g-zad'ən mənnoxun? 'axtun mənənitun? 'iláhele xlıqəłloxun 'atta 'əmře mařtəqłoxun kúłloxun!*
- (80) *ha, hatxa g-əmrət? g-emər la ki'etun, lewa hadax? 'əmře xa 'awəd d-la xəbər 'ilaha xa məndi? 'az 'áp-ani məřəlmane g-mḥéməni b-ilaha, g-əmrə la, hádaxila. bas 'əxəni g-əmrax 'ilaha la g-ewədla 'u-lewe 'widəlla, la g-ewəd.*
- (81) *'əxəni g-əmrax řa poř sayyid deni! ma g-əmraxlux? g-emər la'. 'ana ḥudáyewən 'axtun qurđəyetun, kutxa 'əř-dine! řúquli! g-əmrə la', la k-faydalux. mat mərru řate g-emər la k-fayda.*
- (82) *ḥakoma mərre ta qolčiye dúqule máy'əlule gu manzal, mxule bař! maxele: ḥil qam-mampəlile.*
- (83) *řele, mořən xa-ga-xət qam ḥakoma g-emər ^{Hnu^H} ma gəbət? hatxa bəřřo řatux? g-emər qřúluli ya'ni la g-zad'ən. mirətti la g-zad'ən mənnux. gəbət qatłətti qtulli! ma, ma breła? xa gyana wewa.*

- (73) They went and said to the king, “[O] King, tomorrow we will bring Samuel to you. We have found out where he is—we have sought him out, we have found him [and] we will bring him to you.” “[If] you are going to bring him [to me] then [I will grant] a pardon, I will not do anything to you. I pardon all of you.”
- (74) The following day they came, they took Samuel by the hand [and] they delivered him... they gave him to they king. “Ah,” he said to him, “Samuel, you fled, [did you]? By your life I will not hand you over to the agha.
- (75) Indeed, as for your agha, I am not afraid of him. I am more powerful, I am greater than he. I am a king! I rule, I rule over your agha too.
- (76) However, your agha told me that you are a holy man. I know your whole story. He has told it to me.
- (77) It is necessary—I too say so, your agha was correct—it is necessary for you to become a Muslim, to become a Kurd. We will make you our *sayyid*.
- (78) Convert [and] you have nothing to fear. If not, we will kill you!” He said, “[O] King, if you want to kill me, kill me. I am not afraid of you.
- (79) If God has decreed (it for me) that I am to be killed at your hands, then let me be killed! Should I be afraid of you? Who are you? God created you and [even] now he can silence all of you!”
- (80) “Oh, so this is how you talk [to me]?” He said, “Do you not know? Is it not thus? Can a person do anything which God does not will?” Now they [as] Muslims also believe in God. They said, “No, it is thus. Only we say God will not do this: he has not done it and he will not do it.
- (81) We say, ‘Come [and] become our *sayyid*!’ What [more] can we say to you?” He said, “No. I am a Jew, you are Muslims. Each to his own religion! Leave me alone!” They said, “No, It is no use.” Whatever they said to him, he said, “It is no use.”
- (82) The king said to [some] officers, “Seize him and take him into a room. Give him a good beating.” They beat him until they knocked him out.
- (83) They came... once again he was brought before the king, [who] said, “So, what do you want [to do now]? Do you prefer this?” He said, “Kill me, that is to say, I am not afraid, I told you I am not afraid of you. If you want to kill me, kill me! What would be the problem?” He was a unique man.

- (84) *b-azən m-metən, har xa yoma m-metən. šud metən b-idux. yimkən wəlla gžərta 'əlli metən b-'idux. hadax g-əmrət? 'ahi hadax qúwyewət?*
- (85) *g-əmrənnux b-odənnux šarót, mat m-metən b-rešux b-reš kulla 'olam čuxxa lewa tiša b-reša, hadax m-metən b-rešux! g-emər mat 'odat 'əlli, 'ana hudáyeli, lá-k-pešən məšəlmana! g-emər ħakoma də-ħmól. p-xazax pešət 'ən la k-pešət.*
- (86) *g-emər ta qolčiye qadome dúqule 'u-mdáldule bəd šura. dúqule b-xola ysúrule b-xola 'u-mtáltule bəd šura. hadax m-mar'ale mtaltele bəd šura tré'amma metre, b-zade' yimkən tawər 'u-'amər la', la baxxat 'ilaha p-pešən la metən.*
- (87) *'ani la fhəmlu ħakoma ħaš. 'ani xšulu mərre mándule b-šura. 'ani tɛlu qam-mandele bəd šura. šwin mdáldele bəd sura mdáldele bəd xola, 'ani xšulu mərre mándule. qam-mandele.*
- (88) *xšula! ki'ət mayla mən mašada mandele l-'ar'a, har kud našəd mandele p-paqe', p-payəš tre qəɟ'e!*
- (89) *ma xzelu? k-xaze kullu naše wəllu ħmile, 'alpahe naše mfaɾoje 'əš-šura manoxe xaze ma b-bare l-ayya hudaya.*
- (90) *ma k-xaze? 'ayya hudaya xa nura yaruqta dən qam-mandele ħməlla 'əš-reše max šamsiya, max paɾāšut! kwəšle ħməlle 'əš-'aqle, la brele čŭ-məndi 'əlle.*
- (91) *ytule 'əš-'aqle, qəmlə, pəšle bizala, la brele čŭ-məndi 'əlle! kullu m'ojəblu, 'ayya ma? 'ayya mayle 'ayya naša. 'ayya lewe naša, lewe benadam! 'ən mál'axile 'on 'ilaha wewa. mayle 'ayya quwwuɟa dide?*
- (92) *zəllu hayya kwəšlu, qam-doqile, xā-ga xət mosəq. ɟlaha naqle qam-mandele. ɟlaha naqle qam-mandele 'u-kud naqla hadax! nura g-lawəš 'əbbe 'u-k-kawəš he:di, k-kawəš bəd-'aqle.*

- (84) “I will go, I will die, I’m going to die one day in any event. Let me die at your hands. Perhaps it is decreed (for me) that I die at your hands.” “This is how you talk [to me]? Are you that stubborn?”
- (85) I’m telling you, I will make trouble for you. What I will inflict upon you has not been inflicted on the entire world! I will inflict something so [terrible] upon you!” He said, “Whatever you do to me, I am a Jew. I will not become a Muslim!” The king said, “Just wait. We’ll see if you convert or not.”
- (86) He said to the officers, “Tomorrow take him and dangle him from the [city] wall. Hold him with a rope, tie him with a rope and hang him from the wall. In this way he will suffer pain [and] he will hang from the wall, three hundred metres [high]. He will be afraid, lest it break and perhaps he will say, ‘No, no, for God’s sake, I will convert so that I do not die.’”
- (87) They did not understand the king accurately. They thought he had said “Throw him from the wall!” So they came and threw him from the wall. Instead of “Dangle him from the wall, dangle him from a rope!” they thought that he had said, “Throw him!”. [So] they threw him.
- (88) Imagine it! You know what it would be like to throw someone down from Masada to the ground. Any person who is thrown down will explode, he’ll end up in two pieces!
- (89) What did they see? They saw, that is to say, all the people standing [there], thousands of people along the wall [were] looking on to see what would happen to this Jew.
- (90) What did they see? When they threw him down, a green light appeared and remained above his head, like an umbrella, like a parachute! He floated down and stood on his feet: nothing had happened to him!
- (91) He landed on his feet, got up [and] started walking. Nothing had happened to him! Everyone was stunned: “What [is] this? What is this guy? This guy is not a human, he is not a human being! Either he is an angel or it was God [who did it]. What was this power of his?”
- (92) They quickly went down and took hold of him and he was brought up once more. Three times they threw him down. Three times they threw him down and each time the same thing [happened]! A light covered him and he floated down slowly, he floated down onto his feet.

- (93) *nāqəl ʔlaha ʔtwa tama xa qolci, p̄hətle, xšule maʔo g-bare, la g-barya ʔayya ʔajabuʔa! g-emər ʔo naša maxele xa fišāka. m-mayəʔ? ^Hbetaḥ^H fišāka-ži la g-ʔaləq ʔəbbe. čū-məndi lá-g-bare ʔəbbe.*
- (94) *būm! qam-qaʔəlle! šqalle tfanga qam-maxele xa fišāka. qam-maxele xa fišāka, qam-maxele gu-reše. ʔu-mətle. šamuʔel q̄til.*
- (95) *mərru ta ḥakoma g-əmri ʔistadi ḥakoma hatxa brela. ma:? ḥakoma šrəxle ʔəllu qam-maxelu. ʔana mirətuli, ma, mirətuli mándule b-šura? ʔamá qam-mandətule?*
- (96) *g-əmri ya-ḥakoma ʔahi mərrux, g-emər kalwe yalunkət kalwe ʔana la mirətuli hadax, ʔana mirətuli mdáldule bəd-šura!*
- (97) *g-əmri p̄a mfāḥəllan, ʔāxəni la fhəmlan. ʔāxəni fhəmlan mərrux mándule. ʔlaha naqle qam-mandaxle ʔu-hatxa brela! ʔela xa hənna nura sqəʔla b-reše k-kawəšwa g-yatuwa bəd ʔaqle la g-barewa čū-məndi ʔəlle.*
- (98) *ʔega xa šurʔa mjoṛəble g-emər xazax tfanga, fišāka b-ʔaləq ʔəbbe. ma b-bare ʔəlle maxənnə xa fišāka? mxele fišāka ʔəbbe qam-qaʔəlle.*
- (99) *g-emər méʔule ʔo šurʔa. qam-metele ʔo šurʔa, ʔan šurʔəd qam-mandele ^Hyašār^H qam-qaʔəllu. q̄tilile! g-emər ʔaxtun la fhəmləxun? ma ʔatta mafhəmənnəxun.*
- (100) *šamuʔel mətle. mətle ʔega ma ʔodibe? ḥməlle ḥakoma g-emər ʔayya naša hudaya wewa, har b-yawənnə ta hudaye. ʔaʔe hudaye šaqli kallaš dide, yaʔni ʔarma dide ʔodibe ma? ta qorile ta-gyanu.*
- (101) *^Hbeʔemət^H maʔalləm, šmeʔlu hudaye šmeʔlu ma brele, šmeʔlu ma brele ʔəlle. ʔaz hudaye ʔelu kəs ʔəga, kəs ḥakoma, g-əmri ʔaʔe ḥakoma qam-qaʔləʔtule ʔəmər ʔilaha wewa.*

- (93) The third time...now there was an officer there [who] was shocked [and] thought, "How is this possible? How is this wonder possible?" He said [to himself], "If this man is shot with a bullet, will he die? Surely even a bullet will not harm him. Nothing will happen to him."
- (94) Bang! He killed him! He took a gun and he shot him with a bullet—he hit him in the head. And he died. Samuel had been killed.
- (95) They spoke to the king, saying, "My lord the king, such-and-such happened." "WHAT?" the king shouted at them [and] he beat them. "I told you...did I tell you to throw him from the wall? Why did you throw him?"
- (96) They said, "Yes, O king. [That is what] you said." He said, "You sons of bitches! I did not tell you [to do] this. I told you to dangle him from the wall!"
- (97) They said, "Then forgive us, we did not understand. We understood [that] you were telling us to throw him. Three times we threw him and this is what happened. A what's-it-called, a light hovered above his head [and] he floated down and came to rest on his feet, without anything having happened to him.
- (98) Then an officer tested him, saying, 'Let's see if a gun, a bullet can harm him. What will happen to him if I hit him with a bullet?' He shot him with a bullet [and] killed him."
- (99) He said, "Bring that officer [to me]." They brought that officer [to him]. He [i.e. the king] killed those officers who had thrown him [i.e. Samuel] down, he killed them immediately. He killed them! He said, "So you didn't understand? Well, let me make you understand."
- (100) [So] Samuel died. He died, but now what were they to do with him? The king stood up and said, "This man was a Jew—I shall give him to the Jews. Let the Jews come and take his body, that is to say his corpse." What were they to do with it? Bury it (for themselves).
- (101) In fact, the rabbi...they heard...the Jews heard what had happened. They heard what had happened to him. So the Jews came to see the agha, the king. They said to him. "[O] king, you have killed him, [but] it was God's order.

- (102) 'ayya hatxa 'ilaha wewa k̄tiwa. la-'axtun qam-qat̄lātule, ki'ət gyanux 'axtun la-m̄setun qat̄lātule, bas 'ilaha. hatxa wawa k̄təwta,¹⁷ goṛal dide hatxa wewa.
- (103) ^Haval^H hudáyele, hálule b-'idan qoraxle b-qorát̄ hudaye. gəbetun šaq̄lātule-ži šq̄lule baz lazəm qorát̄ule. la k-xašəx hatxa.
- (104) 'axtun dinóxun-ži la g-emər kallaš naša ṭlaha yome la k-xašəx la qorile?! g-emər haqqánətun. hudaya šq̄lule suwun q̄r̄ule.
- (105) 'az q̄tila la k-xašəx qorile ^Hləfi^H din, halaxa gu qoraṭa. lazəm qorile l-warya mən qoraṭa. 'az qam-qorile gu ṭappaya. 'ətwa xa ṭappaya, ṭura, ṭappaya kwəšta hatxa. ṭappaya qorát̄ hudaye wewa.
- (106) la qam-qorilu gu-ṭappaya qam-qorilu bəd duma:hik ṭappaya. 'ətwa tama xa šaqqit̄əd məye g-ezawa qābəl qora dide. qam-qorile bāt̄ər šaqqita.
- (107) 'u-ṭelu, mət̄le. muyde'lu našəd maṭa dide, naš-beṭe, ḥal 'u-masālət baboxun hatxa brela 'əlle. ṭele qəṭla.
- (108) ṭelu ytulu bəd ^Həvel^H 'áp-ani. ma brela brela, la-m̄še, hudaye la-m̄še čū-məndi 'odi.
- (109) bāt̄ər kma šənne 'əš d-é-šaq̄qita yrəqlu xamka 'arṃone, dar 'arṃone. xa řeza dəd 'arṃone. 'anna 'arṃone hadax ṭřəšlu, čuxxa lewe zri'əllu, ^Haval^H mənnu l-gyanu yrəqlu. 'u-řəmlu ṭřəšlu p̄qəxlu, řwelu, hullu 'arṃone.
- (110) ^Haval^H ma? čuxxa la g-m̄hayəlwa 'azəlwa šaq̄lwa 'an 'arṃone. kullu ki'ewa 'anna 'arṃonəd šamu'el wewa.
- (111) qurdaye g-əmriwale šer 'ad-din. yde'lu mat brela, šme'lu, kúllulu šmi'e ma brela 'əlle mat 'wədwale.

¹⁷ The expected form would be the contracted *k̄tuta*, see 4.1.7.10.

- (102) God had written it like this. It is not you [who] killed him. You yourself know that you cannot have killed him, only God [can]. It was written like this, his fate was like this.
- (103) But he is a Jew. Give him over to us so that we may bury him in the Jewish cemetery. Even if you want to take him, [then] take him! But you have to bury him. It is not permitted [to leave the body] like this.
- (104) Does not your religion also say that it is impermissible not to bury a person's body for 3 days?!" He said, "You are right. Take the Jew. Go [and] bury him."
- (105) Now, it is not permissible according to the law, the Halakha,¹⁸ for a person who has been murdered to be buried in the cemetery. He must be buried outside the cemetery. So they buried him on the hilltop. There was a hilltop, a mountain, a steep hilltop like this. The hilltop was the cemetery of the Jews.
- (106) They did not bury him in [the middle of] the hilltop, they buried him right at the far end of the hill. There was a channel of water there, which flowed in front of his grave. They buried him on the other side of the channel.
- (107) And they came...he died. They informed the people of his village, his relatives: "The story of your father is as follows: Such-and-such happened to him. He was killed."
- (108) So they came and sat in mourning. What had happened had happened. They could not, the Jews could not do a thing.
- (109) After a few years some pomegranate trees sprung up along that channel—a row of pomegranate trees. These pomegranate trees grew so well! No-one had planted them, rather they had sprung up by themselves. They grew tall and healthy; they blossomed, became large and bore pomegranates.
- (110) But what [happened]? No-one was permitted to go and take these pomegranates. Everyone knew these were Samuel's pomegranates.
- (111) [Muslims] Kurds used to call him *Sher ad-Din*. They knew what had happened, they knew. They had all heard what had happened to him, what he had done.

¹⁸ Halakha is Jewish religious law.

- (112) *xā-ga xa məšəlmana ʔele g-emər ʔanna hudaye šidánelu! ʔana b-azən qeçənnu ta gyani. ^Hhávál^H ʔarṃone mnapli xeṭa, p-sapsi.*
- (113) *zəlle qəçle ʔarṃone, nublile l-beṭa, ʔawa twirile, xəlle, baxte mšuydənnu kutru bnone mšuydənnu. mšuydənnu, kutru! pəšlu baqṭala gyanu, mxaya gu rešu. pəšlu šidane.*
- (114) *ʔawa zdēʔle g-emər hoya la hoya ʔanna mən ʔarṃonəd šer ʔad-dín-ilu. ʔega ma ʔoden? qəmlə, xa xura ʔətwale g-emər ʔaṭe ʔo xura ʔahi xmárewət! ma zəllux qṭeʔlux ʔarṃonəd šer ʔad-din?*
- (115) *la kiʔət ʔawa xa hudaya mqudša wewa? ʔarṃone dide čuxxa la-mše naqəh ʔəllu ʔfəllu! ʔu-d-la-ṙāšut zəllux šqəllux! lazəm hawətwə šqila rāšut mənne, xaraye!*
- (116) *g-emər pə ma ʔodən? pə baxti ʔatta mšuydənnu, yalunki kutru mšuydənwalu ʔu-ʔana ma ʔodən?*
- (117) *g-emər ^Zṭale^Z si kəs maʔalləm hudaye, mándila gyanux gu beṭe ʔu-marre ḥal ʔu-masəle didi hátxela. ʔawa b-amərrux ma ʔodət. bas ʔawa ʔəmše mṭarəšlux.*
- (118) *qəmlə, ʔele kəs maʔalləm hudaye, g-emər ta maʔalləm baxxad ʔilaha hatxa wawa, zəlli šqəlli ʔarṃone, qṭeʔli mən ʔarṃonəd šer ʔad-din ʔu-xəllan, ʔu-baxti ʔu-kutru yalunki mšuydənnu. g-mvakšən¹⁹ mənnoxun mšəḷun tad baxti ʔu-yalunki ʔarši.*
- (119) *maʔalləm g-emər ʔaṭe xzi, ʔəxəni la-mšax, lewax duxture, ʔilaha g-yawət šidane, ʔəxəni ʔəmšax mṭarəšax? lewax duxture ʔəxəni. ʔəmšax mṭarəšaxlu šidane? duxture la-mše mṭarəši šidane! ʔəxəni maywax?*
- (120) *g-emər bəle, ʔaxtun ʔəmšetun, ʔaxtun hudáyetun. ʔətləxun quwwūta. kiʔən ʔilaha k-šameʔla šləṭəxun. xzuwun, mšəḷun ʔaṭi, mat gəbetun b-yawənnəxun.*

¹⁹ < MH שֶׁקֶב. Note that the root is adopted into ANA as *v-k-š*, and the initial root consonant is never *b-*, on the basis of the most commonly occurring forms in MH having the fricative allophone of *כ*.

- (112) Once, a certain Muslim came along [and] said, “These Jews are insane! I’m going to go and pick them for myself. [It is] a pity that the pomegranates fall [off the tree] it—they are going to rot!”
- (113) He went and picked the pomegranates [and] took them home. He broke them [open] and ate, and his wife went insane and his two sons went insane. They went insane, both of them! They started to hit themselves, beating their [own] heads. They went crazy.
- (114) He was afraid [and said], “Certainly these are some of *Sher ad-Din*’s pomegranates. Now what am I to do? (He arose) ...now he had a certain friend and this friend said to him, “You are an ass. How could you go [and] cut down *Sher ad-Din*’s pomegranates?”
- (115) Do you not know that he was a holy Jew? No-one is even allowed to touch them! And you took [some] without permission. You should have got permission from him [and only] afterwards [taken them].”
- (116) He said, “And so now what am I to do? My wife has now gone insane, my children have both gone insane and what am I to do?”
- (117) He said to him, “Go to the home of the Jews’ rabbi, throw yourself [at his feet] in his house and say, ‘My story is as follows.’ He will tell you what to do. Only he can cure them.”
- (118) So he arose [and] came to the rabbi of the Jews [and] said to the rabbi, “By the grace of God—it happened like this: I went and took pomegranates. I cut down some of *Sher ad-Din*’s pomegranates (and) we ate them and my wife and my two children went insane. I beg you to pray that my wife and children recover.”
- (119) The rabbi said to him, “Look, we cannot, we are not doctors. God makes [people] crazy—[how] can we cure them? We are not doctors. Can we cure crazy people? Even doctors cannot cure crazy people. What are we?”
- (120) He said, “Yes, you can. You are Jews. You have power. I know [that] God listens to your prayers. Look, pray for me [and] whatever you want I will give you.”

- (121) *g-əmri xzi, 'āxəni la k-kaflaxlux, bas b-odax mat 'əmşax. b-yawət 'aqqada pare, meṭi xa-tré tanage məşxa, širik ta m'alqax šra'ət knəšta 'u-mşalax taṭux. ^Hbə'ezrat hašém^H p-ṭarşa.*
- (122) *mşolelu ^Hbe'emét^H ṭrəşla baxte, ṭrəşla baxte 'u-kutru yalunke ṭrəşlu. 'az mən d-o-ga ki'ewa kud g-ğaləṭwa 'azəlwa šaqəlwa...hudaye k-qabəlwa, k-eṭiwa qečiwa 'u-k-exlíwalu la g-baryawa čú-məndi 'əllu.*
- (123) *kuq-qurdaya²⁰ 'azəlwa šaqəlwa 'on k-payəşwa šahara 'on 'aqle k-toriwa, g-yoşiwa, mşaləlwa, 'on bnone g-mşeydəniwa. har xá-məndi g-barewa 'əlle.*
- (124) *'az ki'ewa 'áp-ani, k-eṭewa ^Hyaşár^H kəs ma'alləm, baxxad 'ilaha ma'alləm hatxa 'wədlan.*
- (125) *la mirətuli la 'odetun? ma, léwetun bəzda'a, g-əmrxloxun la naqḥetun 'arḥonəd šer 'ad-din. mə la ki'etun hátxela? bas g-zad'iwa, g-zad'iwa qamaye. ki'ewa. bəd zāman deni qurdaye ^Hkvar^H g-zad'iwa qarwiwa l-an 'arḥone. kulla rəzət 'arḥone xa-ži la g-naqáḥwalu.*
- (126) *'ayya ḥukkitəd šer 'ad-dín-ila. kud šmi'ale 'ilaha yawəlle xaye 'u-kud la šmi'ale 'ilaha yawəlle xaye. k-xaşwənwa wəlli mhúkyəlluxila.*
- (127) *'arḥone 'ətlu ḥil 'ədyo tama. rəzət 'arḥone b-amrət xa wewa zrí'əllu. mənnu l-gyanu rḥelu. 'əş-šaqqita tama, b-ṛeza xa bātər d-o-xeta.*
- (128) *kuššat g-yawiwa kud 'arḥota hatxa. [JG: xəllux mənnu?] 'ana lewi xila. čugga lewi xila mənnu bas ^Zg-maḥke^Z, la k-kiən 'afəllu qora dide.*
- (129) *bas k-taxrən g-əmriwa 'ékela, ṭappaya ki'ən 'ékele. lewi xəzyəlla. 'ana lewi xəzyəlla. z'ora wənwa. ki'ewa, la mboqərwali.*
- (130) *'ən haweli mbuqra, m-maxzəwalila naše. la mərri máxzulila, 'ən hawənwa mira 'ana maxzəwalila. ṛaba naša ki'ewala qora dide.*

²⁰ < kud qurdaya

- (121) They said, “We cannot promise you, but we will do what we can. You must give such-and-such an amount of money, bring one or two tins of butter...oil, so that we can light the candles in the synagogue and we will pray for you. With the help of God she will recover.”
- (122) They prayed [and] his wife really did recover. His wife recovered and both his children recovered. So from that time they knew [that] anyone who made the mistake of going and taking...[for] Jews it was permitted. They would come and pick [them] and eat them and nothing would happen to them.
- (123) [But] any [Muslim] Kurd who went and took [pomegranates] would either go blind or he would break his leg or he would become crippled or he would [start to] hobble, or his children would go insane. Something would always happen to him.
- (124) So even they knew. They would go straight to the rabbi’s house [and say], “By the grace of God—Rabbi, we have done such-and-such.”
- (125) [He would say], “Did I not tell you [pl.] not to do that? What, are you [pl.] not afraid? We often tell you [pl.] not to touch *Sher ad-Din’s* pomegranates. Do you [pl.] not know that it is so?” But they were afraid, they used to be afraid in those days. They knew. In our time the Kurds were afraid to approach those pomegranate trees. Not even one person would have touched the whole row of pomegranate trees.
- (126) That is the tale of *Sher ad-Din*. May God give life to everyone who has heard it and to everyone who has not heard it may God also give life. I thought I had told it to you.
- (127) There are pomegranate trees there still today. A row of pomegranate trees [that] you would say someone had planted. But they grew by themselves. Along the channel [of water] there, in a row, one behind the other.
- (128) Every year each pomegranate tree would bear so much [fruit]. [JG: Did you eat them?] I have never eaten [them]. I’ve never eaten any of them but they say...I don’t even know where his grave is.
- (129) But I remember they used to talk about where it was. I know where the hilltop is, [but] I’ve never seen it [i.e. the grave].
- (130) If I had asked, people would have shown it to me. I did not say, “Show it to me.” If I had said [that], they would have shown it to me. Many people knew [where] his grave [was].

- (131) *bas g-əmriwalan, 'āxəni-ži yalunke la 'azetun, 'afəllu ^Hmuttár^H-ila, 'āxəni hudaye la 'azetun qaçetun.*
- (132) *'az g-zad'axwa 'azawa qeçaxwa, 'ap-āxəni šud d-wewa həlal 'arḡone. šammaš g-ezəlwa k-qayəçwa 'u-g-meṭewa.*

- (131) But they used to tell us [about it]—even we as children were not to go [there], even though it was permitted, we Jews are not to go [and] pick [the fruit].
- (132) So we used to be afraid to go [and] pick [them], even us, although the pomegranates were permitted [to us]. The sexton used to go [and] pick [them], and bring [them back].

9.3 TEXT 3: THE JUDEOPHILIC BEAR

- (1) *Zmaḥkənnux^Z xa ḥukkīta l-dəbba. 'ətwa xa', jirani wewa, yissaxar, 'áwele mḥúkyəllila 'ayya ḥukkīta.*
- (2) *'isaxar hudaḡa wewa. 'izahar g-əmráxwale, yissaxar. g-emər... naša fāqir wewa 'az kud naqla k-kawəšwa mən 'aməḡya l-maṭwəta tad mزابənwə 'attaruṭa.*
- (3) *xmaṭe, ^Hmasrekim^H ma g-əmrile šəmmu? 'ətwa kullu məndi d-anna xmaṭe 'u-^Hdevarim^H ta naše, g-əmríwala 'attaruṭa. (JG:: 'avize ya'ni?) ^Hkol minei^H 'awize.*
- (4) *'az g-mزابənwə ta məšəlmane ta maṭwəta čunkun tama 'ani našəd maṭwəta la-mšəwa kudyom yasqiwa l-'aməḡya zoniwa ta gyanu. raḥuqta wawa.*
- (5) *'u-wewa žǵile-ži bəd ^H'avodat^H gyanu gu čammane gu karmane, lətwalu ^Hzman^H 'aṭewa kudyom l-'aməḡya tad zoniwa xa šaxaṭa 'on tad zoniwa kalke 'on xa məndi.*
- (6) *hatxa 'awa kuššat g-zawənwə 'u-g-darəwalu l-xaše 'u-g-mnabəlwalu l-'aməḡya g-mزابənwə 'u-k-xayewa bəd hatxa. hatxa g-ewədwa ^Hləhitparnés^H, k-xayewa mən d-anna.*
- (7) *xa yoma zəlle. 'az tama lətwə ^Hbatei malon^H tad sakənwə. ma g-ezəlwa kəs məšəlmane. ki'əwalu naše, pəšwalu ^Hḥaverim^H, ki'əwalu, xurawəta wewa. 'ani k-əṭewa kəslu, 'ani g-eziwa kəslu. ləpwalu xa l-o-xeta.*
- (8) *'az g-ezəlwa kəslu, k-payəšwa tama xa šabta, tre šabaṭa 'u-^Hbentayim^H ḥil mزابənwə ^Hseḥorá^H dide, hənna, təjjaruṭa dide, ḥil mزابənwə 'u-b-aṭewa l-beṭa.*
- (9) *xa lele g-emər wewa ytiwe hatxa ^Zmaḥkoye^Z, lele lətwə ču ma 'odiwa, ^Zg-maḥkewa^Z ḥukyəta xa ta d-o-xeta.*
- (10) *xá-dana y'əlle xa märe beṭa g-emər ta brone, bronu tawərta deni qam-šoqətta qam-tar'a la tela. ki'ət b-axlila dəbbe, b-axlila ḥaywane, 'iṭən ḥaywane sərye. 'ətwa nuṃre, 'ətwa dewe, 'ətwa dəbbəta, dəbbe, b-axlíwala.*
- (11) *g-emər babi ḥmol xa-tré daqiqe xət. xánča-xət p-ḥamlax, tama lətwə ša'e, xánči-xeta g-emər p-ḥamlax, hakka la tela l-beta b-azax ṭa'ax 'əlla.*

- (1) Let me tell you a story about a bear. There once was a [man], he was my neighbour, Issachar, [and] he told me this story.
- (2) Issachar was a Jew. We called him “Izahar”, Issachar. He said . . . he was a poor man, so he would always go down from Amədyā to the villages to sell his wares.
- (3) Needles, combs—what are they called (in the language of Amədyā)? There was everything: those needles and things for people. They used to call them “wares”. (JG: You mean odds and ends?) All sorts of odds and ends.
- (4) So he would sell [them] to Muslims, to the villages, because the people of the villages over there could not go up to Amədyā every day to buy [things for themselves]. It was far.
- (5) And they were busy with their own work, in the fields and orchards. They did not have time to go to Amədyā every day to buy a box of matches, or to buy shoes or something.
- (6) In this way he would sell [things] all year. He would put them onto his back and take them to Amədyā [sic.] and he would sell [them] and he would live from [selling] like this. This is how he would make a living; he lived from these [things].
- (7) One day he went. Now, there were no hotels over there to stay in. He would just go and stay with some Muslims. He used to know people, they had become friends, he knew them, they were friends. They would come and stay with them [and in return] they would go and stay with them. They had got to know each other.
- (8) So he would go and stay with them. He would stay there for a week, two weeks and in the meantime . . . until he had sold all his wares, the what-do-you-call-it, his products, until he had sold them and then he would go home.
- (9) One night, he said [that] they were sitting like this, talking—at night there was nothing to do, they would tell stories to each other.
- (10) Suddenly the head of the household came in and said to his son, “My son, you have left our cow outdoors and it hasn’t come [back]. You know a bear will eat it, wild animals will eat it.” There were vicious wild animals [there]. There were leopards, there were wolves, there were bears, bears [that] would eat it.
- (11) He said, “My father, wait one or two minutes more. We’ll wait a while;”—there were no watches there—“we’ll wait a while,” he said, “[and] if it doesn’t come home, we’ll go and look for it.”

- (12) *g-emər la babi la'. g-emər 'atta peša xəška, g-emər 'atta peša xəška xarəye 'ahi-ži la-mşət 'azət, la k-xazət čŭ-məndi. 'u-HməsukánH-ila, 'olam... 'əmşət 'ahi-ži xarəye b-bare xa məndi 'əllux, xa həywan b-axəllux, ma, la k-tawela xarəye.*
- (13) *har 'atta qu si t'i l-tawərta, métila l-beṭa. HtovH, babe mərre la-mşə mḥake 'əš-xəbər babe. g-emər 'ap-awa qəmle lwəšle kalke 'u-gəbe 'azəl.*
- (14) *'issáxar-ži g-emər ZtaleZ, 'ap-awa mehwan dóhunile, xəlle gu beṭu, ma? la 'awəd čŭ-məndi? mərri 'ap-ana ma'inənnə. ger mərre ZtaleZ ḥmol ḥmol, b-aṭən mənnux. bəštor tre mən xa'. b-azax kutran m-əgde yimkən bəš xazaxla.*
- (15) *g-emər wəlla zəllan, zəllan gu çol, tama kullu dare 'u-darubare, pəšle xəška lewu bəxzaya, qam-'aqłan b-zóriwax bəxzáyəlla.*
- (16) *g-emər 'axxa pəšlan bəzwara l-eyya çappa l-eyya çappa l-eyya dara l-ayya dara xazax tawərta, tawərta lewax bəxzáyəlla. pəšlan b-hiwi. pəšlan b-hiwi, lewax bəxzáyəlla.*
- (17) *mərre xşulan da'rax g-emər ma 'odax ma la xazaxla peša 'axxa peša 'axxa. bənhe b-azax xa-ga-xát p-ta'ax 'əlla bənhe p-payəš yoma bəš p-xazaxla, 'ən hoyawa şax meṭaxla l-beṭa 'ən la hoya şax zəlla.*
- (18) *'az g-emər gləṭlan 'ana 'u 'o märe beṭa, muḥləṭlan da'rax. g-emər 'əxəni muṭhəllan da'rax zwərran xa çappa g-emər xə-dana k-xazən xa dəbba gyana marmala hatxa max xa, raba dəbba rapṭa.*
- (19) *g-emər ləbbi pqe'le. b-axlalan, ma-mşax 'əlla? g-emər mən 'ilaha ma ṭela, qəmle ṭela kəsli, qam-daryalu 'idaṭa 'əš-kapanani.*
- (20) *g-emər mərri xəlaş 'atta b-axlali p-qaṭlali. 'ána-ži g-emər ma 'amrən, ma 'odən? naşən mənna la-mşən. g-emər b-axlali mərri heşkun meṭən max hudaye, 'əš-din hudaye.*
- (21) *g-emər 'idi dəryali l-'eni qreli şamá' yisra'él 'adonái 'elohe:nu, 'adonái 'eḥád. wəlli meṭən, qəbəl...mərre şud meṭən 'əš-din hudaye.*

- (12) He said, “No, my father [sic], no.” He said, “It’s getting dark now.” He said, “It’s getting dark now. Later even you won’t be able to go, you won’t [be able to] see anything. And it is dangerous. The world...you could...later something could happen to you too, a wild animal could eat you—it won’t be worth it later.”
- (13) Get up right now, go [and] look for the cow, bring it home.” “OK.” His father had spoken. He could not speak disobediently towards his father. He said that he arose, put on his shoes and made to go.
- (14) As for Issachar, he said to him...He was a guest of theirs; he ate in their house. How could he do nothing? He said, “I too will help.” He said to him, “Wait, wait, I’m going with you. Two are better than one. The two of us will go together [and] maybe we will have a better chance of finding it.”
- (15) He said, “We went, we went into the countryside, where there are trees and forests.” It got dark [and] they couldn’t see. “We could barely see in front of our feet.”
- (16) He said, “We started to walk around there, in this corner and that corner, by this tree and that tree, to find the cow. [But] we couldn’t find the cow. We were desperate, we were desperate, we couldn’t find it.”
- (17) He said, “He thought we [had better] go back.” He said, “What were we to do? We couldn’t find it. If it stays here, then it stays here. In the morning we will go again and we will look for it. In the morning, when it is daytime we will [be better able] to find it. If it’s alive, we’ll bring it home. If it isn’t alive, then it’s gone.”
- (18) So he said, “We made a mistake, that head of the household and I. We decided to go back. We started to go back, we went round one corner and,” he said, “all of a sudden I saw a bear, up on its hind legs like a...a really big bear.”
- (19) He said, “We were stunned. It was going to eat us, what could we [do] against it?” He said, “From God, it came, it then came over to me and put its paws on my shoulders.”
- (20) He said, “I said, ‘That’s it. Now it’s going to eat me, it’s going to kill me.’” He said, “What am I to do? Fighting it is impossible.” He said, “It’s going to kill me. Still, let me die as Jews do, as Jews do, according to the law of the Jews.”
- (21) He said, “I put my hand to my eyes and cried out “Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one!” ” He said, “Let me die according to the law of the Jews.”

- (22) *g-emər 'aya dān šme'la šamá' yisra'él mən 'ilaha bamri fhəmla har 'o:w, gyana mpurqala mənni. qam-šoqali gyana maxyala l-d-o-məšəlmana, 'u-qam-patpətale, qam-sarṭale, qam-'odale... g-emər 'ana har 'riqali.*
- (23) *g-emər ma, la-məšan, b-axláli-ži! g-emər wəlla 'riqali mərri metən hawar şarxən naše 'ate mxalşilan.*
- (24) *g-emər hil mṭeli l-bəta, mərri taṭu ma brela, dəd dəbba qam-do-qalan, ger wəlla qəmlu xa 'əşra gure ṭelu 'u-'rəqlu g-emər k-xazax xazaxle piša kallaš hamán našama 'əbbe. ma xanča našama, lewu... wəlla srəṭṭalle wəlla mpəşpəştəlle, qrima.*
- (25) *g-emər qam-daraxle 'əş-darbaste, xa darbaste g-odila mən hənna, šiwe. mənnu l-gyanu xa tre šiwe g-dare šiwe xeta 'u-g-dare xa laḥefa reša tad darele gawa, tad ta'nile meṭele l-bəta čunkun la-mşe doqiwale b-aqle, m-mayəṭwa.*
- (26) *qam-darele 'əş-darbaste, darbaste qam-darela 'əş-kapanane qam-meṭele l-bəta. mat mulhəqle mərre gu bəta g-emər ^Zṭalu^Z ya'etun, hudaye, din hudaye, bəş ṭroşele mən kullu.*
- (27) *g-əmri ^Zṭale^Z ṭamá g-əmṛət hatxa, g-emər g-əmṛənnoxun qamaye dəbba ṭela ṭalbət 'izahar, 'ida drela 'əş-kapanane poya 'axəltəlle. 'awa mərre xa məndi gu naṭa, la ki'e mayla šamá' yisra'él.*
- (28) *g-emər 'awa mḥukele mənna, šme'li, xzeli mḥukele mənna, xa məndi mərre gu naṭa g-emər ^Zṭala^Z 'ana hudáyeli, 'u-g-emər qam-šoqale ṭela dbəšla 'əbbi qam-patpətali.*
- (29) *'ega ḥməlle 'izahar pa ma 'awəd məskina? 'u-'awa mətle ^Hbám-makom^H. mərre xəbər gyane, 'anna xabre mirile 'u-mətle.*
- (30) *'o məšəlmana mətle. ṭelu, pəşlu... bəṭər qam-qorile g-əmri 'izahar k-xazax mar b-xudreşux ṭroşa ma mərwalux?*
- (31) *g-emər ḥabibi 'awa la fhəmle. 'əxəni hudáyewax. xzeli dəbba gyana qam-maxyala 'əlli g-emər mərri b-axlali! ma 'əmşən 'əlla? ma xzeloxun ma 'wədla l-bronoxun! wawa qṭəltəlle, qam-qaṭlale qam-paşpəşale. 'ap-'ana m-paşpəşəwali!*

- (22) He said, "When it heard 'Hear O Israel', [a miracle] from God, as if it understood, [it roared] 'Oow', it let me alone. It left me [and] attacked that Muslim, and it ripped him apart, it slashed him, it made him..." He said, "I had already fled."
- (23) He said, "I can't [do anything], it will eat me as well!" He said, "So I fled, saying [to myself] that I would bring assistance, that I would call people to come and save us."
- (24) He said, "[I fled] until I arrived home. I told them what had happened, that a bear had caught us." He said, "So about ten men come and ran, saying, 'Let's see if we can find him.'" They found him [but] he was [almost] a corpse. A tiny amount of life was left in him. Just a bit of life, they couldn't... it had slashed him; it had torn him apart, the poor thing.
- (25) He said, "We put him on a stretcher. They made a stretcher from what's-it-called, logs. By themselves they put one or two logs, they put more logs [on it] and they put a blanket on top of it, so that they could put him in it, so that they could carry him to bring him home, because they could not have taken him on foot, he would have died.
- (26) They put him onto the stretcher, put the stretcher onto their shoulders [and] brought him home. At home he just managed to say...he said to them, 'Know [this]! The Jews...the religion of the Jews is the truest of them all.'
- (27) They said to him, 'Why do you say such a thing?' He said, 'I'm telling you, first the bear came and made for Issachar. It put its paw on his shoulders and would have eaten him, [but] he said something in its ear...'—They did not know what 'Hear O Israel' is.
- (28) He said, 'He spoke with it, I heard, I saw him speaking with it. He said something in her ear, saying to it "I am a Jew"', and he said, 'It left him alone and came and turned on me and ripped me apart.'
- (29) So Issachar waited—what was he to do, the poor thing? And he [=the Muslim] died on the spot. He said what he had to say, he said these words and died.
- (30) The Muslim died. They came and started... after they had buried him they said, 'Issachar, let's see. Tell [us], by your life, truly, what did you say?'"
- (31) He said, "My friend, he didn't understand. We are Jews. I saw that the bear was attacking me." He said, "I said, 'It's going to eat me. What am I to do against it?' You saw what it did to your son! It killed him; it killed him and ripped him apart. It would also have ripped me apart!"

- (32) 'az mərri qābəl metən, metax 'əš-din hudaye pa hudáyeli, ger 'ap-ana qreli, 'atlan xa xabra g-əmrile šama' yisra'el, mirale talu, g-emər mərri šamá' yisra'él 'adonái 'elohenu, 'adonái 'eḥád.
- (33) g-emər dān mərri šama' yisra'el qam-parqali swiqənnal zəlla dbəšla b-bronoxun. ma ki'ən mḥakən mən dəbbe? 'əmşən mḥakən mən ḥaywane? hatxa wawa. 'ayya masāle didi.
- (34) 'az ^Htamid^H g-əmrilə wəlla 'axtun hudaye, ^Htamid^H g-mheməniwa, kud məşəlmanə g-mheməniwa dəd din hudaye, dəd hudaye 'ətlu ^Hproteksia^H. ḥətti kəs ḥaywane ki'e...la g-maxe 'əllu.
- (35) 'ayya ḥukkiṭəd dəbba, ^Hma'asé^H dəd izahar gyane, nəxle qābəl kma šənnə.

- (32) So I said, ‘Before I die, let us die according to the law of the Jews. I am a Jew, after all.’” He said, “So I cried out. We have a verse called ‘Hear O Israel’”—he recited it to them. He said, “I said [in Hebrew], ‘Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one.’”
- (33) He said, “When I said ‘Hear O Israel’, it let me alone, it left me! It went and made for your son. What, do I know how to talk to a bear? Can I talk to wild animals? This is how it was. This is what happened.’”
- (34) So they always say, “You know, you Jews...”. They always believed, every Muslim believed that the Jews had friends in high places. Even when it came to wild animals... they wouldn’t attack them.
- (35) That is the story of the bear, an account [related] by Issachar himself, [who] passed away a few years ago.

9.4 TEXT 4: GIANTS

- (1) 'az 'ani 'áxani g-əmráxwalu ɣambašaye. ɣambašaye k-əxliwa kulle məndi. ʔere 'u-ɣaywane 'u-max ɣaywane wewa. bas 'insanile, 'áp-awa 'insanile bas xa naša 'urwa, ^H'aná^H, reše bəd šəmme.
- (2) naše g-zad'iwa mənnu. g-odiwa xriwuʔəd naše, ʔaba g-odiwa, naše g-zad'iwa mənnu, g-'arqíwala m-qamu.
- (3) 'ani k-xayewa gu maɣare čunkun la-mšewa banéwalu bate. 'úrwewa ^H'anaqím^H wewa, ɣambašaye wewa.
- (4) 'az k-xayewa gu čol bāle xamka naqle k-eʔewa gu maʔwata, k-eʔewa 'u-g-doqiwa naše, k-šaqlíwalu, k-šaqlíwalu ta gyanu.
- (5) 'az 'itən ʔaba ɣukyata 'əllahun, l-anna ɣambašaye. 'ana la k-taxrənnu ɣukyata bas 'itena, [wəlli] šmi'a ʔaba ɣukyata maʔo g-odiwa xriwuʔəd naše 'u-xet.
- (6) mirətti 'o, hənna, 'amədyá 'ətla ʔlaha šəkəl ɣambašaye, 'an ɣambašaye. 'az g-əMRIwa 'ani, an ɣambašáyelu gebewa ʔa'níwala 'amədyá bas la mərru ya-'ilaha, la tkəllu b-'ilaha, ya-'ilaha ma'inəttan la mərru.
- (7) 'ilaha qam-dabəšlu, qam-dabəšlu 'awədlu kepa tama. kappare wewa. lətwalu ču din.

- (1) So, as for them [i.e. giants], we used to call them *ḥambashaye*. *ḥambashaye* used to eat everything: fowl and wild animals, and they were similar to wild animals, but they are humans. It is a kind of human, but a large person, a giant, [with] its head in the sky.
- (2) People used to be afraid of them. They would do evil things to people, they would do [it] a lot. People used to be afraid of them, they would flee from them.
- (3) They used to live in caves because they could not build houses. They are large, they were giants, they were *ḥambashaye*.
- (4) So they used to live in the wild, but sometimes they would come into the villages. They would come and capture people, they would take them, they would take them for themselves.
- (5) So, there are many tales about them, about these *ḥambashaye*. I don't remember the tales but there are...I have heard many tales [about] how they would do evil things to people, and other [things].
- (6) I told you, the, um, Amədyā has a statue of three *ḥambashaye*: "The *ḥambashaye*". So, people used to say that they, "the *ḥambashaye*", wanted to pick Amədyā up [and carry it away], but they didn't say, "O God...[help us]", they did not trust in God, they didn't say, "O God...".
- (7) God rooted them to the spot, he rooted them to the spot [and] turned them into stones. They were a curse; they had no religion.

9.5 TEXT 5: BRURIA²¹

- (1) 'ətwa xǎ-ga xət xa ^Htalmidát ḥaxamá^H hadax bǎx rabbi me'ir...šəmma nšeli, šəmma nšeli de-menəx. 'əp-'aya ^Htalmidá ḥaxamá^H raptá wawa.
- (2) 'əp-'aya xa yoma 'afəllu qam-qaṭlala gyana ^Hbasó^{fH}. šəmma nšeli, nšeli šəmma, zǎlle, 'ətli š-lisani.
- (3) xá-yoma... 'aya hadax g-malpawa, 'ap-'aya ^Htalmidéi ḥaxamím^H k-eṭewa g-mbaqriwa. gora la hawe l-bəta 'aya g-yawa ṭawsir.
- (4) ^Zg-mahke^Z 'əlla xǎ-ga 'ətwala tre bnone mətlu b-šabṭa. mətlu bəd yomət šabṭa mətlu. zəlla g-mar'əšalu, wəllu miṭe gu čarpaya.
- (5) šábtela, 'amra ta gora p-qaḥər la-gbawa maqḥərale bəd šabṭa, ^Hassúr^H-ile naša qaḥər bəd šabṭa.
- (6) barurya, barurya wawa šəmma. barurya, kewu yalunke? ṭamá la ṭelu šloṭa? g-əmra šwuqlu la šarxət 'əllu. lewu, nášaxilu xanča, nášaxilu. šwuqlu.
- (7) la k-eṭewa l-qǎdduš-ži, la k-qemi ta qǎdduš, la-mše qemi. de-šwuqlu xanča-xət damxi, z'órelu, xanča nexi. la mḥukele. ma t-ilu našax, lewe məndi, ^Hmuttár^H-ila, xun la 'ate šloṭa ^Hbəsedər^H-ila.
- (8) xəllu štelu. zǎlle šloṭa mənḥa, g-menəx, yalunke dide la ṭelu l-šloṭa 'átta-ži. ma brela? yalunkət rabbi me'ir la 'ate šloṭa?
- (9) xǎ-ga xət ṭele l-bəta ta sa'oda ^Hšlišít^H, mərre ṭata kəlu yalunke? g-əmra ma 'amrannux? ysəqli xǎ-ga xət mən xanča maṛaqa mnobəlli ^Zṭalu^Z, mnobəlli xanča maṛaqa ṭatu šate, qam-maštiyannu bǎle 'ega la-mše qemi. náxwašilu, rešu g-mare', šwuqlu.

²¹ For the source of much of the material in this text, see Midrash Proverbs 31, and Rashi's commentary on the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Avodah Zarah, folio 18b.

- (1) Another time there was once a certain outstanding female Torah scholar, like her,²² the wife of Rabbi Meir...I've forgotten her name, I've forgotten her name—can you believe it? Anyway, she was a great Torah scholar.
- (2) And one day...she committed suicide in the end. I've forgotten her name; I've forgotten her name. It's gone. It's on the tip of my tongue.
- (3) One day...She also used to teach Torah scholars. They would come and ask [questions and] if her husband was not at home, she would give the explanation.
- (4) They say of her that once she had two sons who died on the Sabbath. They died on the Sabbath day—they died. She went to wake them up and they were dead in their bed.
- (5) It was the Sabbath. If she told her husband he would be upset [and] she did not want to upset him on the Sabbath. It is forbidden for a person to be upset on the Sabbath.
- (6) “Bruria,”—Bruria was her name—“Bruria, where are the children? Why didn't they come to prayers?” She said, “Leave them, don't call them. They aren't...they are a bit ill, they are ill. Leave them.”
- (7) They did not come to Kiddush either. “They are not getting up for Kiddush, they cannot get up. Just leave them to sleep for a bit. They are young; let them rest for a bit.” He did not say [anything]. If they are ill, it is not an issue—it is permissible. Even not going to prayer[s] is all right.
- (8) They ate and drank. He went to afternoon prayer[s and] he looked [and saw] that his children had not come to prayer[s] now either. What had happened? [How could] the children of Rabbi Meir not come to prayer[s]!
- (9) Once again he came home for the third meal.²³ He said to her, “Where are the children?” She said, “What can I say? I went up again with some broth to bring to them; I brought some broth for them to drink. I fed it to them but they can't get up. They are ill, they have headaches—leave them.”

²² The telling of this story immediately followed a discussion about Asnath, the famous daughter of Rabbi Samuel Barzani, who was a noted Torah scholar.

²³ According to Jewish law, a Jew must eat at least three full meals on the Sabbath: one on Friday night after returning home from the Synagogue, and two more on the Saturday. It is the second Saturday meal to which the informant here refers. It is known as *שלישית סעודה* [the] third meal'.

- (10) 'wədle sa'oda ^Hšlišít^H, zəlle šlota, zəlle 'arwit, tele b-lele gəbe 'awəd hawdala g-emər la k-šarxattu yalunke? g-əmra la, šwuqlu 'atta, xánčá-xət heš damxi, řaba náxwašilu. yimkən 'od havdala, 'u-xarəye p-šarxannu 'ate.
- (11) 'wədle havdala, xləšla, pəšle xošeba, pəšle ħol šabta, lewe šabta. g-emər ^Zřala^Z ^Hnu^H, ma mən yalunke? g-əmra 'ap-aya řa maxəzyánnuxilu.
- (12) zəlla g-maxəzyalu wəllu dmixe gu čarřaya, miře. řamá la mərrax? mərra ma 'amrannux? š-šabta²⁴ mařřarannux? řařo mařřarannux?
- (13) zəlli bənhe gəbanwa mařimánwalu, kutru wəllu miře. 'az qam-kasyannu, dwəqli ħušta tad la ya'ət, tad la qařřət. 'u kun-naqla dəd mbařřətwali 'ana g-əmránwalux ġer xabra. dwəqli ħuštařa.
- (14) 'az barurya ^Hgam-ken^H 'ətwala hadax, 'ap-'aya ^Htalmidat ħaxamá^H, řaba wawa ləpta řora.
- (15) xa yoma... mjořadlu 'aya 'u-ğora bəd xəbər řora. 'az rabbi me'ir g-emər ^Zřala^Z kullu naše, kullu baxtařa 'aqəlu ^Zqalúlele^Z. g-əmra ħuř mən... la barurya. kullu naše he, bas barurya la gawu.
- (16) řora la g-mdagla barurya, kullu baxtařa 'aqəlu qalúlele. g-əmra 'ana g-əmrrannux kulle he, barurya lewa gawu. g-emər řa de-p-xazax.
- (17) gəbewa maxzewa dəd 'áp-aya baxta max kullu baxtařela. 'aqəla qalúlele. ma 'wədle? 'ətwale xa ^Htalmíd^H řaba jwanqa, sqila, ^Hneřmád^H, tele qam-šarəxle g-emər řate xzi řa 'amrənnux.
- (18) g-emər ma gəbət 'istadi? g-emər ki'atta baxti? g-emər he: 'ilaha nařřerra, ^Htalmidat ħaxám^H. g-emər 'ədyo lop kəsla malpalux, 'ana la k-hawən, la-mřən lepən, šud malpalux 'aya. g-emər 'istadi, keřux, řášile.

²⁴ < *b-šabta

- (10) He ate the third meal [and] went to prayer[s]. He went to evening prayers and came back in the evening and wanted to make Havdalah.²⁵ He said, “Will you not call the children?” She said, “No, leave them for now. Let them sleep a little more—they are very sick. Perhaps you should make Havdalah and afterwards I will call them to come.”
- (11) He made Havdalah and [when] it was over, it was Sunday, it was the week, it was not the Sabbath anymore. He said to her, “So, what’s happening with the children?” So she said, “Come and I’ll show them to you.”
- (12) She went and showed him them lying in the bed, dead. “Why didn’t you say [something]?” She said, “What should I have told you? Should I have upset you on the Sabbath? How could I have upset you?”
- (13) In the morning I wanted to wake them up [and] both of them were dead. So I covered them and I made an excuse so that you wouldn’t know, so that you would not be upset. And each time you asked me, I told you a different story. I made excuses.”
- (14) So Bruria also had...she was also a Torah scholar. She was very learned in Torah.
- (15) One day she and her husband were arguing over an issue of Torah. So Rabbi Meir said to her, “All people, all women are weak-minded.” She said, “Except for...not Bruria. Everyone [else] yes, but Bruria is not among them.”
- (16) “The Torah doesn’t lie Bruria: all women are weak-minded.” She said, “I’m telling you, everyone [else]—yes, but Bruria is not among them” “We’ll just see about that.”
- (17) He wanted to prove that she too was a women like all [other] women, that she was weak-minded. What did he do? He had a student, very young, handsome and charming. He called him and said, “Look, come here—I have something to say to you.”
- (18) He said, “What is it you want, my teacher?” He said, “Do you know my wife?” He said, “Yes, may God watch over her. She is a Torah scholar.” He said, “For today, learn with her; she will teach you. I won’t be here, I can’t learn. Let her teach you.” He said, “My teacher, as you wish. All right.”

²⁵ **הבדלה** (lit. ‘separation, differentiation’) is the name for the ceremony performed after the end of Sabbath, on Saturday night, to make an separation between the holiness of the Sabbath and the mundanity of the week.

- (19) *zälle g-emər 'istádile mira 'ahi yawatti ... malpatti. 'istadi lətle zāman didi, lətle zāman řati. gəbe, qam-mšadərri 'ahi malpatti. g-əmra ytu. ytu 'axxa 'u-'ana malpannu x mən 'oya.*
- (20) *moləpla. yom tre' xā-ga xət 'istade g-emər ^Zřale^Z... zälle kəsla, moləpla. yom řlaha, 'az 'awa mboqərre 'istade g-emər 'istadi, 'anna řlaha yomařa řamá la qam-malřətti?*
- (21) *b-amrənnu x řamá. řal 'u-masāle didi d-baxti hatxa wawa. 'āxəni mjořəđlan, 'ana mərri kullu baxřařa 'aqəlu qalúlelu. 'aya g-əmra kullu he', bas barurya la gawu. 'ana gəbən 'odət hadax dəd maxzəřa dəd 'aqəla qalúlele.*
- (22) *g-emər 'istadi řařo, ma gəbət mənni? ma 'odən? g-emər si, baxřařa ^Hassú^H xaze gure, lazəm ya'ni maqəryalux, řařo g-maqəryalux? g-emər 'aya wəlla gu 'odət gyana, 'ana gu 'odət gyani, g-əmrrən, k-qarən 'aya k-řam'a 'u 'ən g-ğalřən g-mřaknali.*
- (23) *g-emər bənhe 'ən... 'od hadax dəd may'əlalux l-'oya. g-emər 'istadi řařo, ^Hassú^H-ila la k-xařəx ya'lən, ^Havál^H yřud! bāřřuxila, la k-xařəx.*
- (24) *'ana g-yawənnu x řāřut. 'ana g-yawənnu x řāřut, gəbən malřəna, maxzəřna dəd 'áp-aya 'aqəla qalúlele max kullu baxřařa. y'ol! bas řařo, g-emər řařo, g-emər xzi b-amrənnu x.*
- (25) *bənhe lop flan sugya, xanča zāřmela sugya. dān 'amrale qamux xa naqla 'amrالا qamux, nāqəl tre marra lewi bəlyápəlla 'ayya tane'řa lewi bəlyápəlla k-xazax řařo qam-řawsəřařa? may'əlalux l-'oya. p-řarxalux wəlla řa maxəzyannu x řařofila.*
- (26) *'az b-ařəř may'əlalux l-'oya xa naqla xət tre-ga xət 'idux mářřula 'əř-'aqła. 'u-xālař. bas xa naqla ^Hgamárnu^H.*
- (27) *'áp-awa 'wədle xa yoma, tre, xa yoma qam-may'əlale, yom tre bəř qrule, ^Htamíd^H 'əřwale xa řuřřa, ma ya'ni la ki'e, řaři la ki'e qare la ki'e... řad malřale řař ya'ni bəř hənna, məqayřad.*

- (19) He went and said, “My teacher said that you are to give me... that you are to teach me. My teacher does not have time for me; he does not have the time for me. He sent me [and] he wants you to teach me.” She said, “Sit down. Sit down here and I will teach you from inside.”
- (20) She taught him. On the second day, once again his teacher said...He went to her [and] she taught him. So, on the third day, he enquired of his teacher saying, “My teacher, why haven’t you taught me these three days?”
- (21) “I’ll tell you why”. The story as regards my wife is as follows. We were arguing. I said that all women are weak-minded [and] she said, “Everyone [else] yes, but Bruria is not among them. I want you to act in such a way as to show her that she is weak-minded.”
- (22) He said, “My teacher, how? What do you want me to do? What am I to do?” He said, “Now, It is forbidden for men to see women. That is to say, she has to teach you. How does she teach you?” He said, “She is in her room and I am in my room”. I say, I read and she hears and if I make a mistake she corrects me.
- (23) He said, “Tomorrow morning, if...do whatever makes her let you go outside [your room].” He said, “My teacher, how [can I do this]? It is prohibited. I am forbidden from entering [her room, because of the laws proscribing] seclusion! She is your wife. It is prohibited!”
- (24) “I give you permission. I give you permission; I want to teach her, to show her that she too is weak-minded, like all women. Go in!” “But how?” he said, “How?” He said, “Look, I’ll tell you”.
- (25) Tomorrow, learn such-and-such a passage of the Talmud. The passage is quite difficult. When she reads it out once for you, the second time say to her, ‘I don’t understand, I don’t understand this letter. Let’s see, how did you interpret it?’ She will let you into [her room]. She will call you: ‘Come on, come and let me show you how it should be.’
- (26) So you will come and she will let you into [her room] once again, two more times. [Then] put your hand on her leg. And that’s all. Just once and that’s that.”
- (27) So he did it for a day, two [days]. One day she let him into [her room], on the second day he got closer. He always had an excuse, for instance, he couldn’t, he couldn’t read Rashi[’s commentary, and] he couldn’t...so that she could teach him well, or rather more, um, precisely.

- (28) *ħil qrule qrule qrule, tkele hatxa ya'ni lewe bəxzaya, 'ida qam-mutwale 'əš-'aqla tad xaze, la mħokela ya'ni la xšula dəd...* (JG: lewa məndi) *he, lewe məndi xšula ma, ^Hbəmikrə^H la wawa ^Hbax-avaná^H 'ide dəryale reša. 'az 'áya-ži la drela bala.*
- (29) *yom tre' bəš nqəħle, yom t̄laha bəš nqəħle 'u-la mħokela ħil txərri 'u: 'ayya gori 'wədle 'ayya kulla, hoyá 'u-la hoyá 'ayya góřile 'widale. gəbe maxzeli ^Hbə'emét, 'u-be'emét^H t̄řósele.*
- (30) *'awa t̄řósele, 'áp-ana 'aqəli qalúlele maxwatəd kullu baxtaťa. 'ana xšuli gyani bəš 'áqəlili, bəš hənneli, 'ana la g-ğaltan čü-ga, 'az ma 'itəñ mabayni mabayn kullu? max kullu 'áni. ma k-xašwánwala gyani...*
- (31) *qəmla gyana mtultiyala. qam-mtaltiyala gyana! t̄le l-beťa k-xa-zela mtultét̄əlla baxta. bəxtela mtultét̄əlla gyana. bxele, q̄təlle gyane ^Havál ze'u^H, mətla.*

- (28) Until he got closer and closer and closer. He leant over like this, I mean, [as if] he could not see, [and] put his hand on her hand so that he could see. She did not say anything. She did not think that... [JG: It was nothing.] Yes, it was nothing. She thought that it must have been by mistake, that it was not on purpose that he put his hand on her. So she did not pay any attention.
- (29) On the second day, he touched her more [and] and on the third day he touched her [even] more and she said nothing. Until she realised, "Oh! My husband is behind all of this. Without a doubt, this is my husband's doing. He is trying to prove [it] to me. And he really is right.
- (30) He is right. I too am weak-minded, just like all women. I thought myself more intelligent, more what's-it-called...that I would never slip up. So what is the difference between [all of] them and me? I am just like all of them. How could I have thought myself..."
- (31) Then she hanged herself. She hanged herself! He came home and saw [his] wife hanging [there]. His wife had hanged herself. He cried, and hit himself in grief, but that was that: she was dead.

9.6 TEXT 6: HOW TO MAKE RAKI

(JG: *maṭo g-odiwa 'araqin?*)

- (1) *maṭo g-odi 'araqin? 'araqin, g-zoniwa 'ənwe 'on g-meṭewa 'ənwe mən karmane.*
- (2) ^H*lif' amím^H g-eziwa l-karmane dād māsəlməne dād suraye dād qurḍaye, g-yawíwəlan 'ənwe. g-ewádwalu šu'ale, g-ewádwalu pəlxana, k-paləxwa ʔaṭu, 'az 'ani g-yawíwəle 'ənwe.*
- (3) *'az 'awa g-meṭəwalu gu salle 'u-g-darəwalu gu 'lina. 'ən 'ənwe g-darəwalu gu 'lina 'u-g-ṁarəčwalu, g-ewádwalu max ṁoza. g-darəwalu gu 'lina k-sayədwale pəmmət 'lina bəd ʔina ḥil gebiwa.*
- (4) *bātər gebiwa, xa-tre-ṭlaha yome hadax k-šawəqwalu gu 'lina, g-mapəqwalu g-darəwalu gu xa qazan ʔaṭa, 'on marəgla.*
- (5) *k-sayədwale pəmmət marəgla, k-šayə'wale pəmmət marəgla, k-šayə'wale bəd ʔina tad poxa la napəq mən gawe.*
- (6) *'u-g-darewa xa qanya gu marəgla 'u-marəgla g-darəwale š-nura. g-darewa nura xe marəgla, 'u-pəmmə sida ya 'ni š'i'a.*
- (7) *'az g-ṛatəxwa, g-ṛatxiwa ṁaye, 'az ṁaye, dən ʔatxi k-peši 'araqin. g-ya'liwa gu d-o qanya, 'u 'o-qanya yarixa wewa, reše xeta b-darəwale gu xa mərəgla xət.*
- (8) *'u-g-napəqwa hadax mən marəglət 'ənwe d-wewa 'əš nura, g-napəqwa k-pešiwa max hənna, kud 'an d-g-ṛatəxwa 'u-g-ṛatxa, 'u-də'ta g-napqawa bəd d-o qanya, k-košawa gu marəgla xeta, wəlle g-ṁaṭəwa marəgla.*
- (9) *g-napəqwa xūnaf qamaye hədi-hedi, max čəppəkyəta čəppəkyəta, 'u-əṭwale 'araqin 'u-k-šatəwale. ḥil 'ədyo hatxa g-odi.*
- (10) *'axxa b-waxtət telan yarušalayim—gu 'iraq ḥəram wewa 'odiwa 'araqin, mapqiwa 'araqin. kud mapəqwa 'araqin 'u-ḥukuma ya'awa 'əbbe, g-doqiwale, b-doqiwale g-mjazəwale ʔaba.*
- (11) *nexət babi ʔaba naqle wullu mjúzyəlle, ʔaba naqle g-doqiwale, k-eṭewa naše g-mfəsiwa 'əlle, g-eziwa g-əmriwa ta ḥukuma ta šurṭa flankas mopəqle 'araqin g-mapəq 'araqin.*

(JG: How did they use to make raki?)

- (1) How do they make raki? They would buy grapes or bring grapes from the orchards.
- (2) Sometimes they would go to the orchards of Muslims or Christians or Kurds and they would give us grapes. You would do jobs for them, you would do work for them, you would work for them and then they would give you grapes.
- (3) So he would bring them in a basket and put them into a large container. He would put these grapes into a large container and crush them, make them into must. He would put them into the container and close the mouth of the container with clay until they fermented.
- (4) After they had fermented—he would leave them in the container like this for one, two or three days—he would take them out and put them into a large pot, or cauldron.
- (5) He would close the mouth of the cauldron, he would seal the mouth of the cauldron, he would seal it with clay so that air would not escape from inside.
- (6) He would insert a reed into the cauldron and he would put the cauldron onto a flame. He would put a fire under the cauldron. And the mouth would be closed, or rather, sealed.
- (7) So it would boil, the water would boil and the water, when it boiled, became raki. It would enter the reed and this reed was very long, [and] he would put its other end into another cauldron.
- (8) In this way, it would come out of the cauldron that was on the flame, it would come out and become like what's-it-called, everything that had boiled and was boiling...the steam would come out through that reed, it would come out into the other cauldron, it would fill up the cauldron.
- (9) Firstly, condensation would come out very slowly, dropwise. Then there would be [liquid] raki and they would drink it. Until this day it is done in this way.
- (10) Here [in Israel], when we came to Jerusalem—in Iraq it was illegal to make raki, to distil raki. Anyone who distilled raki and was discovered by the government would be arrested and heavily fined.
- (11) My late father was fined many times, many times he was arrested. People would come and inform on him, they would go and tell the government, tell a policeman, “So-and-so has distilled raki, he is distilling raki.”

- (12) 'az k-etewa l-bete g-dociwale, 'an k-xazewale g-dociwale.
- (13) la xazewale, raba naqle la k-xazewale la ki'ewa, k-etewa b-amarwalu lewi mupqa, 'ekele? maxzat! lotloxun, tuwun 'an xazetun ... lotli.
- (14) 'az g-mtasewale la-msewa xazewale. bas xamka naqle nase ^Hbidyuk^H g-amriwalu bad, b-ema yoma, 'az k-etewa ^Hbidyuk^H 'as-rese g-dociwale.
- (15) g-dociwale g-mjazewale raba, raba g-mjazewale.
- (16) maselmane la k-sate. haramila. bas 'araqin hukuma walla muhramtalle, bas hukuma halal wewa mzabnawa. 'atwa dakkane dad hukuma.
- (17) 'amsatwa ya'latwa zonatwa. ^Havál^H 'ahi 'odat ^Hassur^H-ila, lá-k-qabliwa. harám wawa, harámila. 'az kud d-'awadwa la-l'atát hukuma g-mjazewale g-dociwale.
- (18) g-mjazewale raba g-mjazewale. xa šata gu habəs, 'afellu bās-zodana. he! 'afellu xa šata tre ^Hlafa'amim^H g-darəwalu gu habəs ^Havál^H babi čugga la zəlwale gu habəs, tama g-yawəlwa barṭil.
- (19) g-dociwale 'az g-yawəlwa pare tad—barṭile. bas ma? g-yawəlwa raba pare, k-payəšwa məfləs məskina. ma? k-paləxwa xa šata, xa šata k-paləxwa, g-yawəlwalu taṭu! k-payəšwale məfləs! lətwale, la k-payəšwale čú-məndi.
- (20) 'az hadax 'araqin hadax g-mapqiwale 'u-k-šatewa.
- (21) 'az babi ki'ewa, šula dide 'ayya wewa, g-mapəqwa raba naqle 'araqin ta jama'a bəd 'amədyə. jama'at 'amədyə gəbéwale 'araqin, babi g-mapəqwa 'araqin bassima. la kutxa ki'e mapəq sqila 'araqin bassima.
- (22) 'ap-aya ^Hmikšo'a^H-ile, šula d-lazəm lepile. la kutxa 'u-xa-mše mapəq 'araqin baš. babi ki'ewa, ^Hmumhə^H wewa, ki'ewa mapəqwa 'araqin baš. 'az jama'at 'amədyə gəbéwale 'araqin dide. dayman g-amriwale ta 'edawata, hudaye k-šatewa 'araqin ta 'eda—dla 'araqin lewe 'eda! maṭo 'eda dla štaya? la g-bare!
- (23) jama'atyata g-yatwiwa, jama'a g-yatwiwa gu knəšta 'u-g-mkefiwa 'az lazəm hawewa 'araqin! k-farhiwa, kut fārah 'u-fārah lazəm 'araqin hawewa.

- (12) So they would come to his house and arrest him. If they caught him [distilling it] they would arrest him.
- (13) If they didn't see him...many times they didn't catch him, they didn't know. They would come and he would say to them "I haven't distilled [raki]. Where is it? Show it [to me]!" "You have no...stay and if you find it...I don't have any."
- (14) So they would hide it and they wouldn't be able to find it. But sometimes people would tell them [i.e. the authorities] on the exact day and they would come and catch him red-handed and arrest him.
- (15) They would arrest him and fine him heavily. They would fine him heavily.
- (16) Muslims don't drink it. It is forbidden [to them]. But the government—[although] it was forbidden—only the government was permitted to sell it. There were government shops.
- (17) You could go in and buy [it]. But making it yourself was forbidden, they did not permit it. It was forbidden. So everyone who made [it] without permission from the government would be fined and arrested.
- (18) They would fine him, they would fine him heavily. One year in prison, maybe even more. Yes! Even for a year, two sometimes, they would put them in prison, but my father never went to prison: there he would give bribes.
- (19) They would arrest him and so he would give money so that...bribes. So what [happened]? He would give [them] a lot of money and he would end up penniless. How so? He would work for a year, for a year he would work and he would give it to them! He would end up penniless. He didn't have...not much was left for him.
- (20) So that is how raki is distilled, and then they would drink it.
- (21) So my father knew [how], this was his work. He would often distil raki for the community in Amadya, The community of Amadya liked raki and my father used to distil delicious raki.
- (22) Not everyone can distil good raki. My father knew [how], he was an expert, he knew how to distil good raki. They would always say to him at festivals [when] Jews were drinking raki for a festival, "Without raki it's not a festival! How [can you have] a festival without drink, it's impossible!"
- (23) The communities would sit, the community would sit in the synagogue and have fun, so there had to be raki! They would celebrate. At every celebration there had to be raki.

- (24) *ta kalo 'u-xatna goriwa, 'az lazəm 'araqine. k-šataxwa, hudaye k-šatewa, ^Htamid^H kullu farhiyət hawéwalan.*
- (JG: 'u-yalunke-ži?)
- (25) *la z'ore. bas mən xamšá'əssər, 'əsri k-šatewa. mən kud d-řwéwalu ^Hmuttár^H wawa. kud gəbe, k-šatewa, g-yawíwale. la wawa məndi, la wawa ^Hassúr^H. bas la wawa, la k-šatewa hadax.*
- (26) *'ətwa xamka k-šatewa ^Hbe'emét^H řaba, k-sakřiwa m-šeydaniwa. bas 'ətwa xamka k-šatewa ta bassimuta.*
- (27) *'ana la 'wədli ču-ga. bas xzeli, ki'ən, 'atta ta 'odən ki'en mačo 'odi. xzeli mən babi mačod g-ewədwa 'az ki'ən mačo g-odile. bas 'əmšən 'odanne. g-əmrənnux lewa řoxma řaptā.*
- (28) *gəbele wa'da yatwət qame dla ... še'atta řaš, řaye, poxa la ya'əl gawe, tad mən marəgla napəq gu marəgla xeta.*
- (29) *'u-kutru hawe side řaš tad řəm'e hawe bassima. ^Hləf'amím^H g-darewa gawe kud no'ət řəm'e, řarpe dəd nənxa tad hawe řəm'a bassima, řil bəš bassima. 'awa ki'ewa, lazəm la hawe řaba la hawe naqoša.*
- (30) *'awa ki'ewa, bəš ki'ewa mənni, tad napeq bassima. 'az hatxa g-odiwa, 'ayya hatxa g-odiwa, 'araqin hatxa g-odiwa. bas lewa řoxma řaba, 'əmše kutxa 'u-xa layəp 'awəd. märe řane'ta la lazəm hawe.*
- (31) *'axxa xā-ga 'wədwale babi. dən řelan 'ereš-yisra'el, 'ətwalan gu 'ar'a deni gəntā hatxa řaptela. 'az 'ətwalan dalyata 'u-dalyata hulu 'ənwe. hulu 'ənwe.*
- (32) *babi g-emər xəllan řat xəllan ^Haval^H pəšlu řaba. 'ənwe pəšlu, ma 'odax bohun? 'azax mزابnaxlu l-yarušalayim, 'urxa řařuqtela 'u-lətwalan wa'da. zāřmela! lazəm 'azax yarušalayim mزابnaxlu.*
- (33) *'az g-emər ki'et ma? 'ana b-odənnu 'araqin. 'u-'awa qam-'awədli 'araqin. qam-'awədli 'araqin d-wewa xa 'əsri řlati bəřle. bas xa naqla. řamā?*
- (34) *'ətwalan xa řurřa ^Hkatsín mištará^H, g-əmríwale dawid 'attar. xa mərre řate g-emər řate babi 'wədle 'araqin mopəqle 'araqin. 'az ^Hkanir'ė^H 'áxxa-ži ^Hassúr^H-ile mapqi 'araqin. řukuma la q-qabla. řarāmila mapoqət 'araqin.*

- (24) For a bride and groom [when] they got married there had to be [some] glasses of raki. We used to drink. Jews used to drink.
(JG: And children too?)
- (25) Not young ones. But from 15 [or] 20, they used to drink. From when you had come of age, it was permitted. They would bring it to everyone who wanted to drink. It wasn't a problem, it wasn't forbidden. But it wasn't...they didn't drink all that much.
- (26) There were some who really drank a lot—they would get intoxicated and go crazy. But there were some who drank for the pleasant feeling.
- (27) I myself never made it. But I saw, I know, I know how to make it now. I saw from my father how he did it and I know how it is made. But I know how to make it. I'm telling you, it's not [a thing that requires] much intelligence.
- (28) It needs time to sit in front of it so that it doesn't...so that it is properly sealed, so that water, air doesn't get inside, so that it comes out of the [one] cauldron into the other cauldron.
- (29) And both must be well closed so that the taste is good. Sometimes he would put all kind of flavours in it, [like] mint leaves, so that the taste would be good. He knew [how]. There had to be not too much and not too little.
- (30) He knew, he knew better than I do, so that it would turn out delicious. So that's how they would make it: raki was made like that. But it's not [a thing that requires] much intelligence: everyone can learn to make [it]. [One] doesn't have to be a professional.
- (31) Here [in Israel] my father once made it. When we came to the Land of Israel, we had on our land a garden as large as this. So we had vines and the vines gave grapes. They gave grapes.
- (32) My father said, "We have eaten what we have eaten but many are left. There are grapes left. What shall we do with them?" To go and sell them in Jerusalem, the road was long and we didn't have time. It was difficult. We had to go to Jerusalem [if we wanted] to sell them.
- (33) So he said, "You know what? I will make them into raki." And he made them into raki. He made them into raki which was about ten or twenty bottles. [But] only once. Why?
- (34) We used to have an officer, a policeman who was called David Attar. Someone told him that my father had made raki, that he had distilled raki. So it seems that here too [i.e. in Israel] it is forbidden to distil raki. The government doesn't allow it. The distillation of raki is illegal.

- (35) 'az tele 'o šurta dawid, tele kəs babi g-emər ta babi šme'li mopəqlux 'araqin! g-emər he wəlla mopəqli xa 'araqin ta-xzi! ta-tmó!' tad maxzənnux ma kawə 'araqin bəš.
- (36) ma mopəqlux t̄roša? g-emərre he, ma g-əmrənnux, mopəqli! ^Havál^H lá-yde'le 'awa tele gəbe dawəqle. ytule kəslan, yəmmi 'wədlə mazza, pəsra. ytulu bəštaya.
- (37) motele muttule t̄ate qame. g-emər ^Ztale^Z ki'ət t̄amá teli 'axxa? g-emər t̄elux mehwan baruxxabba gu 'eni! t̄elux kəslan t̄elux gu beṭeni. baruxxabba t̄elux, ma? t̄amá 'it? našət xa-dúkewax. t̄amá t̄elux? t̄elux baruxxabba t̄elux!
- (38) g-emərre la, naše mərru t̄ati dād 'ahi mopəqlux 'araqin. g-emərre g-əmrənnux, 'ána-ži g-əmrənnux mopəqli 'araqin! g-emər ^Havál^H ki'et 'áxxa-ži h̄əramila mapqi 'araqin. h̄ukuma lá-q-qabla!²⁶
- (39) 'ah g-emər xun lewa max 'iraq?! g-emər wəlla max 'iraq 'ap-'axxa, max 'iraqila, la q-qabli. 'ana ^Hbətur šotér^H t̄eli 'axxa bas 'ana la g-əmrənnu, la g-odən čú-məndi bas xa naqla xet k-talbən mənnux.
- (40) ki'ət naše fassadínelu b-ate mfasdi 'əllux 'az lazəm xarəye doqənnux. ^Hlafi h̄oq^H lazəm nablənnux l-^Hmištará^H 'u-darennux gu h̄əbəs! 'ana, 'e naqla feḥal hawət, lewa čú-məndi, la g-əmrən ta čuxxa. la g-əmrən, b-amrən dúglelu lewe mupqa.
- (41) 'u-hadaḥ n̄pəqle, bas mən d-o-ga 'az babi ta xaṭəṭ dawid—kunnəqla²⁷ b-amrile naše b-azi naše raba fassade 'itena.
- (42) ^Hi'efšar^H naša 'awəd 'araqin čuxxa la ya'e, rəxa raba-'ile, dān g-odət 'araqin rəxa k-fayər kulla maḥalle kulla ša'uta rəxa g-ezəl. g-ra'si 'əbbe bəd rəxa 'az la-mše 'awəd bəd t̄əšwa. lewe xa məndi 'odətte bəd t̄əšwa cuxxa la ya'e.
- (43) 'az g-emər la', madām t-ila 'axxa-ži h̄əram, la g-odən xarəye, bassa. la 'wədle bəš-xət.

²⁶ < la k-qabla

²⁷ < kud-naqla

- (35) So this officer, David, came. He came to my father's house and said to my father, "I've heard you've distilled raki." He said, "Yes, by God I've made some great raki. Come and see! Come and taste, so that I can show you what good raki is!"
- (36) "What? You've really distilled [raki]?" He said to him, "Yes, I'm telling you, I've distilled [raki]!" But he didn't know that he had come intending to arrest him. He sat with us, my mother made meze [and] meat. They sat drinking.
- (37) He brought it to him and put it in front of him. He said to him, "Do you know why I came here?" He said, "You have come as a guest! Welcome, you are most welcome. You have come to our house! You are very welcome! Why [do you ask]? We are people from one place! Why have you come? You have come and you are welcome!"
- (38) He said, "No. People have told me you have been distilling raki." He said to him, "I'm telling you, I'm telling you myself that I have distilled raki." He said, "But do you know that it is illegal here too to distil raki? The government doesn't allow it!"
- (39) "Eugh," he said, "it's not like Iraq here, is it?" He said, "By God here too it is like Iraq. It is like Iraq—they do not allow it. I came here in the capacity of a policeman but I won't tell them, I won't do anything but I'm asking you [not to do it] again.
- (40) You know people are telltales: they will come and inform on you and then I will have to arrest you. According to the law I have to take you to the police and put you in prison. But I'll let you off this time, it's not a problem, I won't tell anyone. I won't tell, I'll say it was a lie, he hasn't distilled [raki]."
- (41) And that's how he distilled [raki]. But from that time, for David's sake, my father... people would tell him, people would come [to him], there are many telltales.
- (42) It is impossible for a person to make raki without anyone finding out. It has a strong smell. When you make raki, the smell wafts through the whole area, the whole neighbourhood. The smell would travel and people would be aware of it, so it was impossible to make it in secret. It isn't something you can do in secret without anyone finding out.
- (43) So he said, "Because it is also forbidden here I won't make it again; that's it." He didn't make it again.

- (44) *xamra* ^H*muttár*^H-*ila* 'odi, *bas* 'araqin *la*! ^H*avál*^H *ṭamá* *ḥukuma*,
xamra *lewa* *ḥāram* 'odət. 'əmsət 'odət *xamra* *kmad* *gəbət*. 'ən *t*-*ila*
ḥāram 'ap-*aya* *ḥāram* *lazəm* *hoya*. *b-xámra-ži* *k-sakři* *naše*.
- (45) 'ətli *xa* *naše* *ki'ənnu* *dän* *k-šate* *xamra* *g-mšéydəni*. *k-šətət* *xa*
bəttəl, *tre* *bətle* 'əmsət *hawət* *skiřa*, 'əmsət *sakřət* *max* 'araqin!
maxwát 'araqin *p-sakřət*!
- (46) *hátxela*. 'ana *la* *ki'ən* ^H*be'emét*^H. 'ana *ki'en* *hatxa* *mərre* 'o *šurça*,
'iawa *mərwale* *ta* *babi* *k-ṭalbən* *mənnux* *xa* *ga* *xeta* *la* 'odət *tad* *la*
'odəttan *balaye*. *la-mšax*, *naše* *xarəye*...
- (47) *ki'ən* *naše* *dayman* *b-ate* *mfasdi*, 'ana *la-gbən* *doqənnux* 'odənnux
balaye. 'az *babi* *g-emər* *ṭate* *ta* *xatřux* *bəš* *xət* *la* *g-odən* 'araqin,
la *g-mapqən*. *bas*.

- (44) Making wine is allowed, but not raki! But why is it not forbidden for you to make wine? You can make as much wine as you like. If [raki] is forbidden, it too should be forbidden. People get drunk from wine as well.
- (45) I know some people who go crazy when they drink wine. You drink one bottle or two bottles and you can be drunk. You can be drunk just like [from] raki! You'll be just as drunk as [from] raki.
- (46) [But] that's how it is. I don't really know [the law], I know that that's what that officer said, he said to my father, "I'm asking you not to make [raki] again, so that you don't make trouble for us. We can't have people afterwards..."
- (47) I know people will always come and inform [on you], I don't want to arrest you, to make trouble for you." So my father said to him, "For your sake I won't make raki again. I won't distil [it]. That's it."

9.7 TEXT 7: BLACKSMITH ANECDOTE

- (1) *xǎ-ga 'ətwa 'u-lətwa tre naše märe quwwəta, gəbbəre. xa' märe susa wewa 'u-xa' na'alci wewa. g-ewədwa na'le ta hawwane, ta suse, ta kawdəne, hədada.*
- (2) *te g-emər 'atlux na'le ɸaš? gəbən tre na'le quwye la tori. g-emər he:. 'atli xoš na'le.*
- (3) *g-emər kmayle haqqu? g-emər taɸe xa dərham kud na'la. g-emər 'ana b-yawənnux bas 'ən hawe b-ləbbi. 'ana mgabənnu b-'idi. na'le t-hawe ɸaš b-yawənnux tre dərhäme.*
- (4) *ta-mgábilux! šqalle na'la qamaya qam-dawəqle hatxa, qam-ħarəšle, qam-tawərre, qam-mamħele. na'la qam-dawəqle b-'ide maɸo d-ətware quwwəta hatxa, qam-dawəqle, qam-mamħele.*
- (5) *g-emər na'la rəpyele. g-emər həqqiwət, šqullux xa-xət. šqalle 'o tre 'ap-ayya qam-'awədle hatxa qam-mamħele. g-emər mōrrilux halli na'le, mərri taɸux halli na'le ɸaš.*
- (6) *he, ta-mgábilux. 'atli. wəllu 'axxa. 'əšri na'le hadax qam-tawərri taɸe. g-emər ^Hto^H, 'ayya ɸášile. 'awa šqalle tre na'le, 'arba na'le ta susa, g-emər də-mxilu ta susa.*
- (7) *mxele taɸe ta susa, qam-darelu, qam-na'əlle susa. šqalle qam-yawəlle tre dərhäme kud na'la. ya'ni tmanya dərhäme.*
- (8) *qam-dawəqle darham, qam-dawəqle b-'ide. 'ana mirətti halli pare, lewu dərhäme, čó'elu. qam-mamħele kullu dərhäme.*
- (9) *xzele 'ap-awa xoš-górele, g-emər haqqánewət. šqullux tre-xət. šqalle tre-xət, 'ap-aya qam-mamħelu. šqalle tre-xət, qam-mamħelu.*
- (10) *g-emər xura halli 'idux. 'ahi gora max gorawútiwət, maxwátiwət. šahát hawelux. gyanux bassəmta.*
- (11) *ya'ni la krəblu xa mən d-o-xeta, xzele 'ap-awa xoš gora maxwátehile. šqalle ta gyane 'u-zəlle. hule haqqe 'u-zəlle.*

- (1) Once upon a time, there were two strong men, heroes. One [of them] was a horse owner and the other was a farrier. He made shoes for animals, for horses, for mules—a blacksmith.
- (2) [The other man] came and said, “Do you have good horseshoes? I want two strong horseshoes that will not break.” [The other] said, “Yes. I have great horseshoes.”
- (3) He said, “How much are they?” He said to him, “One dirham per horseshoe.” He said, “I will only pay you if they meet with my approval. I will choose them myself. For each good horseshoe I will give you two dirhams.”
- (4) “Come and choose [them] for yourself!” He took the first horseshoe, held it like this and crushed it. He broke it, crushed it, destroyed it. He took the horseshoe in his hand and because of his great strength he held it and destroyed it.
- (5) He said, “It’s a weak horseshoe.” He said, “You’re right, take another one.” He took a second one and he did the same to that one, he destroyed it. He said, “I told you to give me horseshoes, I told you to give me good horseshoes.”
- (6) “Yes, come and choose for yourself. They are here.” He broke ten of his shoes in this way. He said, “OK, this one is good.” He took two shoes, four shoes for the horse and said, “Please fix them to the horse.”
- (7) He fixed them to his horse, he put them on, he shod the horse. He took [out] two dirhams per shoe and gave them to him, so eight dirhams [in all].
- (8) He [i.e. the farrier] took a dirham; he held it in his hand. “I told you to give me money. These are not dirhams, they are fragile.” He destroyed all of the dirhams.
- (9) He saw that he too was a strong man. He said, “You are right. Take two more.” He took two more and destroyed these too. He took two more and destroyed them.
- (10) He said, “My friend, give me your hand. You are a strong man like I am. You are like me. May you be healthy, may things go well for you.”
- (11) That is to say, they did not get angry with each other. He saw that he too was a strong man just like him. He took [the horseshoes] and went [away]. He paid him and went [away].

9.8 TEXT 8: QUEUEING FOR WATERMELONS

- (1) *ħalan, ħal řaba zahme wewa. 'atwa, k-palxiwa 'u pəlxána-ži lətwa. k-xapriwa, k-toriwa kepe, ^Hpo'alím^H g-əmriwalan, 'u-lətwa-ži, lətwa šula.*
- (2) *'o-ga ħal řaba ^Hkašé^H wewa gu 'ereş-yisrael. 'ixala lətwa gu 'ereş-yisrael. gu dakkane dəd ħukuma 'atwa kulle məndi, 'atwa pəsra, 'atwa 'ixala bassima bas ma? la ta kut xa 'u-xá.*
- (3) *bas ma t-ila ktiwta. ya'ni kud 'arba naše g-yawíwalu xa laxma, xa dorəktə. 'ən lətwa yalunke z'ore, be'e la k-šaqliwa.*
- (4) *bas xalwa u be'e g-yawiwa ta yalunke z'ore. 'ən lətwale yalunke z'ore, la g-yawiwa. pəsra ta sawone 'u-ta yalunke z'ore, xā-ga b-šabta.*
- (5) *xā-ga b-šabta g-yawiwa, kutxa g-yawiwa 'ap-awa kutxa 'əmma gram. biš xət mən 'əmma gram la k-šaqlwa čuxxa.*
- (6) *řaba naqle feka qať lətwa. kamətre lətwa, ħluke lətwa, 'arḡone lətwa, laymune, xabuše, pərtəqale, šaftiya-ži lətwa, naše...*
- (7) *k-taxrən xā-ga təwalu motéwalu šaftiye, hatxa. pāšwale řeza m-axxa ħil reš ^Hkviš^H, řeza yari:xa ta xa šaftiya, ta zonətwalux xa šaftiya.*
- (8) *xamka naše g-odiwa gyanu smixe tad yawíwalu qamaya, tad maťewa garru qam kullu, riš dugle.*
- (9) *'u-g-darewa xa stabita tad ya'ewa, xašwiwa smixelu 'u-tad 'aziwa qamaye bəd řeza. lətwa məndi.*
- (10) *xā-ga stabita npəlla mən-gu hərəget xa baxta 'u-kullu xzelu lewa sməxta! stabita wawa! mən naxpuťa 'riqala gyana.*

- (1) Our situation was a very hard one. There was... we used to work, and there wasn't even any employment. We used to dig [and] break rocks—we were called “labourers”. And there weren't any jobs either.
- (2) At that time, the situation was very difficult in Israel. There was no food in Israel. In the government-run shops there was everything. There was meat; there was good food, but what [was the problem]? [It was] not for everyone.
- (3) Only what was written down. I mean to say, every four people would be given bread, a loaf of bread. [And] if [a family] had no small children, they would not [be allowed to] take eggs.
- (4) Milk and eggs were only given to small children. If [a person] didn't have small children, they would not be given to him. Meat [was] for the elderly and for small children, once a week.
- (5) Once a week they would give out [meat]. Each person was given 100 grams. Nobody [was allowed] to take more than 100 grams.
- (6) Often there was no fruit at all. There were no pears, no plums, no pomegranates, lemons, apples, [or] oranges. There were no watermelons either.²⁸ People...
- (7) I remember [that] once [some people] had come and brought watermelons, this size.²⁹ The queue started here [and] had reached the main road. [It was] a lo-o-ong queue for a watermelon, so that you could buy yourself a watermelon.
- (8) Some people pretended to be pregnant so that they would be given [a watermelon] first, so that their turn [to buy one] would arrive before everyone [else], by deception.
- (9) They positioned a pillow so that [people] would know, would think that they were pregnant, so that they could go to the head of the queue. It was easy.
- (10) Once, a pillow fell out from under one woman's clothes and everyone saw that she wasn't pregnant! It was a pillow! She ran away out of embarrassment!

²⁸ At the time this text was being recorded, many of the fruits listed by the informant were on the table next to him, including a very large watermelon.

²⁹ At this point, the informant motioned towards the watermelon on the table.

9.9 TEXT 9: SMOKING

- (1) *kutxa 'átwale kəsta dəd tütun. 'u-'átwale waraqəd tütun.*
- (2) *g-ewədwalu hatxa, g-darewa hatxa waraqa, g-darewa gu palga, g-ṃaléwala, 'u-g-gadé'wala, 'u-g-dabəšwala bəd roqe, 'u-k-pešawa max jigara.*
- (3) *'u-šəwbäre k-šaqlwa m'aləqwale puš, g-garəšwa jigara.*
- (4) *'an xamka naqle g-garəšwa kalunka, baska. xamka 'ətwa k-əxliwale! kalunka g-ṃalewa, ^Hləf'amím^H g-ṃalewa qərəš k-əxliwa mən laxma.*
- (5) *ṭəm'əd jigara wewa. yalunke la'. mən talta'sər—yalunke ḥil barməšwa la g-garšiwa.*

- (1) Everyone used to have a box of tobacco leaves. And one used to have paper for tobacco.
- (2) One used to make them like this: one placed the paper like this and put it [i.e. the tobacco] in the middle. One would fill it and roll it up and seal it using spittle and it become a sort of cigarette.
- (3) One would take a flintstone and light some tree sap and [then] smoke the cigarette.
- (4) Or sometimes one used to smoke a pipe, a *baska*.³⁰ Sometimes they used to eat it! They used to fill the pipe; sometimes they used to fill it [and] they used to eat the black residue with bread!
- (5) It had the flavour of a cigarette! Children [did] not [smoke]. From [the age of] thirteen—children would not smoke until the [age of] Bar Mitzvah.

³⁰ K 'arm'.

9.10 TEXT 10: SNAKES, SCORPIONS, STICKS AND A SHEIKH

- (JG: 'ən xa naša xuwwa g-na'áswale, ma g-odíwale tad ʔarəš?)
- (1) ^Hbə'emét^H zaḥme wawa. ʔaba zaḥme. ʔaba naše g-meṭiwa mən xuw-wawe. kud na'áswale xuwwa, 'ən hawewa xuwwa samana, lətwə ču dərmane.
- (2) 'u-duxture lətwalan. ḥil m-nablətwale l-moṣəl mətwale. ^Haval^H 'ətwə xaraškäre, 'ətwə šex, xa šex g-əmriwale, qurḍaya. kud na'áswale xuwwa g-nabliwale kəsle.
- (3) 'awa 'ətwale tre šabuqe, g-emərwa xa šloṭa hatxa g-mpatpətwə gu, la ki'en ma g-emərwa, g-maxewa hatxa l-'ide, kulle žähər g-napəqwa. la ki'en, ma g-emərwa la ki'axni. ^Havál^H naše k-ʔaršiwa.
- (4) ki'axwa, soti xä-ga zella l-gəlla, maṭod meṭi gəlla ta beṭa, nuwwa 'o hənna tumanitke, ganamoke, zəlla mən ʔura l-ʔura. 'ida mundiyála, xuwwa wewa tama, la monəxla, čik, qam-na'əsla 'ida.
- (5) ḥil tela l-beta 'ida pəšla max ʔula, m'obela. qam-nablila kəs šex, g-əmri ^Zṭale^Z xuwwa qam-na'əsla, tele bəqraya 'u-drele xanča ṃaye 'əlla, 'an šabuqe hatxa mxele 'əlla hatxa, g-maxəwalu 'əlla, kulle hənna g-napəqwa mənna. ʔrəšwala! maṭo la ki'en.
- (6) ^Havál^H 'ətwə ʔaba qurḍaye dän g-na'áswalu xuwwa, 'ən hoyə bəd 'idu, ^Hbammakóm^H šabo'təd gyanu qaṭ'iwala. 'ətwə ja'oda mənne, 'ətwə skina, čak! ki'ewa biš ʔo mən moṭa, šabo'ta b-aza b-aza bas p-xaye. hatxa wawa.
- (7) ʔaba naše 'ətwalohun, hənne, nasəd məre karmane, məskine wewa, g-odiwa g-ğazḍiwa gəlla, g-napəqwa gəlla ʔaba, 'az gəlla lewa ḥaš ta darubare, lazəm gəzḍile gəlla, tad dara qayəm ḥaš, tad zar'i 'odi bajane, zar'i zro'tyata xeta.
- (8) 'az dän g-ğazḍiwa gəlla ^Hlaf'amím^H kawewa xuwwa gu gəlla la k-xazəwale, čik, g-dawəqwala 'idu. 'az 'o qaṭ'iwala.

(JG: If a person was bitten by a snake, what did they do so that he would recover?)

- (1) It was really difficult, very difficult. Many people died from snakes: anyone who was bitten by a snake, if it was a venomous snake, there were no antivenoms.
- (2) And we didn't have doctors. By the time you would have got a person to Mosul, he would have been dead. But there was a magician, there was a sheikh, they called him a "sheikh", a Muslim. They used to take anyone who had been bitten by a snake to him.
- (3) He had two sticks and he used to say a prayer and tap like this on... I don't know what he used to say... he used to hit his [i.e. the patient's] hand [and] all the venom used to come out. I don't know, we don't know what he used to say, but people would recover.
- (4) [But] we did know [about him]: my grandmother once went [to pick] grasses and herbs, in the way that they would go and bring herbs for the home: arum, what's-it-called, wild chives, maize. She would walk from mountain to mountain. She stuck out her hand [and] a snake was there. She didn't look. *Snip*, it bit her hand.
- (5) By the time she came home her hand had become like a drum, it had swollen up. They took her to the sheikh's house; they told him [that] a snake had bitten her. He began to recite [something] and put some water on her. He hit those sticks like this against her, he hit her with them [and] all the what's-it-called came out from her.
- (6) But there were many Muslims, [who], when a snake bit them, if it was on [their] hand, they would cut off their own finger. He had a hatchet with him, a knife, *snip*! They knew that it was better than death. [If] the finger would be lost, it would be lost, but they would live. That's how it was.
- (7) Many people had... what are they called, people [who were] orchard owners, they were [often] unfortunate. They would do it; they would cut away the grass. A lot of grass would grow. Now grass is not good for trees, the grass must be cut away so that a tree will grow well, so that one can sew, plant tomatoes, [or] sew another [kind of] crop.
- (8) So when they cut away the grass, sometimes there used to be a snake in the grass. *Snip*, it would catch his hand. So he would cut it off.

- (9) 'ətwa-ži gəllale, 'ətwa xamka gəllále-ži, g-daraxwa 'əllu, g-darəwalu 'əllu. bas la ^Htamid^H k-ṭarṣiwa. bas 'ətwa gəllale, 'ətwa gəllale, maqedīwalu g-darəwalu rešu.
- (10) ^Havál^H raba naše g-metiwa. ra:ba naše. kud d-na'əswale xuwwa zəlwale.
- (JG: 'u dād 'aqurwe-ži?)
- (11) 'aqərwe g-na'siwalan ^Havál^H la g-metiwa, naše la g-metiwa 'əbbu. la k-taxrən dād nášele miṭa mən-qam n'astəd 'aqurwa.
- (12) g-mar'awa 'u-g-odiwa, k-ṣarxiwa haware mən ma d-g-mar'awa 'idu. tre-ṭlā yomaṭa xamka ləbbu k-xaruwa, maḍ wawa žāhər dohun pis.
- (13) ^Haval^H k-ṭarṣiwa, mənnu l-gyanu k-ṭarṣiwa. bātər tre, ṭlaha yome k-ṭarṣiwa, lewa čú-məndi.

- (9) There were also herbs. There were some herbs [which] we would put on them. They would put them on them. But they would not always recover. But there were herbs, [which] they would burn [and then] they would put them on them.
- (10) But many people died. A huge number of people. Anyway who was bitten by a snake was [almost certainly] done for.
(JG: And scorpions as well?)
- (11) Scorpions used to sting us but people wouldn't die, people wouldn't die from them. I don't remember a person having died as a result of a scorpion's sting.
- (12) It used to hurt, and they used to do...they used to cry for help because of how much their hand[s] used to hurt. For two or three days they used to be a bit ill, because their [i.e. the scorpions'] poison was dangerous.
- (13) But they used to recover; they used to recover by themselves. After two [or] three days they would recover.

CHAPTER TEN

GLOSSARY

Below is an alphabetical list of ANA words which appear in this monograph, along with their translations into English.¹ This glossary, is first and foremost, intended as a resource to assist in comprehension of the texts of Section 9 above, but some other words are included. It is not the intention that this list be comprehensive, but it is rather intended to assist the reader in his reading of the texts and examples in this monograph and in his analysis of their structure. To this end, some additional lexicographical details are given, such as plural/s, gender and, on an *ad hoc* basis, various irregular or unexpected forms and/or etymologies.

- '*ajabuṭa* (f.) 'wonder, amazement', cf. '-j-b
'*ala* (f.) pl. 'alale 'side, direction, place'
'*alpa* pl. 'alpe, 'alpahe '(one) thousand'
'*āmār* (m.) pl. 'amre 'command, word'
'*amta* (f.) pl. 'amtata 'paternal aunt'
'*ap-* prefixed to independent pronouns, 'also, too'
'*aqāl* (m.) 'brain, mind, intelligence'
'*aqla* (f.) pl. 'aqle, 'aqlata, 'aqlawata 'leg, foot'
'*aqārwa* (f.) pl. 'aqārwe 'scorpion'
'*ar'a* (f.) pl. 'ar'ata 'earth, ground, plot (of land)'
'*arabāya* (m.) pl. 'arabāye 'Arab, Muslim'

¹ The "alphabetical" order used here is: ' , a, b, ḥ, č, ċ, d, ḏ, e, ə, f, g, ġ, h, ḥ, i, j, k, l, l, m, ṃ, n, ṇ, o, p, p, q, r, r, s, š, š, t, t, t, u, v, w, w, x, y, z, z, ž.

As can be seen from the above, for the purposes of alphabetisation, no distinction is made between the following consonant pairs: <'> and <č>; and <ḥ>; <č> and <ċ>; <d> and <ḏ>; <l> and <ḷ>; <m> and <ṃ>; <n> and <ṇ>; <p> and <ṗ>; <r> and <ṙ>; <s> and <š>; <t> and <ṭ>; <w> and <ṡ>; <z> and <ž>. <ġ>, <ḥ>, <š>, <ṭ> and <ž> are, however, distinguished from <g>, <h>, <s>, <ṭ> and <z>, respectively, and follow them, respectively, in the system of alphabetisation employed.

Similarly, no distinction is made in terms of alphabetisation between the vowels <e> and <ə>. Long and short vowels are also considered equivalent for the purposes of alphabetisation, whether they be marked or unmarked by the transcription system used (see 0.4.3). The hyphens used to separate the consonantal radicals of a verbal root are also ignored for the purposes of alphabetisation.

- 'araqin (m.) pl. 'araqine 'raki'
 'arba 'four'
 'arṃota (f.) pl. 'arṃone 'pomegranate, pomegranate tree'
 '-r-q 'to run', used reflexively in the sense of 'to flee'
 'arwit (f.) 'evening prayer service' (< H ערבית 'evening prayer service')
 'atta 'now'
 'avize, 'awize (pl.) 'items, things (purchased)'
 'awon f. 'sin, guilt'
 'axxa 'here'
 'aya 'she'
 '-b-y II 'to swell up, to inflate'
 'ebbe, 'abba, 'abbu etc. see b-
 'eda (m.) pl. 'edawaṭa 'festival'
 'adyo 'today'
 'ega 'so, now then'
 'əgde, 'əgdade 'together', mən 'əgde, m-əgde, m-əgdade 'with each other, together'
 'əlle, 'əlla, 'əllu see l-
 'ema 'which?'
 'ena (f.) 1. 'eye' pl. 'ene 2. 'well, spring' pl. 'enawaṭa
 '-n-n II 'to help'
 'ənuṭa (f.) pl. 'ənwe 'grape'
 'eqo (f.) 'sorrow, straits'
 'ereṣ-yisrael (f.) 'the land of Israel, the Holy Land'
 'ərba (m.) pl. 'erwe 'sheep'
 'əš see reš
 'ətle, 'ətla etc. see 'it
 'ətwa existential particle 'there was / were'; with a-set suffixes, preterite of 'to have', e.g. 'ətwale 'he had', cf. 'it
 'ida (f.) pl. 'idaṭa 'hand'
 'ilaha pl. 'ilahe 'God, god'
 'insan (m.) 'human(-being), humanity'
 'istada pl. 'istadawaṭa 'master, teacher, sir'
 'iṣṣalla 'if God wills'
 'it, 'itən, 'itena existential particle, 'there is, there are'; with a-set suffixes, 'to have', e.g. 'ətle 'he has', cf. 'ətwa
 'ixala (m.) cnstr. 'ixal 'food, dish (of food)'
 '-j-b II 'to be surprised'

- 'l-q 'to catch, to collect, to gather, to touch; to catch fire' III 'to set on fire'
 'm-r (pret. *mərre*, impv. *mar*) 'to say'
 'n-n II 'to help'
 'n-x III *m-n-x* (impv. s. *menəx*, impv. pl. *menxun*) 'to look, to take a look around'
 'oḍa (f.) pl. 'oḍe 'room'
 'oya 'inside'
 't-y (pret. *tele*, impv. *ta* (s.) 'to come, to go' III *m-t-y* 'to bring'
 'urwa (adj.) f. *rapta* pl. 'urwe 'big, large'
 'urwa (n.) 'urwane 'head, chief, elder'
 'urxa (f.) pl. 'urxata, 'urxawata 'way, road'
 'w-d 'to do, to make'
 'x-l (pret. *xalle*) 'to eat'
 'y-n 'to help, to assist', usually in 'ən 'ilaha 'ayənni 'may God help me, with God's help' or similar phrases
 'z-l (pret. *zalle*, impv. s. *sa*, impv pl. *suwun*) 'to go, to journey'
 'z-m 'to invite (usually to a meal)'
 b-, bəd 'in, on, at', with suffixes 'abb-
 b-xudrešux 'by your life' (< *b-xabra d-rešux)
 baba (m.) pl. *babawata* 'father, forefather, ancestor'
 bajanta pl. *bajane* 'tomato', more fully *bajanta smuqta*, *bajane kome* 'aubergines'
 balki, *balkiən* 'perhaps, maybe'
 baladiya (f.) pl. *baladiye* 'municipality, city administration'
 bamri 'one might say; (almost) as if'
 baruxabba 'welcome'
 baṛṭil (m.) pl. *baṛṭile* 'bribe; ransom'
 bassimuta (f.) 'pleasure; pleasantness, sweetness'
 baš (inv.) 'good, OK'
 bāṭar 'after, behind', with suffixes *baṭr-*
 baxta (f.) cnstr. *bax* pl. *baxtata* 'woman, wife'
 bažir (f.) pl. *bažere* 'city'
 be'ta (f.) pl. *be'e* 'egg'
 bānhe (m.) pl. *bānhawata* 'morning; in the morning'
 bašto, *baštor*, *baštof-* 'better, [the] best'
 baṭal, *baṭṭal* (m.) pl. *baṭle* 'bottle'
 beṭa cnstr. *be*, *beṭ* (m.) pl. *bate*, *beṭawata* 'house, home'
 b-l- 'to swallow'

- b-n-y* ‘to build’
b-q-r II ‘to ask (a question)’
brona (m.) cnstr. *bər* pl. *bnone* ‘son’
b-r-y ‘to occur, to happen’
b-š-l II ‘to cook’
b-x-y ‘to cry’
b-zor see *zor*
čamma (m.) pl. *čammane* ‘field, meadow’
čappa (m.) pl. *čappe* ‘turn, bend, nook, corner’
čarmakaní in *y-t-w čarmakaní* ‘to sit down in the Oriental sitting posture (= H ישיבה מזרחית)’. (This position is roughly equivalent to *sukhasana* in yoga.)
čarpaya (f.) pl. *čarpaye* ‘bed’
čappakṭa (f.) pl. *čappakyata* ‘drop (of liquid)’
č-m-y ‘to be extinguished’ III ‘to extinguish; to blind (usually metaphorically)’
čo’a f. *čo’ta* pl. *čo’e* ‘smooth; fragile’
čol ‘the wild, forest, countryside, ≠ *bažər / mata*’
ču ‘no, *G kein*’, *čugga* ‘never’, *čú-məndi* ‘nothing’, *čuxxa* ‘no-one’
čugga see *ču*
čú-məndi see *ču*
čunkun ‘because’
čuxxa see *ču*
d-, t- ‘of, from’, genitive particle of annexation, see 2.3
d’-r ‘to come/go back, to return’ III 1. ‘to return (trans.), to bring back’ 2. ‘to vomit’
dalita (f.) pl. *dalyata* ‘vine’
dän ‘when (used with past tenses)’, cf. *dana*
dana ‘instant (n.), *xä-dana* ‘all at once, all of a sudden’, cf. *dän*
daqiqā (adj.) f. *daqəqta* 1. ‘thin, fine’
daqiqā (n.) (f.) ‘minute’ pl. *daqiqe*
dara (m.) pl. *dare* ‘tree’
darbaste (f.) ‘stretcher’
dašta (f.) pl. *daštata, dašte, daštawata* ‘field’
dayman ‘always’
d-b-š ‘to stick, to attach, to seal, to root to the spot’
de, də particle of request, ‘please, let me, why don’t you, etc.’
de’ta (f.) ‘perspiration, sweat, condensation’
dabba (f.) pl. *dabbata* ‘bear’

- dəkkana* (f.) pl. *dəkkane* ‘shop’
dewa (m.) pl. *dewe*, *dewawe*, *dewawaṭa* ‘wolf’
d-g-l II ‘to lie’, cf. *dugla*
d-l-d-l ‘to hang, dangle’
d-m-x ‘to sleep’
dorəkta (f.) pl. *dorəkyata* ‘loaf (of bread)’
d-r-y ‘to put, to place’, *d-r-y bala* ‘to pay attention’
dugla (m.) pl. *dugle* ‘lie, untruth’, cf. *d-g-l* II
dukta (f.), *duka* (f.) pl. *dukane* ‘place’
dürtadyom, *durtadyóm*, *dartyom* ‘the following day’
duxtur (m.) pl. *duxture* ‘doctor’
d-w-q ‘to hold, to grab, to catch, to squeeze’
d-y- ‘to disappear; to die’ III ‘to hide away’
fāqir f. *fāqir*, *fāqarta* pl. *fāqire* ‘poor’
fārah, *farhiye* (f.) pl. *farhiye* ‘joy, happiness’
fassada (m.) pl. *fassadine*, *fassade* ‘informer, telltale’
fehal ‘forgiveness’, e.g. used in *fehal hawət* ‘you are forgiven’ or *fehal!*
‘[I beg your] forgiveness’, cf. *f-h-l*
feka (m.) pl. *feka* ‘(piece of) fruit’
f-h-m ‘to understand’ III ‘to explain, to make (someone) understand’
fišāka (m.) pl. *fišāke* ‘bullet’
f-h-l II ‘to forgive’, cf. *fehal*
flan (inv.) ‘a certain, such-and-such a’
flankas ‘so-and-so, whatsisname, a certain man’
f-n-y ‘to perish, to be destroyed’ III ‘to destroy, wipe out’
f-r-ḥ ‘to be happy’ III ‘to make happy’
f-ṛ-j II ‘to view, to watch; to put in order’
f-ṛ-m-n ‘to issue and edict’
f-s-d ‘to inform (on)’
f-t-š II ‘to investigate, to examine’, cf. *mefattāš*
f-y-d ‘to be of use, benefit’
gabbay (m.) pl. *gabbaye* ‘lay person who assists with the running of a
synagogue and with communal institutions; gabbai’
ganamoke ‘maize (plant)’
ganawa f. *ganawta* pl. *ganawe* ‘thief’, cf. *g-n-w*
garra (m.) pl. *garre* ‘turn, chance’
g-b-y II ‘to choose, to select’
gəbbara (m.) pl. *gəbbare* ‘hero, strong / brave man’
gəgla (m.) pl. *gəgla* ‘skein, roll, spool’

- galla* (m.) pl. *gallale* ‘grass, herb’
ganta (f.) pl. *ganyata* ‘garden’
g-l-y ‘to be revealed; to reveal, to uncover’
g-n-w ‘to steal’, cf. *ganawa*
gora pl. *gure, gurane* ‘man, husband’
goral (m.) ‘fate, destiny’ (< H ‘lot, fate’)
gorawuta (f.) ‘manliness, strength’
gu ‘in, amongst, in the midst of’, with suffixes *gaw-*, e.g. *gawu* ‘in them, amongst them’
gum’ana f. *gum’anta* pl. *gum’ane* ‘deep’
g-w-r ‘to marry (tr.), to get married (intr.)’ III ‘to marry (off)’
g-x-k ‘to laugh’
gyana (f.) ‘self, soul (antiqu.)’, reflexive pronoun, construed as f.
g-y-b ‘to ferment, to foam up, to overflow’ III ‘to cause/allow to overflow’
g-z-r ‘to issue a decree’
ḡ-d- ‘to wrap, to bind’
ḡ-d-r ‘to go around, to go for a walk around’
ḡer (inv.) ‘other, another, different’
ḡ-l-b ‘to win, to beat (in a contest)’ III ‘to lose, to gamble away’,
ḡ-l-ṭ ‘to make a mistake, to lose count, to sin’
ḡulama (m.) pl. *ḡulamawata* ‘servant, slave’
ḡ-z-ḡ ‘to harvest, to cut (wheat / grass etc.)’
hadax, hadxa ~ *hatxa* ‘this; thus’, *mən-hadax l-hadax* ‘in the meantime’
hakka ‘if’
hamán ‘only just, barely’
har ‘still, even now, nevertheless’
hatxa see *hadax*
hawar pl. *haware* ‘distress call, call for help’
hawdala ~ *havdala* (f.) ‘Havdalah, ceremony performed at the end of the Sabbath’ (< הַבְּדִלָּה H ‘separation’)
hayya 1. ‘fast, quickly’ 2. ‘early’
he ‘yes’
hærga (f.) pl. *hæрге* ‘article of clothing’
heš, heškun, hešta ‘still, yet; more’
heškun see *heš*
həšše (pl. tant.) ‘senses, sanity’
hešta see *heš*
hivi see *hiwi*

- hiwi, hivi* (f.) pl. *hiwiye* ‘plea, hope’
hudaya f. *hudeta* pl. *hudaye* ‘Jew’
hūdūt, hudət̄kí ‘the language of the Jews (i.e. Jewish Neo-Aramaic)’
hule / hulle, hula / hulla etc. see *y-(h-)w-l*
h-y-m-n ‘to believe, to trust (in)’
ha (excl.) ‘Huh? What?’
ḥābās (m.) ‘jail, prison’, cf. *ḥ-b-s*
ḥadada pl. *ḥadade* ‘blacksmith’
ḥadər (inv.) ‘ready, present’
ḥakoma (m.) pl. *ḥakome* ‘king’
ḥal (m.) ‘state, situation’
ḥambašaya (m.) pl. *ḥambašaye* ‘(mythical) giant’
ḥaqqā (m.) pl. *ḥaqqe* ‘price’, also used adjectivally, e.g. *ḥāqqele* ‘he is right’
ḥaqqana (m.) pl. *ḥaqqane* ‘honest person; one who is (often) correct’
ḥaywan (m.) pl. *ḥaywane* ‘(wild) animal’
ḥ-b-s ‘to imprison’, cf. *ḥābās*
ḥil ‘until’
ḥile (f.) ‘cheating’ -*w-d* *ḥile* ‘to cheat’
ḥ-k-m ‘to rule, to reign over’ III ‘to appoint as king / ruler’
ḥ-k-y II ‘to speak, to talk’
ḥilana (m.) pl. *ḥilane* ‘cheater’
ḥluka (f.) pl. *ḥluke* ‘plum’
ḥ-m-l ‘to stand, wait; to last (of clothes etc.)’ III ‘to stop (trans.)’
ḥoxma (f.) ‘intelligence’
ḥ-r-m ‘to be(come) illegal, to be(come) defiled / unkosher’, III ‘to make / declare something unkosher / illegal’
ḥ-r-š ‘to squeeze, to crush’
ḥ-r-z ‘to take care, to be meticulous’
ḥukkita (f.) pl. *ḥukyata* ‘tale, legend’
ḥukuma (f.) ‘government, leadership’
ḥuṣ mən ‘except for’ (< H מן פּוּר ‘except for’)
ḥušta pl. *ḥuštaṭa* ‘excuse, pretext’, with *d-w-q* in the sense of ‘to make an excuse’
ja’oda (m.) pl. *ja’ode* ‘axe, hatchet’
jama’a (f.) pl. *jama’atyata* ‘community, congregation, group’
j-ḥ-d II ‘to argue’
jigara (f.) pl. *jigare* ‘cigarette, cigar’
jirana f. *jiranta* pl. *jirane* ‘neighbour’

- j-m-* ‘to assemble’ II ‘to collect, gather’
jafqa (f.) pl. *jafqe* ‘group, team’ (cf. Z *joqa*)
j-r-b II ‘to test, to try’
jüda (inv.) ‘separate(ly), apart’
jwanqa f. *jwanqta* pl. *jwanqe* ‘young’
j-z-y II ‘to fine, to penalise’
kalba (m.) pl. *kalwe* ‘dog’
kawḏanta see *koḏanta*
kalakṭa (f.) pl. *kalke* ‘(traditional leather) shoe’
kallaš (m.) pl. *kallaše* ‘body, corpse, skeleton’
kalo (f.) pl. *kalawaṭa* ‘bride’
kamətra (f.) pl. *kamətre* ‘pear’
kapa (m.) pl. *kapanane* ‘shoulder’
kappaṛa (f.) pl. *kappaṛe* ‘expiation, curse’ (< כפרה H ‘expiation’)
karma (m.) pl. *karme*, *karmane*, *karmawaṭa* ‘orchard’
kawḏanta see *koḏanta*
kawód (f.) ‘honour, respect’
kef (m.) ‘happiness, joy’
kepa (m.) pl. *kepe* ‘stone, rock’
kəs ‘at, with, chez’, with suffixes *kəsl-*
kəsta (f.) pl. *kəsyata* ‘(small) bag, pocket’
knəšta (f.) pl. *knəšyata* ‘synagogue’
k-f-l ‘to guarantee’
kis ‘expense, pocket’, as in *mən kisəd gyani* ‘out of my pocket, at my expense’
kočəkṭa (f.) pl. *kočəkyaṭa* ‘teaspoon, utensil, piece of cutlery’
koḏanta ~ *kawḏanta* (f.) pl. *koḏane*, *kawḏanyata* ‘mule’
koma f. *kumta* pl. *kome* ‘black’
k-r-b ‘to become angry’
k-r-d ‘to expel, to banish’
k-s-y ‘to cover’
k-t-w ‘to write’
kudyom ‘every day’
kull- with a-set suffixes, ‘each, (all of)’
kuššat ‘every year’
kutran, *kutreni* ‘the two of us’
kutru, *kutrohun* ‘both of them’ *kṭawa* (m.) pl. *kṭawe* ‘letter, manuscript; writing’
k-w-š ‘to come down, to descend’ III ‘to bring down’

- k-y-f* II 'to make merry, to have fun'
l- 'to, about', with suffixes 'all-
la, la' 'no; not'
laxma (m.) '(loaf of) bread'
laḥefa (m.) pl. *laḥefe* 'blanket'
lahibe (f.) pl. *lahibətyaṭa* 'flame'
laxma (m.) 'bread'
laymuna (f.) pl. *laymune* 'lemon'
lāzi 'rush, hurry', usually in *b-lāzi* 'quickly, in a hurry', cf. *l-y-z*
labbā (m.) pl. *labbabe, labbawāṭa* 'heart'
lele (m.) pl. *lelawāṭa* 'night'
l-ḥ-q III 'to manage (to do something)'
l-w-š 'to put on (clothes, shoes etc.), to get dressed' III 'to dress
(trans.)'
l-y-p 'to learn' III *m-l-p* 'to teach'
l-y-z presumed root of *m-l-z* III 'to hurry', cf. *lāzi*
ma, ma 'what?', *mat* ~ *mad*, *ṣat* ~ *ṣad* 'how; that which, the extent
to which'
mad, ṣad see *ma*
maḡara (f.) pl. *maḡare* 'cave'
maḥalle (f.) pl. *maḥalle* 'neighbourhood'
mal'ax (m.) pl. *mal'axine, mal'axe* 'angel'
malla (m.) pl. *mallaye* 'mullah'
manzal (f.) pl. *manzale* 'room, storeroom'
mar see 'm-r
mara (m.) cnstr. *māre* pl. *marawāṭa* 'owner, master'
maṣaqa (f.) pl. *maṣaqa* 'soup'
marəḡla (m.) pl. *marəḡle* 'cauldron'
masāle (f.) 'story, episode'
mashāf (m.) pl. *mashāfe* 'book'
maṭo, maṭo 'how?', with suffixed copula *maṭof-*, e.g. *maṭofila* 'what it
is like?'
mattu see *y-t-w* III
mat, ṣat see *ma*
maṭa (f.) pl. *maṭwāṭa* 'village'
max, mawaṭ, mawaṭət 'like, as', with suffixes *maxwaṭ-*
ṣaye (pl. tant.) 'water'
mazza, məzza (m.) pl. *mazze* 'snack, small plate of food'
məfattəš (m.) pl. *məfattəšine* 'inspector, investigator', cf. *f-t-š* II

- məfləs* (inv.) 'penniless'
m-əğde, *m-əğdade* see 'əğde
mehwan (m.) pl. *mehwane* 'houseguest, visitor'
mən 'with; from', with suffixes *mənn-*, e.g. *mənne* 'from him; with him'
menəx see '-n-x
mən-hadax l-hadax see *hadax*
menxun see '-n-x
məqqayad 'definitely, exactly, precisely'
mərre, *mərri*, *mərri* etc. see '-m-r
məskina f. *məskənta* pl. *məskine* 'poor, unlucky'
məşwa (f.) pl. *məşwaye* 'commandment, good deed'
məşəlmana f. *məşəlmanta* pl. *məşəlmane* 'Muslim'
m-h-y III 'to destroy'
milana f. *milanta* pl. *milane* 'light blue'
m-l-y 'to fill up'
m-l-z see *l-y-z*
m-n-x = '-n-x III
moşəl 'Mosul (top.)'
m-r-ç 'to crush'
m-ş-y 'to be able'
muttule see *y-t-w* III
m-y-t 'to die'
m-r- 'to hurt, to ache, to take ill' III 'to hurt (trans.), to harm'
m-t-y 'to arrive, to reach'
mutwa see *y-t-w* III
m-x-y 'to hit, to beat (up)'
n-'s 'to sting, bite'
n'asta 'sting (n.), bite (n.) (of snake, scorpion etc.)'
n-'l 'to shoe a horse'
na'alçi (m.) pl. *na'alçiye* 'farrier'
na'la (m.) pl. *na'le* 'horseshoe'
naqdi '(in) cash'
naqla (f.) cnstr. *nəqəl* pl. *naqla* 'time, fois', *xamka naqla* 'sometimes'
naqoşa 'less, fewer' (cf. *n-q-ş*)
naşax (inv.) 'ill, unwell'
naša cnstr. *naš* pl. *naše* 'person'
našama (f.) 'soul, life force'
naṭa (f.) pl. *naṭayaṭa* 'ear'

- naxpuṭa* (f.) 'embarrassment, shame', cf. *n-x-p*
naxwaš f. *naxwaš* pl. *naxwaše*, *naxwaš* 'sick, unhealthy'
n-d-y 'to jump, to spring' III 'to throw'
nənxa (m.) 'mint'
numṛa (m.) pl. *numṛe* 'leopard'
nuwwa 'arum'
no'a (m.) pl. *no'atyata*, *no'e* 'type, kind'
n-p-l 'to fall' III *mampole* 'to make fall, to push over'
n-p-q 'to go out, to exit' III *m-p-q* 'to take out, to bring out'
n-q-ḥ 'to touch'
n-q-š 'to be reduced, to become less'
n-š-y 'to fight, to wage war on'
n-š-y 'to forget'
n-ṭ-r 'to guard, to protect' III 'to set as a guard'
nura (m.) 'fire; light'
n-x-p 'to be embarrassed' III 'to embarrass, to shame', cf. *naxpuṭa*
n-y-x 'to rest; to pass away (euph.)' III 'to give rest to'
pa 'well then, so'
palga (m.) cnstr. *pal* pl. *palgagē* 'half'
palgādlel '(at) midnight'
para pl. *pare* 'coin' (cf. *pare*)
parašut 'parachute'
pare (pl.) cnstr. *par* 'money' (cf. *para*)
pamma (m.) pl. *pammame*, *pammawata* 'mouth'
partaqala (f.) pl. *partaqale* 'orange'
pəšra, *pəsra* (n.) cnstr. *pəsər* pl. *pəsrare* 'meat, meat dish'
p-h-t 'to be shocked, surprised' III 'to shock, to surprise'
pis inv. 'dirty (lit. and fig.)'
p-l-ṭ 'to leave, to go out'
p-l-x 'to work' III 'to put to work, to employ'
poxa (m.) 'wind, air'
p-q- 'to burst, to explode; to be extremely full (fig.)' III 'to cause to burst'
p-q-x 'to bloom, to blossom'
p-r-q 'to stop doing something, to let (someone) alone' II 'to free, to release'
p-š-p-š 'to break into pieces, to fall apart'
p-t-p-t 'to rip apart, into pieces'
puč (inv.) 'empty, useless, unimportant'

- pučkana* f. *pučkanta* pl. *pučkane* ‘vain, useless, unimportant (person)’
puš (m.) ‘tree sap for kindling fire’
p-y-d ‘to cross, to pass, to flow (of a river)’ III *m-p-d* ‘to take across, to cause to pass, to transfer’
p-y-š ‘to remain, to be, to become, to start’
qābəl ‘before (temp.); ago’, e.g
qačax ~ *qačağ* (m.) pl. *qačağe* ‘smuggler; bandit’
qadome ‘tomorrow’
qala cnstr. *qal* pl. *qale* ‘voice, sound’
qalula f. *qalulta* pl. *qalule* ‘easy, light’
qam ‘before, in front of’, *mən-qam* ‘from, from before’
qamaya f. *qameta* pl. *qamaye* ‘first’
qaṭ ‘at all; just’
qaymāqam (m.) ‘town or district governer’
qazan (f.) pl. *qazane* ‘pot’
q-b-l ‘to receive; to allow’
q-d-š II ‘to sanctify, to make holy’
qədduṣ (m.) ‘Kiddush, blessing made over wine to sanctify the Sabbath’ (< H שׁוּדְּוּק ‘sanctification’)
qərš, *qərəš* (m.) ‘straw; black residue left in smoking-pipe’
qəṭ’a (m.) pl. *qəṭ’e*, *qəṭ’a’e* ‘piece, segment, section’
qəṭla (m.) ‘killing, murder’
q-h-r ‘to be sad’ III ‘to upset, to make sad’
qolči (m.) pl. *qolčiye* ‘policeman’
qora (f.) pl. *qoraṭa*, *qorawaṭa* ‘grave’, *qoraṭa* also ‘cemetery’
qrima f. *qrəmṭa* pl. *qrime* ‘poor thing!’
q-r-w ‘to approach, to come near’
q-r-y ‘to read’ III ‘to teach (to read), to dictate’
q-t-’ ‘to cut, sever, chop (up)’
q-t-l ‘to kill’ II ‘to sentence to death; to have killed’, III ‘to have killed’
qu see *q-y-m*
qumaṛe (pl.) ‘gambling’
quppa (f.) ‘cash box; fund’
qurḍaya f. *qurḍeta* pl. *qurḍaye* ‘Muslim Kurd’
quwwata, *quwwūta* ‘strength, power’
q-w-r ‘to bury’
q-y-ç ‘to pick (fruit)’
q-y-d ‘to burn (intr.)’ III *m-q-d* ‘to burn (trans.), to set on fire’

- q-y-m* (impv. *qu*) 'to get up, to stand up' III *m-q-m* 'to pick up; to make stand up; to establish'
quwya f. *qwiṭa* pl. *quwye* 'strong; difficult'
r-'l 'to shake, shiver', III 'to make shake, shiver'
r-'š 'to wake up' III 'to wake, rouse'
raba 'very, a lot, much'
rahuqa f. *rahuqta* pl. *rahuqe* 'far'
rašut (f.) 'permission' (< H רשות 'permission')
rəpya f. *rpīta* pl. *rəpye* 'weak, emaciated'
reš, iš, š- 'on, upon, on top of'
reša (m.) pl. *reše* 'head'
řexa, řexa (m.) 'smell, odour'
řeza (m.) pl. *řeze* 'line, row, queue'
roqe (pl.) 'spittle, slobber'
ř-p-y 'to attack'
ř-t-x 'to boil' III 'to boil, to bring to the boil'
ř-w-y 'to grow, grow up' III 'to make grow; to raise (a child)'
ř-y-m 'to rise, to be lifted' III *m-ř-m* 'to lift'
šābat (m.) 'box, chest', *kulle šābat pare*
šaddiq f. *šaddaqta/šaddaqa* pl. *šaddiqim* 'righteous, holy (person)'
ša'a pl. *ša'e* 'hour' 2 '(wrist-)watch'
šabo'ta (f.) pl. *šabo'yata* 'finger'
sahma (m.) pl. *sahme* 'portion, piece, section'
šalāhi (inv.) 'polite, appropriate (e.g. behaviour)'
saliḥot, šaliḥot 'penitential prayers'
samana f. *samanta* pl. *samane* 'poisonous, venomous'
sawona (m.) pl. *sawone* 'old man'
šax (inv.) 'alive, healthy; intact'
sepa (m.) pl. *sepe* 'sword'
sərya f. *sriṭa* pl. *sərye* 'wild, untamed'
skina (f.) pl. *skine* 'knife'
s-k-n 'to live, reside, to lodge' III 'to allow someone to lodge / reside, install (in a house)'
s-k-ř 'to become intoxicated' III 'to inebriate, to make intoxicated'
si see '-z-l'
šiwā (m.) pl. *šiwē* 'wood, tree'
šlōta (f.) pl. *šlowata* 'prayer, prayer service', cf. *š-l-y*
š-l-y II 'to pray, to entreaty', cf. *šlōta*
smaxta (f.) pl. *smixe* 'pregnant'

- smoqa* f. *smuqta* pl. *smoqe* 'red'
s-p-n II 'to deliver up, to hand over'
s-p-s 'to rot, to reek'
sqila f. *sqalta* pl. *sqile* 'nice, pretty'
š-q-ṭ, *s-q-ṭ*, 'to land, to fall downwards, to squat'
s-r-ṭ 'to slash, to cut'
š-r-x 'to shout, to scream'
stabiṭa (f.) pl. *stabyaṭa* 'cushion, pillow'
sugya 'section of text (in religious study)'
sukko (f.) 'festival of Tabernacles (= 'edat sukko)'
sukko (f.) pl. *sukkoye* 'sukka (temporary dwelling for the festival of Tabernacles)'
suraya f. *sureṭa* pl. *suraye* 'Christian'
susa (m.) pl. *suse* 'horse'
suwun see 'z-l
s-y-d 'to seal, to close up'
š-y-m 'to fast'
š- see *reš*
ša'uta (f.) pl. *ša'uyata* 'neighbourhood'
šabṭa (f.) pl. *šabaṭa* 1. 'week' 2. 'Sabbath'
šabuqa (m.) pl. *šabuqe* 'rod, stick, cane'
šaftiya (f.) pl. *šaftiye* 'watermelon'
šahara f. *šaharta* pl. *šahare* 'blind'
šammaš (m.) pl. *šammaše* 'Synagogue sexton'
šaqqiṭa (f.) pl. *šaqqyaṭa* 'channel, conduit'
šata (f.) pl. *šanne* 'year'
šaxaṭa (f.) pl. *šaxaṭe* 'match; box of matches'
šaxina (f.) 'the Divine Presence' (< H שכינה 'the Divine Presence')
š-d-r II 'to send'
šamma (m.) pl. *šammame*, *šemme* 'name, reputation'
šex (m.) pl. *šexaye* 'sheikh'
ši ~ *ži* 'also, even'
šidana f. *šidanta* pl. *šidane* 'mad, insane', c.f. *š-y-d-n*
šikəl pl. *šikle* 'colour; method; type; image, statue'
širik 'sesame oil'
š-l-l II 'to be crippled'
š-m- 'to hear, to listen to'
š-n-q 'to hang to death'
š-q-l 'to take'

- šra'a* (m.) pl. *šra'e* 'oil-lamp'
š-t-q 'to be silent' III 'to silence'
š-t-y 'to drink' III 'to give to drink'
šud 'that, in order that'
šula (m.) pl. *šu'ale* 'work, job, deed'
šulxaya f. *šulxeta* pl. *šulxaye* 'nude, naked'
šura (m.) pl. *šurane* '(city) wall'
šurṭa (m.) pl. *šurṭiye* 'officer, policeman'
š-w-q 'to leave (alone)'
š-y-d-n 'to go crazy, to drive crazy', cf. *šidana*
t-'l II 'to play (a game)'
t-'n 'to carry, to bear'
t-'y 'to seek, to search for'
ta, ʔa 'to, for', with suffixes *ʔat-*, e.g. *ʔate* 'to him, for him', *ta xaṭəṭ* see
xaṭəṭ
ʔamá, ʔamá 'why, for what'
ʔanāga (m.) pl. *ʔanāge* 'bin, tin'
tane'ta (f.) pl. *tane'tyata* 'letter (of the alphabet)'
ʔappaya (f.) pl. *ʔappaye* 'hillside; graveyard'
tar'a (m.) pl. *tar'ane* 'door'
ʔarma (m.) pl. *ʔarme* 'corpse'
ʔarpa (m.) pl. *ʔarpe* 'leaf'
tawərta (f.) pl. *torata, tawəryata* 'cow'
tax 'sound of knocking (e.g. on door)'
təjjaruṭa (f.) 'trade, business; wares'
ʔəm'a (m.) pl. *ʔəm'e* 'taste, flavour'
təmmal 'yesterday'
ʔera pl. *ʔere* 'large bird, fowl'
ʔəšwa (m.) 'secrecy, hiding'
t-f-q 'to occur, to chance to happen'
ʔina (m.) 'mud'
t-k-l 'to trust'
t-k-y 'to lean (back), to lie down'
ʔlaha 'three'
ʔ-l-b 'to request, to wish for'
t-l-t-y 'to hang'
tmanya 'eight'
ʔaraf 'region'
ʔofana (f.) 'flood' (cf. Z *ʔawafán*)

- tora* (m.) pl. *tore* 'bull'
ṭora (f.) 'Torah, the Old Testament; Jewish knowledge in general'
 (<H תורה)
ṭ-m- 'to taste'
ṭ-p-r 'to burn, to rage, to be angry' III 'to set on fire, to anger'
tre 'two'
t-r-m 'to donate, to give money to charity'
ṭroša 'truth', also used adjectivally, e.g. *ṭrósele* 'he is right'
ṭ-r-š 'to recover, to become healthy' II 'to sort out, to improve, to cure'
t-š-l-m 'to protect, to shelter'
ṭ-š-y II 'to hide, to keep secret'
tule, tula, tulu etc. see *y-t-w*
tumanitke (pl.) 'wild chives'
ṭura (m.) pl. *ṭurane* 'mountain'
tütun (m.) 'tobacco, tobacco leaf'
t-x-r 'to remember'
ṭ-w-y 1. 'to be valuable, to be worth' 2. 'to roast (meat etc.)'
t-w-r 'to break, to smash'
ṭ-w-s-r 'to translate (holy text)'
ṭa see 'ṭ-y
ṭele, ṭela, ṭelu etc. see 'ṭ-y
wa'da (f.) pl. *wa'de* 1. 'time' 2. 'season'
wākil (m.) pl. *wakile* 'agent, third party'
waraqā (f.), *warāqā* 'paper, paper money'
xa, xa' 'one', with plural noun 'some, a number of', with numeral 'about, approximately'
xabra cnstr. *xābər* pl. *xabrane, xabre* 'word, saying, issue'
xabuša (m.) pl. *xabuše* 'apple'
xā-dana see *dana*
xā-ga 'once'
xalwa (m.) 'milk'
xamka 'some', *xamka naqla* see *naqla*
xana (m.) 'lap'
xanča, xanči 'a bit, some' *xánča-xət, xanča xet* 'a bit more; shortly, soon'
xaraškar (m.) pl. *xaraškäre* 'magician'
xaraya (adj.) 'at the end', '≠ *qamaya*', cf. *xaraye*
xaraye (adv.) 'later, afterwards', cf. *xaraya*

- xaraye* 'afterwards'
xarja pl. *xarje* 'tax'
xašuka f. *xašukta* pl. *xašuke* 'dark'
xatəř 'sake', used only in *ta xatəř* 'for the sake of'
xazina (f.) pl. *xazine* 'treasury, cash box'
xe 'under, below', with suffixes *xet-*, e.g. *xete* 'under him'
xələ'ta (f.) pl. *xələ'tyata* 'present, gift'
xälle, xälla, xəllu etc. see 'x-l'
xəmyana (m.) pl. *xəmyane, xəmyanawaťa* 'father-in-law'
xer 'good (n.)', used as a greeting to a superior, as in *xerila* 'may it be good'
xəška (m.) 'darkness'
xəškana f. *xəškanta* pl. *xəškane* 'dim, dimly lit'
xe 'under, below', with a-set suffixes *xet-*, e.g. *xete* 'under him'
xet, xət, xeta (inv.) 1 (adj.) 'other, another' 2 (adj.) 'last, previous', e.g.
xa šabťa xət 'a week ago. last week' 3 (adv.) 'more'
xətna (m.) pl. *xətnawaťa* 'bridegroom'
x-f-r 'to atone' II 'to annul; to pardon'
x-l-q 'to create'
x-l-š 'to be finished; to murder' II 'to save, to deliver'
xmara (m.) pl. *xmare* 'ass; idiot'
xmarta (f.) pl. *xmaryaťa* 'jenny ass'
xmaťa (f.) pl. *xmaře* 'needle'
x-n-q 'strangle'
xola (m.) pl. *xole* 'rope'
xoš (inv.) 'good, nice', always preceds noun
xošeba (m.) 'Sunday'
x-p-r 'to dig'
xriwuťa (f.) 'evil deed, evil', cf. *x-r-w*
x-r-w 'to be / become bad, evil', III 'to destroy', cf. *xriwuťa*
x-s-r 'to lose (e.g. money, a game, a competition)' III 'to make someone lose (e.g. money)'
x-š-w 'to think, consider, take into consideration; to consider important'
x-š-x 'to be allowed, to be acceptable'
xulma (m.) pl. *xulmawaťa* 'dream'
xūnaf (m.) 'dew'
xura (m.) cnstr. *xur* pl. *xure, xurawaťa* 'friend'
xuwwa (m.) pl. *xuwwawe, xuwwe, xuwwawaťa* 'snake, serpent'

- x-y-y* 'to live, to be alive'
xurṭuta (f.) 'force, violence'
x-z-y 'to see, to find, to discover', III 'to show'
y'ala, yalunka f. *y'alta* pl. *yalunke* 'child'
y-'l 'to enter' III 'to bring in, to take in, to let in'
ya'ni 'I mean, that is to say) (< A)
ya'e, ya'a, ya'u etc. see *y-d'*
yayarixa f. *yaraxta* pl. *yarixe* 'long'
yaruqa f. *yaruqta* pl. *yaruqe* 'green'
y-d' (pres. ind. stem *ya'*) 'to know, to find out' III 'to tell, to inform'
y-(h-)w-l 'to give'
yimkən 'perhaps'
yoma cnstr. *yom* pl. *yome, yomawata, yomata* 'day', *yom kuppur* 'Day of Atonement'
y-r-x 'to grow, to become long' III 'to draw out; to talk too much'
y-s-q 'to go up'
y-s-r 'to tie'
y-t-w (pret. (*y*)*tule*) 'to sit' III (*m-t-w*) (impv. *mattu*, stat. part. *mutwa*) 'to put, to place'
y-w-š 'to dry out, to dry (intrans.); to pass [of time]', III 'to dry (trans.)'
z'ora f. *z'urta* pl. *z'ore* 'small, little; young'
zaḥme (f.) 'difficulty, suffering'
zāman (f.) 'time, era'
zangin (m.) pl. *zangine* 'rich man'
z-b-n II 'to sell'
z-d' 'to be afraid'
zalle, zalla, zallu etc. see '-z-l'
z-h-m II 'to treat harshly, to make difficult'
zor, in *b-zor* 'barely, with difficulty'
z-r' 'to sow (seeds)'
zro'ta (f.), pl. *zro'tyata* 'planting; crop'
z-w-n 'to buy'
z-w-r 'to spin, to turn around, to walk around' III 'to spin (trans.)'
z-y-d 'to multiply, to be in excess' III *m-z-d* 'to increase'
ži see *ši*
žāhər (m.) 'poison, venom (of snake)'

REFERENCES

- Adler, NA (trans.), 2005, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Travels in the Middle Ages*, New York: NightinGale Resources.
- Avidani, A., 1959, *של הגדה סדר פסח עברי-כורדי*, Jerusalem: privately published.
- Brauer, E., 1948, *The Jews of Kurdistan, An Ethnological Study*, Jerusalem.
- Cohen, D., 1971, 'Neo-Aramaic', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 12, cols. 948–951.
- de Lange, N., 1984, *Atlas of the Jewish World*, New York: Facts on File.
- Dolgopolsky, A.B., 1977, 'Emphatic consonants in Semitic', *Israel Oriental Studies* 7, 1–13.
- Garbell, I., 1965, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Persian Azerbaijan: Linguistic Analysis and folkloristic texts*, Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 3. The Hague: Mouton.
- Grant, A., 2005, *The Nestorians*, Adamant Media Corporation. (reprint of an 1841 edition by John Murray, London)
- Heinrichs, W. (ed.), 1990, *Studies in Neo-Aramaic*, Harvard Semitic Studies. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Hoberman, R.D., 1989, *The Syntax and Semantics of Verb Morphology in Modern Aramaic: A Jewish Dialect of Iraqi Kurdistan* (American Oriental Society, V. 69: Yale).
- , 1988, 'The history of the Modern Aramaic pronouns and pronominal suffixes', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108, 557–575.
- , 1997, 'Modern Aramaic phonology' in Kaye (ed.) 1997, 313–335.
- Hopkins, S., 1999, 'The Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Iran', S. Shakel and A. Netzer (eds.), *Irano-Judaica IV*, Jerusalem, 311–327.
- Jastrow, O., 1997, 'The Neo-Aramaic Languages', R. Hetzron (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, Chapter 16, Routledge: London / New York.
- Kaye, A.S. (ed.), 1997, *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*, 2 vols., Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Khan, G., 1999, *A grammar of Neo-Aramaic, The dialect of the Jews of Arbel*, Leiden: Brill.
- , 2002a, 'The Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Rustaq', W. Arnold and H. Bobzin (eds.), *Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten Aramäisch, wir verstehen es! 60 Beiträge zur Semistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zur 60. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 395–410.
- , 2002b, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 36)*, Leiden: Brill.
- , 2004, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialects of Sulemaniyya and Halabja*, Leiden: Brill.
- , 2007, 'The North Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects' (Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee lecture), *Journal of Semitic Studies* 52, 1–20.
- , 2008, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*, Leiden: Brill.
- Kutscher, Y., 1953, 'אַרמית', *The Hebrew Encyclopaedia* 5, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Massada, 959–969.
- Maclean, A.J., 1895, *Grammar of the dialects of vernacular Syriac*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mithun, M., 1999, *The Languages of Native North America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mutzafi, H., 2004, 'Two texts in Barzani Jewish Neo-Aramaic', *Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Studies* 67, 1–13, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Nöldeke, T., 1868, *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan*, Leipzig: T.O. Weigel.
- Polotsky, H.J., 1964, 'Semitics', *The World History of the Jewish People*, Tel Aviv: Massadah, 99–111.
- Sabar, Y., 2002, *A Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dictionary. Dialects of Amidya, Dihok, Nerwa and Zakho, northwestern Iraq*. *Semitica Viva* 28, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Shilo, V., 1995, *A new Neo-Aramaic dictionary*. Jerusalem.
- Tsereteli, K.G., 1961, 'Abriß der vergleichenden Phonetik der modernen assyrischen Dialekte', F. Altheim., *Geschichte der Hunnen*, Bd. 3, Berlin: De Gruyter, 218–266.
- , 1972, 'Neuaramäisch', P. Nagel (ed.), *Von Hammadi bis Zypern*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 47–64.
- , 1977, 'Zur Frage der Klassifikation der neuaramäischen Dialekte', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 127, 244–253.
- , 1990, 'The velar spirant *ǰ* in Modern East Aramaic dialects', in W. Heinrichs (ed.) 1990, 35–41.
- Younansardaroud, H., 2001, *Der neuostaramäische Dialekt von Särdü:rid*, *Semitica Viva*, Band 26, Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz.