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The Neo-Aramaic  
Dialect  
of Barwar

*by*  
Geoffrey Khan

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# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar

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# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar

*Volume One: Grammar*

*by*

Geoffrey Khan



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*For the Assyrian Christian community of Barwar*



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## PREFACE

The complete destruction of the villages of Barwar in northern Iraq in 1988 brought to an end the world of an Assyrian Christian community that spoke a dialect of neo-Aramaic. The dispersal of the villagers to the Iraqi towns and to a diaspora outside Iraq has considerably threatened the survival of their dialect. Many of its distinctive morphological features and numerous items of vocabulary relating to the traditional agricultural life of the community are in danger of being lost. Also endangered is the rich tradition of oral folklore that existed in the community in former times but, for the most part, is now falling into oblivion.

Over the last five years I have worked with informants who grew up and lived in the villages. In this book I attempt to capture the world of their community as they knew it in former times. It has been my privilege to have met some of the oldest surviving members of this community who still remember well their neo-Aramaic dialect and the oral folkloric traditions. On the basis of the material gathered from numerous fieldtrips, I present here a detailed linguistic description of their dialect, an extensive corpus of transcribed recordings and a glossary of lexical items.

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## INTRODUCTION

### 0.1. BARWAR AND ITS ASSYRIAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

This work is a description of the neo-Aramaic dialect spoken by Assyrian Christians from a district in the Dihok province of Iraq lying adjacent to the border of Turkey known as Barwari Bala. It is a Kurdish name meaning ‘Upper Barwar’, the epithet being used to distinguish it from a region known as Bawari Žēr ‘Lower Barwar’, which lies further to the south. The Assyrians frequently use the shorter term Barwar rather than Barwari Bala to refer to this district and regularly refer to those whose families originate from there as *Barwarnaye*. The shorter term will be used throughout this book.<sup>1</sup>

Barwar borders to the North on the Turkish province of Hakkari, from which it is separated by the Širani chain of mountains. To the South it borders on the district of Şapna, from which it is separated by the Matina mountain chain. On the East it borders on the district of Nerwa-w Rekan, from which it is separated by the Great Zab river. On the West it is bounded by the Xabur river, a tributary of the Tigris, which divides it from the district of Gulli-w Səndi. The mountain chain North of Barwar was called by the Assyrians ‘the one in shadow’ (*talana*) and the one to the South ‘the one in the sun’ (*ba-rožā*). This was because when the sun rose it would strike first the southern mountains, leaving the northern mountains in shade.

Two rivers run through the area. The river Nənnə flows from South-East to North-West into the Xabur. To the North of this the river Be-Xelape flows North-West to South-East into the Great Zab. The land is fertile and wooded.

In the twentieth century the life of the Assyrians of Barwar underwent a series of devastating upheavals. The greatest physical destruction took place in the 1970s and 1980s, when the Iraqi army destroyed all of the Kurdish and Assyrian villages of the area, as well as hundreds of other

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<sup>1</sup> The word *barwār* is a Kurdish common noun meaning ‘slope (of a hill)’, spelt ‘berwar’ according to the conventional Kurdish orthography (Chyet 2003: 45). It is used in association with several other geographical names, all of which are in south-eastern Turkey, e.g. Barwar of Qudshanes, Barwar of Sevine, Barwar of Shwa’uta (Fiey 1964: 446).



villages along the Turkish border region, as part of the so-called *'Anfāl* campaign against the Kurds. The final wave of destructions took place in 1988, which included the Assyrian village of *'Ēn-Nune* ('Spring of Fishes'), also known as Kani Masi, the administrative centre of the district, lying approximately ten miles North-North-West of Amedia. All the Assyrians of the area were evacuated to refugee camps and subsequently they either settled in the Iraqi towns or left Iraq and joined the Assyrian diaspora communities in North America, Europe and Australia. When the 'No-Fly-Zone' was established in northern Iraq in 1991 after the Gulf War, some Assyrians began to return to the site of their villages and rebuild them. The majority of the Assyrian families who originated in the villages, however, remain to this day scattered around the world.

Before the *'Anfāl* campaign the major upheavals suffered by the Assyrians of Barwar took place during the Kurdish rebellion against the Iraqi government by Muṣṭafa Barzani from 1961 to 1970 and during the massacre and displacement of the Assyrians during the First World War.

In the Kurdish—Iraqi war beginning in 1961 large numbers of the Assyrians in Barwar abandoned their villages and fled to the Iraqi towns. A few villages were permanently taken over by the Kurds at this time, but in 1970 the majority of the Assyrian population returned.

In the First World War the Assyrians of Barwar suffered the fate of the Christian communities of south-eastern Turkey. The Assyrians sided with the Russians against the Turks. In 1915 the Turks undertook an ethnic cleansing of the Hakkari. The vali of Mosul, Haydar Bey, was put in charge of operations. His force consisted of Turkish reserves and local Kurdish tribes. The Kurdish chief of Barwar, Rashid Bek, was given the task of marching on the villages in the local area with Turkish troops. The majority of the Assyrian villages of Barwar were destroyed and many of their inhabitants were massacred. The villagers with their antiquated rifles were unable to withstand the modern weaponry with which the Turks and Kurds were supplied. Those who managed to escape fled into the mountains. The Assyrians from Barwar joined the thousands of Assyrian refugees from Hakkari and sought safety behind Russian lines in the region of Salamas and Urmi.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the war in 1918, decimated further by starvation and disease, they were transferred under the protection of the British from Iran to a camp in Baquba, North of Baghdad. In 1920 most of the surviving families from Barwar returned to their villages,

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<sup>2</sup> Gaunt (2006: 142–145).

where they remained after Barwar was incorporated into the territory of the newly founded state of Iraq in 1925. They did not suffer the same degree of displacement at this period as the surviving Assyrians of Hakkari who could not continue to live in their original villages after the fixing of the borders between Iraq and Turkey. As a result of this continuation of life in their native villages after the end of the First World War, the neo-Aramaic dialect of the Assyrians of Barwar has been fully preserved by the older generation of speakers who are alive today.

During the Ottoman period before the First World War the Assyrians of Barwar were nominally subject to the Turkish government. They did not have the independence of the Assyrian mountain tribes of the Hakkari, but were under the overlordship of a local Kurdish chief. They suffered at various periods from the aggression of these local Kurdish chiefs. In the first decade of the twentieth century they were subject to the oppression of Rashid Bek, the Kurdish emir of Barwar. In 1907 they were relieved from this by the intervention of the Ottoman vali of Mosul, Xalil Pasha, after the intercession of the Chaldean patriarch of Mosul, Mar ʿAmmanuʿel.<sup>3</sup> At a time of Ottoman weakness in the 1840s Badr Khan Bek, the Kurdish emir of Bohtan, led a confederation of Kurdish tribes that attempted to eliminate the independent Assyrian tribes of Țiyare and Hakkari in a series of devastating massacres. Although not belonging to these tribes, the Assyrian villages of Barwar were also the victim of these attacks<sup>4</sup> and, according to the testimony of the bishop of Barwar to Badger in 1850, one half of the population was either slaughtered or driven away from their homes.<sup>5</sup>

There were close relations between the Assyrian communities of Barwar and the independent Assyrian tribes (*ʿaširatte*) of Țiyare before the First World War. The connections with Ašīṯa in Lower Țiyare were especially close. A large proportion of the trade of Ašīṯa was with Barwar. Furthermore, due to lack of sufficient fodder in the mountains, each Spring the people of Ašīṯa would bring down their flocks to graze in Barwar and Şapna. The Assyrians of Barwar shared many of the customs of the Țiyare communities. Indeed a large number of the villagers had family

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<sup>3</sup> Pennacchietti (1976: 649).

<sup>4</sup> Binyamin (1982: 12).

<sup>5</sup> Badger (1852: vol. 1, 381–382).

ties with Țiyare and people alive today tell stories of their ancestors migrating from there.<sup>6</sup>

The livelihood of the Assyrians of Barwar was largely based on agriculture and the grazing of sheep and goats. The fertile lands of the area sustained crops in corn, such as wheat, barley, millet, sorghum, maize, paddy fields of rice, various vegetables, tobacco and numerous fruit trees. After the Kurdish—Iraqi war in the 1960s the growing of corn and rice became uneconomical and the villagers concentrated on the cultivation of fruit, especially apples.

Until the First World War there were approximately thirty-five villages in Barwar that were inhabited by Assyrians. A large proportion of these continued to have Assyrian inhabitants after the return of the Assyrians to the area in 1920 down to their final destruction in the Iraqi campaign against the Kurds in the late 1970s and the 1980s. The material for this book was gathered from informants who were inhabitants of a group of villages that were situated in close proximity to one another along the Be-Xelape river. These include the largest village of Barwar and administrative capital ʔEn-Nune, and the neighbouring villages of Dure, Dērəške, Bəšmiyaye, ʔIyyət, and Maye. At the time of their destruction the Assyrian Christian population of these villages was as follows:<sup>7</sup>

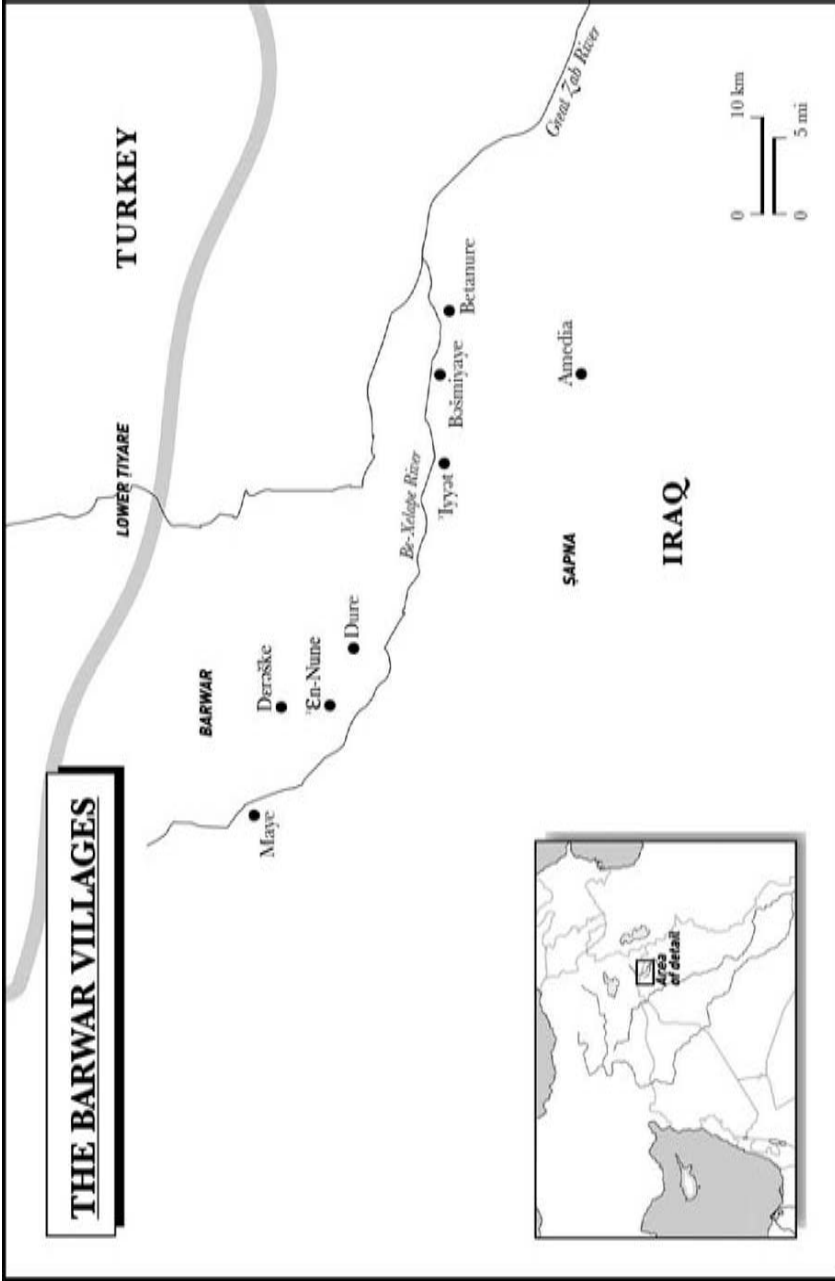
	Year of destruction	Number of families
ʔEn-Nune	1988	140
Dure	1978	100
Dērəške	1988	50
Bəšmiyaye	1978	50
ʔIyyət	1978	40
Maye	1978	35

The villages of ʔEn-Nune, Dure, Bəšmiyaye and ʔIyyət were inhabited only by Assyrian Christians. Parts of Dērəške and Maye, known as Dērəške Islam and Maye Islam, were populated by Muslim Kurds.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Binyamin (1982: 34–35) and the family history recorded in the text corpus of the present book (B3:12–18, B4:3–18, B8:1–5).

<sup>7</sup> Source: International Federation for Human Rights, Report, *Iraq: Continuous and Silent Ethnic Cleansing Displaced Persons in Iraqi Kurdistan and Iraqi Refugees in Iran* (<http://www.fidh.org/magmoyen/rapport/2002/iq350a.pdf>).

<sup>8</sup> Other villages inhabited by Assyrian Christian villages in Barwar include Bebaluk, ʔIqri, Maləxθa, Sardašte, Halwa, Daštane, Xwara, Maxrabiya, Butara, Čallək, Jədida,



MAP OF BARWAR

The majority of the Assyrians of Barwar belong to the Church of the East. In the first half of the twentieth century a few families became Catholic, following the adoption of Catholicism by their bishop, Mar Isho Yawalaha in 1904.<sup>9</sup>

The villages had churches that were built with solid fortifications since they were intended for defensive purposes as well as worship. They were dedicated to various saints, whose annual festival (*šera*) was celebrated in the village. In ʔEn-Nune stood the church of St. Sawa, which, according to informants, was an old structure that was probably built between 600 to 800 years ago. According to tradition St. Sawa was an Iranian convert to Christianity who was buried in Upper Țiyare in the church of Čamba d-malək on the Great Zab.<sup>10</sup> The foundation stone of the church dedicated to him in ʔEn-Nune is said to have been taken from his original sanctuary in Țiyare.<sup>11</sup> In Dure there were four churches, viz. those of Saint Qayyoma, Saint George, Saint Apius and Saint Mary. The first two of these continued in use until the destruction of the village in 1978. According to local tradition the church of Saint George was built in the middle of the first millennium A.D. The church of Saint Qayyoma, which was believed to be the earliest Christian sanctuary in the area, was the seat of the bishops of Barwar. It was built into a rock in the hillside overlooking the village and housed a tomb containing the bodies of the bishops.<sup>12</sup> The churches of St. Apius and St. Mary were only visited on memorial days of the saint. Bəšmiyaye had two churches, the church of Bne Šmoni and that of St. Aprəm. The village of ʔyyət had a church dedicated to St. George. All of the churches of the villages were razed to the ground by the Iraqi army in the ʔanfāl campaign. Since 1991 a few have been rebuilt by Assyrians who have returned to the site of their villages.

## 0.2. THE NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT

This grammar is a description of the neo-Aramaic dialect spoken by the Assyrian Christian communities in the group of villages ʔEn-Nune, Dure,

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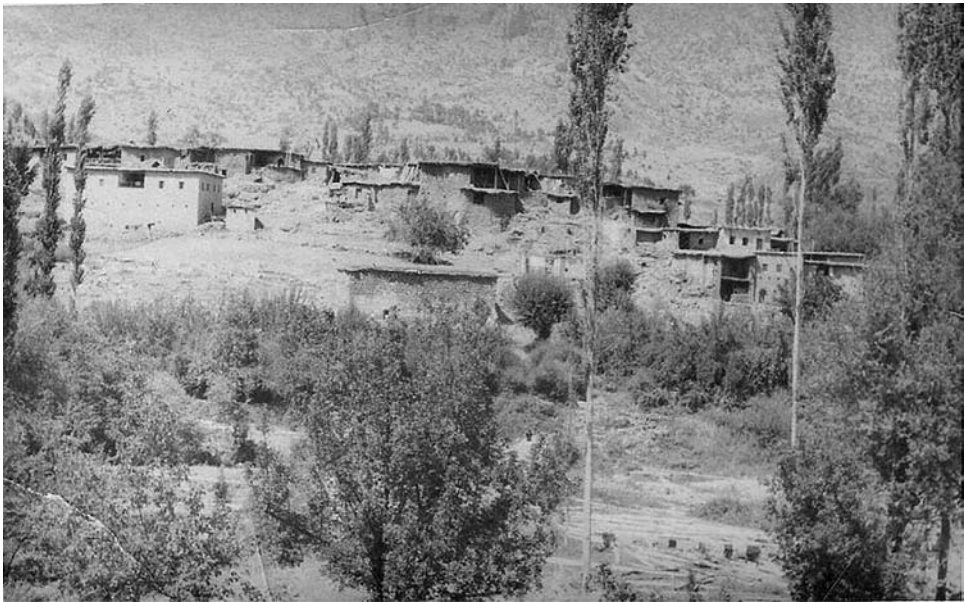
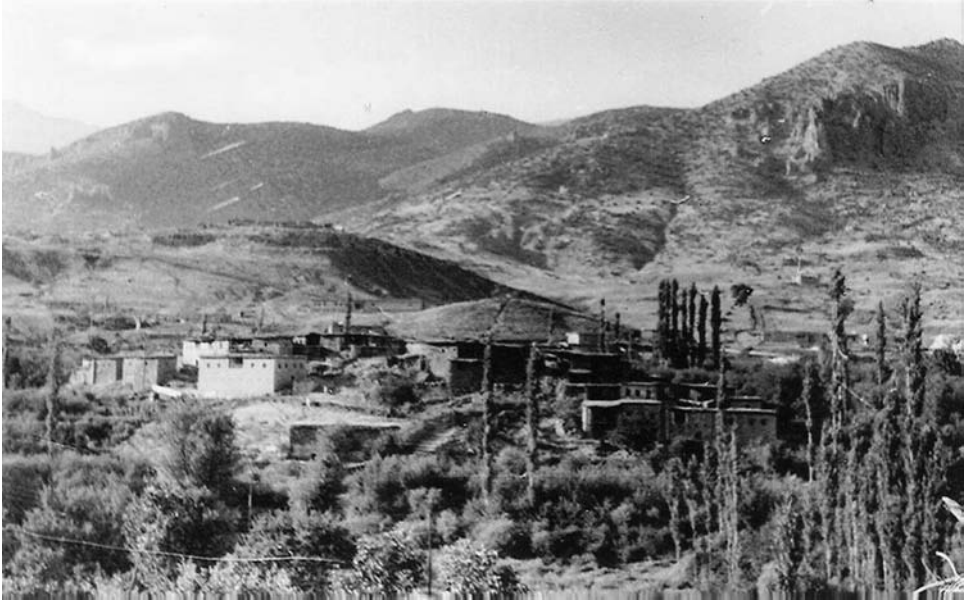
Tašiš, Čaqala, Čamməkke, Hayyis, Margajjiya, Mamadoka, Zəvinge, Maglana, Dargale, Musāka, Čammət Bəllo, Tuḫe Šemaye, Bāz, Kani Balave, Čam Dastine, Hurke, Tərwanəš, Bazive, Bekozanke, Betanure (also inhabited by Jews).

<sup>9</sup> Mar Aprem Mooken (2003: 111).

<sup>10</sup> According to Fiey (1964: 443–445) he should be identified with a monk called Sawa Gūšnazdād who died in 485 or 488 A.D.

<sup>11</sup> B6:27–32.

<sup>12</sup> Grant (1841: 51–52), Badger (1852: vol. 1, 381–382).



The village of ʔEn Nune before its destruction in 1988

ʿIyyōt, Dērəške, Bəšmiyaye and Maye, which are situated along the river Be-Xelape. There are a few differences in the neo-Aramaic spoken in these villages, mainly in the lexicon, but they are very minor and the speech of the villages should be treated as a single dialect, which will be referred to as Christian Barwar (henceforth abbreviated to C. Barwar).

The C. Barwar dialect belongs to North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA), which is a very diverse group of dialects spoken by Christians and Jews in an area lying to the East of the Tigris river that includes northern Iraq, south-eastern Turkey, north-western and western Iran. There are differences among these dialects not only according to geographical region but also according to religious community, in that Christians and Jews of the same geographical area spoke different dialects. In what follows an assessment will first be made of the position of the C. Barwar dialect among the Christian dialects of the group and subsequently the features that distinguish it from the neighbouring Jewish dialects will be examined.

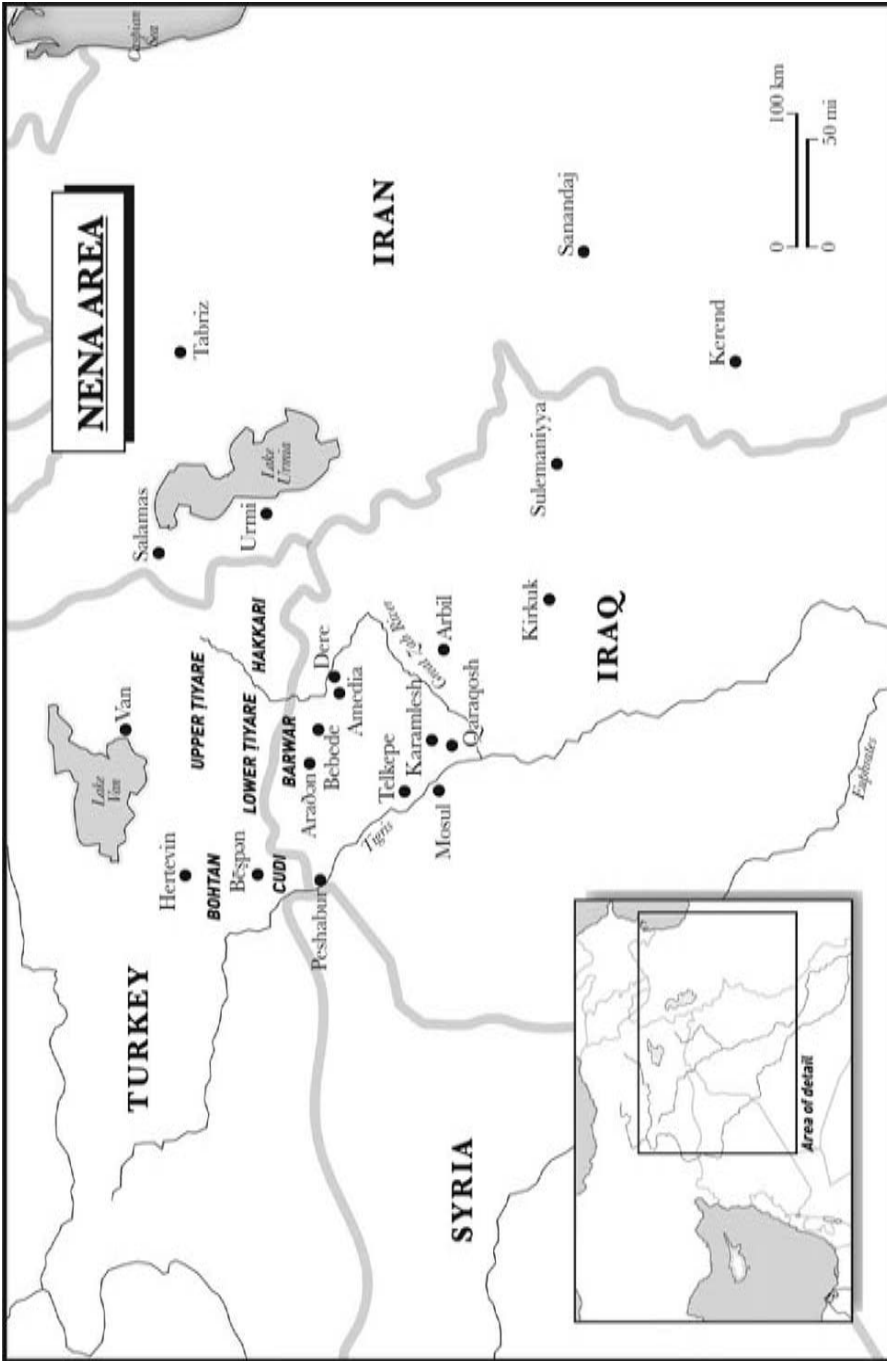
#### 0.2.1. *The Position of the C. Barwar Dialect among the Christian NENA Dialects*

In general the degree of relationship of the C. Barwar dialect to other Christian NENA dialects depends on geographical proximity. It shares more grammatical and lexical features with the dialects of the neighbouring region than with those that were spoken at more remote locations. Its closest relations are the Christian dialects of the Ṭiyare region to the North of Barwar, in south-eastern Turkey, and those of the region of Amedia in northern Iraq to the South of Barwar. In many cases the dialects from these regions share features that differ from what is found in other NENA dialects. This situation is not, however, completely clear-cut since these dialects share some features that are not general to NENA also with more remote dialects. Of particular significance for establishing affiliation to sub-groups is the sharing of features that can be identified as innovations.

In the tables below a selection of grammatical and lexical features are presented from, on the one hand, the dialects of C. Barwar, Ṭiyare and the region of Amedia, and, on the other hand, more remote dialects lying on the periphery of the NENA area. The first of these groups includes, in addition to C. Barwar, the dialects of Ašīṯa in Lower Ṭiyare,<sup>13</sup> Bne Rumta

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<sup>13</sup> Source: R. Borghero, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Ašīṯa*, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 2006.



MAP OF THE NENA AREA



in Upper Tiyare<sup>14</sup> and Bebede,<sup>15</sup> which lies two miles West of Amedia. In the following tables these will be referred to, for the sake of convenience, as ‘local dialects’. The second group, which will be referred to as ‘peripheral’, includes the Christian dialects of Qaraqosh near Mosul on the south-western periphery of the NENA area,<sup>16</sup> Peshabur near the Turkish–Iraqi border on the Tigris,<sup>17</sup> Bēšpən in the Cudi area of south-eastern Turkey,<sup>18</sup> various other dialects of south-eastern Turkey including Bohtan,<sup>19</sup> Hertevin<sup>20</sup> and Van,<sup>21</sup> Urmi in north-western Iran<sup>22</sup> and Sanandaj in western Iran.<sup>23</sup>

The C. Barwar dialect preserves the interdental realization of the fricative consonants *\*t* and *\*d*. It shares this feature with most local dialects and dialects in the south-western zone of the NENA area such as Qaraqosh. The interdental realization has, however, been lost in other peripheral dialects, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1

		Interdental reflex of <i>*t</i>	Interdental reflex of <i>*d</i>
Local	Barwar	<i>θ</i>	<i>ð</i>
	Ašīθa	<i>θ</i>	<i>ð</i>
	Bne Rumta	<i>θ</i>	<i>ð</i>
	Bebede	<i>θ</i>	<i>ð</i>
Peripheral	Qaraqosh	<i>θ</i>	<i>ð</i>
	Peshabur	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>
	Bēšpən	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	Bohtan	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	Hertevin	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	Van	<i>∅</i>	<i>d</i>
	Urmi	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>
	Sanandaj	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>

<sup>14</sup> Source: S. Talay (2008).

<sup>15</sup> Source: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

<sup>16</sup> Source: Khan (2002).

<sup>17</sup> Source: Fieldwork by E. Coghill (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

<sup>18</sup> Source: Sinha (2000).

<sup>19</sup> Source: S. Fox (p.c.).

<sup>20</sup> Source: Jastrow (1988) and fieldwork by G. Khan.

<sup>21</sup> Source: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

<sup>22</sup> Source: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

<sup>23</sup> Source: Panoussi (1990).

In Table 2 various affixes are compared. These include the 3ms. and 3fs. pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions, the 3pl. L-suffixes and the indicative habitual particle that is prefixed to the present base of verbs.

Table 2

		3ms. suffix	3fs. suffix	3pl. L-suffix	indicative particle
Local	Barwar	-e	-a	-le	i-
	Ašiθa	-e	-a	-le	—
	Bne Rumta	-e	-a	-le	i-
	Bebede	-e	-a	-le	i-
Peripheral	Qaraqoşh	-əh	-ah	-lhən, -hən	k-
	Peshabur	-əh	-ah	-ley	k-
	Bēşpən	-u	-aw	-lehən	i-
	Bohtan	-əw	-aw	-lā	i-
	Hertevin	-əw	-o	-lehən	—
	Van	-ə	-a	-le	i-
	Urmi	-u	-o	-lun	č̣-
	Sanandaj	-e	-e	-lu	k-

It can be seen that there is considerable diversity in the forms of the suffixes across the NENA area. Outside of the local area, C. Barwar exhibits a close relationship in the 3ms. and 3fs. suffixes with Van, *-ə* being a phonetically reduced form of *-e*. In Sanandaj the *-e* has been generalized also to the 3fs. The proto-forms of these suffixes can be reconstructed as *\*-eh* and *\*-ah*, so the forms *-e* and *-a* would have arisen by loss of the final */h/*. In Qaraqoşh and Peshabur the original final */h/* has been strengthened to a pharyngal and in other dialects innovative forms have developed by adding a labial element.

The form of the 3pl. L-suffix *-le* in the local dialects is a contraction of the proto-form *\*layhən* (§8.3.1.). Several of the other dialects exhibit various degrees of contraction of the same proto-form. The suffixes in Qaraqoşh, Urmi and Sanandaj, on the other hand, must have a different historical background.

The prefixed indicative particle *i-*, which is common to most of the local dialects, is found also in some other dialects of south-eastern Turkey, such as Bēşpən and Van. Other dialects have suffixes containing a */k/* element (palatalized to *č̣* in Urmi), or no preverbal indicative particle (Hertevin).

The C. Barwar dialect has two types of compound verbal forms. One combines the resultative participle (*qtila*) with the copula to express the perfect (§15.4.1.). The other combines the infinitive with the copula to express progressive aspect (§8.8.5.–8.8.7.). Both of these constructions are innovative developments in NENA that appear to have been induced by contact with other languages. C. Barwar shares these features with the local dialects and also some other dialects in the peripheral group. The compound verbal forms, however, exhibit different properties across the subgroups of dialects that possess them. One difference is the way the pronominal object is expressed. In C. Barwar and the local group of dialects it is expressed with suffixes that are used to mark the object on other verbal forms (§8.19.4.1., §8.19.4.4.). Most other dialects use the form of suffix that is attached to nouns. Table 3 shows the distribution of the compound forms and the form of pronominal object across the dialects.

Table 3

		Perfect compound	Progressive compound	pronominal object
Local	Barwar	yes	yes	verbal
	Ašîṭa	yes	yes	verbal
	Bne Rumta	yes	yes	verbal
	Bebede	yes	yes	verbal
Peripheral	Qaraqoşh	yes	no	nominal
	Peshabur	yes	yes	nominal
	Bēşpən	yes	yes	verbal
	Bohtan	no	no	—
	Hertevin	no	no	—
	Van	yes	yes	nominal
	Urmi	yes	yes	nominal
Sanandaj	no	no	—	

The expression of the perfect by a compound construction consisting of the resultative participle (*qtila*) and the copula is widespread across the NENA group, but is not found in the north-western periphery (Bohtan and Hertevin) or in the south-eastern periphery (Sanandaj). This suggests that it is an innovation of the other dialects. The compound verbal construction consisting of an infinitive and copula for the expression of the progressive aspect is also an innovation that is not found in Bohtan, Hertevin and Sanandaj. Its distribution, however, is less widespread than

the resultative participle construction. It is not found in Qaraqosh, nor in various other dialects in the southern half of the NENA area in the Arbīl and Sulemaniyya provinces of Iraq (e.g. Ankawa, Shaqlawa, villages in the region of Aqra, Bədjəl, Koy Sanjak, Sulemaniyya), all of which express the progressive with constructions based on the present base of the verb (*qatəl*).<sup>24</sup>

The close relationship of C. Barwar with the local group of dialects is reflected also in shared lexical items that are not used across the entire NENA group. A few representative examples are given in table 4:

Table 4

		‘tomorrow’	‘to descend’	‘to speak’
Local	Barwar	<i>təmməl</i>	<i>šly</i>	<i>šwθ</i> II
	Ašiθa	<i>təmməl</i>	<i>šly</i>	<i>šwθ</i> II
	Bne Rumta	<i>təmməl</i>	<i>šly</i>	<i>šwθ</i> II
	Bebede	<i>təmməl</i>	<i>šly</i>	<i>šwθ</i> II
Peripheral	Qaraqosh	<i>ršoma</i>	<i>špr</i>	<i>hky</i> I, III
	Peshabur	<i>šapra</i>	<i>nxt</i>	<i>hky</i> III
	Bəšpən	<i>šapra</i>	<i>nxt</i>	<i>xky</i> III
	Bohtan	<i>špeda</i>	<i>nxt</i>	<i>xky</i> III
	Hertevin	<i>kidamta</i>	<i>nht</i>	<i>hky</i> III
	Van	<i>təmmal</i>	<i>šly</i>	<i>hmzm</i>
	Urmi	<i>qudme</i>	<i>šly</i>	<i>hmzm</i>
	Sanandaj	<i>qome</i>	<i>kəš</i>	<i>hky</i> III

Among these lexical items, the extension of the semantic range of the form *təmməl/təmmal* to include not only its original meaning of ‘yesterday’ but also the meaning of ‘tomorrow’ is a clear innovation.

In general, outside the local region C. Barwar has a greater affiliation with dialects in the region of the north-eastern and south-western peripheries than with those on the north-western and south-eastern peripheries. It exhibits the greatest affiliation with dialects in the region of the north-eastern periphery. These relationships are reflected most clearly in the distribution of shared innovations, such as the development of compound verbal forms and the innovative lexical features.

<sup>24</sup> For further details see Khan (2007).

0.2.2. *The Relationship of the C. Barwar Dialect with Other Christian Dialects in the Local Region*

The Christian dialects in the Țiyare and Amedia areas are closely related to the C. Barwar dialects but exhibit a number of differences. The alignment of the C. Barwar dialect with the other dialects differs across various structural features and so its relationship with the surrounding dialects is complex. A few selected differences within the group are presented below. In addition to C. Barwar, the dialects in the tables include Lower Țiyare dialects (Așiθa, Mne Maθa and Mne Be-laθa),<sup>25</sup> Upper Țiyare dialects (Bnerumta and Walṭo),<sup>26</sup> and various dialects in the Amedia area (Araḏən,<sup>27</sup> Bebede,<sup>28</sup> Dere<sup>29</sup>).

Various words that exhibit phonological differences across the dialects are brought together in Table 5:

Table 5

	‘land’	‘hand’	‘bed’	‘stomach’	‘soul’	‘summer’	‘fast’
Barwar	ʔaθɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiθa	kʻasa	gʻana	qeṭa	ʃawma
Ashitha	ʔaθɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiθa	časa	jana	qeṭa	ʃoma
Mne Maθa	ʔaθɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiša	časa	jana	qeṭa	ʃoma
Mne Belaθa	ʔaθɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiša	časa	jana	qayṭa	ʃawma
Bne Rumta	ʔaθɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiša	časa	jana	qeṭa	ʃawma
Walṭo	ʔaṭɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiša	časa	jana	qeṭa	ʃawma
Araḏən	ʔaθɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiθa	kʻasa	gʻana	qeṭa	ʃawma
Bebede	ʔaθɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiθa	kʻasa	gʻana	qeṭa	ʃawma
Dere	ʔaθɾa	ʔiða	ʃwiθa	kʻasa	gʻana	qeṭa	ʃawma

The first two columns containing the forms corresponding to C. Barwar ʔaθɾa ‘land’ and ʔiða ‘hand’ illustrate the fact that the interdentalals are generally preserved throughout all dialects of the region. It is significant to note, however, that in the Upper Țiyare dialect Walṭo, spoken on the eastern side of the Țiyare region, the interdentalals in these words have shifted to stops.

<sup>25</sup> Sources for Mne Maθa and Mne Be-laθa: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

<sup>26</sup> Source: Talay (2008).

<sup>27</sup> Source: Krotkoff (1982).

<sup>28</sup> Source: Fieldwork by G. Khan (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

<sup>29</sup> Source: Fieldwork by R. Borghero (NENA database, nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

The reflexes of the C. Barwar form *šwiθa* ‘bed’ show that in many Lower and Upper Tiyare dialects a \**t* after a high vowel has shifted to /š/. C. Barwar does not have this feature and so aligns with Ašiθa and the dialects of the Amedia area.

In C. Barwar the velar stops /k/ and /g/ are often pronounced with a palatalized offset before non-rounded front vowels, as in *kʷasa* ‘stomach’ and *gʷana* ‘soul’. It aligns in this respect with the dialects of the region of Amedia. In the Tiyare dialects, including Ašiθa, the palatalization is further advanced in this environment resulting in the shifts *k* > *č* and *g* > *j*.

The C. Barwar forms *qeʃta* ‘summer’ and *šawma* ‘fast’ illustrate the typical reflex of the diphthongs \**ay* and \**aw* in nouns as /*ε*/ and /*aw*/ respectively. This feature is shared with some Tiyare dialects and also Araðən. Other dialects exhibit other sets of reflexes.

Table 6 presents various morphological features that exhibit differences across the group:

Table 6

	3pl. suffix	genitive particle	‘what is it?’	‘he wants’	‘he knows’
Barwar	- <i>ay</i> , - <i>εy</i> , - <i>ey</i>	<i>diye</i>	<i>modile?</i>	<i>bäye</i>	<i>yäðe</i>
Ashitha	- <i>εha</i>	<i>diye</i>	<i>modile?</i>	<i>bäye</i>	<i>yäðe</i>
Mne Maθa	- <i>aha</i>	<i>dide</i>	<i>modile?</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>çe</i>
Mne Belaθa	- <i>eya</i>	<i>dide</i>	<i>modile?</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>çe</i>
Bne Rumta	- <i>εha</i>	<i>dide</i>	<i>modile?</i>	<i>pəʔe</i>	<i>çe</i>
Walto	- <i>εha</i>	<i>dide</i>	<i>modile?</i>	<i>pəʔe</i>	<i>çe</i>
Araðən	- <i>εhən</i>	<i>diye</i>	<i>mεle?</i>	<i>baye</i>	<i>yäðe</i>
Bebede	- <i>ay</i>	<i>diye</i>	<i>mandile?</i>	<i>bäye</i>	<i>yäðe</i>
Dere	- <i>ehi</i> , - <i>ehən</i>	<i>diye</i>	<i>ma-mandile?</i>	<i>yəppe</i>	<i>yäðe</i>

There is considerable diversity in the form of the 3pl. pronominal suffix. The closest to C. Barwar in this feature is Bebede in the Amedia area. The C. Barwar form of the genitive particle *diye* corresponds to the form found in all dialects in the Amedia area but differs from the form that is used in the Tiyare dialects (*dide*, *dide*) with the exception of Ašiθa. In the form of the interrogative ‘what’, on the other hand, C. Barwar aligns with the Tiyare dialects rather than with those in the Amedia area. The verbs ‘to want’ and ‘to know’ conjugate regularly in C. Barwar whereas they have an irregular inflection in several other dialects. In these verbs C. Barwar aligns most closely with Ašiθa, Bebede and Dere.

There are a few features that are exclusive to the C. Barwar dialect and not found in neighbouring dialects. These include the raising of /a/ to /ɛ/ before /r/ in non-emphatic environments (§2.5.3.), e.g. *dawera* ‘mule’ (other dialects: *dawara*), and the augmentive suffixes *-ga*, *-gən*, *-gena* that are attached to imperative forms (§8.6.5., e.g. *plutga!* ‘Go out!’) and the existential particles (§8.20.1., e.g. *ʔiθga* ‘there is’).

### 0.2.3. *The Relationship of the C. Barwar Dialect with the Jewish NENA Dialects in the Local Region*

Until 1951 there were various Jewish communities who spoke NENA dialects in and around the Barwar region. One such community was that of the village of Betanure, which was situated immediately adjacent to the Christian villages of Barwar on the river Be-xelapa. There were also Aramaic speaking Jews in Amedia and the nearby village of Nerwa. Despite the geographical proximity of these communities, their NENA dialect exhibited numerous differences from that of C. Barwar and the other Christian dialects of the area. The three aforementioned Jewish dialects (distinguished in what follows by the prefix J.), on the other hand, are all closely related to each other. This communal cleavage is reflected by the fact that the Assyrian Christians use the term *surəθ* to refer to the NENA spoken dialect of the Assyrian Christian communities but the Jews of Betanure refer to their dialect as *lišana deni* ‘our language’ or *lišān huḏaye* ‘language of the Jews’. Some examples of differences between the Christian and Jewish dialects in grammatical and lexical features are as follows:<sup>30</sup>

	C. Barwar	J. Betanure	J. Amedia	J. Nerwa
laryngal	<i>balota</i> ‘throat’	<i>baləʔta</i>	<i>baləʔta</i>	<i>baləʔta</i>
* <i>ay</i>	<i>leša</i> ‘dough’	<i>leša</i>	<i>leša</i>	<i>leša</i>
* <i>aw</i>	<i>tawra</i> ‘ox’	<i>tora</i>	<i>tora</i>	<i>tora</i>
2s independent pronoun	<i>ʔati</i>	<i>ʔahət</i> ms. <i>ʔahət</i> fs.	<i>ʔahi</i>	<i>ʔahət</i> ms. <i>ʔahət</i> fs.
3pl. pron. suffix	<i>-ay</i> , <i>-ey</i> , <i>-ey</i>	<i>-u</i> , <i>-ohun</i>	<i>-u</i> , <i>-ohun</i>	<i>-u</i> , <i>-ohun</i>
genitive particle	<i>dīye</i>	<i>dīde</i>	<i>dīde</i>	<i>dīde</i>
reciprocal pronoun	<i>gədaḏe</i>	<i>ʔaxḏe</i>	<i>ʔəgde</i>	<i>ʔaxde</i>

(continued on next page)

<sup>30</sup> Sources: J. Betanure (Mutzafi 2008); J. Amedia (J. Greenblatt, Ph.D. thesis Cambridge 2008); J. Nerwa (fieldwork by H. Mutzafi, NENA database, [nena.ames.cam.ac.uk](http://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk)).

Table (cont.)

	C. Barwar	J. Betanure	J. Amedia	J. Nerwa
deictic copula	<i>hole</i>	<i>walle</i>	<i>walle</i>	<i>walle</i>
indicative prefix	<i>i-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>
‘tomorrow’	<i>tamməl</i>	<i>banhe</i>	<i>qadōme</i>	<i>qadome</i>
‘now’	<i>dīya, hadiya</i>	<i>’atta</i>	<i>’atta</i>	<i>’atta</i>
‘last year’	<i>šetəl wirra</i>	<i>šətqel</i>	<i>šətqel</i>	<i>šətqel</i>
‘quickly’	<i>jalde</i>	<i>hayya</i>	<i>hayya</i>	<i>hayya</i>
‘big’	<i>gora</i>	<i>’arwa</i>	<i>’urwa</i>	<i>’urwa</i>
‘to descend’	<i>šly</i>	<i>kawš</i>	<i>kawš</i>	<i>kawš</i>
‘to stand’	<i>kly</i>	<i>hml</i>	<i>hml</i>	<i>hml</i>
‘to sleep’	<i>itʔ</i>	<i>twʔ</i>	<i>twʔ</i>	<i>twʔ</i>
‘to grow up’	<i>qrn II</i>	<i>rwy</i>	<i>rwy</i>	<i>rwy</i>
‘to speak’	<i>šwθ II</i>	<i>hky II</i>	<i>hky II</i>	<i>hky II</i>
‘he wants’	<i>bāye</i>	<i>gbe</i>	<i>gbe</i>	<i>gbe</i>
‘he knows’	<i>yāde</i>	<i>kiʔe</i>	<i>kiʔe</i>	<i>kiye</i>

#### 0.2.4. Influence on the Dialect from the Koine Language and the Language of Literature

The dialect spoken by some by the Assyrian Christian informants from Barwar occasionally exhibits features that originate in the C. Urmi NENA dialect. These may have entered the speech of the families of the informants when they were refugees in Urmi during the first half of the 20th century. Alternatively they may have come from the koine dialect of the Assyrian Christian refugee communities of the Iraqi towns, which was based on the C. Urmi dialect. The inhabitants of Barwar had close contact with these towns during the 20th century, especially during the Kurdish uprising in the North during the 1960s.

This influence is reflected by several lexical items distinctive of the C. Urmi dialect that are used side by side with the original C. Barwar forms, e.g. *gšq* II ‘to look’ (= C. Barwar *xyr* I) (see §20.1.2.1. for further details).

The influence from C. Urmi is seen also in some phonological and morphological forms that are occasionally used by C. Barwar speakers. These include:

- (i) A historical *\*ay* diphthong is sporadically contracted to */e/*, as in C. Urmi, rather than */ε/*, which is normal in C. Barwar, e.g. *mxurdéθa* ‘surrounded’ (B1:15).



- (ii) The omission of initial /m/ in first /ʔ/ verbs in stem II, e.g. *ʔijable* ‘He was amazed’ (A40:13 = C. Barwar *mʔijable*).
- (iii) The 3pl. L-suffix *-lun* or *-lu* rather than the normal C. Barwar form *-le* / *-la*, e.g. *plitlun* ‘They went out’ (B1:17), *ʔitwalu qanyàne* ‘They had cattle’ (B3:13).

Certain forms that are used by educated C. Barwar speakers are clearly taken from the literary neo-Aramaic language known as *swadaya*. This language, which is widely used in the Assyrian Christian communities, is based on the C. Urmi dialect, but contains many elements from Classical Syriac that do not occur in vernacular speech. One example of this is the ending *-ayiθ*, which is occasionally used by educated speakers to form adverbials, e.g. *prišayiθ* ‘specifically’ (B1:10), *šotapayiθ* ‘socially’ (B15:72) (§13.2.).

It has been shown above that the C. Barwar dialect is closely related to the dialects of Ṭiyare, but exhibits several points of difference. Distinctively Ṭiyare forms are, however, found in some popular songs that were sung in the Barwar communities, since they were originally composed in Ṭiyare, e.g. *pawa* (C2:23) ‘she wanted’ (= C. Barwar *bāyawa*), *lali* (C2:38) ‘to me’ (= C. Barwar *tlali*).

#### 0.2.5. *Influence from Other Languages*

The Assyrian Christians of Barwar spoke in addition to their NENA dialect also Kurdish and Arabic. Kurdish was the language of the Muslim population in the Barwar region. Arabic was spoken in the Iraqi towns and was the language of school education.

The influence from the Iranian language Kurdish has been particularly extensive. There are numerous features of the NENA dialect that exhibit parallels with Kurdish and appear to be the result of borrowing and convergence. The high degree of Kurdish influence on the lexicon of the dialect is reflected by its large stock of Kurdish loanwords in all grammatical categories (nouns, verbs and particles). All the verbs and many of the nouns have been adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology (for further details see §20.1.2.2.).

Also several features of phonological and grammatical structure appear to have developed under the influence of Kurdish. In most cases these are calques that imitate Kurdish but use NENA grammatical material.

Some examples of features that have parallels in Kurdish and are likely to have arisen under its influence are the following:<sup>31</sup>

- (i) In the Kurdish dialects of the area the consonants /k/ and /g/ are palatalized before a following front vowel (Mackenzie 1961: 32) as is the case in the C. Barwar dialect (§1.2.1.)
- (ii) In vocative expressions in Kurdish the stress shifts to the beginning of the word (Mackenzie 1961: 157). The same shift is found in C. Barwar nouns when used vocatively (§5.3.), e.g.

Kurdish	<i>kūrîno</i>	‘boys!’
C. Barwar	<i>’âlaha</i>	‘God!’

- (iii) A particle that is in origin the cardinal numeral ‘one’ is used to express indefiniteness of a noun in Kurdish. This structure is paralleled in the C. Barwar dialect in the use of the cardinal numeral with the same function (§14.1.):

Kurdish	C. Barwar	
<i>mîrôv-ak</i>	<i>xa-gawra</i>	‘a man’

This indefinite particle is used in indefinite numerical expressions (Mackenzie 1961: 152) as is the case with the corresponding particle in the C. Barwar dialect (§14.12.):

Kurdish	C. Barwar	
<i>čâr pēñj daf<sup>c</sup>a-kā</i>	<i>xa ’arba xamša gaye</i>	‘four or five times’

Kurdish	C. Barwar	
<i>čand rōž-akā</i>	<i>xa-kma yome</i>	‘some days’

- (iv) The common Kurdish practice of forming compound adjectives by combining the preposition *p* with a noun (MacKenzie 1961:216) has a direct parallel in compounds in the C. Barwar dialect with the NENA preposition *b-*, e.g.

<sup>31</sup> The main source for the Kurdish material presented here is the description of the Kurdish dialects of north-western Iraq in MacKenzie (1961). I have adopted his transcription rather than convert it into the conventional orthography of written Kurdish.

Kurdish	C. Barwar
<i>p-čak</i> ‘armed’	<i>b-šrara</i> ‘truthful’
<i>p-hawas</i> ‘happy’	<i>b-xamme</i> ‘worried’

- (v) In both the C. Barwar and Kurdish dialects the copula verb ‘to be’ is expressed by an enclitic that is inflected for person and number like a verb. Although there are signs of the emergence of such a clitic in earlier Eastern Aramaic, its full development and acquisition of verbal inflection are apparently due to the influence of Kurdish:

Kurdish	C. Barwar	
<i>aw kurd-a</i>	<i>ʔaw qurḏayεle</i> (< <i>qurḏaya-ile</i> )	‘He is Kurdish’
<i>tō kurd-ī</i>	<i>ʔati qurḏayεwət</i> (< <i>qurḏaya-iwət</i> )	‘You (ms.) are Kurdish’

Kurdish inflectional morphological material is occasionally incorporated into Aramaic words. This is the case, for example, with hypocoristic vocative forms of names. In the C. Barwar dialect these take the endings *-o* and *-e*, the latter being characteristic of female names (§20.2.22.), which are the Kurdish inflectional endings of vocatives (MacKenzie 1961: 156).

In some cases there is a convergence of the phonetic form of an item in the NENA dialect with a corresponding item in Kurdish without there necessarily being a borrowing of morphological material. Such phonetic convergence is found, for example, in the demonstrative pronouns. In C. Barwar there are three categories of demonstrative, viz. near to speaker, in the distance, and absent. The Kurdish dialects of the region not only have the same tripartite demonstrative system but also have demonstrative pronouns of a strikingly similar form. Those from among the sets listed by MacKenzie (1961: 174) that are of the greatest similarity are shown in the following table. Despite this resemblance, the pronouns in C. Barwar can be explained as having an internal Aramaic etymology (§7.4.):

C. Barwar		Kurdish
<i>ʔawwa</i>	‘this (ms.)’	<i>awa</i>
<i>ʔawaha</i>	‘that (ms.) over there’	<i>awḏhē</i>
<i>ʔaw</i>	‘that (absent)’	<i>aw</i>

The verbal system of C. Barwar and the NENA dialects in general has undergone fundamental changes from what is found in the earlier literary forms of Aramaic. The two finite verbal forms of earlier Aramaic, known as the suffix conjugation (*qṭal*) and the prefix conjugation (*yiqṭol*,

*liqtol*, *niqtol*) have been completely replaced by participles, which have acquired verbal properties and verbal inflection. Broadly speaking, the erstwhile active participle serves as the base for verbal forms expressing present and future tenses or the past tense with an imperfective aspect whereas the erstwhile passive participle serves as the base of past tenses with a perfective aspect.

Several features of the verbal system that is found in C. Barwar have parallels with Kurdish and must be considered to be contact induced. These include the ergative type of construction of the perfective past verbal base *qtil-*, whereby past actions are expressed by a passive construction with the patient being presented as the grammatical subject rather than by an active construction with the agent as the grammatical subject (§8.3.), e.g. *baxta qtila-le* ‘He killed the woman’ (literally ‘The woman was killed by him’). This type of ergative construction with perfective past verbs, which is common to the whole NENA group, has parallels in Kurdish (MacKenzie 1961: 193–194). Another innovation of C. Barwar, which is found only in a subgroup of NENA, is the use of a compound construction consisting of the combination of an originally passive participle *qtila* (referred to in this grammar as the resultative participle) and the verb ‘to be’ to express the perfect (§15.4.1.). Again, this appears to have arisen by influence from Kurdish, which has a parallel type of compound construction (MacKenzie 1961: 187–189).

It is important to observe, however, that there are some differences between the C. Barwar dialect and the local Kurdish dialects in these two verbal forms. In Kurdish the ergative type construction of the past perfective with the patient of the action being the grammatical subject and the agent expressed by an oblique agentive phrase (‘by X’) is naturally restricted to transitive verbs. In the C. Barwar dialect and most other NENA dialects, however, the ergative type of inflection with an agentive phrase (‘by X’) expressed by the preposition *l-* has been extended by analogy to intransitive verbs, e.g. *qim-le* ‘He has risen’. This has not happened in Kurdish or any other Iranian language in the NENA area. In fact, in some Iranian languages the precise opposite has happened, namely the active intransitive construction with the verb agreeing with the grammatical subject has been extended by analogy to the transitive past conjugation. This is the case, for example, in Modern Persian. The extension of the ergative inflection to intransitives seems, rather, to be a development internal to NENA. Vestiges of the original system in which the ergative inflection is restricted to transitive verbs has survived in a

few Jewish dialects on the eastern periphery of the NENA area (e.g. J. Sulemaniyya, J. Kerend and J. Sanandaj).<sup>32</sup>

Another difference between C. Barwar and Kurdish is the fact that in C. Barwar the compound perfect construction is not ergative. The grammatical subject of transitive verbs is the agent rather than the patient. In Kurdish, on the other hand, the corresponding compound construction, which appears to have been the model for the NENA construction, is ergative in form when the verb is transitive. The loss of the ergative inflection in C. Barwar and most other NENA dialects is again a development internal to NENA. The original ergative type of construction has survived only in a few Jewish dialects on the eastern periphery.<sup>33</sup>

These developments suggest that the influence from Iranian on the Aramaic verbal system must have had a considerable time depth. In fact, traces of ergative inflection of past tense verbs is found in Aramaic as early as the 5th century B.C. and also in the main literary languages, Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic and Mandaic, in the first millennium A.D. This must have arisen by contact with earlier forms of Iranian, such as Old Persian and Middle Persian, where ergative constructions are found. It is significant that in Classical Syriac texts a number of cases are found where the ergative inflection is used with intransitive verbs, e.g. *q̄m l-eh* (Nöldeke 1904, §279). This is presumably the result of interference from the vernacular and shows that the analogical extension of the ergative inflection to past intransitives had taken place many centuries ago in the vernacular.<sup>34</sup>

The influence of Arabic on the C. Barwar dialect is largely restricted to the lexicon (§20.1.2.2.) and has not had a discernible effect on the phonological and grammatical structure. In the twentieth century the speakers of C. Barwar were immersed in an Arabic speaking environment, both due to their residence in the Iraqi towns and also due to the use of Arabic in schools. The fact, however, that Arabic influence has not penetrated the grammatical structure of the dialect in the same way as Kurdish and its Iranian predecessors suggests that this intensive contact with Arabic is a relatively recent phenomenon. Indeed many of the Arabic loanwords that are established in the lexicon entered the dialect through Kurdish rather than coming directly from contact with Arabic (§10.11., §20.1.2.2.).

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<sup>32</sup> Hopkins (1989), Khan (2004: 6–7, 85–93).

<sup>33</sup> Hopkins (2002), Khan (2007).

<sup>34</sup> For further details see Khan (2004; 2007a).

Only a relatively small number of Turkish loanwords can be identified in the lexicon of the C. Barwar dialect. They are much less numerous than the Turkish loanwords in NENA dialects of north-western Iran that are in intensive contact with Azeri Turkish. It appears, however, that Turkish has had some influence on the structure of the C. Barwar verbal system. This applies to the use of a compound construction consisting of an infinitive and copula to express progressive aspect (§8.8.5.–8.8.7.).

Such progressive constructions are used in several dialects in the northern region of the NENA area whereas in dialects in the southern region of this area the progressive aspect is expressed by constructions consisting of the present base of the verb. It is not found, however, in the dialects of Bohtan and Hertevin in the north-western periphery. It is an innovation that extends from the north-eastern periphery, in dialects such as Urmi, Salamas and Van, through the Hakkari, Tiyare and Cudi mountainous regions and into the villages of north-western Iraq as far South as Telkepe. The geographical location of the dialects correlates to some extent with differences in the relative degree of use of the infinitive based progressive in the dialects. In some dialects in the southern NENA area the construction is available, but is used far less regularly than in dialects further North. This applies, for example, to J. Sulemaniyya and C. Karamlesh which make only marginal use of the infinitive based progressive.

The original form of the progressive construction based on the infinitive was locative, with the locative preposition *b-* being attached to the infinitive (*b-graşaele* ‘He is in the state of pulling’). No clear parallels to this are found in the Kurdish dialects of the region or in Arabic but equivalent progressive constructions based on an infinitive are used in Turkish, e.g. *almak-ta-sın* ‘You are taking’ (TAKING-IN-BE.2s.). Similar constructions are found also in Eastern Armenian<sup>35</sup> and some Iranian dialects belonging to the Tati group spoken in north-western Iran (e.g. Chali),<sup>36</sup> which indicates that it is an areal feature that has influenced not only NENA but also other languages of the region.

Since in the Barwar region in northern Iraq NENA speakers have not had in recent times the intensive contact with Turkish that would be necessary for it to influence the grammatical structure of the dialect in this way, the development of this contact induced feature must have a

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Pennacchietti (1988: 101), Chyet (1995: 246), Goldenberg (2000: 84), Heinrichs (2002: 259–60).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Yar-Shater (1969: 225).

very considerable time depth. Indeed it is likely that there never was a sufficiently intense exposure to Turkish *in situ* and the feature was brought into the NENA speech of the area by migrations, the ultimate origin of which is likely to have been in the north-eastern periphery areas.

Another possible influence of Turkish on the C. Barwar verbal system can be identified in the narrative usage of the compound present perfect, which appears to be an imitation of the use of Turkish verbal forms with the *-miş* affix in fictional narratives (§15.4.1.3.). Again, it is likely that the time depth of the development of this feature is considerable and that the feature was brought into the NENA speech of the Barwar region by migrations.

### 0.3. INFORMANTS AND TEXTS

The material for this grammar was gathered from informants who were born in the Barwar villages of ʿEn Nune, Dure, Dərəške, ʿIyyət, Bəšmiyaye and Maye, the majority coming from ʿEn Nune and Dure. All left Iraq after the destruction of their villages in the late 1970s and 1980s and have now settled in Europe, North America and Australia, where I conducted my fieldwork. They are men and women, most over 60 years old, who lived and worked in the villages when they were younger. The majority spent some time in the Iraqi towns, especially during the Kurdish uprising in the 1960s. Both in the Iraqi towns and also in their new places of residence outside Iraq they have always lived in family groups in close proximity to other speakers of the C. Barwar dialect. The informants, therefore, have preserved the original form of the dialect in their speech. Most of them still remember almost the full stock of vocabulary relating to the life, agriculture and natural surroundings of the Barwar villages and this has been collected together in the lists of semantic fields (§20.2.) and in the glossaries.

Some received no formal education in Iraq. Those who did attend schools in Iraq were taught for the most part in Arabic. A few informants learnt to read and write the modern literary form of language that is widely used today by educated Assyrians (known as *swadaya*). Within the last few decades there has been an increase in the production of literature written in this literary language, which is largely due to two developments. Firstly, in 1972 the government of Iraq granted cultural rights to the Assyrian Christians to publish literature in their own language. These cultural rights, however, were rather short-lived. Secondly, since the end of the Gulf War

in 1991, Assyrians in northern Iraq under Kurdish control have been free to publish in their own literary language.

This language is based on the C. Urmi dialect and sporadically interferes in their C. Barwar speech. Such interference from the high register literary language, however, is only minimal and largely occurs in factual expository texts rather than popular folktales. There is no tradition of recording the C. Barwar dialect in written form.

The texts that were recorded are divided into four categories: stories (A), history and culture (B), songs (C) and riddles and proverbs (D).

The stories in section A are all folktales and fables that used to be told in the Barwar villages, especially during the long winter evenings. Many of these stories belong to the common popular culture of the region and exist in versions in a variety of different languages. Several were originally composed in Kurdish, in some cases in the form of songs. In the Assyrian villages storytellers told several such stories in their original Kurdish versions as well as in the NENA dialect. The majority of the folktales in the corpus are told in prose form, with occasional poetic sections that were sung. The stories from the Qaṭina legend contain a large number of sung sections since this was originally transmitted almost entirely in poetic form. The oral tradition of folktales that is documented in this section is now on the verge of oblivion and is not being transmitted by younger generations.

The texts in section B contain descriptions of the life and culture of the Assyrian communities of the Barwar villages and narratives of historical events, some relating to the personal experiences of the informants.

Section C presents a selection of songs that were sung in Barwar. Some of these were originally composed elsewhere, notably in the Ṭiyare region, and this is reflected by the occasional occurrence of forms that are distinctive of the Ṭiyare dialects. This applies especially to the *leliyana* wedding songs and the *rawe* songs, which existed in rich oral traditions in the Ṭiyare region before the destruction of the communities in the First World War. The *leliyana* songs (C1) were sung by women at various points in the celebrations of a wedding, such as the washing of the groom and the selling of the tree to raise money for the bride and groom. The *rawe* songs (C2) are largely amorous in nature and are traditionally sung by men in two competing groups, usually at weddings, in alternative stanzas. Each stanza consists of three monorhyme verses.<sup>37</sup> As is the case with the

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<sup>37</sup> Pennacchietti (1976: 646–648). The corpus of *rawe* songs brought together in section C2 include those originally published by Pennacchietti in this article.



folktales, also the traditional songs collected in this corpus are now in the process of falling into oblivion.

The riddles and proverbs in section D exhibit a few linguistic peculiarities, some of which are due to the fact that they use lexical items that are not commonly used in conversational speech.

The original recordings of some of the texts can be heard at the website of the NENA database project in Cambridge ([nena.ames.cam.ac.uk](http://nena.ames.cam.ac.uk)).

#### 0.4. THE GRAMMAR AND LEXICON

The grammar follows the general format of my previous grammars of NENA dialects (J. Arbel 1999, C. Qaraqosh 2002, J. Sulemaniyya 2004). Sections are devoted to a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the dialect. The syntax is largely based on material published in the text corpus. As in my previous grammars, the transcription of the texts indicates intonation group boundaries and distinguishes between nuclear and non-nuclear stress. In many cases these details are necessary to understand the syntax fully. Volume 2 contains chapters on the lexicon, as is found in my grammars of C. Qaraqosh and J. Sulemaniyya. Chapter 21 arranges a selection of the lexicon into semantic fields to facilitate future comparative research on the lexicon of the NENA dialects. Full glossaries of all recorded lexical items from the dialect are found in the remainder of the volume. These include all material that was gathered during the fieldwork. Verbs are presented in a glossary arranged by root and the remaining lexical items are put in a general glossary arranged alphabetically. Where possible, the origin of loanwords is indicated, this being mainly Kurdish or Arabic. In some cases, however, their origin cannot be identified in available dictionaries of Kurdish, Arabic or Turkish and no source is indicated, even where from their form they appear not to be of Aramaic origin. The size of the lexicon that has been gathered is greater than in my previous grammars. This is due to the large size of the text corpus and long periods of fieldwork among speakers with a rich lexical knowledge the dialect.

## PHONOLOGY



CHAPTER ONE  
CONSONANTS

1.1. PHONEME INVENTORY

	Labials	Dental/ Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
<b>Stops/affricates</b>							
Unvoiced aspirated	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>		ʔ
Unvoiced unaspirated	<i>p̥</i>	<i>t̥</i>	<i>č̥</i>	<i>k̥</i>			
Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>			
Emphatic	<i>p̣</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>č̣</i>				
<b>Fricatives</b>							
Unvoiced	<i>f</i>	<i>θ</i>		<i>x</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
		<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>				
Voiced	<i>v</i>	<i>ð</i>					
		<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ǰ</i>			
Emphatic		<i>ṣ</i>					
		<i>ẓ</i>					
<b>Nasal</b>							
Plain	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
Emphatic	<i>ṃ</i>						
<b>Lateral</b>							
Plain		<i>l</i>					
Emphatic		<i>ḷ</i>					
<b>Tap</b>							
		<i>r</i>					
<b>Trill</b>							
		<i>ʀ</i>					
<b>Approximant</b>							
	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>				

Some of these consonants occur predominantly in loanwords or loan verbal roots. These include the following:

/v/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, e.g. *šāvana* ‘shepherd’, *dāvana* ‘frying pan’, *kerova* ‘storm’, *zvara* ‘to turn’, *vādo!* ‘Move aside!’, *’ažvana* ‘miller’.

/ž/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, e.g. *bažar* ‘town’, *qareže* ‘sweepings, rubbish’, *mgežone* ‘to be dizzy’, *mpaqože* ‘to clean’.

/č/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, e.g. *čol* ‘countryside’, *čamča* ‘spoon’, *čangal* ‘fork’, *čale* ‘pit’.

/f/, which is found in loans from Kurdish and Arabic, e.g. *maxfurta* ‘carpet’, *šafiya* ‘watermelon’, *fāqira* ‘poor’, *farquθa* ‘difference’, *lahefa* ‘duvet’.

/j/, which is found in loans from Kurdish and Arabic, e.g. *dābanja* ‘pistol’, *’ojax* ‘tribe’, *julla* ‘cloth’, *jma’a* ‘to gather’, *mjarobe* ‘to try’.

The unaspirated stops /p/, /t/, /k/ and the unaspirated affricate /č/, which are found in loans from Kurdish, e.g. *šopa* ‘stove’, *qotiya* ‘mirror’, *koma* ‘crowd’, *čannaker-* ‘around’.

A number of consonants in this list, however, are occasionally found in words of Aramaic origin, where they have developed by phonetic processes, no doubt facilitated by their existence in the contact languages. This applies, for example, to the affricates /č/, e.g. *māčoxe* ‘to find’, *čeri* ‘autumn’ (§1.4.6.), and /j/, e.g. *jawətta* ‘chopping tool’ (< \*g’d < \*gd’ ‘to hew off’). It should be noted also that there is a certain degree of overlap between the unaspirated series of unvoiced stops and the emphatic stops. This often results in emphatic stops in words of Aramaic origin losing their velarization and being pronounced as simple unaspirates (§1.2.3.).

## 1.2. NOTES ON THE PHONETIC REALIZATION OF THE CONSONANTS

### 1.2.1. Palatalization of /k/ and /g/

The stops /k/ and /g/ are often palatalized before non-rounded vowels. This results in their being articulated in the region of [c] and [j] respectively and having a clearly audible palatal offset /j/ before the following vowel segment e.g. *k’asa* [c’æ:sæ] ‘stomach’, *k’alo* [c’æ:lo] ‘bride’, *k’erma* [c’ɛ:rmæ] ‘vineyard’, *k’epa* [c’ɛ:pæ] ‘stone’, *g’awra* [j’æw:ɾæ] ‘man’, *g’erma* [j’ɛ:rmæ] ‘bone’, *prag’e* [præ:j’ɛ] ‘millet’, *zawg’e* [zaw:j’ɛ] ‘pairs’. This palatalization does not, however, regularly occur in these contexts and the velar stops in the words in the foregoing list are sometimes articulated without a palatal offset: *kasa*, *kalo*, *kerma*, *kepa*, *gawra*, *germa*, *prage*, *zawge*.

The variability of palatalization is sometimes exploited to distinguish between two otherwise homophonous words, e.g.

*kʷasa* ‘stomach’                      *kasa* ‘chalice’

This distinction is not, however, made regularly by all speakers and the pairs are often pronounced as homophones.

The articulation of the stops is occasionally fronted to that of palato-alveolar affricates by a more advanced degree of palatalization, e.g. *čalo* ‘bride’, *čerma* ‘vineyard’. This advanced palatalization, which is regular in some NENA dialects, is a relatively rare allophonic variant in Barwar. The voiced palato-alveolar affricate /j/ resulting from fronting of a velar \*g is, however, a fixed feature of a few isolated words, e.g. *jawda* ‘water skin’ (< \*gawda), *jawatta* ‘chopping tool’ (< \*gʷd < \*gdʷ ‘to hew off’), *jwina* ‘side (in a game)’, *jlw* ‘to abduct (a woman)’. The first two may possibly be loans from neighbouring dialects in Lower Tiyare, where such advanced palatalization is a more widespread feature. The /j/ in the last two words may have arisen as a means of distinguishing them from homophonous, or near homophonous, words containing the velar /g/:

*jwina* ‘side’                              *gwina* ‘eyebrow’  
*jlw* ‘to abduct’                         *gnw* ‘to steal’

### 1.2.2. Unaspirated Stops

The unvoiced stops /k/, /p/ and /t/ are pronounced with a certain degree of aspiration when they stand at the beginning of a syllable before a vowel, e.g. *koma* [kʰo:mæ] ‘black’, *pele* [pʰe:le] ‘he baked’, *tela* [tʰe:læ] ‘fox’. Unvoiced unaspirated stops and also the unaspirated affricate /tʃ/ occur in this position in a number of loanwords from Kurdish. These sometimes contrast phonemically with aspirated stops in Aramaic words that are otherwise homophonous, e.g.

*koma* ‘black’                              *ḵoma* ‘pile’  
*kura* ‘furnace’                         *ḵura* ‘one year old goat’  
*kawe* ‘window’                        *ḵawe* ‘may it be’

In some cases the Kurdish loanword with the unaspirated stop in such pairs is listed in Kurdish dictionaries as having an aspirated stop, e.g. *ḵoma* ‘pile’ < Kurd. kʰom (Rizgar 1993, Chyet 2003). In such a case the unaspirated

articulation may have arisen within the Aramaic dialect as a means of distinguishing it from an otherwise homophonous native Aramaic word.

The unaspirated stops /k̤/, /p̤/ and /t̤/ are pronounced with a greater degree of muscular tension than the corresponding aspirated stops. This is sometimes accompanied by a certain amount of velarization and consequent backing of the point of articulation, resulting in their pronunciation as emphatic consonants, e.g., *lat̤ta* ‘shallow’ (Kurd. lat), *saqqat̤* ‘crippled’ (Kurd. seqet), *t̤anga* ~ *taŋga* ‘saddle-girth’ (Kurd. teng), *çanga* ‘leather gloves used in harvesting’ (Kurd. çeng).

By the aforementioned process, the point of articulation of unaspirated /k̤/ is sometimes moved back to that of the uvular stop /q/, e.g. *qaška* ‘cake of dried yoghurt curds’ (Kurd. keşk), *gisqa* ‘young male goat’ (Kurd. gîsk). This development, which appears to be internal to the Aramaic dialect, does not occur regularly. Conversely an original uvular /q/ in Kurdish is sometimes brought forward to a velar /k̤/, e.g. *kaška* ‘wheat husk’ (Kurd. qaşik). In this case the stimulus for the shift may have been the need to distinguish the word from *qaška* ‘cake of dried yoghurt curds’, which acquired the /q/ by a backing of the place of articulation.

The unaspirated unvoiced stops contrast phonemically with the corresponding voiced stops, as shown by such pairs as:

<i>k̤wina</i> ‘tent’	<i>gwina</i> ‘eyebrow’
<i>k̤oma</i> ‘pile’	<i>goma</i> ‘basement’
<i>k̤awe</i> ‘may it be’	<i>gawe</i> ‘in it’
<i>t̤-awra</i> ‘that she enters’	<i>dawra</i> ‘wooden bolt’

### 1.2.3. *Emphatic Consonants*

The emphatic consonants /č̤/, /r̤/, /s̤/, /t̤/, /l̤/, /m̤/, /p̤/ and /z̤/ are in principle pronounced with velarization rather than pharyngalization, i.e. the back of the tongue is moved towards the velum during the articulation of the consonants rather than being moved back further into the pharynx. In the case of the consonants /s̤/, /t̤/ /č̤/ and /l̤/ the place of the primary articulation by the tongue is retracted slightly in comparison to that of their non-emphatic counterparts. The emphatic /r̤/ is articulated as a trill with a slight retroflexion of the tongue tip. This differs from non-emphatic /r/, which is realized as non-retroflexed tap [ɾ] or a trill with a shorter duration. All of the emphatics are pronounced with greater muscular tension than the corresponding non-emphatics. The unvoiced stops /t̤/ and /p̤/ and the affricate /č̤/ are unaspirated.

Minimal pairs can be identified that demonstrate that /s/, /t/, /r/ and /č/ contrast phonemically with their non-emphatic counterparts, e.g.

/s/ : /ṣ/

<i>srapa</i> ‘to slurp’	<i>ṣrapa</i> ‘to smart, to sear’
<i>swaʔa</i> ‘to be sated’	<i>ṣwaʔa</i> ‘to colour’
<i>msaya</i> ‘to wash clothes’	<i>mṣaya</i> ‘to be able’
<i>ʔasər</i> ‘ten (f.)’	<i>ʔaṣər</i> ‘intense cold’

/t/ : /ṭ/

<i>tura</i> ‘stick’	<i>ṭura</i> ‘mountain’
<i>tare</i> ‘it gets wet’	<i>ṭare</i> ‘he drives’
<i>tlele</i> ‘he hung’	<i>ṭlele</i> ‘he slept’
<i>mate</i> ‘his grape’	<i>ṭate</i> ‘he arrives’

/r/ : /ṛ/

<i>ʔamra</i> ‘she says’	<i>ʔamṛa</i> ‘wool’
<i>ʔamure</i> ‘thickly planted’	<i>ʔamṛe</i> ‘tools’
<i>bera</i> ‘well’	<i>berṛa</i> ‘light’
<i>dare</i> ‘he puts’	<i>dare</i> ‘generations’
<i>dere</i> ‘he puts’ <sup>1</sup>	<i>dere</i> ‘he returns’
<i>dware</i> ‘threshing’	<i>dware</i> ‘rest area for sheep’
<i>gawra</i> ‘she marries’	<i>gawṛa</i> ‘man’
<i>gware</i> ‘to marry’	<i>gware</i> ‘to become big’
<i>marā</i> ‘to say’	<i>marṛa</i> ‘spade’
<i>mare</i> ‘he patches’	<i>mare</i> ‘he pastures’
<i>nera</i> ‘river’	<i>nerṛa</i> ‘vision’
<i>para</i> ‘bran, fine dust’	<i>parṛa</i> ‘lamb’
<i>sera</i> ‘moon’	<i>serṛa</i> ‘goat’s hair’

/č/ : /č̣/

<i>čara</i> ‘solution’	<i>č̣ara</i> ‘black bird’
<i>čita</i> ‘type of fabric’	<i>č̣ita</i> ‘cream of yoghurt’
<i>čāčča</i> ‘breast’	<i>č̣āčča</i> ‘shoulder-blade’
<i>čap̣pe</i> ‘left hand’	<i>č̣ap̣pe</i> ‘applause’
<i>ʔāčča</i> ‘nine’ (f.)	<i>ʔāč̣ča</i> ‘nine’ (m.)

<sup>1</sup> The forms *dare* and *dere* are variants of the same form (see §2.5.3.).



The phonemic status of the emphatic consonants /p̣/, /ḷ/ and /ṃ/ is marginal. A minimal pair can be identified for /p̣/ : /p̣̣/:

*pəqqa* ‘frog’                      *p̣əqqa* ‘crack’

Elsewhere /p̣/ occurs in contrastive pairs together with /ṛ/ or /ḷ/:

<i>prama</i> ‘to slaughter’	<i>p̣rama</i> ‘to understand’
<i>parma</i> ‘she slaughters’	<i>p̣arma</i> ‘type of oak tree’
<i>mp̣əloye</i> ‘to share’	<i>mp̣̣əloye</i> ‘to imitate’

In these pairs it is not clear whether /p̣/ should be regarded as having the status of a primary emphatic or as having arisen secondarily by the suprasegmental spread of emphasis (see below). It is worth noting that speakers are conscious of the fact that the emphatic /p̣/ is one of the features that distinguish the second members of the pairs from the first.

Emphatic /ḷ/ occurs in some words independently of other emphatic consonants, e.g. *laya* ‘upper’, *ʔulluḷ* ‘above’. It is, however, only found in minimal pairs in association with other emphatic consonants, e.g.

<i>ma-le?</i> ‘What is the matter with him?’	<i>ṃale</i> ‘he fills’
<i>t-la</i> ‘without’	<i>ṭla</i> ‘three’

The only minimal pair containing emphatic /ṃ/ is the first of the two just cited, where it occurs together with emphatic /ḷ/.

The emphatic consonant /ẓ/ is found only in a few loanwords from Arabic, e.g. *ẓlama* ‘to act unjustly’.

The velarization that is associated with emphatic consonants tends to spread to other segments in the syllable in which the consonant is situated. In some cases this suprasegmental spread of emphasis extends beyond the syllable to the entire word. As a result of the velarization, the vowel phonemes are realized with allophones that lie further back than the allophones that are characteristic of non-velarized articulation, e.g. *para* [ḷ<sup>h</sup>paɪrɑ] ‘lamb’ vs. *para* [ḷ<sup>h</sup>p̣æɪræ] ‘dust’, *ʔəčča* [ḷ<sup>h</sup>ʔəčɪɑ] ‘nine’ (m.) vs. *ʔəčča* [ḷ<sup>h</sup>ʔəč<sup>h</sup>ɪæ] ‘nine’ (f.).

The velarization of the emphatic consonants is sometimes weakened, in that the back of the root of the tongue is retracted with lessened approximation to the velum. A certain degree of muscular tenseness is retained and unvoiced stops continue to be unaspirated, e.g. *tax̣m* [ḷ<sup>h</sup>tɑɪx̣ən ~ tɑɪx̣ən]

‘he mills’. In cases of weakening of velarization, emphatic /r/ usually retains some degree of its trilled retroflex character, which distinguishes it from the tap /r/, e.g. *para* [ˈpaɪra] ‘lamb’. This articulatory difference between the two rhotic segments is not, however, always clearly discernible. In general, the most perceptible residual feature of velarization is the retracted quality of the vowel allophones and this often becomes the clearest distinctive feature in minimal pairs, e.g.

<i>para</i> [ˈpʰæɪræ] ‘dust’	<i>para</i> [ˈpaɪra] ‘lamb’
ʾamra [ˈʔæmɾæ] ‘she says’	ʾamra [ˈʔemrɐ] ‘lamb’
ʾəḥḥa [ˈʔɪʰhɪræ] ‘nine’ (f.)	ʾəḥḥa [ˈʔɪʰɪrɑ] ‘nine’ (m.)
<i>pəqqa</i> [ˈpʰɪqqæ] ‘frog’	<i>pəqqa</i> [ˈpəqqɑ] ‘crack’
ʾasra [ˈʔɪsræ] ‘basket’	ʾasra [ˈʔəsɾɑ] ‘ten’

There is a particular tendency for velarization to be weakened in the pronunciation of emphatic /r/. This has led to the levelling of minimal pairs in the speech of some speakers. Some of my informants, indeed, pronounced both members of several of the pairs for /r/ : /r̥/ listed above in the same way and judged them to be homophonous. This was the case with the pairs *dwara* ‘threshing’: *dwarā* ‘rest area for sheep’ and *sera* ‘moon’: *serā* ‘goat’s hair’.

In the transcription the marking of the emphatic consonants has been normalized for the sake of orthographic consistency and does not reflect the suprasegmental spread of velarization or its intermittent weakening. Where a word contains an emphatic consonant in earlier Aramaic, it is this consonant that is marked as emphatic in the transcription, even though the velarization may spread to other segments of the word, e.g. *mtarəs* [ˈmtaɪrəs] ‘he repairs’ (cf. Syr. *mtāreš*), *šliwa* [ˈʕsliwɑ] ‘cross’ (cf. Syr. *šlīwā*). In words in which there was no emphatic consonant in earlier Aramaic, the primary emphatic consonant is marked, as far as this can be determined, but not secondary emphatics that may have acquired emphasis by suprasegmental spread of velarization, e.g. *para* [ˈpaɪra] ‘lamb’, ʾəḥḥa [ˈʔɪʰɪrɑ] ‘nine’ (m.). In the few cases where the primary emphatic cannot be established with any certainty, more than one consonant is marked as emphatic. This applies to words containing /p/, /m/ and /l/, e.g. *purmeli* [ˈʕpurmɛɪli] ‘I have understood’, *m̄lele* [ˈʕm̄leɪle] ‘it became full’. The marking of emphatic consonants in the way just described is applied consistently in the transcription and does not reflect the occasional weakening of velarization.

1.2.4. *Affricates*

The offset of the unvoiced affricates /č/, /č̣/, /č̣̣/, is usually the palato-alveolar sibilant [ʃ], e.g. *čeri* [tʃ<sup>h</sup>eɾi] ‘autumn’, *čənnəkere* [tʃənɾəkɛɾe] ‘around him’, *ʔəčča* ‘nine’ [ʔ<sup>ʔ</sup>ətʃɾɑ]. Some speakers pronounced the offset of the emphatic affricate /č̣̣/ as an alveolar sibilant, e.g. *člapa* [tʃ<sup>h</sup>tslɑɾpɑ] ‘to tear apart’, *mačmoye* [tʃ<sup>h</sup>matsmoye] ‘to extinguish’.

## 1.2.5. /n/

The phoneme /n/ is normally realized as an alveolar nasal. When in contact with a velar consonant, however, it is sometimes realized as a velar nasal [ŋ], e.g. *pənxə* [pɾɿŋxə] ‘mill-stone’ (B5:90).

## 1.2.6. /m/

Before /u/ the consonant /m/ sometimes has an offglide /w/, e.g. *mù* [m<sup>w</sup>uz] *y-odūwa?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What were they doing?’ (A8:28)

## 1.2.7. /w/

The consonant /w/ is generally realized as a bilabial glide [w]. The labio-dental sound [v] is largely restricted to Kurdish loanwords, where it is represented by /v/ in the transcription. The word *jvota* ‘straight’, which has an Aramaic etymology (§1.4.6.), is exceptional in that it is regularly pronounced with a labio-dental. In the words *nivə* ‘molar tooth’ and *gawana* ‘boundary’, which also are of Aramaic stock, the /w/ is realized as either a bilabial or a labio-dental: [nirwɑ] ~ [nirvɑ], [gawɑɾnɑ] ~ [gavɑɾnɑ].

## 1.3. PHONETIC PROCESSES

1.3.1. *Assimilation*

Various types of assimilations take place between consonants. Not all of these are represented in the transcription.

There is a certain tendency for an unvoiced consonant to become voiced when in direct contact with a following voiced consonant by a process of partial regressive assimilation, e.g. *xzāda* [ʔɾzæɾdæ] ‘harvesting’ (B5:95), *xzātta* [ʔɾzættæ] ‘harvest’ (B5:141), *xđirtela* [ʔɾdiɾteɾlæ] ‘she searched’

(A25:37), *xzi* [ʒzi] ‘see!’ (A24:27), *xðəyɛle* [ʰʏðæyɛˈle] ‘he is happy’ (A46:8), *muxbərtəlle* [mʊʏˈbɛrtəlle] ‘she notified him’ (A12:53), *léla šbára* [ʰzbaːrɑ] ‘they do not dare’ (A27:40), *kut-qálma ʔəba* [ʰiˈðbæ] ‘every louse that was in it’ (A28:17), *š-zəðəye* [ʰz-zɛˈðæyɛ] ‘on the flat breads’ (A30:21).

Similarly voiced consonants are sometimes devoiced when in direct contact with unvoiced ones, e.g. *šəbθa* [ʰʃæpθæ] ‘week’ (B5:46), *bšile* [ʰpʃiːle] ‘ripe’ (A43:2), *kribta* [ʰkriˈptæ] ‘angry’ (A51:10), *dúka mruzáɡta* [mruːˈzæktæ] *qa-sətwá* ‘a place prepared for the winter’ (B5:98), *ʔáy bliɡtəla* [ʰbliˈktɛlə] ‘she is busy’ (A26:78), *madqərre* [mæˈtʰqɛrɛ] ‘he values him’ (A10:13), *b-šatəxi* [p-ʃæˈtʰɛxi] ‘we shall drink’ (A15:28).

These processes sometimes take place across word boundaries, e.g. *páyəš gōra* [ʰpæyɪʒ ˈgoːrɑ] ‘he becomes great’ (A27:5), *brátux zilla* [ʰbræɪtʊʏ ˈzilzæ] ‘your daughter has gone’ (A27:30).

Such partial assimilation between two contiguous consonants is generally not marked in the transcription. The justification for this is that in some cases it does not occur, e.g. *mubsámli* [mʊbˈsəmli] ‘I enjoyed myself’ (A2:8). Marking it would, therefore, introduce an orthographic inconsistency into the transcription. Moreover in most cases the voicing or devoicing of the consonant concerned has not been extended by analogy to all morphological inflections of the word or root in all contexts, e.g. *bliɡa* [ʰbliːɡæ] ‘busy’ (m.)—*bliɡta* [ʰbliˈktæ] ‘busy’ (f), *bášəl* [ʰbæːʃəl] ‘it ripens’—*bšila* [ʰpʃiːlə] ‘ripe’, *šəbθa* [ʰʃæpθæ] ‘week’—*šabbáθa* [ʃæbˈbæːθæ] ‘weeks’, *brátux zilla* [ʰbræɪtʊʏ ˈzilzæ] ‘your daughter has gone’—*brátux θəla* [ʰbræɪtʊʏ ˈθɛɪlə] ‘your daughter has come’. For the sake of clarity, therefore, the consonant is transcribed consistently in all inflections.

This type of partial assimilation has, however, become a fixed feature of some words in all inflections, so that a transcription that represents the historically original form without assimilation would be artificially archaizing. This applies, for example, to *kθeθa* ‘chicken’ (cf. Syr. *kdaytā*), *ğðəde* ‘each other’ (< \**xðəde*, cf. Syr. *ħðāðē*), *ɡasta* ‘fleece’ (< \**ɡəzta*, cf. Syr. *geztā*) and *ɡupta* ‘cheese’, which is derived historically from the root \**ɡbn* (cf. Syr. *ɡbettā* < \**ɡbentā*). In some verbal roots, moreover, a partial assimilation that originally took place between two contiguous consonants has been extended by analogy to all inflections of the root, including those where the consonants concerned are not contiguous. This applies, for example, to *spr* ‘to wait’ (< \**sbr*), in which the devoicing of the second radical arose historically by contact with the unvoiced first radical /s/ in forms such as *spára* ‘to wait’. It now, however, occurs in all inflections, e.g. *sápr* ‘he waits’, *sápri* ‘they wait’. Another case is *txr* ‘to remember’ (< \**dkr*), in which the unvoiced /t/ has been fixed lexically. Note also the

verbal root *xzd* ‘to harvest’ (< \**h<sub>s</sub>d*), in which the voicing of the second radical due to contact with the voiced final radical has been extended to all inflections of the form, e.g. *xázdi* ‘they harvest’, *xázəd* ‘he harvests’. All such cases of regularization of partial assimilation are represented in the transcription.

The alveolar nasal continuant /*n*/ is sometimes realized as a labial nasal continuant [m] by partial assimilation to a following labial consonant, e.g. *npille* [ˈmpɪːlɛ] ‘fell’ (cf. *náɸəl* [ˈnæːɸəl] ‘he falls’). This often occurs across word boundaries, e.g. *ʔu-ʔan-baxtəθa* [ˈʔæm-bæxˈtæːθæ] ‘and those women’ (B5:85), *qa-t-yámšən xázəm* [ˈxæːzəm] *bəɸ-našúθa* ‘so that I may see people’ (A24:2), *lán-mšaya* [ˈlæm-ˈmšayɑ] ‘I cannot’ (A26:21), *báyən* [ˈbæyəm] *pálxən kəslux* ‘I want to work with you’ (A24:4). Conversely, the labial nasal /*m*/ is occasionally realized as an alveolar nasal [n] when in contact with a following alveolar consonant, *taqríban mǐéle* [ˈnɸɛːle] ‘he has almost reached’ (A24:1), e.g. *nāš-díyən mtúnyela* [ˈntunyelæ] ‘our people have told’ (B4:3). In these examples this process has no doubt been facilitated by the presence of /*n*/ before the /*m*/ at the end of the preceding word. These cases of assimilation affecting the nasals /*n*/ and /*m*/ are not marked in the transcription. In some sporadic cases, however, the assimilation has become a fixed feature of the word and so is marked, e.g. *dambusta* ‘small tail’ (< \**danb-usta*).

Total assimilation sometimes occurs between two adjacent consonants, resulting in a geminated consonant. In contexts where this is a sporadic phenomenon and does not occur systematically, it is not represented in the transcription. One such context is the affixation of L-suffixes to verbs. The /*l*/ of these suffixes does not generally assimilate to the final consonant of the verbal root with which it is in contact, unless this is /*n*/ or /*r*/. In fast speech, however, such regressive assimilation to consonants other than /*n*/ and /*r*/ does sporadically occur, e.g. *píšla* [ˈpiːʃlæ] ‘it has become’ (B10:94), *píšle* [ˈpiːʃlɛ] ‘they have become’ (A38:22), *b-nayəslí* [bnæːˈyəsli] ‘it will bite me’ (A1:17). When the final consonant of the verb is /*n*/ or /*r*/, the assimilation regularly occurs and so it is marked in the transcription, e.g. *kpínne* ‘he became hungry’, *gamárre* ‘he tans it’. In contexts where assimilated and unassimilated forms occur more or less in free variation both are represented in the transcription. This applies, for example, to L-suffixes on the 1pl. verbal suffix *-ax*: *qaṭlǎxle* ~ *qaṭlǎxxe* ‘we kill him’, e.g. *nablǎxle* ‘we shall take him’ (A4:3), *y-amrǎxle* ‘we call it’ (B10:100), *šerǎxxe* ‘we shall stoke it up’ (A34:12), *maqimǎxxe* ‘we shall resurrect him’ (A4:48).

Total regressive assimilation also occasionally takes place across word boundaries, e.g. *'an-zòre* [ʔæz'zozre] 'the small ones' (B10:83), *'ap-míya* [ʔæm' mi:ɟæ] 'even water' (B16:15), *rəš-šàwma* [rɛʔʂ'ʂəwma] 'the beginning of the fast' (B16:7). This is not represented in the transcription.

Occasionally assimilation takes place not between adjacent consonants but rather between adjacent syllables, in that a syllable assimilates some of the properties of the following syllable. This typically takes place where the two syllables already share some properties and the assimilation increases their resemblance. It can sporadically be found across word boundaries, e.g. *riqan qam-màmi* [ʔri:qəm qəm-'mæ:mi] 'I ran before my uncle' (A25:42), *zìlla ta-t-máthya kθéθa* [tæt'mæ:θæ 'kθe:θæ] 'She went to fetch a chicken' (A47:7). This occurs only in a few isolated instances in this context and is not marked in the transcription. In some contexts, however, it takes place regularly. This is the case, for example, in the plural form *'iθaθa* 'hands' (< \*'iðaθa), where the first /θ/ can be explained as arising by the assimilation of the syllable \*/ða/ to the following syllable /θa/. Since this is a fixed feature of the word form, it is marked in the transcription.

### 1.3.2. Devoicing of Word Final Consonants

In some cases a word final voiced consonant is devoiced. This is the case with the genitive/relative particle *D*, which is devoiced when cliticized to the end of a word, e.g. *'anna waríðət qðàle* (< *wariðe d-qðale*) 'these veins of his neck' (A26:81), *šáwθa gu-púmmət mərəle šəklánta*<sup>1</sup> (< *pumma d-marəle*) 'A word is beautiful in the mouth of its owner' (A26:40).

Kurdish loanwords that have final voiced /z/ in the source language often have voiceless /s/ in the Aramaic dialect, e.g.

<i>dūs</i> 'right, true'	Kurd. <i>dûz</i>
<i>marrəs</i> 'hair of angora goat'	Kurd. <i>merz</i>

The final consonant remains unvoiced when clitics are added, e.g. *dūs-üwət* 'you are right'. When, however, morphological affixes are attached and the consonant is no longer word final, the original voicing is maintained, e.g. *duzuθa* 'truth'.

## 1.4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONSONANTS

1.4.1. *The BGDKPT Consonants*

## 1.4.1.1. \*b

The reflex of the fricative allophone of \*b in earlier Aramaic is the semi-vowel /w/. This is found after both vowels and consonants, e.g.

<i>genawa</i>	‘thief’	< *gannābā
<i>sawa</i>	‘grandfather’	< *sābā
<i>šlwa</i>	‘cross’	< *šlībā
ʾnwa	‘sheep’	< *ʿrbā
<i>šwawa</i>	‘neighbour’	< *šbābā
<i>dawa</i>	‘gold’	< *dahbā
<i>gʾawra</i>	‘man’	< *gabrā
<i>zawna</i>	‘time’	< *zabnā
<i>xawra</i>	‘friend’	< *ḥabrā
<i>šawqa</i>	‘she leaves’	< *šābqā

When \*b was preceded by \*u, the sequence \*ub contracted to /u/, e.g.

<i>gure</i>	‘men’	< *gubrē
<i>tuna</i>	‘straw’	< *tubnā
<i>duša</i>	‘honey’	< *duḥšā
<i>ruta</i>	‘Friday’	< *arubtā

On some occasions the sequence /aw/ that derives from \*ab or \*āb contracts to /o/ before a consonant, e.g.

<i>gota</i>	‘side’	< *gabtā
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In a number of words of native Aramaic stock, the stop /b/ occurs after a vowel. These may be classified as follows:

(i) Cases where the /b/ was originally geminated, e.g.

<i>xabuša</i>	‘apple’	< *ḥabbūšā
<i>dabaša</i>	‘bee’	< *dabbāšā
<i>šabṯa</i>	‘week’	< *šabbʾtā
<i>mzabən</i>	‘he sells’	< *mzabben

In the word *ṣabota* ‘finger’ the stop /b/ may have arisen by secondary gemination of an original \*b in order to prevent the elision of the preceding vowel after the insertion of an epenthetic vowel after it: *ṣabota* < \*ṣabbāʾtā < \*ṣabʿātā. Compare J. Amedia *ṣaboʿta*, Qaraqosh *ṣubʿθa*. The gemination has been preserved in some dialects, e.g. Dêre *ṣabbota*.

(ii) When the preceding vowel is an epenthetic, e.g.

*kalabbθa* ‘bitch’ cf. *kalba* ‘dog’

(iii) Where a word beginning with /b/ has been bonded with a preceding element that ends in vowel, e.g.

*xo-bεθa* ‘under the house’  
*gu-bεθa* ‘in the house’

We can include here verbal roots that have /b/ as their first radical. The stop remains through all inflections, including when prefixes that end in a vowel are attached to it, e.g. *brq* ‘to shine’, *barəq* ‘it shines’, *mabrəq* ‘it causes to shine’; *bny* ‘to build’, *bane* ‘he builds’, *mabne* ‘he causes to build’. This invariability is also exhibited by most noun forms, e.g. *kalba* ‘dog’, *kalabbθa* ‘bitch’. The plural form of this word constitutes an exception to this principle: *kalba* ‘dog’ vs. *kalwe* (< \*kalbē) ‘dogs’.

(iv) Where the /b/ was originally preceded by a vowelless consonant, which has now been elided, e.g.

*sebuθa* ‘old age’ < \*saʾbuθa  
*mšabodē* ‘to enslave’ < \*mšaʾbodē

(v) Forms arising by analogy with words that have preserved /b/ for one of the reasons listed above. Examples of this include *dabaš* ‘it sticks’, which is a stem I verb and so the middle radical would not have been geminated historically, and *zəbla* ‘manure’ (cf. Syr. *zeblā*). In both cases the source of the analogy appears to have been stem II verb forms (historical *pa<sup>ae</sup>l*), in which the middle /b/ was originally geminated, viz. *mdabaš* ‘he makes stick’ (originally ‘he makes like honey’) and *mzabəl* ‘he lays manure’. Elsewhere a stop /b/ occurring as the middle radical of a stem II verb is not extended by analogy to stem I forms that belong historically to the same root. This is found mainly where there is considerable semantic distinction between the two stem forms, e.g.



<i>zwana</i> ‘to buy’	<i>mzabone</i> ‘to sell’
<i>gwaya</i> ‘to beg’	<i>mgaboje</i> ‘to elect’
<i>qwaya</i> ‘to scoop’	<i>mqaboje</i> ‘to swell’

Likewise, the stop of stem II is not elsewhere extended by analogy to nominal forms as in the case of *mzabole*: *zābla*; cf. *mšaboxe* ‘to glorify’ vs. *šuxa* ‘praise’.

(vi) In some cases the stop /b/ rather than the expected /w/ occurs as the second radical of a stem I verbal root apparently in order to avoid homophony between two roots, e.g.

<i>tbele</i> ‘he sank’ (< *t <b>b</b> ʿ)	<i>twele</i> ‘it roasted’ (< *t <b>w</b> y)
<i>gbaya</i> ‘to froth’ (< *g <b>b</b> b) <sup>2</sup>	<i>gwaya</i> ‘to beg’ (< *g <b>w</b> y)

A historical \*b is sometimes devoiced to /p/ when it has been adjacent to a laryngal \*, which often, but not always, derives historically from pharyngal \*<sup>c</sup>, e.g.

<i>ʾarpa</i>	< * <sup>c</sup> arbʾā < * <sup>c</sup> arbʿā	‘four’
<i>šappa</i>	< * <sup>c</sup> šabʾā < * <sup>c</sup> šabʿā	‘finger’
<i>p-aqlē</i>	< * <sup>c</sup> b-ʾaqlē < * <sup>c</sup> b-ʿaqlē	‘by foot’
<i>p-ape</i>	< * <sup>c</sup> b-ʾappē	‘beyond’

The first two of these examples have alternative forms without devoicing, viz. *ʾarba* ‘four’ and *šabota* ‘finger’. It is possible that the forms with devoicing have entered the speech of some informants under the influence of the Christian dialect of Urmi, in which this process of devoicing is regular.

As remarked in §1.3.2., devoicing has sometimes been conditioned by an adjacent unvoiced consonant, e.g. *gupta* ‘cheese’ (cf. Syr. *gbettā* < \**gbentā*).

#### 1.4.1.2. \*p

The reflex of \*p is, as a general rule, the stop /p/, including in post-vocalic positions, e.g.

<i>kepa</i>	‘stone’	< * <i>kēpā</i>
<i>ʾupra</i>	‘soil’	< * <i>aḫpā</i>
<i>šapθa</i>	‘lip’	< * <i>seḫpā</i>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Syr. *gbībā* ‘gibbous’.

<i>təpra</i>	‘fingernail’	< * <i>təp̄rā</i>
<i>xəpyaya</i>	‘barefoot’	< * <i>xəp̄yāyā</i>
<i>napəl</i>	‘he falls’	< * <i>nāp̄el</i>

A few exceptions to this are found, e.g. *tlawxe* ‘lentils’ (< \**tlap̄hē*), *ruša* ‘shoulder, arm’ (< \**ruṣšā* cf. Syr. *raṣšā* ‘shoulder blade’) in which a post-vocalic \**p̄* behaves like a post-vocalic \**b*. Note also *tusa* ‘example’, which has an original stop \**p* deriving ultimately from Greek *pi* (< \**tupsā* < Greek *τύπος*). A further case may be *swana* ‘projecting edge of a roof’, which appears to be cognate with Tuyoro *sfarno* of the same meaning, both being derived from Syr. *sḫārā* ‘edge’ (cf. Tezel 2003: 238).

The stop /*p*/ often appears in Arabic and Kurdish loanwords where the source language has the fricative /*f*/, reflecting a process analogous to that of hardening the fricative \**p̄* in Aramaic words, e.g.

<i>šapra</i>	‘large knife’	< Arab. <i>šafra</i>
<i>mtaloḫe</i>	‘to ruin’	< Arab. <i>tallafa</i>
<i>pərsət</i>	‘opportunity’	< Arab. <i>furṣa</i>
<i>qəḫpo</i>	‘foam’	< Kurd. <i>kef</i>

Some loans exist in two variant forms, one with the original /*f*/ and one with /*p*/, e.g.

<i>feka</i> ~ <i>peka</i>	‘fruit’	< Arab. <i>fākiha</i>
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#### 1.4.1.3. \*t

The original interdental fricative allophone of this consonant has been preserved as an independent phoneme and is represented in the transcription by the symbol /*θ*/ . The phonemic contrast between /*θ*/ and /*t*/ is demonstrated by minimal pairs such as:

<i>θela</i>	‘she came’	<i>tela</i>	‘fox’
<i>maθa</i>	‘village’	<i>mata</i>	‘grape’
<i>marθa</i>	‘mistress’	<i>marta</i>	‘saying’

The fricative /*θ*/ occurs in all positions, after both vowels and consonants, and also at the beginning of a word, e.g.

<i>ʔaθra</i>	‘land’
<i>xaθa</i>	‘sister’

<i>xmaθa</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>kθawa</i>	‘book’
<i>šabθa</i>	‘week’
<i>qarθa</i>	‘cold’
<i>θele</i>	‘he came’

When /θ/ occurs as a radical consonant in a root, it is used throughout all inflections of the root, irrespective of the phonetic environment, e.g. *rθx* ‘to boil’: *rabθx* ‘it boils’, *marθax* ‘he causes to boil’; *kθw* ‘to write’: *kaθwa* ‘she writes’, *kθawa* ‘book’, *kaθawa* ‘writer’.

In a few isolated cases the articulation of the fricative /θ/ is weakened after a vowel and is elided. This applies to the numeral *θla* ‘three’, which is a variant of the form *θlaθa*. It also sporadically occurs in the inflections of the verb *m-θy* ‘to bring’, e.g. *mayéwa* ‘They used to bring’ (< *mεθéwa*, B5:157), *meyánna* ‘I shall bring her’ (< *mεθónna* A4:9).

On some occasions the stop /t/ is found after vowels in words of native Aramaic stock. The occurrences may be classified as follows:

(i) Cases where the /t/ was originally geminated, e.g.

<i>brata</i>	‘daughter’	< *brattā
<i>mđita</i>	‘town’	< *mđittā < *mđintā
<i>šeta</i>	‘year’	< *šattā < *šantā

(ii) Where the /t/ was originally separated from the preceding vowel by a pharyngal or a laryngal, which have now been elided, e.g.

<i>qaθota</i>	‘break in channel’	< *qaθo’ta < *qāθō’tā
<i>garruta</i>	‘pile of leaves’	< *garru’ta < *garru’tā
<i>beta</i>	‘egg’	< *be’ta < *bē’tā
<i>šmita</i>	‘heard (fs.)’	< *šmi’ta < *šmī’tā
<i>tata</i>	‘crest’ (of bird)	< *ta’ta < *tağtā
<i>nita</i>	‘(party until) dawn’	< *ngūhtā

(iii) Where the stop /t/ was originally preceded by the consonant \*ḅ, which has subsequently become contracted

<i>gota</i>	‘side’	< *gaḅtā
<i>šwota</i>	‘neighbour (f.)’	< *šḅātā
<i>ruta</i>	‘Friday’	< *aruḅtā

The sequences \*aḅ and \*āḅ more frequently develop into the diphthong /aw/ than contract completely to /o/. The stop /t/ occurs after /aw/

diphthongs with this background, in contrast to /aw/ diphthongs containing an original /w/, which are followed by the fricative /θ/:

<i>sawta</i>	‘old woman’	< * <i>sābtā</i>
<i>xlawta</i>	‘milking’	< * <i>hlābtā</i>
<i>kaθawta</i>	‘writer (f.)’	< * <i>kaθθābtā</i>
<i>mawθa</i>	‘death’	< * <i>mawθā</i>
<i>ṣawθa</i>	‘voice, sound’	< * <i>ṣawθā</i>

(iv) The fricative /θ/ shifts to the stop /t/ when it is in contact with a following /l/ or /n/. This is abundantly attested in verbs with a final /θ/ radical when they have a pronominal suffix beginning with /l/ (L-suffix) attached to them, e.g.

<i>mitle</i>	‘he died’	< <i>myθ</i>
<i>qitle</i>	‘he hit’	< <i>qyθ</i>
<i>ditle</i>	‘he sweated’	< <i>dyθ</i>
<i>ṭpile</i>	‘he sneezed’	< <i>ṭpθ</i>
<i>muṣyṭle</i>	‘he listened’	< <i>m-ṣyθ</i> III
<i>mxuθxṭle</i>	‘he renewed’	< <i>m-xθxθ</i>

It takes place when an L-suffix is added to the existential particle *ʔiθ* ‘there is’, e.g. *ʔitle* ‘he has’ (< *ʔiθ + le*).

It also occurs when /θ/ comes into contact with /l/ within a root, e.g.

<i>patli</i>	‘they turn’	< <i>pθl</i>
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Examples of the shift of the fricative /θ/ before /n/ include:

<i>xṭna</i>	‘groom’	< * <i>xṭθna</i>
<i>ʔaṣṭnaya</i>	‘man from Ashitha’	< <i>ʔAṣṭθa</i>

This shift of alveolar fricatives before /l/ and /n/ occurs regularly.

(v) Various cases of the stop /t/ after a vowel that cannot easily be explained by the historical phonology of the word have apparently arisen by analogy with cases of the stop that can be explained historically.

A few verbal roots contain the stop /t/ throughout all inflections, even when occurring after vowels, e.g. *ṣṭy* ‘to drink’, *ʔtw* ‘to sit’. The explanation for the existence of the stop /t/ in these seems to be that at an earlier

historical period the stop allophone was used in some of their inflections where there was no preceding vowel and that this was then generalized by analogy to all inflections. In the case of *šty*, the initial sequence of sibilant + stop in certain inflections of the verb, such as the imperative or forms derived from the past base, is pronounced with ease as a cluster, without an intervening epenthetic, e.g. *šti* ‘drink!’, *šteli* ‘I drank’. This is reflected by the prosthetic vowel that is indicated in the orthography of some forms of earlier Aramaic, e.g. Syr. ʔšī. After the distinction between /t/ and /θ/ had become phonemicized, the stop would have been generalized to all inflectional forms, including those where it was preceded by a vowel, e.g. *šate* ‘he drinks’. The stop in ʔ*tw* ‘to sit’ may have been generalized from inflections of this verb that have initial /t/, e.g. *tīwle* ‘he sat down’, *tīwa* ‘sitting’. Mention should also be made of the noun *sātwa* ‘winter’, where the stop /t/ occurs after a vowel. It is likely that here also the explanation is the initial sequence of *s* and *t*. These would have formed a cluster in the absolute form \**staw* at some earlier historical period.

The feminine singular resultative participle of the verb *hwy* ‘to be’ is *wita* with the stop /t/, whereas other final /y/ verbs have /θ/ in the corresponding form, e.g. *xziθa* (*xzy* ‘to see’). The stop seems to have arisen by analogy with final /ʔ/ verbs, where the stop is historically explicable by the original presence of a preceding pharyngal. This is due to the resemblance between the masculine singular resultative participles:

	Resultative participle ms.	Resultative participle fs.
šmʔ ‘to hear’	šmīya	šmīta
hwy ‘to be’	wiya	wita

In the inflection of verbs and the existential partial ʔ*iθ* a stop /t/ resulting from contact with /l/ is sometimes extended by analogy to inflections where they are not in direct contact with /l/, e.g.

<i>patli</i>	‘they turn’	<i>patal</i> ~ <i>paθal</i>	‘he turns’ ( <i>pθl</i> )
<i>mitle</i>	‘he died’	<i>mitwale</i> ~ <i>miθwale</i>	‘he had died’ ( <i>myθ</i> )
ʔ <i>itle</i>	‘he has’	ʔ <i>itwale</i> ~ ʔ <i>iθwale</i>	‘he used to have’

#### 1.4.1.4. \*d

The original interdental fricative allophone of this consonant has been preserved as an independent phoneme and is represented in the transcription by the symbol /ð/. The phonemic distinction of /ð/ from /d/ is demonstrated by minimal pairs such as:

*guḏa* ‘churn’*guda* ‘wall’

The consonant /ḏ/ occurs after both vowels and consonants, and also at the beginning of a word, e.g.

<i>ʾiḏa</i>	‘hand’
<i>huḏaya</i>	‘Jew’
<i>qḏala</i>	‘neck’
<i>mḏita</i>	‘town’
<i>rawḏana</i>	‘earthquake’
<i>ḏile</i>	‘he knew’

When /ḏ/ occurs as a radical in a root, it is used in all inflections of the root, irrespective of the phonetic environment, e.g. *raqḏ* ‘to dance’: *raqḏ* ‘he dances’, *raqḏi* ‘they dance’, *raqḏa* ‘a dance’; *šḏy* ‘to card (wool)’: *šade* ‘he cards’, *šḏele* ‘he carded’, *šadaya* ‘carder’.

A diphthong /aw/ in which the /w/ is the reflex of an original \*ḥ is followed either by the stop /d/ or the fricative /ḏ/, e.g.

<i>kawda</i>	‘liver’	< * <i>kabdā</i>
<i>ʾawḏa</i>	‘she does’	< * <i>ʾaḥḏā</i>

The fricative /ḏ/ in *ʾawḏa* occurs since it has been generalized throughout the root from contexts where it occurs after a vowel, e.g. *ʾawḏ* ‘he does’.

On some occasions the stop /d/ is found after vowels in words of native Aramaic stock. The occurrences may be classified as follows:

(i) Words that originally contained geminated /d/, e.g.

<i>guda</i>	‘wall’	< * <i>guddā</i>
<i>šlada</i>	‘corpse’	< * <i>šladdā</i>
<i>bḏdra</i>	‘threshing-floor’	< * <i>be</i> + <i>ʾaddrā</i>
<i>mšadər</i>	‘he sends’	< * <i>mšaddər</i>

In some cases the gemination was a secondary development consequent upon a resyllabification. This explains, for example, the /d/ in the form *xadāssər* ‘eleven’, which appears to have been secondarily geminated in order to allow an /a/ vowel to follow the initial letter, presumably by force of analogy with the form for one, *xa*: *xadāssər* < \**xaddāʾsər* < \**ḥadaʾsar*.

(ii) The stop /d/ occurs after a vowel when it is in contact with a following /l/ or /n/, e.g.

<i>ridle</i>	‘he darned’	< <i>ryð</i>
<i>qidle</i>	‘he burnt’	< <i>’qð</i>
<i>gridle</i>	‘he scrubbed’	< <i>grð</i>
<i>mpuqədle</i>	‘he commanded’	< <i>m-pqð</i> II
<i>gədləx</i>	‘we plait’	< <i>gðl</i>
<i>gədla</i>	‘plaited fence’	< <i>gðl</i>
<i>yadli</i>	‘they lay (eggs)’	< <i>yðl</i>
<i>mugədla</i>	‘frozen’	< <i>m-gðl</i> III
<i>kawədna</i>	‘ass’	cf. <i>kawəðnta</i> ‘she ass’

This shift of alveolar fricatives before /l/ and /n/ occurs regularly, with only very few exceptions (e.g. *mù wiðléxu?* ‘What have you done?’ B5:2). In a number of verbs a final stop /d/, which originally arose by this phonetic process by contact with the /l/ of L-suffixes, has become generalized to all inflected forms of the root, e.g. *xzada* ‘to plough’, *rgada* ‘to tremble’, *mazode* ‘to blame, reproach’, *mašxode* ‘to congratulate’.

(iii) The fricative /ð/ occasionally shifts to the stop /d/ by a dissimilatory process when the fricative /θ/ occurs at the beginning of the next syllable, e.g.

<i>xaduθa</i> ~ <i>xaduθa</i>	‘joy’	< <i>xðy</i> ‘to be joyous’
<i>mamodiθa</i>	‘baptism’	< <i>m-mð</i> ‘to baptize’

(iv) The stop /d/ after the vowel in the word *didwa* ‘fly’ appears to have developed by a form of syllabic assimilation. The syllabification of the word is evidently *dī-dwa* and the onset of the second syllable has been assimilated to the initial stop /d/ of the first. Similar developments are found in other NENA dialects, e.g. C. Qaraqosh *deda* ‘breast’ (cf. Syr. *ʔdā*), *didi* ‘mine’ < *\*dili*.

(v) The stop /d/ occurs as the second radical in the verbal roots *zdy* ‘to throw’ and *zdʰ* ‘to fear’, where it does not seem to be derived historically from a geminate /d/. In the case of *zdy*, which is cognate with Syr. *šdā*, the /d/ is likely to have originated in an initial cluster *zd-* in certain inflections and was extended to all inflections by analogy. The verb *zdʰ* appears to be derived historically from *\*ʔzdawwaʕ*, the *ʔtpaʕal* form of the root *zwʕ* in earlier Aramaic (cf. Nöldeke 1868: 195).

(vi) When the stop /d/ is the first radical of a root, it is retained in all inflections, including cases where the first radical is preceded by the vowel of a prefix, e.g. *dmx* ‘to sleep’: *daməx* ‘he sleeps’, *madməx* ‘he puts to sleep’.

(vii) When the vowel preceding /d/ is prosthetic, it remains a stop. In some cases a prosthetic vowel has become a fixed feature of the word, as in the forms *’dyo* (< \**dā-yōm*) ‘today’ and *’dlɛle* (< \**dā-laylyā*) ‘tonight’ where it bears the stress.

(viii) A /d/ at the beginning of a word is not affected by a vowel at the end of a preceding word. This includes the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *xóna d-o-málka* ‘the brother of that king’ (A25:1), *málka d-áyya bəžər* ‘the king of this town’ (A32:5), *reša-reša d-o-gàre* ‘onto that roof’ (A23:14). This particle may be cliticized to the preceding word, but it still remains a stop and is generally devoiced, e.g. *bábət bráta* ‘the father of the girl’ (A29:43), *tárət gəppa* ‘entrance of the cave’ (A31:7), *šəklət bəṛ-náša* ‘the form of a human’ (A8:31), *’u-garšile b-ó-qesət y-áwe bi-diye*<sup>1</sup> ‘and they pull it with the (handle of) wood that is attached to it’ (B5:194).

The occurrence of the stop /d/ in words such as *hadiya* ‘now’ and *hodəx* ‘beyond’ may have a similar explanation, in that these can be analysed historically as composite units, the first syllable of which is a presentative element, i.e. *ha-diya*, *ho-dəx*. The form *diya* ‘now’, without the initial *ha-* is, in fact, also used in the dialect. We can include here also the form *hatxa* ‘thus’, in which the /d/ has become devoiced due to contact with the following unvoiced /x/ (cf. the related word *hadəx*).

#### 1.4.1.5. \*k

The fricative allophone of \**k* has been preserved in many cases, e.g.

<i>’axəl</i>	‘he eats’	< *’ <i>āk</i> el
<i>baxe</i>	‘he weeps’	< *’ <i>bāk</i> ē
<i>naxraya</i>	‘stranger’	< *’ <i>nāk</i> rāyā
<i>buraxa</i>	‘blessing’	< *’ <i>burrāk</i> ā
<i>kuraxa</i>	‘shroud’	< *’ <i>kurrāk</i> ā

The fricative /x/ occurs also where a diphthong has contracted to a vowel, e.g.

<i>kəxwa</i>	‘star’	< *’ <i>kaw</i> k’ <i>bā</i>
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The stop /k/ sometimes occurs after a vowel in words of Aramaic stock. These cases may be classified as follows:

(i) Where the consonant was originally geminated, e.g.

<i>kaka</i>	‘tooth’	< * <i>kakkā</i>
<i>ʾakara</i>	‘farmer’	< *ʾ <i>akkārā</i>
<i>rakixa</i>	‘soft’	< * <i>rakkīkā</i>
<i>səkθa</i>	‘ploughshare’	< * <i>sekkʾθā</i>
<i>dukθa</i>	‘place’	< * <i>dukkʾθā</i>

(ii) When the preceding vowel is an epenthetic, e.g.

<i>maləkθa</i>	‘queen’	cf. <i>malka</i> ‘king’
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(iii) When the preceding vowel belongs to an originally separate particle that has become bonded onto a word beginning with /k/, e.g.

<i>xakma</i>	‘some’	< * <i>xa + kma</i>
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The word *ʾeka* ‘where’ may possibly fall into this category (< \*ʾ*ay-kā*). Compare the variant form *kεle?* ‘where is he’ (§8.20.4.).

(iv) In various verbal roots, e.g.

<i>raku</i>	‘he rides’	< * <i>rākēb</i>
<i>rakəx</i>	‘it softens’	< * <i>rākēk</i>
<i>lakəx</i>	‘he licks’	< * <i>lākēh</i>
<i>gaxək</i>	‘he laughs’	< * <i>gāhēk</i>
<i>xakək</i>	‘he laughs’	< * <i>gāhēk</i>

The /k/ has been generalized throughout all inflections of these verbal roots. The /k/ in the first two roots may have arisen by analogy. In the root *rkw* ‘to ride’ the stop may have arisen by analogy with the form *rakawa* ‘rider’, in which the /k/ is a reflex of an originally geminated consonant (< \**rakkābā*). The /k/ in the root *rkx* ‘to soften’ is likely to be based on the analogy of the adjective *rakixa*, in which the medial /k/ was originally geminated (< \**rakkīkā*). Another possibility is that the stop arose originally in inflections of the root where the /k/ clustered with the initial /r/ without an intervening vowel, e.g. in the past form *rkule* ‘he rode’. It is worth noting that such consonantal clustering took place in Syriac in words with initial /r/, as is reflected by the writing of prosthetic *alph* in the orthography in words such as ܪܘܘܝܪܘܝܐ = ܪܘܘܝܐ ‘beloved ones’ and ܪܘܘܝܪܘܝܐ = ܪܘܘܝܐ ‘upper garment’ (Nöldeke 1904: 37). The stop /k/ in the

other roots appear to have arisen by a dissimilation process preventing the sequence of two velar fricatives. In *xkk*, a variant of *gk*, there has been metathesis and subsequent devoicing of the initial /g/.

1.4.1.6. \*g

The velar fricative allophone of \*g has in most cases been weakened to zero when in contact with another consonant, e.g.

<i>nāra</i>	‘axe’	< * <i>nar̥gā</i> (cf. Syr. <i>nārgā</i> )
<i>zāra</i>	‘yellow’	< * <i>zar̥gā</i> (cf. Syr. <i>zārgā</i> )
<i>lena</i>	‘furrow’	< * <i>l̥gēna</i> (cf. Syr. <i>l̥gētā</i> )
<i>lina</i>	‘jar’	< * <i>l̥gīna</i> (cf. Syr. <i>l̥gīnā</i> )
<i>nita</i>	‘party until dawn’	< * <i>ng̃ihtā</i>
<i>pela</i>	‘radish’	< * <i>pag̃lā</i> (cf. Syr. <i>puḡlā</i> )
<i>lamakka</i>	‘jaw of an animal’	< * <i>laḡma</i> + <i>akka</i> (cf. Syr. <i>luḡmā</i> )

When it occurred between vowels, it is generally replaced by the glide /y/ or, when the following vowel is rounded, by the glide /w/, e.g.

<i>rayaš</i>	‘he wakes up’	< * <i>rāgēs</i>
<i>šayær</i>	‘he stokes’	< * <i>šāgēr</i>
<i>rawola</i>	‘valley’	< * <i>rāgōlā</i>

When it occurred between two /a/ vowels, its reflex is either the laryngal /ʀ/ or the glide /y/, e.g.

<i>syʾa</i> ~ <i>syaya</i>	‘fence’	< * <i>syāgā</i>
<i>plaʾa</i> ~ <i>playa</i>	‘to divide’	< * <i>plāgā</i>
<i>šraʾa</i> ~ <i>šraya</i>	‘oil-lamp’	< * <i>šrāgā</i>

The laryngal /ʀ/ is occasionally found between other vowels, e.g.

<i>yaʾisa</i>	‘wife’s sister’s husband’	< * <i>aḡisā</i>
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As shown by Tsereteli (1990), the passage of the velar fricative \*g̃ to /ʀ/ or zero underwent an intermediate stage in which \*g̃ shifted to the pharyngeal fricative \*ʕ. A vestige of this pharyngeal can be identified in the emphatic /ʀ/ of *rayaš* ‘he wakes’ (< \**raʾaš* < \**raʕeš* < \**rāgēs*). Some NENA dialects preserve an emphatic articulation also in other words, e.g. C. Urmi *ʕlina* [ʕluʀnɑ] ‘jar’. The pharyngeal consonant is preserved in a number of words

in a few NENA dialects, e.g. J. Amedia *ʔaʕola* ‘valley’, *jaʕoda* ‘hatchet’ (cf. C. Barwar *rawola*, *jawəttə*).

The velar fricative realization is preserved in a few isolated words. There is a tendency to devoice this to /x/, though the original voiced realization /g/ is preserved in some words:

<i>paxra</i>	‘body’	< * <i>paḡrā</i>
<i>sxaða</i> ~ <i>sḡaða</i>	‘to worship’	< * <i>sḡāḡa</i>
<i>šxaša</i> ~ <i>šḡaša</i>	‘to be disturbed’	< * <i>šḡāša</i>
<i>laxxawa</i>	‘bit, bridle’	cf. Syr. <i>lḡāmā</i> , J. Amedia <i>laḡma</i>

A similar devoicing of an original voiced velar fricative /g/ to /x/ takes place in loanwords from Arabic, many of which may have entered the language through Kurdish, where this devoicing also occurs, e.g.

<i>xam</i>	‘worry’	< Arab. <i>ḡamm</i>
<i>xādaya</i>	‘lunch’	< Arab. <i>ḡadā</i>
<i>xulama</i>	‘servant’	< Arab. <i>ḡulām</i>
<i>xəlta</i>	‘mistake’	< Arab. <i>ḡalaṭ</i>
<i>xeratta</i>	‘zeal’	< Arab. <i>ḡēra</i>
<i>xlaqa</i>	‘to lock’	< Arab. <i>ḡlq</i>

The stop /g/ is retained after a vowel in the following circumstances:

(i) When the consonant was originally geminated, e.g.

<i>zaga</i>	‘bell’	< * <i>zaggā</i>
<i>nagara</i>	‘carpenter’	< * <i>naggārā</i>
<i>daglana</i>	‘liar’	< * <i>daggʕlānā</i>
<i>magla</i>	‘scythe’	< * <i>maggʕlā</i>
<i>prage</i>	‘millet’	< * <i>praggē</i>

(ii) When the preceding vowel is an epenthetic, e.g.

<i>xurəθa</i>	‘stepdaughter’ (cf. <i>xurga</i> ‘stepson’)
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(iii) When the /g/ originally stood at the beginning of a word that has become bonded with a preceding word that ends in a vowel, e.g.

<i>be-gvina</i>	‘eyebrow’	< * <i>be-gbīnā</i> (‘place of the eyebrows’)
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The stop /g/ occurs after the diphthong /aw/, e.g. *zawga* ‘pair’. In many NENA dialects where this diphthong contracts to /o/ the reflex of

the original \*g in this word is that of a fricative rather than a stop, e.g. C. Qaraqosh, J. Sulemaniyya *zə'a*, J. Urmi *zoa*.

1.4.2. *Pharyngals and Laryngals*

1.4.2.1. \*h

The unvoiced pharyngeal fricative \*h has in most cases shifted to the velar fricative /x/, e.g.

<i>xmara</i>	'ass'	< * <i>hmārā</i>
<i>xawra</i>	'friend'	< * <i>habrā</i>
' <i>urxa</i>	'road'	< *' <i>urhā</i>
<i>pθx</i>	'to open'	< * <i>pθh</i>
<i>šlx</i>	'to strip'	< * <i>šlh</i>

The pharyngeal has been retained in the environment of /q/ in the word *rəhqa* 'distant', but the articulation of this as a pharyngeal is not consistent and speakers sometimes pronounce it as a velar fricative *rəxqa*. The original pharyngeal is likewise sporadically retained in *hawla* 'rope' (< \**habla*) as a variant of the normal form *xawla*. Here the preservation of the pharyngeal is likely to have been conditioned by the fact that the other consonants of the word have an intrinsic tendency to attract an emphatic articulation. A further case where a pharyngeal is occasionally retained is in the verbal root *gɣk* ~ *ghk* 'to laugh'.

Elsewhere the pharyngeal appears only in Arabic loanwords, a large proportion of which are likely to have come into the language through Kurdish. In many of these, however, the pronunciation of the pharyngeal is often weakened to the laryngeal /h/, e.g. *heywən* ~ *heywən* 'animal', *həjətta* ~ *hajətta* 'tool, instrument', *hawše* ~ *hawše* 'sheep-pen', *huta* ~ *huta* 'whale', *hyr* ~ *hyr* 'to be confused', *hammam* 'wash-room', *hakima* 'doctor', *ləhefa* 'quilt', *tahela* 'spleen', *haqquθa* 'right'. In a few Arabic loanwords a /h/ has shifted to the velar fricative /x/ as in words of Aramaic stock, e.g. *mazaxa* 'area below millstones in a water-mill' < Arab. *masāha*, *xmy* 'to keep, to guard' < Arab. *hmy*.

The presence of /h/ in Arabic loans may give rise to minimal pairs in which the /h/ contrasts phonemically with a /x/ that derives historically from \*h, e.g.

*hyr* 'to be confused' : *xyr* 'to look'

An exceptional development of  $*h > /h/$  is found in the Aramaic words *həšše* ‘senses’ (<  $*həššē$ ) and *hašya* ‘chive’ (cf. Syr. *ḥaššā*, *ḥāšā*). This has probably come about in order to distinguish them from the word *xašša* ‘suffering’ (<  $*ḥaššā$ ), which appears to be a doublet of *həšše*.

#### 1.4.2.2. \*<sup>ʕ</sup>

The voiced pharyngeal fricative  $*^{ʕ}$  has been weakened to the pharyngeal /ʔ/ before a vowel at the beginning of words, e.g.

<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>upra</i>	‘soil’	< $*^{ʕ}aḫrā$
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>alma</i>	‘people, world’	< $*^{ʕ}almā$
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>azola</i>	‘weaver’	< $*^{ʕ}āzōlā$
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>awəð</i>	‘he does’	< $*^{ʕ}ābed$

This applies also to words containing /q/ or an emphatic, which in some NENA dialects condition the preservation of the pharyngeal, e.g.

<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>aqərwa</i>	‘scorpion’	< $*^{ʕ}aqr̥ba$
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>aqla</i>	‘leg’	< $*^{ʕ}aqlā$
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ap̣sa</i>	‘gallnut’	< $*^{ʕ}ap̣sā$
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>aṭma</i>	‘side, thing’	< $*^{ʕ}aṭmā$

The original phonemic contrast between  $*^{ʕ}$  and  $*^{ʕ̣}$  in the pair  $*^{ʕ}amra$  ‘wool’ and  $*^{ʕ̣}amra$  ‘she says’ has been replaced by a contrast between emphatic /ṛ/ and non-emphatic /r/:

<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>amṛa</i>	‘wool’	<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>amra</i>	‘she says’
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Even in Arabic loanwords, an initial pharyngeal before a vowel is generally weakened to the laryngeal /ʔ/, e.g.

<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ašarta</i>	‘evening’	< Arab. <sup>ʕ</sup> <i>asr</i>
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ašəq</i>	‘in love’	< Arab. <sup>ʕ̣</sup> <i>šiq</i>
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>askar</i>	‘army’	< Arab. <sup>ʕ</sup> <i>askar</i>
<sup>ʔ</sup> <i>ālīq</i>	‘fodder’	< Arab. <sup>ʕ̣</sup> <i>ālīq</i>

The pharyngeal  $*^{ʕ}$  in all other positions is generally reduced to zero, e.g.

<i>raqa</i>	‘to run’	< $*^{ʕ}rāqā$
<i>pala</i>	‘workman’	< $*^{ʕ}paʕlā$

<i>saṛe</i>	‘barley’	< * <i>saʿrē</i>
<i>balota</i>	‘throat’	< * <i>bālōʿtā</i>
<i>tāra</i>	‘door’	< * <i>tarʿā</i>
<i>ʿarbe</i>	‘four (f.)’	< * <i>ʿarbaʿ</i>

When it is elided between vowels it is usually replaced by a glide. If one of the vowels is /i/ and the other is /a/, the glide is /y/, e.g.

<i>mriya</i>	‘ill’	< * <i>mrīʿā</i>
<i>ṭhiya</i>	‘asleep’	< * <i>ṭhīʿā</i>

If one of the vowels is /o/ and the other is /a/, the glide is generally /y/, e.g.

<i>mayoya</i>	‘bar of a churn’	< * <i>māyōʿā</i>
<i>layosa</i>	‘jaw’	< * <i>lāʿōsā</i>
<i>ṣawoya</i>	‘painter’	< * <i>ṣāḥōʿā</i>
<i>loyaḥa</i>	‘cheeks’	< * <i>lōʿāṭā</i>

Occasionally the glide is /w/, e.g.

<i>mṭawole</i>	‘to play’	< * <i>mṭaʿōlē</i>
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If one of the vowels is /u/ and the other is /a/, the glide is /w/, e.g.

<i>garuwa</i>	‘pile of sticks’	< * <i>gārūʿā</i>
<i>nabuwa</i>	‘spring (of water)’	< * <i>nābūʿā</i>
<i>ṭabuwana</i>	‘tick’	< * <i>ṭābūʿānā</i>
<i>lawusta</i>	‘jaw’	< * <i>lāʿūstā</i>

If the pharyngeal \*ʿ occurred between two /a/ vowels, it is either weakened to the laryngeal /ʔ/ or is replaced by the glide /y/. Forms with the laryngeal and forms with the glide often exist in free variation, e.g.

<i>draʿa</i> ~ <i>draya</i>	‘span’	< * <i>drāʿā</i>
<i>šmaʿa</i> ~ <i>šmaya</i>	‘to hear’	< * <i>šmāʿā</i>
<i>zaraya</i>	‘cultivator’	< * <i>zarrāʿā</i>
<i>qulaya</i>	‘clod (of earth)’	< * <i>qūlāʿā</i>
<i>maʿarwa</i>	‘West’	< * <i>maʿarḥā</i>

The lack of a variant form with a glide for the word *ma'arwa* is no doubt on account of the fact that this word is only used by educated speakers under the influence of the modern literary language.

An original pharyngal \*<sup>ç</sup> in many loanwords from Arabic are weakened in the same way as it is in Aramaic words, e.g.

<i>šāma</i>	‘wax’	< Arab. <i>šam<sup>ç</sup></i>
<i>majəb</i>	‘he is astonished’	< * <i>ma<sup>ç</sup>jəb</i> < Arab. <i>çb</i>
<i>leba</i>	‘trick’	< Arab. <i>l<sup>ç</sup>b</i>
<i>šera</i>	‘poem’	< Arab. <i>šə<sup>ç</sup>r</i>
<i>jmeta</i>	‘gathering’	< * <i>jma<sup>ç</sup>ta</i> < Arab. <i>jm<sup>ç</sup></i>
<i>jmə'a</i> ~ <i>jmaya</i>	‘to gather’	< * <i>jma<sup>ç</sup>a</i> < Arab. <i>jm<sup>ç</sup></i>

Some, presumably more recent, loans from Arabic preserve the pharyngal. This applies not only to Arabic words that are unadapted morphologically to the Aramaic dialect, but also to some verbal forms that are given Aramaic inflection, e.g.

<i>m<sup>ç</sup>əqəm</i>	‘he sterilizes’	< Arab. <i>‘aqqama</i>
<i>m<sup>ç</sup>əjəz</i>	‘he becomes senile’	< Arab. <i>‘ajaza</i>

#### 1.4.2.3. /h/

The laryngal \*<sup>h</sup> is elided when in contact with another consonant, e.g.

<i>dawa</i>	‘gold’	< * <i>dahwā</i>
<i>sada</i>	‘martyr’	< * <i>sahdā</i>
<i>nera</i>	‘river’	< * <i>nahrā</i>
<i>sera</i>	‘moon’	< * <i>sahrā</i>
<i>šewa</i>	‘thirst’	< * <i>šahwā</i>
<i>tera</i>	‘noon’	< * <i>tahrā</i>
<i>qiya</i>	‘blunt’	< * <i>qhīyā</i>

The word *dawa* ‘gold’ has an alternative form *dawha*, which is peculiar both on account of the metathesis of the /w/ and the /h/ and also on account of the preservation of the /h/ after the consonant.

Between vowels \*<sup>h</sup> is sometimes preserved, e.g.

<i>šaharta</i>	‘vigil’
<i>sahaða</i>	‘witness’
<i>ʿawahaða</i>	‘parents’

On some occasions it is elided and replaced by a glide, e.g.

*duwana*                      ‘oil, fat’                      < \**dūhānā*

The /h/ in many Arabic loanwords undergoes the same weakening, in that it is elided when in contact with a consonant, e.g.

*sama*                      ‘portion’                      < Arab. *sahm*  
*qawa*                      ‘coffee’                      < Arab. *qahwa*

An exceptional development of \**h* > /x/ is found in the word *tuxma* ‘type, kind’, which appears to be the reflex of Syr. *tuhmā* ‘race, stock’. It is possible that this word was taken from Syriac rather than being an original vernacular word and that the /x/ arose out of an effort to preserve the consonantal /h/.

1.4.2.4. /ʕ/

Laryngeal /ʕ/ is elided when in contact with a consonant in word initial position, e.g.

*ḥaya*                      ‘to come’                      < \*ʕaya  
*sara*                      ‘to bind’                      < \*ʕsara  
*xille*                      ‘he ate’                      < \*ʕxille

The stop /ʕ/ interchanges freely with the fricative /h/ at the beginning of some words. As far as the etymology of such words can be established, the stop /ʕ/ is primary and the /h/ is a secondary development, e.g.

*ʕarnuwwa* ~ *harnuwwa*                      ‘rabbit’                      < \*ʕarnʕbā  
*ʕurwa* ~ *hurwa*                      ‘raven’                      < \*ʕurbā  
*ʕuḍala* ~ *huḍala*                      ‘pile of grass’

1.4.3. *Emphatic /t/ and /s/*

The emphatic consonants /t/ and /s/ in words of Aramaic stock are mostly reflexes of original \**t* and \**s*. Some cases of /t/ and /s/, however, have arisen by secondary development. This is found, for example, in the words *pṛṭana* ‘flea’ (< \**purtānā*), *ḥlaḥa* ‘three’ (< \**ḥlātā*), *ʕṣra* ‘ten’ (< \**ʕsrā*) in which they have developed, it seems, due to an adjacent pharyngeal or emphatic.



In a few words, an originally emphatic letter is regularly pronounced without velarization, e.g. *kawsa* ‘hair’ (cf. Syr. *qawṣtā* ‘curl’), *ʿasra* ‘storage basket’ (cf. Syr. *ʿawṣrā*). The loss of emphasis in *ʿasra* may have been motivated by a desire to distinguish the word from *ʿasra* ‘ten’, in which, as we have seen, the emphasis is an innovation.

#### 1.4.4. *Emphatic /r̥/*

A phonetic explanation can be found for the development of emphatic /r̥/ in some words.

It has sometimes arisen due to the original presence of the pharyngeal \*<sup>c</sup>, e.g.

<i>ʿamṛa</i>	‘wool’	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>amrā</i>
<i>seṛa</i>	‘goat’s hair’	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>sāʿrā</i>
<i>ṛayāṣ</i>	‘he wakes’	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>rāʿāṣ</i> < * <i>rāḡeṣ</i>

It can also arise adjacent to a labial, e.g.

<i>bṛ-ṛaṣa</i>	‘human being’
<i>darṛmana</i>	‘medicine’

In some minimal pairs in which /r̥/ contrasts with /r/, the emphatic /r̥/ is a reflex of an originally geminated consonant, whereas the non-emphatic /r/ is a reflex of a ungeminated consonant, e.g.

<i>para</i>	‘lamb’	< * <i>parrā</i>
<i>para</i>	‘dust’	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>pārā</i>
<i>mara</i>	‘spade’	< * <i>marrā</i>
<i>mara</i>	‘to say’	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>mārā</i>

In several cases, however, the emphatic /r̥/ is not motivated primarily by a phonetic cause but rather has developed as means of distinguishing a word from a homophone with a different meaning, e.g.

<i>bera</i>	‘well’	< * <i>bāʿrā</i>
<i>beṛa</i>	‘light’	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>bḥrā</i>
<i>nera</i>	‘river’	< * <i>nahrā</i>
<i>neṛa</i>	‘vision’	< * <sup>c</sup> <i>nahrā</i>

<i>dare</i>	‘he puts’	< * <i>dārē</i>
<i>dare</i>	‘generations’	< * <i>dārē</i>
<i>parma</i>	‘she cuts’	< * <i>pārmā</i>
<i>parma</i>	‘type of oak tree’	

There is no phonetic reason why one member of these pairs should develop the /r/ rather than the other. Indeed some such pairs have a common etymological root, e.g.

<i>gawra</i>	‘she marries’	< * <i>gābrā</i>
<i>gawra</i>	‘man’	< * <i>gabrā</i>
<i>prama</i>	‘to slaughter’	< * <i>prāmā</i>
<i>prama</i>	‘to understand’	< * <i>prāmā</i>

A trend is discernible with regard to the distribution of this type of emphatic /r/ across word categories. Where a verb and a noun are being distinguished by this means, it is the noun rather than the verb that acquires the emphatic /r/:

Verb		Noun	
<i>dare</i>	‘he puts’	<i>dare</i>	‘generations’
<i>parma</i>	‘she cuts’	<i>parma</i>	‘oak tree’
<i>gawra</i>	‘she marries’	<i>gawra</i>	‘man’
<i>dawra</i>	‘threshing’	<i>dawra</i>	‘rest area for sheep’

#### 1.4.5. Emphatic /p/ and /l/

The development of the marginal emphatic phonemes /p/ and /l/ has in some cases been motivated by an etymological pharyngal \*c in the word in question, e.g.

<i>laya</i>	‘upper’	< * <i>lāyā</i>
<i>paqqa</i>	‘crack’	< * <i>paq‘ā</i>
<i>mpāloye</i>	‘to imitate’	< * <i>m-pl‘</i> < * <i>m-plḡ</i>

The word *paqqa* ‘frog’ appears also to be derived from a form with an original pharyngal (cf. Syr. *peq‘ā*, NENA C. Qaraqosh *paq‘a*). The verb *mpāloye*, furthermore, appears to be a doublet of *mpāloye* ‘to share’ (< *m-plḡ*). The absence of emphasis in these words is likely to be moti-

vated by the desire to distinguish them from *paqqa* ‘crack’ and *mpāloye* ‘to imitate’ respectively.

The emphatic /p/ in *paṛma* ‘type of oak tree’ and *paṛma* ‘to understand’ has developed as a means distinguishing the word from homophones of different meaning, as is the case with the /r/ in these words (cf. §1.4.4.).

#### 1.4.6. Affricates /č/, /č̣/ and /j/ in Aramaic Words

As has been remarked in §1.2.1., the non-emphatic /č/ occasionally occurs in words by an advanced form of palatalization of /k/, e.g. *čalo* ‘bride’ < *kalo*, *čerma* ‘vineyard’ < *kerma*. This, however, takes place only sporadically and is not the normal form of these words, which are usually pronounced with an initial palatalized velar, viz. *kʷalo*, *kʷerma*.

The non-emphatic /č/ in the verb *čaxa* ‘to surround’ may be derived by advanced palatalization, if this root is derived historically from *\*krk* (cf. Syr. *krak*). Unlike *čalo* and *čerma*, the /č/ here is a stable, fixed feature. The development of the affricate may have been stimulated by the presence of an affricate at the beginning of the preposition *čannəkər-* ‘around’, although the latter is of Kurdish origin. Another possible case of a /č/ deriving by affrication from *\*k* is the verb *čyd* ‘to invite’. This is likely to have developed from a form with the preverbal particle *k-*, viz. *\*k-čyd*, the root of this being ultimately related to Syr. *waʿed* ‘to invite’. This would be a fossilized vestige of the *k-* prefixed particle, the *ʔi-* prefix being the normal indicative habitual particle in the C. Barwar dialect. In several Ṭiyare dialects other verbs have similar fossilized vestiges, e.g. *čē* ‘He knows’ < *\*k-yadəʿ*, *čazəl* ‘He goes’ < *k-ʔazəl*.<sup>3</sup>

Some cases of the non-emphatic affricate /č/ have developed from a fusion of *\*t* and *\*š*. This applies to *čeri* ‘autumn’ < *\*tšeri* < *\*tešri* and *ʔčča* ‘nine’ (f.) < *\*ʔtšaʿ* < *\*tšaʿ*. The /č/ in the verb *nčala* ‘to pick (fruit, flowers), to tear off’ may also fall into this category, if the historical root of this is identified as *ntš* (cf. Syr. *ntaš* ‘to pluck, to tear’) with the addition of a non-etymological /l/. The affricate also in the verb *máčoxe* ‘to find’ should be explained in this way, although the *\*š* clustered originally with a *\*k* rather than with a *\*t* in the root (cf. Syr. *ʔeškah*). It must be assumed that the cluster *\*šk* shifted to *\*št* by partial assimilation of the velar *\*k* to the palato-alveolar *\*š*. This is, indeed, what is found in the J. Urmi form of

<sup>3</sup> See Talay (2008).

this root, viz. *maštoxe*. The cluster *\*št* would then have been metathesized to */tš/* resulting in *măčōxe*.

The emphatic */č/* has developed by affrication of an original *\*t* or emphatic palato-alveolar *\*š*.

Verbs containing */č/* deriving from an etymological *\*t* include *nčapa* ‘to drip’, *qčāa* ‘to cut’ and *qčapa* ‘to cut down, harvest’, all of which have doublets with the same meaning that preserve the original emphatic stop, viz. *nčapa*, *qčāa* and *qtapa*. It can be identified in *mxačxoče* ‘to poke, prod’ < *htht* (cf. Syr. *hat* ‘to dig out’, *hattet* ‘to excavate, gouge’) and in *zrača* ‘to draw a line, to scribble’, which derives from *\*srača* (cf. Syr. *srač*). The stop */t/* is preserved in the doublet of the same root *srača* ‘to tear, lacerate’. The verb *grača* ‘to scratch’ has possibly developed by a lexical blend between *zrača* and *građa* ‘to scratch, scratch off’. Note also *mqarmoče* ‘to crumple’, which has the doublet *mqarmoče* with the original */t/*. To be included here are also the verbs *čyama*, *čmaya*, *čaya* (čm), *măčome* and *măčmoye* ‘to close’, all of which have an etymological connection with Syr. *tam* ‘to close’ and *ařim* ‘closed’. The stop is preserved in C. Qaraqosh *tym* ‘to close’. The verb *mčalboxe* ‘to beat (with a stick)’ appears to be related to Syr. *thah* ‘to strike’ with an */l/* augment. The word *boča* ‘seed (eaten as snack), stone in a fruit’ appears to be cognate with Jewish Babylonian Aramaic **בועתא** ‘abcess’ (Mutzafi 2005). The original non-emphatic stop */t/* is preserved in J. Amedia *boča*. It must be assumed that this shifted to *\*t* under the influence of the adjacent pharyngal *\*c* before shifting to */č/* in the C. Barwar form.

In other words emphatic */č/* derives historically from the palato-alveolar *\*š*. The velarization of the consonant had various causes.

In some cases it was brought about by contact with an adjacent pharyngal *\*c*, which can be reconstructed in the word. This applies to *čuwa* ‘smooth’ < *\*š<sup>c</sup>ūšā*, *čita* ‘cream of yoghurt’ < *\*š<sup>c</sup>itā*, *măčoye* ‘to smooth’ (< *\*mas<sup>c</sup>ōyē*), all of which are connected historically with the root *\*š<sup>c</sup>* (cf. Syr. *šā* ‘to smooth’), and *’āčča* ‘nine’ (m.) < *\*tāš<sup>c</sup>ā* (contrast the f. form *’āčča*, where the *\*š* was not in contact with the pharyngal: *\*tšā*). The etymology of the word *čena* ‘mosquito’ is uncertain. It may have originally denoted the sound the insect made and be connected with the verb *mčančone* ‘to whine; buzz’. This verb is connected etymologically with Arab. *tantana* with the same meaning, which indicates that the */č/* is a reflex of an etymological *\*t*.

In other cases the velarization derives from an adjacent labial and/or */l/*, which have a tendency to develop this feature. This applies to *pčala* ‘to be crooked’, *pčila* ‘crooked’, which are derived from *\*pšl* (cf. Syr. *pšal*

‘to twist’), *člapa* ‘to tear off (meat)’ < \*šlp (cf. Syr. *šlap* ‘to pull out’, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *šallep* ‘to tear off’). The verb *člaxa* ‘to flay, tear apart’ can be identified as a doublet of *šlaxa* ‘to tear out, pull up’ and *mšaloxe* ‘to strip’, the historical root of all of which being \*šlh. The verb *mrača* ‘to crush’ can be connected with Syr. *mraštā* ‘pestle’. The root of the Syriac word is ršš ‘to crush’, the initial /m/ being a prefix, which has become part of the verbal root in the later dialect. The second /č/ in the verb *čmača* ‘to wither’ is derived from the palato-alveolar \*š in its etymological root \*kms. The initial /č/ has developed by palatalized fronting of the velar stop \*k, no doubt stimulated by the affricated third radical.

It has been shown in §1.2.2. that the voiced affricate /j/ occurs in a few words by palatalization of an original \*g, e.g. *jawda* ‘water container’ (< \*gawda), *jawətta* ‘chopping tool’ (< \*gʕd < \*gdʕ ‘to hew off’). In a few cases, however, it appears to have arisen by affrication of a sibilant. This applies to *nqaja* ‘pinch, peck’ < \*nqz (cf. Syr. *nqaz* ‘to peck’), *jvota* ‘straight’ (cf. Syr. *šabbet* ‘to straighten’) and *rjba* ‘crawling creature’ < \*rašpa (cf. Syr. *rušpā*). Other possible cases are *mjaloye* ‘to extract (roots)’, which may be derived historically from the root \*šly (cf. Syr. *šlā* ‘to draw out’, *mašlyā* ‘extracting fork’), *jalla nune* ‘fish-eating bird, stork’, the first element of which is possibly derived from the same root (< \*šālyəθ *nune* ‘extractor of fish’), *myaja* ‘to crush with the hands’, the etymological root of which may be \*mʕas (Syr. *mʕas* ‘to bruise, crush’) and *jwaja* ‘to move’, which may be derived from \*šwš (cf. Syr. *šawweš* ‘to disturb’).

#### 1.4.7. /n/

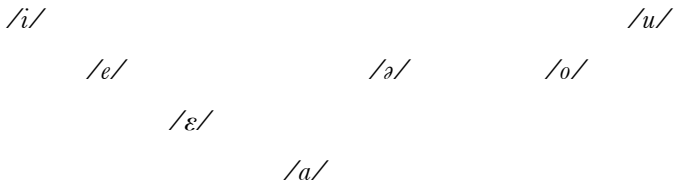
In a few words the nasal consonant /n/ is the result of a shift from an original labial \*m by a process of partial dissimilation from a labial consonant at the onset of the following syllable, e.g. *nabəl* ‘He takes away’ < \*mabəl < \*mawbəl (cf. C. Qaraqosh *mobəl*), *nepoxta* ‘raisin syrup’ < \*mepoxta (cf. J. Amedia *mepuxta*).

## CHAPTER TWO

### VOWELS

#### 2.1. PHONEME QUALITY OPPOSITIONS

The following vowel qualities are distinguished in the transcription:



These qualities contrast phonemically, as is demonstrated by minimal pairs such as the following:

*/i/ : /e/*  
*ʔiða*                    ‘hand’  
*ʔeða*                    ‘festival’

*rküwa*                    ‘ridden’  
*rkewa*                    ‘stirrup’

*šati*                      ‘they drink’  
*šate*                      ‘he drinks’

*/i/ : /ə/*  
*nixla*                      ‘she rested’  
*nəxla*                      ‘sieved bran’

*pixla*                      ‘she became cold’  
*pəxla*                      ‘uncastrated sheep/calf’

*taxin*                     ‘tahini’  
*taxən*                     ‘he mills’

<i>/e/ : /ɛ/</i>	
<i>dεθa</i>	‘sweat’ (noun)
<i>dεθa</i>	‘she sweats’
<i>ʔεma</i>	‘taste’ (noun)
<i>ʔεma</i>	‘she tastes’
<i>ʃate</i>	‘he drinks’
<i>ʃate</i>	‘they drink’
<i>/e/ : /ə/</i>	
<i>gɛra</i>	‘arrow’
<i>gəra</i>	‘hill’
<i>/ɛ/ : /a/</i>	
<i>bεza</i>	‘she pours’
<i>baza</i>	‘jump’
<i>mεθa</i>	‘she dies’
<i>maθa</i>	‘village’
<i>ʔɛna</i>	‘eye’
<i>ʔana</i>	‘I’
<i>/a/ : /ə/</i>	
<i>qaʔlənne</i>	‘I (m.) kill him’
<i>qaʔlanne</i>	‘I (f.) kill him’
<i>qaʔlətʔle</i>	‘you (m.) kill him’
<i>qaʔlatʔle</i>	‘you (f.) kill him’
<i>qəpla</i>	‘lock’
<i>qəpla</i>	‘bundle’
<i>qərʃa</i>	‘refuse’
<i>qarʃa</i>	‘strip of wood’
<i>məra</i>	‘she said’
<i>mara</i>	‘to say’

<i>/ɛ/ : /ə/</i>	
<i>pɛrma</i>	‘she cuts’
<i>pərma</i>	‘thurible’
<i>/o/ : /u/</i>	
<i>koza</i>	‘shelter for sheep’
<i>kuza</i>	‘red herb’
<i>qoɸa</i>	‘hunchback’
<i>quɸa</i>	‘basket’
<i>boɸa</i>	‘wooden channel’
<i>buta</i>	‘penis’
<i>/u/ : /ə/</i>	
<i>gusta</i>	‘ball of dough’
<i>gəsta</i>	‘fleece’
<i>qurša</i>	‘frozen snow’
<i>qərša</i>	‘refuse’
<i>/u/ : /i/</i>	
<i>šuša</i>	‘glass’
<i>šiša</i>	‘bar’

In closed unstressed syllables both /e/ and /a/ tend to be replaced by /ə/. The vowel /ə/ in unstressed closed syllables, therefore, stands in complementary distribution with /e/ and /a/ in open syllables. This can be seen in pairs of inflected forms of the same word such as the following:

<i>qáɸlət</i>	‘you (ms.) kill’ (short form)
<i>qáɸleti</i>	‘you (ms.) kill’ (long form)
<i>qáɸlət</i>	‘you (fs.) kill’ (short form)
<i>qáɸlati</i>	‘you (fs.) kill’ (long form)
<i>qáɸlən</i>	‘I (m.) kill’ (short form)
<i>qáɸlena</i>	‘I (m.) kill’ (long form)



<i>qáṭlān</i>	‘I (f.) kill’ (short form)
<i>qáṭlāna</i>	‘I (f.) kill’ (long form)
<i>ʔatnábəl</i>	‘car’
<i>ʔatnabéle</i>	‘cars’
<i>ʔótax</i>	‘room’
<i>ʔotáxe</i>	‘rooms’

In general the vowel /e/ tends to be restricted to open syllables and the vowel /ə/ to closed syllables. Also in closed stressed syllables, therefore, /e/ tends to be replaced by /ə/, e.g.

<i>bánta</i>	‘time’	< * <i>benta</i> (cf. <i>bena</i> ‘time’)
<i>qatlátle</i>	‘you kill him’	< * <i>qatlétle</i>
<i>qatlánnə</i>	‘I kill him’	< * <i>qatlénne</i>

This complementary distribution between open and closed syllables is, however, a tendency and not an absolute rule. The vowel /e/ is occasionally found in closed syllables, e.g. *ténta* ‘fig’, *hémza* ‘an edible herb’, and the vowel /ə/ is found in open syllables, e.g. *mā́máma* ‘she completes’, *šámu!* ‘Hear! (pl.)’. On account of this it is possible to find some isolated minimal pairs for the qualities /e/ : /ə/, such as *gera* ‘arrow’ : *gəra* ‘hill’, which is cited above.

The vowel /a/ regularly occurs in closed syllables that are stressed and may contrast phonemically with /ə/ in this position, as seen in the examples for /a/ : /ə/ above.

The vowel /o/ tends to be restricted to open syllables and is frequently replaced by /u/ in a closed syllable, e.g. *dəbbora* ‘hornet’ vs. *dəbburta* ‘horse-fly’. It has not been possible, therefore, to identify minimal pairs for /o/ and /u/ in closed syllables. The vowel /o/ does, however, occasionally occur in closed syllables, e.g. *romta* ‘hill’, *xatorta* ‘washing board’, *šalloxta* ‘shed skin (of a snake)’.

## 2.2. VOWEL LENGTH

The length of vowels is determined by various factors. It is conditioned to a large extent by syllable structure and stress position. Another important

factor is the speed of utterance and the position of the word in an intonation group or sense unit. The length of vowels in all words is reduced as the speed of delivery is increased. At the end of an intonation group (marked in the transcription by the symbol <sup>l</sup>) or sense unit there is often a tendency to slow down the speed of delivery, which results in an extension of the length of the vowels, especially the one in the final syllable of the word. It should be noted that there is no clear-cut distinction between short and long vowels in terms of their physical duration, which can be measured instrumentally in milliseconds. The short vowels have a typical duration of 50–70 milliseconds. They are rarely less than 50 milliseconds. When a vowel is pronounced longer than this, its duration is anything from 70 milliseconds to around 300 milliseconds. The typical duration of a long vowel, however, is from about 120 to 180 milliseconds.

### 2.2.1. *Open Syllables*

#### 2.2.1.1. *Stressed Non-Final Open Syllables*

A vowel in a stressed open syllable that occurs within a word tends in principle to be pronounced long. In the following examples the figure after the vowel indicates its duration in milliseconds that has been measured instrumentally. Since there is a certain amount of overlap between the physical articulation of a vowel segment and an adjacent consonant segment, these measurements must be regarded as approximations.

- (1) *péšən* [pɛɜ(100)ʃə(60)n] ‘I shall remain’ (A24:4)
- (2) *zilele* [ʰziɜ(105)le(70)le(70)] ‘he went’ (A24:6)
- (3) *xázən bəŋ-našúθa* [xæɜ(110)zə(55)m bə(45)ŋ-næɜ(110)ʰjuɜ(110)-θæ(55)] ‘I see people’ (A24:2)
- (4) *ʔo-góra* [ʔoɜ(130)-ʰgoɜ(120)ŋq(50)] ‘the elder one’ (A24:5)
- (5) *xzólí* [xzoɜ(140)li(70)] ‘find for me’ (A24:2)
- (6) *bnóne* [ʰbnoɜ(150)neɜ(115)] ‘sons’ (A24:1)
- (7) *ʔo-góra* [ʔoɜ(130)goɜ(160)raɜ(240)] ‘the elder one’ (A24:4)
- (8) *smèlí* [smeɜ(165)li(70)] ‘I have become blind’ (A24:2)
- (9) *ʔèni* [ʰɛɜ(190)niɜ(140)] ‘my eyes’ (A24:2)
- (10) *hàle* [ʰhæɜ(220)leɜ(110)] ‘circumstances’ (A24:2)

As can be seen from these examples, the duration of the stressed syllables tends to be longer in words occurring at the end of an intonation group (5–10) than in those occurring before the end of the intonation group

(1–5). The duration of the vowel in words in the middle of an intonation group is, indeed, sometimes considerably reduced, e.g.

- (11) *píšele* [ˈpi(65)ʃɛ(70)le(40)] ʔo-zòraʔ ‘the young one remained’ (A24:7)  
 (12) *šurèle* [ʃoʔ(110)ʔreʔ(80)leʔ(80)] ‘he began’ (A24:19)

### 2.2.1.2. Stressed Final Open Syllables

When stress falls on a final open syllable of a word that is not at the end of an intonation group, the vowel tends to be short. This includes words bearing the stress that are combined with a following word in a stress group (chapter 6):

- (1) *kəmà t-yátli?*ʔ [kʰə(25)ʔmæ(55) ʔt-yæ(55)tlɪʔ(140)] ‘How much will you give me?’ (A24:5)  
 (2) *là-šoqt* [ʔlæ(65)-ʃoʔ(115)qə(35)t] ‘do not allow’ (A24:11)  
 (3) *gu-ðá* [gʊ(60)ʔðæ(70)] *mðitaʔ* ‘in a town’ (A24:4)  
 (4) *(ʔu)mmà* [—ʔmɪæ(85)] ‘hundred’ (A24:3)  
 (5) *tərtè bnáθaʔ* [tə(35)rʔte(65) ʔbnæɪ(130)θæ(65)] ‘two girls’ (A24:13)  
 (6) *mò t-ódət?*ʔ [ʔmoɪ(85) ʔtoɪ(105)ðə(50)t] ‘What will you do?’ (A24:4)  
 (7) *tmani-šanneʔ* [tmæʔ(100)ʔni(60)-ʃə(35)nɪe(80)] ‘eighty years’ (A24:9)  
 (8) *ʔarbí* [ʔæ(100)rʔbiʔ(90)] *malàpeʔ* ‘forty sheets’ (A24:17)

In some cases, however, they have a longer duration, e.g.

- (9) *mənná* [mənʔnæɪ(110)] ‘from them’ (A24:3)  
 (10) *ʔsrì ʔotáxeʔ* [ʔəsʔriɪ(170) ʔoɪ(140)taɪ(140)xəʔ(125)] ‘twenty rooms’ (A24:16)

When the word occurs at the end of an intonation group, there is a greater tendency for the stressed final vowel to be long, e.g.

- (11) *hé qá-mo là?*ʔ [ʔheɪ(105) ʔqaʔ(75)moʔ(75) ʔlæɪ(240)] ‘Yes, why not?’ (A24:4)  
 (12) *ʔan-trəʔ* [ʔæn-ʔtreɪ(190)] ‘those two’ (A24:5)  
 (13) *ʔāyelaʔ ʔal-d-òʔ* [ʔælʔdoɪ(315)] *darmána* ‘they search for that remedy’ (A24:3)

### 2.2.1.3. Posttonic Open Syllables

Vowels in syllables following the stressed syllable tend to be short in words occurring in the middle of an intonation group. This applies both to syllables at the end of the word and also to those in penultimate position, e.g.

- (1) *láxxa* [lʰæ(60)xɪæ(60)] ‘here’ (A24:4)
- (2) *ʔána* [ʔæɪ(120)næ(60)] ‘I’ (A24:4)
- (3) *mánda* [mʌ(50)ndi(65)] ‘thing’ (A24:2)
- (4) *zilela mátye* [mʌɔtye(70)] *gu-dá mðita* ‘they went and arrived at a town’ (A24:4)
- (5) *pišle* [pi(50)le(75)] ‘he remained’ (A24:5)
- (6) *méθo* [mɛɪ(130)θo(90)] ‘bring’ (A24:3)
- (7) *qímela* [qɪɪ(120)me(70)læ(60)] ‘they got up’ (A24:3)
- (8) *mbáqrena* [mɒbaqre(75)næ(55)] ‘I shall ask’ (A24:6)
- (9) *zilele* [ziɪ(105)le(70)le(70)] ‘he went’ (A24:6)
- (10) *šqúlele* [ʃqɪɪ(100)le(80)le(65)] ‘he took’ (A24:21)

Vowels in the final syllable of words occurring at the end of an intonation group are often pronounced long, e.g.

- (11) *xa-šúla* [xæ(75)-ʃuɪ(140)læɪ(190)] ‘a job’ (A24:4)
- (12) *kut-yàrxaxa* [ku(35)d-lyæ(70)rxæɪ(150)] ‘every month’ (A24:5)
- (13) *làxxa* [lʰæ(55)xɪæ(170)] ‘here’ (A24:6)
- (14) *mðita* [mðɪɪ(150)tʰæɪ(220)] ‘town’ (A24:4)
- (15) *zùze* [zuɪ(150)zeɪ(140)] ‘money’ (A24:3)
- (16) *kamà t-yátlɪ*ʔ [kʰə(25)mæ(55)ʔt-yaɪ(55)tlɪɪ(140)] ‘How much will you give me?’ (A24:5)

In some cases, however, the final vowel remains short at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

- (17) *gu-d-áyya mðita* [mðɪɪ(110)tɛ(40)] ‘in this town’ (A24:4)
- (18) *ʔummà dínáre* [dɪɪ(100)næɪ(115)re(65)] ‘a hundred dinars’ (A24:3)
- (19) *ʔənət bəbi* [ʔɛɪ(150)nə(50)d ʰbæɪ(160)bi(50)] ‘the eyes of my father’ (A24:4)

Where the final vowel is lengthened, a penultimate posttonic vowel is sometimes also lengthened, e.g.

- (20) *zilela* [ziɪ(165)leɪ(130)læɪ(110)] ‘they went’ (A24:3)

On other occasions, however, a penultimate posttonic vowel remains short when the final vowel is lengthened, e.g.

- (21) *xəzyele* [xə(60)zye(60)leɪ(180)] ‘he found’ (A24:6)
- (22) *zilela* [ziɪ(110)le(80)læɪ(210)] ‘they went’ (A24:3)

Vowels in unstressed final syllables occurring in words attached to a following word in a stress group are usually pronounced with relatively short duration, e.g.

- (23) *xa-šùla*<sup>1</sup> [xæ(75)-<sup>1</sup>ʃuː(140)læː(190)] ‘a job’ (A24:4)  
 (24) *la-hàru*<sup>1</sup> [læ(70)-<sup>1</sup>hæː(170)ruː(180)] ‘it will not speak’ (A24:18)  
 (25) *tre-pánxe* [tre(75)-<sup>1</sup>pə(55)ŋxe(80)] ‘two mill-stones’ (A24:13)  
 (26) *xo-réša* [xo(90)-<sup>1</sup>reː(110)ʃæ(70)] ‘under her head’ (A24:17)  
 (27) *qu-dùqle* [qu(60)-<sup>1</sup>du(75)qle] ‘get up and seize him’ (A24:25)  
 (28) *so-méθo* [soː(100)-<sup>1</sup>mæː(130)θo(90)] ‘go and bring’ (A24:3)

The duration of these vowels is, however, sometimes extended, especially in words at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

- (29) *ʔo-gòra*<sup>1</sup> [ʔoː(130)-<sup>1</sup>goː(160)raː(240)] ‘the elder one’ (A24:4)

#### 2.2.1.4. Pretonic Open Syllables

Vowels in pretonic open syllables, immediately preceding the stressed syllable, are generally pronounced long, e.g.

- (1) *ʔatíqta* [ʔæː(110)<sup>1</sup>ti(55)qtæ(70)] ‘ancient’ (A24:6)  
 (2) *manìxəx* [mæː(115)<sup>1</sup>ni(115)xə(50)x] ‘let us rest’ (A24:24)  
 (3) *šurèla* [ʃuː(115)<sup>1</sup>reː(105)læ(70)] ‘they began’ (A24:26)  
 (4) *xabùše* [xæː(120)<sup>1</sup>buz(120)ʃe(85)] ‘apples’ (A24:24)  
 (5) *gurùθux*<sup>1</sup> [guː(120)<sup>1</sup>ɾuː(140)θuː(160)x] ‘your bravery’ (A24:21)  
 (6) *ʔixàla*<sup>1</sup> [ʔix(150)<sup>1</sup>xæː(150)læː(180)] ‘food’ (A24:16)  
 (7) *ʔarbí ʔotàxele*<sup>1</sup> [ʔoː(150)<sup>1</sup>taː(160)xeː(130)le(60)] ‘it is forty rooms’ (A24:14)

In words occurring in the middle of an intonation group, however, the duration of the vowel is often reduced somewhat, e.g.

- (8) *muθèlexu* [muː(80)<sup>1</sup>θeː(110)lɛ(90)xu(60)] *tèra*<sup>21</sup> ‘Have you brought the bird?’ (A24:26)  
 (9) *moθéli* [moː(90)<sup>1</sup>θeː(100)li] ‘I have brought’ (A24:21)

Vowels occurring in syllables two places before the stressed syllable tend to be pronounced relatively short, though their duration is usually slightly greater than short vowels in closed syllables, e.g.

- (10) *mapəlxətli* [mæ(75)p<sup>h</sup>ə(25)l<sup>h</sup>xə(50)tli(200)] ‘you employ me’ (A24:4)  
 (11) *paloxəyə* [p<sup>h</sup>æ:(90)lo:(80)xæ(50)j] ‘workers’ (A24:5)

### 2.2.2. Closed Syllables

Vowels in closed syllables are in principle pronounced short, both when they are stressed and also when they are unstressed, e.g.

- (1) *laxxa* [læ(55)xæ(170)] ‘here’ (A24:6)  
 (2) *malkəle* [mæ(65)lkæ:(130)le:(190)] ‘he is the king’ (A24:9)  
 (3) *plux* [p<sup>h</sup>lɔ(55)x] ‘work!’ (A24:5)  
 (4) *yaqürta* [yæ\*(100)q<sup>h</sup>ɔ(65)rtæ:(220)] ‘pregnant’ (A24:13)  
 (5) *pišle* [pi(50)lɛ(75)] ‘he remained’ (A24:5)  
 (6) *ʔatıqta* [pæ:(110)t<sup>h</sup>i(55)qtæ(70)] ‘ancient’ (A24:6)  
 (7) *pónxe* [pɔ(55)ŋxe(80)] ‘mill-stones’ (A24:13)  
 (8) *külle skinyäθele* [ski(55)n<sup>h</sup>jæ(200)θɛ:(110)le(88)] ‘it is all knives’ (A24:11)  
 (9) *pészən* [pɛ:(100)ʃə(60)n] ‘I shall remain’ (A24:4)  
 (10) *bud-darmana* [dɔ(45)r<sup>h</sup>ma:(110)næ(80)] ‘concerning a remedy’ (A24:4)

The duration of a vowel in a closed syllable is sporadically increased in the final syllable of a word at the end of an intonation group. This increased in duration, however, is far rarer than it is in final open syllables in this position, e.g.

- (11) *gu-čäntux* [t<sup>h</sup>æ(55)ntu:(180)x] ‘in your bag’ (A24:18)  
 (12) *guriθux* [gu:(120)ru:(140)θu:(160)x] ‘your bravery’ (A24:21)

On some occasions the duration of the vowel is lengthened by various degrees before /r/, e.g.

- (13) *mən-d-án-parre* [p<sup>h</sup>æ(80)rre(60)] ‘from those feathers’ (A24:9)  
 (14) *ʔarya* [p<sup>h</sup>æ(100)rjæ:(200)] ‘a lion’ (A24:15)  
 (15) *ʔarbi* [p<sup>h</sup>æ(100)r<sup>h</sup>bi(125)] ‘forty’ (A24:14)  
 (16) *ʔərbi* [p<sup>h</sup>æ:(150)rbi(70)] ‘forty’ (A24:17)

### 2.2.3. *Transcription Conventions*

It may be stated, therefore, that a vowel in all types of open syllable is either regularly pronounced long or, at least, has a tendency to be pronounced long in certain conditions, whereas a vowel in a closed syllable is in principle pronounced short.

In sum, vowel length is in principle conditioned by syllable structure and position in the word. On account of this high degree of predictability of vowel length it is possible to adopt an economical type of transcription that minimizes the use of diacritical marks. Vowels in open and closed syllables with the vowel length that is described above are transcribed without diacritics. This can be regarded as the default, predictable, type of vowel length. Another justification for dispensing with diacritical marks is that, as shown above, the physical duration of vowels in similar syllable structures varies considerably according to the speed of utterance and position within an intonation group. This especially applies to the duration of long vowels, which is reduced to what is characteristic of a short vowel in some contexts. Likewise the duration of short vowels in closed syllables is in some rare cases extended.

Exceptions to the general principles of vowel length described above are found in some words of the dialect. Such cases, which deviate from the default, are marked in the transcription with diacritics. These include the following:

### 2.2.4. *Exceptions to the General Principles*

#### 2.2.4.1. *Short /a/ in Open Syllables*

Short /a/ occurs in a stressed open syllable in a number of nouns and verbs of Aramaic stock that originally contained a pharyngal \*<sup>ʕ</sup> after a closed syllable. After the elision of the pharyngal at the onset of the following syllable, the first syllable became open, but the vowel remained short, as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *tāra* 'door' < \**tarʕa*, *šāma* 'she hears' < \**šamʕa*. Where the pharyngal originally closed a syllable, on the other hand, its elision resulted in the lengthening of the vowel of the syllable, e.g. *nala* 'horseshoe' < \**naʕlā*, *tana* 'load' < \**taʕnā*.

In verbs the short vowel in forms such as *šāma* has been extended by analogy throughout the paradigm so that it occurs also in 3ms. forms such as *šāme* 'he hears', in which the syllable was never closed (< \**šamaʕ*). The existence of several minimal pairs demonstrates that this short vowel contrasts phonemically with long /a/, e.g.

<i>bǎza</i>	‘she bores, punctures’
<i>báza</i>	‘type of fabric’
<i>gáre</i>	‘roof’
<i>gáre</i>	‘he shaves’
<i>mára</i>	‘illness’
<i>mára</i>	‘master’
<i>máxe</i>	‘he revives’
<i>máxe</i>	‘he hits’
<i>náwe</i>	‘it emerges’
<i>náwe</i>	‘nits’
<i>pála</i>	‘she divides’
<i>pála</i>	‘workman’
<i>qáre</i>	‘tops of gourds’
<i>qáre</i>	‘chickencoop’
<i>šáma</i>	‘wax’
<i>šáma</i>	‘mole (on skin)’
<i>xáme</i>	‘it ferments’
<i>xáme</i>	‘he dwells’
<i>záde</i>	‘he fears’
<i>záde</i>	‘he throws’

Short /a/ occurs in an open syllable in a number of verbal forms after an originally closed syllable has been opened by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel. As in the previous category of words, the vowel remains short by a historical drag effect, behaving as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *mtámama* ‘she completes’ < *mtamma*, *mǎlǎpa* ‘she teaches’ < *malpa*, *mnáwǎli* ‘they shoe (a horse)’. This short vowel is extended by analogy into the 3ms. where there is no inserted epenthetic: *mtámam* ‘he completes’, *mǎlǎp* ‘he teaches’, *mnáwǎl* ‘he shoes’.



Short /a/ regularly occurs in open pretonic syllables before /w/ in the plural form *-āwatha*, e.g. *ʿēḏāwatha* ‘festivals’, *xonāwatha* ‘brothers’, *bεθāwatha* ‘houses’.

Short /a/ occurs in open syllables in several loanwords, e.g. *ʿāraq* ‘arak’, *ʿāškāra* ‘clear’, *bāṭāna* ‘inner side of a wall’, *došāka* ‘mattress’, *kamāra* ‘woman’s belt’.

#### 2.2.4.2. Short /u/ in Open Syllables

Short /u/ occurs in an open syllable in the past base and resultative participle of several verbal forms after an originally closed syllable has been opened by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, e.g. *mtūmāmīle* ‘he completed them’ < *mtummīle*, *mtūmāmēle* ‘he has completed’ < *mtūmmēle*. The short /ū/ has then been extended by analogy to forms where there is no inserted epenthetic, e.g. *mtūmāmle* ‘he completed’ < *mtumāmle*, *mtūmāmteḷa* ‘she has completed’ < *mtumāmteḷa*.

Short /u/ is found in open syllables in a few loanwords, e.g. *tūtun* ‘tobacco’, *tūtur* ‘a type of insect’.

#### 2.2.4.3. Short /ə/ in Open Syllables

The vowel /ə/ occasionally occurs in open syllables of words of Aramaic stock. In these contexts it is pronounced short, as it is in closed syllables. Since /ə/ is pronounced short in all contexts, a breve mark is dispensed with in the transcription when this vowel occurs in an open syllable.

The vowel /ə/ sometimes occurs in an open syllable as an epenthetic vowel. This is found in several verbal forms, many of which have been cited already above, viz. *mtāmāma* ‘she completes’, *mālāpa* ‘she teaches’, *mtūmāmīle* ‘he completed them’. Further cases include *maplāxa* ‘she uses’, *mkankāša* ‘she drags’.

It may be left in an open syllable after resyllabification. This applies to the enclitic genitive suffix *-əd/-ət*, the consonant of which is often syllabified with the following word, e.g. *bābə d-o-yāla* ‘father of that boy’ (A9:3), *ʿīḏə d-āy-baxta* ‘the hand of that woman’ (A10:10), *ʿān-nathyāḥə d-ān hambīšāye* ‘the ears of those giants’ (A12:16). When the following word begins with a consonant, the consonantal element is often elided, e.g. *ḏa-kértə qésa* ‘a bundle of wood’ (A10:6), *ʿotāxə gāwəwəx* ‘the room of your husband’, (A10:13), *ʿénə mīya* ‘the spring of water’ (A11:17). The elision of a pharyngal from the middle of a word may open up a syllable containing /ə/, e.g. *šāmu* ‘hear (pl.)!’ < *\*šəmʿu*. We may also include in this category the irregular past form of the verb ‘to say’, which contains /ə/ in an open syllable,

e.g. *máre* ‘he said’. This has developed by weakening the gemination of the /r/ < \**mirre* < \**mirle*.

The vowel /ə/ is also sporadically found in an open syllable in loanwords, e.g. *gəra* ‘hill’.

Minimal pairs can be found in which short /a/ and /ə/ contrast in open syllables, e.g.

<i>gǎra</i>	‘she shaves’
<i>gəra</i>	‘hill’

The vowel /ə/ only contrasts with /e/ when there is a difference in length, e.g. *gəra* ‘hill’ : *gera* ‘arrow’. The vowel quality /e/ is in principle always long. It occurs as a short vowel in an closed syllable in a few rare instances. These are all forms with the feminine ending *-ta*, e.g. *tenta* ‘fig’, *kepta* ‘small stone’, *telta* ‘vixen’, where the /e/ quality may be retained by analogy with forms of the word without the ending (cf. *tene* ‘figs’, *kepa* ‘stone’, *tela* ‘fox’). There are, in fact, some cases where /ə/ in an open syllable becomes lengthened, but in all such cases the vowel changes to /e/, e.g. *mére* ‘he said’ < *máre* (A49:6). It has been shown above, however, that /ə/ in an unstressed syllable also exhibits a certain degree of complementarity with short /a/ in a stressed syllable and with long /a/ in an open syllable, e.g.

<i>qátlət</i>	‘you (fs.) kill’ (short form)
<i>qatlátle</i>	‘you (fs.) kill him’ (short form)
<i>qátlati</i>	‘you (fs.) kill’ (long form)

Taking all this into account, it has been decided to transcribe the vowel as /ə/, reflecting closely its phonetic realization, rather than treating it simply as a short form of /e/.

#### 2.2.4.4. Long Vowels in Closed Syllables

The vowels /a/, /ε/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ on some occasions are long in closed syllables. In words of Aramaic stock this is sometimes found when an originally open syllable has been closed by the elision of the vowel in the following syllable. The vowel remains long as if it were still in an open syllable. Examples of this are annexed nouns or prepositions that have lost a following genitive clitic *-ət* or at least the vowel of this clitic (§10.16.), e.g.

*brōn-málka* ‘the son of the king’ < *bronət malka* (A14:43)  
*xāš-sūsux* ‘the back of your donkey’ < *xašət susux* (A14:67)  
*bēl-d-ánna dēwe*<sup>1</sup> ‘between these wolves’ < *belət ʾanna dēwe* (A14:49)  
 ʾĒn-Nune ‘the Spring of Fishes (name of village)’ < ʾEnət Nune.

Long vowels are found in closed syllables of various loanwords, e.g. *glās* ‘glass’, *párzūn* ‘back-pack’, *qumárčī* ‘gambler’, *dūs* ‘truth, true’, *dēm* ‘unirrigated land’.

A minimal pair exists in which a long /u/ in the closed syllable of a loanword stands in opposition to a short /u/ in a word of Aramaic stock:

<i>dus</i>	‘thrust!’
<i>dūs</i>	‘truth’

Taking into account quality and quantity, the phonemic inventory of vowels may be summarized as follows:

Long		Short	
/i/	/u/		/ǔ/
/e/	/o/		/ə/
/ɛ/			
/a/		/ǎ/	

### 2.3. THE PHONETIC QUALITY OF THE VOWELS

#### 2.3.1. /i/

This is in principle realized as a high front vowel [i]. In a closed syllable it is short, although derived historically from a long vowel, e.g. *pīšle* [ˈpi(50)ʃle] ‘he remained’ (A24:5), *ʾatīqta* [ˈæ:ti(55)qtæ] ‘ancient’ (A24:6). In the environment of back and emphatic consonants, its articulation is sometimes retracted to the region of [ɨ] or [ɯ], e.g. *dmíxta* [ˈdmɨxtə] ‘sleeping’ (A26:11), *čimtəlle* [ˈtʃɨmɨtəlle] *tára* ‘she closed the door’ (A22:30), *tína* [ˈtɨɨnɨ] ‘mud’ (A27:28).

## 2.3.2. /ə/

The phonetic realization of /ə/ is generally in the region of [ə], [ɘ] or [ɪ]. The centralized quality [ə] is characteristically found in the environment of emphatic consonants, e.g. *pələt* [ˈpɑːlət] ‘it is coming out’ (A8:6). When the velarization of emphatics is weakened, the vowel still retains its centralized quality. This can result in pairs in which the central realization contrasts with the higher realization [ɪ], e.g.

*pəqqa* [p<sup>h</sup>ɪqqa] ‘frog’                      *pəqqa* [pəqqa] ‘crack’

In the transcription, the difference between such words is represented as the presence or absence of emphasis, even if it is only vestigial (§1.2.3.). When followed by a sibilant, the realization of /ə/ is particularly high, sometimes even in the region of [ɪ], e.g. *gəšra* [gɪʃræ] ~ [gɪʃræ] ‘bridge’, *məšxa* ‘oil’ [mɪʃxæ] ~ [mɪʃxæ], *ʔəšta* [ʔɪʃtæ] ~ [ʔɪʃtæ]. Such words are transcribed consistently with /ə/ despite this occasional overlap with the allophonic spread of /i/. In the environment of labials /ə/ sometimes has a rounded realization in the region of [ø], e.g. *xa-qəšsət rāba maḫšəmàntəla*<sup>1</sup> [maḫʃøˈmantələ] ‘It is a very sad story’ (A4:31). Before the consonant /r/, where the duration of vowels tends to be extended somewhat (§2.2.2.1.), the realization /ə/ is sometimes fronted to the region of [e], e.g. *ʔərbe* [ʔerbe] ‘sheep’ (A25:26). This is in conformity with the general tendency of /ə/ to shift to /e/ when it is lengthened (§2.1.).

## 2.3.3. /e/

This vowel is generally realized with a front close-mid quality [e]. When shorted in final unstressed syllables it is occasionally centralized to [ɘ] or [ə], e.g. *wírre* [ˈwirɪɘ] *b-ʔəmḡa*<sup>1</sup> ‘he became advanced in age’ (A24:1), *ʔimət pídle* [ˈpidlə] *túra*<sup>1</sup> ‘when he passed the mountain’ (A24:12). The centralization is only a sporadic phenomenon in this position. When word final /e/ is preceded by the glide /y/, the vowel occasionally merges with the glide, e.g. *mən-d-anna pəloxáye*<sup>1</sup> [p<sup>h</sup>æːloːxæ(50)j] ‘with these workers’ (A24:5). The transcription is normalized in these cases of centralization and attenuation and such words are represented with final /e/.

## 2.3.4. /ɛ/

This is generally realized with an open-mid quality [ɛ]. When the vowel is derived historically from the diphthong *\*ay*, which applies to most occurrences of it (§2.4.1.), there is a tendency to lower it to the region of [æ] if its duration is reduced. The realization [æ] belongs to the allophonic spread of /a/. This lowering takes place in posttonic open syllables, e.g. *xilele* [ˈxi:læle] ‘he ate’ (A14:76), *ʔekɛle* [ˈpɛ:kæle] ‘where it is’ (A12:37), *bas-lè-y-yønna bnáthi-llexu* [ˈbnæ:θil·æxu] ‘but I shall not give you my daughters’ (A12:17). The lowering is especially common when the vowel occurs in a word final open syllable. This is because it is the norm for a vowel in such syllables to be short when the word occurs in the middle of an intonation group (§2.2.1.3.), e.g. *šáta* ‘they drink’ < *šáte*, *ʔəyela* ‘they have come’ < *ʔəyɛɛ*, *xazéla* ‘he sees them’ < *xazéle*, *béθa* ‘their house’ < *béθe*. Since the lowering is very frequent in this context, such final syllables are transcribed with /a/ rather than /ɛ/ when the lowering takes place. In posttonic non-final syllables, such as *xilele*, *ʔekɛle* etc, where the shortening and lowering is less regular, the /ɛ/ has been normalized in the transcription. Since the vowel in stressed word-final open syllables is generally short (§2.2.1.2.), it is the norm for /ɛ/ to be lowered to /a/ also in this context. This is found, for example, in the feminine singular imperative of final /y/ verbs, e.g. *štá!* ‘Drink! (fs.)’ < *\*šté*. If a pronominal suffix is added, the syllable is non-final and the vowel is pronounced long (§2.2.1.1.), so the /ɛ/ is not lowered, e.g. *štéla* ‘Drink it! (fs.)’.

The lowering of /ɛ/ also takes place in closed syllables, when the vowel is shortened, e.g. *lat* ‘you are not’ < *lɛt*, *bɛθ-qòra* [bæθ-ˈqo:ræ] ‘cemetery’ (A25:89). Where this is very common, as in negative copula forms such as *lat*, it is marked in the transcription. When /ɛ/ is lowered in a final unstressed closed syllable, the resulting vowel /a/ sometimes undergoes subsequent centralization to /ə/, which is a common phonetic process that affects this vowel (§2.3.5.), e.g. *ʔəyət* ‘you have come’ < *ʔəyɛt*.

This distribution of lowered /ɛ/ is, however, a tendency rather than an absolute rule. Exceptions are occasionally found to the principles just described. In some isolated cases, for example, /ɛ/ deriving from *\*ay* retains its low-mid quality when short in a closed syllable, e.g. *ʔénta* [ˈpɛntæ] ‘airhole in an oven’, where the vowel quality may have been retained by analogy with the corresponding form *ʔəna* [ˈpɛ:næ] ‘eye’. Conversely a semi-long /ɛ/ in a pretonic open syllable and even a stressed long /ɛ/ in an open syllable deriving from *\*ay* are sporadically realized with a lowered quality,

e.g. *sləθəy* [slæθeɣ] ‘their coming down’ (A4:53), *ʔu-ta-t-maxzèle* [mæxʔzæɪle] ‘in order to show it’ (A24:38).

In *ləle* ‘night’ and the homophonous negative copula form *ləle* ‘he is not’ the /ɛ/ is sometimes raised to the region of [e], i.e. [lɛɪle ~ lɛɪle], by a process of assimilation to the phonetic form of the following syllable. This quality is occasionally extended by analogy to other forms in the negative copula paradigm, e.g. *ləla* [lɛɪlæ ~ lɛɪlæ] ‘they are not’. In all these cases the transcription has been normalized with /ɛ/.

### 2.3.5. /a/

This is often realized in the region of [a] or [æ], e.g. *tmani* [tmaɪni] ‘eighty’ (A24:9), *māgla* [mæglæ] ‘sickle’ (B5:141), *lāxxa* [læxɪæ] ‘here’ (A24:4), *bnáθa* [bnæθæ] ‘girls’ (A24:13).

In the environment of /y/ the realization is sometimes raised, e.g. *lá bāyàtte?* [beɪjette] ‘Don’t you want it?’ (A30:33), *ʔlathà yomáθa* [ʔlɔθe joɪmæθæ] ‘three days’ (A29:2).

In the environment of the uvular /q/ and emphatic consonants it generally has the back quality [ɑ], e.g. *mbáqrena* [mbɑqrenæ] ‘I shall ask’ (A24:6), *qá-mo lá?* [qɑmo lɑ] ‘Why not?’ (A24:4), *ʔo-góra* [ʔoɪ-goɪrɑ] ‘the elder one’ (A24:5), *qərʔála* [qərʔɑɪlɑ] ‘saddle basket’ (B5:135).

When the velarization of emphatics is weakened, the vowel still retains its back quality. This can result in pairs in which the back realization contrasts with the front realization [æ], e.g.

*para* [pʰæɪræ] ‘dust’

*para* [paɪrɑ] ‘lamb’

In the transcription, the difference between such words is represented as the presence or absence of emphasis.

The back quality [ɑ] is also found in the environment of the labio-velar glide /w/, e.g. *xonāwáθi* [xoɪnɑwæθi] ‘my brothers’ (A24:24). When preceding this glide, it sometimes acquires also a lip-rounding and is realized in the region of [ɑ] or even [ɔ], e.g. *zawn*-[zawn] ‘time’ (A1:26), *ʔawwa* [ʔɔwɪɑ] *nāša* ‘this man’ (A8:4).

Short /a/ vowels in unstressed syllables exhibit a tendency to be centralized. We may refer to this as a process of attenuation, which is associated with more laxness of muscular tension than is the case in the articulation of the quality /a/. This is the norm in posttonic closed syllables, such as the 1fs. and 2fs. endings of present base verbs, e.g. *qátlən* ‘I (f.) kill’ < *qátlan*,

*qátlat* ‘you (fs.) kill’ < *qátlat*, and in loanwords ending in a consonant such as *čáŋgal* ‘fork’ < *čáŋgal*, *mánzəl* ‘room’ < *manzal*. In such cases the vowel is regularly transcribed as /ə/. When the stress shifts onto the vowel, the /a/ quality is preserved, e.g. *qatlánne* ‘I (f.) kill him’, *čangále* ‘forks’. The centralization also regularly occurs when the genitive/relative particle *D* is cliticized to the end of a noun ending in *-a*, e.g. *béθət málka* ‘the house of the king’ < *béθa-d málka*. Here too the vowel is transcribed as /ə/.

On some occasions centralization takes place in pretonic or propretonic syllables. Since, however, in most words it does not occur regularly in this position, it is generally not represented in the transcription, e.g. *bṯ-áwət matróye* [məṯˤrɔːje] ‘you will ride’ (A8:46), *ʾána qaryánne* [qərˤjænn-] *ʾo-qálət t̪lāθa* ‘I shall cry the third cry’ (A8:75). In a few words, on the other hand, centralization is the norm and it is represented by the vowel /ə/ in the transcription. The regular occurrence of centralization in some words rather than others has arisen from the fact that it is not a blind phonetic process but correlates with grammatical function or has become lexicalized. The past converter prefix *qəm-*, for example, is regularly pronounced with the vowel /ə/, which has arisen by centralization of an original *\*a* (< *\*qam-* < *\*qdam*). The preposition *qam* ‘before’, on the other hand, generally preserves the /a/ quality. This results in minimal pairs such as:

<i>qəm-maxéle</i>	‘he hit him’
<i>qam-maxéle</i>	‘before he hits him’

It sporadically occurs with short /a/ vowels also in other environments, such as in unstressed final open syllables, e.g. *mḏita* [ˈmḏirtə] ‘town’ (A24:4), *wáða* [ˈwæːðə] *kābàbe* ‘making kebabs’ (A24:4), and even in stressed syllables, e.g. *t-átwən* [ˈtətwən] ‘that I sit’ (A6:8), *yáðət* [ˈjəðət] *mèla?* ‘Do you know what it is?’ (A16:10). In most cases such as these, where the centralization is not regular, the transcription has been normalized and the vowel is transcribed as /a/ or /ǎ/.

### 2.3.6. /o/

This is realized in the region of [o] when long and in an open syllable, e.g. *bnóne* [ˈbnoːnɛː] ‘sons’ (A24:1), *xzólí* [ˈɣzoːli] ‘find for me’ (A24:2), *t-odáxxe* [toːˈðæːxɛ] ‘that we do it’ (A4:48). It sometimes maintains this quality also when pronounced short in an unstressed open syllable, e.g. *méθo*

[ˈmɛɪθo] ‘bring! (pl.)’ (A24:3), or in a stressed closed syllable, e.g. *mandōrta* [mænˈdortæ] ‘roller’ (B5:145). When the duration of /o/ is shortened, however, there is a general tendency for it to be raised and centralized to the region of [ʊ], e.g. *payóxa* [pʰæˈjoɪxæ] ‘cool’ (ms.) vs. *payóxta* [pʰæˈjoɪxæ] ‘cool’ (fs.). In pretonic open syllables, the duration of which tends to fluctuate according to the position of the word in an intonation group, the qualities [o] and [ʊ] often interchange in the same word, e.g. *moθéli* [moː(90)ˈθeɪli] ‘I have brought’ (A24:21) vs. *muθélexu* [muː(80)ˈθeɪlexu] *t̪éra*.<sup>21</sup> ‘Have you brought the bird’ (A24:26). These quality fluctuations are represented in the transcription.

### 2.3.7. /u/

When pronounced long this is realized in the region of [u], e.g. *šùla* [ʃuːlæɪ] ‘job’ (A24:4), *zùze* [ˈzuzɛɪ] ‘money’ (A24:3), *la-hàru* [læ-ˈhæɪruɪ] ‘it will not speak’ (A24:18). When its duration is shortened, it tends to be centralized somewhat to the region of [ʊ], e.g. *plúx* [ˈplʊ(55)x] ‘work!’ (A24:5), *qu-dùgle* [qu(60)-ˈdu(75)qle] ‘get up and seize him’ (A24:25), *šuréla* [ʃuː(115)ˈreɪlæ] ‘they began’ (A24:26). In a few cases short /u/ is fronted to the region of [y], e.g. *jùlla* [ˈdʒylɪæ] ‘cloth’ (B5:80); *dùnye* [ˈdɪnyeɪ] ‘world’ (A10:11).

## 2.4. DIPHTHONGS

### 2.4.1. \*ay

The original diphthong \*ay has in most cases contracted to the low-mid vowel /ɛ/, e.g.

<i>béθa</i>	‘house’	< * <i>baytā</i>
<i>qéta</i>	‘summer’	< * <i>qaytā</i>
<i>xazéli</i>	‘they see me’	< * <i>hāzaylī</i>
<i>štéla</i>	‘drink (fs.) it!’	< * <i>štāylah</i>

As remarked above (§2.3.4.), this vowel tends to be lowered to /a/ in positions where it is shortened, e.g.



<i>štéla</i>	‘they drank’	< <i>štelε</i> < * <i>štelay</i>
<i>šáta</i>	‘they drink’	< <i>šáte</i> < * <i>šātay</i>
<i>štá</i>	‘drink! (fs.)’	< * <i>štε</i> < * <i>štāy</i>
<i>lát</i>	‘you are not’	< <i>let</i> < * <i>lā-it</i>

In a few cases an original \**ay* diphthong is not fully contracted. This applies, for example, to the 3pl. pronominal suffix and several quadriliteral verbs with second radical /*y*/. In these the diphthong normally has the form /*ey*/, in which the vowel is raised to /*e*/:

<i>maθéy</i>	‘their village’
<i>mšéyðan</i>	‘he goes mad’
<i>mhéymən</i>	‘he believes’

On some occasions, however, the vowel in these forms retains the low quality /*a*/ or is raised only to /*ε*/, e.g.

<i>maθáy, maθéy</i>	‘their village’
<i>mháymən</i>	‘they believe’

The /*ay*/ diphthong is found in the feminine singular personal and demonstrative pronoun *ʔay*, which has developed historically from \**hā-hī*, e.g. *ʔay-šrìxla* ‘She cried out’ (A4:4), *ʔay-bàxta* ‘that woman’ (A4:9). When functioning as an attributive demonstrative, however, it is often contracted to *ʔε* and this may be lowered to *ʔa* when its duration is shortened, e.g. *ʔε-bráta* ‘that girl’ (A4:11), *ʔε-kusíθa* ‘that hat’ (A7:19), *ʔa-bráta* ‘that girl’ (A14:1), *ʔa-yaláxθa* ‘that scarf’ (A4:17). The contraction, therefore, is dependent on its syntactic function.

#### 2.4.2. \**aw*

The diphthong \**aw* remains uncontracted in numerous words, e.g.

<i>màwθa</i>	‘death’ (A21:35)
<i>šàwema</i>	‘fast’ (B7:5)
<i>šáwθa</i>	‘voice’ (A21:18)
<i>zàwena</i>	‘time’ (B2:1)
<i>qáwera</i>	‘grave’ (B2:6)
<i>xáwla</i>	‘rope’ (B7:16)
<i>gáwra</i>	‘man’ (A21:31)

<i>háwya</i>	‘(that) she be’ (B12:2)
ʾáwði	‘they make’ (A26:43)
ʾàwra	‘she enters’ (B12:2)
záwnən	‘I buy’ (A22:16)

Contraction of the /aw/ to /o/ also takes place. In many words this contraction is optional and both forms with /aw/ and forms with /o/ are used, e.g.

<i>hóya</i> (A21:44)
<i>háwya</i> (B12:2) ‘(that) she be’

<i>y-ođíwa</i> (B7:1)
<i>y-awđíwa</i> (B2:5) ‘they used to do’

<i>lá gawrèn</i> (A16:5)
<i>là-gorm</i> (A16:5) ‘I shall not marry’

<i>qəm-doqále</i> (A17:26)
<i>qəm-dawqàle</i> (A22:19) ‘she seized him’

<i>biz-zóda</i> (A8:44)
<i>biz-zàwda</i> (B5:3) ‘more’

This contraction is not a purely phonetic phenomenon that is blind to the grammatical category and function of the word. Although it is attested in all categories of word, it does not take place evenly across all categories. The optional contraction of /aw/ occurs far more frequently in verbs than in nouns.

In most nouns the diphthong is stable and regularly occurs, e.g.

<i>gawra</i>	‘man’
<i>tawra</i>	‘ox’
<i>gawza</i>	‘walnut’
<i>qawra</i>	‘grave’
<i>kawda</i>	‘liver’
<i>sawta</i>	‘old woman’
<i>kaθawta</i>	‘writer (f.)’

Only sporadic contraction is attested in nouns in the text corpus, e.g. *gòze* ‘walnuts’ (B16:10) < *gawze*, *xoránux* ‘your companions’ (A8:47) < *xawranux*.

On account of the stability of the diphthong /aw/ in nouns, some minimal pairs exist in which the diphthong /aw/ in a noun stands in contrastive opposition to /o/, e.g.

<i>gawra</i>	‘man’
<i>gora</i>	‘big’
<i>dawla</i>	‘drum’
<i>dola</i>	‘mountain pass’
<i>kawsa</i>	‘hair’
<i>kosa</i>	‘beardless, effeminate’
<i>qawla</i>	‘promise’
<i>qola</i>	‘animal trap’

In a small set of nouns an original \*aw is regularly contracted to /o/. These include the following:

<i>yoma</i>	‘day’	< *yawma
<i>roma</i>	‘hill, height’	< *rawma
<i>gota</i>	‘side’	< *gawta < *gabta

The explanation for the regular contraction in these words may be linked to the syntactic context in which they typically occur. The words *yoma* ‘day’ and *gota* ‘side’ are frequently attested in the text corpus and in virtually all cases they occur in phrases that have adverbial function, temporal or spatial respectively, e.g.

- (1) *šaryela gu-d-é ’otél ’o-yòma*. ‘They stayed in that hotel that day.’ (A2:2)
- (2) *yóma mæn-duzúθa qidde béθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘One day the house really burnt.’ (A17:5)
- (3) *’arya hóle l-xâ-gota’ ’u-námra xâ-gota*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The lion was on one side and the tiger on the other side.’ (A27:21)
- (4) *xa-páčča píša l-ây-gota*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-l-ây-gota*.<sup>1</sup> ‘A piece remained on that side and one on the other side.’ (A51:18)

The word *roma* ‘hill, height’ is far less commonly used in the dialect, but, historically at least, it is likely to be associated with spatial adverbial expressions (cf. Syriac expressions such as *ba-mrawme* ‘on high’).

The relevance of syntactic function for contraction is also demonstrated by the word *šawpa* ‘place, trace’, since the diphthong /aw/ in this word is generally contracted when it is used with an adverbial function, e.g.

- (5) *de-puš-šōpux!* ‘Stay in your place (where you are).’ (A14:20)  
 (6) *ʾawwa pišle málka šōpāt bābe diye!* ‘He became king in place of his father.’ (A12:70).

We could perhaps also include here the temporal adverbials *bázzune* ‘last/next year’, *bzúne* ‘two years ago’ and *tábzune* ‘three years ago’, all of which contain an element derived from *zawna* ‘time’ with the diphthong regularly contracted to /u/.

Contraction of /aw/ regularly occurs in adjectives, e.g.

<i>gora</i>	‘big’	< * <i>gabrā</i>
<i>kopa</i>	‘low’	< * <i>kawpā</i>
<i>koma</i>	‘black’	< * <i>kawmā</i>

These words are of the same historical pattern as nouns such as *gawza* ‘nut’ and *gawra* ‘man’ and historically they no doubt functioned as nouns; cf. Syr. *kawpā* ‘bending’ (Brockelmann 1928: 323). Indeed the word *gora* ‘big’ appears to be a doublet of *gawra* ‘man’, both being derived from \**gabrā*. Their different formal developments reflect their different functions, the contracted form being used when the word was used as an adjective to express an attribute and the uncontracted form remaining when it was used as an entity term.

It is relevant to note that some compound nominal phrases also exhibit regular contraction of a diphthong in their second element, which has a functional status similar to that of attributive adjectives, e.g.

<i>bεθ-gora</i>	‘cemetery’	cf. <i>qawra</i> ‘grave’
<i>zaqra-qode</i>	‘spider’ (‘weaver of fetters’)	cf. <i>qawda</i> ‘fetter’

Differences in the pattern of contraction of the 3ms. demonstrative pronoun *ʾaw* can likewise be correlated with syntactic function. In principle its contraction to *ʾo* is restricted to cases where it functions as an attributive pronoun. When it functions as an independent pronoun it regularly remains uncontracted. This is illustrated in the following examples, in which the pronoun is in all cases unstressed:

<i>ʔaw-màre</i>	‘he said’ (A23:19)
<i>ʔaw-tíwεle xaràya</i>	‘he sat down last’ (A17:31)
<i>ʔaw-gàrele</i>	‘that is the roof’ (A23:14)
<i>ʔo-tára</i>	‘that door’ (A17:20)
<i>ʔo-tèla</i>	‘that fox’ (A20:1)
<i>ʔo-ʔixàla</i>	‘that food’ (A21:19)

In a few cases the attributive demonstrative remains uncontracted, but these are very much exceptional to the normal rule, e.g.

<i>ʔaw-téla</i>	‘that fox’ (A20:5)
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Other monosyllabic words ending in an original *\*-aw* regularly exhibit contraction of the diphthong, e.g.

<i>xzó</i>	‘see!’	< <i>*xzaw</i>
<i>mó?</i>	‘what?’	< <i>*maw?</i>

## 2.5. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE VOWELS

### 2.5.1. /i/

(i) In most cases this vowel derives from long *\*ī*, e.g.

<i>sawi</i>	‘grandfather’	< <i>*sābī</i>
<i>xazyali</i>	‘she sees me’	< <i>*hāzyālī</i>
<i>šaqli</i>	‘they take’	< <i>*šāqlīn</i>
<i>ṭlaṭi</i>	‘thirty’	< <i>*tlāṭīn</i>
<i>basima</i>	‘pleasant (ms.)’	< <i>*bassīmā</i>
<i>basimta</i>	‘pleasant (f.)’	< <i>*basīmtā</i>
<i>pṭixa</i>	‘open’	< <i>*pṭīxā</i>
<i>pṭixle</i>	‘he opened’	< <i>*pṭīxleh</i>

As has been shown above (§2.2.2.1.), /i/ in closed syllables, as in *basimta* and *pṭixle*, is generally pronounced short.

(ii) Before /y/ in an open syllable, it sometimes derives from a short high vowel in syllables that were originally closed by a pharyngeal or laryngeal but became open after the elision of these consonants. For the sake of convenience, this vowel can be represented here as *\*ɨ*, e.g.

<i>šiya</i>	‘thirsty’	< * <i>šəhyā</i>
<i>tiya</i>	‘searched’	< * <i>təʕyā</i> < * <i>təʕyā</i>

Some cases of /i/ before /y/ in an open syllable originated as epenthetic vowels, e.g.

<i>tawriyáθa</i>	‘cows’	< * <i>tawryaθa</i>
<i>zawriyáθa</i>	‘water pots’	< * <i>zawryaθa</i>
<i>manšiya</i>	‘she forgets’	< * <i>manšya</i>

Compare the singular noun forms *tawərtā* ‘cow’, *zawərtā* ‘water pot’ and the alternative 3fs. verbal form *manšya* ‘she forgets’, in which the epenthetic *i* is placed before the preceding consonant.

(iii) In a few words /i/ has developed by raising from an original \**a* before the palatal glide /y/, e.g.

<i>miya</i>	‘water’	< * <i>maya</i>
<i>riyana</i>	‘rain’	< * <i>rayana</i>
<i>diya</i>	‘now’	< * <i>daya</i> < * <i>daha</i>
<i>riya</i>	‘shepherd’	< * <i>riya</i> < * <i>rāyā</i>

The word *riya* may have undergone an intermediate stage \**riya* in accordance with the shift \**aʕC* > \**eC* described below (§2.5.2.).

The raising of \**a* to /i/ before a glide /y/ applies also to a few cases where the glide is inserted between a final /a/ vowel of loanwords and the Aramaic inflectional ending, e.g.

<i>panjāriya</i>	‘window’	< Kurd. <i>pencere</i>
<i>washiyaθa</i>	‘dresses’	< sing. <i>wasta</i>
<i>titiye</i>	‘silver ornaments’	< sing. <i>tita</i>

### 2.5.2. /e/

(i) In some cases this derives from original long \**ē*, e.g.

<i>reša</i>	‘head’	< * <i>rēšā</i>
<i>kepa</i>	‘stone’	< * <i>kēpā</i>
<i>kθawe</i>	‘books’	< * <i>kṯābē</i>
<i>xaze</i>	‘he sees’	< * <i>hāzē</i>
<i>xzelan</i>	‘we saw’	< * <i>hzelan</i>

(ii) In several words it derives from short *\*a* that was originally in a syllable closed by following a laryngal *\*ʿ* or *\*h*, e.g.

<i>tela</i>	‘fox’	< <i>*taʿla</i> < <i>*taʿlā</i>
<i>ṭena</i>	‘load’	< <i>*ṭaʿna</i> < <i>*ṭaʿnā</i>
<i>paṛṭena</i>	‘flea’	< <i>*paṛtaʿnā</i> < <i>*paṛtaʿnā</i>
<i>zreṭa</i>	‘cultivation’	< <i>*zraʿta</i> < <i>*zraʿtā</i>
<i>ʿarbe</i>	‘four (f.)’	< <i>*ʿarbaʿ</i> < <i>*arbaʿ</i>
<i>nera</i>	‘river’	< <i>*nahrā</i>
<i>sera</i>	‘moon’	< <i>*sahrā</i>
<i>beṛa</i>	‘light’	< <i>*bahrā</i>
<i>ṣewa</i>	‘thirst’	< <i>*ṣahwā</i>
<i>ṭera</i>	‘noon’	< <i>*ṭahrā</i>

As can be seen from the examples above, the laryngal *\*ʿ* is generally derived ultimately from the pharyngal *\*ʿ*. The vowel shift, however, appears to have been conditioned by the laryngal rather than the original pharyngal. This is shown by the occurrence of the shift in words originally containing the laryngal *\*h*. Furthermore it is found also in words containing an original *\*ʿ* that cannot be reconstructed as deriving from the pharyngal *\*ʿ*, e.g.

<i>sebuṭa</i>	‘old age’	< <i>*saʿbuṭa</i> (cf. Syr. <i>sʿb</i> ‘to become old’)
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In some words the raising of *\*a* to /e/ in this context is not completely fixed, in that forms with /e/ are used alongside with forms with /a/, e.g.

<i>tela</i> ~ <i>tala</i>	‘fox’	< <i>*taʿlā</i>
<i>ṭena</i> ~ <i>ṭana</i>	‘load’	< <i>*ṭaʿnā</i>
<i>nera</i> ~ <i>nara</i>	‘river’	< <i>*nahrā</i>
<i>seṛa</i> ~ <i>saṛa</i>	‘goat’s hair’	< <i>*saʿrā</i>
<i>zreṭa</i> ~ <i>zrata</i>	‘cultivation’	< <i>*zraʿtā</i>
<i>paṛṭena</i> ~ <i>paṛṭana</i>	‘flea’	< <i>*paṛtaʿnā</i>

In some words, furthermore, the shift does not take place at all. There is no clear phonetic conditioning that blocks the shift in these cases, which suggests that its occurrence has become lexicalized, e.g.

<i>nala</i>	‘horse-shoe’	< <i>*naʿla</i> < <i>*naʿlā</i>
<i>pala</i>	‘labourer’	< <i>*paʿla</i> < <i>*paʿlā</i>
<i>saḏa</i>	‘martyr’	< <i>*sahḏā</i>
<i>dawa</i>	‘gold’	< <i>*dahwā</i>

Conversely the shift is occasionally found in words that contain no etymological laryngal, e.g.

<i>šeta</i>	‘year’	< *šattā
<i>xušeba</i>	‘Sunday’	< *xa-b-šabbā

The explanation seems to be that in such cases the sequence \*CaCC evolved initially into the sequence \*Ca’C and then this conditioned the vowel raising. So the development would be *šeta* < \*ša’ta < \*šattā, *xušeba* < \*xuša’ba < xa-b-šabbā. This reconstruction is supported by the existence in the Qaraqoşh dialect of the form *ša’ta* as an alternative to *šata* ‘year’ (Khan 2002: 43).

(iii) In some words the /e/ is more easily reconstructed as deriving from a short high vowel \*ə before a laryngal. This applies to cases where the vowel before the original laryngal is an epenthetic, e.g.

<i>’āreta</i>	‘layer of algae’	< *’arə’ta < *’ar’- + ta
<i>tāreθa</i>	‘small door’	< *tarə’ta < *tar’- + ta
<i>qāreθa</i>	‘gourd’	< *qarə’θa < *qar’- + ta
<i>nāreθa</i>	‘small axe’	< *narə’θa < *nar’- + ta

It also applies to other words that have /ə/ in their original morphological pattern, e.g.

<i>dəθa</i>	‘sweat’	< *də’θa
<i>magreta</i>	‘shaving knife’	< *magrə’ta
<i>mpūqele</i>	‘he exploded (tr.)’	< *mpuqə’le

(iv) The vowel /e/ in a pretonic open syllable has sometimes developed by lengthening of an original short \*ə in other contexts. This applies, for example, to some cases where the \*ə developed by centralization of an original short \*a in an unstressed syllable that was closed by a geminated consonant. After the gemination was weakened the syllable became open and the \*ə vowel was lengthened to /e/, e.g.

<i>genawa</i>	‘thief’	< *gənnawa < *gannāḥā
<i>gewaya</i>	‘beggar’	< *gəwwaya < *gawwāyā
<i>meqora</i>	‘hole’	< *məqqora < *maqqōrā
<i>nəpoxta</i>	‘date syrup’	< *nəppoxta < *nappoxta



For all of these examples variant forms exist with /a/ in the first syllable. These have developed directly from forms without centralized \*ʔ:

<i>ganawa</i>	‘thief’	< * <i>gannābā</i>
<i>gawaya</i>	‘beggar’	< * <i>gawwāyā</i>
<i>maqora</i>	‘hole’	< * <i>maqōrā</i>
<i>naḫoxta</i>	‘date syrup’	< * <i>naḫḫoxta</i>

The vowel /e/ in an open syllable at the end of adverbials such as *qamaye* ‘at first’, *gawaye* ‘inside’ and *baraye* ‘outside’, also developed by lengthening of a short \*ʔ that had resulted by attenuation of \*a. In this case the short \*a was in an unstressed syllable that was originally closed by final \*t, as in Syr. *qadmāyat* ‘at first’. We may reconstruct as follows *qamaye* < \**qamayət* < \**qadmāyat*.

In some cases a short \*ʔ was original in the pattern of the word in an unstressed closed syllable before a geminated consonant. The vowel was lengthened to /e/ when the gemination was weakened. Most words of this type have variants that retain the gemination, e.g.

<i>ʔeliḫa</i> ~ <i>ʔalliḫa</i>	‘fat of a tail’
<i>mesukta</i> ~ <i>mæssukta</i>	‘gizzard (of a bird)’
<i>gəḫona</i> ~ <i>gəḫḫona</i>	‘small cave’

Short /ə/ is lengthened to /e/ in some other contexts, e.g. *mére* ‘he said’ < *māre* (A49:6).

(v) Final *-e* in singular nouns is generally derived from an original \**-yā*, e.g.

<i>lele</i>	‘night’	< * <i>laylyā</i> (Syr. <i>lelyā</i> )
<i>ʔore</i>	‘manger’	< * <i>ʔoryā</i> (Syr. <i>ʔuryā</i> )
<i>ʔaxe</i>	‘water-mill’	< * <i>rahyā</i> (Syr. <i>rahyā</i> )
<i>xuwwē</i>	‘snake’	< * <i>xawyā</i> (Syr. <i>ḫewyā</i> )

### 2.5.3. /ɛ/

Most cases of /ɛ/ have developed by contraction of an original diphthong \**ay*, as has been described above (§2.4.1.). It normally occurs in open syllables, e.g. *bēḫa* ‘house’ < \**baytā*, *xazeli* ‘they see me’ < \**ḫāzaylī*, but on a few occasions is found in closed syllables, e.g. *ʔenta* ‘air-hole’ < \**ʔyntā*.

The vowel /a/ is often raised to /ɛ/ before /r/ in non-emphatic environments. This applies both to short /a/ in closed syllables and long /a/ in open syllables. The process does not occur completely regularly in the speech of all informants. Since, however, this is a distinctive feature of the pronunciation of the C. Barwar dialect, it has been decided to represent it in the transcription where it is heard rather than conceal it by a completely normalized orthography, e.g.

<i>dɛrta</i> ~ <i>darta</i>	‘courtyard’
<i>sɛrga</i> ~ <i>sarga</i>	‘saddle’
<i>yɛrxa</i> ~ <i>yarxa</i>	‘month’
<i>gʷɛrma</i> ~ <i>gʷarma</i>	‘bone’
<i>pɛrʂax</i> ~ <i>parʂax</i>	‘we divide’
<i>dɛrɛ</i> ~ <i>dare</i>	‘he puts’
<i>ʂɛrɛ</i> ~ <i>ʂare</i>	‘he begins’
<i>dawɛra</i>	‘mule’

The raising is blocked in emphatic environments, cf.

<i>pɛrma</i> ~ <i>parma</i>	‘she cuts’
<i>pʌrma</i>	‘she understands’

#### 2.5.4. /a/

(i) This derives in most cases from an original short \*a or long \*ā, though the length of the vowel in the dialect is determined by syllable structure and stress and not by its historical derivation from an original short or long vowel, e.g.

<i>páθxa</i> [pʌθxæ]	‘she opens’	< *pāθhā
<i>kʷása</i> [kʷærsæ]	‘stomach’	< *karsā

(ii) As we have seen (§2.3.4.), in some cases a short /a/ in the transcription derives by lowering from /ɛ/, which in turn is a reflex of the diphthong \*ay.

#### 2.5.5. /ə/

(i) This may derive from an original short high vowel, which, for the sake of convenience we may represent here with the same symbol \*ɨ, e.g.

<i>gárasʻ</i>	‘he pulls’	< * <i>gārasʻ</i>
<i>lábba</i>	‘heart’	< * <i>lābba</i>

(ii) In some cases it is the result of attenuation of an original /a/, /e/ or /ɛ/ in a closed syllable, e.g.

<i>gársʻət</i>	‘you (fs.) pull’	< * <i>gārsʻā-t</i>
<i>gársʻət</i>	‘you (ms.) pull’	< * <i>gārsʻē-t</i>
<i>gríʻət</i>	‘you have pulled’	< <i>gríʻət</i>

(iii) The reflex of an original long \*ī is in principle /i/. An exception to this is the past form of the verb to say, which has /ə/, e.g. *móre* ‘he said’ < \**mīrrēh* < \**mīr* + *lēh*.

(iv) The vowel /ə/ is found in both open and closed syllables as an epenthetic vowel, e.g.

<i>mapəlxí</i>	‘they use’
<i>matəməmí</i>	‘they finish’

### 2.5.6. /o/

(i) In many cases this derives from an original long \*ō, e.g.

<i>naʻora</i>	‘guard’	< * <i>nāʻōrā</i>
<i>dəbbora</i>	‘hornet’	< * <i>dəbbōrā</i>
<i>l-xoðe</i>	‘by himself’	< * <i>hōðēh</i>
<i>mšadore</i>	‘to send’	< * <i>mšaddōrē</i>

(ii) Occasionally it has arisen by lengthening of an original short \*u. This has occurred when a closed syllable containing a short \*u has become open by the elision of a consonant or the weakening of gemination, e.g.

<i>mpoləʻle</i>	‘he brought out’	< * <i>mpulləʻlēh</i>
<i>ʻsabota</i>	‘finger’	< * <i>ʻsabbuʻtā</i>

(iii) In several cases it has arisen by contraction of the diphthong \*aw (see §2.4.2.).

### 2.5.7. /u/

(i) This may be derived from an original short or long \*u, e.g.

<i>ʻurxa</i>	‘road’	< * <i>urhā</i>
<i>dukθa</i>	‘place’	< * <i>dukkʻtā</i>

<i>xabuša</i>	‘apple’	< * <i>ḥabbūšā</i>
<i>duwana</i>	‘oil, fat’	< * <i>dūhānā</i>

(ii) On some occasions it has arisen in closed syllables by the shortening of an original long \**ō*, e.g.

<i>dəbburta</i>	‘horsefly’	< * <i>dəbbōrtā</i>
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(iii) Before labial consonants it has sometimes developed from other vowels, e.g.

<i>gumla</i>	‘camel’	< * <i>gamlā</i>
<i>šumaša</i>	‘deacon’	< * <i>šammāšā</i>
<i>tuwalta</i>	‘game’	< * <i>mṭawwaltā</i>
<i>tuna</i>	‘straw’	< * <i>tuwna</i> < * <i>təbnā</i>
<i>xuṛwe</i>	‘snake’	< * <i>xəwyā</i>



## CHAPTER THREE

### CONSONANT GEMINATION

#### 3.1. PHONETIC REALIZATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

The physical duration of a consonant that is marked as geminate in the transcription varies considerably. As a general rule the duration of a geminate consonant that is preceded by a stress is longer than one that lacks a preceding stress. This can be seen by comparing the range of durations of /ll/ in the following examples, in which the approximate duration of the geminate consonant is measured in milliseconds:

- (1) *máxxalla* [ˈmæːxəlː(70)æ] *gðàðe* 'He knocks them together' (A24:13)
- (2) *zódya*lla [ˈzɪdyəlː(80)æ] *tàma* 'They threw down it there' (A24:25)
- (3) *mùrrɛ-lli* [ˈmʊrːɛːlː(115)i] 'Tell them to me' (A24:11)
- (4) *zille* [ˈzilː(75)e] 'He went' (A24:4)
- (5) *külle* [ˈkʊlː(130)e] 'all of it' (A24:11)
- (6) *šqulle* [ˈʃqʊlː(155)e] 'Take it!' (A24:15)
- (7) *gõlla* [ˈgɪlː(190)æː] 'grass' (A24:15)

In words with the same stress position a geminate consonant is still realized with a wide range of durations, as can be seen in (8)–(12), which illustrate various attested durations for the geminate consonant /xx/ in the word *laxxa* 'here':

- (8) *laxxa* [ˈlæx(50)æ] (A24:51)
- (9) *laxxa* [ˈlæxː(80)æ] (A24:4)
- (10) *laxxa* [ˈlæxː(95)æ] (A24:6)
- (11) *laxxa* [ˈlæxː(125)æ] (A24:6)
- (12) *laxxa* [ˈlæxː(185)ɐ] (A24:49)

As can be seen, there is a considerable difference in the duration with which the sequence /xx/ is realized in this word. It tends to be longer at the end of an intonation group, though even here there is a large variety of realizations. The duration is reduced in forms that occur inside an intonation group. Indeed this lower range of durations, as attested in (8)

and (9), overlaps with the durations attested for instances of the same consonant that are represented in the transcription as non-geminate, as can be seen in (13)–(17) below. In some cases, in fact, a non-geminate /x/ in these examples has a longer phonetic duration than geminate /xx/ in examples (8)–(12):

- (13) *xa-darṃána* [x(60)æ-d̪ɾ̪'mæɪnæ] 'a remedy' (A24:2)  
 (14) *ʔan-tre-xéne* [ʔx(70)ɛɪneʔ] 'the other two' (A24:5)  
 (15) *xa-šūla* [x(75)æ-ʃuɪlæɪ] 'a job' (A24:4)  
 (16) *xa-mālka* [x(80)æ-'mælkæɪ] 'a king' (A24:1)  
 (17) *ʔixāla* [ʔi:x(90)æɪlæɪ] 'food' (A24:16)

The transcription of gemination that is adopted in this grammar does not attempt to reflect the phonetic diversity of individual occurrences of words that has just been described. The general principle that has been followed is that a geminate consonant is consistently marked in a particular lexical item or inflectional form, even where, on the phonetic level, the duration of the consonant is reduced in some utterances of it. The choice as to which words gemination should be marked in is based on relative rather than absolute phonetic duration. In general, all other factors being equal, certain lexical items or inflectional forms exhibit a more consistent tendency for a consonant to be pronounced long than others and it is in such cases that the consonants are marked as geminate. Consonants that are marked as geminate would be expected to be pronounced long consistently when the word occurs in pausal position at the end of an intonation group, though the precise duration of this length may vary. Of course, the term 'gemination' or 'doubling' strictly refers only to the double marking of the letter in the orthography. As seen above in the instrumental measurements, there is no question of exact doubling in phonetic duration.

The marking of consonant gemination in certain words in the transcription is further justified by the existence of a number of minimal pairs in which two words are distinguished only by the length of a consonant. The absolute duration of the consonants in each member of the pair may be increased or reduced according to the contextual position of the word, but, all other factors being equal, there is clearly a relative difference in length that has significance for meaning and for the morphological pattern to which the words are assigned:

<i>bāle</i> ‘he swallows’	<i>balle</i> ‘sheep with erect ears’
<i>pāle</i> ‘he divides’	<i>palle</i> ‘burning embers’
<i>gāre</i> ‘he shaves’	<i>garre</i> ‘pools’
<i>šāre</i> ‘wet cow dung’	<i>šarre</i> ‘battle’

### 3.2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF GEMINATION IN THE CONSONANT INVENTORY

Examples can be identified for the gemination of the majority of consonants:

/b/	<i>labba</i> ‘heart’
/č/	<i>xáčča</i> ‘a few’
/ć/	<i>’áčča</i> ‘nine’
/d/	<i>gadda</i> ‘thread’
/g/	<i>xagga</i> ‘dance’
/j/	<i>mājja</i> ‘paste of dried yoghurt’
/k/	<i>garsakka</i> ‘wild pear’
/l/	<i>ṭalla</i> ‘shade’
/m/	<i>šamma</i> ‘name’
/n/	<i>qanna</i> ‘nest’
/p/	<i>quppe</i> ‘brooding hen’
/q/	<i>zəqqa</i> ‘water-skin’
/r/	<i>garra</i> ‘pool’
/s/	<i>massa</i> ‘ox-goad’
/š/	<i>qəššət</i> ‘story’
/š/	<i>məššara</i> ‘paddy-field’
/t/	<i>gutta</i> ‘ball’
/t/	<i>qəttə</i> ‘piece’
/θ/	<i>qəθθurta</i> ‘knapsack’
/w/	<i>xuwwe</i> ‘snake’
/x/	<i>laxxa</i> ‘here’
/y/	<i>’ayya</i> ‘this (f.)’
/z/	<i>’əzza</i> ‘nanny-goat’
/ž/	<i>gəžžə</i> ‘raised hand’

Examples for some consonants in the phoneme inventory have not been identified. It should be noted, however, that the list above includes



consonants from all articulatory areas with the exception of laryngal and pharyngal consonants.

### 3.3. THE ORIGIN OF CONSONANT GEMINATION

#### 3.3.1. *Gemination Inherited from Earlier Aramaic*

Gemination inherited from morphological patterns of earlier Aramaic is preserved in various words. This is the case when the geminate consonant is preceded by the short vowel /ə/ in a stressed syllable, e.g.

<i>lābba</i>	‘heart’
<i>qānna</i>	‘nest’
<i>ʾāzza</i>	‘nanny-goat’

In some words it is preserved after /ə/ also in unstressed syllables, e.g.

<i>dābbóra</i>	‘hornet’	cf. Syr. <i>debbōrtā</i>
<i>sammála</i>	‘bundle’	cf. Syr. <i>semmālā</i>

In other words, however, it is normally weakened in this context, e.g.

<i>gezara</i>	‘carrot’	cf. Syr. <i>gezzārā</i>
<i>lišana</i>	‘tongue’	cf. Syr. <i>leššānā</i>

The distribution of gemination in these patterns, therefore, has become largely lexicalized.

The original gemination has usually been weakened after an original /a/ or /u/ in both stressed and unstressed syllables, e.g.

<i>kāka</i>	‘tooth’	< * <i>kakkā</i>
<i>xabúša</i>	‘apple’	< * <i>ḥabbūšā</i>
<i>basíma</i>	‘pleasant’	< * <i>bassimā</i>
<i>mšadóre</i>	‘to send’	< * <i>mšaddōrē</i>
<i>gúda</i>	‘wall’	< * <i>guddā</i>
<i>buqára</i>	‘question’	< * <i>buqqārā</i>
<i>mšuláxle</i>	‘he stripped’	< * <i>mšulláx-lēh</i>

There are some exceptions to this principle. The consonant /r/, for example, tends to preserve vestiges of gemination in contexts where it is lost in other consonants. This is the case, for example, in some nominal patterns with an originally geminated medial radical, such as \*CaCCūCā, \*CaCCūCtā and \*CaCCāCtā, in which /r/ is often heard geminate, though in free variation with non-geminate forms. The gemination is regularly lost, by contrast, in other consonants, e.g.

<i>garruwa</i> ~ <i>garuwa</i>	‘pile of twigs’
<i>garruta</i> ~ <i>garuta</i>	‘small pile of twigs’
<i>parrušta</i> ~ <i>parušta</i>	‘smooth pebble’
<i>qarrašta</i> ~ <i>qarašta</i>	‘crowbar’
<i>ṭarraša</i> ~ <i>ṭaraša</i>	‘bush’

Contrast:

<i>xabuša</i>	‘apple’	< * <i>ḥabbūšā</i>
<i>tanura</i>	‘oven’	< * <i>tannūrā</i>
<i>šabuqta</i>	‘wooden rod’	< * <i>šabbūqtā</i>
<i>nasarta</i>	‘saw’	< * <i>nassārtā</i>

It should also be noted that words with an original geminate \*r in the historical pattern \*CaCCā have emphatic /r/, which is pronounced with a longer trill than non-emphatic /r/, e.g.

<i>maṛa</i>	‘spade’	< * <i>marra</i>
<i>paṛa</i>	‘lamb’	< * <i>parrā</i>

Gemination of other consonants is occasionally heard after /a/ in words deriving from the historical patterns \*CaCCāCā and CaCCīCā, e.g.

<i>gabbara</i>	‘hero’
<i>ṭannaxa</i>	‘miller’
<i>bannaya</i>	‘builder’
<i>qaddiša</i>	‘saint’

In some cases these may have been influenced by literary Syriac or by loans from Arabic with the same pattern that preserve the gemination, e.g. *ḥaddada* ‘blacksmith’, *fassada* ‘corrupt person’. In the words of Aramaic

stock, however; the forms with gemination are generally used in free variation with forms that lack it, e.g. *bannaya* ~ *banaya* ‘builder’.

Gemination occurs after /u/ in the word *pumma* ‘mouth’. Here the explanation seems to be that the /u/ has developed from an original \*ə under the influence of the following labial.

Gemination is preserved after /a/ in the word *xašša* ‘sadness’ < \**haššā* and its derivative *xaššana* ‘sad’ and also in the word *šmayya* ‘heaven’. This may be due to the association of these words with the language of the liturgy and so could be explained as due to the influence of literary Syriac.

Note also the preservation of the geminated /m/ in the numeral *xammāš* ‘five’ (f.) < \**hammāš*.

### 3.3.2. Gemination after Stressed Short Vowels

Gemination has developed in a number of cases after a stressed syllable containing a short vowel that has become open due to the elision of a consonant at the beginning of the next syllable. In some words where the vowel in question is /ə/ or /u/ the gemination regularly occurs, e.g.

<i>dámme</i>	‘tears’	< * <i>dáme</i> < * <i>dám<sup>h</sup>ē</i>
<i>pəqqa</i>	‘split’	< * <i>pəqa</i> < * <i>pəq<sup>h</sup>ā</i>
<i>qəttā</i>	‘piece’	< * <i>qəta</i> < * <i>qə<sup>h</sup>tā</i>
<i>xúwwe</i>	‘snake’	< * <i>xúwe</i> < * <i>xúw<sup>h</sup>yā</i>

In words containing the low vowel /a/, such secondary gemination does not occur regularly and in most words is in free variation with forms without it, e.g.

<i>tára</i> ~ <i>tárra</i>	‘doors’	< * <i>tar<sup>h</sup>ā</i>
<i>mára</i> ~ <i>márra</i>	‘illness’	< * <i>mar<sup>h</sup>ā</i>

The gemination is stable, however, after an /a/ vowel in the numeral ‘seven’:

<i>šáwwa</i>	‘seven’	< * <i>šāwa</i> < * <i>šab<sup>h</sup>ā</i>
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We may include here perhaps the demonstrative pronouns *’áwwa* ‘this’ (m.) and *’áyya* ‘this’ (f.) and the adverbial *támma* ‘here’, in which gemination is

a stable feature. It may have developed secondarily by a similar process due to the elision of a laryngal:

<i>ʾáwwa</i>	‘this’ (m.)	< *ʾáwwa < *ʾawhā
<i>ʾáyya</i>	‘this’ (f.)	< *ʾáyya < *ʾayhā
<i>támma</i>	‘here’	< *támma < *támhā

Another exceptional form is the word *ʾaxxa* ‘here’ < \*ʾāxā and its variant *láxxa* ‘here’ < \*l-āxā, in which the gemination appears to have developed on account of the incidence of stress in the preceding syllable, despite the fact that the vowel was originally long.

### 3.3.3. Gemination in the Environment of Epenthetic Vowels

A similar type of secondary gemination has developed after a stressed short epenthetic /ə/ in nouns and particles, where it is a fixed feature of the word, e.g.

<i>dámma</i>	‘blood’	< *dáma	< *dmā
<i>šámma</i>	‘name’	< *šáma	< *šmā
<i>tálləθ</i>	‘three’ (f.)	< *táləθ	< *tālāθ

Such gemination is also heard after stressed epenthetics in some verbal forms, though it is not stable and occurs in free variation with forms without the gemination, e.g.

<i>mālləpa</i> ~ <i>mālləppa</i>	‘she teaches’
<i>mzāwəggi</i> ~ <i>mzāwəggi</i>	‘they pair together’
<i>muryəzza</i> ~ <i>muryəzza</i>	‘standing in a row’

A geminated consonant after an unstressed /ə/ syllable in some nominal patterns may have developed secondarily after the insertion of an epenthetic either before it or after it, e.g.

<i>dəqqənθa</i>	‘chin’	< *dəqqənθa < *dəqnθa < m. <i>dəqna</i>
<i>šəddəllta</i>	‘lullaby’	< *šəddəllta < *šədllta < pl. <i>šədle</i>
<i>xəmmərta</i>	‘bead’	< *xəmmərta < *xəmrtā < pl. <i>xəmre</i>
<i>ləxxáwa</i>	‘bridle’	< *ləgāwā < *lḡāmā

The gemination in the word *ʾamma* ‘hundred’ may have developed due to stress falling on a prosthetic vowel: *ʾamma* < \**má* (cf. Syr. *mā*). It is more likely, however, that it developed originally in compound forms such as *xamšá-mma* ‘five hundred’ due to the incidence of stress on the last syllable of the first numeral. After the development of gemination in such compounds, the word for ‘hundred’ was reanalysed as *ʾamma*.

### 3.3.4. *Gemination Resulting from Elision*

Gemination has developed in some words due to the elision of a vowel between two syllables with the same consonant at their onset, e.g.

<i>qúpppe</i>	‘brooding hen’	cf. Syr. <i>qupḫāḫā</i>
<i>mássa</i>	‘ox goad’	cf. Syr. <i>massāsā</i> , C. Qaraqosh <i>masasa</i>

### 3.3.5. *Gemination in Kurdish Loanwords*

Kurdish loanwords that end in a consonant after a short vowel often have their final consonant geminated after the addition of an Aramaic inflectional vowel, e.g.

<i>šákka</i>	‘male sheep (2–3 years old)’	< Kurd. <i>šek</i>
<i>pálla</i>	‘embers of wood’	< Kurd. <i>pel</i>
<i>gársákka</i>	‘wild pear’	< Kurd. <i>girsik</i>
<i>ḵawálla</i>	‘ruin’	< Kurd. <i>kavil</i>

In Kurdish loanwords /r/ is regularly geminated by this process when it is a reflex of the Kurdish trilled *r̄*, e.g.

<i>ḵarra</i>	‘deaf’	< Kurd. <i>keṛ</i>
<i>šarre</i>	‘war’	< Kurd. <i>šeṛ</i>
<i>garra</i>	‘pool’	< Kurd. <i>geṛ</i>
<i>parra</i>	‘feather’	< Kurd. <i>peṛ</i>
<i>ḵawarra</i>	‘young male sheep’	< Kurd. <i>kavīṛ</i>

It does not always take place, however, when it is a reflex of the non-trilled Kurdish *r*, e.g.

<i>gara</i>	‘hill’	< Kurd. <i>gir</i>
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3.3.6. *Gemination Resulting from Assimilation*

Gemination has sometimes resulted from the assimilation of consonants in affixes. This occurs, for example, when the /l/ of pronominal suffixes is assimilated in certain contexts. This gemination takes place irrespective of the quality of the preceding vowel, e.g.

<i>qaṭlānne</i>	‘I (m.) kill him’	< * <i>qaṭlən + le</i>
<i>qaṭlānne</i>	‘I (f.) kill him’	< * <i>qaṭlan + le</i>
<i>twīnne</i>	‘He went numb’	< * <i>twīn + le</i>
<i>mšādārre</i>	‘He sends it’	< * <i>mšādər + le</i>
<i>xírre</i>	‘He looked’	< * <i>xír + le</i>

Gemination that resulted as a result of assimilations within the interior of words at an earlier historical period has now mostly been weakened, e.g.

<i>mđīta</i>	‘town’	< * <i>mđūtā</i>	< * <i>mđūtā</i>
<i>šeta</i>	‘year’	< * <i>šattā</i>	< * <i>šantā</i>



## CHAPTER FOUR

### SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

#### 4.1. SYLLABIC PATTERNS

The following types of syllable pattern are found:

CV	<b><i>bɛ.θa</i></b>	‘house’
CCV	<b><i>smo.qa</i></b>	‘red’
CVC	<b><i>pa.θəx</i></b>	‘he opens’
CCVC	<b><i>praq.ta</i></b>	‘the end’

In principle, the laryngal /ʔ/ may stand at the onset of the syllables CV and CVC but not in other syllabic contexts, e.g.

/ʔ/	<b><i>ʔa.mər</i></b>	‘he says’
	<b><i>ʔaθ.ra</i></b>	‘land’

The only exceptions to this principle are the demonstrative pronouns *ʔāwaʔha* (ms.) and *ʔāyaʔha* (fs.) ‘that far over there’, the adverb *tāmaʔha* ‘far over there’ and the negative exclamation *laʔ* ‘no!’, which contain a syllable with /ʔ/ in its coda. These are intensive variants of forms with /a/ in an open syllable: *ʔāwáha* (ms.), *ʔāyáha* (fs.) ‘that over there’, *tā máha* ‘over there’, *laʔ* ‘no!’. As has been remarked in §2.5.2., the secondary development of a laryngal must be reconstructed as occurring in other words of the language at some earlier historical period, e.g. *šeta* < \**šaʔta* < \**šattā* ‘year’.

Similarly the occurrence of the laryngal /h/ is largely restricted to the onset of the syllables CV and CVC. It does, however, occasionally occur as the second consonant of the syllable onset cluster CC-, e.g.

/h/	<b><i>ha.dīya</i></b>	‘now’
	<b><i>har.nuwa</i></b>	‘rabbit’
	<b><i>mha.yər</i></b>	‘he helps’

In a few forms metathesis has taken place that removes the /h/ from the coda of a syllable and thus preserves it from elision, e.g.



<i>harwa</i>	‘she speaks’	< * <i>rahwa</i>
<i>dawha</i>	‘gold’	< * <i>dahwa</i>

A syllable does not have a vowel as its onset but always begins with at least the laryngal /ʔ/, e.g. *ʔá.na* ‘I’, *ʔá.ti* ‘you’, *ʔi.lána* ‘tree’. This is demonstrated by the fact that two vowel syllable nuclei cannot follow one another within a word without an intervening consonant, e.g. *šmaʔa* ‘to hear’ (not *šmaa*) < \**šmāʔā*, *mašmoye* ‘to listen’ (not *mašmoe*) < *mašmōʔē*. This justifies the transcription of word initial syllables with /ʔ/ before the vowel. In some NENA dialects, such as the Jewish dialects of Iran, two vowel nuclei can follow one another within a word without an intervening laryngal or glide, e.g. J. Urmi *huda* ‘Jew’, *mašmoe* ‘to make hear’. In such a dialect, the transcription of word initial syllables with a vowel onset is justifiable, e.g. *ana* ‘I’, *ilana* ‘tree’.

In some circumstances a vowel is augmented by splitting it into two syllable nuclei by a laryngal /ʔ/ rather than simply increasing its duration. This is found especially in the numerals *xa* ‘one’ > *xáʔa* and *tre* ‘two’ > *tréʔe*. It is sporadically heard also elsewhere, e.g. *kméleʔ* ‘How much is it?’ > *kméʔeleʔ*.

#### 4.2. WORD INITIAL CLUSTERS OF CONSONANTS

Clusters of two consonants often occur at the beginning of a word.

The cluster is sometimes pronounced without being broken by an epenthetic vowel. This is generally the case if the first consonant is a sibilant and/or the second is a sonorant continuant such as /l/ or /y/, e.g. *štèla* ‘they drank’ (A32:25), *šlìgən* ‘Go down!’ (A26:46), *xlìla* ‘wedding’ (A32:25), *plìtele* ‘He went out’ (A26:53), *pyášela* ‘It is remaining’ (A26:91).

Initial clusters are often broken by pronouncing an ultra-short epenthetic vowel between them, which is not represented in the transcription, e.g. *mšurèla* [mʔʰurʰeɾɪɬæ] ‘She began’ (A4:6), *kpinne* [kʰpinɬe] ‘He became hungry’ (A14:24), *qtilálən* [qʰt̪ɪɾːlələn] gənən ‘We killed ourselves’ (A26:16), *pqile* [pʰqɪɾe] ‘It split’ (A12:45). This splitting of an initial cluster by an epenthetic vowel is a permanent feature of several words that are historically monosyllabic. The epenthesis is exploited to augment the word to two syllables. Secondary gemination develops after the inserted vowel (§3.3.3.), e.g.

<i>dámma</i>	‘blood’	< * <i>dáma</i> < * <i>dmā</i>
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This type of augmentation of syllables is mainly restricted to nouns. Monosyllabic words with initial clusters are widely tolerated in other categories of word such as particles, e.g. *!la* ‘to’, and imperative verbal forms, e.g. *šqul!* ‘Take!’, *xzi!* ‘See!’.

Another way in which the cluster is broken is by prefixing a prosthetic vowel, which generally has the central quality of /ə/. This also is not marked in the transcription, e.g. *mjárbu* [ʔəm<sup>1</sup>ɕæɾbu] ‘Try!’ (A8:32), *smèle<sup>1</sup>* [ʔəs<sup>1</sup>mɛlə] ‘He became blind’ (A24:1), *bnòni<sup>1</sup>* [ʔəb<sup>1</sup>nozni] ‘my sons’ (A24:2), *rwèle* [ʔər<sup>1</sup>wɛlə] ‘He became drunk’ (A17:26), *b-lèle* [ʔəb<sup>1</sup>lɛlə] ‘at night’ (A26:3). The prefixing of a prosthetic vowel is a permanent feature of several words that are historically monosyllabic. The prosthesis is exploited to augment the word to two syllables. These prosthetic vowels, which bear the stress, are represented in the transcription, e.g.

<i>ʔrxe</i>	‘water-mill’	< * <i>rxe</i> < * <i>rahyā</i>
<i>ʔšta</i>	‘six’ (m.)	< * <i>štā</i>
<i>ʔltax</i>	‘below’	< * <i>l-tēx</i>

Occasionally the stress is moved onto a prosthetic syllable also in other words. In such cases the stressed prosthetic syllable is indicated in the transcription, e.g. *ʔgðade* (A26:1).

An initial /w/ in clusters generally shifts to ʔu-, which arises by the contraction of the /w/ with a prosthetic vowel: ʔu < \*ʔuw. This is the normal realization of the conjunctive particle *w-* before a consonant, e.g. *ʔu-rìqle* ‘and he ran’ (A31:8), *ʔu-mbašlɛxla* ‘and we shall cook them’ (A32:2), *ʔu-slèla* ‘and she went down’ (A32:32).

In some cases a word initial cluster may be broken by eliding the first consonant completely. This is not a blind phonetic process that operates on all clusters, but tends to be restricted to word initial inflectional prefixes. The initial /m/ of stem II and quadriliteral verbal forms is frequently omitted by this process, e.g.

<i>šúrela</i>	‘She began’ (A1:3)	< <i>mšurela</i>
<i>barbàrwa</i>	‘He was bleating’ (A34:23)	< <i>mbarbàrwa</i>
<i>purmèlux?</i>	‘Have you understood?’ (A24:18)	< <i>mpurmèlux</i>

Also elided on some occasions are vowelless particles, especially *b-* and the subordinating particle *D* on words bearing the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (1) *čü-ʔurxa* (< *b-čü-ʔurxa*) ‘in no way’ (A11:16)
- (2) *ʔina ʔm-háwe ṭḷà ʔaqláθa* (< *b-ṭḷa*) ‘If it is with three legs’ (A22:3)
- (3) *pθixla tára qðila* (< *b-qðila*) ‘She opened the door with a key’ (A18:3)
- (4) *mádam bráti wéla pəlxàna* (< *b-pəlxana*) ‘If my daughter has been at work’ (A21:32)
- (5) *ða-kértə qésa* (< *kértə t-qésa*) ‘a bundle of wood’ (A10:6)
- (6) *ʔotáxə gəwəɾax* (< *ʔotáxə t-gəwəɾax*) ‘the room of your husband’ (A10:13)
- (7) *ʔəna mīya* (< *ʔəna t-mīya*) ‘the spring of water’ (A11:17)

In some cases the initial syllable of a cluster at the beginning of particle is elided, e.g.

- (8) *ma-t-wéwa gòra* (< *kma-t-wewa*) ‘so big was he’ (A29:3)

When a word beginning with a cluster is closely connected to a preceding word that ends in a vowel, the first consonant of the cluster is sometimes syllabified with the preceding vowel. There is a particular tendency for this to occur when the initial consonant is a prefixed particle, e.g.

- (9) *képa qitle b-gàwza* [ʔit.le b.ʔaw.zæ] ‘The stone has hit the walnut tree’ (A1:5)
- (10) *hóla jnána b-dargùšta* [ʔnæɾ.næ b.dæɾʔguʃ.tæ] ‘She was singing a dirge over the cradle’ (A38:6)
- (11) *ṃṭéla l-dərajyàθa* [ʔṃṭɛɾ.læ l.dæ.ræɕ.ʔjæɾ.θæ] ‘They reached the steps’ (A40:12)
- (12) *ẓílla l-bəθəy* [ʔzil.læ l.bɛɾ.ʔθej] ‘They went to their home’ (A18:31)

This frequently occurs with the subordinating particle *D* and it is written with the preceding word in the transcription. The particle is generally realized as a voiceless *t* in this context before a voiceless consonant and sometimes also before one that is voiced. This can be regarded as its default realization and the transcription has been normalized with */t/*, e.g.

- (13) *tárət béθa* (< *tára d-béθa*) ‘the door of the house’ (A26:10)
- (14) *soɣiyáθət žine* (< *soɣiyáθa d-žine*) ‘the tresses of Zine’ (A26:50)
- (15) *gu-réšət tura* (< *gu-reša d-tura*) ‘the top of the mountain’ (A26:22)
- (16) *ʔanna waridət qðale* (< *waridə d-qðale*) ‘these veins of his neck’ (A26:81)

- (17) *ku-nášət 'àwər* (< *naša d-'awər*) 'Every person who enters' (A14:50)  
 (18) *kú-dukθət xazìtu' qatìltula'* (< *dukθa d-xazìtu*) 'Everywhere that you find (them), kill them' (A14:57)  
 (19) *'a-dánat méθeti qàwa'* (< *'a-dana d-méθeti*) 'at the time that you bring coffee' (A29:46)

The conjunctive particle *w* is frequently syllabified with the preceding word, e.g.

- (20) *zmára-w rǵáða* 'singing and dancing' (A13:11)  
 (21) *sépa-w qǵšta-w gèra'* 'a sword and a bow and an arrow' (A13:44)  
 (22) *xìšla-w xìšla-w xìšla'* 'he went and went and went' (A14:38)

When a word begins with an open syllable containing a short vowel, the short vowel is occasionally elided and the initial consonant is syllabified with the final vowel of the preceding word. In such cases the transcription is normalized and does not reflect this restructuring, e.g.

- (23) *'an-heywáne hóla tǵmàha.'* [*hox.læ t.'mæ:ɬhæ*] 'The animals are over there' (A27:4)

#### 4.3. WORD INTERNAL CLUSTERS OF CONSONANTS

The sequence *VCCCV* in word internal position is found in certain inflections of stem III and quadriliteral verbs. It may be syllabified *VCC.CV* or *VC.CCV*. An epenthetic vowel is usually inserted between the *CC* cluster in the coda of *VCC* or the onset of *CCV*. This epenthetic bears the stress if it is in penultimate position, e.g.

<i>mapól.xa</i> ~ <i>map.lóxa</i>	'She uses'	< <i>maplxa</i>
<i>mkanǵk.ša</i> ~ <i>mkan.káša</i>	'She drags'	< <i>mkankša</i>
<i>mašm.ya</i> ~ <i>maš.míya</i>	'She listens'	< <i>mašmya</i>

Occasionally a *VC.CCV* syllabification has no epenthetic in the onset of the *CCV* syllable. This is found where the first consonant of this syllable is a sibilant and/or the second is a sonorant continuant, e.g.

<i>mǵáž.drət</i>	'You interfere'
<i>mún.šya</i>	'forgotten'

If the last two consonants in the sequence *VCCCV* are identical, these are obligatorily split by an epenthetic. A stressed epenthetic may also be inserted between the first two consonants, by analogy with the syllabification pattern *mapá.l.xa* of other verbs. This results in the two alternate syllabifications *VCá.Cá.CV* ~ *VC.CáCV*, e.g.

*mapá.rəra* ~ *map.rəra*                      ‘She widens’ < *maprra*

In some stem III verbs in which a weak radical has been elided the word internal sequence *VCCV* is optionally split by an epenthetic vowel. There seems no phonotactic reason for this, since the *CC* sequence is not clustering at the coda or onset of a syllable. Such a pattern of syllabification has apparently developed by analogy with the syllabification of *VCCCV* in strong verbs, e.g.

*mámđi* ~ *mămăđi*                      ‘They baptize’  
*máčya* ~ *măčýya*                      ‘She smoothes’

In a similar manner, a word internal sequence *VCCV* is optionally split by an epenthetic vowel also in some stem II verbs. Again this is likely to have arisen by analogy with the syllabification of strong stem III and quadriliteral verbs. It is found mainly in verbs with weak radicals, e.g.

*mnawli* ~ *mnăwólí*                      ‘She shoes’  
*mqawla* ~ *mqăwóla*                      ‘She promises’  
*mšena* ~ *mšăyána*                      ‘She becomes tame’  
*mšarya* ~ *mšăríya*                      ‘She begins’

In stem II verbs where the cluster *VCCV* contains two identical consonants the insertion of the epenthetic vowel between them is obligatory, as is the case with stem III forms with identical second and third radicals such as *mapə.rəra* ~ *maprə.ra* ‘she widens’, e.g.

*mlămăma*                                      ‘She completes’

In stem I verbs, by contrast, the sequence of identical second and third radicals without an intervening vowel is permissible. The explanation may be that the stem I verbs are in the process of being reanalysed as middle weak verbs involving the collapsing together of the final two consonants.

In the stem II and stem III, on the other hand, there is a greater effort to keep the two radicals distinct. Indeed, some stem I verbs with identical second and third radicals have alternative middle /y/ inflections where the two radicals are in contact, e.g. *jnn* ‘to sing a dirge’:

*janna* (*jnn*) ~ *jena* (*jyn*)      ‘She sings a dirge’

#### 4.4. THE ELISION OF LARYNGALS

As has been shown in §1.4.2.2, §1.4.2.4., a historical laryngal \*ʔ is elided when in contact with another consonant, e.g.

<i>pala</i>	‘worker’	< * <i>pɑʔla</i> < * <i>pāʔlā</i>
<i>tāra</i>	‘door’	< * <i>tarʔa</i> < * <i>tarʔā</i>

The form *tāra* must have undergone resyllabification on account of the aforementioned principle of not having a vowel as a syllable onset, i.e. \**tarʔa* > *tā.ra*. The shortness of the vowel in the first syllable must be regarded as a fossilized vestige of the period when the syllable was closed, indicating that vowel lengthening is not always in step with changes in syllable structure.

A laryngal /ʔ/ between vowels is sometimes elided. This is attested between two /a/ vowels, which coalesce into one vowel nucleus. If it is stressed, this vowel is pronounced long, even if in word final position, where according to the normal rules of vowel length it would generally be expected to be short, at least when in the middle of an intonation group (§2.2.1.2.). As far as vowel lengthening is concerned, it is treated as if it were still in an open non-final syllable. Since this type of contraction does not regularly occur it is treated as an allegro form and not represented in the transcription, e.g. *hóle zdáʔa* [ʔzdæː] ‘he is afraid’.

The laryngal /ʔ/ at the beginning of a word is often elided when a vowelless particle is prefixed to it, e.g.

- (1) *b-áyya dúkθa* (< *b-ʔayya*) ‘in this place’ (A13:6)
- (2) *b-áwwa dúša* (< *b-ʔawwa*) ‘with this honey’ (A14:15)
- (3) *w-ána šaqlānna* (< *w-ʔana*) ‘and I shall take it’ (A14:52)
- (4) *w-ánna* (< *w-ʔanna*) ‘and they’ (A29:50)
- (5) *m-áxxa l-tāmāha* (< *m-ʔaxxa*) ‘from here to there’ (A13:11)

The subordinating particle *D* is devoiced in some cases. This devoicing is not a blind phonetic process but is conditioned by the grammatical category of the word to which the particle is prefixed. In principle the devoicing takes place only when the word is a verb or a copula. The devoicing results in an unaspirated /t/, e.g.

- (6) 'áwwa dúxa t-íle (< d-íle) *prima*<sup>1</sup> 'the sacrifice that has been slaughtered' (B5:71)  
 (7) 'áyya bráta šapirtə t-íla (< d-íla) *dmixta kàslí*<sup>1</sup> 'this beautiful girl who slept with me' (A26:6)  
 (8) qáša ʔu-šamáše t-íwa (< d-íwa) *tàma*<sup>1</sup> 'the priest and the deacons who were there' (B5:45)  
 (9) 'áw 'akàra<sup>1</sup> t-íθwale pθánət tàwre<sup>1</sup> 'the farmer who had the pair of oxen' (B5:74)  
 (10) báʔən t-àzən<sup>1</sup> (< d-àzən) 'I want to go' (A8:65)  
 (11) la-šábrəx t-òrəx<sup>1</sup> (< d-òrəx) 'We do not dare enter' (A14:40)

The lack of aspiration of the unvoiced particle in these words is marked in the transcription since it may contrast phonemically with the usual aspirated /t/ before a vowel, as shown by minimal pairs such as:

t-aza	'that she goes'	:	taza	'beautiful'
t-awra	'that she enters'	:	tawra	'bull'
t-arya	'that it rains'	:	tarya	'it becomes wet'
t-iwa	'who was'	:	tiwa	'sitting'

When the word is a demonstrative or the interrogative pronoun 'eni, it remains in its voiced form *d*-:

- (12) rəš-kúlla d-áni (< d-áni) 'above all of them' (A25:22)  
 (13) léwət d-áwwa (< d-áwwa) 'àθra<sup>1</sup> 'you are not from this country' (A25:82)  
 (14) xóna d-o-málka (< d-ò) 'the brother of the king' (A25:1)  
 (15) bábə d-á-brata (< d-á-) 'the father of the girl' (A29:35)  
 (16) yíwtalle ta-d-án (< d-án) xulàme<sup>1</sup> 'She gave it to the servants' (A28:26)  
 (17) gu-d-éni (< d-éni) mǝíta xáʔye?<sup>1</sup> 'In which town does he live in?' (A28:23)  
 (18) ʔu-yaláxta d-ènila?<sup>1</sup> (< d-énila) 'and whose handkerchief is it?' (A26:12)

On account of this variation in the phonetic realization of the particle it will be convenient to refer to it as *D*, which should be understood as an abstract representation including both the voiced and unvoiced realizations.

Occasionally a *b*-particle is devoiced to *p*- when the following laryngal is elided. This is restricted to a few fixed expressions where the consonant after the vowel is unvoiced, e.g.

- (19) *p-àqla* (< *b-ʔaqla*) ‘on foot’ (B5:37)  
 (20) *hóla p-ápe šawwà yamáθa* (< *b-ʔape*) ‘They are beyond seven seas’  
 (A12:21)

The elision of the laryngal /ʔ/ sometimes occurs also when a word with its own vowel nucleus is combined in a stress group with a word beginning with /ʔ/, e.g.

- (21) *mən-an-məndiyàne* (< *mən-ʔan*) ‘some of those things’ (A32:2)  
 (22) *qəm-axólle* ‘he ate it’ (A31:5)

In such cases the final consonant of the preceding word is syllabified with the beginning of the word that has lost the /ʔ/, since a syllable cannot begin with a vowel. This resyllabification does not result in any change in vowel length, just as the vowel in words such as *tára* (< *\*tarʔa* < *\*tarʕā*) remains short. It has, however, sometimes motivated the lengthening of the final consonant, allowing it to act as onset of the following syllable while remaining also the coda of the preceding one. This lengthening is not marked in the transcription:

- (23) *qəm-axlila* [qəm.mæx.ʕiɪ.læ] (< *qəm-ʔaxlila*) ‘They ate them’ (A23:35)  
 (24) *qəm-énux* [qəm.mʕɪ.nux] (< *qəm-ʔenux*) ‘before your eyes’ (A15:15)  
 (25) *ta-t-axlīwale* [tæt.tæx.ʕiɪ.wæʕ.le] ‘in order to eat it’ (A14:68)

An initial /ʔ/ is sometimes elided also when a preceding stressed word ends in a consonant and the vowel forms a syllable with this consonant across the word boundary. In such cases the elision of the /ʔ/ is not represented in the transcription, e.g.

- (26) *fəllən ʔati* [fəllən ʕætiɪ] ‘you so-and-so’ (B5:9)  
 (27) *qémən ʔzən* [qəməɪn ʕæzən] (A1:4)  
 (28) *də-šqúl ʔanna-zūze* [də-ʕqul ænɪæ-ʕuzɪze] (A1:27)



The elision of the /ʔ/ is not obligatory in any of these contexts and in many cases it is retained, e.g.

- (29) *mən-ʔasri dináre* [mən-ʔəs'ri] 'from twenty dinars' (B5:8)  
 (30) *bas-ʔiθwa* [bæs-ʔiθwɑ] 'but there was' (A8:2)  
 (31) *ʔín ʔamrənnux*<sup>1</sup> [ʔən ʔəm'rinnux] 'If I tell you' (A1:12)  
 (32) *muθélux ʔánna zúze*<sup>1</sup> [mu'θɛlux ʔənnæ] 'You have brought these coins' (A1:27)

The laryngal also occurs sometimes after vowelless particles, but in such cases the particle does not cluster with the laryngal in the onset of the syllable, since the sequence /Cʔ/ is not permissible as a syllable onset. Rather it is syllabified with the preceding word or the cluster is broken by a prosthetic or epenthetic vowel, e.g.

- (33) *báxte díye láwa píšta b-ʔürxa*<sup>1</sup> [pi].tæb. ʔürxæ] 'His wife was not on the way (to having a child)' (A8:4)  
 (34) *qímela mšoxálpə b-ʔisəqyàθa*<sup>1</sup> [m]oɪ. 'xəl.pəb.ʔiz.səq. 'jæɪ.θæ] 'They exchanged rings' (A26:7)  
 (35) *ta-t-áxlən b-ʔürxa*<sup>1</sup> [ʔəb.-ʔürxæ] 'so that I could eat (it) on the way' (A23:8)

Resyllabification does not take place across intonation group boundaries, so at the beginning of an intonation group such a cluster is always broken by a prosthetic or epenthetic vowel, e.g.

- (36) *mára dūs*<sup>1</sup> *bábi*<sup>1</sup> *b-ʔürxa*<sup>1</sup> [ʔəb. ʔɪ.xæ] *lát-xila xa-láxma-w xa-bəta*<sup>ʔ1</sup> 'She said "(He's) right, father. On the way did you not eat a loaf of bread and an egg?"' (A17:15)

A laryngal /h/ within the interior of a word is sometimes elided. This is attested between two /a/ vowels, which coalesce into one vowel nucleus. If it is stressed, this vowel is pronounced long, even if in word final position, where according to the normal rules of vowel length it would generally be expected to be short, at least when in the middle of an intonation group (§2.2.1.2.). As far as vowel lengthening is concerned it is treated as if it were still in an open non-final syllable.

- (37) *tāmàha*<sup>1</sup> [tæ'mæɪ] 'over there' (A2:5)  
 (38) *ʔáwáha* [ʔɑ'wɑɪ] 'that one over there' (A27:5)  
 (39) *b-álaha* [b'æɪlæ] 'by God' (A1:5)

It also takes place in fast speech when in contact with a preceding consonant, e.g.

- (40) *múrra tóhi t-áθya mheràli* [mɛ¹ræɪli] ‘Tell my grandmother to come and help me’ (A7:25)

Since these two aforementioned types of elision of /h/ do not take place regularly they are not marked in the transcription.

A laryngal /h/ is elided at the beginning of a word after a vowelless prefixed particle in some cases. This is regularly the case with the verb *hwy* ‘to be’, e.g. *y-áwe* ‘he is’ (< ?i-hawé), *t-áwe* ‘he will be’ (< bəd-hawé). Note the contraction and devoicing of the future particle.

It is occasionally elided when the previous word ends in a consonant. As with the elision of /ʔ/ in such a context, this is not marked in the transcription, e.g.

- (41) *xáçça xéna biš-hódax* [bi.¹ʃox.dəx] ‘a little further on’ (A7:22)  
 (42) *háł qóššət hátxelá* [¹qəš.šə.tæt.xələ] ‘The situation is like this’ (A24:32)

The sequence *CV + ʔV* sometimes contracts to *CV* at the juncture between words. For the sake of orthographic consistency, this contraction is not represented in the transcription. It occurs both where the two vowels are the same and also where they are different qualities.

(i) Contraction of two vowels of the same quality.

This is attested particularly frequently in the text corpus when the vowels have the quality of /a/, e.g.

- (43) *qímεle mkúpsšalla kúlla ʔanna* [¹kol.¹læn.næ] ‘He gathered them all up’ (A7:5)  
 (44) *kúlla-ʔani* [¹kol.læɪ.ni] *qəm-qatlıla* ‘They killed all of them’ (A13:9)  
 (45) *mεyanna ʔay-bàxta* [mɛ¹jɪn.n əj.-¹bæx.tæ] ‘I shall bring that woman’ (A4:9)  
 (46) *dirtela ʔáy* [¹dɪr.tɛ.læj] ‘She returned’ (A24:50)  
 (47) *xa-bər-náša xéna lá-ʔaməš* [¹læɪ.-məš] *xáya tàma* ‘Another person cannot live there’ (A8:48)  
 (48) *ʔé-ga ʔana-mèθn.* [¹pɛɪ.-gæɪ.næ] ‘when I die’ (A12:41)  
 (49) *ʔána mò-ʔodəm.* [¹mox.ðən] ‘What should I do?’ (A23:23)

## (ii) Vowels of different quality

In general the final vowel of the first word tends to be elided if it is an unstressed /e/ or /a/, e.g.

- (50) *mpille-ʔara* [ʔəm.ˈpɪl.læ.ræ] *gáwza*<sup>1</sup> ‘The walnut has fallen on the ground’ (A1:5)
- (51) *črikalle ʔaw-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> [ˈtʃɪrɪ.kəl.læw.ˈbɛ:θæ] ‘They surrounded that house’ (A4:53)
- (52) *hadíya mářaşánnə ʔáwəwa* [mæ.ɾə.ˈlʃæn.ˈnaw.wɑ] *ʔafríť qaťəlləxu*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now I shall wake this demon and he will kill you’ (A13:12)
- (53) *ʔítle ʔarbi* [ˈɪt.l̩.æɾ.bi] *bnàθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has forty daughters’ (A12:2)
- (54) *ʔarbi-ʔotaxe ʔiθwaləx*<sup>1</sup> [ˈɔ.ɾ.ˈx.i.θ.wɑ.ˈlɔx] ‘You had forty rooms’ (A24:34)
- (55) *ʔána wáđəñ*<sup>1</sup> *be-baxtùθa ʔəllux*<sup>1</sup> [be.ˈ-ˈbæxˈtu:θ.əl.lɔx] ‘I am performing treachery against you’ (A13:8)
- (56) *muxzélux ʔáwəwa xázina-ʔəlli*<sup>1</sup> [xæ.ˈzɪz.n.əl.li] ‘You showed this treasure to me’ (A14:23)
- (57) *b-əyya ʔurxa*<sup>1</sup> [ˈbæj.l̩.ɔɾ.xæ] ‘in this way’ (A9:4)
- (58) *təmməl ʔana-ʔəθyən*<sup>1</sup> [ˈæ.ˈnɪθ.jɪn] ‘I came yesterday’ (A12:66)

Unstressed /i/, /u/ and /o/ at the end of the first word, on the other hand, tend to be preserved, e.g.

- (59) *ʔati ʔən-yawəllux* [ˈpæ:ti.n-] *đà-tawərtə*<sup>1</sup> ‘If he gives you a cow’ (A3:4)
- (60) *ʔəp-ʔati ʔəθyət*<sup>1</sup> [ˈpæp-ˈpæ:ˈti.θ.yət] ‘You also came’ (A2:9)
- (61) *šarʔən gu-ʔiθáθə* [gu.ˈ-ˈθæ:θə] *d-áwəwa nəša*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall escape from the hands of this man’ (A31:30)

If the final vowel of the first word is stressed, it is generally the one that is retained after the contraction irrespective of its quality, e.g.

- (62) *kút-yum xá ʔarbe-díye* [ˈxæ.ɾ.be] *taləqwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Every day a sheep of his was lost’ (A10:1)
- (63) *mə-ʔawəđ* [ˈmɔx.-wəð] *b-gʷáne*<sup>21</sup> ‘What should he do with himself?’ (A30:28)

In a few cases the /r/ in the sequence CV + ʔV is replaced by a glide consonant when the two vowels are of a different quality, e.g.

- (64) *mo-ʔiba*<sup>21</sup> [mɔx.ˈlʃɪ.bæ] ‘What is in it?’ (A13:1)

The sequence *CV + hV*, with the laryngal /h/, is sometimes contracted to *CV* across a word boundary. This contraction is not marked in the transcription, e.g.

- (65) *ʔána háwən* [ʔæɪ.ˈnæɪ.wən] *Gozàli* ‘I should be Gozali’ (A8:55)  
 (66) *ʔána mo-hoyàli?* [mox.ˈjæɪ.li] ‘What could she be to me?’ (A32:12)  
 (67) *lá-hawət* [ˈlæɪ.wət] *šəðàna* ‘Don’t be mad’ (A10:8)

#### 4.5. OTHER CONTRACTIONS AND ELISIONS

Various other contractions of syllables take place in natural fast speech. These can be categorized as follows:

##### 4.5.1. *Syllables Beginning with Identical Consonants*

In a sequence of two syllables beginning with the same consonant, the first is sometimes elided. This generally takes place where the first consonant is preceded by a vowel and the second occurrence of the consonant is geminate thus:

VCVCCV > VCCV

Such contractions occur mainly in the endings of verbal forms with pronominal suffixes. It regularly takes place when a pronominal object L-suffix is bonded to a compound verbal form ending in a 3rd person copula:

<i>q̄t̄iləlle</i>	‘He has killed him’	< <i>q̄t̄ilele + lle</i>
<i>grášəlle</i>	‘He is pulling him’	< <i>grášəle + lle</i>

Since the contraction in this context is the norm, it is represented in the transcription. The endings of 3rd person compound verbal forms with pronominal suffixes are sometimes contracted further in verbs whose third radical is /l/, e.g.

- (1) *xiləlle* [ˈxiɪ:lɛ] ‘They ate him’ (A14:22)  
 (2) *šq̄iləlla* [ˈʃq̄iɪ:læ] *ʔápa dàwe* ‘He took the thousand gold pieces’ (A1:15)  
 (3) *ʔáp-xa lá-θele šq̄aləlle* [ˈʃq̄æɪ:lɛ] ‘Nobody came to buy it’ (A22:9)

- (4) *ʔa-sústat yamàθa<sup>1</sup> nabòlalla<sup>1</sup>* [næ:bo:lɹæ] *Čalkǎze<sup>1</sup>* ‘The mare of the seas is taking away Čalkǎze’ (A12:34)

The stressed vowel in these contracted forms remains long, as if it were still in an open syllable. The contracted compound past forms with suffixes are, therefore, distinguished from the non-compound past forms only by the length of the vowel:

<i>šqille</i> [ʃqil:ɛ]	‘He took’
<i>šqilalle</i> [ʃqilɹ:ɛ]	‘He has taken it’

Since, however, this type of contraction does not regularly take place, it is treated as an allomorph of the normal uncontracted form and is not represented in the transcription.

A syllabic contraction of the type *VCVCCV* > *VCCV* occasionally occurs when the 1st person singular verbal inflection *-ən* follows an /n/ that belongs to the verbal root, e.g.

- (5) *hálli banənni* [bæ:nɹi] *xa-béθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘Let me build myself a house’ (A11:10)  
 (6) *hadíya mtánənnux* [ʔmtæ:nɹ:ox] *ða-qə:šəttá<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now I shall tell you a story’ (A45:1)

#### 4.5.2. Elision of /l/

The articulation of the consonant /l/ occurring after a vowel in the copula or L-suffixes attached to a verb is occasionally weakened in the speech of a number of informants and is elided outside the contexts described in §4.4.1. If the vowels on either side of the /l/ are homorganic or closely related they coalesce into a single vowel, e.g.

- (1) *ʔən-twírwala* [ʔtwi:rwɑ] *tárna* ‘If both have broken’ (B5:59)  
 (2) *ʔíθwalan* [ʔi:θwan] ‘we had’ (B5:206)  
 (3) *θéle* [ʔθeɹ] ‘He came’ (A34:5)  
 (4) *qəm-daryála* [qəm-dəɹ!jæɹ] ‘She has put it’ (A34:6)  
 (5) *léðax ʔékela* [ʔe:ke] ‘We do not know where she is’ (A34:7)  
 (6) *ʔu-zedáye šwíqile* [ʔwi:qi] ‘He left the flat breads’ (A30:12)

If the two adjacent vowels are not homorganic the elided /l/ is replaced by a glide, e.g.

- (7) *mòdila* [ˈmoːdijæ] ‘What is it?’ (A4:14)  
 (8) *t-íla* [ˈt-iːjæ] *tàma* ‘which are there’ (A14:70)  
 (9) *hóle* [ˈhoːje] ‘behold him’ (A10:3)

More rarely a radical consonant /l/ is weakened, e.g.

- (10) *kʷelǎnna* [kʷɛːjinnæ] *zùzi* ‘I shall measure my money’ (A32:8)

It may even be elided after a consonant, resulting in the opening of a closed syllable. The vowel of the syllable remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g.

- (11) *mpatlǎle* [mpæˈtiːle] ‘They span it’ (B10:79)

This weakening and elision of /l/, which is a sporadic phenomenon and is not general to the speech of all informants, is not represented in the transcription.

#### 4.5.3. Intervocalic /y/

The glide /y/ between vowels is sometimes elided and the two adjacent syllable nuclei coalesce. This occurs in some cases in the infinitive of final /y/ verbs when used in compound verbal forms. As with the contractions described in §4.4.1. above, the vowel remains long even when this results in being in a closed syllable, e.g.

- (1) *bábi hòle* *xzàyǎlla* [ˈxzæːlɜː] ‘My father could see them’ (B9:6)  
 (2) *ʔáw* *hox-šqálǎlle* *zdáyǎlle* [ˈzdæːlɜː] ‘We take it and throw it away’ (B9:21)  
 (3) *xzáyǎt* [ˈxzæːt] *ʔánáha* *naše-t-íla* *ráqa* *bàθriː* ‘Do you see those people who are running after me?’ (A7:17)  
 (4) *lán-ðaya* [ðæː] ‘I do not know’ (B5:10)  
 (5) *hé b-álaha* *hole-ràya* [hoː-ˈræː] ‘Yes, by God, it is raining’ (A34:5)  
 (6) *hóle šmíyǎlla* [ˈʃmiːlɜː] *Rustǎmo* ‘Rustam has heard it’ (A29:11)

This contraction does not regularly take place in the constructions described above and is not represented in the transcription. Where it is the norm, however, it is represented in the transcription. This applies, for example, to negative expressions containing the verb ‘to know’, e.g.

<i>léðan</i>	‘I do not know’	< * <i>la yǎðan</i>
<i>míðan</i>	‘I do not know’	< * <i>mo yǎðan</i>

In the sequence /*aye*/, /*ayi*/ and /*aya*/ an unstressed /*e*/, /*i*/ or /*a*/ occasionally loses its status as a syllable nucleus and coalesces with the syllable marginal /*y*/. This is not represented in the transcription, e.g.

- (7) *kpišela maymúne b-ʔalpàye* [b-ʔæɫʔpæɪj] ‘The monkeys gathered in thousands’ (A14:53)
- (8) *tarté-kθaye* [kθæj] ‘two chickens’ (A2:3)
- (9) *rába báyewale* [ʔbæjwale] *ʔaw-bróna díye* ‘He loved that son of his a lot’ (A8:2)
- (10) *léle gnàyi* [gʷnæɪj] ‘It is not my fault’ (A23:23)
- (11) *bróna díye páyəs* [ʔpæɪj] *šàwpe díye* ‘His son will become (king) in his place’ (A8:2)

#### 4.5.4. Elision of Word Final /ə/

As has been described above (§4.2.), the particle *D* of annexation constructions is sometimes elided. The annexed noun is then left with a final /*a*/ vowel, e.g. *ʔéna miya* ‘the spring of water’ (A11:17). In some cases also the /*a*/ is elided. As a result the preceding syllable, which was originally open, becomes closed. The vowel, however, retains its length as if it were still in an open syllable. The elision of the /*a*/ in this context is represented in the transcription, e.g.

- (1) *brōn-málka* ‘the son of the king’ (A14:43)
- (2) *xās-sūsux* ‘the back of your donkey’ (A14:67)
- (3) *ʔĒn-Nune* ‘the Spring of Fishes (name of village)’

Sporadically a final /*a*/ is elided in other contexts at the juncture of two words. Note, for example, the following:

- (4) *ʔu-mbáqrən xázən* [ʔmbæqər ʔxæɪzən] ‘I shall ask in order to find’ (A24:4)

Here the final /*n*/ of *mbáqrən* has been elided, presumably due to its clustering with the initial consonant of the following word, by the process described in §4.2. The final /*a*/ is then elided, resulting in a syllable

ending in a cluster, which is resolved by the insertion of an epenthetic: [mbæqrən] > [mbæqrə] > [mbæqr̥]. These types of sporadic contraction across word junctions are not represented in the transcription.

#### 4.5.5. *Allegro Forms of the Past Copula*

Various contractions take place in the past enclitic copula in fast speech that are not represented in the transcription. These include the elision of the final *-wa* element in the 3rd person forms *-wewa* 'he was', *-wawa* 'she was' *-wewa* 'they were', e.g.

- (1) *xzèle 'ékə t-wəwa*<sup>1</sup> [tweɹ] 'He saw where he was' (A14:92)
- (2) *kúlla tunīθa<sup>1</sup> d-ε-bráta qəm-mtanèla<sup>1</sup>... 'u-<sup>2</sup>èni-wewa* [pɛɹniwe] *twíralle réšə díye*<sup>1</sup> 'He narrated all the story of the girl...and who had broken his head' (A29:12)
- (3) *'u-xa-mašmóye-wewa* [mæ<sup>1</sup>moɹjwe] *'allèni lázəm*<sup>1</sup> 'Somebody must have been listening to us' (A35:19)
- (4) *rəša-réša d-a-dudəkθa<sup>1</sup> t-wawa* [t-waɹ] *rəš-d-à-masta*<sup>1</sup> 'across the pipe that was over the yoghurt' (A11:5)
- (5) *'ánna xákma náše gabbàre-wewa*<sup>1</sup> [gæb<sup>1</sup>bærewə] *xelàne*<sup>1</sup> 'These were mighty heroic warriors' (A29:1)
- (6) *'áni xá-yoma šəlye xyàpa-wewa*<sup>1</sup> [xjæɹpawə] 'One day they went down to bathe' (A34:27)

On some occasions the initial /w/ of these clitic forms is elided after a consonant, e.g.

- (7) *gu-d-ay šwíθa t-wewa-dmíxa* [teɹwa] *xònəx*<sup>1</sup> 'In the bed in which your brother had slept' (A8:68)
- (8) *ma-t-wéwa* [teɹwa] *mùɣəllə*<sup>1</sup> 'so much had he fortified it' (A11:16)
- (9) *'imə t-wewa-mára* [t-εɹ-maɹra] *ʔla-ʔUmmo*<sup>1</sup> 'when he was saying to ʔUmmo...' (A23:25)

#### 4.5.6. *Miscellaneous Other Allegro Forms*

In fast speech one occasionally hears various other contractions that are not included in the categories described above. None of these are represented in the transcription, e.g.



- (1) *čedátla* [tʃætɹæ] *kúlla nášət màθa* 'You should invite all the people of the village' (A7:2)
- (2) *bábi šqilátle* [ʃqilɹtle] 'You have taken my father' (A14:23)
- (3) *yáðət b-gànux* [jəðt 'gæɹnux] 'You know, by your soul' (A1:11)

CHAPTER FIVE  
WORD STRESS

5.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The position of word stress is largely predictable. Since, however, there is some variation, the place of stress is marked in the transcription on all words that bear it. The transcription of the recorded texts also marks the boundaries of intonation groups by a short vertical sign <sup>1</sup>. Intonation contours are not represented, but a distinction is made between the nuclear stress of the intonation group and non-nuclear stress. The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group, is marked by a grave accent (*̀*) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (*́*), e.g.

- (1) *ʔáwwa qímɛle qedàmta,<sup>1</sup> ʃqílǎlle xa-mən-súsət xàle,<sup>1</sup> tíwa l-xáʃe díye,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sàlyá.<sup>1</sup>*  
'He got up in the morning, took one of his father's horses, sat on its back and went down.' (A25:40)

In principle, there is only one nuclear stress in an intonation group. Occasionally, however, two intonation groups are linked together without any perceptible boundary by a process of sandhi and two nuclear stresses occur in what appears to be a single intonation group (cf. Cruttenden 1986: 43), e.g.

- (2) *ʔàtít θiθa kəsli.<sup>1</sup> lán ʔàna-ʔəθya kəsləx.<sup>1</sup>* 'You came to me. I did not come to you.' (A4:4)
- (3) *ʔaw-lèwa qázde díye ta-t-ázət ʔawðátte xaprátte tura<sup>1</sup>* 'It was not his intention that you should go and dig the mountain.' (A17:19)

In words that consist of more than one syllable, the general position for the placement of stress is on the penultimate syllable. Deviations from this canonical position occur for a number of reasons. The various grammatical categories of words exhibit some differences in stress patterns, so they will be dealt separately in what follows.

## 5.2. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Independent personal and demonstrative pronouns regularly take the stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

<i>ʾána</i>	‘I’
<i>ʾáwwa</i>	‘this’
<i>ʾáwáha</i>	‘that over there’

As remarked in §4.4., the laryngal /h/ in the sequence /aha/ in forms such as *ʾáwáha* is sometimes elided and the two syllable nuclei coalesce. In such cases the stress does not shift back a place and so it falls on what is now the final syllable of the word: [ʾaʰwaɪ]. This contraction is not marked in the transcription.

## 5.3. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

In principle the stress falls on the penultimate syllable in both singular and plural forms, e.g.

<i>béθa</i>	‘house’
<i>xwára</i>	‘white’
<i>basíma</i>	‘pleasant’
<i>ʾilána</i>	‘tree’
<i>ʾilanáne</i>	‘trees’

This applies also to forms with pronominal suffixes, with the exception of the 3pl. suffix, which often takes the stress, resulting in the placement of the stress on the final syllable of the word, e.g.

<i>béθi</i>	‘my house’
<i>bεθéxu</i>	‘your (pl.) house’
<i>bεθéy ~ bεθé</i>	‘their house’

The word final stress in the forms with the 3pl. suffix can be explained by the fact that this suffix has developed historically from a form \*-áyhən, with stress on the penultimate (§7.2.). The final syllable has been elided but the stress has remained in its historical position, which is now the final syllable. The stress is not, however, completely fixed in this position and it

is sometimes moved back to the penultimate syllable, in conformity with the synchronic syllable structure, e.g.

- (1) *ʿap-xmárey šqilalla<sup>1</sup> dawérey tridalla<sup>1</sup>* ‘They also took their asses and drove away their mules’ (A7:15)  
 (2) *kúlla daryalla xásət dawérey<sup>1</sup>* ‘They put everything on the back of their mules’ (B4:15)

This retraction to the penultimate is, in fact, the norm when the suffix has the form of the monophthong *-e*, though cases of word final stress are occasionally attested, e.g.

- (3) *daríwala l-ganè<sup>1</sup>* ‘They used to put it on themselves’ (B15:28)

Loanwords that are stressed on the final syllable in the source language and have not been adapted to Aramaic morphology by attaching an inflectional ending are nevertheless usually adapted to the canonical Aramaic stress pattern by retracting the stress to the penultimate syllable. This applies also to nouns that in the source language have a long vowel in the final syllable. After the stress shift, this vowel is pronounced short, e.g.

<i>wázir</i>	‘minister’	< Arab. <i>wazír</i>
<i>ḥákím</i>	‘doctor’	< Arab. <i>ḥakím</i>
<i>ʿajíb</i>	‘amazing’	< Arab. <i>ʿajíb</i>
<i>ḥúddud</i>	‘borders’	< Arab. <i>ḥudúd</i>
<i>ḥújum</i>	‘attack’	< Arab. <i>ḥujúm</i>
<i>pážgír</i>	‘towel’	< Kurd. <i>pêjgír</i>
<i>múxtər</i>	‘village head’	< Arab. <i>muxtár</i>
<i>ʿÍrən</i>	‘Iran’	< Pers./Arab. <i>ʿÍrán</i>
<i>ʿótəx</i>	‘room’	< Kurd. <i>otáx</i>
<i>čángəl</i>	‘fork’	< Kurd. <i>çengál</i>
<i>díwən</i>	‘social gathering’	< Kurd. <i>díwán</i>
<i>táln</i>	‘plunder’	< Kurd. <i>talán</i>

In some cases nouns and adjectives that normally take the stress on the penultimate syllable are stressed on another syllable. The purpose of this stress shift to a non-canonical position has a functional explanation.

In trisyllabic nouns the stress is shifted to the antepenultimate syllable when it is functioning as a vocative. This is the case with the word *ʿalaha* ‘God’, e.g.

- (4) *ya-ʔálaha šqùlli* ‘Oh God, take me!’ (A15:19)  
 (5) *ya-ʔálaha<sup>1</sup> hal-róxa qa-d-ánna náše t-ila píše kèpa<sup>1</sup>* ‘Oh God, give spirit to these people who have become stone’ (A8:82)  
 (6) *móre yá-marya ʔálaha<sup>1</sup> móre ga-mù<sup>1</sup> qwála tla-ʔálaha,<sup>1</sup> ya-ʔálaha<sup>1</sup> móre ʔána bəryən.<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘He said “Oh Lord God”, he said complaining to God “Oh God, why was I born?”’ (A14:23)

In (6) it can be seen that a distinction is made between the vocative forms of *ʔálaha* with antepenultimate stress and the non-vocative form that has the canonical penultimate stress. In many cases, however, the antepenultimate stress is retained also when the word does not have a vocative function, e.g.

- (7) *ʔálaha mšúdrəlle malàxa<sup>1</sup>* ‘God sent an angel to him’ (A15:5)  
 (8) *móre šaqláxle bronéy ta-t-taxríle ʔálaha xá-ga xèta<sup>1</sup>* ‘He told us to take their son so that they remember God again’ (A15:17)  
 (9) *har-ʔúrxət ʔálaha dóqəm b-ðvi<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall always keep firmly to God’s way (literally: keep in my hand)’ (A15:21)

The explanation appears to be that due to the frequent use of the vocative form *ʔálaha* there is a tendency to treat the vocative stress placement as the norm and extend it to non-vocative occurrences of the word. It should be noted that the stress is regularly retracted when it has an exclamatory function, as in the oath *b-álaha* ‘by God’.

Retraction of the stress in trisyllabic words used in vocative function may result in contraction of weak consonants. This is the case, for example, in the word *xwarzáya* ‘nephew’, which is attested as a vocative with the form *xwàrza* (A29:17).

In disyllabic words, where the stress cannot be moved back further, it is occasionally shifted from the canonical penultimate position to word final position in vocative expressions that involve particularly emotive engagement on the part of the speaker, e.g.

- (10) *móra babì,<sup>1</sup> yáðət ʔədyo módi wídle Fárxo bìyən.<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘She said “Father. Do you know what Farxo did to us?”’ (A25:19)

Elsewhere, shift of stress in nouns and adjectives from the canonical position is attested in phrases to which the speaker wishes to attract particular attention and give prominence. In (11), for example, the prominence given to the expression ‘the first time’ is due to the fact that it is placed

in contrastive opposition to the second and third times that the character had come:

- (11) ʔo-gáya qáməða θélux l-kásli,<sup>1</sup> móri !lálux<sup>1</sup> málka xázyele b-xəlme dúnye ráya tèle.<sup>1</sup> ‘The first time you came to me, I said to you that the king saw in his dream that it was raining foxes.’ (A1:22)

One could, in fact, regard also the vocative and exclamatory functions as manifestations of a general function of the stress shift from the canonical position to attract particular attention to the word.

There is, however, one context where stress is shifted from the canonical position for rhythmic rather than discourse functional reasons. This is found in bisyllabic nouns placed after words that are stressed on the final syllable. In such cases the stress of the noun is sometimes moved to the end of the word, presumably to avoid the occurrence of stress in two consecutive syllables, e.g.

- (12) ʔáštà yarxé<sup>1</sup> xamsà yarxé<sup>1</sup> ‘six months, five months’ (B5:3)  
 (13) wírre mən-əsri-w-xamsà šənné<sup>1</sup> ‘He passed twenty-five years’ (A8:33)  
 (14) xá malkà<sup>1</sup> ‘a king’ (A8:2)  
 (15) xá bronà<sup>1</sup> ‘a son’ (A8:3)  
 (16) ʔáw malkà<sup>1</sup> ‘that king’ (A8:2)

#### 5.4. VERBS

Different patterns of stress are exhibited by (i) verbal forms derived from present and past bases, (ii) imperative forms and (iii) compound verbal forms containing a copula enclitic.

##### 5.4.1. *Verbal Forms Derived from Present and Past Bases*

In principle the stress is placed in the canonical position on the penultimate syllable in such forms, e.g.

<i>qátəl</i>	‘he kills’
<i>qátlən</i>	‘I kill’
<i>qatlítu</i>	‘you (pl.) killed’
<i>mšádra</i>	‘she sends’
<i>mtámóma</i>	‘she completes’

<i>qtílle</i>	‘he killed’
<i>mšudárre</i>	‘he sent’

As can be seen in forms such as *mtámáma*, the stress is placed on an epenthetic vowel if this is in a penultimate syllable. On some occasions, however, the epenthetic is ignored and the stress is placed on the preceding syllable, e.g. *mtágəbrən* ‘I look after’ (A1:8).

When additional suffixes are added to such forms, the stress shifts accordingly and remains on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

<i>qaṭə́lwa</i>	‘he used to kill’
<i>qaṭə́lle</i>	‘he kills him’

There is a constraint, however, that prevents the stress shifting onto one of these additional suffixes, which causes it to remain in antepenultimate position in some forms. This applies to the attachment of the element *wa* followed by a pronominal suffix, e.g.

<i>qtílwale</i>	‘he had killed him’
<i>qtíláwale</i>	‘he had killed her’
<i>qaṭə́lwale</i>	‘he used to kill him’

The 2pl. forms also deviate from the canonical stress position in that the stress is constrained to remain on the penultimate syllable of the subject inflection suffix *-itu* even when additional suffixes are added, e.g.

<i>qaṭlítuwa</i>	‘you (pl.) used to kill’
<i>qaṭlítule</i>	‘you (pl.) kill him’
<i>qaṭlítuwale</i>	‘you (pl.) used to kill him’

These two constraints can be collapsed into one, namely that the stress has to remain on a syllable that contains a radical of the verbal base.

Deviations from these principles of stress placement are found in some verbal forms where the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to the expression, e.g.

- (1) *lá gawrèn!* ‘I shall not marry!’ (A16:5)
- (2) *rəmyàθa hawetúwa!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Oh that you would be cursed!’ (A26:27)

Stress is shifted from its normal position also in some constructions where a verbal form is repeated, the second occurrence exhibiting a variation in stress position from the first occurrence, e.g.

- (3) *marəqðə̀xwale.*<sup>1</sup> *marəqðiwalè,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-náše yawíwale yabiše,*<sup>1</sup> *gòze.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then we made him dance. They made him dance so that people would give him raisins, walnuts.’ (B16:10)
- (4) *kúlla-hatxa dorìwala.*<sup>1</sup> *dorìwala,*<sup>1</sup> *péšüwa pràge.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would thresh all of it. They would thresh it and it would become millet.’ (B16:28)

#### 5.4.2. Imperative Forms

In imperative forms of verbs the stress is generally placed on the initial syllable of the form irrespective of how many syllables back it is from the end of the word, e.g.

<i>q̄túl</i>	‘kill!’ (sing.)
<i>q̄t̄lu</i>	‘kill!’ (pl.)
<i>q̄t̄lule</i>	‘kill (pl.) him!’
<i>mšádər</i>	‘send! (sing.)’
<i>mšádərre</i>	‘send (sing.) it!’
<i>mápəlxu</i>	‘use! (pl.)’
<i>mápəlxule</i>	‘use (pl.) it!’

This principle of stress placement on imperative forms in some cases distinguishes them from an otherwise homophonous form derived from the present base, e.g.

<i>mšádərre</i>	‘send it!’ (imperative)
<i>mšádərre</i>	‘he sends it’ (present base)

#### 5.4.3. Compound Verbal Forms

In compound verbal forms, which are a combination of a resultative participle or infinitive base with an auxiliary copula element, the stress placement only takes account of the base and falls on the penultimate syllable of the base irrespective of any additional elements, e.g.

<i>q̄t̄ilele</i>	‘he has killed’	< <i>q̄t̄ila</i> + <i>ile</i>
<i>q̄t̄iltela</i>	‘she has killed’	< <i>q̄t̄ilta</i> + <i>ila</i>



<i>q̄t̄ilawewa</i>	‘he had killed’	< <i>q̄t̄ila</i> + <i>wewa</i>
<i>m̄šúdr̄e</i>	‘he has sent’	< <i>m̄šúdra</i> + <i>ile</i>
<i>m̄šudárt̄ela</i>	‘she has sent’	< <i>m̄šudárta</i> + <i>ila</i>
<i>q̄t̄il̄alle</i>	‘he has killed him’	< <i>q̄t̄ila</i> + <i>ile</i> + <i>le</i>
<i>m̄šudárt̄alle</i>	‘she has sent it’	< <i>m̄šudárta</i> + <i>ila</i> + <i>le</i>
<i>hóle q̄t̄il̄alle</i>	‘he has killed him’	< <i>hóle q̄t̄ila</i> + <i>alle</i>
<i>hóla m̄šudárt̄alle</i>	‘she has sent it’	< <i>hóla m̄šudárta</i> + <i>alle</i>

This stress placement may distinguish a compound form from an otherwise homophonous form derived from a present base, e.g.

<i>yáw̄alle</i>	‘he is giving him’ (compound)
<i>yaw̄alle</i>	‘he gives him’ (present base)

### 5.5. NUMERALS

When numerals occur independently they regularly have penultimate stress, e.g.

<i>ṭl̄áθa</i>	‘three’
<i>xad̄áss̄ər</i>	‘eleven’
<i>ʔárbi</i>	‘forty’
<i>ʔúmma</i>	‘a hundred’

When they qualify a following noun, however, the stress is sometimes placed on the final syllable, e.g.

- (1) *xams̄i yománe*<sup>1</sup> ‘fifty days’ (B16:12)
- (2) *šawwà xonāwáθa* ‘seven brothers’ (B4:7)
- (3) *ʔummà dináre*<sup>1</sup> ‘a hundred dinars’ (A24:3)
- (4) *q̄urb̄at ṭl̄aθi š̄annéle*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is nearly thirty years old’ (A8:33)
- (5) *ʔarbá-mma-w xams̄i ʔis̄əqyáθa* ‘four hundred and fifty rings’ (A13:13)

The motivation for this shift from the canonical stress position appears to be to give prominence to the numeral. This is shown by the fact that there is a particular tendency to shift the stress position when the nuclear stress of the intonation group falls on the numeral. As has been remarked in §5.3., when a bisyllabic noun follows numerals that are stressed on the

final syllable, the stress of the noun is sometimes shifted to the end to avoid the occurrence of stress in two consecutive syllables.

### 5.6. ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

Several adverbial particles that stand as independent words follow the canonical rules of stress placement and take the stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

<i>baráye</i>	‘outside’
<i>gawáye</i>	‘inside’
<i>qamáye</i>	‘at first’
<i>hadíya</i>	‘now’

Some adverbs, however, retract the stress to the antepenultimate syllable on certain occasions. This is found mainly in some temporal adverbs, e.g.

<i>qédamta</i>	‘early in the morning, the next day’
<i>bázzune</i>	‘last/next year’
’ <i>dléle</i>	‘tonight’
’ <i>ššeta</i>	‘this year’

This retraction does not regularly take place in all occurrences of the words. They are also used with penultimate stress. The retraction to the antepenultimate syllable is motivated to some extent by discourse function. There is a clear tendency for the forms with antepenultimate stress to be used when the word functions as a sentence adverbial in a prominent position at the front of the sentence whereas the form with canonical penultimate stress is generally used later in the clause after the verb. This is illustrated below for the adverb *qédamta* ‘the early morning, the next day’, e.g.

- (1) *qédamta híwele xàbra<sup>1</sup> sìqela<sup>1</sup>* ‘The next day he gave word and they went up’ (A26:45)
- (2) *qédamta qíméle xále dīye,<sup>1</sup> ’ína xázγalla ’án ’askaràye,<sup>1</sup> kúlla xðirta<sup>1</sup> ’Amedia<sup>1</sup>* ‘The next morning his maternal uncle got up and saw those soldiers and (saw that) Amedia was completely surrounded’ (A25:79)
- (3) *qédamta m̀̀re<sup>1</sup>* ‘The next day he said...’ (A1:2)

- (4) *ʔu-qímli qedámta,<sup>1</sup> la-xəzyàli* ‘I got up in the early morning and did not find her’ (A26:11)
- (5) *bína qémi qedámta nàše<sup>1</sup> ʔu-jàmi* ‘The people get up the next morning and gather together’ (B5:46)

The non-canonical antepenultimate stress has the function of giving particular prominence to the sentence adverbial, which typically marks the onset of a new section of discourse. On some occasions *qedámta* occurs with antepenultimate stress after the verb. In also these cases the motivation for the stress retraction generally appears to be motivated by an intention by the speaker to give prominence to the particle. This is shown by the fact that the particle is often presented in its own intonation group in such cases, e.g.

- (6) *síqla qəm-m̄tamrila,<sup>1</sup> qèdamta<sup>1</sup>* ‘They went up and buried her in the morning’ (A25:86)
- (7) *qìntela,<sup>1</sup> qèdamta<sup>1</sup> léla mírta ʔla-xmáθa-w xəmyána-w ʔáxxa-w tàmma<sup>1</sup>* ‘She got up in the morning, but did not tell her mother-in-law and father-in-law, and so forth’ (A19:7)

The motivation for giving it prominence is sometimes to set it up in a contrastive opposition with another item in the adjacent context, e.g.

- (8) *Mámo mitle qèdamta-w<sup>1</sup> ʔána méθən ʔašərtá<sup>1</sup>* ‘Mămo died in the morning and I shall die in the evening’ (A26:83)

## CHAPTER SIX

### STRESS GROUPS

#### 6.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Occasionally a short word is combined with another word in a single stress group and only one of the words bears stress. The stress may fall on either the first or second word, depending on the nature of the component words and on their relative informational importance. Such stress groups occasionally consist of more than two words. In most cases each of the component words can bear its own stress and examples of this can be found in other contexts. If the stress falls on the final word of the group, its position in this word is normally the same as it would have been if the word stood independently. If, on the other hand, the stress falls on the first word of the group and this word consists of more than one syllable, the stress is often placed on the final syllable of the word, rather than on the penultimate one, where it would be placed if the word stood independently.

When the words that are combined in such stress groups retain their full form without contraction, they are joined in the transcription by a hyphen. When, however, one word is contracted and coalesces in some way phonetically with another word no hyphen is used, e.g. *dūs-ile* (*dūs* + *ile*) ‘He is right’, but *xəðyele* (*xəðya* + *ile*) ‘He is happy’.

Some of the most common types of words that are combined with other words in stress groups are as follows.

#### 6.2. NUMERAL + COUNTED NOMINAL

The stress falls either on the nominal following the numeral or on the numeral. When the numeral is ‘two’ and above it is more frequently placed on the numeral than on the noun. The distribution of the stress in groups containing the numeral ‘one’ (*xa* m., *ða* f.) depends on various factors such as whether the numeral is functioning as a cardinal or as an indefinite article and what information value is conveyed by the noun. These will be discussed in greater detail in §14.1. Suffice it to say here

that if the numeral functions as a cardinal it tends to take the stress, as is the case with the other cardinals. When numerals contain more than one syllable, the stress is regularly put on the final syllable:

### 6.2.1. *Stress on the Nominal*

Examples: *xá-màlka* ‘a king’ (A1:2), *ðá-’ótax* ‘a room’ (A4:43), *tre-’umràne* ‘two churches’ (B1:6), *ʔl̥aθa-yóme* (A3:6).

### 6.2.2. *Stress on the Numeral*

Examples: *xá-yoma* ‘one day’ (B5:25), *ðá-kθεθa* ‘one chicken’ (A2:3), *trè-yome* ‘two days’ (A50:8), *térté-kθaye* ‘two chickens’ (A1:3); *’arbà-yarxe* ‘four months’ (A30:37), *xamsà-juwale* ‘five sacks’ (B5:86), *šawwà-qʔfle* ‘seven locks’ (A13:11), *xamsì-gure* ‘fifty men’ (A52:20), *šawwí-zəvre* ‘seventy spins’ (A52:2).

### 6.2.3. *Stress on Both Components*

Examples: *xá maláxa* ‘an angel’ (A8:23), *tré malàxe* ‘two angels’ (A4:2), *ʔl̥à bnóne* ‘three sons’ (A24:1), *xamsà ’otáxe* ‘five rooms’ (B5:187).

## 6.3. PREDICATE + COPULA

The stress regularly falls on the predicate. The presence of the copula is ignored with regard to the rules of stress placement and the stress is put on the penultimate syllable of the first word, e.g.

*xàwərn-ile* ‘He is our friend’ (A46:61)

*d̥iyux-ile* ‘It is yours’ (A26:38)

*’ána b̥àxtux-iwən* ‘I am your wife’

*d̥ùs-iwa.* ‘He was right’ (A14:71)

*bábət Mǎmo gòra-wewa* ‘The father of Mǎmo was a great man’ (A26:13)

*gwírta-wawa* ‘She was married’ (A26:22)

On a few sporadic occasions the copula following the predicate has its own stress, e.g.

- lāʿat ʾāw ʾile*<sup>1</sup> ‘Surely it is him’ (A25:47)  
*xá gáwra xelána-w zàxma wéwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘He was a powerful, tough man’  
 (A27:1)  
*dmìxa wéwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘He was asleep’ (A8:3)

#### 6.4. NEGATOR + VERB/NOMINAL/ADVERBIAL

The default position of the stress is on the negated item. In certain circumstances, however, it is retracted onto the negator. The distribution of stress in negative constructions is examined in more detail in §17.7.14.1.

##### 6.4.1. *Stress on the Negated Item*

- la-šábrax t-òrax*<sup>1</sup> ‘We do not dare enter’ (A14:40)  
*la-sáqði bìya*<sup>1</sup> ‘They are not unhappy with it’ (B5:197)  
*lmo la-qìmlux?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why did you not stand?’ (A26:48)  
*la-bàba ʾile,*<sup>1</sup> *la-γàmmē ʾile*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has neither a father nor a mother’  
 (A14:16)

##### 6.4.2. *Stress on the Negator*

- xošéba lá-palxi nàše*<sup>1</sup> ‘On Sunday people do not work’ (B5:130)  
*là-jwìjle súsá*<sup>1</sup> ‘The horse did not move’ (A26:28)  
*lá-mšən mtanánnəx kùlla*<sup>1</sup> ‘I cannot tell you everything’ (A14:33)  
*là-daqrət bíye*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not touch him!’ (A26:73)  
*lá-mur hàtxa!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not say that!’ (A26:52)  
*là-kulley yapáwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Not all of them used to bake’ (B5:17)

##### 6.4.3. *Stress on Both Components*

- lá taxmánən*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not think’ (A26:44)  
*ʾáwwa là hummánne*<sup>1</sup> ‘He did not believe’ (A26:79)  
*ʾu-réšəx là parmánne*<sup>1</sup> ‘and I shall not cut off your head’ (A14:35)  
*là mašíθət*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not listen’ (A26:11)  
*là kùlla náše*<sup>1</sup> ‘not everybody’ (B10:88)

## 6.5. ATTRIBUTIVE DEMONSTRATIVE + NOMINAL

These demonstratives are often combined with the nominal, especially when the demonstrative is in its ‘default’ form (§7.4.), which is morphologically least complex. The stress is put either on the nominal or on the demonstrative pronoun. This is determined by syntactic and discourse factors that will be discussed in §14.3.3.

6.5.1. *Stress on the Nominal*

Examples: *’aw-màlka* ‘that king’ (A14:3), *’o-tára* ‘that door’ (A17:20), *’ay-dùkθa* ‘that place’ (A17:27), *’a-bràta* ‘that girl’ (A16:6), *’an-’árrwe* ‘those sheep’ (A10:1), *’awwa-náša* ‘this person’ (A8:3), *’anna-náše* ‘these people’ (A11:18).

6.5.2. *Stress on the Demonstrative*

Examples: *’ó-malka* ‘that king’ (A24:1), *’ò-yoma* ‘that day’ (B15:93), *’é-ga* ‘at that time’ (A30:27), *’án-julla díya* ‘those clothes of hers’ (A14:99).

6.5.3. *Stress on Both Components*

This is found only sporadically when the attributive demonstrative is in its short default form, but is the norm when it is one of the longer morphologically heavier sets: *’áv malkà* ‘that king’ (A8:2), *’áv kavšèy* ‘that hair of theirs’ (A8:14), *’án naθyáθà d-àn hambišáye* ‘those ears of those giants’ (A12:16), *’áwra náša* ‘this man’ (A8:3), *’áyya bàxta* ‘this woman’ (A14:4), *’ánna mändiyàne* ‘these things’ (B5:73).

## 6.6. QUANTIFIER + NOMINAL

Stress groups of this type are mainly found with the monosyllabic quantifier *ku(t)* ‘each, every’. The stress is put either on the nominal or on the quantifier pronoun.

6.6.1. *Stress on the Nominal*

Examples: *kut-béθa* ‘each house’ (B5:64), *kut-téna* ‘each load’ (B5:181), *kut-másta* ‘each hair’ (A27:10), *kut-béna* ‘each time’ (B10:63), *kut-báze* ‘each jump of his’ (A52:6), *kulla-náše* ‘everybody’ (B10:22).

### 6.6.2. *Stress on the Quantifier*

Examples: *kùt-yoma* ‘every day’ (B5:158), *kùt-yun* ‘every day’ (B10:85), *kù-ššat* ‘every year’ (A12:1), *kù-māndit báyat* ‘anything you want’ (A25:14), *kùl-tāhər* ‘every kind’ (A27:4), *kùl-naše* ‘everybody’ (B10:51).

### 6.6.3. *Stress on Both Components*

This is found mainly with the bisyllabic quantifier *kulla* ‘all, the whole’: *kùlla mátha* ‘all the village’ (B6:14), *kùlla mđuta* ‘all the town’ (B6:17), *kùlla tunītha* ‘the whole story’ (A29:12), *kùlla dukāne* ‘all places’ (B3:17), *kùt yašilat qāšra* ‘every corner of the palace’ (A12:24).

### 6.6.4. *Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases*

Monosyllabic prepositions are regularly combined with the item that follows them in a single stress group and the stress is placed on the second item, e.g.

Examples: *mən-šəda* ‘from the hunt’ (A26:54), *max-šəđana* ‘like a madman’ (A26:9), *qam-ʔənəx* ‘before your eyes’ (A4:36), *bar-šupa* ‘behind the stove’ (A32:32), *gu-šmša* ‘in the sun’ (A2:4).

Prepositional phrases consisting of *ʔall-* + pronominal suffix are often attached to a preceding verb or noun in a stress group. In such cases the stress falls on the first item, in most cases on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

*məri-llux*<sup>1</sup> ‘I said to you’ (A26:78)  
*mhuymānni-llux* ‘I have trusted you’ (A1:18)  
*šlāma-llux*<sup>1</sup> ‘greetings to you’ (A1:11)  
*masimən bāl-ʔalla*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall look after them’ (A8:18)  
*zodānta-lləxu*<sup>1</sup> ‘an extra one for you’ (A5:6)

Occasionally the stress is shifted to the end of the first word of the group, e.g.

*hóya brixta-llux*<sup>1</sup> ‘Congratulations to you’ (A25:69)  
*ʔáxni t-amrəxlux qəššəttən-əllux*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall tell you our story’ (A24:51)

Examples of the occurrence of stress on both components contain usually the preposition with 2pl. or 3pl. pronominal suffixes, e.g.



*dére šlâma ’alléxu*<sup>1</sup> ‘He offers you a greeting’ (A25:47)  
*qimle mürisle hátxa míya ’allèy*<sup>1</sup> ‘He sprinkled water on them like this’  
 (B6:11)  
*sab-y-áwe qaləpθa ’alléy*<sup>1</sup> ‘since there is a peel on them’ (B5:216)

#### 6.7. STRESS GROUPS CONSISTING OF MORE THAN TWO WORDS

*gu-’ayya-maθèni*<sup>1</sup> ‘in this village of ours’ (B11:16)  
*qam-ðà-’ərxé*<sup>1</sup> ‘before a mill’ (A32:1)  
*gu-xa-quşxáne gòrta*<sup>1</sup> ‘in a big pan’ (B6:13)  
*xa-l-d-o-xréna* ‘one on the other’ (B6:10)  
*ta-’ap-o-yóma* ‘to also that day’ (B5:68)

## MORPHOLOGY



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### PRONOUNS

#### 7.1. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3rd pers.	ms.	ʔaw	(ʔawən)
	fs.	ʔay	(ʔayən)
	pl.	ʔáni	
2nd pers.	ms.	ʔáti	(ʔat)
	fs.	ʔáti	(ʔat)
	pl.	ʔáxtu	
1st pers.	sing.	ʔána	
	pl.	ʔáxni	

Some of these pronominal forms have undergone historical development, largely by the force of analogy.

The 3rd person singular pronouns ʔaw (ms.) and ʔay (fs.) are conservative in form, being derived from \*haw < \*hā-hū and \*hay < \*hā-hū respectively. The forms ʔawən ‘he’ and ʔayən ‘she’ with an augmented -ən suffix are sporadically used by speakers. This augment regularly occurs on the pronouns in some other NENA dialects, e.g. ʔawən, ʔayən (C. Baṭnaya, C. Darbant, C. Karimlesh, C. Tisqopa); ʔawun, ʔayun (C. Ankawa), ʔawwən, ʔayyən (C. Shosh-u-Sharmən).

The 3pl. form ʔáni is abundantly attested across the NENA area. The final -i no doubt developed by analogy with the 3pl. -i inflection of present base verbs, e.g. qaṭli ‘they kill’. In some other NENA dialects the ending is formed by analogy with the 3pl. inflectional endings that occur on past base verbs and nouns, e.g. C. Ankawa ʔanu (cf. qṭəllu ‘they killed’, beṭu ‘their house’), C. Qaraqosh ʔanhən (cf. qṭəlhən ‘they killed’, beṭhən ‘their house’).

The 2nd person singular form ʔati has developed by attaching an augment suffix -i to the base ʔat. The base form ʔat itself is sporadically used by speakers. The motivation for the augment was probably to increase the form to two syllables in conformity with the other pronouns in the paradigm. It may be related to the augment -ən, which is attested on the

2nd personal suffix in some NENA dialects, e.g. *'atən* (C. Urmi, C. Jilu, C. Darbant). The final /n/ of the *-ən* augment would have been elided. In some dialects the final vowel is *-ə* or *-e* after the elision of the /n/, e.g. *'atə* (C. Mar-Yaqo), *'ate* (C. Bēšpən, C. Mēr, C. Peshabur, C. Umra d-Shish). Alternatively the *-i* may be the original form of the augment. One may compare the interrogative pronouns *máni* 'who?' (< \**man*), and *dáxi* ~ *dax* 'how?', also the final *-i* augment in secondary long forms of various pronominal suffixes, e.g. on present base verbs: *-ət* ~ *-eti* (2ms.), *-ət* ~ *-ati* (2fs.), *-ax* ~ *-exi* (1pl.); on nouns and prepositions: *-ən* ~ *-eni* (1pl.). This *-i* augment is used in C. Urmi and related dialects in middle /y/ verbs, e.g. *qayəm* ~ *qemi* 'he rises'.

The initial *'ax-* element in the 2nd person plural form *'axtu* has apparently developed by analogy with the 1st person plural form *'axni*.

## 7.2. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES ON NOUNS AND PREPOSITIONS

The pronominal suffixes are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>-e</i>
	fs.	<i>-a</i>
	pl.	<i>-ay, -ey, -ey, -ε, -a</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>-ux</i>
	fs.	<i>-ax, -ax</i>
	pl.	<i>-exu, -axu</i>
1st pers.	sing.	<i>-i</i>
	pl.	<i>-m, -an, -eni</i>

These suffixes replace the final inflectional vowel of nouns, as illustrated by the following, which presents the suffixed forms of the noun *bεθa* 'house':

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>bέθε</i>
	fs.	<i>bέθα</i>
	pl.	<i>bεθáy, bεθέy, bεθέy, bεθέ, bέθα</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>bέθux</i>
	fs.	<i>bέθax, bέθax</i>
	pl.	<i>bεθέxu, bεθάxu</i>

1st pers.	sing.	<i>béθi</i>
	pl.	<i>béθm, bεθéni</i>

These suffixes are added to both singular and plural nouns. If, therefore, singular and plural forms are distinguished only by the final nominal inflectional vowel, the suffixed forms of both are identical, e.g. *képa* ‘stone’, *képe* ‘stones’, but *képux* ‘your (ms.) stone/stones’.

The 3rd person singular suffixes derive historically from *\*-eh* and *\*-ah* with final /h/. The original form of the suffixes with final /h/ has been preserved in the suffixes in several NENA dialects, e.g. C. Ankawa, C. Barəṭle, C. Baṭnaya. The endings *-e* and *-a* are homophonous with the nominal plural and singular endings respectively. A form such as *képe*, therefore, could mean ‘stones’, ‘his stone’ or ‘his stones’. Likewise, *képa* could mean ‘stone’, ‘her stone’ or ‘her stones’. The meaning is often clarified by combining a noun ending in a 3rd singular pronominal suffix with the corresponding independent genitive particle (§7.3.), e.g. *képe dīye* ‘his stone(s)’, *képa dīya* ‘her stone(s)’. In some cases, however, where the interpretation is not ambiguous the suffix is used alone, e.g.

- (1) *kút-yăḏe mòdile xázya b-xəlmne* ‘whoever knows what he has seen in his dream...’ (A1:5)
- (2) *máre tla-bàxte*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said to his wife’ (A1:10)
- (3) *mšuréla sráta júlla mšedōne*<sup>1</sup> ‘She began to tear her clothes out of madness’ (A4:6)
- (4) *max-d-an-gúmle t-wéwa núbla mánne dīye max-d-áni xéne híwle bába tlála dīya*<sup>1</sup> ‘Like the camels that he had brought with him, her father gave her others like these’ (A4:27)

The 3pl. suffix exhibits a considerable diversity in its form. It derives historically from *\*-əyhən*. This earlier form has been preserved in various degrees in other NENA dialects, e.g. *-əyhən* (C. Billin, C. Mar-Yaqo), *-éhən* (C. Aradhin, C. Tən), *-éhən* (C. Baṭnaya, C. Derabun, C. Dəre, C. Hertevin, C. Umra d-Shish). Since *\*əy* in principle contracts to /ε/ in C. Barwar, the /y/ element in the forms *-ey*, *-ey* and *-ay* is likely to be the vestige of the vowel of the elided *\*-hən* element. The form *\*-əyhən* was originally the form of the pronominal suffixes that was attached to plural nouns. In the C. Barwar dialect, as in most NENA dialects, no distinction is made in the form of suffixes according to whether the noun is singular or plural and one form has been generalized. The distinction is still preserved in C. Qaraqoşh and C. Barəṭle with the 3pl. suffix, e.g. C. Qaraqoşh *tórhən* ‘their ox’: *toréhən* ‘their oxen’. In the C. Barwar dialect the *\*-hən* element

has been elided, but the stress generally remains on the final syllable, contrary to the canonical rules of stress placement, by a historical drag effect (§5.3.). It is occasionally retracted to the penultimate syllable, the canonical position for stress, e.g.

- (5) *'ap-xmárey šqilalla' dawérey tridalla'* 'They also took their asses and drove away their mules' (A7:15)

The vowel in the final diphthong is pronounced with a variety of different qualities ranging from the open vowel /a/ to the close mid vowel /e/. The diphthong may even be contracted to the monophthong -ε. When the stress is retracted this is generally lowered to /a/ according to the usual process (§2.3.4.). This results in an ending that is homophonous with the singular nominal ending -a and tends to be used only where the suffix is unambiguous, e.g.

- (6) *dariwala l-ganè'* 'They used to put it on themselves' (B15:28)  
 (7) *primalla šošiyàtha, doryalla réše diye'* 'They had cut their locks and laid them on him' (A31:10)  
 (8) *xákma tenéwa xàsa' masqiwale bàdra'* 'Some carried it on their back and brought it up to the threshing floor' (B5:81)

A rare variant of the 3pl. suffix with the form -éym is attested in the text corpus, e.g.

- (9) *'ay-pišla xátha tlatèym'* 'She became a sister for them' (A34:8)

This is likely to have been formed by a secondary development whereby an augment suffix -m has been attached to the suffix -éy. The informant for this text exhibits a tendency to add this augment suffix also to other pronominal forms.

The 2ms. singular suffix -ux developed from the original form \*-ox, which still exists in many NENA dialects. The 2fs. suffix -ax has developed from the original form -ax by the common process of centralization of /a/ vowels in unstressed closed syllables (§2.3.5.). The original /a/ vowel is occasionally preserved when the duration of the final syllable is extended at the end of an intonation group.

The 2pl. form -exu derives historically from the form \*-ayxon, which was attached originally only to plural nouns but has now been generalized for both singular and plural nouns. In some conservative NENA dialects such

as C. Qaraqosh the reflex of this form is still restricted to plural nouns, e.g. *torxun* ‘your ox’ : *torexun* ‘your oxen’. The /ɛ/ vowel of the suffix *-exu* is occasionally pronounced lower in the region of /a/ by some speakers, e.g. *babáxu* ‘your father’ (A14:84), *xatháxu* ‘your sister’ (A14:85).

The 1pl. suffix has two alternative forms. The form *-ən* has developed from *\*-an* by the normal process of centralization of an /a/ vowel in an unstressed closed syllable. The original /a/ vowel is preserved on some rare occasions when the duration of the final syllable is extended at the end of an intonation group. The longer variant *-əni* may be derived historically from the form of the suffix that was attached to plural nouns, while the shorter form *-ən* (< *\*-an*) would be derived from the suffix that was originally attached to singular nouns. In conservative NENA dialects such as C. Qaraqosh the distinction is still maintained between the suffixes, e.g. *toran* ‘our ox’ : *torenan* ‘our oxen’. In C. Barwar, as in most dialects, this distinction has broken down. The original two distinct forms of the suffix are preserved, but are used interchangeably on singular and plural nouns. For further remarks on the distribution of the two forms see §14.5.1. The final /i/ vowel of the form *-əni* probably developed by analogy with the ending of the 1pl. independent pronoun *ʔaxni*. The original form of the suffix may have been *\*-ayn*, as in Syriac. Long variant forms of the 1pl. suffix, which are attached to singular and plural nouns, are attested in several other NENA dialects. Most of these can be reconstructed as *\*-ayn + i*, e.g. *-ayni* (C. Challək), *-əni* (C. Urmi, C. Dêre, C. Mar-Yaqo, C. Umra d-Shish, J. Amedia). The J. Sanandaj dialect, by contrast, has the two variant forms *-an* and *-ani*, the latter being derived from the form *-an* with the addition of an augment.

The pronominal suffixes replace the final inflectional vowels *-a* and *-e*, whether these be on singular or plural nouns:

<i>kθáwa</i> (sing.)	‘book’	<i>kθáwi</i>	‘my book’
<i>kθáwe</i> (pl.)	‘books’	<i>kθáwi</i>	‘my books’
<i>káwe</i> (sing.)	‘window’	<i>káwi</i>	‘my window’
<i>kawáθa</i> (pl.)	‘windows’	<i>kawáθi</i>	‘my windows’

Final *-i*, which occurs only in loanwords, is retained before the pronominal suffixes and connected to them by a /y/ glide, e.g.

<i>túrši</i>	‘pickled vegetable’	<i>túršyi</i>	‘my pickled vegetable’
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Nouns ending in *-o* cannot take suffixes. The independent genitive particle must be used, e.g.

<i>k'álo</i>	‘bride’	<i>k'álo díyi</i>	‘my bride’
<i>xəppo</i>	‘wedding veil’	<i>xəppo díyi</i>	‘my wedding veil’

The explanation for this is that these endings derive historically from the diminutive ending *\*-ōn* in the absolute state and pronominal suffixes cannot be added to the absolute state of nouns (§10.6.). The word *qātu* ‘female cat’ is an exceptional case. This form, which is used when the noun is indefinite, is also a vestige of the absolute state. Unlike nouns ending in *-o*, however, it has also a form deriving from the determined state of earlier Aramaic, which is used when the noun is definite, viz. *qatúθa*, and pronominal suffixes can be added to this latter form in the regular way:

<i>qātu</i>	‘a cat’	<i>qatúθa</i>	‘the cat’	<i>qatúθi</i>	‘my cat’
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Loanwords ending in a consonant can in principle take pronominal suffixes, e.g.

<i>párzun</i>	‘bag’	<i>parzúni</i>	‘my bag’
<i>šábun</i>	‘soap’	<i>šabúni</i>	‘my soap’
<i>tútun</i>	‘tobacco’	<i>tútúni</i>	‘my tobacco’
<i>táxin</i>	‘tahini’	<i>taxíni</i>	‘my tahini’

If an /a/ or /e/ vowel has been centralized to /ə/ in the final unstressed closed syllable, the vowel is restored when the stress shifts onto this syllable after the addition of the suffix, e.g.

<i>mánzəl</i>	‘room’	<i>manzáli</i>	‘my room’
<i>čángəl</i>	‘fork’	<i>čangáli</i>	‘my fork’
<i>čəypəs</i>	‘teapot’	<i>čəypási</i>	‘my teapot’
<i>kúlpət</i>	‘family’	<i>kulpáti</i>	‘my family’
<i>ʔatnábəl</i>	‘car’	<i>ʔatnabéli</i>	‘my car’

There is, however, a tendency to avoid using suffixes on some loanwords ending in a consonant. This applies mainly to nouns containing an original short high vowel in the final syllable. The suffix is attached to a juxtaposed independent genitive particle, e.g.

<i>habrésəm</i>	‘silk’ (Kurd. <i>hevrişim</i> , Arab. <i>ʿibrīsim</i> )
<i>habrésəm dīyi</i>	‘my silk’
<i>māšmāš</i>	‘apricot’ (Kurd. <i>mişmiş</i> , Arab. <i>mişmiš</i> )
<i>māšmāš dīyi</i>	‘my apricot’
<i>fālfāl</i>	‘pepper’ (Arab. <i>filfil</i> )
<i>fālfāl dīyi</i>	‘my pepper’

### 7.3. THE INDEPENDENT GENITIVE PARTICLE

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>dīye</i>
	fs.	<i>dīya</i>
	pl.	<i>dīyay, dīyey, dīyey, dīyε, dīya</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>dīyux</i>
	fs.	<i>dīyax, dīyax</i>
	pl.	<i>dīyēxu</i>
1st pers.	sing.	<i>dīyi</i>
	pl.	<i>dīyən, dīyēni</i>

This particle consists of the base *dīy-* which is inflected with the pronominal suffixes. Other forms of the base of this particle that are attested in the NENA dialects include *did-*, *dið-* and *d-*. The /y/ glide element has arisen by weakening of an original /d/ or /ð/, i.e. *dīyi* < \**dīdi*/*dīði*. An alternative explanation is that the original base was *d-*, which was extended to *dīy-*. Several NENA dialects have the base *d-* in at least some of the paradigm of the genitive particle, e.g. *dohun* 3pl., *doxun* 2pl., *deni* 1pl. (J. Amedia), *d-o* 3s., *d-oni* 3pl. (J. Sanandaj, J. Sulemaniyya). It is also relevant to note by way of comparison that in the C. Barwar dialect the preposition *b-* has the extended base *bīy-* when pronominal suffixes are attached, e.g. *bīye* ‘in him’, *bīya* ‘in her’, etc. (§13.3.2.).

A rare variant of the 2pl. form with a final *-n* is attested in text A34:

(1) *qəm-daryála b-ay-káwe dīyèxun*<sup>1</sup> ‘It put it in your window’ (A34:6)

This is best analysed as having arisen by the attachment of an augment suffix *-n* rather than as a conservative form preserving the original *-n*. The

informant for this text has a tendency to add this augment to pronominal forms.

#### 7.4. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are three series of demonstrative pronouns, which can be designated 'speaker deixis', 'far deixis' and 'default'. These labels refer to the use of the pronouns to refer to entities in the extra-linguistic situation. The system is 'hearer orientated', in that the deictic centre for all pronouns is the hearer. The speaker deixis forms are used to direct the hearer's attention to items that are near to the speaker. The far deixis forms are used to direct the hearer's attention to items that are in sight but far from both the speaker and the hearer. The default forms are used when the item is with the hearer in the deictic centre. They do not point the hearer's attention to anything remote from him in the surrounding environment. The demonstrative pronouns are also used anaphorically to refer back to items that have been mentioned in the preceding discourse rather than to refer to items that exist in the extra-linguist environment. The default pronoun is the one that is most commonly used in this function (for further details see §14.3.2.).

All three series of demonstratives can be used independently or attributively in combination with a noun. The independent and the attributive forms are identical throughout most the paradigm, the only exception being in the default forms, where the singular forms are liable to contract and the plural form is shortened.

##### Independent forms

	Speaker deixis	Far deixis	Default
ms.	<i>'áwwa</i>	<i>'áwáha ~ wáha</i>	<i>'aw</i>
fs.	<i>'áyya</i>	<i>'áyáha ~ yáha</i>	<i>'ay</i>
pl.	<i>'ánna</i>	<i>'ánáha ~ náha</i>	<i>'ani</i>

##### Attributive forms

	Speaker deixis	Far deixis	Default
ms.	<i>'áwwa</i>	<i>'áwáha ~ wáha</i>	<i>'aw ~ 'o</i>
fs.	<i>'áyya</i>	<i>'áyáha ~ yáha</i>	<i>'ay ~ 'ey ~ 'ε ~ 'a</i>
pl.	<i>'ánna</i>	<i>'ánáha ~ náha</i>	<i>'an</i>

Examples: *ʔáwwa kθawa* ‘this book (near the speaker)’, *ʔáwáha kθawa* ‘that book (over there)’, *ʔáw kθawa* ~ *ʔo-kθawa* ‘that book (that is with you)’.

The default forms are structurally the least complex. The independent forms are identical to the independent personal pronouns. A rare variant of the singular attributive forms with an augmented *-ən* suffix is attested in text A34: *ʔáwən*, *ʔáyən*, e.g.

- (1) *b̥t-ázən xázyən ʔáwən-nura ʔékele!* ‘I shall go and see where that fire is’ (A34:9)  
 (2) *xázyalla ʔáyən bráta l-gàre!* ‘They saw that girl on the roof’ (A34:6)

The speaker deixis pronouns appear to have been formed historically by suffixing a *\*-ha* element to the default form. The development would have been as follows:

ms.	<i>ʔáwwa</i>	< <i>*ʔáwa</i>	< <i>*ʔáwha</i>
fs.	<i>ʔáyya</i>	< <i>*ʔáya</i>	< <i>*ʔáyha</i>
pl.	<i>ʔánna</i>	< <i>*ʔána</i>	< <i>*ʔánha</i>

After the elision of the laryngal /h/ the vowel in the preceding syllable remained short (§2.2.2.2.) and the gemination of the medial consonant developed secondarily after this stressed short vowel (§3.3.2.). In some NENA dialects the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ in the singular forms have contracted and the following /h/ is preserved, e.g. *ʔoha* and *ʔeha* (C. Derabun, J. Dohok).

The far deixis pronouns have been formed by suffixing a further *-ha* element to the speaker deixis forms without the secondary gemination. The unstressed initial short *ʔá-* is sometimes elided. Furthermore the /áha/ sequence sometimes contracts to /a/ in accordance with the tendency of the laryngal /h/ to be elided between vowels (§4.4.). This contraction is not marked in the transcription, e.g.

- (3) *ʔu-ʔáp-yaha* [yæɪ] *bráta xéta* ‘also that other girl’ (A28:37)  
 (4) *rěšux mattánne gu-d-yáha* [yæɪ] *káwe!* *t-íla pyàšá!* ‘I shall put your head in that hole that is remaining’ (A25:62)

Intensive variants of the far deixis forms exist with the long stressed vowel /á/ being replaced by the sequence /áʔ/:

ms.	<i>ʾāwáʿha ~ wáʿha</i>
fs.	<i>ʾāyáʿha ~ yáʿha</i>
pl.	<i>ʾānáʿha ~ náʿha</i>

These intensive forms are used to refer to an item that lies a considerable distance from the interlocutors.

Another demonstrative element with the form *ʾad-* has been preserved in the adverbial expressions *ʾadyo* ‘today’, *ʾdllele* ‘tonight’ and *ʾššeta* (< *\*ʾadšeta*) ‘this year’. This is not used productively in other contexts. It is probably derived historically from *\*da-* or *\*ha-d-*. In some NENA dialects similar forms, with an alveolar or interdental consonant, are used productively as speaker deixis attributive demonstratives, e.g. *ʾad* (C. Ankawa, C. Baṭnaya, C. Hertevin, C. Tisqopa), *ʾaθ ~ ʾaḏ* (C. Alqosh), *ʾaθ* (C. Telkepe).

Some speakers sporadically use the form *ʾa-* as a singular attributive demonstrative with speaker deixis, e.g. *ʾa-naša* ‘this man’ (A8:4), *ʾa-šupra* ‘this beauty’ (A8:41). This should be interpreted as interference from the koine dialect of Urmi origin.

#### 7.5. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

<i>ʾéni</i> <i>máni</i>	‘who?’
<i>ʾéni</i>	‘which?’
<i>mo, mu, maw</i> <i>mut</i> <i>módi, máwdi</i> <i>ma</i>	‘what’

Out of the two forms used for ‘who?’, *ʾéni* is the more frequent. It is identical with the form for ‘which’. This is cognate with Syriac *ʾaynā*. Unlike in Syriac, however, it is invariable and does not inflect for gender or number, e.g. *ʾéniḵe?* ‘Who is he?’, *ʾéniḵa?* ‘Who is she/Who are they?’, *ʾéni mán d-an-baxtáθa?* ‘which of those women?’, *ʾéni gʾawra?* ‘which man?’, *ʾéni báxta* ‘which woman?’, *ʾéni náše?* ‘which people?’ The final *-i* appears to have developed by analogy with the presence of final *-i* in the other interrogative pronouns *máni* and *módi*.

The form *māni* is derived from \**man* (cf. Syriac *man*) with the addition of a final augment *-i*. In many dialects this is the normal form for ‘who?’ but in C. Barwar it is used only sporadically, e.g.

- (1) *ʿan-nāše mānila?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who are those people?’ (A14:78)
- (2) *māniwət?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who are you?’ (A23:26)
- (3) *ʿanna tre-yāle mānile māsyā daryālla gu-šaqiṯa?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who could have put these two children in the stream?’ (A8:15)

The most primitive form of the inanimate interrogative pronoun ‘what?’ is *ma*, but this is only used sporadically in the dialect, e.g.

- (4) *xūwwe mā t-āwəḏ b-an-ālpā dāwe*<sup>1</sup> ‘What will the snake do with those thousand gold coins?’ (A1:8)
- (5) *xāṯi mā-ləx?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Sister, what is the matter with you?’ (A34:12)

The form *mo* has developed historically from a combination of the interrogative *ma* with the 3ms. demonstrative pronoun *ʿaw*, thus: *mo* < *maw* < \**ma* + *ʿaw*. The uncontracted form *maw*, in fact, is occasionally used in the dialect. By a similar process in some NENA dialects (e.g. J. Arbel, J. Sulemaniyya, C. Qaraqoşh) this interrogative pronoun has the form *may*, which developed from a combination of *ma* with the demonstrative pronoun *ʿay* (cf. Khan 1999: 86; 2002: 83; 2004: 77). One may compare also the Syriac forms *mānā* and *mān*, which arose by the coalescence of *mā* with the demonstrative element *dnā* (Nöldeke 1904: 47) and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *may*, which developed by combining *mā* with the demonstrative *hāy* (Epstein 1060: 23, 28). In fast speech the /o/ vowel of *mo* is sometimes raised to /u/, e.g.

- (6) *mò-bāyət?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What do you want?’ (A13:13)
- (7) *mò ʿōḏm ʿāna?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What should I do?’ (A25:37)
- (8) *ṯla-mò ṯéləx drangèṯa?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Why (literally: for what) have you come late?’ (A25:57)
- (9) *mú bṯ-āwe?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What will it be?’ (= what does it matter?) (A18:33)
- (10) *mù-y-amri?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What do they say?’ (A25:64)

It is combined with 1st and 2nd person copula elements in compound verbal constructions, but is not combined with 3rd person copula forms, e.g.

- (11) *'áti mòt wáða táma?*<sup>1</sup> 'What are you doing here?' (A25:60)  
 (12) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða býi?*<sup>1</sup> 'Why (literally: for what) are you doing this to me?' (A25:42)  
 (13) *'ána mùn wíða?*<sup>1</sup> 'What have I done?' (A14:23)

The most frequently used form of the inanimate demonstrative is *módi*, e.g.

- (14) *mòdi wídle?*<sup>1</sup> 'What did he do?' (A25:19)  
 (15) *šámmə d-ε-bráta mòdile?*<sup>1</sup> 'What is the name of the girl?' (A25:4)  
 (16) *qurtána m-mòdi mlúrša?*<sup>1</sup> 'What is the cloth made out of?' (B5:127)  
 (17) *mòdit mára?*<sup>1</sup> 'What do you say?' (A25:60)

One possible explanation for the presence of the /d/ element in this form would be to identify it with the relative particle *D*, which would have arisen in copula constructions such as *mo-d-ile* 'What (is it) that it is?' There is a problem, however, in this reconstruction in that the relative particle is elsewhere regularly devoiced to *t̥* before the copula (§4.4.), e.g.

- (18) *'áwəwa dúxa t̥-ile p̥rəma'* 'this sacrifice that has been slaughtered' (B5:71)  
 (19) *'áyya bráta šap̥r̥tə t̥-ila dm̥xta k̥əsl̥i'* 'this beautiful girl who has slept with me' (A26:6)  
 (20) *'o-t̥-ile-b̥ənyə'* 'whoever has built' (B10:52)

A more likely explanation, therefore, is that the form *módi* is a contraction of *mo-məndi* 'what thing'. This is supported by the fact that some NENA dialects (e.g. C. Bebede, C. Ənəške, C. Kharjawa) have the interrogative form *māndi*, which can be reconstructed as *\*ma-məndi*. The neighbouring dialect C. Shōsh-u-Sharmən has *mādi* with contraction of the /n/ as in the form *modi*. A similar development may lie behind the Upper Tiyari form *'ədi* 'which?', 'who?' < *'ay-məndi*. Speakers of the C. Barwar dialect occasionally use the uncontracted form *mawdi* instead of the normal form *modi*, e.g. *māwdile?*<sup>1</sup> 'What is it?' (A31:9).

Occasionally the final vowel of *módi* is elided and the form is shortened to *mut* with devoicing of the final /d/, e.g.

- (21) *mút qála diy̥i?*<sup>1</sup> 'What is my voice?' (A25:44)  
 (22) *mūt t̥-óðət b-mas̥ərqa?*<sup>1</sup> 'What will you do with the comb?' (A32:3)  
 (23) *'as̥ərta mūt t̥-áwəð?*<sup>1</sup> 'In the evening what does he do?' (A30:22)

Finally, we should mention in this context the contracted interrogative pronoun of the construction *mîðan* ‘I do not know’. This derives historically from *mo yăðan* ‘What do I know?’ It has now, however, lost its interrogative sense and functions as a negator, as shown by phrases such as *mîðan mîðî* ‘I don’t know what’.

#### 7.6. REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

Reflexive pronouns are formed by attaching pronominal suffixes to the Kurdish loan-word *gana* (often pronounced with palatalization of the /g/: *gʷana*), which literally means ‘soul’ or ‘person’:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>gáne</i>
	fs.	<i>gána</i>
	pl.	<i>ganáy, ganéy, ganéy, gánε, gána</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>gánux</i>
	fs.	<i>gánax, gánax</i>
	pl.	<i>ganéxu</i>
1st pers.	sing.	<i>gáni</i>
	pl.	<i>gánan, gánan, ganéni</i>

The reciprocal pronoun is the invariable form *ğəaðe*. The historical development of this is < \*xəaðe < \*həaðe. The initial consonant is regularly pronounced voiced by partial assimilation to the adjacent voiced fricative /ð/.

#### 7.7. PRONOUN OF ISOLATION

The base *xəð-* with pronominal suffixes is used for expressions such as ‘by himself’ denoting isolation:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>xóðe</i>
	fs.	<i>xóða</i>
	pl.	<i>xoðáy, xóðéy, xoðéy, xóðε, xóða</i>



2nd pers.	ms.	<i>χόδῦx</i>
	fs.	<i>χόδαx, χόδαx</i>
	pl.	<i>χόδέxu</i>
1st pers.	sing.	<i>χόδι</i>
	pl.	<i>χόδαν, χόδαν, χόδέni</i>

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### VERBS

#### 8.1. VERBAL STEMS

Verbs with trilateral roots are used in one of three stems with distinctive patterns of inflection. In addition to these there are a number of quadrilateral verbs. The various parts that are used in the formation of verbal forms in each of these four categories are given below:

##### **Stem I**

*pθx* I ‘to open’

Present base:	<i>paθax-</i>
Past base:	<i>pθix-</i>
Resultative participle:	<i>pθixa</i>
Imperative:	<i>pθux</i>
Infinitive:	<i>pθaxa</i>
Verbal noun:	<i>pθaxta</i>

##### **Stem II**

*m-šlx* II ‘to strip’

Present base:	<i>mšalax-</i>
Past base:	<i>mšolax-</i> ~ <i>mšulax-</i>
Resultative participle:	<i>mšulxa</i>
Imperative:	<i>mšalax</i>
Infinitive:	<i>mšaloxe</i>
Verbal noun:	<i>mšalaxta</i>

##### **Stem III**

*m-plx* III ‘to use’

Present base:	<i>maplax-</i>
Past base:	<i>muplax-</i>
Resultative participle:	<i>mupalxa</i>
Imperative:	<i>maplax</i>
Infinitive:	<i>maploxe</i>
Verbal noun:	<i>maplaxta</i>

### Quadriliteral

*m-knkš* ‘to drag’

Present:	<i>mkankāš-</i>
Past:	<i>mkunkāš-</i>
Resultative participle:	<i>mkunākšā</i>
Imperative:	<i>mkankāš</i>
Infinitive:	<i>mkankoše</i>
Verbal noun:	<i>mkankašta</i>

The three trilateral stems are the descendants of the *p<sup>al</sup>*, *pa<sup>el</sup>* and *ʾap<sup>el</sup>* stems respectively in earlier Aramaic. As in most NENA dialects, the forms of the imperative and infinitive in stems II and III have been adapted to conform to the structure of the present and past bases, which are the descendants of the active and passive participles of earlier Aramaic. This has resulted in the analogical extension of the *m-* prefix of the erstwhile *pa<sup>el</sup>* and *ʾap<sup>el</sup>* participles to the imperative and the infinitive. The original forms of the *pa<sup>el</sup>* and *ʾap<sup>el</sup>* imperative and infinitive without the *m-* prefix are preserved only in a few dialects on the Mošul plain, such as C. Qaraqosh:

	C. Barwar	C. Qaraqosh
Stem II		
Imperative	<i>mqaṭəl</i>	<i>qaṭəl</i>
Infinitive	<i>mqaṭole</i>	<i>qaṭolə</i>
Stem III		
Imperative	<i>maqṭəl</i>	<i>ʾaqṭəl</i>
Infinitive	<i>maqṭole</i>	<i>ʾaqṭolə</i>

In fast speech in the Barwar dialect the /*m*/ in the initial sequence /*mC*/ of stem II and quadriliteral verb forms is sometimes elided (§4.2.). This is a secondary phonetic process and affects all bases. The /*m*/ of quadriliteral verbs is particularly prone to be elided in this way:

### Stem II

*m-šlx* II ‘to strip’

Present base:	<i>šaləx-</i>
Past base:	<i>šoləx- ~ šuləx</i>
Resultative participle:	<i>šulxa</i>

Imperative:	<i>šaləx</i>
Infinitive:	<i>šaloxe</i>
Verbal noun:	<i>šalaxta</i>

### Quadriliteral

*m-knkš* ‘to drag’

Present:	<i>kankəš-</i>
Past:	<i>kunkəš-</i>
Resultative participle:	<i>kunəška</i>
Imperative:	<i>kankəš</i>
Infinitive:	<i>kankoše</i>
Verbal noun:	<i>kankašta</i>

## 8.2. INFLECTION OF THE PRESENT BASE

### 8.2.1. *Inflectional S-Suffixes*

The present base is derived historically from the active participle of earlier Aramaic. As is usual in the NENA dialects, it is inflected for person and number by a series of suffixes. The suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons are in origin enclitic pronouns. Most of the suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons have two variants, which will be designated ‘default’ and ‘long’ forms respectively. The suffixes on verbs with a strong final radical are as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	—	
	fs.	<i>-a</i>	
	pl.	<i>-i</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>-ət</i>	<i>-eti</i>
	fs.	<i>-ət</i>	<i>-ati</i>
	pl.	<i>-itu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>-ən</i>	<i>-ena</i>
	fs.	<i>-ən</i>	<i>-ana</i>
	pl.	<i>-əx</i>	<i>-exi</i>

For convenience this set of suffixes, which express the subject of the verb, will be referred to as S-suffixes.

### 8.2.2. *Stem I Verbs*

When these suffixes are added to the present base of stem I verbs, the /a/ vowel of the base form *paθax-* is in a stressed open syllable only in the 3ms. form, which has zero inflection. In accordance with the rules of vowel lengthening, the /a/ in the 3ms. is long. When inflection suffixes for the other forms are attached, the vowel after the second radical of the base is elided and the preceding syllable becomes closed. As result of this, the long vowel is shortened. The full paradigm of the inflection of present base *paθax-* is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>páθax</i>	
	fs.	<i>páθxa</i>	
	pl.	<i>páθxi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>páθxət</i>	<i>paθxeti</i>
	fs.	<i>páθxət</i>	<i>paθxati</i>
	pl.	<i>paθxítu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>páθxən</i>	<i>paθxena</i>
	fs.	<i>páθxən</i>	<i>paθxana</i>
	pl.	<i>páθxax</i>	<i>paθxexi</i>

The long forms of the 1st and 2nd persons differ from the corresponding default forms in the augment of a final vowel. In the long forms the position of stress is variable. It may fall on the /a/ vowel of the base as in the default forms: *páθxeti*, *páθxati*, *páθxena*, *páθxana*, *páθxexi*. Alternatively it may be shifted to the penultimate vowel of the suffix: *paθxéti*, *paθxáti*, *paθxéna*, *paθxána*, *paθxéxi*. In the 1st and 2nd person singular there is a distinction in gender only in the long forms. The gender distinction has been levelled in the default forms. This has taken place by a process of vowel attenuation in which the original /e/ and /a/ in the unstressed closed syllables of the suffixes have been centralized to /ə/ (§2.3.5., §2.5.5.):

2ms.	<i>*páθxet</i>	>	<i>páθxət</i>
2fs.	<i>*páθxat</i>	>	<i>páθxət</i>

1ms.	* <i>páθxen</i>	>	<i>páθxən</i>
1fs.	* <i>páθxan</i>	>	<i>páθxən</i>

An original \**a* is preserved when the stress shifts onto the closed syllable after the addition of further inflectional suffixes. An original \**e*, however, is not preserved in this environment but also here is centralized to /ə/:

2ms.	* <i>páθxétwa</i>	>	<i>páθxətwa</i>
2fs.	* <i>páθxátwa</i>	>	<i>páθxátwa</i>
1ms.	* <i>páθxénwa</i>	>	<i>páθxənwa</i>
1fs.	* <i>páθxánwa</i>	>	<i>páθxánwa</i>

In accordance with this process, we can reconstruct an original \**e* in the inflectional ending of the 1pl., since the centralized vowel /ə/ occurs even when it is stressed:

1pl.	* <i>páθxex</i>	>	<i>páθxəx</i>
	* <i>páθxéxwa</i>	>	<i>páθxəxwa</i>

In some sporadic cases when the vowel duration is extended at the end of an intonation group an original \**e* is preserved in inflectional suffixes, e.g. *lā-gawrēn!* ‘I (m.) shall not marry!’ (A16:5), *ʔána màšlēn!* ‘I shall deduct’ (B5:9).

The long forms of the 1st person singular suffixes *-ena* (1ms.) and *-ana* (1fs.) are archaic forms, which preserve the original final vowel of the 1st personal pronoun. Since it is an open syllable the vowel is long and it does not undergo attenuation.

The final *-i* of the long 2s. and 1pl. suffixes *-eti* (2ms.), *-ati* (2fs.) and *-exi* (1pl.) is an innovative augment. It can be compared to the *-i* augment that has been attached to the independent 2s. pronoun *ʔáti* (< *ʔat*) and the interrogative pronouns *máni* ‘who?’ (< \**man*) and *dáxi* ~ *dax* ‘how?’

As is the case in the other NENA dialects, some of the inflectional endings of the present base of verbs with strong radicals appear to have been transferred by analogy from the inflection of final weak verbs.<sup>1</sup> This applies to the 1s., 2s. forms. These analogical relationships are shown in the following table, which shows the corresponding forms in Classical Syriac:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hoberman (1988: 567–568, 571–572) and Khan (1999: 91).

	Syriac Strong verb	Syriac Final weak	C. Barwar Strong verb	C. Barwar Final weak
2ms.	<i>qāṭlat</i>	<i>ḥāzēt</i>	<i>qāṭlat</i> ~ <i>-eti</i>	<i>xāzət</i> ~ <i>-eti</i>
2fs.	<i>qāṭlat</i>	<i>ḥāzyat</i>	<i>qāṭlat</i> ~ <i>-ati</i>	<i>xāzyət</i> ~ <i>-ati</i>
2pl.	<i>qāṭlittōn</i>	<i>ḥāzēttōn</i>	<i>qāṭlitu</i>	<i>xazētu</i>
1ms.	<i>qāṭlnā</i>	<i>ḥāzēnā</i>	<i>qāṭlōn</i> ~ <i>-ena</i>	<i>xāzən</i> ~ <i>-ena</i>
1fs.	<i>qāṭlānā</i>	<i>ḥāzyānā</i>	<i>qāṭlōn</i> ~ <i>-ana</i>	<i>xāzyən</i> ~ <i>-ana</i>
1pl.	<i>qāṭlīnnan</i>	<i>ḥāzēnnan</i>	<i>qāṭlax</i> ~ <i>-exi</i>	<i>xāzəx</i> ~ <i>-exi</i>

The relationship of the 1st and 2nd person suffixes of the C. Barwar verbs to the suffixes of the Syriac final weak verb is clearest in the alternative long forms, which preserve the original vowel. In the default forms the vowel has been attenuated to /ə/. The distinction between the forms of the 2pl. suffixes of the Syriac strong and final weak verbs has been preserved in the C. Barwar suffixes. The fact that Syriac has an *e* quality vowel in this suffix in the final weak verb whereas C. Barwar has the /*ɛ*/ vowel (*-etu*) reflects a different phonetic development of an original diphthong *\*ay* in the plural active participle: Syriac *\*ḥāzayn* > *ḥāzē(n)*; C. Barwar *\*ḥāzayn* > *xazɛ* (see §2.4.1.). The long form of the 1pl. suffix on strong and final weak verbs *-exi*, however, has an /*e*/ vowel and, as remarked above, an original *\*e* must be reconstructed for the default form of the suffix *-əx*. This vowel could not have developed by contraction of *\*ay*. It may have arisen by analogy with the /*e*/ in the 1ms. long form *-ena* and the original *\*e* in short form *\*en* > *\*ən*. The /*x*/ in the 1pl. suffix corresponds to the /*x*/ of the independent pronoun *ʾaxni*. Note that the original phonetic shape of the suffix has been preserved in the J. Amedia form *qāṭlaxni*. This reflects a different historical development from that of the enclitic pronoun in Syriac, in which the equivalent consonant has been elided.

### 8.2.3. *Stem II Verbs*

The same inflectional endings are attached to the present base of stem II verbs that have a strong final radical. As in stem I, when inflectional vowels are added, the short /ə/ of the second syllable of the base is elided. The stress remains on the first syllable of the present base, with the exception of the 2pl. form, e.g.

*m-šlx* II ‘to strip’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mšálax</i>	
	fs.	<i>mšálxa</i>	
	pl.	<i>mšálxi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mšálxət</i>	<i>mšalxeti</i>
	fs.	<i>mšálxət</i>	<i>mšalxati</i>
	pl.	<i>mšálxitu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mšálxən</i>	<i>mšalxena</i>
	fs.	<i>mšálxən</i>	<i>mšalxana</i>
	pl.	<i>mšálxəx</i>	<i>mšalxexi</i>

This stem is the descendant of the *pa<sup>el</sup>* of earlier Aramaic, but there is no vestige of the original gemination of the second radical. Even in the 3ms. form *mšálax*, where the middle radical is followed by a vowel, the gemination has been lost and the preceding vowel lengthened as a result of a general phonetic process in the language (see §3.3.1.).

As remarked above, the initial /m/ in the opening cluster *mC-* of this stem is frequently elided: *šalax*, *šalxa*, *šalxi*, etc.

The forms with long suffixes may take the stress either on the /a/ vowel of the base or on the penultimate vowel of the suffix, e.g. *mšálxeti* ~ *mšálxéti*, *mšálxati* ~ *mšálxáti*, etc.

In a few verbs a paradigm with a slightly different syllabic structure is used. It has a short /a/ vowel throughout and has a stressed epenthetic vowel between the final two radicals in forms with inflectional endings. This variant type of inflection will be referred to as stem IIa, e.g.

*m-tmz* IIa ‘to clean’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mtáməz</i>	
	fs.	<i>mtáməza</i>	
	pl.	<i>mtáməzi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mtáməzət</i>	<i>mtəməzeti</i>
	fs.	<i>mtáməzət</i>	<i>mtəməzati</i>
	pl.	<i>mtáməzitu</i>	



1st pers.	ms.	<i>mtāmázən</i>	<i>mtāmázəna</i>
	fs.	<i>mtāmázən</i>	<i>mtāmázəna</i>
	pl.	<i>mtāmázəx</i>	<i>mtāmázəxi</i>

On some occasions the consonant following the short vowels in this conjugation, especially when preceded by a stress, is geminated by a secondary process, e.g. *mtāmməz* ‘he cleans’, *mtāmázəza* ‘she cleans’.

The verbs that have the stem IIa type of conjugation fall into two categories. The first includes verbs that are derived from adjectives and nouns containing a short /a/ in the first syllable. Verbs in this category include *m-tmz* ‘to clean’ (< *tāməz* ‘clean’), *m-zrn* ‘to become yellow’ (< *zārin* ‘yellow, golden’), *m-qrn* ‘to become big’ (< *qārana* ‘big’), *m-qlm* ‘to crop protruding branches’ (< *qālana* ‘protruding branch’). The adjectives *tāməz* and *zārin* are loanwords from Kurdish. The second category are loaned Arabic form II verbs (*fā‘ala*) or form V verbs (*tafa‘ala*), both of which are conjugated as stem II in the Aramaic dialect. The short /a/ of this type of stem II conjugation preserves the short vowel of the verbal form in the source language, e.g. *m‘āqəməxwale* ‘We used to sterilized it’ < Arab. *‘aqqama* (B10:77), *ta-t-ṭəbəqəwa* ‘so that it was pressed’ < Arab. *taṭabbaqa* (B10:23).

#### 8.2.4. Stem III Verbs

In the conjugation of the present base of stem III, *maCCəC*, the short /ə/ in the second syllable is elided when inflectional endings are added. The resulting cluster *CCC* is broken by the insertion of a short epenthetic /ə/ either between the first and second consonants or between the second and third consonants. The epenthetic takes the stress when it is in penultimate position:

*m-plx* III ‘to use’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mápləx</i>	
	fs.	<i>mapólxa</i>	
	pl.	<i>maplǎxi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mapólxət</i>	<i>mapəlxeti</i>
		<i>maplǎxət</i>	<i>maplǎxeti</i>

	fs.	<i>mapəlxət</i> <i>mapləxət</i>	<i>mapəlxati</i> <i>mapləxati</i>
	pl.	<i>mapəlxitu</i> <i>mapləxitu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mapəlxən</i> <i>mapləxən</i>	<i>mapəlxena</i> <i>mapləxena</i>
	fs.	<i>mapəlxən</i> <i>mapləxən</i>	<i>mapəlxana</i> <i>mapləxana</i>
	pl.	<i>mapəlxəx</i> <i>mapləxəx</i>	<i>mapəlxexi</i> <i>mapləxexi</i>

The consonant following a stressed epenthetic in an open syllable is occasionally geminated by a secondary process, e.g. *mapləxxa* ‘she uses’ < *mapləxa*. The forms with long suffixes take the stress either on the vowel before the second radical, as in the default forms (e.g. *mapəlxeti*, *mapəlxati*, etc.), or on the penultimate vowel of the suffix (e.g. *mapəlxéti*, *mapəlxáti*, etc.).

#### 8.2.5. *Quadrilateral Verbs*

The present base of quadrilateral verbs has a syllabic structure that is similar to that of stem III present bases, viz. *mCaCCəC-*. When the inflectional endings are added, the /ə/ of the final syllable of the base is elided, which results in the cluster *CCC*. The resulting cluster *CCC* is broken by the insertion of a short epenthetic /ə/ either between the first and second consonants or between the second and third consonants. The epenthetic takes the stress when it is in penultimate position:

*m-knkš* ‘to drag’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mkánkəš</i>	
	fs.	<i>mkanəkšə</i> <i>mkankəša</i>	
	pl.	<i>mkanəkši</i> <i>mkankəši</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mkanəkšət</i> <i>mkankəšət</i>	<i>mkanəkšeti</i> <i>mkankəšeti</i>
	fs.	<i>mkanəkšət</i> <i>mkankəšət</i>	<i>mkanəkšati</i> <i>mkankəšati</i>

	pl.	<i>mkanəkšitu</i> <i>mkankəšitu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mkanəkšən</i> <i>mkankəšən</i>	<i>mkanəkšena</i> <i>mkankəšena</i>
	fs.	<i>mkanəkšən</i> <i>mkankəšən</i>	<i>mkanəkšana</i> <i>mkankəšana</i>
	pl.	<i>mkanəkšəx</i> <i>mkankəšəx</i>	<i>mkanəkšexi</i> <i>mkankəšexi</i>

When the stressed epenthetic occurs in an open syllable between the third and fourth radicals, the fourth radical is sometimes geminated, e.g. *mkankəšši* ‘they drag’. The forms with long suffixes take the stress either on the vowel before the third radical, as in the default forms (e.g. *mkanəkšeti*, *mkanəkšati*, etc.), or on the penultimate vowel of the suffix (e.g. *mkanəkšėti*, *mkanəkšāti*, etc.). Occasionally epenthetic vowels do not occur in the inflections. This is found where a cluster of the third and fourth radicals in syllable initial position is tolerated, e.g. *mqázdrət* ‘You interfere’ (*m-qždr*).

### 8.3. INFLECTION OF THE PAST BASE

#### 8.3.1. *Inflectional L-Suffixes*

As indicated above, the past base derives historically from the ertswile passive participle in the absolute state. The subject of the past base is expressed by the following inflectional endings:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>-le</i>	
	fs.	<i>-la</i>	
	pl.	<i>-lə, -la</i>	<i>-ley, -lay</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>-lux</i>	
	fs.	<i>-ləx</i>	
	pl.	<i>-léxu</i>	
1st pers.	s.	<i>-li</i>	
	pl.	<i>-lən</i>	<i>-léni</i>

For convenience this series of suffixes will be referred as the L-suffixes.

The 3pl. suffix has the same features and historical background as the 3pl. suffix that is attached to nouns and prepositions (§7.2.). The default form *-lɛ* is heard in slow, deliberate speech. In natural, fast speech the final /ɛ/ vowel is usually lowered to /a/, resulting in a form that is homophonous with the 3fs. form *-la*. It is derived from a form such as *\*-lɛhən* < *\*-láyhən*, with the elision of the /hən/ element. The long form *-ley* ~ *-lay* sometimes takes the stress: *q̄tilléy* ‘they killed’. This preserves the original stress position of *\*-láyhən*. On other occasions, however, the stress is retracted: *q̄tilléy*.

The /ə/ vowel in the 2fs. and 1pl. forms is the result of attenuation of an original /a/: *-ləx* < *-lax*, *-lən* < *-lan*. The /ɛ/ vowel of the long 1pl. form *-léni* appears to have developed by analogy with the /ɛ/ of the 2pl. suffix *-éxu*.

The L-suffixes are in origin pronominal suffixes combined with the preposition *l-*, which were originally agentive phrases in a passive construction (‘by him’, ‘by her’, etc.). This construction is characteristic of the NENA dialects. It is significant that in the C. Barwar dialect the preposition *l-* can be used with an agentive sense also when it is prefixed to nouns (§16.2.1.5.). In many NENA dialects, by contrast, the agentive sense of the preposition *l-* is restricted to the L-suffixes, which are attached to the past base of verbs.

Originally the inflection of the past base by L-suffixes was used only with transitive verbs, the agent being expressed by the agentive prepositional phrase and the patient being construed as the grammatical subject of the passive participle. In the C. Barwar dialect, as is generally the case with the Christian NENA dialects, the use of the construction has been extended to intransitive verbs. In several Jewish dialects in the eastern NENA area, it is still restricted to transitive verbs.<sup>2</sup>

### 8.3.2. *Stem I Verbs*

The full inflection of the past base of the stem I verb *pθx* ‘to open’, *pθix-*, is as follows:

<sup>2</sup> See Hopkins (1989), Khan (2004).

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>pθixle</i>	
	fs.	<i>pθixla</i>	
	pl.	<i>pθixlε</i> <i>pθixla</i>	<i>pθixley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>pθixlux</i>	
	fs.	<i>pθixlax</i>	
	pl.	<i>pθixlexu</i>	
1st pers.	s.	<i>pθixli</i>	
	pl.	<i>pθixlən</i>	<i>pθixleni</i>

The /i/ vowel of the base is derived historically from a long vowel \*ī, the original pattern being \*qīl-, but is pronounced short in the closed syllable in accordance with the general principles of vowel lengthening (§2.2.2.1.).

When the final consonant of the verbal base is /n/ or /r/, the /i/ of the inflectional suffix regularly assimilates to this, e.g.

<i>kpn</i> ‘to hunger’	<i>kpinne</i> ‘He hungered’
<i>špn</i> ‘to level (ground)’	<i>špinne</i> ‘He levelled’
<i>šxn</i> ‘to become warm’	<i>šxinne</i> ‘He became warm’
<i>tpn</i> ‘to become mouldy’	<i>tpinne</i> ‘It became mouldy’
<i>txn</i> ‘to grind’	<i>txinne</i> ‘He ground’
<i>bðr</i> ‘to scatter’	<i>bðirre</i> ‘He scattered’
<i>bšr</i> ‘to reduce’	<i>bširre</i> ‘It reduced, became less’
<i>gmr</i> ‘to tan (skin)’	<i>gmirre</i> ‘He tanned’
<i>nðr</i> ‘to dedicate’	<i>nðirre</i> ‘He dedicated’
<i>nqr</i> ‘to inscribe’	<i>nqirre</i> ‘He inscribed’
<i>nsr</i> ‘to saw’	<i>nsirre</i> ‘He sawed’
<i>nθr</i> ‘to fall (leaves)’	<i>nθirre</i> ‘It fell’
<i>ntr</i> ‘guard’	<i>nθirre</i> ‘He guarded’
<i>pšr</i> ‘to melt’	<i>pširre</i> ‘It melted’
<i>spr</i> ‘to wait’	<i>spirre</i> ‘He waited’
<i>šbr</i> ‘to dare’	<i>šbirre</i> ‘He dared’
<i>txr</i> ‘to remember’	<i>txirre</i> ‘He remembered’
<i>zmr</i> ‘to sing’	<i>zmirre</i> ‘He sang’
<i>zqr</i> ‘to weave, knit’	<i>zqirre</i> ‘He wove’

An interdental fricative /θ/ or /ð/ that is the final radical of the root shifts to the corresponding stops /t/ or /d/ when in contact with the /l/ or the L-suffix, e.g.

<i>tpθ</i> ‘to sneeze’	<i>tpitle</i> ‘He sneezed’
<i>grð</i> ‘to scrub’	<i>gridle</i> ‘He scrubbed’
<i>trð</i> ‘to chase away’	<i>tridle</i> ‘He chased away’
<i>sqð</i> ‘to be bored’	<i>sqidle</i> ‘He was bored’

In addition to the default form of the past base, transitive verbs also have a feminine and a plural form that express 3fs. and 3pl. patients respectively. In verbs with a strong final radical these have the endings *-a* (fs.) and *-i* (pl.), which are vestiges of the fs. and pl. endings in the absolute state of earlier Aramaic and correspond to the 3fs. and 3pl. S-suffixes of the present base. The past bases of *qtl* ‘to kill’, for example, are:

Default	<i>qtīl-</i>
fs.	<i>qtīla-</i>
pl.	<i>qtīli-</i>

The fs. and pl. forms are used to express 3fs. and 3pl. patients as follows: *qtīlāle* ‘He killed her’ (originally: ‘She was killed by him’), *qtīlīle* ‘He killed them’ (originally: ‘They were killed by him’). The default form of the base can be used to express a 3ms. patient, e.g. *qtīlla* ‘She killed him’, *qtīlli* ‘I killed him’. 1st and 2nd person pronominal patients, however, cannot be expressed in this way by S-suffixes on the verbal base.

The /l/ of the suffix is retained on the fs. and pl. form of bases ending in the consonants /n/ and /r/ and not assimilated, since there is an intervening vowel, e.g. *txinīle* ‘He ground them’, *bðirīle* ‘He scattered them’, *txirāle* ‘He remembered her’. Similarly, an interdental occurring at the end of the root is retained on the fs. and pl. past bases since the consonant is not in direct contact with the /l/ of the suffix, e.g. *trīdāle* ‘He chased here away’, *trīdīle* ‘He chased them away’.

### 8.3.3. Stem II Verbs

The past base of stem II verbs has the pattern *mqotāl-* or *mqutāl-*, the latter being the more usual in fast speech. The inflection of the past base of the stem II verb *m-šlx* ‘to strip’ is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mšoláxle</i> <i>mšuláxle</i>	
	fs.	<i>mšoláxla</i> <i>mšuláxla</i>	
	pl.	<i>mšoláxle, mšoláxla</i> <i>mšuláxle, mšuláxla</i>	<i>mšoláxley</i> <i>mšuláxley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mšoláxlux</i> <i>mšuláxlux</i>	
	fs.	<i>mšoláxlax</i> <i>mšuláxlax</i>	
	pl.	<i>mšoláxləxu</i> <i>mšuláxləxu</i>	
1st pers.	s.	<i>mšoláxli</i> <i>mšuláxli</i>	
	pl.	<i>mšoláxlən</i> <i>mšuláxlən</i>	<i>mšoláxləni</i> <i>mšuláxləni</i>

The original *pa<sup>c</sup>el* passive participle, from which the stem II past base is descended, had the form *\*mquttal* or *\*mqaṭtal*. The gemination of the middle radical has been reduced and the /a/ vowel in the final syllable has been replaced by /ə/. This loss of the /a/ vowel may have come about by analogy with the pattern of the present base *mqaṭəl*. The /ə/ is elided in the fs. and pl. forms of the base: *mšulxa-* (fs.), *mšulxi-* (pl.), e.g. *mšulxále* ‘He stripped her’, *mšulxíle* ‘He stripped them’.

If the /l/ of the suffix is in contact with a final /n/ or /r/ of the verbal base, it assimilates to it, e.g.

<i>m-zbn</i> ‘to sell’	<i>mzubánne</i> ‘He sold’
<i>m-bðr</i> ‘to scatter’	<i>mbuðárre</i> ‘He scattered’
<i>m-bqr</i> ‘to ask’	<i>mbuqárre</i> ‘He asked’
<i>m-šdr</i> ‘to send’	<i>mšudárre</i> ‘He sent’

Verbs belonging to the variant stem IIa (§8.2.2.) have a short /u/ vowel after the first radical, e.g.

*m-tmz* II ‘to clean’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mtǔmázle</i>	
	fs.	<i>mtǔmázla</i>	
	pl.	<i>mtǔmázle</i> <i>mtǔmázla</i>	<i>mtǔmázley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mtǔmázlux</i>	
	fs.	<i>mtǔmázlax</i>	
	pl.	<i>mtǔmázlexu</i>	
1st pers.	s.	<i>mtǔmázli</i>	
	pl.	<i>mtǔmázlən</i>	<i>mtǔmázleni</i>

In this variant conjugation the /ə/ is retained in the fs. and the pl. form of the base: *mtǔmaza-* (fs.), *mtǔmazi-* (pl.), e.g. *mtǔmázale* ‘He cleaned it (f.)’, *mtǔmázile* ‘He cleaned them’.

8.3.4. *Stem III Verbs*

The inflection of the past base of the stem III verb *m-plx* ‘to use’, *muplax-*, is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>muplaxle</i>	
	fs.	<i>muplaxla</i>	
	pl.	<i>muplaxle</i> <i>muplaxla</i>	<i>muplaxley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>muplaxlux</i>	
	fs.	<i>muplaxlax</i>	
	pl.	<i>muplaxlexu</i>	
1st pers.	s.	<i>muplaxli</i>	
	pl.	<i>muplaxlən</i>	<i>muplaxleni</i>

The original <sup>ʔ</sup>*af<sup>h</sup>el* passive participle, from which the stem III past base is descended, had the form *muqtal* with an /a/ vowel in the final syllable. The /ə/ of the past base, therefore, is an innovation that probably developed by analogy with the /ə/ in the pattern of the present base *maq<sup>h</sup>al*. As we have



seen, this process of analogy affected also the past base of stem II verbs. There is resyllabification in the fs. and pl. forms of the base: *mupəlxa-* (fs.), *mupəlxi-* (pl.), e.g. *mupəlxále* ‘He used it (f.)’, *mupəlxiile* ‘He used them’.

If the /l/ of the suffix is in contact with a final /n/ or /r/ of the verbal base, it assimilates to it, e.g.

<i>m-bšr</i> ‘to reduce’	<i>mubšárre</i> ‘He reduced’
<i>m-βšr</i> ‘to melt’	<i>mupšárre</i> ‘He melted’
<i>m-tmr</i> ‘to bury’	<i>mutmárre</i> ‘He buried’
<i>m-xbr</i> ‘to telephone’	<i>muxbárre</i> ‘He telephoned’

### 8.3.5. *Quadrilateral Verbs*

The inflection of the past base of the quadrilateral verb *m-knkš* ‘to drag’, *mkunkəš-*, is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mkunkášle</i>	
	fs.	<i>mkunkášla</i>	
	pl.	<i>mkunkášle</i> <i>mkunkášla</i>	<i>mkunkášley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mkunkášlux</i>	
	fs.	<i>mkunkášlax</i>	
	pl.	<i>mkunkášlexu</i>	
1st pers.	s.	<i>mkunkášli</i>	
	pl.	<i>mkunkášlan</i>	<i>mkunkášleni</i>

There is resyllabification in the fs. and pl. forms of the base: *mkunəška-* (fs.), *mkunəški-* (pl.), e.g. *mkunəškále* ‘He dragged her’, *mkunəškíle* ‘He dragged them’.

### 8.3.6. *Past Base without L-Suffixes*

The past base is used without L-suffixes in passive constructions with 3rd person subjects. The ms., fs. and pl. forms of the base may be used in this way:

**Stem I***qtl* ‘to kill’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>qṭil</i>	‘He was killed’
	fs.	<i>qṭila</i>	‘She was killed’
	pl.	<i>qṭili</i>	‘They were killed’

The /i/ vowel in the 3ms. form *qṭil* is pronounced short, as it is in the past base before L-suffixes (*qṭille*), in accordance with the general principles of vowel lengthening, although historically it was long (\**qṭīl*).

**Stem II***m-ṭnr* ‘to bury’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mṭómər</i>	‘He was buried’
	fs.	<i>mṭúmra</i>	‘She was buried’
	pl.	<i>mṭúmri</i>	‘They were buried’

**Stem III***m-dbš* ‘to stick’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>múdbəš</i>	‘He was stuck’
	fs.	<i>mudábša</i>	‘She was stuck’
	pl.	<i>mudábši</i>	‘They were stuck’

**Quadrilateral***m-šxp* ‘to exchange’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mšúxləp</i>	‘He was exchanged’
	fs.	<i>mšuxəlpa</i>	‘She was exchanged’
	pl.	<i>mšuxəlpi</i>	‘They were exchanged’

A passive construction with this form is only available for the 3rd person. It cannot be inflected to express 1st or 2nd person subjects. This corresponds to the restriction of the inflection of the past base with L-suffixes to the 3rd person (*qṭil-le*, *qṭila-le*, *qṭili-le*).

## 8.4. INFLECTION OF THE RESULTATIVE PARTICIPLE

In addition to the past base, all verbs also have a resultative participle, which is used in some compound verbal forms. This is the descendant of

the passive participle of earlier Aramaic with nominal inflectional endings corresponding to the original determined state. It designates a state that has resulted from an action in the past. This form is available for both transitive and intransitive verbs. Moreover in the modern dialect it can be used with active diathesis when derived from transitive verbs. The term ‘resultative’ participle, therefore, is preferable to ‘passive’ participle.

The nominal inflection distinguishes the three categories of masculine singular, feminine singular and plural. The various forms are as follows:

### Stem I

ms.	<i>ḥθíxa</i>
fs.	<i>ḥθíxta</i>
pl.	<i>ḥθíxe</i>

### Stem II

ms.	<i>mšúlxa</i>
fs.	<i>mšuláxta</i>
pl.	<i>mšúlxe</i>

### Stem IIa

ms.	<i>mtüámza ~ mtüámzza</i>
fs.	<i>mtüámzta</i>
pl.	<i>mtüámze ~ mtüámzze</i>

### Stem III

ms.	<i>mupólxa ~ mupláxa ~ muplájxa</i>
fs.	<i>muplájta</i>
pl.	<i>mupólxe ~ muplájxe ~ muplájxe</i>

### Quadriliteral

ms.	<i>mkunákša ~ mkunkáša ~ mkunkášša</i>
fs.	<i>mkunkášta</i>
pl.	<i>mkunákše ~ mkunkáše ~ mkunkášše</i>

The resultative participle of stems II and III retains the original /a/ after the second radical in the fs. form. The same applies to quadriliteral verbs, which have /a/ after the third radical in the fs. form. This contrasts with the past bases of these stems, in which the original /a/ has been replaced by /ə/ by analogy with the present base. The corresponding vowel in the ms. and pl. forms has been elided and the stress shifted to the preceding syllable.

## 8.5. INFLECTION OF THE IMPERATIVE

The inflection of the various forms of the imperative is as follows.

**Stem I**

sing.	<i>ρθux</i>
plural	<i>ρθúxu, ράθxu</i>

**Stem II**

sing.	<i>mšálax</i>
plural	<i>mšálxu</i>

**Stem IIa**

sing.	<i>mťáməz</i>
plural	<i>mťáməzu</i>

**Stem III**

sing.	<i>máplax</i>
plural	<i>mápəlxu ~ mápəlxu ~ mápləxu</i>

**Quadriliteral**

sing.	<i>mkánkəš</i>
plural	<i>mkánkəšú ~ mkánkəšú ~ mkánkəšú</i>

The stress is generally placed on the first syllable of imperative forms, even where this is the antepenultimate, as is the case with the plural imperatives of stem III and quadriliteral verbs. Note that in one of the variant plural forms of the stem III and quadriliteral imperatives where the /a/ vowel is in an open syllable due to the insertion of a following epenthetic, the /a/ vowel remains short. Another variant form exists with the same syllabic structure in which this /a/ vowel is pronounced long.

Although in the majority of verbs no gender distinction is made in either the imperative singular or the imperative plural, this distinction is expressed in the imperative singular of weak verbs with a final /y/ radical, e.g. *šty* 'to drink': *šti* 'Drink (ms.)!', *šta* 'Drink (fs.)!', *što* 'Drink (pl.)!' (see §8.12.8.).

## 8.6. PARTICLES ATTACHED TO VERBAL FORMS

Various particles may be attached to the inflections of the present and past bases. We give the most common of these here. More details concerning their function can be found in chapter 15.

8.6.1. *ʔi-*

Verb forms derived from the present base sometimes have the particle *ʔi-* prefixed to them, e.g. *ʔi-qaṭəl* ‘He kills’. This is associated with the mood expressed by the verb. Forms on which the particle occurs are always indicative in mood. Those that express an irrealis mood regularly lack the particle. The particle is not found, however, in a large proportion of indicative forms in the text corpus. The form *qaṭəl* without the particle should, therefore, be regarded as the default, unmarked form with regard to mood, since it is not restricted to a specific mood. The form *ʔi-qaṭəl*, on the other hand, is the marked form, in that its use is restricted to forms expressing the indicative mood.

A rare variant form of the *ʔi-* prefix is *yi-*, e.g. *yi-māyīle* ‘They churn it’ (B6:38).

When the verb begins with the laryngal /ʔ/, this is generally elided and the particle has the form of the glide *y-* forming the onset of the first syllable of the verb, e.g. *y-axəl* ‘He eats’ (< *ʔi* + *ʔaxəl*). On a few rare occasions the /ʔ/ is retained, e.g. *ʔi-ʔōḏi* ‘They do’ (B15:92).

An initial /h/ is not elided after the particle, with the exception of the irregular verb *hwy* ‘to be’ (§8.16.1.), e.g. *ʔi-hayər b-gane* ‘He is confused’, *ʔi-harwət mənni* ‘You speak with me’. In the very *hwy* the /h/ is generally elided, e.g. *y-awe* ‘He is’ (< *ʔi-hawe*). Sporadically, however, the /h/ is retained, e.g. *ʔi-hāwe* ‘It is’ (B15:50).

The limited use of verbal forms with the *ʔi-* prefix suggests that the particle is in the process of falling into disuse. It is relevant to note that in closely related Christian NENA dialects in the Lower Ṭiyari region present base verbs have no corresponding prefixed particle. The distribution of the *ʔi-* particle on indicative verbs in C. Barwar is not, however, entirely random and certain principles can be identified. These will be examined in §15.1.3.

In origin the particle is likely to be a reduced form of the verb ‘to be’ and so related morphologically to the copula. The vowel /i/ is a morphological component of the copula in many of its inflections. Indeed the

3ms form of the copula is sometimes reduced to this component alone without any inflection (§8.7.1.).

### 8.6.2. *bəd-*

The particle *bəd-* is prefixed to an inflected form of the present base when it expresses a future action or an apodosis of a condition and in some other syntactic contexts (see §15.1.5.),<sup>3</sup> e.g. *bəd-yawənnə* ‘I shall give him’ (A1:2), *bəd-šáqəl* ‘He will take’ (A1:5), *qaṭúṭi bəd-mnagràlux* ‘My cat will gnaw you’ (A37:16).

The foregoing cases are examples of the particle used in its full form, which are not very frequently found in the text corpus. In most cases where the particle occurs it is phonetically reduced.

Before verbs beginning with a consonant other than /ʕ/, /h/, /y/, /l/ and /x/, the /d/ segment is generally elided and the particle is reduced to *b-*, e.g. *b-tàraš* ‘He will be cured’ (A8:33), *b-tàlqət* ‘You will be lost’ (A8:92), *šāwəpi b-šāqlīle* ‘He will take my place’ (A8:7), *b-qáryən* ‘I (f.) shall call’ (A8:72). When the initial consonant is unvoiced, the particle is sometimes devoiced by partial assimilation, e.g. *b-šatèxi* [p-]æx<sup>h</sup>texi ‘We shall drink’ (A22:28). This devoicing is not represented in the transcription.

When the particle is placed before verbs from roots beginning with /ʕ/, the initial /ʕ/ is usually elided and the particle has the form *bṭ-* with devoicing of the /d/ or simply *t-* with devoicing of the /d/ and elision of the /b/. e.g. *bṭ-ázən* ~ *t-ázən* ‘I shall go’ (< *bəd-ʕazən*). The transcription distinguishes here the devoiced consonant as unaspirated /t/ since before a vowel it can contrast phonemically with aspirated /tʰ/, e.g. *t-aza* ‘She will go’: *taza* ‘new’. The /t/ forms the onset of the first syllable of the verb and so is protected from elision. The form *bṭ-* tends to occur where the verb is closely connected with the preceding word ending in a vowel and the /b/ is syllabified with the final syllable of this word, e.g. *ʕána bṭ-ázən<sup>h</sup>* ‘I shall go’ (A8:51), *ʕáti bṭ-àzet* ‘You shall go’ (A8:46), *ʕáyya bṭ-amràlux<sup>h</sup>* ‘She will tell you’ (A8:92), *ʕu-bṭ-amrənnux<sup>h</sup>* ‘and I shall say to you’ (A8:44), *kúlla bṭ-odənnə-llux<sup>h</sup>* ‘I shall do everything for you’ (A8:38). The form *t-* occurs in all contexts, e.g. at the beginning of an intonation group: *t-azítu* ‘You shall go’ (A8:27), *t-ázət* ‘You shall go’ (A8:46), *t-ámrat* ‘You shall say’ (A8:48); in

<sup>3</sup> This particle, which is widespread in the NENA dialects, has usually be regarded as a phonetically attenuated form of the verbal construction *\*baʕe d-* ‘he wants to’, or *\*hʕe d-* ‘it is desired that’ (Nöldeke 1868: 294–296; Pennacchietti 1994a: 281, 1994b: 137; Cohen 1984: 520).

the middle of an intonation group after a preceding vowel: *ʔu-xárθa t-àzən<sup>1</sup>* ‘and then you shall go’ (A8:43), *políse mù t-ódú<sup>2</sup>* ‘What will the policemen do?’ (A8:9), *hátxa t-ódəm b-xàbrux<sup>1</sup>* ‘You shall act on my instructions thus’ (A8:50); in the middle of an intonation group after a preceding consonant: *yán t-áθya Bəlbəl Hazàr<sup>1</sup>* ‘or Bəlbəl Hazar will come’ (A8:74), *ʔu-báʔdèn t-áwrən gu-màθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘and then you will enter the village’ (A25:34), *lāʔat kúllən t-àxlax<sup>1</sup>* ‘So we shall all eat’ (A21:21).

A similar development of the particle is found when it is prefixed to the verb *hwy* ‘to be’, the initial /h/ of which is elided, e.g. *b<sub>t</sub>-awe ~ t-awe* ‘He will be’ (< *bəd-hawe*). As with initial /ʔ/ verbs, the form *b<sub>t</sub>-* tends to occur when the verb is closely connected to a preceding word and the /b/ is syllabified with this word in speech, e.g. *ʔána b<sub>t</sub>-áwrən mənna<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall be with you’ (A8:68), *mú b<sub>t</sub>-àwe<sup>2</sup>* ‘What will it be?’ (= what does it matter?) (A18:33), *tre-tlá yománe xéne b<sub>t</sub>-áwrət matróye xāš-sūsa<sup>1</sup>* ‘You shall ride for two or three more days on horseback’ (A8:46).

In other verbs that begin with /h/, the particle *bəd-* contracts to *b-*, e.g. *hrw* ‘to speak (harshly)’: *ʔána b-hérwən* ‘I shall speak’. The /h/ may be elided and the /b/ devoiced to /p/, e.g. *p-aqənnā* (< *b-haqənnā*) ‘I shall tell it’ (B3:12).

Before /y/ *bəd-* generally contracts to *t-*, no doubt because the cluster /by/ easily forms a syllable onset, e.g. *t-yawəllux* ‘He will give you’ (A3:4), *t-yawənnux* ‘I shall give you’ (A1:10), *t-yānnux* ‘I shall give you’ (A22:37). The /t/ is written without a diacritic, since before a consonant /t/ is always pronounced unaspirated. On some occasions the *bəd-* particle contracts to *b-*, e.g. *b-yawəlle* ‘He will give him’ (A1:2), *b-yawənnəx* ‘I shall give you’ (A40:3). The contraction of *bəd-* to *t-* is also found before /l/ and /x/, e.g. *t-lawšānna* ‘I shall wear them’ (A14:89), *míθe t-xāyi<sup>1</sup>* ‘The dead will live’ (A50:4), which, as is the case with /y/, has come about since /tl/ and /tx/ easily form a syllable onset.

### 8.6.3. qəm-

This is attached to the present base when it has a pronominal object suffix and gives it a past time reference, e.g. *qəm-paθəxle* ‘He opened it’. The particle derives historically from *\*qədam*, a fossilized form of a past tense *qtal* form verb in earlier Aramaic. The vowel is regularly pronounced /ə/, which has developed by attenuation from /a/: *qəm* < *\*qam* < *\*qədam*. This contrasts with the particle *qam* ‘before’ (< *\*qədam*), which generally retains the /a/ unattenuated (§2.3.5.). As a result one finds minimal pairs such as:

<i>qəm- paθáxle</i>	‘he opened it
<i>qam-paθáxle</i>	‘before he opens it’

The more advanced degree of phonetic attenuation of the particle *qəm-* reflects a greater degree of morphological and semantic bonding to the following verbal form. It cannot be used independently in other contexts, but is indissolubly bound to its position before present base verbal forms. The particle *qam* ‘before’, by contrast, exhibits greater independence of distribution, in that it can be used also before nouns, in a temporal or spatial sense, e.g. *qam-xa-šábθa* ‘a week before’, *qam-málka* ‘before the king’.

The pronominal suffix may express either a direct or an indirect object, e.g.

- (1) *qəm-xazyále gu-dàšta*<sup>1</sup> ‘She saw him on the plain’ (A18:24)
- (2) *záwna qəm-ʾawádlux lebàna*<sup>1</sup> ‘The time made you a trickster’ (A1:22)
- (3) *ʾaláha qəm-yawálla xa-bròna*<sup>1</sup> ‘God gave them a son’ (A4:57)
- (4) *qəm-hawéla xáθa yakànta*<sup>1</sup> ‘An only sister was born to them’ (A18:1)

#### 8.6.4. *wa*

The particle *wa* may be affixed to verbal forms derived from the present and past bases. This is an invariable fossilized form that is derived historically from the past tense verb *\*hwā* of earlier Aramaic. It gives present tense verbs a past time reference and past tense verbs a time reference that is remoter in the past. The combination of *-wa* with the future form expressed by the prefix *bəd-* is used in the apodosis of a counterfactual condition and in other syntactic contexts. For details of the various functions of these verbal forms see chapter 15. Examples:

<i>pálət</i>	‘He leaves’
<i>palətwa</i>	‘He used to leave’
<i>qəm-paθáxle</i>	‘He has opened it/he opened it’
<i>qəm-paθáxwale</i>	‘He opened it/he had opened it’
<i>bəd-pálət</i>	‘He will leave’
<i>bəd-palətwa</i>	‘He would have left’
<i>plítle</i>	‘He has left/he left’
<i>plítwale</i>	‘He left/he had left’



The *wa* is infixed before the L-suffixes in forms derived from the past base and in present base forms with the prefixed particle *qm-*. Stress placement is governed by the general constraint that it must fall on a syllable that contains a radical of the verbal base (§5.4.1.), so it is not moved onto the *wa* particle even when this constitutes the penultimate syllable.

Full paradigms of the *paḷṭwa* and *plīṭwale* forms are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>paḥáxwa</i>
	fs.	<i>paḥáxáwa</i>
	pl.	<i>paḥxáwa</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>paḥxáṭwa</i>
	fs.	<i>paḥxáṭwa</i>
	pl.	<i>paḥxáṭuwa</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>paḥxáṇwa</i>
	fs.	<i>paḥxáṇwa</i>
	pl.	<i>paḥxáxwa</i>

The original /a/ vowel of the 1fs and 2fs suffixes are retained in the stressed syllable and so they are distinguished from the 1ms and 2ms forms in the paradigm. The long forms of the 1st and 2nd person inflectional suffixes of the present base, i.e. *-ena* (1ms), *-ana* (1fs), *-exi* (1pl), *-eti* (2ms) *-ati* (2fs), are not used before the *wa* particle.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>pḥixwale</i>	
	fs.	<i>pḥixwala</i>	
	pl.	<i>pḥixwale</i> <i>pḥixwala</i>	<i>pḥixwaley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>pḥixwalux</i>	
	fs.	<i>pḥixwalax</i>	
	pl.	<i>pḥixwalexu</i>	
1st pers.	s.	<i>pḥixwali</i>	
	pl.	<i>pḥixwalən</i>	<i>pḥixwaləni</i>

Verbs ending in the interdental /θ/ or /ð/, which shift to the stops /t/ and /d/ in contact with L-suffixes, generally retain these interdentals when they are separated from the L-suffixes by the *wa* particle, e.g.

<i>tpθ</i> ‘to sneeze’	<i>tpitle</i>	<i>tpiθwale</i>
<i>trð</i> ‘to chase’	<i>tridle</i>	<i>tridwale</i>

On some occasions, however, the interdental shifts to a stop by analogy with the *plitle* form, e.g.

<i>trð</i> ‘to chase’	<i>tridle</i>	<i>tridwale</i>
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#### 8.6.5. Particles Attached to the Imperative

Various particles may be attached to imperative forms to give the command that they express added force. These include:

- (i) The prefixed particle *də-*, e.g. *də-plu!* ‘Go out (sing.)!’, *də-plu*tu ‘Go out (pl.)!’ The /ə/ vowel of this is sometimes lengthened to /e/, e.g. *de-plu!*
- (ii) An assortment of suffixes, which can be classified as follows:

With the singular imperative:

Default form	Long form
<i>-ga</i>	
<i>-ən</i>	<i>-ena</i>
<i>-gən</i>	<i>-gena</i>

With the plural imperative

*-gu*

The stress remains on the first syllable of the imperative form when these suffixes are added, e.g.

Singular imperative:

Default form	Long form
<i>plu</i> ga	
<i>plu</i> ən	<i>plu</i> ena
<i>plu</i> gən	<i>plu</i> gena

Plural imperative:

*plútugu*  
*páltugu*

The prefixed particle *də-* can be combined with an imperative with a supplementary suffix, e.g. *də-plutga*, *də-plutən*.

## 8.7. THE COPULA

The dialect has two categories of copula, the basic copula and the deictic copula. The basic copula has both a present and a past form, whereas the deictic copula has only a present form. In what follows the basic copula will be referred to simply as ‘the copula’.

### 8.7.1. Present Copula

The full form of the various inflections of the present copula are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>’ile</i>
	fs.	<i>’ila</i>
	pl.	<i>’ile, ’ila, ’iley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>’iwət</i>
	fs.	<i>’iwət, ’iwat</i>
	pl.	<i>’iwətu</i> <i>’iwitu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>’iwən</i>
	fs.	<i>’iwən, ’iwan</i>
	pl.	<i>’iwəx</i>

The 3rd person forms are inflected with L-suffixes, whereas the 1st and 2nd person forms are inflected with S-suffixes like the present base of verbs. Only the default form of these suffixes are normally used with the copula and not the long forms that can be used with verbs. Long forms are, however, occasionally used in poetic texts, e.g. *’o səpa, səpəwəna* ‘I am the same sword’ (A52:22).

Some speakers sporadically use the 3pl. form *-ina* with /n/ rather than *-ila*, e.g. *turánə t-ina bēl-ʔIrāq ʔu-Türkiya* 'the mountains that are between Iraq and Turkey' (B3:3). This is due to the influence of the C. Urmi dialect.

The copula is most commonly placed after the predicate in a clause, though in certain circumstances it is put before the predicate. The conditions that determine its position in the clause are examined in §15.3.1. and §17.1.1.

When it is placed after the predicate, it does not bear its own stress but is attached to the predicate as an enclitic. This enclitic is ignored by the stress placement rules and the stress remains on the predicate. If the predicate ends in a consonant, the copula may retain its full form, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>dūs-ile</i>	'He is right'
	fs.	<i>dūs-ila</i>	'She is right'
	pl.	<i>dūs-ila</i>	'They are right', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>dūs-iwət</i>	
	fs.	<i>dūs-iwət</i>	
	pl.	<i>dūs-iwitu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>dūs-iwən</i>	
	fs.	<i>dūs-iwən</i>	
	pl.	<i>dūs-iwəx</i>	

If the predicate ends in a vowel, various contractions of the copula take place. If the final vowel is /a/, the /a/ and the initial /i/ of the copula contract to the vowel /ε/. This is seen in the following paradigm, in which the copula is cliticized to the predicate *gu-maθa* 'in the village':

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>gu-máθele</i>	'He is in the village'
	fs.	<i>gu-máθela</i>	'She is in the village'
	pl.	<i>gu-máθela</i>	'They are in the village', etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>gu-máθewət</i>	
	fs.	<i>gu-máθewət</i>	
	pl.	<i>gu-máθewitu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>gu-máθewən</i>	
	fs.	<i>gu-máθewən</i>	
	pl.	<i>gu-máθewəx</i>	

When the interrogative particle *ma* is combined with the copula, the sequence /a-i/ in some cases contracts to /ε/ and in others remains uncontracted e.g.

- (1) *sállat míya yáððat mèla?*<sup>21</sup> (< *mà-ila*) ‘Do you know what a basket of water is?’ (A16:10)  
 (2) *ràbbàn' yáððat-mà-yle?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Do you know what a monk is?’ (A15:4)

If the predicate ends in any vowel other than /a/, the initial /i/ of the copula is elided and the vowel of the predicate retained, e.g.

<i>babi + ile</i>	→	<i>báBILE</i>	‘He is my father’
<i>xoni + iwæt</i>	→	<i>xóniwæt</i>	‘You are my brother’
<i>ráppe + ila</i>	→	<i>ráppeLa</i>	‘They are lazy’
<i>xáðye + iwæx</i>	→	<i>xáðyeWæx</i>	‘We are happy’
<i>k'alo + ila</i>	→	<i>k'áloLa</i>	‘She is the bride’
<i>Mixo + iwæt</i>	→	<i>Mixowæt</i>	‘You are Mixo’
<i>diyexu + ile</i>	→	<i>diyéxule</i>	‘It is yours (pl.)’
<i>babexu + iwæn</i>	→	<i>babéxuwæn</i>	‘I am your (pl.) father’

The copula may be contracted still further in some circumstances, whereby the /w/ of the 1st and 2nd person forms is elided. When this occurs, the sequence /iwæ/ and /iwi/ both contract to the close vowel /i/, e.g.

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>dús-it</i>	‘You (ms) are right’
	fs.	<i>dús-it</i>	‘You (fs) are right’
	pl.	<i>dús-itu</i>	‘You (pl) are right’, etc.
1st pers.	ms.	<i>dús-in</i>	
	fs.	<i>dús-in</i>	
	pl.	<i>dús-ix</i>	

When the predicate ends in an /a/ vowel, this contracts with the /i/ of the copula inflection to the vowel /ε/, e.g.

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>gu-máθet</i>	‘You (ms.) are in the village’
	fs.	<i>gu-máθet</i>	‘You (fs.) are in the village’
	pl.	<i>gu-máθetu</i>	‘You (pl.) are in the village’, etc.

1st pers.	ms.	<i>gu-máθen</i>
	fs.	<i>gu-máθen</i>
	pl.	<i>gu-máθex</i>

In fast speech, the /ε/ in a closed syllable (i.e. all forms except the 2pl.) is often attenuated to /ə/, e.g. *gu-máθət*, *gu-máθən*, *gu-máθəx*. The contracted form of the copula occurs also when the predicate ends in other vowels. In such cases the /i/ of the copula is elided, e.g.

<i>kʷalo + it</i>	→	<i>kʷálot</i>	‘You are the bride’
<i>babexu + in</i>	→	<i>babéxun</i>	‘I am your (pl.) father’
<i>babéni + it</i>	→	<i>babénit</i>	‘You are our father’
<i>xəðye + ix</i>	→	<i>xəðyex</i>	‘We are happy’

An /e/ vowel in a final closed syllable of such constructions is sometimes attenuated to /ə/, e.g. *xəðyəx* < *xəðyex*.

The 3rd person copula occasionally has the short form *-i* without the L-suffix. When the predicate ends in an /a/ vowel, the combination *a + i* contracts to the vowel /ε/. This short form is most easily explained as resulting from the weakening of the articulation of the /l/ and the subsequent coalescence of the remaining vowels. The weakening of the /l/ of L-suffixes both in this and in other contexts is a sporadic phenomenon that is found in the speech of some informants. For the sake of clarity it has been decided to retain the uncontracted form in the transcription when this occurs (§4.5.2.), e.g.

- (3) *ʔən-ila zəwdâne*<sup>l</sup> [ʔən-i] ‘If they are left over’ (B5:219)
- (4) *ʔəwəwə xa-nišə̀nqəle*<sup>l</sup> [niʔ!janqə] ‘This is a symbolic act’ (B5:153)
- (5) *léðəx ʔəkəla* [ʔε:kε] ‘We do not know where she is’ (A34:7)

### 8.7.2. Past Copula

The past copula has the *wə* particle as a suffix. It has a number of variant forms. These can be categorized into those that have a /w/ element in the base and those that lack this /w/ element. The forms with a /w/ base are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔwéwa</i>	<i>wéwa</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔwáwa</i>	<i>wáwa</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔwéwa</i>	<i>wéwa</i>

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔiwátwá</i>	<i>wátwá</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔiwátwá</i>	<i>wátwá</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔiwétuwá</i> <i>ʔiwítwá</i>	<i>wétuwá</i> <i>wítwá</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>ʔiwónwá</i>	<i>wónwá</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔiwánwá</i>	<i>wánwá</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔiwáxwá</i>	<i>wáxwá</i>

In fast speech these forms are sometimes reduced by the elision of the final *-wa* element or of the initial */w/* when in contact with a preceding consonant. These are treated as allegro forms and are not represented in the transcription (§4.5.5.), e.g.

- (1) *xzéle ʔéká t-wéwa* [ˈtweɪ] ‘He saw where he was’ (A14:92)
- (2) *ʔánna xákma náše gabbàre-wéwa* [gæbˈbærewæ] *xelàne* ‘These were mighty heroic warriors’ (A29:1)
- (3) *gu-d-ay-šwíða t-wéwa-dmíxa* [ˈteɪwɑ] *xónax* ‘In the bed in which your brother had slept’ (A8:68)

The forms lacking the */w/* base have two alternant sets for the 3rd person. One set is inflected for gender and number and the other set is not inflected for these and has the same form for the 3ms, 3fs and 3pl.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔíwa</i>	<i>ʔyéwa</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔíwa</i>	<i>ʔyáwa</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔíwa</i>	<i>ʔyéwa</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔítwa</i>	
	fs.	<i>ʔítwa</i>	
	pl.	<i>ʔítuwa</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>ʔíwá</i>	
	fs.	<i>ʔíwá</i>	
	pl.	<i>ʔíxwá</i>	

As is the case with the present copula, the past copula is frequently attached to the end of the predicate as an enclitic. This applies to the forms *wéwa*, *ʔíwa* and *ʔyéwa* in their various inflections. The form *ʔiwéwa* and its inflections, however, is generally restricted to a non-clitic position before the predicate. When not stressed, the */ɛ/* of the 3pl. forms *-wéwa*

and *-iyewa* and the 2pl. forms *-wetuwa* and *-iyetuwa* is often lowered to /a/, in accordance with a common phonetic process (§2.3.4.).

When cliticization takes place and the predicate ends in a vowel, the following phonotactic rules regarding the initial /i/ of the copula apply. A distinction should be made between (i) the copula forms that have an open initial syllable, on the one hand, and (ii) those that have a closed initial syllable. If the predicate ends in /a/, the combination of this with the initial /i/ of group (i) coalesces to the vowel /ε/, e.g.

<i>'áw gu-máθeyewa</i>	(< <i>gu-maθa</i> + <i>iyewa</i> )	'He was in the village'
<i>'áw gu-máθewa</i>	(< <i>gu-maθa</i> + <i>iwa</i> )	
<i>'áy gu-máθeyawa</i>	(< <i>gu-maθa</i> + <i>iyawa</i> )	'She was in the village'
<i>'áy gu-máθewa</i>	(< <i>gu-maθa</i> + <i>iwa</i> )	
<i>'áni gu-máθeyewa</i>	(< <i>gu-maθa</i> + <i>iyewa</i> )	'They were in the village'
<i>'áni gu-máθewa</i>	(< <i>gu-maθa</i> + <i>iwa</i> )	
<i>'áxtu gu-máθetuwa</i>	(< <i>gu-maθa</i> + <i>ituwa</i> )	'You (pl.) were in the village'

The combination of the final /a/ with the /i/ of the copula forms in group (ii) coalesces to /ə/, e.g.

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>gu-máθətwa</i>	'You (ms.) were in the village'
	fs.	<i>gu-máθətwa</i>	'You (fs.) were in the village', etc.
1st pers.	ms.	<i>gu-máθəniwa</i>	
	fs.	<i>gu-máθəniwa</i>	
	pl.	<i>gu-máθəxiwa</i>	

When the predicate ends in /ε/, the combination of this with the /i/ of the copula forms in group (i) coalesces to the vowel /ε/, whereas its combination with the /i/ of copula forms in group (ii) coalesces to the vowel /ə/, e.g.

<i>'áni zóreweewa</i>	(< <i>zore</i> + <i>iweewa</i> )	'They were small'
<i>'áni zóreyeewa</i>	(< <i>zore</i> + <i>iyewa</i> )	'They were small'
<i>'áni zóreewa</i>	(< <i>zore</i> + <i>iwa</i> )	'They were small'
<i>'áxtu zóretuwa</i>	(< <i>zore</i> + <i>ituwa</i> )	'You (pl.) were small'
<i>'áxni zórəxiwa</i>	(< <i>zore</i> + <i>ixwa</i> )	'We were small'



If the predicate ends in any other vowel, the initial /i/ of the copula forms in both groups is elided, e.g.

$\text{᾿}á\text{y}$ $k^{\alpha}ló\text{y}awá$	(< $k^{\alpha}alo + iyawa$ )	‘She was the bride’
$\text{᾿}á\text{y}$ $k^{\alpha}ló\text{w}á$	(< $k^{\alpha}alo + iwa$ )	‘She was the bride’
$\text{᾿}atí$ $k^{\alpha}ló\text{t}wá$	(< $k^{\alpha}alo + itwa$ )	‘You (fs.) were the bride’
$\text{᾿}á\omega$ $b\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}x\text{y}ewá$	(< $b\epsilon\theta\epsilon xu + iyewa$ )	‘That was your (pl.) house’
$\text{᾿}á\omega$ $b\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}x\text{w}á$	(< $b\epsilon\theta\epsilon xu + iwa$ )	‘That was your (pl.) house’
$\text{᾿}ana$ $xor\acute{\epsilon}x\text{w}í\text{w}á$	(< $xor\epsilon xu + inwa$ )	‘I was your (pl.) friend’
$\text{᾿}á\omega$ $\text{᾿}a\theta\acute{r}\acute{\epsilon}n\text{y}ewá$	(< $\text{᾿}a\theta\acute{r}\acute{\epsilon}ni + iyewa$ )	‘That was our land’
$\text{᾿}á\omega$ $\text{᾿}a\theta\acute{r}\acute{\epsilon}n\text{w}á$	(< $\text{᾿}a\theta\acute{r}\acute{\epsilon}ni + iwa$ )	‘That was our land’
$\text{᾿}atí$ $gu\text{-}\text{᾿}a\theta\acute{r}\acute{\epsilon}n\text{t}wá$	(< $gu\text{-}\text{᾿}a\theta\acute{r}\acute{\epsilon}ni + itwa$ )	‘You were in our land’

When the past copula is placed after the predicate, it sporadically carries its own stress, e.g.

- (4)  $xá$   $gá\text{w}ra$   $xelána\text{-}w$   $z\acute{\alpha}x\text{m}a$   $wé\text{w}á$ <sup>1</sup> ‘He was a powerful, tough man’ (A27:1)  
 (5)  $dmí\text{x}a$   $wé\text{w}á$ <sup>1</sup> ‘He was asleep’ (A8:3)

### 8.7.3. Deictic Copula

The deictic copula is formed by combining the presentative element *ho-* with the enclitic present copula. The most commonly used forms are the following:

3rd pers.	ms.	$hó\text{le}$	(< $ho + ile$ )
	fs.	$hó\text{la}$	(< $ho + ila$ )
	pl.	$hó\text{le}$	(< $ho + ile$ )
		$hó\text{la}$	
2nd pers.	ms.	$hot$	(< $ho + it$ )
	fs.	$hot$	(< $ho + it$ )
	pl.	$hó\text{tu}$	(< $ho + itu$ )
1st pers.	ms.	$hon$	(< $ho + in$ )
	fs.	$hon$	(< $ho + in$ )
	pl.	$hox$	(< $ho + \acute{\alpha}x$ )

Two further alternative sets of forms exist. In one of these the enclitic copula element has a less contracted form, with a glide /w/ being inserted between the *ho-* and the enclitic:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>hówile</i>	(< <i>ho + ile</i> )
	fs.	<i>hówila</i>	(< <i>ho + ila</i> )
	pl.	<i>hówile</i> <i>hówila</i>	(< <i>ho + ile</i> )
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>hówət</i>	(< <i>ho + wət</i> )
	fs.	<i>hówət</i>	(< <i>ho + wət</i> )
	pl.	<i>hówitu</i>	(< <i>ho + witu</i> )
1st pers.	ms.	<i>hówən</i>	(< <i>ho + wən</i> )
	fs.	<i>hówən</i>	(< <i>ho + wən</i> )
	pl.	<i>hówəx</i>	(< <i>ho + wəx</i> )

In the second alternative set, the 1st and 2nd person forms are inflected with L-suffixes like the 3rd person forms:

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>hólux</i>
	fs.	<i>hóləx</i>
	pl.	<i>hóləxu</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>hóli</i>
	pl.	<i>hólən</i> <i>holəni</i>

There is a yet another variant set of forms in which the /o/ vowel is replaced by /oʔ/. These forms are used to point to a very distant item. One may compare the distinction between the two variant far deixis demonstrative forms *ʔáwáha* ‘that one over there’ and *ʔawáʔha* ‘that one far over there’:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>hóʔle</i>
	fs.	<i>hóʔla</i>
	pl.	<i>hóʔlə, hóʔla</i> etc.

The presentative particle *ho-* is occasionally used alone without being combined with a copula element, e.g. *hó ʔan-ʔlá gərə-qəšta* ‘Here are the three arrows of a bow’ (A12:46).

## 8.8. COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS

Various compound verbal forms are constructed by combining the verb ‘to be’ with the resultative participle or with the infinitive. The verb ‘to be’ takes the form of a copula or of the verb *hwy*. The copula is the normal form in indicative clauses and the verb *hwy* is restricted mainly to subordinate irrealis clauses. When the copula is used, this is either the basic copula or the deictic copula. The basic copula has the status of an enclitic. This is generally attached to the resultative participle or the infinitive, but on some occasions it is attached to some other element in the clause. The deictic copula is placed before the participle or infinitive. Broadly speaking, the function of the compound form containing a resultative participle is to express a state resulting from a past action whereas the function of the construction containing an infinitive is to express an imperfective progressive action. A detailed description of their functions is given in §15.4.

8.8.1. *Deictic Copula + Resultative Participle*

The most commonly used paradigm of compound forms constructed with the deictic copula and the resultative participle is the following. Note that the participle is inflected for number and gender with the inflectional endings of nouns:

*prq* I ‘to finish’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>hóle príqa</i>	‘He has finished’
	fs.	<i>hóla príqta</i>	‘She has finished’
	pl.	<i>hóla príqe</i>	‘They have finished’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>hót príqa</i>	
	fs.	<i>hót príqta</i>	
	pl.	<i>hótu príqe</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>hón príqa</i>	
	fs.	<i>hón príqta</i>	
	pl.	<i>hóx príqe</i>	

The deictic copula series with L-suffixes in the 1st and 2nd person forms is also used in this construction:

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>hólux príqa</i>
	fs.	<i>hólax príqta</i>
	pl.	<i>hóləxu príqe</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>hóli príqa</i>
	pl.	<i>hólən príqe</i>

### 8.8.2. Resultative Participle + Present Enclitic Copula

The forms of the present copula that are cliticized to the resultative participle correspond to the various series that are described in §8.7.1. These are shown in the following paradigm. Note that the stress remains on the participle throughout:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>príqele</i>	‘He has finished’
	fs.	<i>príqtela</i>	‘She has finished’
	pl.	<i>príqełe</i> <i>príqela</i>	‘They have finished’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>príqewət</i>	<i>príqet</i>
	fs.	<i>príqtewət</i>	<i>príqtet</i>
	pl.	<i>príqewitu</i>	<i>príqetu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>príqewən</i>	<i>príqen</i>
	fs.	<i>príqtewən</i>	<i>príqtən</i>
	pl.	<i>príqewəx</i>	<i>príqex</i>

The /*ε*/ and /*e*/ vowels in the closed final syllable of the forms in the second column are often attenuated to /*ə*/ in fast speech, which results in the endings merging in form with the inflectional endings of the present base:

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>príqet</i>	~	<i>príqət</i>
	fs.	<i>príqtet</i>	~	<i>príqtət</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>príqen</i>	~	<i>príqən</i>
	fs.	<i>príqtən</i>	~	<i>príqtən</i>
	pl.	<i>príqex</i>	~	<i>príqəx</i>

8.8.3. *Resultative Participle + Past Enclitic Copula*

The past copula series with the /w/ base may be cliticized to resultative participles from all verbs:

*pθx* I ‘to open’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>pθixa-wewa</i>	‘He had opened’
	fs.	<i>pθixta-wawa</i>	‘She had opened’
	pl.	<i>pθixe-wewa</i>	‘They had opened’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>pθixa-wətwə</i>	
	fs.	<i>pθixta-wətwə</i>	
	pl.	<i>pθixe-wətuwa</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>pθixa-wənwə</i>	
	fs.	<i>pθixta-wənwə</i>	
	pl.	<i>pθixe-wəxwə</i>	

The constructions containing forms of the past copula without the /w/ base (cf. §8.7.2.) exhibit a difference in one detail between transitive and intransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs have the expected forms, e.g.

*prx* I ‘to fly’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>prixeyewa</i>	‘He had flown’
		<i>prixewa</i>	
	fs.	<i>prixteyawa</i>	‘She had flown’
pl.		<i>prixtewa</i>	
		<i>prixeyewa</i>	‘They had flown’, etc.
		<i>prixewa</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>prixətwa</i>	
	fs.	<i>prixətəwə</i>	
	pl.	<i>prixetuwə</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>prixənwə</i>	
	fs.	<i>prixənwə</i>	
	pl.	<i>prixəxwə</i>	

Transitive verbs insert an /l/ in the past copula ending by analogy with the /l/ of the present copula, e.g. *q̄l̄l̄l̄wəle* ‘He had killed him’. This has

evolved in forms of transitive verbs with pronominal object suffixes, so will be dealt with together with the pronominal suffixes below (§8.19.4.2.).

#### 8.8.4. *Verb hwy + Resultative Participle*

The verb *hwy* is regularly placed before the resultative participle:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>háwe príqa</i>	‘He has finished’
	fs.	<i>háwya príqta</i>	‘She has finished’
	pl.	<i>háwε príqe</i>	‘They have finished’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>háwət príqa</i>	
	fs.	<i>háwyt príqta</i>	
	pl.	<i>hawétu príqe</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>háwən príqa</i>	
	fs.	<i>háwən príqta</i>	
	pl.	<i>háwəx príqe</i>	

#### 8.8.5. *Deictic Copula + Infinitive*

The most commonly used paradigm of compound forms constructed with the deictic copula and the infinitive is the following. The infinitive remains invariable without inflection:

*xpr* I ‘to dig’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>hóle xpára</i>	‘He is digging’
	fs.	<i>hóla xpára</i>	‘She is digging’
	pl.	<i>hóle xpára</i> <i>hóla xpára</i>	‘They are digging’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>hót xpára</i>	
	fs.	<i>hót xpára</i>	
	pl.	<i>hótu xpára</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>hón xpára</i>	
	fs.	<i>hón xpára</i>	
	pl.	<i>hóx xpára</i>	

The alternative series of the deictic copula with L-suffixes in the 1st and 2nd persons is also used:

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>hólux xpára</i>
	fs.	<i>hólax xpára</i>
	pl.	<i>hólēxu xpára</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>hóli xpára</i>
	pl.	<i>hólān xpára</i>

On some occasions the preposition *b-* is placed before the infinitive:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>hóle b-xpára</i>	‘He is digging’
	fs.	<i>hóla b-xpara</i>	‘She is digging’
	pl.	<i>hóla b-xpara</i>	‘They are digging’, etc.

#### 8.8.6. *Infinitive + Present Enclitic Copula*

The forms of the present copula that are cliticized to the infinitive correspond to the various series that are described in §8.7.1. These are shown in the following paradigm:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>xpárele</i>	‘He is digging’
	fs.	<i>xpárela</i>	‘She is digging’
	pl.	<i>xpárele</i> <i>xpárela</i>	‘They are digging’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>xpárewat</i>	<i>xpáret</i>
	fs.	<i>xpárewat</i>	<i>xpáret</i>
	pl.	<i>xpárewitu</i>	<i>xpáretu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>xpárewān</i>	<i>xpáren</i>
	fs.	<i>xpárewān</i>	<i>xpáren</i>
	pl.	<i>xpárewāx</i>	<i>xpárex</i>

The /ε/ vowel in the closed final syllable of the forms in the second column is often attenuated to /ə/ in fast speech:

2nd pers.	s.	<i>xpáret</i>	~	<i>xpárət</i>
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1st pers.	s.	<i>xpáren</i>	~	<i>xpárēn</i>
	pl.	<i>xpáreç</i>	~	<i>xpáræç</i>

The preposition *b-* is occasionally placed before the infinitive in the various forms given above:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>b-xpárele</i>	‘He is digging’
	fs.	<i>b-xparela</i>	‘She is digging’
	pl.	<i>b-xparela</i>	‘They are digging’, etc.

### 8.8.7. *Infinitive + Past Enclitic Copula*

All series of the past copula described in §8.7.2. may be cliticized to infinitives:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>xpára-wewa</i>	‘He was digging’
		<i>xpáreyewa</i>	
		<i>xpárewa</i>	
fs.		<i>xpára-wawa</i>	‘She was digging’
		<i>xpáreyawa</i>	
		<i>xpárewa</i>	
pl.		<i>xpára-wewa</i>	‘They were digging’, etc.
		<i>xpáreyewa</i>	
		<i>xpárewa</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>xpára-watwa</i>	
		<i>xpáratwa</i>	
		<i>xpára-watwa</i>	
fs.		<i>xpára-watwa</i>	
		<i>xpáratwa</i>	
		<i>xpára-wetuwa</i>	
pl.		<i>xpárætuwa</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>xpára-wæwæ</i>	
		<i>xpáræwæ</i>	
		<i>xpára-wæwæ</i>	
fs.		<i>xpára-wæwæ</i>	
		<i>xpáræwæ</i>	
		<i>xpára-wæwæ</i>	
pl.		<i>xpára-wæwæ</i>	
		<i>xpáræwæ</i>	
		<i>xpára-wæwæ</i>	

The preposition *b-* is occasionally prefixed to these forms, e.g.



3rd pers.	ms.	<i>b-xpára-wewa</i>	‘He was digging’
	fs.	<i>b-xpára-wawa</i>	‘She was digging’
	pl.	<i>b-xpára-wewa</i>	‘They were digging’, etc.

### 8.9. NEGATION OF VERBAL FORMS

Verbal forms are negated by the particle *la*. This is placed before verbs derived from the present and past bases and also before the imperative. It is frequently linked to the verb in the same stress group, the stress falling either on the negator or on the verb, e.g.

<i>la-pálət</i> ~ <i>lá-palət</i>	‘He does not go out’
<i>la-plítte</i> ~ <i>lá-plítte</i>	‘He did not go out’
<i>la-plút</i> ~ <i>lá-plút</i>	‘Do not go out!’

The negated imperative may be combined with the various supplementary suffixes that are used to strengthen its force (§8.6.5.), e.g.

<i>la-plútga!</i>	‘Do not go out!’
<i>la-plútən!</i>	
<i>la-plútgena!</i>	

The particle *la* may be combined with the pre-verbal particles <sup>ʔ</sup>*i*- (§8.6.1.) and *qəm*- (§8.6.3.). When the particle <sup>ʔ</sup>*i*- occurs before a verb beginning with a consonant, the /i/ vowel is syllabified with the /a/ of the preceding negator. In most cases the sequence /*lay*/ shifts to /*ley*/ or contracts to *lɛ*, in accordance with the usual phonetic process that is undergone by the diphthong /*ay*/, e.g.

<i>le-y-palət</i>
<i>lɛ-palət</i>

Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) <sup>ʔ</sup>*an-náše le-y-mbáqri mən-<sup>ʔ</sup>árxa <sup>ʔ</sup>áti m-èkewət* ‘Those people do not ask from a guest “Where are you from?”’ (A29:45)
- (2) *bás le-y-mabyənwa* ‘but it did not show’ (B10:57)
- (3) *le-y-máxi prázla l-<sup>ʔ</sup>áqlət dawère.<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘Don’t people put metal on the feet of mules?’ (B4:12)

- (4) *lɛ-xàru* 'It does not go off' (B5:119)  
 (5) *míya lɛ-ɣale bíye díye* 'Water does not flow down into it' (B5:192)  
 (6) *lɛ-qemi ràba* 'They do not grow much' (B5:215)

Note (7) in which the negator bears its own stress and the /y/ is separated from the verb:

- (7) *lè-y ʔamrátli qá-mo θélax:ʔ* 'Won't you tell me why you have come?' (A8:77)

Since the vowel /ɛ/ has a tendency to be lowered to /a/, especially in unstressed syllables (§2.3.4.), the form *lɛ-pálət* is sometimes pronounced *la-pálət*, in which all trace of the indicative particle has been lost.

When the particle ʔi- has the form of y- at the onset of the first syllable of verbs of initial /ʔ/ roots, the /y/ generally remains when the negator is prefixed. The /a/ sometimes remains unchanged, but usually is raised to the region of /ɛ/ or /e/, e.g.

*la-y-áxəl*                    'He does not eat'  
*lɛ-y-áxəl*  
*le-y-áxəl*

The initial /ʔ/ of the verb is sometimes retained, e.g.

*la-y-ʔáxəl*  
*lɛ-y-ʔáxəl*  
*le-y-ʔáxəl*

Examples from the text corpus:

- (8) *là-y-awra* 'She will not enter' (B8:35)  
 (9) *là-y-asqəm* 'I shall not go up' (A32:29)  
 (10) *ʔarwe lɛ-y-asqi túra xàla* 'The sheep do not go up into the mountains to eat' (B5:108)  
 (11) *lɛ-y-axəl xətna* 'The groom will not eat' (B5:32)  
 (12) *le-y-áxlax b-čàngəl* 'We do not eat with a fork' (B10:96)  
 (13) *le-y-ʔamránne flàlux* 'I shall not tell you' (A24:45)

Examples of the negator used before the particle *qəm-*:

- (14) *lā qəm-qatǎlla ʾaqǎrwa* 'He did not kill the scorpion' (A9:5)  
 (15) *lā qəm-xazǎle* 'They did not see him' (B9:6)  
 (16) *lā qəm-basmāle ʾayyā* 'This did not please him' (A8:5)

The particle *bād-* together with its various phonetic variants (§8.6.2.), one of several functions of which is to express a future action, is not combined with the negator *la*. In the negation of constructions with *bād-*, the latter is omitted and the negator is placed before the verb:

*bād-pālǎt* 'He will leave' → *la-pālǎt* 'He will not leave'

On some occasions a negated future form has the particle *ʾi-*, e.g.

*ʾi-áxléna* 'I shall eat' → *lɛ-y-áxléna* 'I shall not eat'

## 8.10. NEGATIVE COPULA

### 8.10.1. *Negative Present Copula*

The present copula is negated by prefixing to it the particle *la*. The combination of the /a/ of the negator with the /i/ of the copula coalesces to /ɛ/. The 1st and 2nd person forms exist in two alternants, a longer one formed by the combination of the negator and the copula with a *iw-* base (*ʾiwən*, *ʾiwət* etc.) and a shorter one formed from the abbreviated copula without /w/ (*ʾin*, *ʾit* etc.):

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léle</i>	
	fs.	<i>léla</i>	
	pl.	<i>léle</i>	
		<i>léla</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>léwət</i>	<i>let</i>
	fs.	<i>léwət</i>	<i>let</i>
	pl.	<i>léwetu</i>	<i>létu</i>
		<i>léwitu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>léwən</i>	<i>len</i>
	fs.	<i>léwən</i>	<i>len</i>
	pl.	<i>léwəx</i>	<i>lex</i>

In natural, fast speech the /ε/ of the forms in the second column is often lowered to the region of /a/: *lat* (2s), *lan* (1s.), *lax* (1pl.). In the speech of some informants the /l/ between the two vowels of the 3rd person negative copula is occasionally weakened and the vowels coalesce. This is not represented in the transcription: *léle* [lɛɪ], *léla* [lɛɪ], *léle* [lɛɪ]. In fast speech the quality of the vowel may be lowered to [a], resulting in a form that is homophonous with the simple negative particle *la*.

Unlike the positive copula, the negative copula is regularly placed before the predicate, e.g. *léle gu-mátha* 'He is not in the village', *léwon xáðya* 'I am not happy', *lat-xáwri* 'You are not my friend'.

### 8.10.2. Negative Past Copula

The negative past copula is formed by combining *la* with the past copula series *'íwa*, *'íwéwa* and *wéwa*. When combined with the first two series with initial *'i-*, this vowel contracts with the /a/ vowel of *la* to /ɛ/: *léwa* < *la* + *'íwa*, *léwewa* < *la* + *'íwewa*. The stress normally falls on the initial syllable. Full paradigms of these two negated series are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léwa</i>
	fs.	<i>léwa</i>
	pl.	<i>léwa</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>létwá</i>
	fs.	<i>létwá</i>
	pl.	<i>létuwa</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>lénwá</i>
	fs.	<i>lénwá</i>
	pl.	<i>léxwa</i>
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léwewa</i>
	fs.	<i>léwáwa</i>
	pl.	<i>léwewa</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>léwətwá</i>
	fs.	<i>léwətwá</i>
	pl.	<i>léwituwa</i>

1st pers.	ms.	<i>léwəmwə</i>
	fs.	<i>léwəmwə</i>
	pl.	<i>léwəxwə</i>

The /ɛ/ in the closed syllables of the forms *létwə*, *lénwə* and *léxwə* is often lowered to /a/: *látwə*, *lánwə*, *laxwə*.

### 8.11. NEGATION OF COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS

Compound verb forms consisting of a combination of the copula with a resultative participle or an infinitive are negated by replacing the positive copula with the negative copula. The negative copula is regularly placed before the participle or infinitive:

#### 8.11.1. *Negative Present Copula + Resultative Participle*

*prq* I ‘to finish’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léle príqa</i>	‘He has not finished’
	fs.	<i>léla príqta</i>	‘She has not finished’
	pl.	<i>léle príqe</i> <i>léla príqe</i>	‘They has not finished’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>léwət príqa</i>	~ <i>lét/lát príqa</i>
	fs.	<i>léwət príqta</i>	~ <i>lét/lát príqta</i>
	pl.	<i>léwətu príqe</i> <i>léwitu príqe</i>	~ <i>létu príqe</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>léwən príqa</i>	~ <i>lén/lán príqa</i>
	fs.	<i>léwən príqta</i>	~ <i>lén/lán príqta</i>
	pl.	<i>léwəx príqe</i>	~ <i>léx/láx príqe</i>

#### 8.11.2. *Negative Past Copula + Resultative Participle*

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léwə príqa</i>	‘He had not finished’
	fs.	<i>léwə príqta</i>	‘She had not finished’
	pl.	<i>léwə príqe</i>	‘They had not finished’, etc.

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>létwa príqa</i>
	fs.	<i>létwa príqta</i>
	pl.	<i>létuwa príqe</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>lénwa príqa</i>
	fs.	<i>lénwa príqta</i>
	pl.	<i>lénwa príqe</i>

8.11.3. *Negative Present Copula + Infinitive**xpr* I ‘to dig’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léle xpára</i>	‘He is not digging’
	fs.	<i>léla xpára</i>	‘She is not digging’
	pl.	<i>léle xpára</i>	‘They are not digging’, etc.
		<i>léla xpára</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>léwət xpára</i>	~ <i>lét/lát xpára</i>
	fs.	<i>léwət xpára</i>	~ <i>lét/lát xpára</i>
	pl.	<i>léwətu xpára</i>	~ <i>létu xpára</i>
		<i>léwitu xpára</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>léwən xpára</i>	~ <i>lén/lán xpára</i>
	fs.	<i>léwən xpára</i>	~ <i>lén/lán xpára</i>
	pl.	<i>léwəx xpára</i>	~ <i>lén/lán xpára</i>
		<i>léwəx xpára</i>	~ <i>lén/lán xpára</i>

8.11.4. *Negative Past Copula + Infinitive*

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léwa xpára</i>	‘He was not digging’
	fs.	<i>léwa xpára</i>	‘She was not digging’
	pl.	<i>léwa xpára</i>	‘They were not digging’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>létwa xpára</i>	
	fs.	<i>létwa xpára</i>	
	pl.	<i>létuwa xpára</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>lénwa xpára</i>	
	fs.	<i>lénwa xpára</i>	
	pl.	<i>lénwa xpára</i>	

## 8.12. WEAK VERBS IN STEM I

8.12.1. *Verba Primae /ʔ/*

Verbs in this category include:

ʔm ‘to close’, ʔmð ‘to be baptized’, ʔmr ‘to say’, ʔqð ‘to burn (intr.)’, ʔqr ‘to dig up, to plough; to cost, be expensive’, ʔrq ‘to run’, ʔsq ‘to ascend’, ʔʕq ‘to be in love’, ʔsr ‘to tie’, ʔxl ‘to eat’, ʔzl ‘to weave’.

The present base is inflected regularly like a verb with strong consonants, e.g. ʔxl ‘to eat’: ʔáxl ‘He eats’, ʔáxla ‘She eats’, ʔáxli ‘They eat’, etc. The initial /ʔ/ is elided after prefixed particles. The ʔi- prefix takes the form of the glide /y/, e.g. y-áxl ‘He eats’. The particle *bəd-* generally takes the form *bʔ-* or simply *t-* (§8.6.2.), e.g. *bʔ-áxl*, *t-áxl* ‘He will eat’.

The initial /ʔ/ is elided in all other bases. The past base has the pattern *CiC* (ms.), *CiCa* (fs.), *CiCi* (pl.), e.g. *xil-* (ʔxl ‘to eat’): *xille* ‘He ate’, *xilli* ‘I ate’, *xillux* ‘You (ms.) ate’, etc. The /l/ for the L-suffixes is assimilated to a final /r/, e.g. *sirre* ‘He tied’ (< \**sir-le*).

The verb ʔmr ‘to say’ exhibits some irregularities in the past base in that the gemination of the /r/ is usually weakened and the vowel has the central quality /ə/ rather than /i/, e.g. *məre* ‘he said’. The regular form *murre* is sporadically found, as well as some other rare variants such as *müre* and *mére*, the latter with the /ə/ vowel lengthened to /e/ (§2.1., §2.3.2.). The usual past base form of this verb *məre* has been normalized in the transcription.

The final /ð/ of the verb ʔqð ‘to burn (intr.)’ shifts to the stop /d/ when in contact with an L-suffix, e.g. *qidle* ‘He burnt’.

The fs. and pl. forms of the past base are formed in the regular manner by adding *-a* and *-i* respectively to the default ms. base, e.g. ʔxl: *xilále* ‘He ate her’, *xilile* ‘He ate them’.

The resultative participle has the pattern *CiCa* (ms.), *CiCta* (fs.), *CiCe* (pl.), e.g. ʔxl ‘to eat’: *xila* (ms.), *xilta* (fs.), *xile* (pl.). Compound forms: *xilele* ‘He has eaten’, *xilten* ‘I (f.) have eaten’, *xilex* ‘We have eaten’.

The imperative has the pattern *CuC* (sing.), *CuCu* (pl.), e.g. *xul!* ‘Eat!’ (sing.), *xulu* ‘Eat!’ (pl.).

The infinitive has the pattern *CaCa*, e.g. *xála* ‘to eat’. Compound form: *hóle xála* ‘He is eating’, *xálex* ‘We are eating’. Verbal noun: *CaCta*, e.g. *xalta* ‘eating’.

The elision of the /ʕ/ in all bases other than the present applies to all initial /ʕ/ verbs, irrespective of whether the /ʕ/ is derived historically from a laryngal \*ʕ or a pharyngal \*ʕ, e.g. ʕmr < \*ʕmr ‘to say’: ʕamər, mər-, mira, mur, mara; ʕsr < \*ʕsr ‘to tie’: ʕasər, sūr-, sūrā, sur, sara; ʕrq < \*ʕrq ‘to run’: ʕarəq, riq-, rīqa, ruq, raqa; ʕzl < \*ʕzl ‘to weave’: ʕazəl, zil-, zīla, zul, zala. This applies also to loan words from Arabic in which the Arabic source has a pharyngal, e.g. ʕšq < Arab. ʕšq ‘to be in love’: ʕašəq, šiq-, šīqa, šuq, šaqa. The verbs ʕð ‘to burn (intr.)’, ʕqr ‘to be expensive’ and ʕsq ‘to ascend’ are not historically initial /ʕ/ but rather have developed from initial /y/ roots (yqð, yqr, ysq). The verb ‘to ascend’ had the root \*slq at an earlier period in Aramaic, but the initial /y/ form of the root is found in several other NENA dialects. Their treatment as initial /ʕ/ verbs may have come about by a false analysis of *qaṭəl* forms such *yəqəð* ‘it burns’, *yəqər* ‘it costs’ as *y-aqəð*, *y-aqər*, in which the initial /y/ was interpreted as the particle ʕi- rather than the root letter.

The verb ʕm has a doublet middle /y/ form ʕym. Many of the inflected forms of the two are identical, due to the elision of the /ʕ/ in the inflections of initial /ʕ/ verbs.

The initial /ʕ/ is preserved in a few nominal forms that are infinitives or verbal nouns in origin, e.g. ʕixala ‘food’, ʕitawa ‘sitting’ (*dükθət ʕitawa* ‘a sitting place, a seat’ B6:7), ʕisaqta ‘ascension’ (*ʕisáqtət Mšixa l-šmàyya* ‘the ascension of Christ to Heaven’ B6:7).

### 8.12.2. *Verba Tertiae /ʕ/*

Verbs in this category include:

*bʕ* ‘to swallow’, *bz* ‘to cleave, make a hole’, *gr* ‘to shave’, *jm* ‘to collect’, *mr* ‘to be ill; to hurt’, *mz* ‘to mix liquids’, *pl* ‘to divide’, *pq* ‘to split, explode’, *pr* ‘to pay; to burst’, *ql* ‘to cut, decide’, *sw* ‘to be sated’, *šm* ‘to hear’, *ʕb* ‘to sink’, *ʕl* ‘to sleep’, *xð* ‘to roll up, wrap, bind’, *xm* ‘to ferment’, *zð* ‘to fear’, *zʕ* ‘to crack’, *zʕ* ‘to cultivate’.

The /ʕ/ in these verbs is derived historically from a pharyngal \*ʕ, which existed at some stage in their diachronic development. In some cases the original final consonant was \*g, which shifted to a voiced pharyngal \*ʕ in post-vocalic position (§1.4.1.6.), e.g. *pl* ‘to divide’ < \*plʕ < \*plg.

The inflection of these verbs is in the process of being assimilated to the paradigms of final /y/ verbs. Various features that are characteristic of final /y/ verbs exist as alternative forms of inflection or have totally



replaced the original inflection of this category of verb. Several features of inflection, nevertheless, remain distinct from that of final /y/ verbs, and so these verbs should be classified as a separate group.

The labelling of this group as final /ʔ/ is somewhat of an anachronism, since the /ʔ/ has been elided in all forms with the exception of one variant of the infinitive. In those forms that have not assimilated to the inflection of final /y/ verbs, the morphophonology remains largely unaffected by the elision of the /ʔ/ and has the same pattern that it would have had if the /ʔ/ were still present.

The inflection of the present base is as follows:

šm' 'to hear'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>šámē</i>	
	fs.	<i>šáma</i>	
	pl.	<i>šámi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>šámət</i>	<i>šámēti</i>
	fs.	<i>šámət</i>	<i>šámāti</i>
	pl.	<i>šámítu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>šámən</i>	<i>šámēna</i>
	fs.	<i>šámən</i>	<i>šámāna</i>
	pl.	<i>šáməx</i>	<i>šámēxi</i>

With the exception of the 3ms. form *šámē*, all the forms in this paradigm have the vocalic pattern of verbs with strong consonants. Even the /a/ vowel of the base is short, as if it were still in a closed syllable. The /ʔ/ has been elided but the vocalic pattern remains unaltered:

<i>*šamʔa</i>	>	<i>šáma</i>
<i>*šamʔi</i>	>	<i>šámi</i> , etc.

The ending *-e* in the 3ms. form *šámē* has developed from *\*-əʔ*, the short *\*ə* being lengthened to /e/ after the elision of the laryngal (§2.1., §2.3.2.). The shortness of the /a/ in the 3ms. form could not have been conditioned by historical syllable structure, since in the 3ms. form the /a/ would have been in an open syllable at all stages of its historical development. The explanation seems to be that the vowel came to be pronounced short by analogy with the shortness of the /a/ in the rest of the paradigm.

The 3pl. form occasionally has the ending *-ε* by analogy with the paradigm of final *-y* verbs, e.g. *šámε* ‘They hear’: *xázε* ‘They see’.

The consonant after the short /ǎ/ in the present base paradigm is sometimes geminated when it is preceded by the stress, e.g. *šámme* ‘He hears’, *šámma* ‘She hears’.

The past base exists in two variant forms, viz. *CCi-* (ms.), *CCiya-* (fs.), *CCiyi-* (pl.), on the one hand, and *CCe-* (ms.), *CəCya-* (fs.), *CCε-*, on the other. The form *CCi-* and its inflections has the pattern of the past base of strong verbs *qtil-*, except that the /i/ vowel has been lengthened after the elision of the final /ʔ/, e.g. *šmíle* ‘He heard (him)’ (< \*šmíʔle), *šmíyále* ‘He heard her’, *šmíyíle* ‘He heard them’, *tbíli* ‘I sank’ (< \*tbíʔle). The alternative form *CCe-* and its inflections is the pattern of past bases from final /y/ verbs, e.g. *šméle* ‘He heard (him)’, *šəmyále* ‘He heard her’, *šméle* ‘He heard them’. The sequence /iyi/ tends to be contracted to /i/ in the plural form of the base *CCiyi-*, making it homophonous with the singular form. For this reason, the alternative final /y/ type inflection *CCε-* is generally used to distinguish a plural pronominal object.

One set of forms for the resultative participle corresponds in pattern to strong verbs except for the elision of the third radical: *šmiya* (ms.), *šmita* (fs.), *šmiye* (pl.). The glide /y/ has been inserted between the two adjacent vowels in the ms. and pl. forms. The /t/ of the feminine ending in the fs. form remains a stop since at an earlier stage of development it was separated from the preceding vowel by the /ʔ/ consonant (\*šmíʔta > šmita). A variant set of forms has the pattern of the resultative participle of final /y/ verbs: *šəmya* (ms.), *šmiθa* (fs.), *šəmye* (pl.).

The imperative has forms with a pattern corresponding to that of strong verbs. The imperative singular has the form *šmu* (< \*šmúʔ). The final /u/ vowel is generally pronounced long, although historically it occurred in a closed syllable. The plural imperative either has the form *šmu* (< \*šmúʔu) or *šmu* (< \*šmúʔu) like the singular. An alternative set of forms correspond to the pattern of imperatives from final /y/ verbs: *šmi* (ms.), *šma* (fs.) and *šmo* (pl.). Note that there is a distinction in gender in the singular of final /y/ imperatives. When a supplementary suffix or pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, it has an /ε/ vowel rather than an /a/, e.g. *šméga* ‘Hear (fs.)!’, *zdéle* ‘Fear (fs.) him!’ (zdʔ).

The infinitive, likewise, exists in two alternative forms. One form retains the original final /ʔ/ of the root: *šmaʔa*, *zdaʔa*, *zraʔa*. The other corresponds to that of final /y/ verbs: *šmaya*, *zdaya*, *zraya*. Compound forms: *zdáʔele/zdáyele* ‘He is afraid’, *zraʔex/zráyex* ‘We are cultivating’, *zdáʔa-wawa/zdáyawawa* ‘She was afraid’.

The verbal noun has various patterns. These include *CCeta* and *CCata*, which have developed from *\*CCa'ta* (§2.5.2.), e.g. *jmeta* ‘gathering’, *zrata* ‘agriculture’, and *CCεθa*, which is the pattern of final /y/ verbal nouns, e.g. *šmεθa* ‘hearing’.

The verbal root *zdʰ* ‘to fear’ has an alternative form *zdl* with final /l/. This is likely to have arisen by reanalysis of a form such as *zdaʷlle* ‘He fears him’. In fast speech this sometimes contracts to [zdalle] by the elision of the laryngal /ʷ/ (§4.4.) The form [zdalle] could also be interpreted as the result of the contraction of a form such as *zdaʷlle*, by the process whereby the first of a sequence of two syllables beginning with the same consonant is elided (§4.5.1.).

### 8.12.3. *Verba Primae /y/*

This category includes the verb *yðl* ‘to give birth, to lay (eggs)’.

The /y/ of the root is retained in the inflections of the present base: *yálla* ‘She gives birth’, *yálli* ‘They give birth’. Note that the fricative /ð/ of the root shifts to the stop /d/ when in contact with the /l/.

The /y/ is elided in other bases. Past base: *ðilla* ‘She gave birth’. Resultative participle: *ðilta* (fs.), *ðile* (pl.). Compound form: *hóla ðilta* ‘She has given birth’. Imperative: *ðúl* (sing.), *ðúlu* (pl.). Infinitive: *ðála*. Compound form: *hóla ðála* ‘She is giving birth’. Verbal noun: *ðalta*.

Most initial /y/ roots have shifted to the category of initial /ʷ/ verbs, e.g. *\*yqð* > *ʷqð* ‘to burn’, *\*yqr* > *ʷqr* ‘to be expensive’, *\*yʷsq* > *ʷsq* ‘to ascend’ (§8.12.1.).

### 8.12.4. *Verba Primae /y/, Tertiae /ʷ/*

This category includes the verb *yðʷ* ‘to know’.

The initial /y/ is preserved in the present base, which is inflected like other final /ʷ/ verbs with a short /a/ throughout the paradigm (§8.12.2.): *yáðe* ‘He knows’, *yáða* ‘She knows’, *yáði* ‘They know’. The short /a/ of the first syllable is sometimes attenuated to short /ə/, though this is not represented in the transcription. The attenuation is particularly common in the 1st and 2nd person forms, e.g. *yáðən* [jəðən] ‘I (m. and f.) know’, *yáðət* [jəðət] ‘You (ms. and fs.) know’. When combined with the negative particle *la*, the vowel of this particle and the initial syllable of the verb contract to /ε/. This is especially common in the 1st sing. form *léðən* ‘I do not know’ < *la-yáðən*. An alternative negative form is *míðən* ‘I do not

know', which has resulted from contraction of an interrogative particle: *mīðæn* < *mo yǎðæn* (§7.5.).

The initial /y/ is elided in other bases, which are otherwise inflected like final /r/ verbs. Past base: *ði-* (ms.), *ðiya-* (fs.), *ðiyi-*, e.g. *ðile* 'He knew him', *ðiyále* 'He knew her', *ðiyile* 'He knew them'. Resultative participle: *ðiya* (ms.), *ðíta* (fs.), *ðíye* (pl.). Compound forms: *ðíyele* 'He has known', *ðítela* 'She has known'. The imperative has the form *ðu*, which is used for singular and plural, or alternatively forms with endings that are characteristic of final /y/ verbs: *ði* (ms.), *ða* (fs.), *ðo* (pl.). The infinitive has the form *ða'a* or *ðaya*. This sometimes contracts in negative compound forms, e.g. *lán-ða'a* [læn-ðæ] 'I do not know'. Verbal noun: *ðeta* 'knowing'.

### 8.12.5. *Verba Mediae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

*byx* 'to overflow', *byz* 'to pour, spill', *čyd* 'to invite', *čyk* 'to jam, pierce', *čyl* 'to sprout', *čyr* 'to turn away from, to become alienated', *čym* 'to close', *dyl* 'to see', *dyn* 'to judge', *dyp* 'to fold', *dyq* 'to crush', *dyr* 'to return', *dys* 'to thrust', *dys* 'to tread', *dyθ* 'to sweat', *dyx* 'to die down (fire)', *fyd* 'to be of use', *gyð* 'to finish off an edge', *hyr* 'to be confused', *jyl* 'to go around, go for a walk', *jyq* 'to tear', *jyr* 'to urinate', *kyl* 'to measure', *kym* 'to become black', *kyp* 'to bow', *kys* 'to deflate', *lyp* 'to learn', *lyq* 'to get stuck, get caught', *lym* 'to blame', *lys* 'to chew', *lys* 'to be spoilt, ruined', *lys* 'to knead (dough)', *lyt* 'to curse', *myj*, *myč* 'to knead and crush (dried yoghurt in hands)', *myn* 'to become watery', *mys* 'to suck', *myθ* 'to die', *myx* 'to smell', *nyd* 'to move, shake', *nym* 'to doze', *nys* 'to bite, sting', *pyč* 'to squash', *pyð* 'to pass', *pyš* 'to become, remain', *pyx* 'to cool', *qym* 'to rise', *qyp* 'to brood (hen)', *qyr* 'to cool', *qys* 'to cut; bruise', *qyθ* 'to hit', *qyx* 'to fade, become yellow (grass)', *ryθ* 'to inherit', *ryð* 'to darn', *rym* 'to rise up', *ryp* 'to attack', *ryq* 'to spit', *rys* 'to sprinkle', *rys* 'to wake, feel', *ryx* 'to become long', *syl* 'to copulate', *sym* 'to ordain', *syd* 'to hunt', *sym* 'to fast', *syn* 'to burn, spoil (food)', *syр* 'to prepare ground for cultivation', *šyl* 'to cough', *šyp* 'to rub, erase', *šyr* 'to stoke (fire)', *šys* 'to rock, shake', *tyk* 'to have a bad name; to give a bad name', *tym* 'to finish', *tym* 'to taste', *tyн* 'to carry', *typ* 'to float', *tyš* 'to besmear', *xyk* 'to scratch', *xym* 'to become hot', *xyp* 'to wash', *xyr* 'to watch', *xyt* 'to sew', *zyd* 'to increase (intr.)', *zym* 'to stand', *zyp* 'to push', *zyр* 'to visit' (on pilgrimage).

In the present base the medial /y/ is regularly retained only in the 3ms. form, e.g. *dyq* ‘to crush’: *dáyəq* ‘He crushes’. In the rest of the paradigm the sequence /ay/ is contracted to /ε/: *déqa* ‘She crushes’, *déqi* ‘They crush’, etc.

The /y/ is contracted in the past base, resultative participle and imperative.

Past base: *diq-* (ms.), *diqa-* (fs.), *diqui-* (pl.), e.g. *diqle* ‘He crushed (him)’, *diqále* ‘He crushed her’, *diquile* ‘He crushed them’. If the verbal root ends in an interdental /θ/ or /ð/, these shift to the stops /t/ and /d/ respectively when in contact with the /l/ of the L-suffixes (cf. §8.3.2.), e.g. *ditle* ‘He sweated’ (*dyθ*), *ridle* ‘He darned’ (*ryð*).

Resultative participle: *diqa* (ms.), *diqta* (fs.), *dique* (pl.), e.g. *hóle diqa* ‘He has crushed’, *hóla diqta* ‘She has crushed’, *hóla dique* ‘They have crushed’, etc. *qíméle* ‘He has risen’, *qímtela* ‘She has risen’, *qímela* ‘They have risen’, etc.

Imperative: *duq* (sing.), *dúqu* (pl.) ‘Crush!’ The verb *qym* ‘to rise’ has the singular imperative form *qu*, in which the final radical has been elided. Various alternatives are available for the expression of the plural imperative. It may have the regular form *qúmu*. Other forms, however, are constructed from the singular base *qu*. These include the emphatic form *qúgu*, with the suffix *-gu* (§8.6.5.), and the phrase *qu-qíme*, in which the plural is expressed morphologically in the inflected form of the resultative participle *qime*. Similar phrases are used for the singular, in which a gender distinction is marked by the participle: *qu-qíma* (ms.), *qu-qímta* (fs.).

The /y/ is preserved in the infinitive: *dyaqa*, *qyama*. Compound forms: *hóle dyaqa* ‘He is crushing’, *qyáméle* ‘He is rising’. Verbal noun: *dyaqta*, *qyamta*.

This category of weak verb has been expanded by the absorption of verbs that originally belonged to other categories. The category of medial /y/ verbs includes both verbs that were medial /y/ and also those that had a weak medial /w/ in earlier Aramaic. Some verbs in this category were originally final geminate, e.g. *gyð* ‘to finish off an edge’ (< \*gdd), *kyp* ‘to bow’ (< \*kpp), *mys* ‘to suck’ (< \*m:ss), *nyd* ‘to move’ (< \*nnd), *qyp* ‘to brood (hen)’ (< \*qpp), *qyr* ‘to cool’ (< \*qrr), *qys* ‘to cut; bruise’ (< \*q:s), *qyθ* ‘to hit’ (< \*qtt), *ryq* ‘to spit’ (< \*rqq), *xym* ‘to become hot’ (< \*xmm). These include loans from Arabic, e.g. *tym* ‘to finish’ (< Arab. *tmm*). Others had a medial pharyngeal \*<sup>c</sup> at some point in their historical development. This would have been weakened to a laryngeal \*<sup>ʔ</sup>, which was subsequently elided, e.g. *dyθ* ‘to sweat’ (< \*d<sup>ʔ</sup>θ < \*d<sup>c</sup>θ), *dyx* ‘to die down (fire)’ (< \*d<sup>ʔ</sup>x < \*d<sup>c</sup>x), *lys* ‘to chew’ (< \*l<sup>s</sup>s < \*l<sup>c</sup>s), *myj*, *myč* ‘to crush’ (< \*m<sup>ʔ</sup>s < \*m<sup>c</sup>s), *šyl* ‘to cough’ (< \*š<sup>ʔ</sup>l < \*š<sup>c</sup>l), *tym* ‘to taste’ (< \*t<sup>ʔ</sup>m < \*t<sup>c</sup>m), *tyn* ‘to carry’ (< \*t<sup>ʔ</sup>n < \*t<sup>c</sup>n), *zyp* ‘to push’ (< \*z<sup>ʔ</sup>p < \*z<sup>c</sup>p), *rys* ‘to wake up; to feel’ (< \*r<sup>ʔ</sup>s < \*r<sup>c</sup>s < \*r<sup>g</sup>s),

šyš ‘to rock (a child)’ (< \*šʕš < \*šʕš < \*šǧš). A few middle /y/ verbs are derived historically from roots with an initial weak radical. The verbs *lyp* ‘to learn’, *ryθ* ‘to inherit’ and *ryx* ‘to become long’, for example, developed from initial /y/ roots (\*y $\ell$ p, \*y $\ell$ rθ, \*y $\ell$ rx), some of which were ultimately initial /ʕ/ (\*ʕ $\ell$ p, \*ʕ $\ell$ rx). Note also the verb *lyq* ‘to get stuck, caught’, which is a loan from the Arabic root *ʕlq*, the development being no doubt *ʕlq* > \*ʕ $\ell$ q > *lyq*.

#### 8.12.6. *Verba Primae* /ʕ/, *Mediae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

ʕy $\delta$  ‘to weed’, ʕyq ‘to be narrow, tight (clothes); to be in distress’

The present base has the regular inflection of middle /y/ verbs: ʕáy $\delta$  ‘He weeds’, ʕé $\delta$ a ‘She weeds’, ʕé $\delta$ i ‘They weed’, etc.

The initial /ʕ/ is elided in the other bases. Past base: *yid-* (ms.), *yida-* (fs.), *yidi-* (pl.), e.g. *yidle* ‘He weeded (it)’, *yidále* ‘He weeded it (f.)’, *yidíle* ‘He weeded them’. Resultative participle: *yida* (ms.), *yitta* (fs. < *yidta*), *yide* (pl.), e.g. *hóle yída* ‘He has weeded’, *yíttéla* ‘She has weeded’, *yídela* ‘They have weeded’. Imperative: *yud* (sing.), *yúdu* (pl.) ‘Weed!’. Infinitive: *yada*. Compound forms: *hót yáda* ‘You are weeding’, *yádele* ‘He is weeding’. Verbal noun: *yatta*.

#### 8.12.7. *Verba Mediae* /y/, *Tertiae* /ʕ/

Verbs in this category include:

*my*ʕ ‘to churn’, *sy*ʕ ‘to build a fence’, *šy*ʕ ‘to get stuck’, and *šy*ʕ ‘to plaster; smooth’

In the inflection of the present base, the medial /y/ radical is retained throughout the paradigm. The vocalic pattern of the inflections is that of final /ʕ/ verbs, with a short /a/ vowel in the base:

*my*ʕ ‘to churn’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>máʕe</i>	
	fs.	<i>máʕa</i>	
	pl.	<i>máʕi</i>	

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mǎ́yət</i>	<i>mǎ́yeti</i>
	fs.	<i>mǎ́yət</i>	<i>mǎ́yati</i>
	pl.	<i>mǎ́yítu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mǎ́yən</i>	<i>mǎ́yena</i>
	fs.	<i>mǎ́yən</i>	<i>mǎ́yana</i>
	pl.	<i>mǎ́yəx</i>	<i>mǎ́yexi</i>

The past base has the forms *mi-* (ms.), *miya-* (fs.), *miyi-* (pl.), which correspond to the forms *šmi-*, *šmiya-* and *šmiyi-* of final /ʔ/ verbs, e.g. *míle* ‘He churned (it)’, *míyálux* ‘You churned it (f.)’, *míyíwalí* ‘I had churned them’. The base may also have the endings of final /y/ verbs: *me-* (ms.), *miya-* (fs.), *mε-* (pl.).

The resultative participle has the forms *míʔa* (ms.), *míta* (fs.), *míʔe* (pl.). The /ʔ/ in the ms. and pl. forms is often replaced by the glide /y/. Examples: *hóle míʔa* ~ *míya* ‘He churned’, *míʔet* ~ *míyət* ‘You (ms.) have churned’, *mítela* ‘She churned’, *míʔe-wεwa* ~ *míye-wεwa* ‘They had churned’.

The imperative singular has the form *myu* (sing. < \**myuʔ*). The plural imperative either has the form *míyu* (< \**míyʔu*) or *myu* (< \**myuʔu*) like the singular. All of these forms are sometimes contracted to *mu* in fast speech. The plural is distinguished from the singular when a supplementary suffix (§8.6.5.) is added to strengthen the command: *múga* (sing.), *múgu* (pl.). Alternative forms of the imperative exist that have the ending of imperatives from final /y/ verbs: *mi* (ms.), *ma* (fs.), *mo* (pl.). Note the gender distinction in the singular. The /a/ of the fs. form shifts to /ε/ when a supplementary suffix or a pronominal object suffix is attached to it, e.g. *méga!* ‘Churn (fs.)!’, *méle!* ‘Churn (fs.) it!’

The infinitive has the form *myaʔa*. Compound forms: *hóle myaʔa* ‘He is churning’, *myaʔen* ‘I am churning’. Verbal noun: *myeta*.

#### 8.12.8. *Verba Tertiae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

*bly* ‘to wear out’, *bny* ‘to build’, *bry* ‘to happen, be born, grow’, *bxy* ‘to weep’, *čny* ‘to be extinguished’, *dmy* ‘to resemble, to seem’, *dry* ‘to put’, *gby* ‘to froth, foam’, *gly* ‘to reveal’, *gny* ‘to set (sun)’, *gsy* ‘to vomit’, *hny* ‘to please’, *jry* ‘to flow’, *kčy* ‘to pick (fruit)’, *kly* ‘to stop, stand’, *kry* ‘to strike, attack; to become short’, *ly* ‘to lap’, *mly* ‘to fill’, *msy* ‘to wash (clothes)’, *mny* ‘to count’, *mšy* ‘to wipe’, *nty* ‘to arrive’, *mxy* ‘to beat’, *nđy* ‘to leap’,

*nšy* ‘to forget’, *ply* ‘to remove lice’, *pry* ‘to get light; to channel (water)’, *qly* ‘to fry’, *qmy* ‘to scorch, burn’, *qny* ‘to gain, earn’, *qpy* ‘to catch’, *qry* ‘to call’, *qsy* ‘to cut (bread)’, *rmy* ‘to grieve; put ash on (oneself)’, *rpy* ‘to throw’, *smy* ‘to become blind’, *сны* ‘to hate’, *spy* ‘to grasp’, *sxy* ‘to swim, bathe’, *šly* ‘to descend’, *špy* ‘to be pure’, *šry* ‘to rend, cut open’, *šty* ‘to dart, swoop’, *šđy* ‘to card (wool)’, *šky* ‘to complain’, *šly* ‘to calm down’, *šny* ‘to anaesthetize’, *šry* ‘to untie, solve; to lodge’, *šty* ‘to drink’, *tly* ‘to hang’, *tny* ‘to repeat, follow suit’, *tpy* ‘to catch up; infect’, *try* ‘to become wet’, *tsy* ‘to copulate (birds)’, *try* ‘to drive’, *xđy* ‘to rejoice, be happy’, *xmy* ‘to dwell’, *xny* ‘to honour; be honoured, be lucky’, *xpy* ‘to crouch, huddle’, *xry* ‘to defecate’, *xsy* ‘to castrate’, *xy* ‘to sin’, *xzy* ‘to see, find’, *zdy* ‘to throw’, *zny* ‘to commit adultery’.

The final /y/ is retained in feminine singular inflections of the present base, e.g. *xzy* ‘to see, find’: *xazyra* ‘She sees’, *xazyrat* ‘You (fs.) see’, *xazyran* ‘I (f.) see’. In other inflections of the present, the /y/ has been contracted. The full paradigm of the present base inflections is as follows. In addition to the usual long forms, alternant inflections exist for the 3pl. and the 2pl.:

*xzy* ‘to see’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>xáze</i>	
	fs.	<i>xázya</i>	
	pl.	<i>xázε</i>	
		<i>xáza</i>	
		<i>xázi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>xázət</i>	<i>xazeti</i>
	fs.	<i>xázyət</i>	<i>xazyati</i>
	pl.	<i>xazétu</i>	
		<i>xazítu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>xázən</i>	<i>xazena</i>
	fs.	<i>xázyən</i>	<i>xazyana</i>
	pl.	<i>xázəx</i>	<i>xazexi</i>

The 3pl. form *xáza* is an allegro variant of *xázε*, whereby the original final -ε is lowered to /a/ in fast speech (§2.3.4). The alternative forms *xázi* (3pl.) and *xazítu* (2pl.) have developed by analogy with the corresponding



inflections of the strong verb (*qaṭli* and *qaṭlitu*). The forms *xáze* (3pl.) and *xazétu* (2pl.) are the original final /y/ inflections. The /ε/ vowel has resulted from the contraction of the diphthong \*ay in the plural ending of the final /y/ active participle at an earlier stage of the language: *xáze* < \*xazayn, *xazétu* < \*xazay-tūn. The remainder of the paradigm, including the long inflections of the 1st and 2nd person singular, is derived from the singular final /y/ active participle. The /ε/ vowel of the long form of the 1pl. inflection *-exi* appears to have developed by analogy with the /ε/ of the long 1ms. suffix (*-ena*) (§8.2.2.). The same applies to the short 1pl. form *-ax*, the proto-form of which is \*-ex with /ε/ by analogy with the 1ms. short proto-form \*-en. The full reconstructed paradigm would be as follows:

		Proto-form	Actual form
3rd pers.	ms.	*xaze	xáze
	fs.	*xazya	xázya
	pl.	*xazayn	xáze
2nd pers.	ms.	*xaze-t	xázət
		*xaze-t-i	xazeti
	fs.	*xazya-t	xázyət
		*xazya-t-i	xazyati
	pl.	*xazay-tun	xazétu
1st pers.	ms.	*xaze-n	xázən
		*xaze-na	xazena
	fs.	*xazy-an	xázyən
		*xazy-ana	xazyana
	pl.	*xaze-x	xázəx
		*xaze-x-i	xazexi

As shown in §8.2.2., the endings of the 1st and 2nd person singular were extended by analogy to the strong verb. In the speech of one informant an infix /n/ appears in the 3ms. form with the *-wa* suffix, e.g. *baxènwa* ‘He used to weep’ (= *baxewa* A34:29). An augment of this type is regularly used in some NENA dialects, e.g. the Baz and Jilu dialects.

The past base has the form *CCe-* (ms.), *CəCCa-* (fs.), *CCε-* (pl.), e.g. *xzéle* ‘He saw (him)’, *xəzyále* ‘He saw her’, *xzéle* ‘He saw them’.

Resultative participle: *CəCya* (ms.), *CCiθa* (fs.), *CəCye* (pl.), e.g. *hóle xázya* ‘He has seen’, *hóla xziθa* ‘She has seen’, *hóla xázye* ‘They have seen’, *náðyεle* ‘He has jumped’, *bxiθela* ‘She has wept’, *štyela* ‘They have drunk’.

The imperative distinguishes between gender in the singular: *xzi* (ms.), *xza* (fs.), *xzo* (pl.) ‘See!’ When a supplementary suffix or pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, it has an /ε/ vowel rather than an /a/, e.g. *xzégá* ‘See!’, *štéle* ‘Drink it!’. This indicates that the proto-form of the fs. imperative *xza* is *\*hɜay* with a final diphthong (§2.4.1.).

The /y/ is preserved in the infinitive: *CCaya*, e.g. *xzaya*. Compound forms: *hóle štáya* ‘He is drinking’, *hóx bnáya* ‘We are building’, *tráyele* ‘He is driving’, *xzáyet* ‘You see’. In fast speech the /y/ is sometimes contracted in compound forms (§4.4.), e.g. *xzáyalla* [‘xzæ:lɜæ] ‘he sees them’ (B9:6), *xzáyat* [‘xzæ:t] ‘Do you see?’ (A7:17); *lán-mšaya* [lam-mʃa] ‘I cannot (A7:25).

#### 8.12.9. *Verba Primae /ʔ/, Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

ʔy ‘to curdle; to rain’, and ʔy ‘to resist, get stuck’

The initial /ʔ/ is retained in the present base without prefixes, e.g. ʔáse ‘It (ms.) gets stuck’, ʔáya ‘It (fs.) gets stuck’, ʔáse ‘They get stuck’. The /ʔ/ is elided before prefixed particles, e.g. y-áse ‘It (ms.) gets stuck’, bɜ-áya ‘It will rain’.

The /ʔ/ is elided in the other bases where the pattern has an initial cluster *CC*, elsewhere it is retained. Past base: šéle ‘It (ms.) got stuck’, réla másta ‘The yoghurt curdled’. Resultative participle: ʔáya (ms.), síθa (fs.), ʔáye (pl.). Imperative: ši (ms.), ša (fs.), šo (pl.). Infinitive: šáya. Verbal noun: séθa.

#### 8.12.10. *Verbs with a Zero Medial Radical and Final /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

by ‘to want, to like’, ɜy ‘to be tired’, ny ‘to breath last breath; to dawn’, qy ‘to be blunt’, ry ‘to graze; to crush’, sy ‘to be thirsty’, ty ‘to search’.

At some stage of development these roots had a medial laryngal \*ʔ or \*h, the \*ʔ being derived ultimately from the pharyngal \*ɜ: by ‘to want’ < \*bʔy, ny ‘to breath last breath’ < \*nʔy, ny ‘to dawn’ (< \*nʔy < \*ngʔh), ry ‘to graze’

< \*rʎy, ʎy ‘to crush’ < \*rʎy < \*rʎ, ty < \*tʎy, ʎy < \*ʎhy, qy < \*qhy, sy < \*shy. The laryngal, however, does not appear in any of the bases of these verbs.

The endings of the present base are those of final /y/ verbs. One would have expected there to be long /a/ vowels in the open syllable after the first radical given the original historical form of the inflected paradigm. In the ms. and pl. forms the vowel is historically in an open syllable (e.g. \*baʔe ‘He wants’, \*baʔet ‘You (ms.) want’, \*baʔayn ‘They want’). Also in the fs. forms (e.g. \*baʔya ‘She wants’), the elision of the laryngal led to the opening of a syllable and according to the usual rule when a laryngal in the coda of a syllable is elided, the preceding vowel is long (§2.2.4.1.), e.g. *pála* ‘worker’ < \*paʔla. The /a/ vowel, however, is pronounced short throughout the paradigm. This has arisen by the assimilation of this paradigm to that of verbs with medial /y/ and final /ʔ/ (§8.12.7.), where the short vowel is explicable historically. The glide /y/ occurs in all forms in place of the elided laryngal before the inflectional ending:

ty ‘to search’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	tǎye	
	fs.	tǎya	
	pl.	tǎye	
		tǎya	
		tǎyi	
2nd pers.	ms.	tǎyət	tǎyeti
	fs.	tǎyət	tǎyati
	pl.	tǎyétu	
		tǎyítu	
1st pers.	ms.	tǎyən	tǎyena
	fs.	tǎyən	tǎyana
	pl.	tǎyən	
		tǎyən	tǎyexi

The past base has the form *Ce-* (< \*Cʔe), e.g. *téle* ‘He searched’, *séle* ‘He became thirsty’.

Resultative participle: *Cýa* (ms. < \*Cíʔya), *Cíða* (fs. < \*Cʔiða), *Cíye* (pl. < \*Cíʔye), e.g. *hóle týa* ‘He has searched’, *šýa-wewa* ‘He was thirsty’, *hóla tída* ‘She has searched’, *šída-wawa* ‘She was thirsty’, *hóla tíye* ‘They have searched’, *šýe-wewa* ‘They were thirsty’.

The imperative can have the form *tī* (ms.), *ta* (fs.), *to* (pl.), which has the regular inflectional endings of final /y/ verbs, or the form *tu* (sing. and pl.). The latter form has arisen by analogy with roots with medial /y/ and final /ʔ/ (§8.12.7.).

The infinitive is *tāya*, with a short /a/ after the first radical, apparently by analogy with the present base paradigm. Verbal noun: *tēθa*.

The verb *lhy* ‘to kindle (intr.)’ is exceptional. Throughout most of its inflections the medial /h/ is elided in conformity with the behaviour of the verbs in this category, e.g. *lāye* ‘It kindles (tr.)’, *léle* ‘It kindled’, *līyēle* ‘It has kindled’. In the infinitive, however, the /h/ is sometimes retained: *lhāya* ~ *lāya*.

#### 8.12.11. *Verba Primae /y/, Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

*ymy* ‘to swear’, *ypy* ‘to bake’.

The initial /y/ is retained in the inflections of the present base, e.g. *yápe* ‘He bakes’, *yápya* ‘She bakes’, *yápe* ‘They bake’.

The initial /y/ is elided in the other bases where the pattern has an initial cluster *CC*, elsewhere it is retained. Past base: *péle* ‘He baked (it)’, *yápyále* ‘He baked it (fs.)’, *péle* ‘He baked them’. Resultative participle: *yápya* (ms.), *píθa* (fs.), *yápye* (pl.), e.g. *hóle yápya* ‘He has baked’, *píθela* ‘She has baked’, *yápyela* ‘They have baked’. Imperative: *pi* (ms.), *pa* (fs.), *po* (pl.). Infinitive: *paya*. Verbal noun: *pēθa*.

#### 8.12.12. *Verba Mediae /w/*

Verbs in this category include:

*čwr* ‘to spin; to roll (eyes)’, *dwq* ‘to hold, catch’, *dwr* ‘to close; to turn on the threshing floor’, *dwx* ‘to sacrifice, dedicate’, *gwr* ‘to marry’, *jwj* ‘to move, walk’, *kws* ‘to pack tightly’, *lws* ‘to wear (clothes)’, *lwx* ‘to catch fire, to blaze’, *nwr* ‘to shy away’, *nwx* ‘to bark’, *qwl* ‘to complain’, *qwr* ‘to bury’, *šwq* ‘to leave’, *šwr* ‘to jump, leap’, *twñ* ‘to become numb’, *twr* ‘to break’, *twx* ‘to shatter’, *xwq* ‘to hug’, *xwr* ‘to become white’, *xws* ‘to shut in, confine’, *xwť* ‘to mix’, *xwx* ‘to mix’, *zwn* ‘to buy’.

The medial /w/ in this category of verbs often derives historically from postvocalic \*b, e.g. *dwq* < \**dbq*, *kwš* < \**kbš*, *lwx* < \**lbk*, *xwš* < *hbš*, *xwł* < \**hbt*, *xwx* < \**hbk*, *zwn* < \**zbn*. On some occasions, however, the /w/ is etymologically \*w, e.g. *nwr* < \**nwr*. *šwr* < \**šwr*. In the present base the diphthong /aw/ in a closed syllable is often contracted to /o/: *záwan* ‘He buys’, *záwana* ~ *zóna* ‘She buys’, *záwni* ~ *zóni* ‘They buy’, etc. The /ə/ in the 3ms. form often shifts to the rounded vowel /u/ under the influence of the preceding /w/: *záwun*.

The remaining bases have inflectional patterns like those of strong verbs. Past base: *xwítte* ‘He mixed (it)’, *xwítale* ‘He mixed it (f.)’, *xwítte* ‘He mixed them’. The /i/ after the /w/ in this base is sometimes realized with lip-rounding in the region of [y]. Final /r/ and /n/ of verbal roots assimilate to the /l/ of the L-suffix when it is in contact with it, e.g. *dwírre* ‘He closed’, *zwínne* ‘He bought’. Resultative participle: *zwína* (ms.), *zwínta* (fs.), *zwíne* (pl.). In the imperative the sequence /wu/ is contracted to /u/: *zun* (sing.), *zúnu* (sing.) ‘Buy!’ Infinitive: *zwana*. Verbal noun: *zwanta*.

### 8.12.13. *Verba Primae /ʔ/, Mediae /w/*

Verbs in this category include:

*ʔwð* ‘to do, make’, *ʔwr* ‘to pass, enter’.

The /ʔ/ is retained in the present base when it has no prefixed particles. The diphthong /aw/ in a closed syllable is sometimes contracted to /o/: *ʔáwəð* ‘He does’, *ʔáwða* ~ *ʔóða* ‘She does’, *ʔáwði* ~ *ʔóði* ‘They do’, etc. The /ə/ of the 3ms. form often shifts to the rounded vowel /u/: *ʔáwuð*. The /ʔ/ is elided before prefixed particles such as *ʔi-* and *bəd-*: *y-áwəð* ‘He does’, *bṭ-áwəð* ‘He will do’.

The initial /ʔ/ is elided in all other bases. Past base: *wið-* (ms.), *wiða-* (fs.), *wiði-* (pl.). The /ð/ of the verb *ʔwð* shifts to the stop /d/ when in contact with the /l/ of an L-suffix: *wiðle* ‘He made (it)’, *wiðale* ‘He made it (f.)’, *wiðlle* ‘He made them’. The /r/ of the verb *ʔwr* assimilates the /l/ of an adjacent L-suffix: *wírre* ‘He entered’.

Resultative participle: *wiða* (ms.), *wiðta* (fs.), *wiðe* (pl.), e.g. *hóle wiða* ‘He has done’, *wiðet* ‘You (ms.) have done’, *mòdi-t wiða?* ‘What have you done?’ Imperative: *wúð* (sing.), *wúðu* (pl.) ‘Do!’ Infinitive: *wáða*. Compound forms: *hóle wáða* ‘He is doing’, *wáðet* ‘You are doing’, *mòdi-t wáða?* ‘What are you doing?’ Verbal noun: *wáðta*.

8.12.14. *Verba Mediae /w/, Tertiae /ʔ/*

Verbs in this category include:

*nw*ʔ ‘to emerge, well up’, *sw*ʔ ‘be sated’, *ʃw*ʔ ‘to colour, paint’.

These verbs combine the features of middle /w/ and final /ʔ/ roots. Present base: *ʃáwε* ‘He paints’, *ʃáwa* ‘She paints’, *ʃáwi* ‘They paint’, etc. Past base: *ʃwile* ‘He painted (it)’, *ʃwiyále* ‘He painted it (f.)’, *ʃwiyile* ‘He painted them’. Resultative participle: *ʃwija* (ms.), *ʃwita* (fs.), *ʃwiye* (pl.). Infinitive: *ʃwaʔa* or *ʃwaya*. Verbal noun: *ʃweta*.

The past base and resultative participle of these verbs are sometimes given the inflectional patterns of final /y/ verbs, e.g. *swéli* ‘I have become sated’, *ʃwiyen* ‘I (m.) am sated’, *swiθen* ‘I (f.) am sated’.

8.12.15. *Verba Mediae /w/, Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

*gwy* ‘to beg’, *kwy* ‘to scorch, sear’, *qwy* ‘to scoop’, *rwy* ‘to become drunk’, *ʃwy* ‘to spread out (bed)’, *twy* ‘to roast’ (intr.); to be worth’, *xwy* ‘to become faint; to become dark, bring (animal) into shelter’.

The medial /w/ in these roots is derived historically either from \*w (e.g. *kwy* < \**kwy*, *rwy* < \**rwy*, *ʃwy* < \**ʃwy*, *twy* < \**twy*) or from \*b (e.g. *gwy* < \**gby*, *qwy* < \**qby*, *xwy* < \**hby*).

The verbs of this group combine the features of middle /w/ and final /y/ roots. In the present base the diphthong /aw/ in the closed syllable of the fs. forms is occasionally contracted to /o/: *káwε* ‘He scorches’, *kawya* ~ *kóya* ‘She scorches’, *káwε* ‘They scorch’, *qáwət* ‘You (ms.) scoop’, *qáwət* ~ *qóyət* ‘You (fs.) scoop’.

Past base: *kwele* ‘He scorched (him)’, *kwyále* ‘He scorched (her)’, *kwéle* ‘He scorched (them)’. Resultative participle: *kawya* (ms.), *kwiθa* (fs.), *kawye* (pl.). Imperative: *gwi* (ms.), *gwa* (fs.), *gwo* (pl.) ‘Beg!’ Infinitive: *kawya*. Verbal noun: *kweθa*.

8.12.16. *Verba Tertiae /w/*

Verbs in this category include:

*gnw* ‘to rob’, *grw* ‘to become ravenous’, *jlw* ‘to kidnap’, *kθw* ‘to write’, *nšw* ‘to plant (in ground)’, *qrw* ‘to approach’, *rkaw* ‘to ride, copulate with’, *srw* ‘to deny, reject’, *xlw* ‘to milk’, *xrw* ‘to be destroyed, spoiled’, *xšw* ‘to think’.

The final radical in verbs of this category derives historically from post-vocalic *\*b*, e.g. *kθw* < *\*kθb*, *nšw* < *\*nšb*, *qrw* < *\*qrb*, *rkaw* < *\*rkb*, *xrw* < *\*hxb*.

In the present base the sequence /əw/ in the 3ms. form contracts to the vowel /u/, e.g. *káθu* ‘He writes’. Elsewhere in the paradigm the /w/ is generally retained when the inflection ends in a vowel, e.g. *káθwa* ‘She writes’, *káθwi* ‘They write’, *kaθwítu* ‘You (pl.) write’. The sequence /wə/ sometimes contracts to /u/ when the inflection ends in a consonant. The preceding /a/ remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *káθwət* ~ *káθut* ‘You (ms.) write’, *káθwəx* ~ *káθux* ‘We write’.

The sequence /iw/ is often contracted to /u/ in the ms. past base, e.g. *kθúle* ‘He wrote (it)’. On some occasions it remains uncontracted, in which case the /i/ is generally realized with lip-rounding in the region of [y] and the /w/ as a labio-palatal glide [ɥ], e.g. *kθíwle* [kθyɥle]. In the fs. and pl. forms of the past base the /w/ remains uncontracted, e.g. *jlíwále* ‘He kidnapped her’, *jlíwíle* ‘He kidnapped them’.

Resultative participle: *kθíwa* (ms.), *kθíwta* / *kθíta* (fs.), *kθíwe* (pl.). The feminine ending in the fs. form has the stop /t/ after the /u/, since at an earlier historical period it was preceded by the consonant *\*b* rather than a vowel (§1.4.1.3.).

The singular imperative has the form *kθu* ‘Write!’, in which the /w/ has been contracted (< *\*kθuw*). Of the two plural imperative patterns available for strong verbs, *qtúlu* and *qátlu*, the pattern *qátlu* is preferred in verbs of this category: *káθewu* ‘Write!’ The form *kθu* (< *\*kθúwu*), which is identical with the singular form is, however, also available. This plural form can be distinguished from the singular by attaching the supplementary imperative plural suffix *-gu* (§8.6.5.): *kθúgu*.

The infinitive: *kθawwa*. Verbal noun *kθawta*.

8.12.17. *Verba Primae /ʔ/, Tertiae /w/*

The verb *ʔw* ‘to sit’ belongs to this category, though it is derived historically from an initial /y/ root (*\*ytw*). The initial /ʔ/ is retained in the inflections

of the present base, e.g. *ʔátu* ‘He sits’, *ʔátwa* ‘She sits’, *ʔátwi* ‘They sit’. It is elided when a preverbal particle is attached to these forms, e.g. *y-átu* ‘He sits’, *t-átu* ‘He will sit’. Some speakers retain the original initial /y/ radical in the root, e.g. *t-yátu* ‘He will sit’. In fast speech the /w/ sometimes assimilates to /t/ in the sequence /tw/, e.g. *y-átti* (< *y-átwi*) ‘They sit’.

The /ʔ/ is regularly elided in all other bases. Past base: *tíw-* or, with contraction of the /w/, *tu-*, e.g. *tíwle* / *túle* ‘He sat down’. Resultative participle: *tíwa* (ms.), *tíwta* / *túta* (fs.), *tíwe* (pl.). The singular imperative is *tu* ‘Sit!’ (< *\*túw*). The form *tu* may also be used for the plural imperative (< *\*túwu*). The singular and plural forms of the imperative may be distinguished by the addition of the plural imperative supplementary suffixes *-ga -gən* on the singular and *-gu* on the plural: *túga*, *túgən* ‘Sit!’ (sing); *túgu!* ‘Sit’ (pl.). An alternative method of distinguishing them is to combine the imperative form with the resultative participle inflected for number and gender, e.g. *tu-tíwa!* ‘Sit!’ (ms.), *tu-tíwta!* ‘Sit!’ (fs.), *tu-tíwe!* ‘Sit!’ (pl.). Infinitive: *tawa*. Verbal noun: *tawta*.

#### 8.12.18. *Verba Tertiae* /w/, *Mediae* /y/

The verb *syw* ‘to become old’ belongs to this category.

In the present base the contractions characteristic of the final /w/ and middle /y/ verbs take place: *sayu* ‘He becomes old’, *səwa* ‘She becomes old’, *səwi* ‘They become old’, etc.

The past base is *syiw-*, in which both the /y/ and the /w/ are retained. The /i/ is generally realized with lip-rounding in the region of [y] and the /w/ as a labio-palatal glide [ɥ], e.g. *syiwle* [ʔsɣɥle] ‘He grew old’.

Resultative participle: *síwa* (ms.), *syíwta* (fs.), *síwe* (pl.). The sequence /yi/ in the open syllable of the ms. and pl. forms has been contracted to the long vowel /i/, whereas the /y/ remains uncontracted in the closed syllable of the fs. form, in which the /i/ is a short vowel, pronounced with lip-rounding [ʔsɣɥta].

Imperative: *syu* (sing. and pl.). Infinitive: *syawa*. Verbal noun: *syawta*.

#### 8.12.19. *Verbs with Identical Second and Third Radicals*

Verbs in this category include:

*jnn* ‘to sing a dirge’, *ʔnn* ‘to burn (food)’.



The present base of these verbs has two alternative paradigms. They may be conjugated like a strong verb, e.g. *šánan* (3ms.), *šanna* (3fs.), *šanni* (3pl.), etc. Alternatively they may be conjugated as if they were medial /y/ verbs, e.g. *šáyān* (3ms.), *šéna* (3fs.), *šéni* (3pl.), etc. In the remaining inflections they are regularly conjugated as strong verbs.

### 8.13. WEAK VERBS IN STEM II

#### 8.13.1. *Verba Mediae* /r/

Verbs in this category include:

*m-gʷr* ‘to belch’, *m-lm* ‘to weld’, *m-nʷl* ‘to shoe (a horse) / ‘to curse’; *m-pʷr* ‘to yawn’, *m-rʷd* ‘to quake (earth)’, *m-sʷr* ‘to curse, insult’, *m-tʷl* ‘to play’.

It is necessary to distinguish this category due to the morphology of various of its inflections that can be explained as reflections of the presence of a medial laryngal \*ʷ at some stage in their historical development. The laryngal would, in turn, have been a development of an earlier pharyngal \*ʕ. In the present state of the dialect, however, no pharyngal /r/ or laryngal /r/ is attested in any of the inflections forms.

These verbs are in the process of assimilating to the category of medial /w/ verbs (§8.13.5.) and most of the inflections are identical. As has been noted in §8.12.7., there are no grounds for distinguishing a category of medial /r/ verbs in stem I, since these have entirely merged with medial /y/ verbs, e.g. *dyθ* ‘to sweat’ (< \*dʰθ < \*dʰθ), *lys* ‘to chew’ (< \*lʰs < \*lʰs), etc. The stem II medial /r/ verbs have the appearance of medial /w/ verbs in many of their inflections, but they have not entirely merged with this class.

The 3ms. of the present base regularly has medial /w/, e.g. *mnawəl* ‘He shoes’. The /a/ often shifts to the rounded vowel /u/: *mnawul*. In the rest of the paradigm three alternative forms exist. In one set of forms the middle radical is zero, reflecting the elision of a laryngal \*ʷ: *mnála* ‘She shoes’ (< \*mnaʷla), *mnáli* ‘They shoe’ (< \*mnaʷli), etc. The alternative two sets of forms have /w/ as the medial radical and are identical to those of medial /w/ verbs. One set has the diphthong /aw/ in a closed syllable, e.g. *mnáwla* ‘She shoes’. In the other set a short epenthetic vowel is placed between the /w/ and the third radical in the sequence /awC/. The stress is generally placed on this epenthetic when it is in penultimate

position. The /a/ vowel of the base remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *mnāwōla* ‘She shoes’. The /a/ vowel of the 3ms. form is also sometimes pronounced short, by analogy with the shortness of the /a/ in open syllables in the rest of this alternative paradigm. This type of paradigm has apparently arisen by analogy with the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs (*máqtəl*, *maqťála*, *maqťáli*, etc.). The various paradigms are as follows:

*m-n’l* ‘to shoe’

		1	2	3
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mnāwəl</i>	<i>mnāwəl</i>	<i>mnāwəl</i>
	fs.	<i>mnála</i>	<i>mnāwola</i>	<i>mnāwōla</i>
	pl.	<i>mnáli</i>	<i>mnāwoli</i>	<i>mnāwōli</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mnálət</i>	<i>mnāwələt</i>	<i>mnāwōlət</i>
	fs.	<i>mnálət</i>	<i>mnāwələt</i>	<i>mnāwōlət</i>
	pl.	<i>mnalítu</i>	<i>mnawólítu</i>	<i>mnāwōlítu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mnálən</i>	<i>mnāwələn</i>	<i>mnāwōlən</i>
	fs.	<i>mnálən</i>	<i>mnāwələn</i>	<i>mnāwōlən</i>
	pl.	<i>mnáləx</i>	<i>mnāwələx</i>	<i>mnāwōləx</i>

There appears to be a certain amount of lexical variation in the use of these alternative paradigms. The paradigms with medial /w/ throughout are used more frequently with some verbs of this category than with others, indicating that the assimilation to the category of medial /w/ verbs is more advanced in some verbs than in others.

The past base has the form *mnūwəl-*. The glide /w/ has arisen after the rounded vowel /u/ following the elision of a laryngal: *mnūwəl-* < *\*mnūʔəl-* < *\*mnūʔəl*. The /ə/ vowel in this form often shifts to /u/ under the influence of the phonetic context, e.g. *mnūwālle* / *mnūwūlle* ‘He shoed’. The fs. and pl. forms of the past base are *mnula-* and *mnuli-* respectively, which have developed from *\*mnūʔla* and *\*mnūʔli*.

There are two alternative forms of the ms. and pl. resultative participle. In one of these the /w/ is contracted: *mCúCa* (ms. < *\*mCuʔCa*), *mCúCe* (pl. < *\*mCuʔCe*). In the other the stress is shifted onto a short epethetic /ə/, with the /w/ being retained and the /u/ remaining short as if it were in a closed syllable: *mCūwəCa* (ms.), *CūwəCe* (pl.). The fs. form has the vocalic pattern of the strong verb and regularly has medial /w/. The two sets of forms are illustrated below:

	1	2
ms.	<i>mnúla</i>	<i>mnūwála</i>
fs.	<i>mnuwálda</i>	<i>mnuwálda</i>
pl.	<i>mnúle</i>	<i>mnūwále</i>

The singular imperative has the form *mnáwəl*, with medial /w/. The plural imperative has two alternative forms. One with a zero medial radical, resulting from the elision of the medial radical \*<sup>2</sup>: *mnálu* (< \**mna'lu*). The other has medial /w/: *mnáwlu*.

The infinitive form *mnawole* has developed from \**mna'ole*. Verbal noun: *mnawalta*.

The development of the medial /w/ glide replacing an original pharyngeal \*<sup>c</sup> would most likely have taken place originally in the forms where it is adjacent to /u/, e.g. *mnuwálla* < \**mnu'álla* (cf. §1.4.2.2.). The /w/ would then have spread to other areas of the paradigm by analogy.

### 8.13.2. *Verb Tertiae /ʔ/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-grʔ* 'to strip off (twigs and branches)', *m-jmʔ* 'to gather', *m-plʔ* 'to share, distribute', *m-plʔ* 'to imitate', *m-bqʔ* 'to inflate; to explode, blow up (tr.)', *m-qʔ* 'to remove stones from grain', *m-šmʔ* 'to apply wax', *m-tmʔ* 'to covet'.

The inflection of the present base exhibits the distinctive features of final /ʔ/ verbs in stem I. The paradigm is as follows:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mpáq̣e</i>	
	fs.	<i>mpáq̣a</i>	
	pl.	<i>mpáq̣i</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mpáq̣ət</i>	<i>mpáq̣eti</i>
	fs.	<i>mpáq̣ət</i>	<i>mpáq̣ati</i>
	pl.	<i>mpáq̣ítu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mpáq̣ən</i>	<i>mpáq̣ena</i>
	fs.	<i>mpáq̣ən</i>	<i>mpáq̣ana</i>
	pl.	<i>mpáq̣əx</i>	<i>mpáq̣exi</i>

The /r/ has been elided in the sequence \*C<sup>o</sup> but the preceding /a/ vowel remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *mpǎqa* < \**mpaq'a* < \**mpaq'a*. In the 3ms. form *mpǎqe* the /a/ vowel is short by analogy with the rest of the paradigm. The final -e of this form has arisen from an original final \*-ǝ < \*ǝ. After the elision of the final laryngal, the \*ǝ was lengthened to /e/.

The fs. and pl. past bases correspond to the pattern of strong verbs with the elision of the /r/: *mpǎqa-* < \**mpuq'a-* (fs.), *mpǎqi-* < \**mpuq'i-* (pl.). The /u/ remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable. The ms. past base has the ending -e: *mpǎqe-*. As in the present base, this has developed historically from \*-ǝ. The /u/ is short in the ms. form by analogy with the fs. and pl. forms, e.g. *mpǎqele* 'He exploded (it)'.  
 The resultative participle has the form: *mpǎqa* (ms.), *mpǎqεθa* (fs.), *mpǎqe* (pl.). The ms. and pl. forms correspond to the pattern of strong verbs with the elision of the /r/: *mpǎqa* < \**mpuq'a*, *mpǎqe* < \**mpuq'e*. The /u/ remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable. The fs. form has the ending -εθa, by analogy with the paradigm of final /y/ verbs but its /u/ vowel remains short by analogy with the ms. and pl. forms of the participle.

The imperative forms have the endings of final /y/ verbs, with a distinction of gender in the singular: *mpǎqi* (ms.), *mpǎqa* (fs.), *mpǎqo* (pl.). The short /a/ vowel in the singular form has arisen by analogy with other inflections of the verb where it was originally in a closed syllable.

The infinitive has the form *mpǎqoye*. The /y/ replaces the original laryngal between the /o/ and /e/ vowels, The /a/ vowel is short by analogy with other inflections of the verb. Indeed, the short /a/ has been generalized in all inflections of all paradigms. The verbal noun has the ending that is characteristic of final /y/ verbs: *mpǎqεθa*.

8.13.3. *Verba Mediae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-byñ* 'to appear', *m-hyr* 'to help', *m-šyn* 'to become tame', *m-syd* 'to hunt', *m-zyx* 'to celebrate (a festival)'.

Two alternative paradigms exist for the inflection of the present base. One of these corresponds to that middle /y/ verbs in stem I, with contraction of the /y/ in all forms except the 3ms. In the other paradigm the /y/ is preserved in all forms, with an epenthetic vowel being inserted after the /y/ throughout the paradigm except in the 3ms. This epenthetic is

stressed when in penultimate position. After the insertion of the epenthetic, the /a/ vowel remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable. The /a/ vowel is short also in the 3ms. form, by analogy with the rest of the paradigm. This alternative paradigm is based on the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs:

*m-hyr* ‘to help’

		1	2
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mháyər</i>	<i>mhǎýər</i>
	fs.	<i>mhéra</i>	<i>mhǎýára</i>
	pl.	<i>mhéri</i>	<i>mhǎýári</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mhérət</i>	<i>mhǎýərət</i>
	fs.	<i>mhérət</i>	<i>mhǎýərət</i>
	pl.	<i>mhéritu</i>	<i>mhǎýəritu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mhérən</i>	<i>mhǎýərən</i>
	fs.	<i>mhérən</i>	<i>mhǎýərən</i>
	pl.	<i>mhérəx</i>	<i>mhǎýərəx</i>

In the past base the /y/ is treated like a strong radical. An epenthetic /ə/ vowel is inserted between the /y/ and the third radical in the fs. and pl. forms and the /u/ in the open syllable remains short, as if it were in a closed syllable, and this feature is extended by analogy to the ms. form: *mCūCəC-* (ms.), *mCūCəCa-* (fs.), *mCūCəCi-* (pl.), e.g. *mhǎýərre* ‘He helped (him)’, *mhǎýərále* ‘He helped her’, *mhǎýərile* ‘He helped them’.

An epenthetic /ə/ vowel is inserted before the third radical in the ms. and pl. forms of the resultative participle. This epenthetic is stressed when in penultimate position. The /u/ remains short, as if it were in a closed syllable, and this feature is extended by analogy also to the fs. form: *mhǎýára* (ms.), *mhǎýarta* (fs.), *mhǎýare* (pl.).

An epenthetic /ə/ is inserted before the third radical in the pl. imperative. After the insertion of the epenthetic the /a/ vowel remains. By analogy this latter feature is extended also to the sing. imperative: *mhǎýər* (sing.), *mhǎýəru* (pl.).

The infinitive has the pattern of a strong verb: *mhayore*. Verbal noun: *mhayarta*.

The /h/ in the verb *m-hyr* ‘to help’ is often elided in fast speech, e.g. *mhayər* [maɣyər], *mhayore* [maɣoɣre]. This elision, however, is not represented in the transcription.

8.13.4. *Verba Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-bny* ‘to prepare food’, *m-dry* ‘to winnow’, *m-dxy* ‘to brand’, *m-gby* ‘to chose, elect’, *m-gly* ‘to uncover’, *m-jly* ‘to prize up (roots)’, *m-jzy* ‘to tax’, *m-kpy* ‘to cover’, *m-ksy* ‘to cover’, *m-pθy* ‘to spread out’, *m-pšy* ‘to break wind silently’, *m-qby* ‘to swell’, *m-rpy* ‘to release’, *m-spy* ‘to hand over, deliver’, *m-šly* ‘to pray’, *m-špy* ‘to purify, strain’, *m-šny* ‘to move, change place’, *m-šqy* ‘to joke; to take trouble’, *m-šry* ‘to begin’, *m-štý* ‘to convey, to give’, *m-tny* ‘to recount’, *m-tšy* ‘to hide (tr. and intr.)’, *m-udy* ‘to move aside’, *m-xmy* ‘to keep’.

The predominant paradigm for the present base of this category has inflectional endings that are the same as those of final /y/ verbs in stem I (§8.12.8.):

*m-šly* ‘to pray’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mšále</i>	
	fs.	<i>mšályá</i>	
	pl.	<i>mšále</i>	
		<i>mšála</i>	
		<i>mšáli</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mšálət</i>	<i>mšaleti</i>
	fs.	<i>mšályət</i>	<i>mšalyati</i>
	pl.	<i>mšalétu</i>	
		<i>mšalitu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mšálən</i>	<i>mšalena</i>
	fs.	<i>mšályən</i>	<i>mšalyana</i>
	pl.	<i>mšáləx</i>	<i>mšalexi</i>

An alternative paradigm for the inflection of the present base exists with an epenthetic vowel /i/ inserted before the /y/ of the fs. forms. This epenthetic generally receives the stress when in penultimate position. The /a/ preceding the epenthetic remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable. By analogy with such forms, the /a/ is pronounced short also in the open syllables of the ms. and pl. forms. This alternative paradigm is

based on the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs, e.g. *mákle* ‘he stops’, *makliya* ‘she stops’, etc. (§8.14.4.). It appears to be lexically restricted. It is not available for all verbs of the category. It is most commonly used with the verb *m-šry* ‘to begin’, which may be inflected with both paradigms:

		1	2
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mšáre</i>	<i>mšáre</i>
	fs.	<i>mšárya</i>	<i>mšárya</i>
	pl.	<i>mšárε</i> <i>mšára</i> <i>mšári</i>	<i>mšárε</i> <i>mšára</i> <i>mšári</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mšárət</i>	<i>mšárət</i>
	fs.	<i>mšáryət</i>	<i>mšáryət</i>
	pl.	<i>mšarétu</i> <i>mšarítu</i>	<i>mšarétu</i> <i>mšarítu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mšárən</i>	<i>mšárən</i>
	fs.	<i>mšáryən</i>	<i>mšáryən</i>
	pl.	<i>mšárəx</i>	<i>mšárəx</i>

The verb *m-vdy* ‘to move aside’ is regularly conjugated with paradigm no. 2 with a short /a/ vowel after the first radical. The verb appears to be a loan from Kurdish *ve dan* (pronounced [va-da:n]). By conjugating it with paradigm no. 2 the short /a/ of the Kurdish source form is preserved, e.g. *mváde*, *mvádiya*, *mváde*. Feminine singular forms from paradigm no. 1 are also used, since the /a/ is short in the closed syllable: *mvádyá*, *mvádyət*, *mvádyən*.

The past base has the pattern *mCoCe* / *mCuCe-* (ms.), *mCuCya-* (fs.) and *mCoCε* ~ *mCuCε-* (pl.), e.g. *mkuséli* ‘I covered (him)’, *mkusyáli* ‘I covered her’, *mkuséli* ‘I covered them’. There is an alternative fs. base with the form *mCüCÿa-*, with a short epenthetic /i/ inserted before the /y/ radical. The preceding /u/ remains short, as if it were in a closed syllable. This is used most commonly for the verb *m-šry* ‘to begin’: *mšuryáli* ~ *mšüryáli* ‘I began it (f.)’.

The resultative participle in most verbs has the pattern: *mCüCya* (ms.), *mCoCéθa* ~ *mCuCéθa* (fs.), *mCüCye* (pl.), e.g. *hóle mšúlya* ‘He has prayed’, *hóla mšuléθa* ‘She has prayed’, *hóla mšúlye* ‘They have prayed’. The verb *m-šry* has alternative ms. and pl. forms with a short epenthetic /i/ vowel between the sequence *Cy*, which generally takes the stress. The preced-

ing /u/ remains short as if it were still in a closed syllable: *hóle mšúrya* ~ *mšúrya* ‘He has begun’, *hóla mšúrye* ~ *mšúrye* ‘They have begun’, *mšúryat* ~ *mšúryat* ‘You have begun’.

As is the case with final /y/ in stem I, gender is distinguished in the singular of the imperative: *mšáli* (ms.), *mšála* (fs.), *mšálo* (pl.) ‘Pray!’ When a supplementary suffix or a pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, the final /a/ shifts to /ε/, e.g. *mšaléga* ‘Pray!’, *mkašéle* ‘Cover it!’. An alternative inflection of the imperative exists in which the /a/ vowel is short, as in the alternative paradigm of the present base. This is regularly used for the verb *m-udy*: *mvádi* (ms.), *mváda* (fs.), *mvádo* (pl.) ‘Move aside!’. It is available for *m-šry* ‘to begin’, e.g. *mšári* ‘Begin!’, and also occasionally for other verbs, e.g. *mšápi* (ms.) ‘Throw! (ms.)’.

In the infinitive the /y/ of the root remains uncontracted: *mkašóye* ‘to cover’. An alternative form of the infinitive exists with a short /a/, e.g. *mvádóye* ‘to move aside’. Verbal nouns: *mkašθa*, *mvádeθa*.

#### 8.13.5. *Verba Mediae* /w/

Verbs in this category include:

*m-dwr* ‘to thresh’, *m-ǰwb* ‘to reply’, *m-ǰwδ* ‘to argue’, *m-kwr* ‘to distil’, *m-qwd* ‘to put on handcuffs’, *m-qwl* ‘to promise’, *m-qwm* ‘to happen, befall’, *m-qwr* ‘to bury’ *m-swq* ‘to go shopping’, *m-šwθ* ‘to speak’, *m-šwr* ‘to cause to jump’, *m-twb* ‘to repent’, *m-zwq* ‘to pair together’.

The medial /w/ in these verbs in most cases derives historically from \*w. Original medial \*b in stem II remains the stop /b/ due to its gemination at an earlier period, e.g. *mzábən* ‘He sells’ < \**mzabbən*.

The present base may be inflected like a strong verb, with the /w/ uncontracted, e.g. *mšáwθ* ‘He speaks’, *mšáwθa* ‘She speaks’, *mšáwθi* ‘They speak’, etc. The unstressed /ə/ of the 3ms. form sometimes shifts to the



rounded vowel /u/: *mšáwuθ*. An alternative pattern of inflection, based on the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs, is to place a short epenthetic between the /w/ and the third radical in the sequence /awC/. The stress is generally placed on this epenthetic when it is in penultimate position. The /a/ vowel of the base remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable, e.g. *mǫǎwǎla* ‘She promises’, *mǫǎwǎri* ‘They yawn’. The /a/ vowel of the 3ms. form is also sometimes pronounced short, by analogy with the shortness of the /a/ in open syllables in the rest of this alternative paradigm. The two paradigms are as follows:

*m-qwl* ‘to promise’

		1	2
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mǫǎwǎl</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎl</i>
	fs.	<i>mǫǎwǎla</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎla</i>
	pl.	<i>mǫǎwǎli</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎli</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎt</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎt</i>
	fs.	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎt</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎt</i>
	pl.	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎtu</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎtu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎn</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎn</i>
	fs.	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎn</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎn</i>
	pl.	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎx</i>	<i>mǫǎwǎlǎx</i>

The third radical after the stressed epenthetic in paradigm no. 2 is sometimes pronounced geminated, e.g. *mzawǎggi* ‘They pair together’.

The past base has the pattern *mCuCǎC-*, e.g. *mǫuwǎlle* ‘He promised’, *mšuwǎllux* ‘You spoke’. Note the shift of the interdental /θ/ to the stop /t/ before the L-suffix in the verb *m-šwθ*.

There are two alternative forms of the ms. and pl. resultative participle. In one of these the /w/ is contracted: *mCúCa* (ms. < \**mCuwCa*), *mCúCe* (pl. < \**mCuwCe*). In the other the stress is shifted onto a short epenthetic /ǎ/, with the /w/ being retained and the /u/ remaining short as if it were in a close syllable: *mCǎwǎra* (ms.), *Cǎwǎre* (pl.). The fs. form sometimes has a short /u/ by analogy with these two forms. The two sets of forms are illustrated below:

*m-qwl* ‘to promise’

	1	2
ms.	<i>mǫ́la</i>	<i>mǫ́wála</i>
fs.	<i>mǫ́wálda</i>	<i>mǫ́wálda</i>
pl.	<i>mǫ́le</i>	<i>mǫ́wále</i>

The imperative is formed according to the regular pattern: *mšáwəθ* (sing.), *mšáwθu* (pl.) ‘Speak!’

Infinitive: *mšawóθe*. Verbal noun: *mšawəθa*.

#### 8.13.6. *Verba Mediae /w/, Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-šwy* ‘to furnish, lay out bed’, *m-tyw* ‘to roast’.

The medial /w/ in these verbs is derived historically from \*w. It remains stable throughout the inflection of all bases. Present base: *mšáwe*, *mšáwya*, *mšáwε*. Past base: *mšúwe-* (ms.), *mšúwya-* (fs.), *mšúwε-* (pl.). Resultative participle: *mšúwya* (ms.), *mšúwéθa* (fs.), *mšúwye* (pl.). Imperative: *mšáwi* (sing.), *mšáwo* (pl.). Infinitive: *mšawóye*. Verbal noun: *mšawεθa*.

#### 8.13.7. *Verba Tertiae /w/*

This category includes the verb *m-qrw* ‘to approach’, in which the final /w/ is derived historically from the fricative allophone of \*b. The /w/ is contracted in the same contexts as in stem I verbs. Present base: *mǫ́aru* ‘He approaches’, *mǫ́arwa* ‘She approaches’, *mǫ́arwi* ‘They approach’, etc. Past base: *mǫ́arule* ‘He approached’. Resultative participle: *mǫ́urwa* (ms.), *mǫ́urawta* (fs.), *mǫ́urwe* (pl.). Imperative: *mǫ́aru* (sing. and pl.). Infinitive: *mǫ́arowe*.

#### 8.13.8. *Verbs with Identical Second and Third Radicals*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-bdd* ‘to poke (a fire)’, *m-btt* ‘to investigate’, *m-dll* ‘to plant crops with spaces in between; to spoil, pamper’, *m-jss* ‘to spy’, *m-klł* ‘to ululate’, *m-qdd* ‘to cut up (meat)’, *m-šll* ‘to become sober; to neigh’, *m-šll* ‘to sew a row of stitches’, *m-tmm* ‘to complete’, *m-xll* ‘to wash (vessels)’.

Two types of inflection are attested in verbs of this category. The first type is the regular inflection of the strong verb, e.g. *m-xll* 'to wash'. Present base: *mxaləl*, *mxalla*, *mxalli*. Past base: *mxuləlle*, *mxullále*, *mxullile*. Resultative participle: *mxulla*, *mxulalta*, *mxulle*. Imperative: *mxaləl*, *mxallu*. Infinitive: *mxalole*.

The second type of inflection is based on the vocalic pattern of stem III verbs. It differs from the usual inflection of strong verbs in that the clustering of the second and third radicals is avoided by inserting a short epenthetic /ə/ vowel, which generally takes the stress when it occurs in penultimate position. The consonant after a stressed short epenthetic /ə/ is occasionally pronounced geminated: *CəCV* > *CəCCV*. The vowel in the syllable preceding the epenthetic remains short, as if it were in a closed syllable. The shortness of the vowel after the first radical is extended by analogy to all inflections, including those where no phonetic process has taken place to shorten the vowel.

In the present base the /ə/ vowel after the first radical is short in all forms, including the 3ms. form where the shortness has arisen by analogy with the rest of the paradigm:

*m-tmm* 'to complete'

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mtāməm</i>
	fs.	<i>mtāmáma</i>
	pl.	<i>mtāmámi</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mtāmámət</i>
	fs.	<i>mtāmámət</i>
	pl.	<i>mtāmámítu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mtāmámən</i>
	fs.	<i>mtāmámən</i>
	pl.	<i>mtāmáməx</i>

As remarked, the consonant after the stressed short epenthetic /ə/ is sometimes geminated, e.g. *mtamámma* (3fs.), *mtamámmi* (3pl.), etc. Gemination sometimes develops also after the stress short /ə/ in the 3ms form: *mtáməm*.

The past base has the form *mtüməm-* (ms.), *mtüməma-* (fs. < \**mtumma-*), *mtüməmi-* (pl. < \**mtummi-*). The /u/ of the ms. base is pronounced short by analogy with the fs. and pl. bases and also with the general shortness of the vowel after the first radical in all paradigms of the verb, e.g. *mtümámle* 'He completed (it m.)', *mtümámále* 'He completed it (f.)', *mtümámíle* 'He completed them'.

Resultative participle: *mtǔmáma* (ms. < \**mtumma*), *mtǔmámta* (fs.), *mtǔmáme* (pl. < \**mtumme*). The /u/ of the fs. form is shortened by analogy rather than by phonetic process.

Imperative: *mtáməm* (sing.), *mtáməmu* (pl.) ‘Complete!’ The unstressed epenthetic vowel in the plural form is sometimes elided in fast speech: *mtámmu*.

The infinitive has a short /a/ vowel by analogy with the general shortness of the vowel in this position in the inflections of the verb: *mtámóme*. Verbal noun: *mtámámta*.

### 8.14. WEAK VERBS IN STEM III

#### 8.14.1. Verbs with a Zero First or Second Radical

A number of verbs that derive historically from roots with a weak first or second radical are conjugated with the morphological pattern of stem III verbs but do not preserve the weak radical in any of their inflections. These include verbs with corresponding stem I forms from initial /ʃ/ roots and from medial /y/ roots, though at some earlier historical period the roots sometimes had a different configuration, e.g. initial or medial pharyngeal, initial /y/ or final geminate (§8.12.1., §8.12.5.). There are also some verbs with no extant stem I form, but these can all be assumed to have been at some stage of development initial /ʃ/ or medial /y/ roots. Stem III verbs with these backgrounds exhibit the same patterns of inflection when the weak radical has a zero reflex. These patterns can be classified into two alternative paradigms, one in which the two radicals cluster and one in which the cluster is broken by a short epenthetic /ə/ vowel. The second paradigm is based on the vocalic pattern of strong verbs in stem III. The epenthetic in this paradigm is generally stressed when it occurs in penultimate position. The consonant after a stressed short epenthetic /ə/ is occasionally pronounced geminated: *CəCV* > *CəCCV*. The vowel in the syllable preceding the epenthetic is short, as if it were in a closed syllable. The shortness of the vowel in this syllable is extended by analogy through all paradigms of this group by analogy.

	1	2
Present base:		
3ms.	<i>máCəC</i>	<i>mǎCəC</i>
3fs.	<i>máCCa</i>	<i>mǎCəCa</i>
3pl.	<i>máCCi</i>	<i>mǎCəCi</i>

Past base		
ms.	<i>muCəC-</i>	<i>mǔCəC-</i>
fs.	<i>muCCa-</i>	<i>mǔCəCa-</i>
pl.	<i>muCCi-</i>	<i>mǔCəCi-</i>
Resultative participle		
ms.	<i>múCCa</i>	<i>mǔCəCa</i>
fs.	<i>muCáCta</i>	<i>mǔCəCta</i>
pl.	<i>múCCe</i>	<i>mǔCəCe</i>
Imperative		
sing.	<i>máCəC</i>	<i>mǎCəC</i>
plural	<i>máCCu</i>	<i>mǎCəCu</i>
Infinitive		
	<i>maCóCe</i>	<i>mǎCóCe</i>
Verbal noun		
	<i>maCáCta</i>	<i>mǎCáCta</i>

These two sets of inflections are to some extent interchangeable, in that some verbs are conjugated with both. The interchangeability may be restricted to the inflection of one base. If this is the case, it is usually the present base that exhibits variant inflections. Some verbs, on the other hand, use mainly or, in some cases, exclusively one set of inflections rather than another. Some linkage can be identified between the tendency to use one type of inflection and the morphological background of the verb. The choice between the two types is, however, also lexically determined, since verbs from the same morphological background sometimes exhibit different trends in inflection.

Verbs in this category with a corresponding initial /*r*/ verb in stem I include: *m-mə* ‘to baptize’ (*r*mə I < \**mə*), *m-sq* ‘to cause to ascend’ (*r*sq I), *m-qə* ‘to burn (tr.)’ (*r*qə I), *m-rq* ‘to cause to run, smuggle away’ (*r*rq I), *m-xl* ‘to feed’ (*r*xl I). Verbs derived historically from initial /*r*/ roots but with no corresponding stem I forms include: *m-jb* ‘to be astonished’ (\**j*b < \**j*b), *m-čz* ‘to be in pain, to be vexed; to vex, annoy’ (< \**j*z < \**j*z ?), *m-rt* ‘to break wind loudly’ (\**r*t < \**r*t).

Verbs in this category with a corresponding medial /*y*/ verb in stem I include: *m-dr* ‘to return (tr.); vomit’ (*d*yr I), *m-kp* ‘to knock down, shoot (a gun)’ (*k*yp I ‘to bend down, bow’), *m-lp* ‘to teach’ (*l*yp I), *m-rm* ‘to raise’ (*r*ym

I), *m-ṛš* ‘to wake (tr.)’ (*ṛyš* I), *m-ṭm* ‘to cause to taste’ (*ṭym* I), *m-ṭn* ‘to load’ (*ṭyn* I), *m-zn* ‘to cause to stand’ (*zyn* I). The medial /y/ in several of these stem I forms was a secondary development: *dyr* < \**dʿr*, *lyp* < \**ylp* < \**ʿlp*, *ṛyš* < \**ṛš*, *ṭym* < \**ṭm*, *ṭyn* < \**ṭn*. Most medial /y/ verbs have a stem III form that retains the /y/ in its inflections. The verb *m-kp* has a doublet root with middle /y/: *m-kyḫ*. The meaning of the verb *m-kyḫ* ‘to lower’ corresponds more directly to that of the stem I form *kyḫ* ‘to become low, bend down’. Perhaps at some stage of their development the originally middle /y/ roots were construed as initial \*ʿ (*m-ʿrm*, *m-ʿzn*, *m-ʿkp*). One may compare a root such as ʿ*ḫm* ‘to close’, which has a middle /y/ doublet ʿ*ym*.

In a few cases verbs in this category were historically final geminate. This applies, for example, to the verb *m-xb* ‘to love’, which is derived historically from the root \**ḥbb*. Note also *m-xn* ‘to yearn for’ (< \**ḥmn*), which is optionally conjugated as a verb of this category in some of its inflections, though is more frequently construed as final /y/ (*m-xny*). The verb *m-ks* ‘to close’ appears to be derived historically from the final /y/ root \**ksy* ‘to cover’. It is possible that at some stage of their development these three verbs were treated as having an initial \*ʿ radical (\**m-ʿxb*, *m-ʿxn*, *m-ʿks*). One may compare again the stem I form ʿ*ḫm* ‘to close’, which derives historically from the final geminate root \**ṭmm* (§1.4.6.).

An exceptional case, as regards its historical derivation, is the verb *m-čx* ‘to find’, which has developed from the ʿ*afʿel* form of the root \**škḥ* in earlier Aramaic. The sequence \**šk* has become the affricate /č/.<sup>4</sup>

Type 1 inflection is exhibited by the verbs: *m-kp*, *m-ks*, *m-sq*, *m-qḏ*, *m-xl*:

#### 8.14.1.1. *m-kp* ‘to knock down’

Present base: *mákəḫ*, *mákpa*, *mákpi*. Past base: *mukəḫle*, *mukpále*, *mukpíle*. Resultative participle: *múkpa*, *mukápta*, *múkpe*. Imperative: *mákəḫ*, *mákpu*. Infinitive: *makópe*. Verbal noun: *makápta*.

#### 8.14.1.2. *m-ks* ‘to close’

Present base: *mákəs*, *máksa*, *máksi*. Past base: *mukásle*, *muksále*, *muksíle*. Resultative participle: *múksa*, *mukásta*, *múkse*. Imperative: *mákəs*, *mák-su*. Infinitive: *makóse*. Verbal noun: *makásta*.

<sup>4</sup> This development appears to have been brought about by an initial shift of \**šk* to \**št*, as is found in the form of this verb in some other NENA dialects such as Jewish Urmiā *m-štḫ*. The affricate /č/ would then have developed by metathesis from \**št*.

## 8.14.1.3. m-sq ‘to cause to ascend’

Present base: *másəq, másqa, másqi*. Past base: *musóqle, musqále, musqíle*. Resultative participle: *músqa, musáqta, músqe*. Imperative: *másəq, másqu*. Infinitive: *masóqe*. Verbal noun: *masáqta*.

## 8.14.1.4. m-qð ‘to burn’

Present base: *maqð, máqða, máqði*. Past base: *muqóðle, muqóðale, muqóðile*. Resultative participle: *múqða, muqáðta, múqðe*. Imperative: *máqəð, máqðu*. Infinitive: *maqóðe*. Verbal noun: *maqáðta*.

## 8.14.1.5. m-xl ‘to feed’

Present base: *máxəl, máxla, máxli*. Past base: *muxáлле, muxlále, muxlíle*. Resultative participle: *múxla, muxálta, múxle*. Imperative: *máxəl, máxlu*. Infinitive: *maxóle*. Verbal noun: *maxálta*.

Type 2 inflection is exhibited by other verbs, in many cases as an optional alternative to type 1 inflection.

## 8.14.1.6. m-čx ‘to find’

Present base: *máčəx ~ máčəx, máčxa ~ máčəxa, máčxi ~ máčəxi*. Past base: *müčəxle, müčəxále, müčəxíle*. Resultative participle: *müčəxa, müčəxta, müčəxe*. Imperative: *máčəx, máčəxu*. Infinitive: *máčəxe*. Verbal noun: *máčəxta*.

## 8.14.1.7. m-čz ‘to vex, be vexed’

Present base: *máčəz, máčəza, máčəzi*. Past base: *müčəzle*. Resultative participle: *müčəza, müčəzta, müčəze*. Imperative: *máčəz, máčəzu*. Infinitive: *máčəze*. Verbal noun: *máčəzta*.

## 8.14.1.8. m-dř ‘to return (tr.)

Present base: *mădř, mădřa, mădři*. Past base: *müďřle, müďřále, müďříle*. Resultative participle: *müďřa, müďřta, müďře*. Imperative: *mădř, mădřu*. Infinitive: *mădře*. Verbal noun: *mădřta*.

## 8.14.1.9. m-jb ‘to be astonished’

Present base: *májəb ~ májəb, májba ~ májəba, májbi ~ májəbi*. Past base: *müjəble*. Resultative participle: *müjəba ~ mujba, müjəbta ~ mujabta, müjəbe ~ mujbe*. Imperative: *májəb, májəbu*. Infinitive: *májəbe*. Verbal noun: *májəbta*.

## 8.14.1.10. m-lp ‘to teach’

Present base: *máləp ~ măləp, málpa ~ măləpa, málpi ~ măləpi*. Past base: *müłəple, müłəpále, müłəpíle*. Resultative participle: *müłəpa, müłəpta, müłəpe*. Imperative: *máləp, măləpu*. Infinitive: *máləpe*. Verbal noun: *măləpta*.

## 8.14.1.11. m-mð ‘to baptize’

Present base: *máməð* ~ *máməð*, *mámða* ~ *máməða*, *mámði* ~ *máməði*. Past base: *müməðle*, *müməðále*, *müməðíle*. Resultative participle: *müməða*, *müməðta*, *müməðe*. Imperative: *máməð*, *máməðu*. Infinitive: *máməðe*. Verbal noun: *máməðta*.

## 8.14.1.12. m-rm ‘to raise’

Present base: *márəm* ~ *márəm*, *márma* ~ *márəma*, *mármi* ~ *márəmi*. Past base: *mürəmlé*, *mürəməlé*, *mürəməíle*. Resultative participle: *mürəma*, *mürəmta*, *mürəme*. Imperative: *márəm*, *márəmu*. Infinitive: *márəme*. Verbal noun: *márəmta*.

## 8.14.1.13. m-rq ‘to cause to run’

Present base: *márəq*, *márəqa*, *márəqi*. Past base: *mürəqle*, *mürəqále*, *mürəqíle*. Resultative participle: *mürəqa*, *mürəqta*, *mürəqe*. Imperative: *márəq*, *márəqu*. Infinitive: *márəqe*. Verbal noun: *márəqta*.

## 8.14.1.14. m-rš ‘to wake’

Present base: *márəš*, *márəša*, *márəši*. Past base: *mürəšle*, *mürəšále*, *mürəšíle*. Resultative participle: *mürəša*, *mürəšta*, *mürəše*. Imperative: *márəš*, *márəšu*. Infinitive: *márəše*. Verbal noun: *márəšta*.

## 8.14.1.15. m-rt ‘to break wind loudly’

Present base: *márət*, *márəta*, *márəti*. Past base: *mürətle*. Resultative participle: *mürəta*, *mürətta*, *mürəte*. Imperative: *márət*, *márətu*. Infinitive: *márəte*. Verbal noun: *márətta*.

## 8.14.1.16. m-tm ‘to cause to taste’

Present base: *mátəm*, *mátəma*, *mátəmi*. Past base: *mütəmlé*, *mütəməlé*, *mütəməíle*. Resultative participle: *mütəma*, *mütəmta*, *mütəme*. Imperative: *mátəm*, *mátəmu*. Infinitive: *mátəme*. Verbal noun: *mátəmta*.

## 8.14.1.17. m-tn ‘to load’

Present base: *mátən*, *mátəna*, *mátəni*. Past base: *mütənlé*, *mütənəlé*, *mütəníle*. Resultative participle: *mütəna*, *mütənta*, *mütəne*. Imperative: *mátən*, *mátənu*. Infinitive: *mátəne*. Verbal noun: *mátənta*.

## 8.14.1.18. m-xb ‘to love’

Present base: *máxb* ~ *máxb*, *máxba* ~ *máxbəba*, *máxbi* ~ *máxbəbi*. Past base: *müxbəle*, *müxbəlé*, *müxbəíle*. Resultative participle: *müxbəba*, *müxbəbta*, *müxbəbe*. Imperative: *máxb*, *máxbu*. Infinitive: *máxbəbe*. Verbal noun: *máxbəbta*.



8.14.1.19. *m-xn* ‘to yearn for’

Present base: *máxən, máxána, máxáni*. Resultative participle (ms.): *müxána*. In other inflections the verb is construed as final /y/.

8.14.1.20. *m-zn* ‘to cause to stand’

Present base: *mázən, mázána, mázáni*. Past base: *müzánne, müzánále, müzánüle*. Resultative participle: *müzána, müzánta, müzáne*. Imperative: *mázən, mázənu*. Infinitive: *mázóne*. Verbal noun: *mázánta*.

8.14.2. *Verba Tertiae* /ʔ/

Verbs in this category include: *m-šmʔ* ‘to listen’, *m-zdʔ* ‘to frighten’, *m-tʔ* ‘to put to sleep’.

There is a considerable diversity of forms in the inflection of the present base of this group of verbs:

*m-šmʔ* ‘to listen’

		Default	Long	
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mášme</i>		
		fs.	<i>mášma</i>	
			<i>mašmíya</i>	
	pl.	<i>mášmya</i>		
		<i>mášmi</i>		
		<i>mášmε</i>		
		<i>mášma</i>		
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mášmæt</i>	<i>mašmeti</i>	
		<i>mašmíyæt</i>	<i>mašmíyeti</i>	
		fs.	<i>mášmæt</i>	<i>mašmati</i>
	pl.	<i>mašmíyæt</i>	<i>mašmíyati</i>	
		<i>mášmyæt</i>	<i>mášmyati</i>	
		<i>mašmítu</i>		
			<i>mašmétu</i>	
			<i>mašmíyítu</i>	
	1st pers.	ms.	<i>mášmən</i>	<i>mašmena</i>
<i>mašmíyən</i>			<i>mašmíyena</i>	
fs.		<i>mášmən</i>	<i>mašmana</i>	
		<i>mašmíyən</i>	<i>mašmíyana</i>	
		<i>mášmyən</i>	<i>mášmyana</i>	

pl.	<i>mášmæx</i>	<i>mašmexi</i>
	<i>mašmíyæx</i>	<i>mašmíyexi</i>

Some of these inflections reflect a direct development from a form with final /ʔ/ whereas others are based on the analogy of final /y/ verbs. The feminine singular forms have three variant inflections. One reflects a development from a final /ʔ/, ultimately final \*ʕ, form:

3fs.	<i>mášma</i>	< * <i>mášmʔa</i>	< * <i>mášmʕa</i>
2fs.	<i>mášmæt</i>	< * <i>mášmʔa-t</i>	< * <i>mášmʕa-t</i>
1fs.	<i>mášmæn</i>	< * <i>mášmʔa-n</i>	< * <i>mášmʕa-t</i>

The second may reflect a development from a final /ʔ/ form or a final /y/ form with a stressed epenthetic after the second radical. If it is a development from a final /ʔ/ form, the /y/ in the form would have arisen as a glide after the elision of the /ʔ/:

3fs.	<i>mašmíya</i>	< * <i>mašmʔa</i>	< * <i>mašmʕa</i>
		< * <i>mašmya</i>	
2fs.	<i>mašmíyæt</i>	< * <i>mašmʔa-t</i>	< * <i>mašmʕa-t</i>
		< * <i>mašmya-t</i>	
1fs.	<i>mašmíyan</i>	< * <i>mašmʔa-n</i>	< * <i>mašmʕa-n</i>
		< * <i>mašmya-n</i>	

The third reflects a development from a final /y/ form with an epenthetic placed before the second radical. Note that the /a/ vowel in the preceding syllable is short, as if it were still in a closed syllable:

3fs.	<i>măšmya</i>	< * <i>mašmya</i>
2fs.	<i>măšmyæt</i>	< * <i>mašmya-t</i>
1fs.	<i>măšmyan</i>	< * <i>mašmya-n</i>

The 2ms., 1ms., and 1pl. inflections have two variants, one with a glide /y/ reflecting a derivation from a final /ʔ/ form and the other without the glide reflecting a derivation from a final /y/ form:

2ms.	<i>mašmíyæt</i>	< * <i>mašmʔæt</i>	< * <i>mašmʕæt</i>
	<i>mášmæt</i>		
1ms.	<i>mašmíyan</i>	< * <i>mašmʔæn</i>	< * <i>mašmʕæn</i>
	<i>mášmæn</i>		

1pl.	<i>mašmýax</i> <i>mášmæx</i>	< * <i>mašmáʔax</i>	< * <i>mašmáʕax</i>
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The 2pl. form has three variants, one with a glide /y/ reflecting a derivation from a final /ʔ/ form and the other two without the glide reflecting a derivation from a final /y/ form:

2pl.	<i>mašmýitu</i> <i>mašmítu</i> <i>mašmétu</i>	< * <i>mašmáʔitu</i>	< * <i>mašmáʕitu</i>
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The 3ms. and 3pl. forms have the endings of final /y/ forms.

The other bases have the pattern of final /y/ verbs. Past base: *muCCe-* (ms.), *muCəCya-* (fs.), *muCCe-* (pl.), e.g. *muzdéle* ‘He frightened (him)’, *muzədyále* ‘He frightened her’, *muzdéle* ‘He frightened them’. Resultative participle: *muCəCya* (ms.), *muCCéθa* (fs.), *muCəCye* (pl.). Compound forms: *hóle mušmya* ‘He has listened’, *mušméθela* ‘She has listened’, *mušmyax* ‘We have listened’. Imperative: *mášmi* (ms.), *mášma* (fs.), *mášmo* (pl.) ‘Listen!’. Infinitive: *mašmóye*. Compound forms: *hóle mašmóye* ‘He is listening’, *mašmóyan* ‘I am listening’. Verbal noun: *mašmεθa*.

### 8.14.3. *Verba Mediae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

*m-byñ* ‘to appear; to come to visit’, *m-byč* ‘to give birth to a bastard’, *m-čyl* ‘to sprout’, *m-dyn* ‘to owe’, *m-dyx* ‘to dampen down (fire)’, *m-ǰyr* ‘to cause to urinate’, *m-kym* ‘to make black’, *m-kyp* ‘to lower, bow (tr.)’, *m-kyš* ‘to deflate, defray’, *m-lyš* ‘to spoil, ruin’, *m-lyz* ‘to hurry’, *m-myl* ‘to become green/blue’, *m-myš* ‘to give suck, nurture’, *m-myθ* ‘to cause to die’, *m-myx* ‘to let (somebody) smell (something)’, *m-nyx* ‘to rest’, *m-pyð* ‘to cause to cross’, *m-qym* ‘to raise; to evacuate’, *m-qyš* ‘to cut (with scissors)’, *m-ryš* ‘to sprinkle’, *m-ryx* ‘to make long’, *m-ryz* ‘to stand in a row; put in a row’, *m-sym bala* ‘to pay attention’, *m-syx* ‘to examine, test (sth.); to visit (the sick)’, *m-syθ* ‘to listen’, *m-zyd* ‘to add’.

Two alternative types of inflection are used for this category of verb. In the type 1 inflection the medial /y/ is retained in all bases whereas in type 2 the /y/ coalesces with the vowel that follows it.

In the type 1 inflection of the present base, the /y/ clusters with the preceding consonant. In forms other than the 3ms., a short epenthetic /ə/ is inserted after the /y/, which is stressed when in penultimate position in the word.

*m-zyd* 'to add'

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mázyəd</i>	
	fs.	<i>mázyáda</i>	
	pl.	<i>mázyádi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mázyədət</i>	<i>mázyədeti</i>
	fs.	<i>mázyədət</i>	<i>mázyədati</i>
	pl.	<i>mázyədítu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mázyədən</i>	<i>mázyədēna</i>
	fs.	<i>mázyədən</i>	<i>mázyədāna</i>
	pl.	<i>mázyədəx</i>	<i>mázyədēxi</i>

The consonant after the stressed short epenthetic /ə/ is occasionally pronounced geminated, e.g. *mázyádāda*, *mázyádādi*, etc.

In the type 2 inflection, in which the /y/ coalesces with the following /i/ vowel, the /a/ vowel is sometimes pronounced long and sometimes remains short as if it were in a closed syllable: *mázyid* ~ *mázyid*, *mázyída* ~ *mázyída*, *mázyídi* ~ *mázyídi*, etc.

The type 1 inflection of the past base has the form: *múzyəd-* (ms.), *múzyədə-* (fs.), *múzyədi-* (pl.), e.g. *múzyədle* 'He added (it)', *múzyədəle* 'He added it (f.)', *múzyədile* 'He added them'. In the type 2 inflection the /y/ coalesces with the following /i/ in the way described regarding the present base: *múzyídle* ~ *múzyídle*, *múzyídāle* ~ *múzyídāle*, *múzyídi* ~ *múzyídi*.

The type 1 form of the resultative participle is: *múzyáda* (ms.), *múzyáda* (fs.), *múzyáde* (pl.). The consonant after the stressed short epenthetic /ə/ in the ms. and pl. forms is occasionally pronounced geminated: *múzyádāda*, *múzyádāde*. In the type 2 form of inflection the sequence /ya/ contracts to /i/, but /ya/ of the fs. form remains unchanged: *múzyída* ~ *múzyída* (ms.), *múzyíde* ~ *múzyíde* (pl.).

The forms of the imperative are in the type 1 inflection *mázyəd* (sing.), *mázyədu* (pl.) and the type 2 inflection *mázyid* ~ *mázyid* (sing.), *mázyidu* ~ *mázyidu* (pl.).

Type 1 infinitive: *mazyóde*. Type 2 infinitive: *mazóde* ~ *măzóde*. Type 1 verbal noun: *mazyátta*. Type 2 verbal noun: *maqámta* ~ *măqámta* (*m-qym*).

#### 8.14.4. *Verba Tertiae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-bry* ‘to give birth to’, *m-čmy* ‘to extinguish’, *m-jry* ‘to leak’, *m-kly* ‘to stop (tr.)’, *m-kry* ‘to make short’, *m-lly* ‘to cheat’, *m-lly* ‘to kindle’, *m-nšy* ‘to forget’, *m-nty* ‘to succeed’, *m-rdy/m-rđy* ‘to reconcile’, *m-sly* ‘to bring down’, *m-šty* ‘to give to drink, irrigate; arrange the warp (weaving)’, *m-tpy* ‘to cause to catch, to kindle’, *m-try* ‘to drive’, *m-xly* ‘to give a gift’, *m-xny* ‘to yearn for’, *m-xzy* ‘to show’.

The inflectional endings of the present base are the same as those of final /y/ verbs in stem I (§8.12.8.) and stem II (§8.13.4.). A short epenthetic is generally inserted in the feminine singular forms. This is placed either before the second radical or before the /y/ radical. In both cases it is stressed when in penultimate position, e.g. *maklíya* ~ *makálya* ‘She stops’. The feminine singular inflections also have alternative forms without a /y/ radical, e.g. *mákla* ‘She stops’. These forms may have arisen by analogy with the inflection of stem III final /ʔ/ verbs such as *m-šm* ‘to listen’, e.g. *mašma* ‘She listens’ (§8.14.2.), or by the phonetic process of the elision of the /y/ after the consonant:

*m-kly* ‘to stop’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mákle</i>	
		<i>maklíya</i>	
		<i>makálya</i>	
	pl.	<i>mákla</i>	
		<i>mákle</i>	
		<i>mákla</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>máklət</i>	<i>makleti</i>
		<i>maklíyət</i>	<i>makliyati</i>
		<i>makályət</i>	<i>makályati</i>
	pl.	<i>máklət</i>	<i>maklati</i>
		<i>maklétu</i>	
		<i>maklítu</i>	

1st pers.	ms.	<i>máklən</i>	<i>maklena</i>
	fs.	<i>makl̥yən</i> <i>makályən</i> <i>máklən</i>	<i>makliyana</i>
	pl.	<i>mákləx</i>	<i>maklexi</i>

In the past base the /y/ of the fs. form is optionally elided: *mukle-* (ms.), *mukliya-* ~ *mukálya-* ~ *mukla-* (fs.), *muklɛ* (pl.), e.g. *mukléli* ‘I have stopped (him)’, *mukályáli* ~ *mukliyáli* ~ *mukláli* ‘I have stopped her’, *mukléli* ‘I have stopped them’.

In the resultative participle the /y/ is optionally elided in the ms. and pl. forms: *mukliya* ~ *mukálya* ~ *múkla* (ms.), *mukléθa* (fs.), *mukliye* ~ *mukálye* ~ *múkle* (pl.).

As in other final /y/ verbs, gender is distinguished in the singular of the imperative: *mákli* (ms.), *mákla* (fs.), *máklo* (pl.). When a supplementary suffix or pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, it has an /ɛ/ vowel rather than an /a/, e.g. *makléga* ‘Stop!’, *mukléle* ‘Stop him!’.

Infinitive: *maklóye*. Verbal noun: *makléθa*.

The verb *m-xny* ‘to yearn for’ has alternative forms for some of its inflections which belong to the category of verbs with a zero first or second radical (§8.14.1.). These include the present base (*máxən*, *máxána*, *máxáni*) and the ms. resultative participle: *müxána*. In all other forms only final /y/ type of inflections are available.

#### 8.14.5. Verbs with a Zero First or Second Radical and a Final /y/

These verbs resemble the category of verbs described in §8.14.1. with the additional weakness of a final /y/ radical. Most are derived historically from verbs with initial or medial \*ʔ in their roots at some stage of their historical development. The \*ʔ is generally derived from an original pharyngeal \*ʕ. Verbs with historically initial /ʕ/ roots are: *m-by* ‘to swell’ (\*ʔby < \*ʕby), *m-ry* ‘to patch, repair clothes; to put rennet in cheese’ (\*ʔry < \*ʕry), *m-šy* ‘to fortify’ (\*ʔšy < \*ʕšy). We should also include *m-my* ‘to swear’, which, although originally from an initial /y/ root, appears to be treated as an initial /ʕ/ root. Verbs with historically medial /ʕ/ roots are: *m-čy* ‘to smooth’ (\*ʔčy < \*ʕčy), *m-ny* ‘to dawn’ (\*ʔny < \*ʕnh), *m-ry* ‘to graze (tr.)’ (\*ʔry < \*ʕry). This inflectional category also includes the verb *m-ðy* ‘to inform’, which is historically initial /y/ and final /ʕ/ (< \*ʕ), as in the corresponding stem I form *yðʔ* ‘to know’.

As in verbs with a strong final radical described in §8.14.1., the inflections of verbs in this category fall into two alternative groups, one in which the strong radical clusters with the consonantal /y/ and another in which this cluster is broken by an epenthetic vowel /i/ before the /y/. The epenthetic is generally stressed when it occurs in penultimate position. The vowel in the syllable preceding the epenthetic is short, as if it were in a closed syllable. The shortness of the vowel in this syllable is extended by analogy through all paradigms of this group by analogy.

	1	2
Present base:		
3ms.	<i>máCe</i>	<i>mǎCe</i>
3fs.	<i>máCya</i>	<i>mǎCíya</i>
3pl.	<i>máCε</i>	<i>mǎCε</i>
	<i>máCa</i>	<i>mǎCa</i>
	<i>máCi</i>	<i>mǎCi</i>
Past base		
ms.	<i>muCe-</i>	<i>mǔCe-</i>
fs.	<i>muCya-</i>	<i>mǔCíya-</i>
pl.	<i>muCε-</i>	<i>mǔCε-</i>
Resultative participle		
ms.	<i>múCya</i>	<i>mǔCíya</i>
fs.	<i>muCéθa</i>	<i>mǔCéθa</i>
pl.	<i>múCye</i>	<i>mǔCíye</i>
Imperative		
ms.	<i>máCi</i>	<i>mǎCi</i>
fs.	<i>máCa</i>	<i>mǎCa</i>
plural	<i>máCo</i>	<i>mǎCo</i>
Infinitive		
	<i>maCóye</i>	<i>mǎCóye</i>

According to the rules of historical phonology in the dialect, pattern 1 would be expected with roots with an original initial \*ʷ and pattern 2 with roots with an original medial \*, e.g. *mare* 'He patches' (< \*máʷre), *māre* 'He grazes (tr.)' (< \*marʷe). This distinction is, indeed, generally maintained in the inflection of these roots. Note that they also have different *r* phonemes:

	<i>m-ry</i> ‘to patch	<i>m-ry</i> ‘to graze’
Present base:		
3ms.	<i>máre</i>	<i>máře</i>
3fs.	<i>márya</i>	<i>mářiya</i>
3pl.	<i>máre</i>	<i>máře</i>
	<i>mára</i>	<i>mára</i>
	<i>mári</i>	<i>mári</i>
Past base		
ms.	<i>mure-</i>	<i>můře-</i>
fs.	<i>murya-</i>	<i>můřiya-</i>
pl.	<i>mure-</i>	<i>můře-</i>
Resultative participle		
ms.	<i>múrya</i>	<i>můřiya</i>
fs.	<i>muréθa</i>	<i>můřeθa</i>
pl.	<i>múrye</i>	<i>můřiye</i>
Imperative		
ms.	<i>mári</i>	<i>mári</i>
fs.	<i>mára</i>	<i>mára</i>
plural	<i>máro</i>	<i>máro</i>
Infinitive		
	<i>maróye</i>	<i>mářóye</i>
Verbal noun		
	<i>maréθa</i>	<i>mářeθa</i>

The division between the two patterns is not, however, completely consistent with the historical root of the verb and indeed the patterns generally alternate in the same root, e.g. *mábya* ~ *mábíya* ‘She swells’, *mámya* ~ *mámíya* ‘She swears’, *máčya* ~ *máčíya* ‘She smoothes’.

Verbs with a medial radical /h/ and a final radical /y/ are sometimes conjugated with the pattern of the verbs in this category, in that the medial /h/ is elided, e.g. *m-lhy* ‘to ignite’: *mále* ‘He ignites’, *málíya* ‘She ignites’, *máli* ‘They ignite’. In careful speech, however, the /h/ is sometimes retained: *málhe*, *malhíya*, *málhi*.



8.14.6. *Verba Mediae /w/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-dwq* ‘to cause to hold’, *m-gwr* ‘to cause to marry’, *m-gwr* ‘to make big’; *m-jwǵ* ‘to cause to walk, move’, *m-lwš* ‘to dress’, *m-qwx* ‘to make a noise’, *m-xwr* ‘to make white’.

The sequence /*aw*/ in the various inflected forms of this verb sometimes contracts to /*u*/ and the sequence /*wo*/ in the infinitive sometimes contracts to /*o*/. Otherwise the /*w*/ remains uncontracted.

Present: *májwǵ* (3ms.), *májǵwja* ~ *májúja* ~ *májwǵja* (3fs.), *májǵwǵi* ~ *májúǵi* ~ *májwǵǵi* (3pl.), etc.

Past base: *mujwǵ-* (ms.), *májǵwja-* ~ *mujúja-* (fs.), *májǵwǵi-* ~ *mujúǵi-* (pl.), e.g. *mujwǵǵle* ‘He made (him) move’, *mujúǵále* ‘He made her move’, *mujúǵǵle* ‘He made them move’.

Resultative participle: *májǵwja* ~ *mújúja* (ms.), *mújwǵǵta* (fs.), *májǵwǵe-* ~ *mújúǵe* (pl.).

In the imperative the /*a*/ vowel in the initial syllable sometimes remains short even where it is open in the pl.: *májwǵ* (sing.), *májǵwǵju* ~ *májǵwǵju* ~ *májúǵju* (pl.).

Infinitive: *májwǵǵe* ~ *májǵǵe*. Verbal noun: *májwǵǵta*.

8.14.7. *Verbs with a Zero First Radical and Medial /w/*

The verb *m-wr* ‘to bring in’ falls into this category. It is derived historically from the root \**ʕbr* with an initial pharyngeal.

The /*w*/ is generally retained throughout the inflection of the present base: *máwǵr*, *máwǵra*, *máwǵri*. The sequence /*aw*/ in a closed syllable is occasionally contracted to /*o*/: *móra*, *móri*.

Past base: *múwǵr-* (ms.), *múra-* (fs.), *múri-* (pl.), e.g. *múwǵǵrre* ‘He brought (him) in’, *múrále* ‘He brought her in’, *múrile* ‘He brought them in’. Resultative participle: *múra* (ms.), *múwǵǵarta* (fs.), *múre* (pl.). Imperative: *máwǵr* (sing.), *máwǵru* (pl.). Infinitive: *mawóre*. Verbal noun: *mawǵarta*.

8.14.8. *Verba Tertiae /w/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-jlw* ‘to elope (woman)’, *m-kθw* ‘to register’, *m-xrw* ‘to damage, destroy’

In general the /ə/ in the sequence /əw/ is rounded by assimilation to the labial /w/, resulting either in a rounded front realization [y] or in the back vowel /u/. When the vowel shifts to /u/, the /w/ of the sequence is elided before a consonant or at the end of a word.

Present: *mákθu* (3ms.), *makáθwa* ~ *makθūwa* (3fs.), *makáθwi* ~ *makθūwi* (3pl.), etc.

Past base: *mukθu-* (ms.), *mukəθwa-* (fs.), *mukəθwi-* (pl.), e.g. *mukθúle* ‘He registered (him)’, *mukəθwále* ‘He registered her’, *mukəθwíle* ‘He registered them’.

Resultative participle: *mukáθwa* (ms.), *mukθáwta* (fs.), *mukáθwe* (pl.).

The imperative exhibits a contraction of the sequence /əw/ > /u/ in the singular and of the sequence /wu/ > /u/ in the plural. The /a/ vowel in the initial syllable sometimes remains short even where it is open in the pl.: *mákθu* (sing. < *makθəw*), *mákθu* ~ *mákáθu* (pl. < *mākəθwu*).

Infinitive: *makθówe*. Verbal noun: *makθáwta*.

#### 8.14.9. *Verbs with a Zero First or Second Radical and a Final /w/*

The verb *m-dw* ‘to be able, to manage to’ belongs in this category.

The sequence /əw/ in the patterns of the various inflections contracts to /u/, otherwise the /w/ remains uncontracted. Present: *mádu* (3ms.), *mádwa* (3fs.), *mádwí* (3pl.), etc. Past base: *modu-*, e.g. *mudúle* ‘He managed to’. Resultative participle: *múdwa* (ms.), *mudáwta* (fs.), *múdwe* (pl.). The singular and plural forms of the imperative are the same: *mádu* (sing. < *madəw*, pl. < *madwu*). Infinitive: *madówe*. Verbal noun *madáwta*.

#### 8.14.10. *Verbs with Identical Second and Third Radicals*

The verb *maprore* ‘to widen’ belongs to this category. The inflection of the bases of this verb corresponds to the patterns that are applied to strong verbs, except that an additional epenthetic is inserted between the second and third radicals if the pattern brings them together in a cluster.

Present base:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>máprə</i>	cf. <i>mápləx</i>
	fs.	<i>mapárəra</i>	cf. <i>mapálxə</i>
pl.		<i>mapróra</i>	cf. <i>mapláxa</i>
		<i>mapárəri</i>	cf. <i>mapálxí</i>
		<i>mapróri</i>	cf. <i>mapláxí</i>

Past base: *muprær-* (ms.), *mupæræra-* (fs.), *mupæræri-* (pl.), e.g. *muprærre* ‘He widened (it ms.)’, *mupærærale* ‘He widened it (fs.)’ (cf. *mupælxále*), *mupæræriile* ‘He widened them’ (cf. *mupælxíle*). Resultative participle: *mupæræra* (ms.), *muprárta* (fs.), *mupærære* (pl.); cf. *mupólxa*, *mupláxta*, *mupálxæ*. Imperative: *máprær* (sing.), *mápræraru* ~ *máþæræru* (pl.). Infinitive: *mapróre*. Verbal noun: *maprárta*.

### 8.15. WEAK QUADRILITERAL VERBS

#### 8.15.1. *Verba Primae /ʔ/*

Verbs in this category include *m-rml* ‘to become a widow/widower’, *m-rql* ‘to be late’, *m-ršn* ‘to become mirky, make mirky (water); to become numb’.

These verbs are conjugated with the pattern of stem III of strong verbs with trilateral roots. Since their roots, however, can be reconstructed as having an initial \*ʔ at some stage in their historical development, they are classified here as quadriliteral verbs: *m-rml* < \*ʔrml (cf. ʔarəmla ‘widower’), *m-rql* < \*ʔrql < \*ʕrql (cf. Syr. ʕarqel ‘to bind, to hinder’), *m-ršn* < ʔršn (cf. ʔršana ‘mirky’, ʔrša ‘mirkiness’).

Present base: *márqəl* ‘He is late’, *maráqla* ‘She is late’, *maráqli* ‘They are late’, etc. Past base: *murqálle* ‘He was late’. Resultative participle: *muráqla* (ms.), *murqálta* (fs.), *muráqlæ* (pl.). Imperative: *márqəl* (sing.), *márəqlu* (pl.). Infinitive: *marqóle*. Verbal noun: *marqalta*.

#### 8.15.2. *Verba Secundae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-gyžn* ‘to become dizzy’, *m-nyšn* ‘to hit a target’, *m-šyðn* ‘to become mad’, *m-hymn* ‘to believe’.

The differing inflections of these verbs require these verbs to be divided into two distinct groups:

Group 1: *m-gyžn*, *m-nyšn*, *m-šyðn*

Group 2: *m-hymn*

(i) *Verbs in Group 1*

The present base of verbs in this group has the diphthong /ey/, which may be interpreted as a development of the sequence /ay/. This development of an original /ay/ is found elsewhere in the dialect (§2.4.1.), albeit rather marginally. The occurrence of the diphthong /ey/, with the /e/ vowel nucleus, in the verbs *m-gyžn* and *m-šyðn* is likely to be influenced by the fact that they are derived respectively from the adjectives *gežana* ‘dizzy’ (< Kurd. gêj) and *šedana* ‘mad’, which have an /e/ after their first radical.

In the inflection of the present base a short epenthetic /a/ breaks the cluster of the second and third radicals in all forms except the 3ms. This is placed either before or after the third radical. It is often stressed when in penultimate position:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mgéyžan</i>
	fs.	<i>mgeyážna</i> <i>mgeyžána</i>
	pl.	<i>mgeyážni</i> <i>mgeyžáni</i>

In the past base and resultative participle the /y/ remains uncontracted before the /u/ of the pattern, e.g. *mguyžánne* ‘He became dizzy’, *mšuyðánne* ‘He went mad’. The /u/ of this base is usually fronted to the region of [y] by assimilation to the following /y/. Resultative participle: *mguyážna* ~ *mguyžána* (ms.), *mguyážanta* (fs.), *mguyážne* ~ *mguyžáne* (pl.). The /u/ of this base is usually fronted to the region of [y] by assimilation to the following /y/.

The imperative and infinitive forms exhibit the same development of the sequence /ay/ to /ey/ as the inflection of the present. Imperative: *mšéyðan* ‘Become mad!’ (sing.), *mšéyðnu* ‘Become mad’ (pl.). Infinitive: *mšéyðone*. Verbal noun: *mšéyðanta*.

(ii) *The Verb m-hymn ‘to believe’*

The inflection of this verb differs from that of the verbs in group 1 with regard to developments of the second radical /y/. Furthermore, two types of inflection should be distinguished for this verb.

In the type 1 inflection the /y/ radical is retained in all bases. The vocalic patterns of these are the same as in the verbs *m-gyžn*, *m-nyšn* and *m-šyðn*, except that the sequence /ay/ in the present base, imperative and

infinitive exhibits a variety of different developments. It may be preserved as /ay/, shift to /ey/ or contract to /ε/:

Present base:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mháyman</i>
		<i>mhéymən</i>
		<i>mhémən</i>
fs.		<i>mhaymána</i>
		<i>mhayámna</i>
		<i>mheyamána</i>
		<i>mheyámna</i>
		<i>mhemána</i>
pl.		<i>mhaymáni</i>
		<i>mhayámni</i>
		<i>mheyamáni</i>
		<i>mheyámni</i>
		<i>mhemáni</i>

Past base: *mhuymánne* ‘He believed’. Resultative participle: *mhuyámna* ~ *mhuyamána* (ms.), *mhuyámanta* (fs.), *mhuyámna* ~ *mhuyámne* (pl.). Imperative: *mháyman* ~ *mhéymən* ~ *mhémən* ‘Believe!’ (sing.), *mháyamnū* ~ *mhéyamnū* ‘Believe!’ (pl.). Infinitive: *mhaymóne* ~ *mhey móne* ~ *mhemóne*. Verbal noun: *mhaymánta* ~ *mhey mánta* ~ *mhemánta*.

The second type of inflection of the verb *m-hymn* has a vocalic pattern corresponding to that of stem III verbs with a zero first or second radical (§8.14.1). The /y/ radical is absent and the vowel of the first syllable is short:

Present base:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mhámən</i>
	fs.	<i>mhámána</i>
	pl.	<i>mhámáni</i>

Past base: *mhūmánne* ‘He believed (him)’, *mhūmánále* ‘He believed her’, *mhūmánüle* ‘He believed them’. Resultative participle: *mhūmána* ~ *mhūmna* (ms.), *mhūmánta* (fs.), *mhūmóne* ~ *mhūmne* (pl.). Imperative: *mhámən* (sing.), *mhámənu* (pl.). Infinitive: *mhámóne*. Verbal noun: *mhámánta*.

The /m/ radical after the short vowel in these patterns is sometimes secondarily geminated, especially when preceded by the stress, e.g. *mhámmən* ‘he believes’, *mhummánne* ‘he believed’.

8.15.3. *Verba Quartae /y/*

Verbs in this category include:

*m-blby* ‘to search (inside a container)’, *m-bsty* ‘to become an ally’, *m-čřqy* ‘to fire (gun), spring (a trap)’, *m-čřčy* ‘to dirty, to soil’, *m-řřmy* ‘to understand’, *m-řřpy* ‘to rinse’, *m-sxsy* ‘to examine, test’, *m-sřby* ‘to drench’, *m-šřšy* ‘to tilt, slope; to languish’, *m-łły* ‘to hang’, *m-trsy* ‘to sustain, provide sustenance for’, *m-xldy* ‘to dig, excavate’, *m-xřdy* ‘to surround’, *m-zřzy* ‘to suffer, be in a predicament’.

The present base has the regular endings of final /y/ verbs. In the feminine singular forms a short epenthetic *i* is placed either before the third radical or before the final /y/ radical. This epenthetic generally takes the stress when in penultimate position. The feminine singular inflections also have alternative forms without a /y/ radical:

*m-řřpy* ‘to rinse’

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mřárpe</i>	
		<i>mřarříya</i>	
	fs.	<i>mřarříya</i>	
		<i>mřarříya</i>	
		<i>mřárpa</i>	
		<i>mřárpa</i>	
pl.	<i>mřárpe</i>		
	<i>mřárpa</i>		
	<i>mřárpi</i>		
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mřárpət</i>	<i>mřarpeti</i>
		<i>mřarříyət</i>	<i>mřarříyati</i>
	fs.	<i>mřarříyət</i>	
		<i>mřarříyət</i>	
		<i>mřárpət</i>	
		<i>mřárpət</i>	
pl.	<i>mřarřítu</i>		
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mřárpən</i>	<i>mřarpena</i>
		<i>mřarříyən</i>	<i>mřarříyana</i>
	fs.	<i>mřarříyən</i>	
		<i>mřarříyən</i>	
		<i>mřárpən</i>	
		<i>mřárpən</i>	
pl.	<i>mřárpəx</i>	<i>mřarpexi</i>	

Past base: *mpurpe-* (ms.), *mpurpíya-* ~ *mpurápya-* ~ *mpurpa-* (fs.), *mpurpe-* (pl.), e.g. *mpurpéle* ‘He rinsed (it m.)’, *mpurpíyále* ~ *mpurápyále* ‘He rinsed it (f.)’, *mpurpéle* ‘He rinsed them’.

Resultative participle: *mpurpíya* ~ *mpurápya* (ms.), *mpurpétha* (fs.), *mpurpíye* ~ *mpurápye* (pl.).

As with other final /y/ forms, gender is distinguished in the singular: *mpárpi* (ms.), *mpárpa* (fs.), *mpárpo* (pl.). When a supplementary suffix or pronominal object suffix is attached to the fs. form, it has an /ε/ vowel rather than an /a/, e.g. *mparpéga!* ‘Rinse (fs.)!’, *mparpéle* ‘Rinse (fs.) it!’

Infinitive: *mparpoye*. Verbal noun: *mparpétha*.

#### 8.15.4. *Verbal Secundae* /w/, *Quartae* /y/

Verbs in this category include:

*m-bwby* ‘to howl (wolf)’, *m-čwčy* ‘to chirp’, *m-nwny* ‘to meow (cat)’, *m-šwšy* ‘to twitter, chirp’, *m-qwqy* ‘to bark (fox)’.

The present base is inflected with the same pattern as the final /y/ quadri-literal verbs described in §8.15.3:

*m-čwčy* ‘to chirp’

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mčáwče</i>	
	fs.	<i>mčáwčíya</i>	
		<i>mčáwčíya</i>	
		<i>mčáwča</i>	
	pl.	<i>mčáwče</i>	
		<i>mčáwča</i>	
		<i>mčáwča</i>	etc.

In the past base and the resultative participle the /w/ radical is contracted. Past base: *mčúče-*, e.g. *mčúčele* ‘It chirped’. Resultative participle: *mčúčíya* ~ *mčúčya* (ms.), *mčúčétha* (fs.), *mčúčíye* ~ *mčúčye* (pl.).

The /w/ is usually preserved after /a/ in the other inflections. Imperative: *mčáwči* (ms.), *mčáwča* (fs.), *mčáwčo* (pl.). Infinitive: *mčáwčóye*. Verbal noun: *mčáwčeθa*. On some occasions, however, the diphthong /aw/ is contracted to /o/.

## 8.16. IRREGULAR AND DEFECTIVE VERBS

## 8.16.1. hwy 'to be'

This verb is suppletive to the copula. It has the full range of verbal inflections and supplies various functions that are not expressed by the copula (§15.3.9.).

Its inflections have the pattern of other stem I verbs from roots containing medial /w/ and final /y/ (§8.12.15.), except that the initial /h/ is elided in many forms.

In the present base the initial /h/ is preserved when there are no prefixed particles. The diphthong /aw/ in a closed syllable is sometimes contracted to /o/: *háwe* (3ms.), *háwya* ~ *hóya* (3fs.), *háwe* ~ *háwi* (3pl.), *háwət* (2ms.), *háwəət* ~ *hóyəət* (2fs.), etc. The /h/ is elided after a prefixed particle, e.g. *y-áwe* (3ms. < *ʔi-hawe*), *y-áwya* ~ *y-óya* (3fs.), *y-áwe* ~ *y-áwi* (3pl.), etc. The future particle *bəd-* has the form *bṭ-* or, more frequently, is reduced to *t-* (§8.6.2.), e.g. *bṭ-áwe*, *t-áwe*, *t-óya*, *t-áwe*.

The initial /h/ is regularly elided in other bases. Past base *we-*, e.g. *wéle*, *wéwale*. Resultative participle: *wíya* (ms.), *wíta* (fs.), *wíye* (pl.). Note that the fs. form has the stop /t/ rather than the fricative /θ/, which would be expected in final /y/ verbs. This has arisen by analogy with the resultative participle of final /ʔ/ verbs (§8.12.2), which the ms. and pl. forms resemble due to the elision of the /h/; cf. *šmíya*, *šmíta*, *šmíye*. On some rare occasions the form *wiθa* with the interdental /θ/ is used. Imperative: *wi* (ms.), *wa* (fs.), *wo* (pl.). Infinitive: *wáya*. Verbal noun: *wεθa*.

## 8.16.2. ʔzl 'to go'

This verb follows the inflectional patterns of initial /ʔ/ verbs (§8.12.1.) in most of its bases, but exhibits a few irregular features. In the present base the final /l/ is elided in all forms except the 3ms.: *ʔázəl* 'He goes', *ʔáza* 'She goes' (< *\*ʔazla*), *ʔázi* 'They go' (< *\*ʔazli*), etc. The /a/ vowel of the base in the forms from which the /l/ has been elided is pronounced long due to its occurrence in an open syllable. This should be contrasted with final /ʔ/ verbs, in which the /a/ remains short after the elision of the /ʔ/: *šáma* 'She hears' < *\*šamʔa* (§8.12.2.).

Past base: *zil-*, e.g. *zille* 'He has gone', *zillux* 'You (ms.) went'. Resultative participle: *zíla* (ms.), *zíta* (fs.), *zíle* (pl.). Compound forms: *zílele* 'He has gone', *zílet* 'You have gone', *zíla wéwa* 'They had gone'. Infinitive: *zíla*.



Compound forms: *hóle zála* ‘He is going’, *zálet* ‘You are going’. Verbal noun: *zalta*.

The imperative has the irregular forms *si* (ms.), *sa* (fs.), *so* (pl.). These have inflectional endings that are characteristic of final /y/ forms.

### 8.16.3. ʾθy ‘to come’

In all of its inflections except the imperative, this verb follows the pattern of other verbs with initial /ʾ/ and final /y/ (§8.12.9.). Present base: ʾáθe, ʾáθya, ʾáθe ~ ʾáθi, with prefixes: y-áθe ‘He comes’, t-áθe ‘He will come’. Past base: θéle ‘He has come’. Resultative participle: ʾíθya (ms.), θiθa (fs.), ʾiθye (pl.). Infinitive: θaya. Verbal noun: θεθα.

The imperative has the irregular form *háyyo*, which is used for both the singular and plural. In some cases where the imperative is connected to a following word it is shortened to *hay*, e.g. *hay-làxxa!* ‘Come here!’ (A8:35), *hay-wür!* ‘Come in!’ (A27:23). The plural form can take the supplementary suffix -gu (§8.6.5.): *hayyógu*.

### 8.16.4. m-θy ‘to bring’

The causative of ʾθy ‘to come’ is a stem III form verb. Unlike other stem III verbs from initial /ʾ/ roots, this verb has *mε-* rather than *ma-* in the present base, imperative and infinitive, e.g. *méθe* ‘He brings’ (cf. *máxal* ‘He feeds’). This reflects a development from an original diphthong \*ay, indicating that, in this stem, the verb was construed as initial /y/ (< \*mayθe), as was indeed the case with the ʾaḫ<sup>c</sup>el of this verb in several dialects of earlier Aramaic (cf. Syriac ʾayṯ). In the feminine singular forms of the present base inflection, in which the initial syllable is closed, the /ε/ is lowered to /a/:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>méθe</i>	
	fs.	<i>máθya</i>	
	pl.	<i>méθe</i>	
		<i>méθa</i>	
		<i>méθi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>méθət</i>	<i>mεθeti</i>
	fs.	<i>máθyət</i>	<i>maθyati</i>
	pl.	<i>mεθétu</i>	
		<i>mεθítu</i>	

1st pers.	ms.	<i>méθan</i>	<i>μεθena</i>
	fs.	<i>máθyan</i>	<i>μαθyana</i>
	pl.	<i>méθax</i>	<i>μεθexi</i>

Past base: *moθe-* ~ *muθe-* (ms.), *muθya-* (fs.), *moθe-* ~ *muθe-* (pl.), e.g. *muθéli* ‘I brought (him)’, *muθyáli* ‘I brought her’, *muθéli* ‘I brought them’.

Resultative participle: *múθya* (ms.), *muθéθa* (fs.), *múθye* (pl.). Compound forms: *hóle múθya* ‘He has brought’, *muθéθela* ‘She has brought’, *muθyétu* ‘You (pl.) have brought’.

Imperative: *méθi* (ms.), *méθa* (fs.), *méθo* (pl.) ‘Bring!’ When a supplementary suffix or pronominal suffix is added to the fs. form, the inflectional ending is /ε/ rather than /a/: *méθega* ‘Bring!’, *méθele* ‘Bring it!’

Infinitive: *μεθόye*. Compound forms: *hóle μεθόye* ‘He is bringing’, *μεθόyela* ‘She is bringing’, *μεθόyεt* ‘You are bringing’. Verbal noun: *μεθεθα*.

In fast speech the medial /θ/ radical is occasionally elided and replaced by the glide /y/, e.g. *mayéwa* ‘They used to bring’ (< *μεθέywa*, B5:157), *meýáwna* ‘I shall bring her’ (< *μεθάwna* A4:9).

#### 8.16.5. mšy ‘to be able’

This verb has the regular inflections of stem I final /y/ verb (§8.12.8.) in all its paradigms: Present base: *máše*, *másya*, *máše* ~ *mási*. Past base: *mšéle*. Resultative participle: *másya*, *mšíθa*, *másye*. Imperative: *mší*, *mša*, *mšo*. Infinitive: *mšáya*. The /a/ vowel in the present base is sometimes elided in fast speech when the verb is combined in a stress group with a stressed negative particle, e.g. *lá-mše* ‘He cannot’ (< *la máše*), *lá-mšən* ‘I cannot’ (< *la mášən*).

In addition to the regular present base forms, the verb has an alternative paradigm, in which the root is construed as *’mš* rather than *mšy*. This probably arose through reinterpretation of forms such as *lá-mšən* ‘I cannot’ as being contractions of *la ’amšən* rather than *la mášən*. This alternative root is attested mainly with the indicative preverbal particle *’i-*, e.g. *y-áməš* ‘He is able’, *y-ámša* ‘She is able’, *y-ámši* ‘They are able’, etc.

#### 8.16.6. xy<sup>3</sup>/xy ‘to live’

The inflections of this verb exhibit parallels both with stem I medial /y/, final /<sup>3</sup>/ verbs (§8.12.7.) like *my<sup>3</sup>* ‘to churn’ and also stem I medial zero (< \*), final /y/ verbs (§8.12.10.) like *ty* (< \**t<sup>3</sup>y*) ‘to search’.

The present base has a short /a/ throughout the paradigm and is inflected like *my'* and *ty*: *xáye* 'He lives', *xáya* 'She lives', *xáyi* 'They live', etc. The /y/ is sometimes geminated when preceded by the stress: *xáyye*, *xáyya*, *xáyyi*, etc.

The past base is *xe-*, which is a pattern used for both *my'* and *ty*, or *xye-*, e.g. *xéle*, *xyéle* 'He lived'.

The resultative participle has the forms *xíya* (ms.), *xíθa* (fs.), *xíθe* (pl.), which have the pattern of those of *ty*.

The imperative forms are *xyu* (sing.) and *xáyu* (pl.), the patterns of which are characteristic of final /ʔ/ roots.

The infinitive is *xyá'a*, which has the pattern of final /ʔ/ verbs such as *my'* (*myá'a*), or *xyaya*. Compound forms: *hóle b-xyá'a* 'He is living', *xyá'et* 'You are living'. The word *xayuθa* 'life' is used in place of a regularly derived verbal noun.

#### 8.16.7. *yhw* 'to give'

The medial /h/ of this verb is elided throughout the inflection of the present base: *yáwa* 'She gives' (< \**yahwa*), *yáwi* 'They give' (< \**yahwi*), *yáwət* 'You (sing.) give' (< \**yahwət*), etc. The 3ms. has the form *yawəl* 'He gives', with an additional /l/ element, which is treated as part of the root. This is likely to have arisen by a false morphological division of a combination of the verb with a pronominal L-suffix. Variant contracted forms exist for the inflections that end in a consonant, in which the /w/ is elided, e.g. *yəl* 'He gives', *yət* 'You (ms. and fs.) give', *yən* 'I (ms. and fs.) give', *yax* 'We give'.

The /y/ is elided and the /h/ preserved in the past base and resultative participle. Past base: *híw-* (ms.), *híwa-* (fs.), *híwi-* (pl.). The /i/ in the /íw/ sequence in the closed syllable of the ms. form is generally realized with lip-rounding in the region of [y] and the /w/ as a labio-palatal glide [ɥ], e.g. *híwle* [hyɥle] 'He gave (it)'. Resultative participle: *híwa* (ms.), *híwta* [hyɥta] (fs.), *híwe* (pl.). Compound forms: *hówət híwa* 'You have given', *híwele* 'He has given', *híwətət* 'You (fs.) have given'. Variant past bases and resultative participle exist with initial /y/ in place of the /h/, e.g. *yíwle* 'He gave (it)', *yíwele* 'He has given'.

The imperative drops the /y/ radical and is formed with an additional /l/ element, which is treated like a third radical: *hál* (sing.), *hálu*, *hállu* (pl.). The pl. form has a short /a/ by analogy with the singular and the /l/ is usually geminated when this vowel takes the stress. As with the 3ms. form

of the present base, the origin of the /l/ is likely to be a false morphological division of the verb combined with pronominal L-suffixes.

The /h/ is elided in the infinitive: *yáwa*. Compound forms: *hóle yáwa* ‘He is giving’, *yáwet* ‘You are giving’. Verbal noun: *yawta*.

#### 8.16.8. rhw ‘to speak, to speak agitatedly’

This verb is inflected like other final /w/ verbs. Its irregular feature is that the initial two radicals are in some cases metathesized. This is regularly the case in the present base, e.g. *háru* ‘He speaks’, *háruwa* ‘She speaks’, *háruwi* ‘They speak’. In other bases the metathesis generally does not occur and the root has the original order of radicals (cf. Syriac \**rhw*): Past base: *rhiw-*, e.g. *rhiwle* ‘He spoke’. Resultative participle: *rhiwa* (ms.), *rhiwta* (fs.), *rhiwe* (pl.). Imperative: *rhu* (sing. and pl.). Infinitive: *rhiwa*. Metathesis is sporadically attested in some of these bases, e.g. *léle hràwa* ‘He does not speak’ (A4:36). The motivation for the metathesis in the present base appears to be to avoid the elision of the laryngal /h/ at the end of syllables in forms such as \**rahwa* ‘she speaks’. Metathesis in other bases such as the infinitive has developed by analogy with the present base.

#### 8.16.9. m-xy ‘to cause to live, give birth’

The inflections of the causative of the verb ‘to live’ exhibits features of stem III verbs that are historically medial \*’ (§8.14.1.) and also of stem III verbs that are historically final \*’ (§8.14.2.).

Present base:

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>măxe</i>	
	fs.	<i>măxiya</i>	
		<i>măxa</i>	
	pl.	<i>măxiyi</i>	
		<i>măxi</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>măxiyət</i>	<i>măxiyeti</i>
		<i>măxət</i>	
	fs.	<i>măxiyət</i>	<i>măxiyati</i>
		<i>măxət</i>	
	pl.	<i>măxiyitu</i>	
		<i>măxitu</i>	

1st pers.	ms.	<i>mǎxiyən</i>	<i>mǎxiyena</i>
		<i>mǎxən</i>	
	fs.	<i>mǎxiyən</i>	<i>mǎxiyana</i>
		<i>mǎxən</i>	
	pl.	<i>mǎxiyəx</i>	<i>mǎxiyexi</i>
		<i>mǎxəx</i>	

Past base: *mǎxe-* (ms.), *mǎxiya-* (fs.), *mǎxiyi-* (pl.). Resultative participle: *mǎxiya* (ms.), *muxéθa* (fs.), *mǎxiye* (pl.). Imperative: *mǎxi* (ms.), *mǎxa* (fs.), *mǎxo* (pl.). Infinitive: *mǎxóye*.

#### 8.16.10. m-ty ‘to put’

This verb is in origin the stem III causative form of *ytw* / *ʔtw* ‘to sit’. In the inflections of the present base, the /w/ is assimilated by the preceding /t/ when in contact with it, resulting in a geminate /tt/, e.g. *mátta* ‘She puts’ (< *matwá*), *mátta* ‘They put’ (< *matwi*). In the 3ms. there is historically no assimilation of the /w/ radical, since this is not in contact with the /t/ (\**matuw*), but the initial sequence *matt-* has been extended to this form by analogy with the rest of the paradigm: *mátta* ‘He puts’.

Past base: *mutu-* (ms.), *mutta-* (fs.), *mutti-* (pl.), e.g. *muttúle* ‘He put (him)’, *muttále* ‘He put her’, *muttíle* ‘He put them’. Note that the /t/ is geminated in all forms, including in the ms. form, which is historically derived from \**mutuw*.

Resultative participle: *mútta* (ms.), *muttéthá* (fs.), *mútti* (pl.). The most frequently used fs. form has the ending of stem II and stem III final /y/ verbs (§8.13.4, §8.14.4). Occasionally the form *muttawta/muttota* is used.

The imperative has the form *mátta* both in the singular and the plural.

The infinitive generally has the form *mattóye*, with /y/ rather than /w/. Occasionally the form *mattówe* is used. Verbal noun: *mattéθa*.

#### 8.16.11. nbl ‘to take (away)’

This verb is historically a causative stem of a verb with an initial weak radical (cf. the Syriac *ʔaḫel* form *ʔawbel*). The /n/ has developed from an original /m/, by a process of dissimilation from the labial feature of the medial /b/ (§1.4.7.), and the verb is inflected with the patterns of a stem III verb such as *m-xl* ‘to feed’

The present base has the appearance of a stem I verb throughout the paradigm: *nábal* ‘He takes’, *nábla* ‘She takes’, *nábli* ‘They take’, etc. In other bases, however, it is inflected with the pattern of a stem III verb. Past base: *nobal* / *nubəl-* (ms.), *nubla-* (fs.), *nubli-* (pl.), e.g. *nubálle* ‘He took (him)’, *nublále* ‘He took her’, *nublíle* ‘He took them’. Resultative participle: *núbla* (ms.), *nubálta* (fs.), *núble* (pl.). Compound forms: *hóle núbla* ‘He has taken’, *nubáltela* ‘She has taken’, *núblax* ‘We have taken’. Imperative: *nábəl* (sing.), *náblu* (pl.) ‘Take!’ Infinitive: *nabóle*. Compound forms: *hóle nabóle* ‘He is taking’, *nabólax* ‘We are taking’.

#### 8.16.12. *kyz* ‘to try’

This verb has an inflection of the present base that is irregular for middle /y/ verbs (§8.12.5.): *káze* (3ms.), *káza* (3fs.), *kázi* (3pl), *kázət* (2ms. and 2fs.), etc., which exhibits features of both final /ʔ/ and final /y/ verbs (§8.12.2, §8.12.8.).

The remaining forms in use have the regular inflection for middle /y/ verbs. Past base: *kiz-*, e.g. *kízle* ‘He attempted’, *kízla* ‘She attempted’. Resultative participle: *kíza* (ms.), *kízta* (fs.), *kíze* (pl.), e.g. *kízele* ‘He has attempted’, *kíztele* ‘She has attempted’, *kízela* ‘They have attempted’. Infinitive: *kyaza*.

#### 8.16.13. *kyr* ‘to try’

This synonym of *kyz* is used only in inflections of the past base forms in the phrase *kízle ʔu-kirre* (3ms.), *kízla ʔu-kirra* (3fs.), etc.

### 8.17. GENERAL REMARKS CONCERNING STEMS II AND III

#### 8.17.1. *Stem II*

When stem I and stem II forms exist for the same verbal root, as a general rule the two forms differ in transitivity. There is sometimes a difference in valence between the two forms, in that stem I takes only a subject participant whereas the stem II form has both a subject and object participant. In some such cases the stem II form is a causative of the action expressed by the stem I form. This applies to the following:

<i>braza</i> ‘to dry (intr.)’	<i>mbaroze</i> ‘to dry (tr.)’
<i>bɫala</i> ‘to stop (intr.)’	<i>mbaɫole</i> ‘to cause to stop’
<i>bsama</i> ‘to be pleasant, healthy’	<i>mbasome</i> ‘to cure’
<i>bšala</i> ‘to cook (intr.)’	<i>mbašole</i> ‘to cook (tr.)’
<i>dbaša</i> ‘to stick’ (intr.)	<i>mdaboše</i> ‘to stick (tr.), join’
<i>jma’a</i> ‘to gather (intr.)’	<i>mjāmoye</i> ‘to gather (intr. and tr.)’
<i>plata</i> ‘to come out’	<i>mpaloṭe</i> ‘to cause to come out’
<i>praða</i> ‘to flee (sleep)’	<i>mparaðe</i> ‘to cause (sleep) to flee’
<i>plama</i> ‘to become bent’	<i>mpalome</i> ‘to bend’
<i>pšama</i> ‘to be sad’	<i>mpašome</i> ‘to be sad; to make sad’
<i>pšara</i> ‘to melt (intr.)’	<i>mpašore</i> ‘to melt (tr.)’
<i>pqa’a</i> ‘to crack, explode (intr.)’	<i>mpāqoye</i> ‘to blow up’
<i>rzaga</i> ‘to be ready’	<i>mrazoge</i> ‘to make ready, prepare’
<i>spaq</i> ‘to become empty’	<i>msapoqe</i> ‘to empty’ ( <i>spiq</i> )
<i>spaya</i> ‘to be pure’	<i>mšapoye</i> ‘to purify’
<i>şqala</i> ‘to be decorated’	<i>mšaqole</i> ‘to decorate’
<i>šwara</i> ‘to jump’	<i>mšawore</i> ‘to cause to jump, smuggle’
<i>šxana</i> ‘to become hot’	<i>mšaxone</i> ‘to heat’
<i>traša</i> ‘to recover’	<i>mtaroše</i> ‘to repair; cure; prepare’
<i>ṫmara</i> ‘to fill a hole’	<i>mṫamore</i> ‘to bury = to cause to fill a hole’
<i>xmaya</i> ‘to dwell’	<i>mxamoye</i> ‘to keep, cause to dwell’
<i>zwana</i> ‘to buy’	<i>mzabone</i> ‘to sell’

In some verbs the stem II form differs in valence from the stem I form but it does not function as a causative. This applies, for example to the root *tlq*:

<i>tlaga</i> ‘to be lost’	<i>mtaloqe</i> ‘to lose (tr.)’
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The semantic role of the grammatical subject of the stem I of the verb is the undergoer of the action, e.g. *tligli* ‘I have become lost’, ‘I am lost’. The semantic role of the grammatical subject of the stem II verb is not that of an agent causing an action but rather an experiencer of the action, e.g. *mtulqali kisti* ‘I have lost my purse’. The motivation for the use of the stem II form, therefore, can be said to be syntactic rather than semantic. It is motivated by the syntactic valence of the verb, in that it takes a grammatical direct object, rather than the semantic role of the grammatical subject.

Difference in valence corresponds to the traditional concept of the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs. In several cases, however, stem I and stem II forms from the same verbal root have the same valence, i.e. they both lack objects or they both take objects. These pairs of verbal forms often seem to be semantically equivalent and to be used interchangeably. Closer examination reveals, however, that a difference in transitivity can in some cases be discerned between the two forms. This is possible if we adopt the view of transitivity as a multifactorial continuum that was proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). According to this view there is no absolute dichotomy between intransitive and transitive, but rather transitivity is a scalar phenomenon. The degree of transitivity is determined not only by the valence of the verb but also by numerous other parameters relating to the nature of the participants and of the activity. Let us now examine some of the differences between stem I and stem II verbs that have the same valence and take into account other parameters that would be expected, according to Hopper and Thompson's model, to bring about differences in degrees of transitivity.

In some cases where both the stem I and the stem II forms take objects, the stem II form expresses an activity that is more extensive, generally requiring greater energy, and what is affected by the activity is of a greater extent. This applies to the following:

<i>glaya</i> 'to reveal (sth. abstract)'	<i>mgaloye</i> 'to uncover (sth. physical)'
<i>gra'a</i> 'to shave (one's face)'	<i>mgǎroye</i> 'to strip and chop sticks'
<i>lmaša</i> 'to suck'	<i>mlamoše</i> 'to absorb'
<i>pla'a</i> 'to divide, share'	<i>mpǎloye</i> 'to distribute'
<i>pθaxa</i> 'to open'	<i>mpaθoxe</i> 'to open out, to spread out'
<i>qta'a</i> 'to cut'	<i>mqǎtoye</i> 'to separate stones from grains'
<i>šlaxa</i> 'to pull out (hair, plant)'	<i>mšaloxe</i> 'to strip'
<i>šwaya</i> 'to spread out a bed'	<i>mšawoye</i> 'to furnish (a house)'
<i>tnaya</i> 'to repeat'	<i>mtanoye</i> 'to recount (a tale)'
<i>traxa</i> 'to flatten' (in one act)'	<i>mtraxoxe</i> 'to flatten wool (by repeated combing)'

The extent of the affectedness of the object is one of the parameters that, according to the model of Hopper and Thompson, contribute to the transitivity and so the stem II forms in this list can be regarded as being more transitive than the stem I forms.



Where both the stem I and the stem II form are used without direct objects, the semantic difference between the two can in some cases be identified as relating to the degree of control of the action by the grammatical subject. This applies, for example, to

*xmala* ‘to enjoy oneself’                      *mxamole* ‘to put on festive clothes’

It can be said that in the activity of putting on smart clothes in order to become festive (*mxamole*) the subject is the agent of the action and has control over the action. In the event of ‘enjoying oneself’ (*xmala*), on the other hand, the grammatical subject is less of a controlling agent and often may be simply an experiencer of the event. Agency of the grammatical subject and control of the action by the agent are parameters that increase the transitivity of the verb according to the Hopper and Thompson model.

There are, nevertheless, several pairs of stem I and stem II forms that do not express any identifiable difference in meaning or transitivity, e.g.

<i>bđara</i> ‘to scatter’	<i>mbađore</i> ‘to scatter’
<i>dwara</i> ‘to thresh’	<i>mdawore</i> ‘to thresh’
<i>grača</i> ‘to scratch’	<i>mgaroče</i> ‘to scratch’
<i>jraga</i> ‘to snatch’	<i>mjaroge</i> ‘to snatch’
<i>ngara</i> ‘to tear bite from bone’	<i>mnagore</i> ‘to bite meat from bone’
<i>npaša</i> ‘to tease (wool, cotton)’	<i>mnapoše</i> ‘to tease (wool, cotton)’
<i>pšama</i> ‘to be sad’	<i>mpašome</i> ‘to be sad, regret’
<i>qrawa</i> ‘to approach’	<i>mqarowe</i> ‘to approach’
<i>qwara</i> ‘to bury’	<i>mqawore</i> ‘to bury’
<i>sxaya</i> ‘to swim’	<i>msaxoye</i> ‘to swim’
<i>šđaya</i> ‘to card (wool, flax)’	<i>mšadoye</i> ‘to card (wool, flax)’
<i>šraťa</i> ‘to escape’	<i>mšarote</i> ‘to escape’
<i>šlaxa</i> ‘to split (wood)’	<i>mšaloxe</i> ‘to split (wood)’
<i>tlaxa</i> ‘to destroy’	<i>mtaloxe</i> ‘to destroy’

It is possible that the stem II form of these pairs originally expressed enhanced transitivity due to such features as the iterativity of the action, e.g. *npaša* ‘to tease’ vs. *mnapoše* ‘to tease repeatedly’, *šđaya* ‘to card’ vs. *mšadoye* ‘to card repeatedly’, *šlaxa* ‘to split’ vs. *mšaloxe* ‘to split repeatedly’, the energy input of the subject, e.g. *sxaya* ‘to bathe’ vs. *msaxoye* ‘to swim’, or the degree of affectedness of the subject, e.g. *pšama* ‘to be sad’ vs.

*mpašome* ‘to be very sad’. These semantic distinctions, however, seem now to have become blurred.

One difference in transitivity that some of the stem I forms of this list do exhibit from the corresponding stem II forms is that they can function as both as transitives and unaccusative intransitives. When used as a transitive verb they take the agent as subject, whereas in their unaccusative intransitive use the undergoer is made the subject. This semantic alternation does not exist in the stem II form, which is only transitive, e.g.

<i>ʔaw šlixle qesa</i>	‘He split the wood’	<i>qesa šlixle</i>	‘The wood split’
<i>ʔaw mšulaxle qesa</i>	‘He split the wood’	—	
<i>ʔaw tlixle bεθa</i>	‘He destroyed the house’	<i>bεθa tlixle</i>	‘The house collapsed’
<i>ʔaw mtulaxle bεθa</i>	‘He destroyed the house’	—	

In the case of some stem II verbs, there is a stem I form from a homophonous root that has no direct semantic connection, although in several cases there is an etymological connection, e.g.

<i>bnaya</i> ‘to built’	<i>mbanoye</i> ‘to prepare food’
<i>draya</i> ‘to put, pour’	<i>mdaroye</i> ‘to winnow’
<i>gbaya</i> ‘to froth’	<i>mgaboye</i> ‘to elect’
<i>nqara</i> ‘to inscribe’	<i>mnaqore</i> ‘to scrap, fight’
<i>praqa</i> ‘to finish’	<i>mparoye</i> ‘to save’
<i>qwala</i> ‘to complain’	<i>mqawole</i> ‘to promise’
<i>sraqa</i> ‘to comb’	<i>msaroye</i> ‘to pour out’
<i>šlaya</i> ‘to descend’	<i>mšaloye</i> ‘to pray’
<i>šdala</i> ‘to plant’	<i>mšadole</i> ‘to sing a lullaby’
<i>šnaya</i> ‘to faint’	<i>mšanoye</i> ‘to move’
<i>šraya</i> ‘to untie/lodge’	<i>mšaroye</i> ‘to begin’
<i>šyana</i> ‘to smart’	<i>mšayoye</i> ‘to become tame’
<i>traša</i> ‘to recover (from illness)’	<i>mtaroše</i> ‘to make, to construct’
<i>twaya</i> ‘to be worth’	<i>mṭawoye</i> ‘to roast’
<i>xzada</i> ‘to harvest’	<i>mxazode</i> ‘to blame’

The majority of stem II verbs have no corresponding stem I form. These include both verbs that typically take an object complement and those that typically are used without such a complement. The classification of

the verbs into one of these two groups is in some cases not completely clear-cut, since some verbs can be used with a semantic range including both activities that require an object complement and those that do not require one (e.g. *m̄tašoye* ‘to hide (oneself)’ ~ ‘to hide (something)’, *mdagole* ‘to lie’ ~ ‘to make lie’). Furthermore some verbs take a complement in the form of a prepositional phrase rather than a direct object. The following two lists offer a broad division into the two categories:

#### Verbs taking an object complement

<i>mbādode</i>	‘to poke (a fire)’
<i>mbaloqe</i>	‘to fix (eyes), stare’
<i>mbaqore (mən)</i>	‘to ask’
<i>mbaroxe</i>	‘to bless’
<i>mbaxole (b-)</i>	‘to envy (s.o.)’
<i>mbaxošē</i>	‘to stir’
<i>mčaroke</i>	‘to surround’
<i>mčaxose</i>	‘to insult (so.)’
<i>mdabore</i>	‘to repair; complete’
<i>mdalole</i>	‘to spoil, pamper; to plant thinly’
<i>mdaxoye</i>	‘to brand’
<i>mfašole</i>	‘to cut out’
<i>mgaroče</i>	‘to scratch’
<i>mħaşole</i>	‘to give birth to’
<i>mjarobe</i>	‘to try (to do sth.)’
<i>mjazoye</i>	‘to tax’
<i>mkaloče</i>	‘to peel’
<i>mkaḡošē</i>	‘to gather’
<i>mkaḡoye</i>	‘to cover, shade’
<i>mkaroxe</i>	‘to shroud’
<i>mmatole</i>	‘to tell a maxim, tale’
<i>mmagore</i>	‘to bite (meat from a bone)’
<i>mmaqošē</i>	‘to embroider’
<i>mpadome</i>	‘to stop up’
<i>mpāļoye</i>	‘to imitate’
<i>mpaqoḡe</i>	‘to command’
<i>mpaqožē</i>	‘to clean’
<i>mparoje (b-)</i>	‘to look (at)’
<i>mparoze</i>	‘to crumble (bread)’
<i>mpašoqe</i>	‘to stretch out’, ‘to explain’
<i>mpaxole</i>	‘to forgive’

<i>mqadore</i>	‘to reckon’
<i>mqadoše</i>	‘to sanctify’
<i>mqalope</i>	‘to peel’
<i>mqapose</i>	‘to compress, to push down (pile)’
<i>mqazode</i>	‘to approach, to pick a fight with, challenge’
<i>msajole</i>	‘to record’
<i>msapoye</i>	‘to deliver, hand over’
<i>msaroge</i>	‘to saddle’
<i>mšapoye</i>	‘to purify, strain’
<i>mšaqole</i>	‘to decorate’
<i>mšarofe</i>	‘to spend’
<i>mšawore</i>	‘to insult’
<i>mšabođe</i>	‘to enslave’
<i>mšaboxe</i>	‘to glorify’
<i>mšadore</i>	‘to send’
<i>mšahoye</i>	‘to have an appetite’
<i>mšaloše</i>	‘to try (to do sth.)’
<i>mšamoše</i>	‘to perform burial rites for a dead person’
<i>mšāmoye</i>	‘to apply wax to’
<i>mšapore</i>	‘to praise sycophantically’
<i>mšatore</i>	‘to spoil, pamper’
<i>mšaŋoye</i>	‘to convey, give (something to somebody)’
<i>mtalope</i>	‘to ruin, destroy’
<i>mtalome</i>	‘to discipline’
<i>mtāmome</i>	‘to finish’
<i>mtāmoze</i>	‘to clean’
<i>mtarose</i>	‘to prepare, construct; repair’
<i>mtašoye</i>	‘to hide’
<i>mtałoze</i>	‘to indulge’
<i>mxabođe</i>	‘to bury’
<i>mxalole</i>	‘to wash (vessels)’
<i>mxaroxe</i>	‘to burn, scorch’
<i>mxošoke</i>	‘to darken, to blind’
<i>myaqore</i>	‘to respect’
<i>mzabole</i>	‘to lay manure’

Verbs that typically do not take an object complement

<i>mbaroŋe</i>	‘to roll over (in sleep)’
<i>mbātote</i>	‘to investigate’
<i>mbayone</i>	‘to appear’

<i>mdagole</i>	‘to lie’
<i>mdalope</i>	‘to leak’
<i>mjagore</i>	‘to contend’
<i>mjasose</i>	‘to spy’
<i>mjawode</i>	‘to argue’
<i>mkälöle</i>	‘to ululate’
<i>mnaqore</i>	‘to scrap, fight’
<i>mpaşore</i>	‘to chew the cud’
<i>mpaşoye</i>	‘to fart silently’
<i>mpawore</i>	‘to yawn’
<i>mqaboye</i>	‘to swell; blister’
<i>mqaħore</i>	‘to grieve’
<i>mqarowe</i>	‘to approach’
<i>mqaʷole</i>	‘to promise’
<i>mqaʷome</i>	‘to befall, happen’
<i>mqaʷode</i>	‘to approach, move towards’
<i>mrazole</i>	‘to be paralyzed’
<i>msarobe</i>	‘to argue’
<i>mšälöle</i>	‘to neigh (horse, mule); to become sober’
<i>mšawöthe</i>	‘to speak’
<i>mšaxoye</i>	‘to become clear (sky)’
<i>mšadole</i>	‘to sing a lullaby’
<i>mšahore</i>	‘to make night vigil, pray in the night’
<i>mšanoye</i>	‘to move’
<i>mšaroke</i>	‘to be partners’
<i>mšaθone</i>	‘to have a fever’
<i>mšayone</i>	‘to become tame’
<i>mtanoxe</i>	‘to sigh’
<i>mṭašoye</i>	‘to hide’
<i>mtawobe</i>	‘to repent’
<i>mzawoge</i>	‘to pair together’

These lists contain a number of verbs that are continuations of *pa<sup>c</sup>el* forms in earlier Aramaic. Three other sub-groups can be identified:

- (i) Intransitive verbs that correspond in meaning to verbs in the *ʾetp<sup>c</sup>el*, *ʾetpa<sup>c</sup>al* or *ʾettaṣ<sup>c</sup>al* stems in Syriac rather than to verbs in the *pa<sup>c</sup>el*, e.g.
- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| <i>mqaʷoye</i> | ‘to swell’, cf. Syr. Ethpe. <i>ʾetq<sup>c</sup>bī</i> ‘to be collected (liquids)’ |
| <i>mqaʷore</i> | ‘to approach’, cf. Syr. Ethpa. <i>ʾetqarrab</i> ‘to approach’                     |
| <i>mšälöle</i> | ‘to become sober’, cf. Syr. Ethpa. <i>ʾeštallal</i> ‘to be purified’              |

<i>mšayone</i>	‘to become tame’, cf. Syr. Ethpa. <i>ʿeštayyan</i> ‘to become tame’
<i>mtanoxe</i>	‘to sigh’, cf. Syr. Ettaph. <i>ʿettanaḥ</i> ‘to sigh’ (root <i>ʿnh</i> )
<i>mṭašoye</i>	‘to hide oneself’, cf. Syr. Ethpa. <i>ʿeṭṭašī</i> ‘to hide oneself’

The *p<sup>al</sup>* stem of some of these has the same intransitive meaning, e.g. *qbā* ‘to be collected together (liquids)’, *qreb* ‘to approach’, *tšā* ‘to hide oneself’. It is structurally more straightforward, however, to reconstruct the development of these stem II verbs from original *ʿetp<sup>al</sup>el*, *ʿetpa<sup>al</sup>* or *ʿettaf<sup>al</sup>* stems. This is demonstrably the case with *mtanoxe*, in which the /t/ has been preserved and has been reinterpreted as a root letter. In other forms the /t/ element has been lost.

(ii) Verbs that are derived from nouns, adjectives or particles, e.g.

<i>mčaroke</i>	‘to surround’	< <i>čənnəkər</i> < <i>čərnəkər</i> ‘around’
<i>mqawode</i>	‘to handcuff’	< <i>qawde</i> ‘handcuffs’
<i>mtāmoze</i>	‘to clean’	< <i>tāməz</i> ‘clean’
<i>mkawore</i>	‘to distill’	< <i>kura</i> ‘kiln, furnace’
<i>mzabole</i>	‘to lay manure’	< <i>zəbla</i> ‘manure’
<i>msaroge</i>	‘to saddle’	< <i>sarga</i> ‘saddle’
<i>mšawoḃe</i>	‘to talk’	< <i>šawḃa</i> ‘voice, sound’
<i>mšaxoye</i>	‘to become clear (sky)’	< <i>šaxwa</i> ‘clear sky’
<i>mšathone</i>	‘to have a fever’	< <i>šatha</i> ‘fever’
<i>mšāmoje</i>	‘to apply wax to’	< <i>šāma</i> ‘wax’
<i>mšaqoye</i>	‘to joke, have fun’	< <i>šāqa</i> ‘fun, joke’

(iii) Verbs loaned from verbal roots in another language, mainly Arabic, e.g.

<i>mbayone</i>	‘to appear, be seen’	< Arab. <i>tabayyana</i>
<i>mfašole</i>	‘to cut out’	< Arab. <i>fašala</i> , <i>faššala</i>
<i>mḥašole</i>	‘to give birth’	< Arab. <i>ḥaššala</i>
<i>mjarobe</i>	‘to try (to do sth.)’	< Arab. <i>jarraba</i>
<i>mlawome</i>	‘to weld, solder’	< Arab. <i>lahḥama</i>
<i>mnaqoše</i>	‘to embroider’	< Arab. <i>naqaša</i> , <i>naqqaša</i>
<i>mdabore</i>	‘to manage’	< Arab. <i>dabbara</i>
<i>mdalole</i>	‘to pamper’	< Arab. <i>dallala</i>
<i>mparaoje b-</i>	‘to look at’	< Arab. <i>tafarrraj</i>
<i>mquadore</i>	‘to reckon’	< Arab. <i>qaddara</i>
<i>mqazode</i>	‘to pick a fight with’	< Arab. <i>qašada</i>
<i>msajole</i>	‘to record’	< Arab. <i>sajjala</i>

<i>msawoqe</i>	‘to go shopping’	< Arab. <i>tasawwaqa</i>
<i>mšarofe</i>	‘to spend’	< Arab. <i>šarafa, šarrafa</i>
<i>mtalope</i>	‘to ruin, destroy’	< Arab. <i>tallafa, ’atlafa</i>
<i>mtafoqe</i>	‘to agree’	< Arab. <i>’itafaqa</i>
<i>mjasose</i>	‘to spy’	< Arab. <i>tajassasa</i>
<i>mjawode</i>	‘to argue’	< Arab. <i>tajādala</i>
<i>mšaroke</i>	‘to be partners’	< Arab. <i>šāraka, ’ištāraka</i>
<i>mxaloše</i>	‘to save’	< Arab. <i>xallaša</i>
<i>mšaqoye</i>	‘to take trouble’	< Arab. <i>šaqqa</i>
<i>mharoke</i>	‘to move’	< Arab. <i>taḥarraka</i>
<i>mnašohe</i>	‘to advise’	< Arab. <i>našaḥa</i>

Loans from Arabic may preserve the original short vowel after the first radical, sometimes together with the original gemination, e.g.

<i>m’āqome</i> ~ <i>m’aqqome</i>	‘to sterilize’	< Arab. <i>‘aqqama</i>
<i>mhādoye</i> ~ <i>mhaddoye</i>	‘to calm down’	< Arab. <i>hadda’a</i>
<i>mqaḥore</i> ~ <i>mqaḥore</i>	‘to decide’	< Arab. <i>qarrara</i>

### 8.17.2. Stem III

The number of stem III verbs that function as the causative of a corresponding stem I verb is far higher than the number of stem II verbs that have this function. This reflects a higher degree of productivity of stem III for this purpose. Examples of causative stem III forms include:

<i>bnaya</i>	‘to build’	<i>mabnoye</i>	‘to have built’
<i>braqa</i>	‘to shine’	<i>mabroqe</i>	‘to cause to shine’
<i>braya</i>	‘to be born’	<i>mabroye</i>	‘to give birth’
<i>braza</i>	‘to dry (intr.)’	<i>mabroze</i>	‘to dry (tr.)’
<i>bšara</i>	‘to diminish’	<i>mabšore</i>	‘to cause to diminish, to reduce’
<i>čmaya</i>	‘to be extinguished’	<i>mačmoye</i>	‘to extinguish’
<i>dmaxa</i>	‘to lie down, sleep’	<i>madmoxe</i>	‘to cause to lie down, sleep’
<i>dqara</i>	‘to be worth’	<i>madqore</i>	‘to cause to be worth, to evaluate’
<i>gwara</i>	‘to marry’	<i>magwore</i>	‘to cause to marry’
<i>jlawa</i>	‘to abduct (a woman)’	<i>majlowe</i>	‘to cause (a man) to abduct’ = ‘to elope (with a man)’

*ḡyara* ‘to urinate’  
*klaya* ‘to stop (intr.)’  
*kṛaya* ‘to become short’  
*kyama* ‘to become black’  
*kyapa* ‘to bow (intr.)’  
*kāxa* ‘to tire (intr.)’  
*lhaya* ‘to glow, be kindled’  
*lkaxa* ‘to lick’

*lwaša* ‘to wear’  
*lxama* ‘to fit’  
*lyasa* ‘to be spoil, ruined’  
*mṭaya* ‘to arrive’  
*mxaya* ‘to strike’  
*myasa* ‘to suck’  
*myaxa* ‘to smell’  
*myaθa* ‘to die’

*nšapa* ‘to drip’  
*nšaqā* ‘to kiss’  
*nḡpala* ‘to fall’  
*nqaja* ‘to pinch; peck at seeds’  
*nxapa* ‘to be ashamed’  
*pčala* ‘to become bent’  
*praxa* ‘to fly’  
*pšama* ‘to be sad’  
*plaša* ‘to fight’  
*plaxa* ‘to work’  
*pyaḡa* ‘to pass’  
*pyaša* ‘to remain’  
*qṛaxa* ‘to become white’  
*qṛaya* ‘to read’  
*qṭala* ‘to kill’  
*qaḡa* ‘to burn (intr.)’  
*qrama* ‘to win’  
*qwaya* ‘to become strong’  
*qyama* ‘to rise’  
*rθaxa* ‘to boil (intr.)’

*majyore* ‘to cause to urinate’  
*makloye* ‘to cause to stop’  
*makroye* ‘to make short’  
*makyome* ‘to make black’  
*makyope* ‘to lower, bow (tr.)’  
*makčoxe* ‘to tire (tr.)’  
*malhoye* ‘to cause to glow, kindle’  
*malkoxe* ‘to cause (sheep) to lick (salt)’  
*malwoše* ‘to cause to wear, to dress’  
*malxome* ‘to cause to fit, compose’  
*malyoše* ‘to spoil, ruin’  
*mamṭoye* ‘to cause to arrive’  
*mamxoye* ‘to cause to strike’  
*mamyoše* ‘to give suck, nurture’  
*mamyoxe* ‘to cause to smell; to smell’  
*mamyoθe* ‘to cause to be (or to seem) dead’  
*manšope* ‘to cause to drip’  
*manšoqe* ‘to allow (so.) to kiss’  
*manḡpole* ‘to cause to fall, drop’  
*manqoje* ‘to give (a hen) seeds to peck’  
*manxope* ‘to shame (tr.)’  
*mapčole* ‘to bend’  
*maproxē* ‘to cause to fly’  
*mapšome* ‘to cause to be sad’  
*maploše* ‘to make fight’  
*maploxe* ‘to cause to work, use’  
*mapyoḡe* ‘to cause to cross’  
*mapyoše* ‘to cause to remain’  
*maqroxē* ‘to whiten’  
*maqroye* ‘to cause to read, to teach’  
*maqṭole* ‘to cause to kill’  
*maqoḡe* ‘to burn (tr.)’  
*maqrome* ‘to cause to win, to lose’  
*maqwoye* ‘to cause to become strong’  
*maqyome* ‘to raise’  
*marθoxe* ‘to boil (tr.)’



<i>rkaxa</i> ‘to become soft’	<i>markoxe</i> ‘to cause to become soft’
<i>rqada</i> ‘to dance’	<i>marqode</i> ‘to cause to dance’
<i>ryaxa</i> ‘to become long’	<i>maryoxe</i> ‘to cause to be long’
<i>spara</i> ‘to wait’	<i>maspore</i> ‘to cause to wait’
<i>sqada</i> ‘to become annoyed’	<i>masqode</i> ‘to annoy’
<i>šnaya</i> ‘to faint; be anaesthetized’	<i>mašnoye</i> ‘to anaesthetize’
<i>šraťa</i> ‘to escape’	<i>mašrote</i> ‘to cause to escape, to rescue’
<i>šraya</i> ‘to lodge’	<i>mašroye</i> ‘to offer lodging to’
<i>štaya</i> ‘to drink’	<i>maštoye</i> ‘to cause to drink, irrigate’
<i>tpaqa</i> ‘to meet’	<i>matpoqe</i> ‘to cause to meet’
<i>txara</i> ‘to remember’	<i>matxore</i> ‘to cause to remember, mention’
<i>tpaya</i> ‘to reach, catch’	<i>matpoye</i> ‘to cause to catch, kindle’
<i>trasa</i> ‘to become fat’	<i>matrose</i> ‘to make fat’
<i>xđara</i> ‘to go around’	<i>maxđore</i> ‘to cause to go around’
<i>xjala</i> ‘to be terrified’	<i>maxjole</i> ‘to terrify’
<i>xlaya</i> ‘to become sweet’	<i>maxloye</i> ‘to make sweet’
<i>xmara</i> ‘to ferment’	<i>maxmore</i> ‘to cause to ferment’
<i>xraťa</i> ‘to become sharp’	<i>maxrope</i> ‘to sharpen’
<i>xraťa</i> ‘to bore, chisel; trim’	<i>maxrote</i> ‘to cause to bore, chisel, trim’
<i>xrama</i> ‘to be banned’	<i>maxrome</i> ‘to ban, forbid’
<i>xrawa</i> ‘to be damaged’	<i>maxrowe</i> ‘to damage’
<i>zvara</i> ‘to turn’	<i>mazvore</i> ‘to cause to turn’
<i>zyada</i> ‘to increase’	<i>mazyode</i> ‘to cause to increase’
<i>zyana</i> ‘to stand’	<i>mazyone</i> ‘to cause to stand’

When the stem I form of these pairs is transitive and takes a direct object, the stem III causative can have an active or passive diathesis, e.g. *qtala* ‘to kill (s.o.)’: *maqtole* ‘to cause (s.o.) to kill ~ to cause (s.o.) to be killed (§15.9.7.).

Several stem III verbs are used intransitively without an object complement. These include the following:

<i>māboye</i>	‘to swell’
<i>mabsome</i>	‘to enjoy o.s.’
<i>mabyone</i>	‘to appear, seem’

<i>máčoze</i>	‘to be vexed’
<i>mačyole</i>	‘to sprout’
<i>magđole</i>	‘to freeze’
<i>majroŧe</i>	‘to slip’
<i>majroye</i>	‘to leak’
<i>malhođe</i>	‘to pant’
<i>malqote</i>	‘to peck (at food)’
<i>malyoze</i>	‘to hurry’
<i>mamyole</i>	‘to become green/blue’
<i>mamžole</i>	‘to delay, postpone’
<i>mangole</i>	‘to hop, limp’
<i>mantoye</i>	‘to succeed’
<i>manŧope</i>	‘to drip’
<i>manyoxe</i>	‘to rest’
<i>manzole</i>	‘to fester’
<i>maqwoxe</i>	‘to make a noise’
<i>māroŧe</i>	‘fart loudly’
<i>maryoze</i>	‘to stand in a row’
<i>mašmoye</i>	‘to listen’
<i>mašxođe</i>	‘to give good news ( <i>šaxđa</i> )’
<i>mašyoxe</i>	‘to visit (the sick)’
<i>mašyothel-</i>	‘to listen’
<i>maxbore</i>	‘to telephone’
<i>maxšoxe</i>	‘to decide’
<i>mazloqe</i>	‘to shine’

For a few of the intransitive stem III verbs there is a corresponding stem I form of related but not identical meaning:

<i>bsama</i> ‘to be pleasing, healthy’	<i>mabsome</i> ‘to revel, to make merry’
<i>myaxa</i> ‘to smell’ (experiencer)	<i>manyoxe</i> ‘to sniff; to smell (agent)’
<i>nyaxa</i> ‘to have relief, to die’	<i>manyoxe</i> ‘to take a rest’
<i>šma’a</i> ‘to hear’	<i>mašmoye</i> ‘to listen’

In the examples above the stem III form does not express a causative of stem I. The semantic distinction between the two stems is rather that in stem III the subject is in control of the activity whereas this is not the case in stem I. According to traditional terminology both the stem

I and stem III forms are intransitive. If, however, we adopt the concept of transitivity in the broader sense that was proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), the stem III forms can be shown to be higher in transitivity. Among the parameters identified by Hopper and Thompson that condition high transitivity are the potency of the agent and the control of the action by the agent. Lack of control by the agent, conversely, is a feature of low transitivity.

Many of the stem III forms without object complements listed above can also be used as causatives that take an object complement, e.g.

<i>māboye</i>	‘to swell’	‘to cause to swell’
<i>mabsome</i>	‘to make merry’	‘to entertain’
<i>mabyone</i>	‘to appear’	‘to cause to appear’
<i>magđole</i>	‘to freeze’	‘to cause to freeze’
<i>majrote</i>	‘to slip’	‘to cause to slip’
<i>majroye</i>	‘to leak’	‘to shed (e.g. tears)’
<i>maryoze</i>	‘to stand in a row’	‘to make stand in a row’
<i>māčoze</i>	‘to be vexed’	‘to vex’
<i>mačyole</i>	‘to sprout’	‘to cause to sprout’
<i>manyole</i>	‘to become green’	‘to make green’
<i>manžole</i>	‘to delay (intr.)’	‘to delay (tr.)’
<i>manzole</i>	‘to fester’	‘to cause (pus) to flow’
<i>manžope</i>	‘to drip’	‘to cause to drip’
<i>mazloqe</i>	‘to shine’	‘to cause to shine, to polish’

In some cases stem I and III forms have what appear to be the same or overlapping meaning, e.g.

<i>čyala</i> ‘to sprout’	<i>mačyole</i> ‘to sprout’
<i>jrata</i> ‘to slip’	<i>majrote</i> ‘to slip’
<i>jraya</i> ‘to flow, leak’	<i>majroye</i> ‘to leak’
<i>lhađa</i> ‘to pant (animal)’	<i>malhođe</i> ‘to pant (animal)’
<i>maya</i> ‘to swear’	<i>mamoye</i> ‘to swear’
<i>nsara</i> ‘to saw’	<i>mansore</i> ‘to saw’
<i>nšaya</i> ‘to forget’	<i>manšoye</i> ‘to forget’
<i>qrata</i> ‘to bite, gnaw’	<i>maqrote</i> ‘to cut (with scissors), clip’
<i>qyaša</i> ‘to cut (tr. and intr.)’	<i>maqyoše</i> ‘to cut with scissors’
<i>rgada</i> ‘to tremble, shiver’	<i>margode</i> ‘to tremble, shiver’
<i>rpaya</i> ‘to throw’	<i>marpoye</i> ‘to throw’
<i>ryasa</i> ‘to sprinkle’	<i>maryose</i> ‘to sprinkle’

<i>štaxa</i> ‘to spread out’	<i>maštoxe</i> ‘to spread out’
<i>traya</i> ‘to ride ( <i>b-</i> on an animal)’	<i>maṭroye</i> ‘to ride (an animal)’

As we have seen, where the stem III form has an intransitive meaning, it usually can also have a causative meaning. This alternative causative meaning is, however, not available for the corresponding intransitive stem I form. In some cases the non-causative use of the stem III form can be shown to be higher in transitivity than the stem I form with regard to the parameters of Hopper and Thompson, such as the extent of the action, the degree of energy input, degree of control by the agent and degree of affectedness of the object. The pair *nsara* I and *mansore* III ‘to saw’, for example, are typically not used in identical contexts. The stem I form *nsara* is used when one man is using a small saw whereas the stem III form *mansore* is preferred when referring to the use of a large two handled saw by two men. It can be said that the agent of *mansore* is more potent than that of *nsara* and more energy is put into the action. In the pair *traya* and *maṭroye*, both of which can be rendered into English as ‘to ride’, the stem III form, which takes a direct object, involves greater control by the agent of the animal. A distinction in transitivity according to such parameters is likely to have originally existed between the other pairs of verbs, but now these have become blurred.

Some of the stem III forms may be denominal derivations from nouns with an initial *m-* affix, e.g.

<i>maqyoše</i> ‘to cut with scissors’	< <i>maqašta</i> ‘scissors’
<i>maštoxe</i> ‘to spread out (to dry)’	< <i>maštaxa</i> ‘area for spreading out fruit and vegetables to dry’

In the case of several stem III forms, a stem I form with a homophonous root exists that is unrelated in meaning, though in some cases there may be an etymological connection, e.g.

<i>gđala</i> ‘to plait; wrestle’	<i>mağđole</i> ‘to freeze’
<i>dyana</i> ‘to judge’	<i>madyone</i> ‘to owe (money)’
<i>syama</i> ‘to ordain’	<i>masyome bala</i> ‘pay attention’
<i>štaya</i> ‘to drink’	<i>maštoye</i> ‘to arrange threads on warp beam’

There is a small residue of transitive stem III verbs that have no corresponding stem I forms:

<i>malxome</i>	‘to compose’
<i>mašxode</i>	‘to congratulate’
<i>mazloqe</i>	‘to polish’
<i>madrose</i>	‘to straighten’
<i>mabyoče</i>	‘to give birth to a bastard’
<i>makyoše</i>	‘to deflate, defray (tr.)’
<i>magyoše</i>	‘to fumble’
<i>manxose</i>	‘to rebuke’
<i>masloye</i>	‘to despise’

Verbal roots that are used in all three stems are rare. Examples include the following:

I	<i>bsama</i>	‘to be pleasant, healthy’
II	<i>mbasome</i>	‘to cure’
III	<i>mabsome</i>	‘to make merry’
I	<i>pšama</i>	‘to be sad’
II	<i>mpašome</i>	‘to be sad, regret’
III	<i>mapšome</i>	‘to make sad’
I	<i>sxaya</i>	‘to swim, to bathe’
II	<i>msaxoye</i>	‘to swim’
III	<i>masxoye</i>	‘to cause to bathe’
I	<i>šnaya</i>	‘to faint, be anaesthetized’
II	<i>mšanoye</i>	‘to move (to a different place)’
III	<i>mašnoye</i>	‘to anaesthetize’
I	<i>šraya</i>	‘to loosen, untie’, ‘to lodge’
II	<i>mšaroye</i>	‘to begin’
III	<i>mašroye</i>	‘to cause to lodge, give hospitality to’
I	<i>brazā</i>	‘to be dry’
II	<i>mbaroze</i>	‘to dry (tr.)’
III	<i>mabroze</i>	‘to dry (tr.)’
I	<i>rpaya</i>	‘to become weak; to throw’
II	<i>mrapoye</i>	‘to throw’
III	<i>marpoye</i>	‘to throw’

It can be seen that forms II and III have different meanings in the roots *bsm*, *pšm*, *sxy*, *šny* and *šry*, but in the roots *brz* and *rpy* forms II and III are of the same meaning.

### 8.18. GENERAL REMARKS CONCERNING QUADRILITERAL VERBS

The quadriliteral roots in the dialect exhibit various patterns of radical sequence, which may be classified as follows:

(i)  $C_a C_b C_a C_b$  (*1st radical identical with 3rd and 2nd radical identical with 4th*)

<i>mbajboje</i>	‘to move’
<i>mbalbole</i>	‘to ruffle, dishevel’
<i>mbaqboqe</i>	‘to gurgle (water)’
<i>mbarbore</i>	‘to bleat (sheep); to low (cattle)’
<i>mčakčoke</i>	‘to chatter together; to clatter; to prick’
<i>mčakčoke</i>	‘to talk garrulously’
<i>mčančone</i>	‘to whine; buzz’
<i>mčarčore</i>	‘to talk garrulously; screech’
<i>mčazčoze</i>	‘to crackle (frying food)’
<i>mdabdobe</i>	‘to beat (heart)’
<i>mdamdome</i>	‘to beat up; cause to cry out’
<i>mdandone</i>	‘to hum’
<i>mdaqdoqe</i>	‘to chop into small pieces’
<i>mdardore</i>	‘to natter, gossip; to protract, procrastinate’
<i>mdaxdoxe</i>	‘to tickle, prod’
<i>mfaľfole</i>	‘to become very hot’
<i>mfaľfoše</i>	‘to snivel, sniffle’
<i>mgajgoje</i>	‘to shuffle along, move slowly’
<i>mgalgole</i>	‘to clean grain by moving around by hand’
<i>mgangome</i>	‘to strike hard’
<i>mgapgope</i>	‘to boast’
<i>mgargore</i>	‘to hull (rice); to make a noise’
<i>mgazgaže</i>	‘to pelt down (rain)’
<i>mgazgoze</i>	‘to shiver’
<i>mhalhole</i>	‘to ululate, to celebrate’
<i>mkaľkofe</i>	‘to hiss’
<i>mkalkole</i>	‘to ululate’
<i>mkarkore</i>	‘to bleat (goats); cluck (hen)’
<i>mkaškoše</i>	‘to make threatening noises’; ‘to shoo away’

<i>mlajloje</i>	‘to smart (tongue)’
<i>mlaplope</i>	‘to twinkle’
<i>mlaqloqe</i>	‘to be loose; waver’
<i>mnačmoče</i>	‘to suck, kiss’
<i>mnašmoše</i>	‘to sniff about’
<i>mnaqnoqe</i>	‘to knock back (drink)’
<i>mnarnore</i>	‘to make threatening noises (before a fight)’
<i>mnaznoze</i>	‘to make sucking noises; to breath last breath’
<i>mpačpoče</i>	‘to chop into pieces; mince (meat)’
<i>mpakpoke</i>	‘to chatter; to boast’
<i>mparpore</i>	‘to plead; to wave, brandish; to fall, dive down’
<i>mpašpoše</i>	‘to whisper’
<i>mpatpote</i>	‘to become rags, fall apart (clothes); to tear apart’
<i>mpaxpoxe</i>	‘to snooze (with light snoring)’
<i>mqađqode</i>	‘to cut up finely’
<i>mqamqome</i>	‘to have flatulence; to buzz’
<i>mqarqore</i>	‘to squeak’
<i>mqašqoše</i>	‘to creak’
<i>mqašqoše</i>	‘to rustle (leaves)’
<i>mqađqođe</i>	‘to cut into small pieces; to cluck (hen)’
<i>mqazqoze</i>	‘to prepare’
<i>mragroge</i>	‘to quiver, shake (out of old age)’
<i>mrąprope</i>	‘to hover; palpitate’
<i>mšąpšope</i>	‘to feel severe pain (in joints)’
<i>mšaršore</i>	‘to whimper, twitter; to howl, screech (animals)’
<i>mšamšome</i>	‘to fall (water in a waterfall)’
<i>mšąpšope</i>	‘to feel weakened, intimidated’
<i>mšaqšoqe</i>	‘to clatter’
<i>mšaršore</i>	‘to splash, plash (sound made by flowing water)’
<i>mtamtome</i>	‘to stutter’
<i>mtantone</i>	‘to smoke’
<i>mtaqtoqe</i>	‘to cackle’
<i>mtaštoše</i>	‘to whisper (secrets)’
<i>mtaxtoxe</i>	‘to prod, tickle’
<i>mtąptope</i>	‘to tap, bang; knock bread dough against hands alternately’
<i>mątaqtoqe</i>	‘to knock (at the door)’
<i>mvalvole</i>	‘to sprout’
<i>mvarvore</i>	‘to croak’ (frog)
<i>mwanwone</i>	‘to twitter, chatter (birds, insects)’

<i>mwaqwoqe</i>	‘to croak (frogs)’
<i>mwarwore</i>	‘to roar’
<i>mwaswose</i>	‘to twitter (birds)’
<i>mwašwose</i>	‘to squeak (mouse)’
<i>mxačxoče</i>	‘to poke, prod (the ground)’
<i>mxamxome</i>	‘to become hot, feverish’
<i>mxapxope</i>	‘to be faint’
<i>mxarxore</i>	‘to snore’
<i>mxasxose</i>	‘to grind (teeth)’
<i>mxatxoθe</i>	‘to renew’
<i>mxaṭxoṭe</i>	‘to plan’
<i>mzamzome</i>	‘to hum, plash (water); to ring, sound; whistle (wind)’
<i>mzanzone</i>	‘to buzz; throb (wound)’
<i>mzanzore</i>	‘to bray (donkey); to lose flavour’
<i>mzaqzoqe</i>	‘to twitter (birds)’

(ii)  $C_a C_b C_a C_c$  (1st radical identical with 3rd)

<i>mbalboye</i>	‘to search (inside a container)’
<i>mbarboqe</i>	‘to shake’
<i>mbarboṭe</i>	‘to shudder’
<i>mbarboze</i>	‘to scatter; be distributed’
<i>mčančole</i>	‘to egg on (a straggler)’
<i>mčarčoye</i>	‘to dirty, to soil’
<i>mdandole</i>	‘to dangle’
<i>mgangoze</i>	‘to shiver (in fright), to squirm (in disgust)’
<i>mgargome</i>	‘to thunder; to buzz’
<i>mjanjore</i>	‘to be exhausted; to torture’
<i>mkankoše</i>	‘to drag’
<i>m̄parpole</i>	‘to supplicate, entreat’
<i>m̄parpose</i>	‘to scatter; pull apart’
<i>m̄parpoṭe</i>	‘to pluck (a chicken)’
<i>m̄parpoye</i>	‘to rinse’
<i>mqaqoze</i>	‘to prepare, to put in order’
<i>msaxsoye</i>	‘to examine, test’
<i>mšanšole</i>	‘to trickle; to nod (head when dozing)’
<i>mšaršoṭe</i>	‘to become baggy (clothes)’
<i>mšaršoye</i>	‘to slope, tilt; relax; to be exhausted, languish’
<i>mtaltoye</i>	‘to hang’
<i>mtantore</i>	‘to shake; crave’
<i>mtantose</i>	‘to drizzle’



<i>mtartoxe</i>	‘to be angry, irritated’
<i>m̄tartome</i>	‘to grumble’
<i>mxarxoče</i>	‘to scribble’
<i>mzanzore</i>	‘to lose taste’
<i>mzarzoče</i>	‘to scribble’
<i>mzarzope</i>	‘to push’
<i>mzarzoye</i>	‘to suffer, be in a predicament’

(iii) *C<sub>a</sub>C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>c</sub>C<sub>d</sub>* (2nd radical identical with 4th)

<i>mbasloše</i>	‘to shine, to glitter’
<i>mčalwole</i>	‘to wail’
<i>mjangone</i>	‘to jangle’
<i>mpartore</i>	to stagger, totter
<i>mšaplope</i>	‘to feel severe pain (in joints)’
<i>mšaxloxe</i>	‘to feel pains of an incipient fever’
<i>mšakloke</i>	‘to sew by hand with large loose stitches’
<i>mšaplope</i>	‘to shiver, shudder’
<i>mšaqloqe</i>	‘to boil; to scald (in hot water)’
<i>mxaproppe</i>	‘to dig about, poke about’
<i>mzaqloqe</i>	‘to reflect, to shine’

(iv) *CwCy* (second radical /w/ and fourth radical /y/)

<i>mbawboye</i>	‘to howl (wolf)’
<i>mčawčoye</i>	‘to chirp’
<i>mnawnoye</i>	‘to meow (cat)’
<i>mqawqoye</i>	‘to bark (fox)’
<i>mšawšoye</i>	‘to twitter, chirp’

(v) *Other roots*

<i>mbahrone</i>	‘to shine’
<i>mbardome</i>	‘to mumble, mutter’
<i>mbartole</i>	‘to bribe’
<i>mbarxoše</i>	‘to mix’
<i>mbazmore</i>	‘to nail’
<i>mčakbone</i>	‘to arm (with weapons)’
<i>mčalmoše</i>	‘to be sore, to sting (eyes)’
<i>mčalboxe</i>	‘to beat with a stick’
<i>mčambole</i>	‘to hook (sth. onto sth.)’
<i>mčangole</i>	‘to roll’
<i>mčarqoye</i>	‘to fire (gun), to spring (a trap)’

<i>mčawrone</i>	‘to be sleepily’
<i>mdarbonate</i>	‘to injure’
<i>mdarmone</i>	‘to treat with medicine’
<i>mdaštone</i>	‘to level, flatten’
<i>mgambole</i>	‘to roll’
<i>mgampore</i>	‘to be arrogant’
<i>mgarmoze</i>	‘to shrink’
<i>mhandose</i>	‘to practice engineering’
<i>mhargome</i>	‘to bang, to make a loud sound; to roar (lion)’
<i>mjangore</i>	‘to rust’
<i>mkalboče</i>	‘to put on handcuffs’
<i>mkamboxe</i>	‘to collapse, to be utterly destroyed’
<i>mkarbođe</i>	‘to grapple with’
<i>mgandore</i>	‘to roll’
<i>mkarmoše</i>	‘to shrink, shrivel’
<i>mmandore</i>	‘to flatten (the roof)’
<i>mmardone</i>	‘to be cultured’
<i>mmaškone</i>	‘to be covered with mud brought by rains’
<i>mneyšone</i>	‘to hit a target’
<i>mpačkone</i>	‘to be useless; to lose (in gambling)’
<i>mparčome</i>	‘to rivet’
<i>mparšome</i>	‘to grin’
<i>mparšone</i>	‘to grin’
<i>mparšone</i>	‘to pave’
<i>mpartole</i>	‘to stagger, twist, to throw’
<i>mpartone</i>	‘to winnow (corn)’
<i>mpartore</i>	‘to stagger, to totter’
<i>mpartoxe</i>	‘to break up (a clod of earth), to crumble (bread)’
<i>mpatrome</i>	‘to graft’
<i>mqalboze</i>	‘to turn over’
<i>mqaššone</i>	‘to smart’ (due to sting or prick of a thorn)
<i>mquantole</i>	‘to mate (animals)’
<i>mqarbonate</i>	‘to approach’
<i>mqaščope</i>	‘to cut down, harvest (fruit)’
<i>mqardoše</i>	‘to make a clattering noise’
<i>mqardoxe</i>	‘to shatter (with a loud noise)’
<i>mqarmoče</i>	‘to crumple’
<i>mqarmože</i>	‘to tie in a bundle’
<i>mqarmoxe</i>	‘to crush, crumble (in hands)’
<i>mqarnoze</i>	‘to shiver (from cold or fever)’

<i>mqarpočë</i>	‘to hit, to beat’
<i>mqarpoxe</i>	‘to slap, to hit hard’
<i>mqaršone</i>	‘to sting’
<i>mqarṭone</i>	‘to put cloth on back of animal’
<i>mqarṭope</i>	‘to break off’
<i>mqašmore</i>	‘to make fun of’
<i>mqaždore</i>	‘to interfere; to take control of’
<i>msarbose</i>	‘to gather wool together (on a <i>msarbəs</i> )’
<i>msaxbore</i>	‘to visit’
<i>msazgore</i>	‘to reconcile o.s., to agree’
<i>mšandole</i>	‘to be disorientated; detached’
<i>mšarboye</i>	‘to drench’
<i>mšaxwone</i>	‘to become clear (sky)’
<i>mšahwote</i>	‘to desire’
<i>mšalqone</i>	‘to boil’
<i>mšalṭone</i>	‘to take control’
<i>mšaprone</i>	‘to praise sycophantically’
<i>mšarboqe</i>	‘to whip’
<i>mšarboṭe</i>	‘to whip, to strike (animal) with a pliant stick ( <i>šarbṭana</i> )’
<i>mšarmote</i>	‘to be entangled’
<i>mšarqote</i>	‘to break off heads of millet ( <i>prage</i> )’
<i>mšarṭoxe</i>	‘to die in masses (due to epidemic)’
<i>mšaxlope</i>	‘to exchange’
<i>mšaxrone</i>	‘to make black (with smoke)’
<i>mšaxtone</i>	‘to become dirty’
<i>mštawhore</i>	‘to be proud’
<i>mtagbore</i>	‘to look after, to administer’
<i>mtalpoše</i>	‘to whisper’
<i>mtandole</i>	‘to sling, to hang’
<i>mtargole</i>	‘to trip’
<i>mtarkose</i>	‘to build up embers of a fire to keep it burning’
<i>mtarmoze</i>	‘to bruise (skin); wilt’
<i>mtarpoṭe</i>	‘to blink’ (< <i>tarapṭa</i> )
<i>mtarqoḏe</i>	‘to frolic, gambol’
<i>mtarqole</i>	‘to stumble, trip; to fail (to do sth.)’
<i>mtarsoye</i>	‘to sustain, provide sustenance for’
<i>mtašboxe</i>	‘to praise’
<i>mtaslome</i>	‘to hand over’
<i>mtaxmone</i>	‘to think, consider’

<i>mxaldoye</i>	‘to dig, excavated’
<i>mxanzore</i>	‘to become fuming with anger, make a scene’
<i>mxarboqe</i>	‘to knot together’
<i>mxardoye</i>	‘to surround’
<i>mxarmoše</i>	‘to give food (to animals), let them feed on grass’
<i>mxarpoše</i>	‘to search (for something, especially food)’
<i>mxaršone</i>	‘to be without fruit (tree)’
<i>mxarzope</i>	‘to push’
<i>mxazbone</i>	‘to make account, calculate’
<i>mzampore</i>	‘to swell, to swagger’
<i>mzanfordre</i>	‘to act pompously’
<i>mzangore</i>	‘to ring (bell); to sound (musical instrument); to echo’
<i>mzanjore</i>	‘to rust’
<i>mzaprone</i>	‘to add animal fat to food’
<i>mzaqnobe</i>	‘to eat (said of an unwelcome guest in your house)’
<i>mzarbone</i>	‘to become strong, to grow’
<i>mzarmote</i>	‘to be aggressive towards s.o.; to swell (skin)’
<i>mzaxmone</i>	‘to become strong, grow’

It can be seen that a large proportion of the verbs in group (i) denote some kind of sound. All verbs of group (iv) denote animal noises. There is, therefore, some correlation between root pattern and class of meaning.

Some quadriliteral roots are related to trilateral roots of similar meaning. Roots of pattern  $C_aC_bC_aC_b$  sometimes share the first two strong radicals of a related trilateral root. e.g.

<i>mragroqe</i>	‘to quiver’	cf. <i>rgada</i>	‘to tremble, shiver’
<i>mraprope</i>	‘palpitate (eye)’	cf. <i>rpaθa</i>	‘to blink’
<i>mkalkole</i>	‘to ululate’	cf. <i>mkālole</i>	‘to ululate’
<i>mdaqdoqe</i>	‘to chop up’	cf. <i>dyaqa</i>	‘to crush’

Roots of the patterns  $C_aC_bC_aC_c$  and  $C_aC_bC_cC_b$  may share all three radicals of a related trilateral root and repeat one of them, e.g.

<i>mparpose</i>	‘to pull apart’	cf. <i>prasa</i>	‘to pull apart’
<i>mparpoqe</i>	‘to pluck off’	cf. <i>praθa</i>	‘to tear’
<i>mtaltoye</i>	‘to hang’	cf. <i>tlaya</i>	‘to hang’
<i>mxaprope</i>	‘to dig about’	cf. <i>xpara</i>	‘to dig’

Some quadriliteral roots have arisen by augmenting a trilateral root by an /r/ before the second radical. The related trilateral root either exists in the dialect or can be found in earlier forms of Aramaic, e.g.

<i>mbarxoše</i>	‘to mix’	cf. Syr. <i>bḥaš</i> ‘to agitate’
<i>mkarmoše</i>	‘to shrivel’	cf. <i>čmača</i> ‘to shrivel’ (< Syr. <i>kmš</i> )
<i>m̄partole</i>	‘to stagger, twist’	cf. <i>pḥala</i> ‘to twist’
<i>m̄qarčope</i>	‘to cut down’	cf. <i>qčapa</i> ‘to cut down’
<i>m̄qarmoṭe</i>	‘to crumple’	cf. <i>qmaṭa</i> ‘to bundle up’
<i>m̄qarmoxe</i>	‘to crush, crumble’	cf. Jewish Bab. Aram. <i>ʿaqmeh</i> ‘to pulverize’
<i>m̄qarpoxe</i>	‘to slap, hit hard’	cf. Syr. <i>qpaḥ</i> ‘to strike’
<i>m̄qarṭope</i>	‘to cut down’	cf. <i>qṭapa</i> ‘to cut down’
<i>msarbose</i>	‘to wind wool’	cf. Syr. <i>šḥas</i> ‘to be compacted’, <i>sabbes</i> ‘to increase, compact’
<i>mšarboṭe</i>	‘to strike a stick’	cf. Syr. <i>šabṭā</i> ‘rod’
<i>mtarqole</i>	‘to trip’	cf. Syr. <i>tqal</i> ‘to trip’
<i>m̄xarboqe</i>	‘to knot together’	cf. Syr. <i>ḥabbeq</i> ‘to embrace’
<i>mzarzope</i>	‘to push’:	cf. <i>zyapa</i> ‘to push’

Some quadriliteral roots extend a trilateral root by the addition of an initial /t/, e.g.

<i>mtarpoṭe</i>	‘to blink’	cf. <i>rpaṭa</i> ‘to blink’
<i>mtarqoḏe</i>	‘to frolic, gambol’	cf. <i>rqaḏa</i> ‘to dance’
<i>mtašboxe</i>	‘to praise’	cf. Syr. <i>šabbah</i> ‘to praise’
<i>mtagbore</i>	‘to nurture, look after’	cf. <i>maqwoye</i> ‘to make big’; Syr. Jewish Bab. Aram. <i>gbr</i> ‘to be strong’
<i>mtargole</i>	‘to trip’	cf. Syr. <i>rgl</i> Ethpa. ‘to come on foot’, Eshtaṭ. ‘to trip’
<i>mtaslome</i>	‘to hand over’	cf. Arab. <i>sallama</i> ‘to hand over’
<i>mtaxmone</i>	‘to think’	cf. Arab. <i>xammāna</i> ‘to assess’

Verbs with this structure appear to be based on verbal nouns with a *t*-prefix. One may compare *mtašboxe* with Syr. *tešbūḥtā* ‘praise’ and *mtaslome* and *mtaxmone* with Arab. *taslīm* and *taxmīn*. Verbal nouns from the other roots in the list are not attested.

Occasionally trilateral roots have been extended by other consonants, e.g.

<i>mqalboze</i>	‘to turn over’	cf. <i>maqlobe</i> ‘to turn over’
<i>mšalqone</i>	‘to boil’	cf. <i>šlaqa</i> ‘to boil’
<i>mčawrone</i>	‘to be sleepy’	cf. <i>čwara</i> ‘to roll (eyes)’
<i>mčalboxe</i>	‘to beat (with stick) < * <i>tlbx</i>	cf. Syr. <i>ṭbaḥ</i> ‘to strike’

Several quadrilateral roots are derived from nouns or adjectives, e.g.

<i>mbartole</i>	‘to bribe’	< Kurd. <i>bertîl</i> ‘bribe’
<i>mbazmore</i>	‘to nail’	< <i>bəzmara</i> ‘nail’
<i>mčaḳbone</i>	‘to arm (with weapons)’	< Kurd. <i>çekband</i> ‘armour’
<i>mdarmonē</i>	‘to treat with medicine’	< <i>darmana</i> ‘medicine’
<i>mkalboče</i>	‘to put on handcuffs’	< <i>kalabča</i> ‘handcuff’
<i>mneyšone</i>	‘to hit a target’	< Kurd. <i>nîšan</i> ‘mark, target’
<i>mqaṛšone</i>	‘to sting’	< <i>qurašina</i> ‘nettle’
<i>mqaṛtone</i>	‘to lay a cloth on animal’	< <i>qurṭana</i> ‘cloth for animal’s back’
<i>mqašmore</i>	‘to make fun of’	< Kurd. <i>qeşmer</i> ‘clown’
<i>mšahwote</i>	‘to desire’	< Arab. <i>šahwa</i> ‘desire’
<i>mšamšome</i>	‘to fall (water)’	< <i>šamšuma</i> ‘waterfall’
<i>mxažbone</i>	‘to calculate’	< Syr. <i>ḥuṣbānā</i> ‘account’
<i>mšaxtone</i>	‘to become dirty’	< <i>šaxtana</i> ‘dirty’
<i>mxaršone</i>	‘to be without fruit’	< <i>xaršana</i> ‘not bearing fruit (tree)’

When the noun or adjective does not have four consonants, the root is extended to four consonants. The reduplicated pattern C<sub>a</sub>C<sub>b</sub>C<sub>a</sub>C<sub>b</sub> is used to extend roots containing only two distinct consonants, e.g.

<i>mtantone</i>	‘to smoke’	< <i>tanna</i> ‘smoke’
<i>mxamxome</i>	‘to be hot (with fever)’	< <i>xamma</i> ‘heat’
<i>mxaxoxoḥe</i>	‘to renew’	< <i>xaxa</i> ‘new’

When the root of the noun or adjective consists of three consonants, the root is extended by a final /n/ radical, e.g.

<i>mdarbone</i>	‘to injure’	< <i>darba</i> ‘blow, injury’
<i>mdaštone</i>	‘to level, flatten’	< <i>dašta</i> ‘plain’

<i>mpartone</i>	‘to winnow (corn)’	< <i>parta</i> ‘chaff’
<i>mparšone</i>	‘to pave, lay flat stones’	< <i>parše</i> ‘flat stones’
<i>mqarbone</i>	‘to approach’	< <i>qurba</i> ‘near’
<i>mšaxwone</i>	‘to become clear (sky)’	< <i>šaxwa</i> ‘clear sky’
<i>mšaprone</i>	‘to be sycophantic’	< <i>šapira</i> ‘beautiful’
<i>mšaxrone</i>	‘to make sooty’	< <i>šaxra</i> ‘soot’
<i>mzaprone</i>	‘to add animal fat’	< <i>zapra</i> ‘animal fat’
<i>mzaxmone</i>	‘to become strong’	< <i>zaxma</i> ‘large’

## 8.19. PRONOMINAL OBJECTS

8.19.1. *Pronominal Direct Objects on Present Base Verbs*

Pronominal direct objects are generally expressed on verb forms derived from the present base by L-series pronominal suffixes. The forms attached to a 3ms. verb are as follows:

		Default	Long	
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>qatǎlle</i>		‘He kills him’
	fs.	<i>qatǎlla</i>		‘He kills her’
	pl.	<i>qatǎlle</i> <i>qatǎlla</i>	<i>qatǎlley</i>	‘He kills them’
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>qatǎllux</i>		‘He kills you (ms.)’
	fs.	<i>qatǎllax</i>		‘He kills you (fs.)’
	pl.	<i>qatǎllexu</i>		‘He kills you (pl.)’
1st pers.	sing.	<i>qatǎlli</i>		‘He kills me’
	pl.	<i>qatǎllan</i>	<i>qatǎlleni</i>	‘He kills us’

The 2pl. form and the 3pl. and 1pl. long forms may take the stress either on the last syllable of the base (*qatǎllexu*, *qatǎlley*, *qatǎlleni*) or on the penultimate syllable of the suffix (*qatǎlléxu*, *qatǎlléy*, *qatǎlléni*).

When the final consonant of the verbal base is /n/ or /r/, the /l/ of the object suffix generally assimilates to this when the verb is in the 3ms. form, e.g.

<i>špn</i>	‘to level (ground)’	<i>šapǎnne</i>	‘He levels it’
<i>txn</i>	‘to grind’	<i>taxǎnne</i>	‘He grinds it’
<i>zwn</i>	‘to buy’	<i>zawǎnne</i>	‘He buys it’

<i>bðr</i>	‘to scatter’	<i>baðárre</i>	‘He scatters it’
<i>txr</i>	‘to remember’	<i>taxárre</i>	‘He remembers it’
<i>zqr</i>	‘to weave, knit’	<i>zaqárre</i>	‘He weaves it’

The /l/ of the suffix remains in all verbs in the 3fs., 3pl. and 2pl. forms, in which it is preceded by a vowel, e.g.

<i>taxnále</i>	‘She grinds it’	<i>baðrále</i>	‘She scatters it’
<i>taxníle</i>	‘They grind it’	<i>baðríle</i>	‘They scatter it’
<i>taxnítule</i>	‘You (pl.) grind it’	<i>baðrítule</i>	‘You (pl.) scatter it’

When the verb base ends in the interdental /θ/ or /ð/, these shift to the corresponding stops /t/ and /d/ when in contact with the /l/ of the object suffix in the 3ms. form of the verb, e.g.

<i>tárð</i>	‘He chases’	<i>taródle</i>	‘He chases him’
<i>mxáθxəθ</i>	‘He renews’	<i>mxəθxátte</i>	‘He renews it’

When in contact with the /l/ of the 2nd person singular inflections, the /l/ of the object suffix generally remains unassimilated. The vocalic distinction between the 2ms. (-ət) and the 2fs. (-at) inflections is retained due to the incidence of the stress on the inflection, whereas in forms without suffixes the 2fs. form is regularly attenuated to -ət (§2.3.5.):

2ms.	<i>qátlət</i>	<i>qatlótle</i>	‘You (ms.) kill him’
2fs.	<i>qátlət</i>	<i>qatlátte</i>	‘You (fs.) kill him’

Sporadically the /l/ of the object suffix is assimilated to the /t/, e.g. *qatlátte* ‘You (ms.) kill him’.

The /l/ of the object suffix is regularly assimilated to the /n/ of the 1st person singular suffixes. As with the second person singular suffixes, the stress generally preserves the vocalic distinction between 1ms. and 1fs. inflections:

1ms.	<i>qátlən</i>	<i>qatlónne</i>	‘I (ms.) kill him’
1fs.	<i>qátlən</i>	<i>qatlánne</i>	‘I (fs.) kill him’

The /l/ is optionally assimilated to the /x/ of the 1pl. suffix:

1pl.	<i>qatləxle ~ qatləxxe</i>	‘We (ms.) kill him’
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The object suffixes are added after the *wa* particle in the *qaṭṭwa* form of the verb. The position of the stress is not changed when the object suffix is attached:

<i>qaṭṭwa</i>	<i>qaṭṭwale</i>
<i>qaṭṭáwa</i>	<i>qaṭṭáwale</i>
<i>qaṭṭíwa</i>	<i>qaṭṭíwale</i>
<i>qaṭṭáṭwa</i>	<i>qaṭṭáṭwale</i>
<i>qaṭṭánwa</i>	<i>qaṭṭánwale, etc.</i>

### 8.19.2. Pronominal Direct Objects on Past Base Verbs

Various options are available when one wishes to express a pronominal direct object on verb forms derived from the past base (*qṭille, qṭilwale*).

When the pronominal object is 3rd person, it may be expressed by the inflection of the past base: *qṭil-* (ms.), *qṭila-* (fs.), *qṭili-* (pl.), e.g.

<i>qṭille</i>	‘He killed him’	<i>qṭilwale</i>	‘He had killed him’
<i>qṭilále</i>	‘He killed her’	<i>qṭiláwale</i>	‘He had killed her’
<i>qṭilile</i>	‘He killed them’	<i>qṭilíwale</i>	‘He had killed them’

This option is not available, however, when the pronominal object is 1st or 2nd person. An alternative construction is to express the pronominal object by attaching pronominal suffixes to the preposition *’all-*. This may be joined with the verb in the same stress group, in which case the initial vowel is generally elided. Pronominal objects of all persons can be expressed in this way:

<i>qṭille ’alle</i>	<i>qṭille-llē</i>	‘He killed him’
<i>qṭille ’állā</i>	<i>qṭille-llā</i>	‘He killed her’
<i>qṭille ’állē</i>	<i>qṭille-llē</i>	‘He killed them’
<i>qṭille ’állux</i>	<i>qṭille-llux</i>	‘He killed you (ms.)’
<i>qṭille ’állī</i>	<i>qṭille-llī</i>	‘He killed me’

Far more commonly, the past base verb is replaced by a present base verb form with the past converter prefix *qəm-*, whereby *qəm-qaṭṭal* corresponds to *qṭille* and *qəm-qaṭṭáwa* to *qṭilwale*, e.g.

<i>qəm-qaṭṭalle</i>	‘He killed him’	<i>qəm-qaṭṭáwale</i>	‘He had killed him’
<i>qəm-qaṭṭállā</i>	‘He killed her’	<i>qəm-qaṭṭáwala</i>	‘He had killed her’

<i>qəm-qatǎlle</i>	‘He killed them’	<i>qəm-qatǎlwale</i>	‘He had killed them’
<i>qəm-qatǎllux</i>	‘He killed you’	<i>qəm-qatǎlwalux</i>	‘He had killed you’
<i>qəm-qatǎlli</i>	‘He killed me’	<i>qəm-qatǎlwali</i>	‘He had killed me’

### 8.19.3. *Pronominal Direct Objects on Imperatives*

The L-suffixes are added to imperative forms to express the pronominal object. A distinctive feature of imperative forms with pronominal suffixes is that they generally retain the stress on the initial syllable, e.g.

<i>qtul</i>	‘Kill (sing.)!’	<i>qtǔlle</i>	‘Kill (sing.) him!’
<i>qǎtlu</i>	‘Kill (pl.)!’	<i>qǎtlule</i>	‘Kill (pl.) him!’
<i>mšálax</i>	‘Strip (sing.)!’	<i>mšálaxle</i>	‘Strip (sing.) him!’
<i>mšálxu</i>	‘Strip (pl.)!’	<i>mšálxule</i>	‘Strip (pl.) him!’
<i>máplax</i>	‘Use (sing.)!’	<i>máplaxle</i>	‘Use (sing.) it!’
<i>mápǎlxu</i>	‘Use (pl.)!’	<i>mápǎlxule</i>	‘Use (pl.) it!’
<i>mkánkǎš</i>	‘Drag (sing.)!’	<i>mkánkǎšle</i>	‘Drag (sing.) it!’
<i>mkánkǎšxu</i>	‘Drag (pl.)!’	<i>mkánkǎšxule</i>	‘Drag (pl.) it!’

On some occasions the stress is shifted to penultimate position, in conformity with the general rules of stress placement, e.g. *mpǎlòla* ‘Distribute it!’ (B17:11). The supplementary suffixes that are attached to imperative forms to strengthen the command (*-ga*, *-ən*, *-gən*, *-gena*, *-gu* §8.6.5.) are not used before pronominal object suffixes.

### 8.19.4. *Pronominal Direct Objects on Compound Verbal Forms*

In compound verbal constructions consisting of a form of the verb ‘to be’ and the resultative participle or infinitive, the direct pronominal object is expressed by L-suffixes consisting of the preposition *l-*, as in other verbal forms, or by a pronominal suffix attached to the longer preposition *ǎll-*. The use of L-suffixes reflects the treatment of these compound forms as fully verbal in nature.

8.19.4.1. *Resultative Participle + Present Enclitic Copula* (q̄t̄ilele)

The normal position of the L-suffix is after the enclitic copula. The forms of the construction with the 3ms. L-suffix are as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>q̄t̄ilalle</i> ( <i>q̄t̄ilelele</i> )	‘He has killed him’
	fs.	<i>q̄t̄iltalle</i> ( <i>q̄t̄iltelale</i> )	‘She has killed him’
	pl.	<i>q̄t̄ilalle</i> ( <i>q̄t̄ilelele</i> )	‘They have killed him’
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>q̄t̄ilət̄ile</i>	‘You (ms.) have killed him’
	fs.	<i>q̄t̄iltət̄ile</i>	‘You (fs.) have killed him’
	pl.	<i>q̄t̄ilet̄ule</i>	‘You (pl.) have killed him’
1st pers.	ms.	<i>q̄t̄ilənn̄e</i>	‘I (ms.) have killed him’
	fs.	<i>q̄t̄iltənn̄e</i>	‘I (fs.) have killed him’
	pl.	<i>q̄t̄iləx̄le</i> <i>q̄t̄iləxx̄e</i>	‘We have killed him’

The enclitic copula before the object suffix regularly has a contracted form (*q̄t̄ilət̄ < q̄t̄iləwət̄*, *q̄t̄ilən̄ < q̄t̄iləwən̄*, etc.). Contraction of the 3rd person copula also takes place, which results in the elision of the final vowel before the L-suffix. Forms such as *q̄t̄ilelele* in which the 3rd person copula retains its shape are used, but so rarely that they have been put in brackets in the paradigm. The stress generally remains on the participle in the same position as it would occur without the object suffixes. Occasionally, however, it is moved onto the inflectional suffix, e.g. *q̄t̄ilə̄ile*, *q̄t̄ilə̄nn̄e*. This movement of stress is more frequently found with 1st and 2nd person subjects than with 3rd person subjects.

The L-suffix is occasionally replaced by the long preposition *ʾall-*, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>q̄t̄ilelə̄lle</i>	‘He has killed him’
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>q̄t̄ilət̄ə̄lle</i>	‘You (ms.) have killed him’
1st pers.	ms.	<i>q̄t̄ilən̄ə̄lle</i>	‘I (ms.) have killed him’

Examples: *r̄əpyələ̄lla*<sup>1</sup> ‘He threw it down’ (A25:33), *r̄ipələ̄lle* ‘They attacked him’ (A35:21); *m̄üttət̄ə̄lle* ‘You put him’ (A22:39), *q̄t̄ilən̄ə̄lle*<sup>1</sup> ‘I killed him’ (A12:18), *p̄rimən̄ə̄lla*<sup>1</sup> ‘I cut it’ (A22:9).

When the grammatical subject expressed by the copula is 3rd person, the *ʔall-* phrase expressing the object is often placed before the copula element. This ordering is not used when the copula is 1st or 2nd person, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>q̣ṭiḷḷlele</i> (< <i>q̣ṭila-alla-ile</i> )	‘He has killed her’
3rd pers.	fs.	<i>q̣ṭilṭallela</i> (< <i>q̣ṭilta-alle-ila</i> )	‘She has killed him’
3rd pers.	pl.	<i>q̣ṭiḷlluxila</i> (< <i>q̣ṭila-llux-ila</i> )	‘They have killed you’

#### 8.19.4.2. Resultative Participle + Past Enclitic Copula

When object suffixes are attached to the construction consisting of a resultative participle and past enclitic copula, the inflectional endings that are generally used are based on the first paradigm in the previous section (§8.19.4.1.), in which object suffixes are combined with the present enclitic copula, rather than directly on forms with the past enclitic copula. The particle *wa* is simply added before the L-suffix throughout the paradigm. The most conspicuous result of this is in the 3rd person, in which the /l/ element of the present copula is retained, although this element does not occur in any form of the past copula.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>q̣ṭiḷḷwale</i>	‘He had killed him’
	fs.	<i>q̣ṭilṭḷwale</i>	‘She had killed him’
	pl.	<i>q̣ṭiḷḷwale</i>	‘They had killed him’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>q̣ṭiḷḷwale</i>	
	fs.	<i>q̣ṭilṭḷwale</i>	
	pl.	<i>q̣ṭileṭuwale</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>q̣ṭiḷḷwale</i>	
	fs.	<i>q̣ṭilṭḷwale</i>	
	pl.	<i>q̣ṭiḷḷwale</i>	

The 3rd person forms with the /l/ element are sometimes used also with a transitive verb without a pronominal object suffix, e.g. *ʔáy šwigṭḷwa májma ṭàma* ‘She had left a tray there’ (A4:53).

Occasionally the expected form of the 3rd past copula is used, without the /l/ element, e.g. *šiṭewalle* ‘She had plastered it’ (A23:36), which can be analysed as *šita* + *iwa* + *alle*. In the attested cases of this construction the pronominal object element is attached to the long preposition *ʔall-* rather than the short preposition *l-* (i.e. in an L-suffix):

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>qt̥ilewalle</i> (< <i>q̥tila-iwa-alle</i> )	‘He had killed him’
	fs.	<i>qt̥ilt̥ewalle</i> (< <i>q̥tilta-iwa-alle</i> )	‘She had killed him’
	pl.	<i>qt̥ilewalle</i> (< <i>q̥tile-iwa-alle</i> )	‘They had killed him’

#### 8.19.4.3. *Non-Enclitic Copula or hwy + Resultative Participle*

When a non-enclitic type of copula, such as the deictic or negative copula, or the verb *hwy* precedes the resultative participle, the pronominal object suffixes are attached to the preposition ʔall-, which in turn is suffixed to the end of the participle:

##### *Deictic copula*

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>hóle q̥t̥ilalle</i>	‘He has killed him’
	fs.	<i>hóla q̥t̥iltalle</i>	‘She has killed him’
	pl.	<i>hóla q̥t̥ilalle</i>	‘They have killed him’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>hót q̥t̥ilalle</i>	
	fs.	<i>hót q̥t̥iltalle</i>	
	pl.	<i>hótu q̥t̥ilalle</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>hón q̥t̥ilalle</i>	
	fs.	<i>hón q̥t̥iltalle</i>	
	pl.	<i>hóx q̥t̥ilalle</i>	

##### *Negative copula*

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léle q̥t̥ilalle</i>	‘He has not killed him’
	fs.	<i>léla q̥t̥iltalle</i>	‘She has not killed him’
	pl.	<i>léla q̥t̥ilalle</i>	‘They have not killed him’, etc.

##### *Verb hwy*

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>háwe q̥t̥ilalle</i>	‘He has killed him’
	fs.	<i>háwya q̥t̥iltalle</i>	‘She has killed him’
	pl.	<i>háwe q̥t̥ilalle</i>	‘They have killed him’, etc.

#### 8.19.4.4. *Infinitive + Present Enclitic Copula*

When the pronominal object suffixes are added to this construction, the endings are the same as in the corresponding construction with a resultative participle:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>q̥t̥álalle</i>	‘He is killing him’
	fs.	<i>q̥t̥álalle</i>	‘She is killing him’
	pl.	<i>q̥t̥álalle</i>	‘They are killing him’, etc.

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>qtálətle</i>
	fs.	<i>qtálətle</i>
	pl.	<i>qtáletule</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>qtálənne</i>
	fs.	<i>qtálənne</i>
	pl.	<i>qtáləxle</i> <i>qtáləxxe</i>

The L-suffix is occasionally replaced by the long preposition *ʔall-*, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>qtáleləlle</i>	‘He is killing him’
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>qtálətəlle</i>	‘You (ms.) are killing him’
1st pers.	ms.	<i>qtáləməlle</i>	‘I (ms.) am killing him’

When the grammatical subject expressed by the copula is 3rd person, the *ʔall-* phrase expressing the object is often placed before the copula element, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>qtáləllele</i> (< <i>qtala-əlla-ile</i> )	‘He is killing her’
3rd pers.	fs.	<i>qtáləllela</i> (< <i>qtala-əlle-ila</i> )	‘She is killing him’
3rd pers.	pl.	<i>qtáləlluxila</i> (< <i>qtala-əllux-ila</i> )	‘They are killing you’

#### 8.19.4.5. *Infinitive + Past Enclitic Copula*

As is the case with the resultative participle + past enclitic copula construction (§8.19.4.2.), when object suffixes are attached to the construction consisting of an infinitive and past enclitic copula, the inflectional endings are based on the paradigm in which object suffixes are combined with the present enclitic copula (§8.19.4.4.), rather than directly on forms with the past enclitic copula. The particle *wa* is simply added before the L-suffix throughout the paradigm. As a result of this, the */l/* element of the present copula is retained in the 3rd person forms, although this element does not occur in any form of the past copula:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>qtáləkwale</i>	‘He was killing him’
	fs.	<i>qtáləkwale</i>	‘She was killing him’
	pl.	<i>qtáləkwale</i>	‘They were killing him’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>qtálətwale</i>	
	fs.	<i>qtálətwale</i>	
	pl.	<i>qtáletuwale</i>	

1st pers.	ms.	<i>qtálənwale</i>
	fs.	<i>qtálənwale</i>
	pl.	<i>qtáləxwale</i>

Occasionally the pronominal object is expressed by a phrase consisting of the long preposition *ʔall-* rather than the short preposition *l-*. In such cases the expected form of the 3rd past copula is used, without the */l/* element, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>qtáləwəlle</i> (< <i>qtala-üwa-əlle</i> )	‘He was killing him’
3rd pers.	fs.	<i>qtáləwəlle</i> (< <i>qtala-üwa-əlle</i> )	‘She was killing him’
3rd pers.	pl.	<i>qtáləwəlle</i> (< <i>qtala-üwa-əlle</i> )	‘They were killing him’

#### 8.19.4.6. *Non-Enclitic Copula or hwey + Infinitive*

When a non-enclitic type of copula, such as the deictic or negative copula, or the verb *hwey* precedes the infinitive, the pronominal object suffixes are attached to the preposition *ʔall-*, which in turn is suffixed to the end of the infinitive:

##### *Deictic copula*

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>hóle qtáləlle</i>	‘He is killing him’
	fs.	<i>hóla qtáləlle</i>	‘She is killing him’
	pl.	<i>hóla qtáləlle</i>	‘They are killing him’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>hót qtáləlle</i>	
	fs.	<i>hót qtáləlle</i>	
	pl.	<i>hótu qtáləlle</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>hón qtáləlle</i>	
	fs.	<i>hón qtáləlle</i>	
	pl.	<i>hóx qtáləlle</i>	

##### *Negative copula*

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>léle qtáləlle</i>	‘He is not killing him’
	fs.	<i>léla qtáləlle</i>	‘She is not killing him’
	pl.	<i>léla qtáləlle</i>	‘They are not killing him’

##### *Verb hwey*

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>háwe qtáləlle</i>	‘He is killing him’
	fs.	<i>háweya qtáləlle</i>	‘She is killing him’
	pl.	<i>háwe qtáləlle</i>	‘They are killing him’, etc.

8.19.5. *Pronominal Indirect Object*

A pronominal indirect object may be expressed on a present base verb form by the same series of pronominal suffixes as those that express the direct object, i.e. the L-series, so long as a direct pronominal object suffix is not attached to the same verb:

		Default	Long	
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>yawǎlle</i>		‘He gives to him’
	fs.	<i>yawǎlla</i>		‘He gives to her’
	pl.	<i>yawǎlle</i> <i>yawǎlla</i>	<i>yawǎlley</i>	‘He gives to them’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>yawǎllux</i>		
	fs.	<i>yawǎllax</i>		
	pl.	<i>yawǎlləxu</i>		
1st pers.	sing.	<i>yawǎlli</i>		
	pl.	<i>yawǎllən</i>	<i>yawǎlləni</i>	

As is the case with pronominal direct objects, L-suffixes expressing the indirect object are generally avoided on verbs derived from past bases. The most common practice is to substitute a present base form with the past converted prefix *qəm-*, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>qəm-yawǎlle</i>		‘He gave to him’
	fs.	<i>qəm-yawǎlla</i>		‘He gave to her’
	pl.	<i>qəm-yawǎlle</i> <i>qəm-yawǎlla</i>	<i>qəm-yawǎlley</i>	‘He gave to them’ etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>qəm-yawǎllux</i>		
	fs.	<i>qəm-yawǎllax</i>		
	pl.	<i>qəm-yawǎlləxu</i>		
1st pers.	sing.	<i>qəm-yawǎlli</i>		
	pl.	<i>qəm-yawǎllən</i>	<i>qəm-yawǎlləni</i>	

On some occasions a 3rd person indirect pronominal object is expressed by the inflection of the past base. This usage tends to be restricted to verbs



that do not generally take a direct object together with an indirect object, such as *ʔmr* ‘to say’, e.g. *mirále* ‘He said to her’, *miríle* ‘He said to them’.

Indirect pronominal objects on imperative and compound verbal forms with an enclitic copula are expressed by L-suffixes in the same way as pronominal direct objects:

Imperative:

<i>hálli</i>	‘Give (sing.) to me!’
<i>hálluli</i>	‘Give (pl.) to me!’
<i>méθíli</i>	‘Bring (sing.) to me!’
<i>méθóli</i>	‘Bring (pl.) to me!’
<i>múrri</i>	‘Say (sing.) to me!’
<i>múruli</i>	‘Say (pl.) to me!’

Compound forms:

<i>híwəlli</i>	‘He has given to me’
<i>yáwəlli</i>	‘He is giving to me’

The indirect pronominal object may also be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase. This may consist of the preposition *ʔla-* ‘to’, which, when pronominal suffixes are attached, has the base *ʔlal-* (§13.3.22.):

		Default	Long
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔlále</i>	
	fs.	<i>ʔlála</i>	
	pl.	<i>ʔlále</i> <i>ʔlála</i>	<i>ʔlaley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔlálux</i>	
	fs.	<i>ʔláləx</i>	
	pl.	<i>ʔlaléxu</i>	
1st pers.	sing.	<i>ʔláli</i>	
	pl.	<i>ʔlálən</i>	<i>ʔlalení</i>

Alternatively an independent phrase consisting of the preposition *ʔəll-* may be used:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔalle</i>	
	fs.	<i>ʔalla</i>	
	pl.	<i>ʔalle</i> <i>ʔalla</i>	<i>ʔalley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔallax</i>	
	fs.	<i>ʔallax</i>	
	pl.	<i>ʔalléxu</i>	
1st pers.	sing.	<i>ʔalli</i>	
	pl.	<i>ʔallən</i>	<i>ʔalleni</i>

More rarely a pronominal phrase consisting of the preposition *qa-* is used, e.g. *qa-diye* ‘to him’, *qa-diya* ‘to her’, etc.

These prepositional phrases often have their own stress and need not be placed immediately adjacent to the verb. They may be used to express the indirect object with all forms of the verb:

<i>mšádər t̄láli / ʔalli</i>	‘He sends to me’
<i>mšúdərre t̄láli / ʔalli</i>	‘He sent to me’
<i>mšádər t̄láli / ʔalli!</i>	‘Send (sing.) to me!’
<i>mšúdrele t̄láli / ʔalli</i>	‘He sent to me’
<i>mšadórele t̄láli / ʔalli</i>	‘He is sending to me’
<i>léle híwəlli</i>	‘He has not given to me’
<i>léle yáwəlli</i>	‘He is not giving to me’

#### 8.19.6. *Combination of Pronominal Suffixes*

When a verb has both a pronominal direct object and a pronominal indirect object, the direct object is generally expressed by an L-suffix attached to the verb and the indirect object by one of the prepositional phrases described in §8.19.5. When the suffix of the direct pronominal object ends in a vowel, the initial syllable of the *ʔall-* phrase is often elided and the phrase is linked to the verb in the same stress group:

<i>yawəlle t̄láli</i>	‘He gives it to me’
<i>yawəlle ʔalli</i>	
<i>yawəlle-lli</i>	

<i>qəm-hawǎlle tǎli</i>	‘He gave it to me’
<i>qəm-hawǎlle ʔǎlli</i>	
<i>qəm-hawǎlle-lli</i>	

<i>hǎlle tǎli</i>	‘Give it to me!’
<i>hǎlle ʔǎlli</i>	
<i>hǎlle-lli</i>	

<i>hǎwǎlle tǎli</i>	‘He has given it to me’
<i>hǎwǎlle ʔǎlli</i>	
<i>hǎwǎlle-lli</i>	

## 8.20. PSEUDO-VERBS

### 8.20.1. *The Existential Particles ʔiθ and liθ*

As elsewhere in NENA, the C. Barwar dialect expresses predications of existence (‘there is’, ‘there are’) by an existential particle. The basic form of this is ʔiθ. On some occasions the form is extended by attaching various supplementary suffixes as follows:

Default	Long
ʔiθən	ʔiθena
ʔiθga	
ʔiθgən	ʔiθgena

These supplementary suffixes are the same as those that are attached to imperative forms.

The negative form of the existential particle is *liθ*, which has developed historically by the merger of the elements *la* + *iθ*. The coalescence of the vowels /a/ + /i/ to /i/ rather than to the expected /ε/ is likely to have arisen by analogy with the /i/ vowel in the positive form ʔiθ. The negative particle may also be extended by supplementary suffixes:

Default	Long
liθən	liθena
liθga	
liθgən	liθgena

The existential particles can be given past time reference in the manner of verbs by attaching the particle *-wa* to their basic forms: *ʔiθwa*, *liθwa*.

The L-series suffixes are added to the basic forms of the particles to express possession. The final fricative /θ/ generally shifts to a stop /t/ when in direct contact with the /l/ of the suffix (cf. §1.4.1.3.), e.g. *ʔitli* (< *ʔiθ + li*) ‘I have (literally: there is to me)’, *litli* (< *liθ + li*) ‘I have not’. A few isolated cases are attested in which this shift does not take place, e.g. *ʔiθli* ‘I have’ (A7:9). The fricative regularly remains when the /l/ is separated from the /θ/ by the past tense marker *-wa*, e.g. *ʔiθwali* ‘I had’, *liθwali* ‘I had not’. The full paradigms of these forms are as follows:

## Present:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔitle</i>	<i>litle</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔitla</i>	<i>litla</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔitlɛ</i>	<i>litlɛ</i>
		<i>ʔitla</i>	<i>litla</i>
		<i>ʔitley</i>	<i>litley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔitlux</i>	<i>litlux</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔitlɔx</i>	<i>litlɔx</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔitlexu</i>	<i>litlexu</i>
1st pers.	sing.	<i>ʔitli</i>	<i>litli</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔitlɔn</i>	<i>litlɔn</i>
		<i>ʔitleni</i>	<i>litleni</i>

## Past:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔiθwale</i>	<i>liθwale</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔiθwala</i>	<i>liθwala</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔiθwaleɛ</i>	<i>liθwaleɛ</i>
		<i>ʔiθwala</i>	<i>liθwala</i>
		<i>ʔiθwaley</i>	<i>liθwaley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔiθwalux</i>	<i>liθwalux</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔiθwalɔx</i>	<i>liθwalɔx</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔiθwaleɣ</i>	<i>liθwaleɣ</i>
1st pers.	sing.	<i>ʔiθwali</i>	<i>liθwali</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔiθwalɔn</i>	<i>liθwalɔn</i>
		<i>ʔiθwaleni</i>	<i>liθwaleni</i>

The existential particle may also be combined with pronominal suffixes that are attached to the preposition *b-*. The inflection of such suffixes introduced by *b-* corresponds to that of L-suffixes and differs from the inflection of this preposition when it occurs in an independent prepositional phrase (§13.3.2.):

		Suffix	Independent phrase
3rd pers.	ms.	- <i>be</i>	<i>ʔábbe, bíye</i>
	fs.	- <i>ba</i>	<i>ʔába, bíya</i>
	pl.	- <i>bε</i>	<i>ʔábbε, bíyε</i>
		- <i>ba</i>	<i>ʔába, bíya</i>
		- <i>bey</i>	<i>ʔábbey, bíyey</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	- <i>bux</i>	<i>ʔábbux, bíyux</i>
	fs.	- <i>bax</i>	<i>ʔábbax, bíyax</i>
	pl.	- <i>bexu</i>	<i>ʔábbéxu, bíyexu</i>
1st pers.	sing.	- <i>bi</i>	<i>ʔábbi, bíyi</i>
	pl.	- <i>bən</i>	<i>ʔábbən, bíyən</i>
		- <i>beni</i>	<i>ʔábbeni, bíyeni</i>
Present:			
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔíθbe</i>	<i>líθbe</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔíθba</i>	<i>líθba</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔíθbε</i>	<i>líθbε</i>
Past:			
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔíθwabe</i>	<i>líθwabe</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔíθwaba</i>	<i>líθwaba</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔíθwabε</i>	<i>líθwabε</i>

The /θ/ of the present form of the existential particle is often elided, e.g.

Present:			
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔíbe</i>	<i>líbe</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔíba</i>	<i>líba</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔíbε</i>	<i>líbε</i>

Past:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>ʔwabe</i>	<i>liwabe</i>
	fs.	<i>ʔwaba</i>	<i>liwaba</i>
	pl.	<i>ʔwabe</i>	<i>liwabe</i>

### 8.20.2. bas-

Expressions such as ‘He has had enough’, ‘She has had enough’, etc. are formed by conjugating the particle *bas* ‘enough’ with L-suffixes. The /l/ regularly assimilates to the /s/, e.g. *básse* (< \**basle*). The full paradigm is as follows:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>básse</i>	‘He has had enough’
	fs.	<i>básša</i>	‘She has had enough’
	pl.	<i>básse</i> <i>básša</i> <i>basséy</i>	‘They have had enough’, etc.
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>básšux</i>	
	fs.	<i>básšax</i>	
	pl.	<i>basséxu</i>	
1st pers.	sing.	<i>bássi</i>	
	pl.	<i>bássən</i> <i>bassəni</i>	

This construction may be used in combination with the past affix *wa*, which is inserted before the L-suffixes. The /l/ of the L-suffixes is retained, e.g.

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>báswale</i>	‘He had had enough’
	fs.	<i>báswala</i>	‘She had had enough’
	pl.	<i>báswale</i>	‘They had had enough’, etc.

### 8.20.3. *ḵew-*, *ḵaw-*

The base *ḵew-* or *ḵaw-* is inflected with the series of pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions to form optative expressions ‘May he be’, ‘May she be’, etc.:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>kéwe</i>	‘May he be’
	fs.	<i>kéwa</i>	‘May she be’
	pl.	<i>kéwe</i>	‘May they be’, etc.
		<i>kéwa</i> <i>kewéy</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>kéwux</i>	
	fs.	<i>kéwax</i>	
	pl.	<i>kewéxu</i>	
1st pers.	sing.	<i>kéwi</i>	
	pl.	<i>kéwan</i>	
		<i>keweni</i>	

In origin this construction appears to be a combination of the Kurdish particle *qey* ‘perhaps’ with the present base of the verb *hwy*: \**qay-hawe*. The uvular /q/ of the Kurdish particle has shifted to an unaspirated velar /k/, as is attested in some other loans, e.g. *kaşka* ‘wheat husk’ < Kurd. *qaşik* (§1.2.2). The combined sequence *kew-* has become reinterpreted as a particle rather than verb and is now inflected like a preposition. The trigger for this process was no doubt the 3ms. form *kéwe*, which is the most frequently used and has an ending that could be interpreted either as a verbal inflection or a 3ms. suffix.

#### 8.20.4. *ke-* ‘Where?’

Interrogative expressions ‘Where is he?’, ‘Where is she?’, etc. are formed by conjugating the particle *ke-* with L-suffixes:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>kéle</i>	‘Where is he?’
	fs.	<i>kéla</i>	‘Where is she?’
	pl.	<i>kéle</i>	‘Where are they?’, etc.
		<i>kéla</i> <i>kéléy</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>kélux</i>	
	fs.	<i>kélux</i>	
	pl.	<i>kéléxu</i>	

1st pers.	sing.	<i>kéli</i>
	pl.	<i>kélɔn</i>
		<i>kɛlɛni</i>

The inflection of this expression with L-suffixes appears to have developed by analogy with the L-suffix conjugation of the deictic copula and presentative expression *hole* ‘There he is’ (§8.7.3.). The construction is used only to refer to the present. If the time reference is past or future, the particle *ʔéka* ‘where’ must be used with the appropriate form of the enclitic copula or verb *hwy*, e.g. *ʔékɛwa?* ‘Where was he?’, *ʔéka t-áwe?* ‘Where will he be?’

### 8.20.5. *şad-*

In addition to the verb *zɔʔ* ‘to fear’, which is fully inflected, there is an invariable base *şad-* which is conjugated with L-suffixes to express the actual present ‘He is afraid’, etc.:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>şádle</i>	‘He is afraid’
	fs.	<i>şádlɔ</i>	‘She is afraid’
	pl.	<i>şádlɛ</i>	‘They are afraid’, etc.
		<i>şádlɔ</i> <i>şádlɛy</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>şádlux</i>	
	fs.	<i>şádlɔx</i>	
	pl.	<i>şádlɛxu</i>	
1st pers.	sing.	<i>şádlɔ</i>	
	pl.	<i>şádlɔn</i>	
		<i>şádlɛni</i>	

These forms can take the habitual verbal prefix *ʔi-*, e.g. *ʔi-şádle* ‘He is (habitually) afraid’. They may also function as deontic forms, e.g. *la-şádlux* ‘Do not be afraid’ (B9:26). The base *şad-* is also used in combination with the past converter affix *wa* before the L-suffixes to express the imperfective past:



3rd pers.	ms.	<i>šádwaale</i>	‘He was afraid’
	fs.	<i>šádwala</i>	‘She was afraid’
	pl.	<i>šádwaalē</i>	‘They were afraid’, etc.

The *ʔi-* prefix may also be prefixed to this form: *ʔi-šádwaale* ‘He was afraid’.

CHAPTER NINE

VERB PARADIGMS

The purpose of these paradigms is to present a summary of the inflectional forms of verbs in their present and past bases. A representative selection of the various categories of verbs is made. For the sake of economy the alternative ‘long’ forms of inflectional endings are not given nor the full range of alternative base forms that exist in some categories.

9.1. QATIL FORM

*pθx* I ‘to open’ (1), *šm*’ I ‘to hear’ (2), *qym* I ‘to rise’ (3), *my*’ I ‘to churn’ (4)

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>páθax</i>	<i>šáme</i>	<i>qáyəm</i>	<i>máyē</i>
	fs.	<i>páθxa</i>	<i>šáma</i>	<i>qéma</i>	<i>máya</i>
	pl.	<i>páθxi</i>	<i>šámi</i>	<i>qémi</i>	<i>máyi</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>páθxət</i>	<i>šámət</i>	<i>qémət</i>	<i>máyət</i>
	fs.	<i>páθxət</i>	<i>šámət</i>	<i>qémət</i>	<i>máyət</i>
	pl.	<i>paθxítu</i>	<i>šámítu</i>	<i>qemítu</i>	<i>máyítu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>páθxən</i>	<i>šámən</i>	<i>qémən</i>	<i>máyən</i>
	fs.	<i>páθxən</i>	<i>šámən</i>	<i>qémən</i>	<i>máyən</i>
	pl.	<i>páθxax</i>	<i>šáməx</i>	<i>qéməx</i>	<i>máyəx</i>

*xzy* I ‘to see’ (5), *by* I (\*b’y) ‘to want’ (6), *dwq* I ‘to hold’ (7), *kθw* I ‘to write’ (8)

		(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>xáze</i>	<i>báyē</i>	<i>dáwəq</i>	<i>káθu</i>
	fs.	<i>xázya</i>	<i>báya</i>	<i>dáwqa</i>	<i>káθwa</i>
	pl.	<i>xáze</i>	<i>báyē</i>	<i>dáwqi</i>	<i>káθwi</i>
		<i>xáza</i>	<i>báya</i>		
		<i>xázi</i>	<i>báyi</i>		

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>xázət</i>	<i>báyət</i>	<i>dáwqət</i>	<i>káθwət</i>
	fs.	<i>xázyət</i>	<i>báyət</i>	<i>dáwqət</i>	<i>káθwət</i>
	pl.	<i>xazétu</i> <i>xazítu</i>	<i>báyétu</i> <i>báyítu</i>	<i>dawqítu</i>	<i>kaθwítu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>xázən</i>	<i>báyən</i>	<i>dáwqən</i>	<i>káθwən</i>
	fs.	<i>xázyən</i>	<i>báyən</i>	<i>dáwqən</i>	<i>káθwən</i>
	pl.	<i>xázəx</i>	<i>báyəx</i>	<i>dáwqəx</i>	<i>káθwəx</i>

*m-šlx* II ‘to strip’ (9), *m-ṭʿl* II ‘to play’ (10), *m-pl*’ II ‘to share’ (11), *m-dry* II ‘to winnow’ (12)

		(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mšáləx</i>	<i>mṭáwəl</i>	<i>mpále</i>	<i>mdáre</i>
	fs.	<i>mšálxa</i>	<i>mṭála</i>	<i>mpála</i>	<i>mdárya</i>
	pl.	<i>mšálxi</i>	<i>mṭáli</i>	<i>mpáli</i>	<i>mdáre</i> <i>mdára</i> <i>mdári</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mšálxət</i>	<i>mṭálat</i>	<i>mpálat</i>	<i>mdárət</i>
	fs.	<i>mšálxət</i>	<i>mṭálat</i>	<i>mpálat</i>	<i>mdáryət</i>
	pl.	<i>mšalxítu</i>	<i>mṭalítu</i>	<i>mpálitu</i>	<i>mdarítu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>mšálxən</i>	<i>mṭálan</i>	<i>mpálan</i>	<i>mdárən</i>
	fs.	<i>mšálxən</i>	<i>mṭálan</i>	<i>mpálan</i>	<i>mdáryən</i>
	pl.	<i>mšálxəx</i>	<i>mṭáləx</i>	<i>mpáləx</i>	<i>mdárəx</i>

*m-plx* III ‘to use’ (13), *m-xl* III ‘to feed’ (14), *m-rš* III ‘to wake’ (15), *m-šm*’ III ‘to listen’ (16)

		(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mápləx</i>	<i>máxəl</i>	<i>māřəš</i>	<i>mášme</i>
	fs.	<i>mapólxa</i> <i>maplólxa</i>	<i>máxla</i>	<i>māřáša</i>	<i>mášma</i> <i>mašmíya</i> <i>mašmýa</i>
	pl.	<i>mapólxi</i> <i>maplólxi</i>	<i>máxli</i>	<i>māřáši</i>	<i>mášmi</i> <i>mášme</i> <i>mášma</i>

2nd pers.	ms.	<i>maḅálxət</i>	<i>máxlət</i>	<i>māṛášət</i>	<i>másmət</i>
		<i>maḅlǎxət</i>			<i>mašmíyət</i>
	fs.	<i>maḅálxət</i>	<i>máxlət</i>	<i>māṛášət</i>	<i>másmət</i>
		<i>maḅlǎxət</i>			<i>mašmíyət</i>
	pl.	<i>maḅálxítu</i>	<i>maxlítu</i>	<i>māṛášítu</i>	<i>mašmítu</i>
		<i>maḅlǎxítu</i>			<i>mašmétu</i>
				<i>mašmíyítu</i>	
1st pers.	ms.	<i>maḅálxən</i>	<i>máxlən</i>	<i>māṛášən</i>	<i>másmən</i>
		<i>maḅlǎxən</i>			<i>mašmíyən</i>
	fs.	<i>maḅálxən</i>	<i>máxlən</i>	<i>māṛášən</i>	<i>másmən</i>
		<i>maḅlǎxən</i>			<i>mašmíyən</i>
	pl.	<i>maḅálxəx</i>	<i>máxləx</i>	<i>māṛášəx</i>	<i>másməx</i>
		<i>maḅlǎxəx</i>			<i>mašmíyəx</i>

*m-zyd* III ‘to add’ (17), *m-kly* III ‘to stop’ (18), *m-ry* III ‘to graze’ (19), *m-jwəj* III ‘to move (tr.)’ (20)

3rd pers.	ms.	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
		<i>mázyəd</i>	<i>mákle</i>	<i>māṛe</i>	<i>májwəj</i>
	fs.	<i>māzíd</i>			
		<i>mazyóda</i>	<i>mákla</i>	<i>māṛíya</i>	<i>májwəja</i>
	pl.	<i>māzída</i>	<i>maklǎya</i>		<i>májúja</i>
		<i>mazyódi</i>	<i>makǎlya</i>		<i>májwəja</i>
	<i>māzídí</i>	<i>mákli</i>	<i>māṛí</i>	<i>májwəji</i>	
		<i>mákle</i>	<i>māṛe</i>	<i>májúji</i>	
		<i>mákla</i>	<i>māṛa</i>	<i>májwəji</i>	
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mazyódət</i>	<i>máklət</i>	<i>māṛíyət</i>	<i>májwəjət</i>
		<i>māzídət</i>			<i>májújət</i>
	fs.	<i>mazyódət</i>	<i>máklət</i>	<i>māṛíyət</i>	<i>májwəjət</i>
		<i>māzídət</i>	<i>maklǎyət</i>		<i>májújət</i>
	pl.	<i>mazyédítu</i>	<i>maklétu</i>	<i>māṛíyítu</i>	<i>májwəjítu</i>
		<i>māzídítu</i>	<i>maklítu</i>		<i>májújítu</i>
				<i>májwəjítu</i>	

1st pers.	ms.	<i>mazyádən</i> <i>māzídən</i>	<i>máklən</i>	<i>māriyən</i>	<i>majáwǰən</i> <i>majúǰən</i> <i>majwǰǰən</i>
	fs.	<i>mazyádən</i> <i>māzídən</i>	<i>máklən</i> <i>makliyən</i> <i>makályən</i>	<i>māriyən</i>	<i>majáwǰən</i> <i>majúǰən</i> <i>majwǰǰən</i>
	pl.	<i>mazyádax</i> <i>māzídax</i>	<i>máklax</i>	<i>māriyax</i>	<i>majáwǰax</i> <i>majúǰax</i> <i>majwǰǰax</i>

*m-knkš* Q ‘to drag’ (21), *m-šyðn* Q ‘to become mad’ (22), *m-hymn* Q ‘to believe’ (23), *m-prpy* Q ‘to rinse’ (24)

		(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mkánkāš</i>	<i>mšyðən</i>	<i>mháymən</i> <i>mhéymən</i> <i>mhémən</i> <i>mhāmən</i>	<i>mǰárǰe</i>
	fs.	<i>mkanákša</i> <i>mkankáša</i>	<i>mšeyáðna</i> <i>mšeyðána</i>	<i>mhaymána</i> <i>mhayámna</i> <i>mheyamána</i> <i>mheyámna</i> <i>mhemána</i> <i>mhāmána</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>mǰárǰa</i> <i>mǰarǰíya</i> <i>mǰarǰǰya</i>
	pl.	<i>mkankáši</i> <i>mkankási</i>	<i>mšeyáðni</i> <i>mšeyðáni</i>	<i>mhaymánu</i>	<i>mǰárǰi</i> <i>mǰárǰe</i> <i>mǰárǰa</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mkanákšət</i> <i>mkankášət</i>	<i>mšeyáðnət</i> <i>mšeyðánət</i>	<i>mhaymánət</i>	<i>mǰárǰət</i>
	fs.	<i>mkanákšət</i> <i>mkankášət</i>	<i>mšeyáðnət</i> <i>mšeyðánət</i>	<i>mhaymánət</i>	<i>mǰárǰət</i> <i>mǰarǰíyət</i> <i>mǰarǰǰyət</i>
	pl.	<i>mǰapəlšítu</i> <i>mkankášítu</i>	<i>mšeyáðnítu</i> <i>mšeyðánítu</i>	<i>mhaymánítu</i>	<i>mǰarǰítu</i>

<sup>1</sup> These variant bases are available for the inflection of all further persons but are not repeated in the rest of the paradigm.

1st pers.	ms.	<i>mkanákšən</i> <i>mkankásšən</i>	<i>mšeyáðnən</i> <i>mšeyðánən</i>	<i>mhaymánən</i>	<i>mþárþən</i>
	fs.	<i>mkanákšən</i> <i>mkankásšən</i>	<i>mšeyáðnən</i> <i>mšeyðánən</i>	<i>mhaymánən</i>	<i>mþarþýən</i> <i>mþarþýən</i>
	pl.	<i>mkanákšəx</i> <i>mkankásšəx</i>	<i>mšeyáðnəx</i> <i>mšeyðánəx</i>	<i>mhaymánəx</i>	<i>mþárþəx</i>

'zl I 'to go' (25), *m-θy* III 'to bring' (26), *yhw* I 'to give' (27), *m-ty* III 'to put' (28)

		(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>'ázəl</i>	<i>méθe</i>	<i>yáwəl</i> <i>yal</i>	<i>máttu</i>
	fs.	<i>'áza</i>	<i>máθya</i>	<i>yáwa</i>	<i>mátta</i>
	pl.	<i>'ázi</i>	<i>méθi</i> <i>méθe</i> <i>méθa</i>	<i>yáwi</i>	<i>mátti</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>'ázət</i>	<i>méθət</i>	<i>yáwət</i> <i>yət</i>	<i>máttət</i>
	fs.	<i>'ázət</i>	<i>máθyət</i>	<i>yáwət</i> <i>yət</i>	<i>máttət</i>
	pl.	<i>'azítu</i>	<i>mεθétu</i> <i>mεθítu</i>	<i>yawítu</i>	<i>mattítu</i>
1st pers.	ms.	<i>'ázən</i>	<i>méθən</i>	<i>yáwən</i> <i>yən</i>	<i>máttən</i>
	fs.	<i>'ázən</i>	<i>máθyən</i>	<i>yáwən</i> <i>yən</i>	<i>máttən</i>
	pl.	<i>'ázəx</i>	<i>méθəx</i>	<i>yáwəx</i> <i>yəx</i>	<i>máttəx</i>

## 9.2. QJILLE FORM

*pθx* I ‘to open’ (1), *xl* I ‘to eat’ (2), *šm*’ I ‘to hear’ (3), *qym* I ‘to rise’ (4)

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>pθixle</i>	<i>xille</i>	<i>šmile</i>	<i>qímle</i>
	fs.	<i>pθixla</i>	<i>xilla</i>	<i>šmila</i>	<i>qímla</i>
	pl.	<i>pθixlε</i>	<i>xillε</i>	<i>šmile</i>	<i>qímle</i>
		<i>pθixla</i>	<i>xilla</i>	<i>šmila</i>	<i>qímla</i>
		<i>pθixley</i>	<i>xíley</i>	<i>šmíley</i>	<i>qímley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>pθixlux</i>	<i>xillux</i>	<i>šmilux</i>	<i>qímlux</i>
	fs.	<i>pθixlax</i>	<i>xillax</i>	<i>šmilax</i>	<i>qímlax</i>
	pl.	<i>pθixlexu</i>	<i>xillεxu</i>	<i>šmilexu</i>	<i>qímlεxu</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>pθixli</i>	<i>xilli</i>	<i>šmili</i>	<i>qímli</i>
	pl.	<i>pθixlən</i>	<i>xillən</i>	<i>šmilən</i>	<i>qímlən</i>
		<i>pθixleni</i>	<i>xilleni</i>	<i>šmileni</i>	<i>qímleni</i>

*xzy* I ‘to see’ (5), *ty* I (\**tʃy*) ‘to search’ (6), *pyy* I ‘bake’ (7), *kθw* I ‘to write’ (8)

		(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>xzéle</i>	<i>téle</i>	<i>péle</i>	<i>kθúle</i>
	fs.	<i>xzéla</i>	<i>téla</i>	<i>péla</i>	<i>kθúla</i>
	pl.	<i>xzéle</i>	<i>téle</i>	<i>péle</i>	<i>kθúle</i>
		<i>xzéla</i>	<i>téla</i>	<i>péla</i>	<i>kθúla</i>
		<i>xzéley</i>	<i>téley</i>	<i>péley</i>	<i>kθúley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>xzélux</i>	<i>télux</i>	<i>pélux</i>	<i>kθúlux</i>
	fs.	<i>xzélax</i>	<i>télax</i>	<i>pélax</i>	<i>kθúlax</i>
	pl.	<i>xzélεxu</i>	<i>télεxu</i>	<i>pélεxu</i>	<i>kθúlεxu</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>xzéli</i>	<i>téli</i>	<i>péli</i>	<i>kθúli</i>
	pl.	<i>xzélən</i>	<i>télən</i>	<i>pélən</i>	<i>kθúlən</i>
		<i>xzéleni</i>	<i>téleni</i>	<i>péleni</i>	<i>kθúleni</i>

*m-šlx* I ‘to strip’ (9), *m-ṭʿl* II ‘to play’ (10), *m-pq* II ‘to explode’ (11), *m-hyr* II ‘to help’ (12)

		(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mšuláxle</i>	<i>mṭuwálle</i>	<i>mpūqéle</i>	<i>mhūyárrre</i>
	fs.	<i>mšuláxla</i>	<i>mṭuwálla</i>	<i>mpūqéla</i>	<i>mhūyárrra</i>
	pl.	<i>mšuláxle</i>	<i>mṭuwállε</i>	<i>mpūqéle</i>	<i>mhūyárrre</i>
		<i>mšuláxla</i>	<i>mṭuwálla</i>	<i>mpūqéla</i>	<i>mhūyárrra</i>
		<i>mšuláxley</i>	<i>mṭuwállεy</i>	<i>mpūqéley</i>	<i>mhūyárrrey</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mšuláxlux</i>	<i>mṭuwállux</i>	<i>mpūqélux</i>	<i>mhūyárrux</i>
	fs.	<i>mšuláxlax</i>	<i>mṭuwállax</i>	<i>mpūqélax</i>	<i>mhūyárrax</i>
	pl.	<i>mšuláxlεxu</i>	<i>mṭuwállεxu</i>	<i>mpūqélεxu</i>	<i>mhūyárrεxu</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>mšuláxli</i>	<i>mṭuwálli</i>	<i>mpūqéli</i>	<i>mhūyárrri</i>
	pl.	<i>mšuláxlən</i>	<i>mṭuwállən</i>	<i>mpūqélən</i>	<i>mhūyárrən</i>
		<i>mšuláxlēni</i>	<i>mṭuwállēni</i>	<i>mpūqélēni</i>	<i>mhūyárrēni</i>

*m-dry* II ‘to winnow’ (13), *m-plx* III ‘to use’ (14), *m-xl* III ‘to feed’ (15), *m-ṭš* III ‘to wake’ (16)

		(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mduréle</i>	<i>mupláxle</i>	<i>muxálle</i>	<i>mūṭásle</i>
	fs.	<i>mduréla</i>	<i>mupláxla</i>	<i>muxálla</i>	<i>mūṭásla</i>
	pl.	<i>mduréle</i>	<i>mupláxle</i>	<i>muxállε</i>	<i>mūṭásle</i>
		<i>mduréla</i>	<i>mupláxla</i>	<i>muxálla</i>	<i>mūṭásla</i>
		<i>mduréley</i>	<i>mupláxley</i>	<i>muxállεy</i>	<i>mūṭásley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mdurélux</i>	<i>mupláxlux</i>	<i>muxállux</i>	<i>mūṭáslux</i>
	fs.	<i>mdurélax</i>	<i>mupláxlax</i>	<i>muxállax</i>	<i>mūṭáslax</i>
	pl.	<i>mdurélεxu</i>	<i>mupláxlεxu</i>	<i>muxállεxu</i>	<i>mūṭáslεxu</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>mduréli</i>	<i>mupláxli</i>	<i>muxállli</i>	<i>mūṭásli</i>
	pl.	<i>mdurélən</i>	<i>mupláxlən</i>	<i>muxállən</i>	<i>mūṭáslən</i>
		<i>mdurélēni</i>	<i>mupláxlēni</i>	<i>muxállēni</i>	<i>mūṭáslēni</i>



*m-zyd* III ‘to add’ (17), *m-šm’* III ‘to listen’ (18), *m-ry* III ‘to graze’ (19),  
*m-kθw* III ‘to register’ (20)

		(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>muzyǎdle</i>	<i>mušméle</i>	<i>mǔřéle</i>	<i>mukθúle</i>
	fs.	<i>muzyǎdla</i>	<i>mušméla</i>	<i>mǔřéla</i>	<i>mukθúla</i>
	pl.	<i>muzyǎdle</i>	<i>mušméle</i>	<i>mǔřéle</i>	<i>mukθúle</i>
		<i>muzyǎdla</i>	<i>mušméla</i>	<i>mǔřéla</i>	<i>mukθúla</i>
		<i>muzyǎdley</i>	<i>mušméley</i>	<i>mǔřéley</i>	<i>mukθúley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>muzyǎdlux</i>	<i>mušmélux</i>	<i>mǔřélux</i>	<i>mukθúlux</i>
	fs.	<i>muzyǎdlax</i>	<i>mušmélax</i>	<i>mǔřélax</i>	<i>mukθúlax</i>
	pl.	<i>muzyǎdléxu</i>	<i>mušméléxu</i>	<i>mǔřéléxu</i>	<i>mukθúléxu</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>muzyǎdli</i>	<i>mušméli</i>	<i>mǔřéli</i>	<i>mukθúli</i>
	pl.	<i>muzyǎdlan</i>	<i>mušmélan</i>	<i>mǔřélan</i>	<i>mukθúlan</i>
		<i>muzyǎdleni</i>	<i>mušméléni</i>	<i>mǔřéleni</i>	<i>mukθúleni</i>

*m-knkš* Q ‘to drag’ (21), *m-hymn* Q ‘to believe’ (22), *m-prpy* Q ‘to rinse’ (23)

		(21)	(22)	(23)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>mkunkášle</i>	<i>mhwymánnne</i>	<i>mpurpéle</i>
	fs.	<i>mkunkášla</i>	<i>mhwymánnna</i>	<i>mpurpéla</i>
	pl.	<i>mkunkášle</i>	<i>mhwymánnne</i>	<i>mpurpéle</i>
		<i>mkunkášla</i>	<i>mhwymánnna</i>	<i>mpurpéla</i>
		<i>mkunkášley</i>	<i>mhwymánnney</i>	<i>mpurpéley</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>mkunkášlux</i>	<i>mhwymánnnux</i>	<i>mpurpélux</i>
	fs.	<i>mkunkášlax</i>	<i>mhwymánnnax</i>	<i>mpurpélax</i>
	pl.	<i>mkunkášléxu</i>	<i>mhwymánnnexu</i>	<i>mpurpéléxu</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>mkunkášli</i>	<i>mhwymánnni</i>	<i>mpurpéli</i>
	pl.	<i>mkunkášlan</i>	<i>mhwymánnnan</i>	<i>mpurpélan</i>
		<i>mkunkášleni</i>	<i>mhwymánnneni</i>	<i>mpurpéleni</i>

*ʒl* I ‘to go’ (24), *m-θy* III ‘to bring’ (25), *yhw* I ‘to give’ (26), *nbl* I ‘to take away’ (27)

		(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)
3rd pers.	ms.	<i>zǐlle</i>	<i>muθéle</i>	<i>híwole</i>	<i>nubálle</i>
	fs.	<i>zǐlla</i>	<i>muθéla</i>	<i>híwola</i>	<i>nubálla</i>

	pl.	<i>zille</i>	<i>muθéle</i>	<i>híwle</i>	<i>nubállē</i>
		<i>zilla</i>	<i>muθéla</i>	<i>híwla</i>	<i>nubállā</i>
		<i>zilleŷ</i>	<i>muθéleŷ</i>	<i>híwleŷ</i>	<i>nubállēŷ</i>
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>zillux</i>	<i>muθélux</i>	<i>híwlux</i>	<i>nubállux</i>
	fs.	<i>zillax</i>	<i>muθélax</i>	<i>híwlax</i>	<i>nubállax</i>
	pl.	<i>zillexu</i>	<i>muθélexu</i>	<i>híwlēxu</i>	<i>nubállēxu</i>
1st pers.	s.	<i>zilli</i>	<i>muθéli</i>	<i>híwli</i>	<i>nubállī</i>
	pl.	<i>zillān</i>	<i>muθélān</i>	<i>híwlān</i>	<i>nubállān</i>
		<i>zilleŋi</i>	<i>muθéleŋi</i>	<i>híwleŋi</i>	<i>nubállēŋi</i>



## CHAPTER TEN

### NOUNS

#### 10.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Nouns of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology have in the singular one of the following basic inflectional endings:

- (i) *-a*, which is the reflex of the masculine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic.
- (ii) *-ta* or *-θa*, which are the reflexes of the feminine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic.
- (iii) *-o*, which is a feminine or diminutive ending.
- (iv) *-e*.

A classification is given below of the various morphological patterns of nouns in the dialect that have one of these inflectional endings in the singular.

#### 10.2. NOUNS WITH *-A* INFLECTION

##### 10.2.1. *Bisyllabic Patterns*

- (1) *CaCCa*
  - ʾaθra* 'land, country'
  - ʾaqla* 'leg'
  - čamča* 'spoon'
  - danwa* 'tail'
  - kalba* 'dog'
  - magla* 'sickle'
  - malka* 'king'
  - massa* 'ox-goad'
  - palga* 'half'

<i>qalma</i>	‘louse’
<i>qazba</i>	‘date’
<i>sahða</i>	‘martyr’
<i>talga</i>	‘snow’
<i>talma</i>	‘water-jar’
<i>xasša</i>	‘sadness’
<i>yalma</i>	‘face’

In the category of *CaCCa* we should also include words with /r/ as the second radical in which the /a/ is raised to /e/ (§2.5.3.):

<i>’erya</i>	‘lion’
<i>germa</i>	‘bone’
<i>kerma</i>	‘orchard’
<i>terba</i>	‘fat’
<i>yerxa</i>	‘month’

Nouns of the pattern *CaCCa* that are derived from the determined form of the active participle of early Aramaic (\**CāCCā*) mostly refer to inanimate objects, e.g.

<i>’arxa</i>	‘guest’
<i>daqra</i>	‘long pole’ (< <i>dqr</i> ‘to touch’)
<i>parma</i>	‘blade’
<i>qamša</i>	‘grasshopper’
<i>sahða</i>	‘martyr’
<i>samxa</i>	‘post supporting a vine’
<i>sanda</i>	‘support, prop’
<i>šapna</i>	‘instrument for levelling the ground’
<i>šaqla</i>	‘carrying pole’
<i>xalqa</i>	‘button, press-stud’ (< <i>xlq</i> ‘to close’)
<i>xasla</i>	‘bit; mouth cover used in weaning animal’
<i>xatma</i>	‘muzzle’

(2) *CawCa*

<i>bawsa</i>	‘wooden piece connecting yoke to the plough’
<i>dawra</i>	‘wooden bolt’
<i>gawna</i>	‘colour’
<i>gawra</i>	‘man, husband’

<i>gawza</i>	‘walnut’
<i>kawda</i>	‘liver’
<i>kawsa</i>	‘hair’
<i>kawša</i>	‘handle of a plough’
<i>paŋxa</i>	‘air, wind’
<i>šawma</i>	‘fast’
<i>šawba</i>	‘head cold, influenza’
<i>šawpa</i>	‘footprint, place’
<i>tawra</i>	‘ox’
<i>xawla</i>	‘rope’
<i>xawra</i>	‘friend’
<i>xawxa</i>	‘peach’
<i>yawna</i>	‘dove; pigeon’
<i>zawga</i>	‘pair’
<i>zawna</i>	‘time’

The medial diphthong /aw/ in this pattern is stable and is only rarely contracted to /o/ by speakers. Two exceptions to this are the words *yoma* ‘day’ (< \**yawmā*) and *roma* ‘hill’ (< \**rawmā*), which are regularly pronounced with the diphthong contracted to /o/ and so assigned to the pattern *CoCCa* (§2.4.2.).

(3) *CəCCa*

<i>ʾəḏma</i>	‘brother of husband’
<i>ʾənwa</i>	‘grape’
<i>bənka</i>	‘knee’
<i>bəšla</i>	‘onion’
<i>bəsra</i>	‘meat’
<i>dəqna</i>	‘beard’
<i>gərwa</i>	‘sock’
<i>gəšra</i>	‘bridge’
<i>kəxwa</i>	‘star’
<i>ləxma</i>	‘bread’
<i>məšxa</i>	‘butter, oil’
<i>məṭra</i>	‘rain’
<i>pərma</i>	‘thurible’
<i>pəšla</i>	‘kind, type’
<i>qəḥla</i>	‘lock’
<i>qəṭma</i>	‘ash’
<i>qəṭwa</i>	‘wooden needle’

<i>sətwa</i>	‘winter’
<i>šəlxə</i>	‘swarm (of bees)’
<i>šəmša</i>	‘sun’
<i>šərma</i>	‘buttock’
<i>šəxta</i>	‘dirt’
<i>xəlma</i>	‘dream’
<i>xəlyə</i>	‘milk’
<i>xətna</i>	‘bridegroom; son-in-law’

Several words with this pattern have a geminate middle radical, e.g.

<i>ʾəzza</i>	‘nanny-goat’
<i>dəmma</i>	‘blood’
<i>gədda</i>	‘string, strand’
<i>gəppə</i>	‘cave’
<i>ləbba</i>	‘heart’
<i>qəttə</i>	‘piece’
<i>qənnə</i>	‘nest’
<i>šəmna</i>	‘name’
<i>təlla</i>	‘shade, shadow’
<i>xəmna</i>	‘heat’
<i>yəmna</i>	‘mother’

The pattern is used for various deverbal nouns. These are mainly derived from stem I verbs. They can be divided into (i) those that refer to actions and states and (ii) those that refer to concrete entities:

(i) Actions and states

<i>bəxyə</i>	‘weeping’	< <i>bxaya</i> ‘to weep’
<i>gədsə</i>	‘slaughter’	< <i>gdaša</i> ‘to slaughter’
<i>jənnə</i>	‘dirge’	< <i>jnana</i> ‘to sing a dirge’
<i>kəčxə</i>	‘tiredness’	< <i>kčaxə</i> ‘to tire’
<i>qəbla</i>	‘donation’	< <i>qbala</i> ‘to donate’
<i>qətlə</i>	‘murder’	< <i>qtala</i> ‘to kill’
<i>rəqða</i>	‘dance, dancing’	< <i>rqəða</i> ‘to dance’
<i>zəmra</i>	‘song’	< <i>zmarə</i> ‘to sing’

(ii) Concrete entities

<i>bəθqa</i> (< <i>bəθqa</i> )	‘scattered (sweets)’	< <i>bəθqa</i> ‘to scatter’
<i>nəqša</i>	‘embroidery’	< <i>nəqša</i> ‘to embroider’

<i>nəxla</i>	‘sieved grain’	< <i>nxala</i> ‘to sieve’
<i>pəqxa</i>	‘blossom’	< <i>pqaxa</i> ‘to blossom’
<i>qəθra</i>	‘knot’	< <i>qθara</i> ‘to knot’
<i>šəɖla</i>	‘seedling’	< <i>šdala</i> ‘to plant’
<i>təpna</i>	‘mould’	< <i>tpana</i> ‘to go mouldy’
<i>zəqra</i>	‘woven product’	< <i>zqara</i> ‘to weave’

A few such nouns have no corresponding stem I verb form, but are related to verbs from stems II or III, e.g.

<i>nəxxa</i>	‘rebuke’	< <i>manxose</i> ‘to rebuke’
<i>šəqla</i>	‘decoration’	< <i>mšaqlə</i> ‘to decorate’
<i>šəɖla</i>	‘lullaby’	< <i>mšadole</i> ‘to sing lullabies’
<i>šəxda</i>	‘joy’	< <i>mašxode</i> ‘to congratulate’
<i>xəzda</i>	‘reproach’	< <i>mxazode</i> ‘to reproach’

(4) *CuCCa*

<i>ʾumqa</i>	‘depth’
<i>ʾupra</i>	‘earth, soil’
<i>ʾurxa</i>	‘road’
<i>ʾurza</i>	‘man, male’
<i>bubra</i>	‘thorny pod’
<i>burra</i>	‘pot for preserving yoghurt’
<i>dugla</i>	‘lie’
<i>gujma</i>	‘bunch (of grapes)’
<i>gulpa</i>	‘wing’
<i>gumla</i>	‘camel’
<i>pumma</i>	‘mouth’
<i>purya</i>	‘light’
<i>šudra</i>	‘shirt’
<i>šupra</i>	‘beauty’
<i>tuxma</i>	‘way’
<i>xubba</i>	‘love’
<i>yuqra</i>	‘weight’

(5) *CaCa*

<i>baba</i>	‘father’
<i>dana</i>	‘time’
<i>dara</i>	‘generation, century’
<i>dawa</i>	‘gold’



<i>kaka</i>	‘tooth’
<i>kasa</i>	‘stomach’
<i>mama</i>	‘paternal uncle’
<i>mara</i>	‘master’
<i>maṛa</i>	‘shovel’
<i>nala</i>	‘horse-shoe’
<i>pala</i>	‘workman’
<i>paṛa</i>	‘lamb’
<i>qaša</i>	‘priest’
<i>qala</i>	‘voice’
<i>qana</i>	‘horn’
<i>sama</i>	‘portion’
<i>sawa</i>	‘old man, grandfather’
<i>šana</i>	‘honeycomb’
<i>šaqa</i>	‘thigh’
<i>taqa</i>	‘branch’
<i>ṭana</i>	‘load’
<i>ṭaxa</i>	‘pile’
<i>xaša</i>	‘back’
<i>xapa</i>	‘wooden peg’
<i>yala</i>	‘child’
<i>yama</i>	‘sea, lake’
<i>zaga</i>	‘bell’

Some of the nouns of Aramaic stock had this as their pattern in an earlier stage of Aramaic, e.g.

<i>dara</i>	< * <i>dārā</i>	‘generation’
<i>qala</i>	< * <i>qālā</i>	‘voice’
<i>sawa</i>	< * <i>sāḫā</i>	‘old man’
<i>šaqa</i>	< * <i>šāqā</i>	‘thigh’

Many nouns, however, have acquired this pattern by the loss of a consonant. These can be classified as follows:

(i) Weakening of gemination of the second consonant

<i>kaka</i>	< * <i>kakkā</i>	‘tooth’
<i>maṛa</i>	< * <i>marra</i> (cf. Syr. <i>marrā</i> )	‘spade’
<i>paṛa</i>	< * <i>parrā</i>	‘lamb’

<i>qaša</i>	< * <i>qaššā</i> < * <i>qaššā</i>	‘priest’
<i>yama</i>	< * <i>yammā</i>	‘sea’
<i>zaga</i>	< * <i>zaggā</i>	‘bell’
(ii) Loss of a medial laryngal or pharyngal		
<i>nala</i>	< * <i>naʿla</i> < * <i>naʿlā</i>	‘horse-shoe’
<i>pala</i>	< * <i>paʿla</i> < * <i>paʿlā</i>	‘labourer’
<i>ʕana</i>	< * <i>ʕaʿna</i> < * <i>ʕaʿnā</i>	‘load’
<i>saḏa</i>	< * <i>sahḏā</i>	‘martyr’
<i>dawa</i>	< * <i>dahwā</i>	‘gold’
(iii) Loss of a medial *r		
<i>kasa</i>	< * <i>karsā</i>	‘stomach’
<i>qana</i>	< * <i>qarnā</i>	‘horn’
<i>xasa</i>	< * <i>ḥarṣā</i>	‘back’
(iv) Ellipsis of an initial syllable		
<i>dana</i>	< * <i>ʿiddānā</i>	‘time’
(6) <i>CāCa</i>		
<i>ʾāra</i>	‘ground’	
<i>māra</i>	‘illness’	
<i>nāra</i>	‘axe’	
<i>qāra</i>	‘pumpkin’	
<i>šāma</i>	‘wax’	
<i>tāra</i>	‘door’	

All nouns of this pattern had at an earlier period the pattern \**CaCCa* with a pharyngal \**ʿ* as the third radical. In some cases the pharyngal was a development of a fricative \**ḡ*. The pharyngal has been elided but the preceding vowel remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable: e.g. *ʾāra* < \**arʿā*, *māra* < \**marʿā*, *nāra* < \**narḡā*. This process also operated on Arabic loanwords such as *šāma* < Arab. \**šamʿ*. The consonant after the short /a/ is sometimes geminated secondarily in these words when the first syllable bears the stress, e.g. *mārra* ‘illness’, *qārra* ‘pumpkin’, *tārra* ‘door’.

(7) <i>CiCa</i>		
<i>ʾiḏa</i>	‘hand’	
<i>ḏiḡa</i>	‘cock’	
<i>kima</i>	‘the Pleiades’	

<i>lina</i>	‘pot’
<i>nira</i>	‘yoke’
<i>rixa</i>	‘smell’
<i>šima</i>	‘catastrophe’
<i>ziqa</i>	‘neck of a shirt’

(8) *CoCa*

<i>boya</i>	‘hole’
<i>dona</i>	‘animal fat’
<i>moja</i>	‘calf’
<i>moxa</i>	‘brain’
<i>roma</i>	‘hill’
<i>roxa</i>	‘spirit’
<i>yoma</i>	‘day’
<i>zoma</i>	‘summer hut’

The /o/ in *roma* ‘hill’ and *yoma* ‘day’ has developed by contraction of an original diphthong *\*aw* (< *\*rawmā*, *\*yawmā*; cf. §2.4.2.). Other words in this category did not have a diphthong at an earlier stage of the language, e.g. *moxa* < *\*moxā*, *dona* < *\*duhnā*, *boya* < *\*bo’a* < *\*boga* < *\*burgā* (cf. C. Qaraqosh *burga* ‘hole’), or are loanwords, e.g. *moja* (Kurd. *moz*), *zoma* (Kurd. *zom*).

(9) *CεCa*

<i>’ena</i>	‘eye’
<i>’ewa</i>	‘cloud’
<i>bεθa</i>	‘house’
<i>dεna</i>	‘debt’
<i>leša</i>	‘dough’
<i>mεša</i>	‘scarlet oak’
<i>qεma</i>	‘stand, stake’
<i>qεsa</i>	‘wood’
<i>qεta</i>	‘summer’
<i>sεpa</i>	‘sword’
<i>šena</i>	‘peace’
<i>xεla</i>	‘strength’
<i>zεθa</i>	‘olive oil’

The medial /ε/ in this pattern derives historically from the diphthong *\*ay*, e.g. *bεθa* < *\*bayθā* (§2.4.1).

(10) <i>CeCa</i>	
<i>ʿēḏa</i>	‘festival’
<i>bera</i>	‘light’
<i>bera</i>	‘well’
<i>feka</i>	‘fruit’
<i>geba</i>	‘side’
<i>gera</i>	‘arrow’
<i>jeba</i>	‘pocket’
<i>kepa</i>	‘stone’
<i>nera</i>	‘river’
<i>reša</i>	‘head’
<i>sela</i>	‘griddle for making bread’
<i>sera</i>	‘moon’
<i>šewa</i>	‘thirst’
<i>šēḏa</i>	‘almond’
<i>šera</i>	‘festival (of a saint)’
<i>tela</i>	‘fox’
<i>tema</i>	‘taste; value’
<i>tena</i>	‘fig’
<i>tena</i>	‘load’
<i>tera</i>	‘noon’

Nouns of Aramaic stock with this pattern have different backgrounds. These include:

- (i) Nouns that had medial \*ē in earlier Aramaic, e.g.

<i>ʿēḏa</i>	< *ʿēḏā
<i>kepa</i>	< *kēpā
<i>reša</i>	< *rēšā

- (ii) Nouns that in earlier Aramaic had the pattern *CaCCa* with a laryngeal \*h or pharyngeal \*ʿ as the second consonant, which has now been elided. The pharyngeal \*ʿ would have shifted first to the laryngeal \*ʰ before being lost. The medial \*a is likely to have been raised to /e/ while still in a syllable closed by the laryngeal:

<i>nera</i>	< *nehra	< *nahrā
<i>sera</i>	< *sehra	< *sahrā
<i>tela</i>	< *teʿla	< *taʿla < *taʿlā
<i>tema</i>	< *teʿma	< taʿma < taʿmā

This reconstruction is supported by the retention of the laryngal after the raised vowel in some NENA dialects with a more archaic structure, e.g. J. Amedia *te'la* 'fox' < \**ta'lā*.

It should be noted that also several words in category (i) had a medial laryngal \*' at some pre-historical period and in some cases the original pattern was *CaCCa*. The forms in category (ii), therefore, are a continuation of this process:

<i>reša</i>	< * <i>rešā</i>	< * <i>ra'šā</i>
(11) <i>CuCa</i>		
<i>buma</i>	'owl'	
<i>duna</i>	'sheep pen'	
<i>duša</i>	'honey'	
<i>duxa</i>	'sacrifice'	
<i>guḏa</i>	'churn'	
<i>guda</i>	'wall'	
<i>kura</i>	'furnace'	
<i>nura</i>	'fire'	
<i>ruša</i>	'shoulder'	
<i>susa</i>	'horse'	
<i>šula</i>	'manure'	
<i>šuqa</i>	'market'	
<i>šura</i>	'wall (fortification)'	
<i>šušā</i>	'glass; bottle'	
<i>šuxa</i>	'praise'	
<i>tuma</i>	'garlic'	
<i>tuna</i>	'straw'	
<i>tura</i>	'stick'	
<i>tura</i>	'mountain'	
<i>xuya</i>	'darkness'	

Nouns of Aramaic stock with this pattern have different backgrounds. These include:

(i) Nouns that had this pattern in earlier Aramaic, e.g.

<i>nura</i>	< * <i>nūrā</i>
<i>šura</i>	< * <i>šūrā</i>
<i>tuma</i>	< * <i>tūmā</i>
<i>tura</i>	< * <i>tūrā</i>

(ii) Nouns with an original geminated second consonant, e.g.

*guda* < \**guddā*

(iii) Nouns with an original \**b* as second consonant, which has been contracted, e.g.

*duša* < \**dubša* < \**dəbšā* (Syr. *debšā*)

*duxa* < \**dubħa* < \**dəbħā* (Syr. *debħā*)

*šuxa* < \**šubħā* (Syr. *šubħā*)

*tuna* < \**tubna* < \**təbnā* (Syr. *tebnā*)

*xuya* < \**ħubya* (Syr. *ħubya*)

(12) *CCaCa*

*byaṭa* ‘pickaxe’

*gnaya* ‘fault’

*klama* ‘wooden collar of ox’

*kṯawa* ‘book’

*prasa* ‘cloth spread on floor’

*praza* ‘cultivated field’

*psasa* ‘permission’

*pṯana* ‘pair (of oxen)’

*qḏala* ‘neck’

*šlama* ‘peace’

*šwawa* ‘neighbour’

*xmara* ‘ass’

*xmaṭa* ‘needle’

The pattern *CCaCa* is also that of stem I infinitives, e.g. *pṯaxa* ‘to open’, *zqara* ‘to weave’, *šma’a* ‘to hear’.

(13) *CCiCa*

*gḏila* ‘ice’

*gwina* ‘boundary’

*jwina* ‘side (in a game, conflict)’

*pxiša* ‘paste of flour and oil’

*šliwa* ‘cross’

*xmira* ‘yeast’

- (14) *CCuCa*  
*gnuna* 'wedding band'  
*stuna* 'wooden post'  
*txuma* 'boundary'  
*ṭxuna* 'grist'  
*xlula* 'wedding'  
*xzura* 'pig'
- (15) *CCoCa*  
*glola* 'circle'  
*troša* 'truth'
- (16) *CCeCa*  
*rkewa* 'stirrup'

### 10.2.2. *Trisyllabic Patterns*

- (1) *CaCaCa* ~ *CaCCaCa* ~ *CeCaCa*

The reflex of the pattern \**CaCCāCa* in earlier Aramaic with a geminate medial consonant is usually *CaCaCa*. The vowel of the first syllable is in principle pronounced long, in accordance with the normal rules of vowel lengthening in pretonic open syllables (§2.2.1.4.), although the duration is reduced in fast speech.

The most common use of this pattern is to form nouns denoting the human performer of an activity. It usually refers to an activity that is performed habitually or one that is a permanent property or profession of the referent. Nouns with this pattern are formed productively from existing verbal roots. There appears, however, to be a certain lexical restriction on its derivation:

<i>ʾamara</i>	'sayer, teller'
<i>ʾaraqa</i>	'fugitive'
<i>ʾawaḏa</i>	'doer'
<i>baxaya</i>	'weeper'
<i>dagala</i>	'liar'
<i>kanaša</i>	'sweeper'
<i>kaḥawa</i>	'writer'
<i>palaxa</i>	'worker'
<i>rakawa</i>	'rider'
<i>raqaḏa</i>	'dancer'

<i>rawaya</i>	‘drunkard’
<i>raxaša</i>	‘walker’
<i>sahađa</i>	‘witness’
<i>šawaya</i>	‘dyer’
<i>taxana</i>	‘miller’
<i>taxana</i>	‘porter’
<i>xataya</i>	‘sinner’
<i>xazada</i>	‘harvester’
<i>zamara</i>	‘singer’
<i>zaqara</i>	‘weaver’
<i>zaraya</i>	‘cultivator’

Occasionally the form is derived from a noun rather than a verbal root, e.g.

<i>baqara</i>	‘minder of cattle’ < <i>baqra</i> ‘cattle’
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In the case of a few nouns denoting professions or characteristic activities, no corresponding verbal root is in use in the dialect, but rather they are a heritage from earlier Aramaic or are loanwords:

<i>akara</i>	‘farmer’
<i>karaxa</i>	‘irrigation manager’ (cf. C. Shiyuz <i>karxa</i> ‘irrigation basin’)
<i>najara</i>	‘carpenter’

In some isolated instances the pattern is used as the name of an animal or an insect to designate their characteristic activity, e.g.

<i>dabaša</i>	‘bee (honey-maker)’
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This must be derived from the noun *duša* (< \**dabš*) ‘honey’, since the verbal root *dbš* denotes ‘to stick’ in the dialect. More frequently, however, names of animals or insects that denote their characteristic activity have the pattern *CaCCa* deriving from the fs. active participle in earlier Aramaic (\**CāCCaṭ*), e.g. *zaqra-qode* ‘spider (weaver of traps)’, *azla-kuše* ‘dragonfly (spinner of spindles)’ (§10.17.1.).

Some words preserve the gemination of the middle radical and have the form *CaCCaCa*, which in most cases is used in free variation with *CaCaCa*.



<i>gabbara</i>	‘hero’
<i>šammaša</i> ~ <i>šamaša</i>	‘deacon’
<i>bannaya</i> ~ <i>banaya</i>	‘builder’
<i>karraxa</i> ~ <i>karaxa</i>	‘irrigation manager’

The phonetic properties of the medial radical in these words may have facilitated the preservation. This certainly applies to /r/, which exhibits a tendency to preserve gemination also in other patterns. In the word *gabbara* ‘hero’ the gemination is a fixed lexicalized feature of the word, but cf. *gebare* ‘Orion’.

Gemination of the medial radical regularly occurs in this pattern in a number of loans from Arabic:

<i>xaddama</i>	‘servant’
<i>fassada</i>	‘corrupt person’
<i>ḥaddada</i>	‘metalworker’

A few words of Aramaic origin derived from the pattern \*CaCCaCa have the pattern CeCaCa with /e/ in the first syllable. This has developed by the attenuation of the /a/ vowel in the originally closed syllable to /ə/ and its subsequent lengthening to /e/ after the gemination was weakened and the syllable was opened (CeCaCa < CəCCaCa < CaCCaCa). The pattern is lexically restricted and is only found in a small set of words:

<i>genawa</i>	‘thief’
<i>gewaya</i>	‘beggar’
<i>geyasa</i>	‘penitent thief (at crucifixion)’
<i>gebare</i>	‘Orion’

In some words derived from the pattern \*CaCCaCa that have a medial labial consonant the vowel in the first syllable is sometimes pronounced /u/ (CuCaCa < CəCCaCa < CaCCaCa):

<i>guwaya</i>	‘beggar’
<i>šumaša</i>	‘deacon’

The pattern CaCaCa is found also in a number of other nouns, which do not clearly fit the category of nouns of activity described above:

<i>balaya</i>	‘problem, disaster’
<i>kawaza</i>	‘water pot’
<i>mašana</i>	‘beam of a plough’
<i>qadaša</i>	‘goat with a dewlap’
<i>sarada</i>	‘sieve (with large holes)’
<i>saxara</i>	‘brass dish’
<i>ṭaraša</i>	‘bush, shrub’
<i>xanana</i>	‘goat with a brown face’

In some cases a variant form is heard with gemination of the middle radical. This is commonly the case with the /r/ in *ṭaraša* ~ *ṭarraša*.

(2) *CaCiCa*

Most words of this pattern are derived from an original pattern \**CaC-CiCa* with a geminated medial radical. The /a/ vowel in the first syllable of *CaCiCa* is either pronounced long or is treated as if it were still in a closed syllable and is pronounced short.

<i>nahira</i>	‘lamp oil’
<i>naxira</i>	‘nose’
<i>qadida</i>	‘dried salted meat’
<i>qadiša</i>	‘saint’
<i>qariwa</i>	‘best man (at a wedding)’
<i>qatira</i>	‘wooden beam joining a pair of oxen’
<i>wariḏa</i>	‘vein, artery; root’
<i>xasira</i>	‘mat’

The original gemination of the middle radical is often retained in the word *qadiša* ~ *qaddiša* under the influence of the language of the church liturgy, which is based on literary Syriac. In some words the /a/ in the initial closed syllable of the original \**CaCCiCa* pattern has been attenuated to /ə/ and the gemination of the following consonant preserved, as is the normal rule after the vowel /ə/ (see §3.3.1.):

<i>gəddiša</i>	‘pile’ (< * <i>gaddiša</i> )
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(3) *CaCuCa*

<i>ʾamuṣa</i>	‘tool’
<i>baluṭa</i>	‘acorn’

<i>kanuna</i>	‘small fireplace’
<i>nabuwa</i>	‘spring (of water)’
<i>tanura</i>	‘oven’
<i>yatuma</i>	‘orphan’
<i>xabuša</i>	‘apple’

Many words of this pattern are derived from the pattern \**CaCCuCa* with gemination of the medial consonant. As in *CaCaCa* and *CaCiCa*, the vowel in the initial syllable of *CaCuCa* varies between long and short. If the word contains a medial /r/, the original gemination is sometimes preserved:

*garuwa* ~ *garruwa* ‘pile of twigs’

#### (4) *CaCoCa*

This pattern is used predominantly in nouns denoting animate agents and inanimate instruments. It overlaps semantically with the *CaCaCa* pattern, in that it designates the characteristic activity of the referent. In many cases there is a corresponding verbal root, from which the noun has been derived. In some cases, however, no corresponding verb is in existence in the present state of the dialect, e.g.

<i>ʾaxola</i>	‘(big) eater’	< <i>ʾxl</i> ‘to eat’
<i>badoda</i>	‘poker (for fire)’	< <i>m-bdd</i> II ‘to poke’
<i>baxoya</i>	‘weeper’	< <i>bxy</i> ‘to weep’
<i>čadoda</i>	‘inviter’	cf. <i>čyd</i> ‘to invite’
<i>kapora</i>	‘infidel’	
<i>kaθowa</i>	‘writer’	< <i>kθw</i> ‘to write’
<i>layosa</i>	‘jaw’	< <i>lys</i> ‘to chew’
<i>mayoya</i>	‘handle of churn’	< <i>my</i> ‘to churn’
<i>naqoša</i>	‘bell’	
<i>naṭora</i>	‘guard’	< <i>nṭr</i> ‘to guard’
<i>paṭoša</i>	‘patch’	
<i>qaroya</i>	‘reader’	< <i>qry</i> ‘to read’
<i>qaṭola</i>	‘murder’	< <i>qṭl</i> ‘to kill’
<i>raxoša</i>	‘crutch’	< <i>rxš</i> ‘to walk’
<i>šawoya</i>	‘painter’	< <i>šw</i> ‘to paint’
<i>ṭapoya</i>	‘kindling (for fire)’	< <i>ṭpy</i> ‘to catch (fire)’
<i>xayoṭa</i>	‘sewing machine’	< <i>xyṭ</i> ‘to sew’
<i>zaloma</i>	‘tyrant’	< <i>zlm</i> ‘to act unjustly’

This pattern is also found in a number of nouns that do not express agents or instruments, e.g.

<i>'amoma</i>	‘scarecrow’
<i>'alola</i>	‘alley’
<i>baroqa</i>	‘shooting pain’
<i>barora</i>	‘roll (of fabric)’
<i>dalopa</i>	‘drip (leaking from roof)’
<i>nagoza</i>	‘bite’
<i>pałoxa</i>	‘flat piece of animal excrement used as fuel’
<i>rawola</i>	‘valley’
<i>saxora</i>	‘sty in the eye’
<i>šaqola</i>	‘shin’

(5) *CaCeCa*  
*gameša* ‘buffalo’

(6) *CəCCoCa*  
*dəbbora* ‘hornet’  
*pəddoma* ‘cloth stopper of a vessel’  
*qəllora* ‘bread made of maize flour’  
*šəppola* ‘edge of clothing’  
*xərrōza* ‘string of dried fruit’  
*zəqqora* ‘woven cloth’

The gemination of the medial radical is sometimes weakened: *dəbora*, *xəroza*, etc. Since this is not regular, the transcription with gemination has been normalized.

If the middle radical is /y/, this pattern has the form *CiyoCa*:

<i>kiyola</i>	‘measure, quantity’
<i>diyopa</i>	‘pleat’
<i>xiyota</i>	‘sewing, sewn product’

(7) *CəCCiCa*  
*gəddiša* ‘pile’

This word is derived from an original pattern \**gaddiša* (see §10.2.2. pattern 2 above). The gemination is sometimes weakened: *gədiša*.

(8) <i>CiCaCa</i>	
<i>ʾilana</i>	‘tree’
<i>ʾiqara</i>	‘honour’
<i>ʾisara</i>	‘large rock’
<i>ʾixala</i>	‘food’
<i>kūwara</i>	‘thorny herb’
<i>lišana</i>	‘tongue’

The majority of words with this pattern have initial /ʾ/. The noun *lišana* is derived historically from the pattern *CəCCaCa* with a geminated medial radical (cf. Syr. *leššānā*). The long /i/ vowel developed after the gemination was weakened. The fact that it developed into /i/ rather than /e/ (cf. *gezara* < \**gəzzārā*, Syr. *gezzerā*) is likely to be due to the raising of the vowel in the environment of the sibilant /š/ (cf. §2.3.2.)

(6) *CəCCaCa*

The original gemination in the middle radical of this pattern is generally preserved and so is represented in the transcription:

<i>lāxxawa</i>	‘bit/bridle of horse’
<i>māššara</i>	‘section of a paddy field’
<i>qəṭṭana</i>	‘lace (for tying clothes)’
<i>šəbbaqa</i>	‘belt’
<i>səmmala</i>	‘small bundle of grass’

The gemination is, however, often weakened in fast speech: *laxawa*, *māšara*, etc.

(9) *CeCaCa*

This is derived from the pattern *CəCCaCa*. The gemination has been weakened and the /ə/ lengthened to /e/:

<i>gezara</i>	‘carrot’
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Note also nouns such as *genawa* ‘thief’, *gewaya* ‘beggar’, which are reflexes of an original \**CaCCaCa* pattern (see §10.2.2. pattern 1).

(10) *CəCCeCa*

<i>xəllepa</i>	‘beehive’
<i>šəllela</i>	‘waterfall’
<i>xəzzema</i>	‘nose-ring’

(11) *CuCaCa*

Some words with this pattern are deverbal nouns expressing an activity, e.g.

<i>buqara</i>	‘question’
<i>buraxa</i>	‘blessing, wedding ceremony’
<i>bušala</i>	‘stew’
<i>busama</i>	‘enjoyment’
<i>judala</i>	‘argument’
<i>nuhara</i>	‘explanation, clarification’
<i>šubađa</i>	‘slavery’
<i>xulaša</i>	‘end; summary’
<i>xumala</i>	‘festivity’

This pattern is found also in various nouns referring to concrete entities, some of which are loanwords:

<i>dulaba</i>	‘wheel of water-mill’
<i>duwana</i>	‘paste put in cakes’
<i>huđala</i>	‘store of grass’
<i>juwala</i>	‘sack’
<i>kuraxa</i>	‘shroud’
<i>kutana</i>	‘shirt’
<i>nuwala</i>	‘water channel’
<i>qulağa</i>	‘clod (of earth)’
<i>xulama</i>	‘servant’

Note also *xusera* ‘dew’ in which /a/ is raised to /ε/ in the environment of /r/ (§2.5.3.)

(12) *CuCiCa*

<i>dudiya</i>	‘cradle’
<i>gugiya</i>	‘tassel’
<i>sulina</i>	‘section of a pipe’

10.2.3. *Patterns Containing Four Consonants*(1) *CVCCVCa*

## (i) Forms with reduplication of two consonants

<i>čakčaka</i>	‘grain dispenser in water mill’
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<i>zəmzūma</i>	‘waterfall’
<i>bazbuzə</i>	‘small bird’
<i>šamšuma</i>	‘large waterfall’

The word *didwa*, with an originally long /i/ in the first syllable (cf. BJA *dīdbā*), could be included here, since it appears to derive historically from a reduplicated form \**dābdāb*.

(ii) Other patterns

<i>bambula</i>	‘spout’
<i>narduma</i>	‘muzzle of a sheep’
<i>naqruza</i>	‘beak (of bird)’
<i>paršupa</i>	‘physiognomy, personality’
<i>bəzmarə</i>	‘nail’
<i>qər̄tala</i>	‘pannier basket on pack-animal’
<i>šər̄wala</i>	‘trousers’
<i>pər̄tana</i>	‘flea’
<i>pər̄təna</i>	‘flea’
<i>šər̄yoxa</i>	‘shoe-lace’
<i>bəšlīša</i>	‘ray of light’

(2) *CVCVCa*

<i>ʔaqubra</i>	‘mouse’
<i>ʔaqər̄wa</i>	‘scorpion’
<i>ʔur̄dxə</i>	‘large needle’
<i>kawədna</i>	‘mule’
<i>səxurra</i>	‘water-rat’

In the following words the second vowel has the status of an epenthetic and is generally not stressed. The stress, therefore, falls on the first syllable:

<i>gārəbya</i>	‘North’
<i>tāyəmna</i>	‘South’

(3) *CCVCCa*

<i>prəzla</i>	‘iron’
<i>ʔlawxa</i>	‘lentil’

(4) *CCVCVCa*

<i>qraqīpa</i>	‘turtle’
----------------	----------

10.2.4. *Forms Containing Five or More Consonants*

<i>quraşına</i>	‘nettle’
<i>gəngrəyasa</i>	‘lime tree’
<i>şalgamma</i>	‘turnip, swede’

10.3. NOUNS WITH *-TA* INFLECTION10.3.1. *Bisyllabic Patterns*

- (1) *CaCta*
- |              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
| <i>ʼamta</i> | ‘paternal aunt’     |
| <i>darta</i> | ‘courtyard’         |
| <i>marta</i> | ‘mistress, lady’    |
| <i>naqta</i> | ‘young female goat’ |
| <i>parta</i> | ‘residue in sieve’  |
| <i>sawta</i> | ‘old woman’         |
| <i>ʃamta</i> | ‘breakfast’         |
| <i>xalta</i> | ‘maternal aunt’     |
| <i>yalta</i> | ‘girl’              |
- (2) *CiCta*
- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| <i>ʼipta</i> | ‘leather strap connecting yoke to the plough’ |
| <i>kista</i> | ‘bag’   |
| <i>linta</i> | ‘small pot’                                   |
| <i>pista</i> | ‘bag for jajik’                               |
| <i>riqta</i> | ‘spit’  |
- (3) *CuCta*
- |              |                              |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| <i>gupta</i> | ‘cheese’                     |
| <i>gusta</i> | ‘ball of dough’              |
| <i>gulta</i> | ‘ball’                       |
| <i>qumta</i> | ‘stature, height (of a man)’ |
| <i>rušta</i> | ‘small spade’                |
| <i>susta</i> | ‘mare’                       |
| <i>ʃunta</i> | ‘fruit of a tree’            |



- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| (4) | <i>CoCta</i><br><i>qoqta</i><br><i>romta</i>             | ‘small pot’<br>‘hill’                                 |
| (5) | <i>Cīta</i><br><i>čīta</i><br><i>nīta</i>                | ‘butter made from curds’<br>‘all night wedding party’ |
| (6) | <i>Ceta</i><br><i>’eta</i><br><i>beta</i><br><i>šeta</i> | ‘church’<br>‘egg’<br>‘year’                           |

The /e/ vowel in the word *šeta* has developed from an attenuated form of an original \*a vowel (< \*šatta or \*š’ta < \*šatta); cf. §2.5.2.

- |      |   |                            |
|------|---|----------------------------|
| (7)  | <i>Cota</i><br><i>gota</i><br><i>lota</i>       | ‘side’<br>‘cheek’          |
| (8)  | <i>CCata</i><br><i>brata</i>                    | ‘daughter’                 |
| (9)  | <i>CCita</i><br><i>mđita</i>                    | ‘town’                     |
| (10) | <i>CCota</i><br><i>šwota</i>                    | ‘neighbour (f.)’           |
| (11) | <i>CCuta</i><br><i>zruta</i>                    | ‘cultivation’              |
| (12) | <i>CCaCta</i><br><i>šwalta</i><br><i>xmarta</i> | ‘edible herb’<br>‘she ass’ |

The most common use of this pattern is for stem I verbal nouns, e.g. *dyapta* ‘a fold’ < *dyapa* ‘to fold’ (§10.5.2.2.).

(11) <i>CCiCta</i>	
<i>kništa</i>	‘synagogue’
<i>qđilta</i>	‘key’
<i>skinta</i>	‘knife’
<i>šxinta</i>	‘sanctuary, altar’

### 10.3.2. *Trisyllabic Patterns*

#### (1) *CaCaCta*

This pattern is used productively to refer to women by denoting their characteristic or professional activity. It corresponds to the masculine patterns *CaCaCa* and *CaCoCa*. The feminine pattern *CaCoCta* is rarely used for nouns with human referents but is largely restricted to nouns denoting instruments, e.g.

<i>’araqta</i>	‘fugitive (f.)’
<i>’axalta</i>	‘big eater (f.)’
<i>kaθawta</i>	‘writer (f.)’
<i>palaxta</i>	‘worker (f.)’
<i>xadamta</i>	‘servant girl’
<i>zaqarta</i>	‘weaver (f.)’

It is occasionally used elsewhere in words with inanimate referents:

<i>mararta</i>	‘gall bladder’
<i>napaxta</i>	‘measure for corn put in a water-mill’
<i>nasarta</i>	‘saw’
<i>qarašta</i>	‘crowbar’
<i>šaharta</i>	‘vigil’
<i>xalaqta</i>	‘earring’

The original gemination of the second radical is occasionally retained, especially when this is /r/, e.g. *qarraxta* ~ *qarašta* ‘crowbar’.

#### (2) *CeCaCta*

<i>genawta</i>	‘thief (f.)’
<i>semalta</i>	‘ladder’

The historical pattern of both of these words had an originally geminated medial radical and the /e/ developed by the lengthening of an /ə/ vowel: *genawta* < *gənnawta* < *gannawta*, *semalta* < *səmmalta* (cf. Syr. *sebbellā*).

- (3) *CuCaCta*  
*qušarta* 'cooking pot'  
*gumarta* 'piece of glowing charcoal'  
*šuwarta* 'wide mountain pass'
- (4) *CaCəCta*  
*'arəxta* 'female guest'  
*'ašərta* 'late afternoon, evening'  
*basəsta* 'crushed wheat'  
*jawətta* 'chopping tool'  
*jaxəšta* 'young f. mule'  
*načəpta* 'drop'  
*šadəsta* 'family party before wedding'  
*tarəqta* 'button'  
*tawərta* 'cow'  
*yaləxta* 'scarf'
- (5) *CaCiCta*  
*gađilta* 'plaited strap'  
*yabišta* 'raisin'
- (6) *CaCuCta*  
*parušta* 'smooth pebble'  
*šabuqta* 'wooden strip, shuttle'  
*tanurta* 'oven'

Words of this pattern are derived historically from the pattern *\*CaCCuCta* with a geminated medial consonant (cf. Syr. *\*šabbuqtā*, *\*tannurtā*). The gemination is sometimes retained in the medial /r/ of *parušta* and the word is pronounced *parrušta*.

(7) *CaCoCta*

Most nouns with this pattern are instruments. Feminine equivalents of masculine nouns of the pattern *CaCoCa* referring to humans are generally expressed by the suppletive pattern *CaCaCta*, e.g. *'axola* 'big eater (m.)': *'axalta* 'big eater (f.)'.

<i>'aqolta</i>	‘rope tightener’
<i>baxošta</i>	‘large spoon, ladle’
<i>garomta</i>	‘stone rolling pin’
<i>garosta</i>	‘handmill’
<i>kanošta</i>	‘brush’
<i>nađorta</i>	‘pipe’
<i>pałorta</i>	‘mushroom’
<i>xałorta</i>	‘washing board’

The /o/ vowel is often raised to /u/ or even centralized to /ə/, e.g. *kanošta* ~ *kanošta* ~ *kanošta*. The /o/ has been normalized in the transcription.

- (8) *CəCCəCta*
- |                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>gərrəsta</i> | ‘dandruff’  |
| <i>naṭṭəpta</i> | ‘drop’      |
| <i>xəppərtə</i> | ‘mud pit’   |
| <i>xəzzəmtə</i> | ‘nose-ring’ |
- (9) *CəCCoCta*
- |                 |                      |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>bəllortə</i> | ‘pipe (on cradle)’   |
| <i>čəlləxtə</i> | ‘scrap of bread’     |
| <i>sənnortə</i> | ‘shoot (of corn)’    |
| <i>šəlləxtə</i> | ‘shed skin of snake’ |
- (10) *CeCoCta*
- |                |              |
|----------------|--------------|
| <i>nəpoxta</i> | ‘date syrup’ |
|----------------|--------------|

This is likely to have developed historically from *\*nəppoxta*, with lengthening of the /ə/ after the weakening of the gemination of the medial radical.

- (11) *CəCCuCta*
- |                 |                             |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>məsukta</i>  | ‘craw, gizzard (of a bird)’ |
| <i>dəbburta</i> | ‘horsefly’                  |
| <i>šəxxurta</i> | ‘piece of (cold) charcoal’  |
| <i>qərrušta</i> | ‘crust (of yoghurt)’        |
| <i>qəθθurta</i> | ‘knapsack’                  |

The gemination of the medial radical is sometimes weakened and the initial syllable reduced, e.g. *qərrušta* ~ *qušta* ‘crust’.

- (12) *CəCCəCta* ~ *CCəCta*  
*šəbbəltə* 'head of corn'  
*šəddəltə* 'lullaby'  
*xəmmərtə* 'bead'

The gemination of the medial radical is sometimes weakened and the initial syllable reduced, e.g. *xəmmərtə* ~ *xmərtə* 'bead'.

- (13) *CəCCiCta*  
*xəzzintə* 'storage pot, treasure chest'  
*gəddištə* 'stook (of corn or rice)'

The gemination of the medial radical is sometimes weakened and the initial syllable reduced, e.g. *gəddištə* ~ *gdištə* 'stook'. In the word *xəzzintə* (< Arabic *xāzina*) the gemination has been geminated secondarily after the central vowel /ə/ (*xəzzintə* < *xəzintə* < *xāzina*).

- (14) *CaCeta*  
*'aretə* 'water weed'  
*garetə* 'shaving knife'  
*jaretə* 'food bag'  
*zaretə* 'cultivator (f.)'

Most words of this pattern originally had a geminated medial radical. This is often retained in the /r/ of *jaretə* and the word is pronounced *jarretə*.

- (15) *CaCuta*  
*garutə* 'stack of twigs (against a tree)'  
*pasutə* 'pace'  
*qarutə* 'bridesmaid'

These are derived historically from a pattern *CaCCuta* with a geminated medial radical and a short /a/ vowel in the first syllable. The gemination is often retained in the /r/ of *garutə* and the word is pronounced *garrutə*.

- (16) *CəCCeta*  
*xəllətə* 'gift'

- (17) *CəCCota*  
*qəmmotə* 'husks of wheat remaining in a sieve'

- (18) *CaCota*  
*balota* 'throat, hole in millstone'  
*paqota* 'dish of wheat dumplings'  
*qaḷota* 'dam in a channel'
- (19) *CoCiCta*  
*šoṣinta* 'azerole tree'  
*qodišta* 'small bunch of grapes'

### 10.3.3. *Patterns Containing Four Consonants*

- (i) Forms with reduplication of two consonants  
*gərgərta* 'wheel'  
*qulqulta* 'component of door lock'

The word *šišəḷta* 'chain, boundary wall' could be included here, since it derives historically from a reduplicated form *\*šəḷšəḷtiā*.

- (ii) Other forms  
*mandorta* 'instrument for flattening roof'  
*xarbuqta* 'knot'  
*kurtəxta* 'lower back'  
*qurşəḷta* 'elbow'  
*šənduxta* 'smooth stone used for polishing'  
*bərmalta* 'outer jacket'  
*paṛmεθa* 'knowledge, wisdom'

## 10.4. NOUNS WITH *-θA* INFLECTION

### 10.4.1. *Bisyllabic Forms*

- (1) *CaCθa*  
*'arθa* 'rival wife'  
*danθa* 'water jar'  
*dapθa* 'strip of wood'  
*kalθa* 'daughter-in-law'  
*paṛθa* 'lamb'

<i>qarθa</i>	‘cold’
<i>ʃabθa</i>	‘week’
<i>ʃarθa</i>	‘navel’
<i>xamθa</i>	‘young woman’
(2) <i>CəCθa</i>	
<i>gənθa</i>	‘garden’
<i>məlθa</i>	‘twine made of gut’
<i>qənθa</i>	‘walnut kernal’
<i>səkθa</i>	‘peg’
<i>səpθa</i>	‘lip’
<i>ʃənθa</i>	‘sleep’
<i>təkθa</i>	‘trouser-cord’
(3) <i>CuCθa</i>	
<i>dukθa</i>	‘place’
<i>xumθa</i>	‘anger’
(4) <i>Caθa</i>	
<i>naθa</i>	‘ear’
<i>paθa</i>	‘face’
<i>ʃaθa</i>	‘fever’
(5) <i>Ceθa</i>	
<i>deθa</i>	‘sweat; chewing-gum’
(6) <i>CCaCθa</i>	
<i>xwarθa</i>	‘friend’ (f.)
(7) <i>CCəCθa</i>	
<i>nxəpθa</i>	‘shame’
<i>ʃləmθa</i>	‘form’
(8) <i>CCuCθa</i>	
<i>squpθa</i>	‘lintel’
(9) <i>CCaθa</i>	
<i>xmaθa</i>	‘mother-in-law’

- (10) *CCεθa*  
*gnεθa* ‘setting (of the sun)’  
*kθεθa* ‘chicken’  
*rmεθa* ‘udder’  
*štεθa* ‘drink’
- (11) *CCiθa*  
*kliθa* ‘kidney’  
*pqiθa* ‘blister’  
*šliθa* ‘membrane of newborn calf’  
*šwiθa* ‘bed’  
*xliθa* ‘sin’

#### 10.4.2. *Trisyllabic Patterns*

- (1) *CaCəCθa*  
*kaləbθa* ‘bitch’  
*maləkθa* ‘queen’  
*qaləpθa* ‘peel’  
*qayəmθa* ‘monument’  
*taləmθa* ‘small water-jar’  
*tarəpθa* ‘leaf’  
*xadəmθa* ‘servant girl’
- (2) *CuCəCθa*  
*xurəgθa* ‘step-daughter’
- (3) *CiCaCθa*  
*ʾidamθa* ‘wife of husband’s brother’
- (4) *CiCəCθa*  
*ʾisəqθa* ‘ring’
- (5) *CəCCəCθa*  
*šəbbərθa* ‘bracelet’  
*šəppərθa* ‘sparrow’  
*dəqqənθa* ‘chin’  
*məttəlθa* ‘tale, maxim’



The gemination of the medial consonant is sometimes weakened in pronunciation, e.g. *šabbərθa* ~ *šabərθa*. In some words of this pattern the gemination has developed secondarily after an /ə/ in an open syllable, e.g. *dəqqənθa* < \**dəqnəθā* ‘chin’.

(6) <i>CaCεθa</i>	
<i>ʾapεθa</i>	‘cloth cover for bread’
<i>baxεθa</i>	‘weeper (f.)’
<i>kaxεθa</i>	‘lid, cover’
<i>qalεθa</i>	‘cell’
<i>qarεθa</i>	‘reader (f.)’
<i>šatεθa</i>	‘big drinker (f.)’
<i>xatεθa</i>	‘sinner (f.)’
<i>γapεθa</i>	‘baker-woman’

This pattern is equivalent to the pattern *CaCaCta* (§10.3.2. pattern 1) in nouns with a strong final radical.

(7) <i>CəCCεθa</i>	
<i>kəssεθa</i>	‘lid, cover’

This is a variant of the pattern *CaCεθa* (< \**CaCCεθa*) in which the original gemination has been retained.

(8) <i>CaCεθa</i>	
<i>qareθa</i>	‘gourd’
(9) <i>CaCiθa</i>	
<i>ʾariθa</i>	‘lionness’
<i>ʾašiθa</i>	‘avalanche’
<i>daliθa</i>	‘vine’
<i>qariθa</i>	‘beam’
<i>šaqiθa</i>	‘irrigation channel’
<i>rapiθa</i>	‘instrument for flattening ground’
<i>taniθa</i>	‘line (for hanging things)’
<i>zawiθa</i>	‘corner’
(10) <i>CaCoθa</i>	
<i>mašoθa</i>	‘rennet’

- (11) *CaCuθa*  
       <sup>ʾ</sup>*aθuθa*                   ‘letter’  
       *mayuθa*               ‘crown (of the head)’  
       <sup>š</sup>*aruθa*               ‘breakfast’  
       *xanuθa*               ‘loom for weaving’
- (12) *CuCiθa*  
       *tumiθa*               ‘story’

The medial radical of this word is sometimes pronounced geminated:  
*tunniθa*.

- (13) *CoCiθa*  
       *kosiθa*               ‘hat’  
       <sup>š</sup>*siθa*               ‘plait’  
       <sup>š</sup>*piθa*               ‘outhouse’
- (14) *CeCiθa*  
       <sup>ʾ</sup>*eliθa*               ‘fat tail of sheep’
- (15) *CCVCiθa*  
       *snoniθa*            ‘swallow’

#### 10.4.3. *Patterns Containing Four Consonants in the Root*

The only noun in this category that has been identified is the following:

*qarqubθa*               ‘skull’

### 10.5. REMARKS ON THE FEMININE ENDINGS *-TA* AND *-θA*

#### 10.5.1. *The Distribution of -ta and -θa*

In principle the feminine ending *-ta* with the stop /t/ is attached to bases ending in a consonant and the ending *-θa* with the fricative /θ/ to bases ending in a vowel. This is a reflex of the stop and fricative allophones of \*t in earlier Aramaic. Subsequent developments in the phonology of the language, however, have sometimes resulted in a number of deviations from this principle, whereby *-ta* occurs after vowels and *-θa* after consonants.

In most of these cases, nevertheless, the *-ta* ending occurs in words that ended in a consonant at some earlier historical period and, likewise, *-θa* occurs where at some earlier historical period it was preceded by a vowel. Since the consonants /t/ and /θ/ became phonemicized in the dialect and ceased to be allophones conditioned by context, they became fossilized in the feminine endings of words irrespective of subsequent phonological development. Indeed minimal pairs can be identified that are distinguished only by the form of the feminine ending, e.g.

*marθa*                      ‘mistress’                      *marta*                      ‘saying’

#### 10.5.1.1. *The Ending -ta after a Vowel*

Cases of *-ta* occurring after vowels fall into the following categories:

- (a) Where the /t/ of the ending was originally geminated, usually on account of having assimilated a preceding consonant (see §1.4.1.3.), e.g.

*šeta*                      ‘year’                      < \*šattā  
*brata*                      ‘daughter’                      < \*brattā  
*mḍita*                      ‘town’                      < \*mḍittā

- (b) Where the root of the noun originally ended in the pharyngeal consonant \*ʕ, which was weakened to the laryngeal \*ʔ and has now been completely elided (see §1.4.1.3.), e.g.

*balota*                      ‘throat’                      < \*bālōʕtā  
*beta*                      ‘egg’                      < \*bəʕtā  
*čita*                      ‘yoghurt cream’                      < \*šʕitā (\*šʕʕ ‘to smooth’)  
*garuta*                      ‘stack of twigs’                      < \*garrūʕtā  
*pasuta*                      ‘pace’                      < \*passūʕtā  
*qaṭota*                      ‘dam in channel’                      < \*qāṭōʕtā  
*zruta*                      ‘cultivation’                      < \*zrūʕtā

- (c) Where the stop /t/ was originally preceded by the consonant \*b, which has subsequently become contracted (see §1.4.1.3.), e.g.

*gota*                      ‘side’                      < \*gabātā  
*šwota*                      ‘neighbour (f.)’                      < \*šbābtā  
*ruta*                      ‘Friday’                      < \*arubātā

The form *kxuθa* ‘a star’ (cf. Syr. *kawkabtā*) is an apparent exception. It can be explained as being the result of a secondary morphological development based on the plural form *kəxwe* ‘stars’, which took place after the shift of *\*b > w* had occurred.

#### 10.5.1.2. *The Ending -θa after a Consonant*

Most cases of *-θa* that occur after a consonant can be explained as having originally followed an epenthetic vowel that has now been lost. The occurrences may be classified as follows:

- (a) The preceding consonant was originally geminated but subsequently the gemination was weakened and the epenthetic vowel following it was elided, e.g.

<i>dukθa</i>	‘place’	< <i>*dukkəθā</i>
<i>paθa</i>	‘lamb’	< <i>*parrəθā</i>
<i>kaθa</i>	‘daughter-in-law’	< <i>*kalləθā</i>
<i>qənθa</i>	‘walnut kernel’	< <i>*qənnəθā</i>
<i>səkθa</i>	‘peg’	< <i>*səkkəθā</i>
<i>šabθa</i>	‘week’	< <i>*šabbəθā</i>

In slow deliberate speech the consonant is indeed sometimes still pronounced geminate, e.g. *səkkθa* ‘peg’.

- (b) An epenthetic originally preceded the feminine ending but was subsequently moved before the preceding consonant by a process of resyllabification, e.g.

<i>kaləbθa</i>	‘bitch’	< <i>*kalbəθā</i>
<i>maləkθa</i>	‘queen’	< <i>*malkəθa</i>
<i>dəqqənθa</i>	‘chin’	< <i>*dəqnəθā</i>
<i>nxəpθa</i>	‘shame’	< <i>*naxpəθā</i>
<i>šləmθa</i>	‘form’	< <i>*šəlməθā</i>
<i>squpθa</i>	‘lintel’	< <i>*suqpəθā</i>
<i>xwarθa</i>	‘friend (f.)’	< <i>*ħabrəθā</i>

This process did not regularly take place. Contrast the forms listed above with forms such as *tawərta* ‘cow’ (< *\*tawr + tā*), which exhibits similar resyllabification.

10.5.2. *Function of the Feminine Marker Suffixes -ta and -θa*

When a corresponding masculine form of a word exists, the addition of the feminine endings *-ta* or *-θa* serves various functions.

10.5.2.1. *Marking Female Gender*

In the case of animate referents, it may designate the female counterpart of the masculine form, e.g.

<i>'araqa</i> 'fugitive (m.)'	<i>'araqta</i> 'fugitive (f.)'
<i>'əðma</i> 'brother of husband'	<i>'iðamθa</i> 'sister of husband'
<i>barəxmaya</i> 'brother of wife'	<i>barəxmεθa</i> 'sister of wife'
<i>čuka</i> 'chick (m.)'	<i>čukta</i> 'chick (f.)'
<i>gameša</i> 'buffalo (m.)'	<i>gaməšta</i> 'buffalo (f.)'
<i>kaθawa</i> 'writer (m.)'	<i>kaθawta</i> 'writer (f.)'
<i>marā</i> 'master'	<i>marθa</i> 'mistress'
<i>nawaga</i> 'grandson'	<i>nawagta</i> 'granddaughter'
<i>tawera</i> 'ox'	<i>tawərta</i> 'cow'
<i>xataya</i> 'sinner (m.)'	<i>xatεθa</i> 'sinner (f.)'
<i>zaqara</i> 'weaver (m.)'	<i>zaqarta</i> 'weaver (f.)'

This distinction based on biological gender has been extended by analogy to the inanimate objects *xasola* 'pestle' and *xasolta* 'mortar'.

10.5.2.2. *Expressing Singularity and Specificity*

In some cases, the feminine ending expresses singularity and specificity. The addition of the feminine ending to the infinitive form of a verb, for example, forms the verbal noun, which expresses a single event or specific performance of the activity referred to by the verb, or some entity or quality that results from the performance of the action. The infinitive without the feminine ending, on the other hand, expresses the abstraction of the activity. It should be noted that even when the infinitive does not have the feminine morphological ending, it is still often construed as feminine in gender, e.g.

<i>dyapa</i> 'to fold'	<i>dyapta</i> 'a fold'
<i>flara</i> 'to breakfast'	<i>flarta</i> 'breakfast'
<i>gnaya</i> 'to set (sun)'	<i>gnεθa</i> ( <i>t-yoma</i> ) 'sunset'
<i>jma'a</i> 'to gather'	<i>jmeta</i> 'a gathering (of people)'
<i>marā</i> 'to say'	<i>marta</i> 'a saying'

<i>mšaya</i> ‘to be able’	<i>mšɛθa</i> ‘ability’
<i>praqa</i> ‘to finish’	<i>praqta</i> ‘the end’
<i>saqa</i> ‘to ascend’	<i>saqta</i> ‘ascent’
<i>syama</i> ‘to ordain’	<i>syamta</i> ‘ordination’
<i>šya’a</i> ‘to plaster’	<i>šyɛθa</i> ‘plastering’
<i>tawa</i> ‘to sit’	<i>tawta</i> ‘a sitting, social gathering’
<i>xala</i> ‘to eat’	<i>xalta</i> ‘food’
<i>xlawta</i> ‘to milk’	<i>xlawta</i> ‘milking’
<i>xšawa</i> ‘to think’	<i>xšawta</i> ‘a thought’
<i>zraqa</i> ‘to rise (sun)’	<i>zraqta</i> ( <i>t-yoma</i> ) ‘sunrise’
<i>zraya</i> ‘to cultivate’	<i>zrata</i> ‘cultivating’

When the feminine ending is added to infinitives from stem II, stem III and quadriliteral verbs, the /o/ in the vocalic pattern is replaced by /a/, e.g.

<i>mkaपोše</i> ‘to gather’	<i>mkaपाšta</i> ‘gathering’
<i>majwoje</i> ‘to move’	<i>majwajta</i> ‘a movement’
<i>mčakčoke</i> ‘to clatter’	<i>mčakčakta</i> ‘clattering’

The shape of stem II and quadriliteral feminine infinitives is often changed by the elision of the initial /m/, e.g.

<i>paxalta</i> ‘forgiveness’	< <i>mpaxalta</i>
<i>parmɛθa</i> ‘wisdom’	< <i>mparmɛθa</i>
<i>hayarta</i> ‘help’	< <i>mhayarta</i>

Another function of the feminine ending that falls in this category is its use to express a single item of an entity that is usually referred to as a collectivity in the plural, e.g.

<i>bətme</i> ‘terebinth nuts’	<i>bətəmθa</i> ‘a terebinth nut’
<i>čaroxe</i> ‘leather shoes’	<i>čaroxta</i> ‘a shoe’
<i>čəkkalle</i> ‘slippers’	<i>čəkkalta</i> ‘a slipper’
<i>čəlluxe</i> ‘scraps of bread’	<i>čəlluxta</i> ‘a scrap of bread’
<i>čučəkke</i> ‘sparrows’	<i>čučəkθa</i> ‘a sparrow’
<i>dəndəkke</i> ‘grains’	<i>dəndəkθa</i> ‘a grain’
<i>gazgoze</i> ‘goose pimples’	<i>gazgozta</i> ‘a goose pimple’
<i>gəndore</i> ‘melons’	<i>gəndorta</i> ‘a melon’
<i>harmone</i> ‘pomegranates’	<i>harmonta</i> ‘pomegranate’

<i>kəxwe</i> ‘stars’	<i>kxuθa</i> ‘a star’
<i>kursəlle</i> ‘animal dung’	<i>kursəlta</i> ‘a piece of dung’
<i>lastike</i> ‘rubber shoes’	<i>lastikta</i> ‘a rubber shoe’
<i>marquze</i> ‘type of flowers’	<i>marqusta</i> ‘one such flower’
<i>məzze</i> ‘hair’	<i>məsta</i> ‘a hair’
<i>nune</i> ‘fish’	<i>nunta</i> ‘a fish’
<i>pəmpule</i> ‘large shoes’	<i>pəmpulta</i> ‘a large shoe’
<i>pəškəlle</i> ‘sheep droppings’	<i>pəškəlta</i> ‘a single dropping’
<i>pilawe</i> ‘shoes’	<i>pilawta</i> ‘shoe’
<i>qənne</i> ‘walnut kernels’	<i>qənθa</i> ‘a walnut kernel’
<i>qundāre</i> ‘leather shoes’	<i>qundarta</i> ‘a leather shoe’
<i>šalgəmmə</i> ‘turnips’	<i>šalgəmta</i> ‘a turnip’
<i>šarniye</i> ‘sweets’	<i>šarnita</i> ‘a sweet’
<i>šawəle</i> ‘shoes’	<i>šawəlta</i> ‘a shoe’
<i>šəkwane</i> ‘ants’	<i>šəkwanta</i> ‘an ant’
<i>šəmmame</i> ‘hooves’	<i>šəmta</i> ‘hoof’
<i>šəxxore</i> ‘charcoals’	<i>šəxxorta</i> ‘a piece of charcoal’
<i>tarpe</i> ‘leaves’	<i>tarəpθa</i> ‘leaf’
<i>təlme</i> ‘large flat breads’	<i>təlmθa</i> ‘one bread’
<i>tene</i> ‘figs’	<i>tenta</i> ‘a fig’
<i>təppe</i> ‘drops’	<i>təpθa</i> ‘a drop’
<i>tuθe</i> ‘mulberries’	<i>tuθta</i> ‘a mulberry’
<i>xartmane</i> ‘chickpeas’	<i>xartmanta</i> ‘a chickpea’
<i>xəlxəle</i> ‘bangles’	<i>xəlxəlta</i> ‘a bangle’
<i>xəmrə</i> ‘beads’	<i>xəmmərtə</i> ‘a bead’
<i>yəbiše</i> ‘raisins’	<i>yəbišta</i> ‘a raisin’
<i>yəšile</i> ‘corners’	<i>yəšilta</i> ‘corner’
<i>zərgule</i> ‘sheep skin boots’	<i>zərgulta</i> ‘a boot’
<i>zəvve</i> ‘spins’	<i>zəvərtə</i> ‘a spin’

In some cases a second plural exists that is derived from the feminine singular, e.g.

<i>tarpe</i> ‘leaves’	<i>tarəpθa</i> ‘a leaf’	<i>tarəpyaθa/tarəpaθa</i> ‘leaves’
<i>tuθe</i> ‘mulberries’	<i>tuθta</i> ‘a mulberry’	<i>tuθyaθa</i> ‘mulberries’
<i>dəndəkke</i> ‘seeds’	<i>dəndəkθa</i> ‘a seed’	<i>dəndəkyaθa</i> ‘seeds’
<i>jənne</i> ‘dirges’	<i>jənəntə</i> ‘a dirge’	<i>jənənyaθa</i> ‘dirges’

If a masculine singular exists of words of this type, this generally has a slightly different meaning. In the case of fruits, for example, the mas-

culine singular form sometimes denotes the tree that bears the fruit in question:

<i>bətma</i> ‘terebinth tree’	<i>bətəməθa</i> ‘terebinth nut’
<i>tuθa</i> ‘mulberry tree’	<i>tuθəθa</i> ‘mulberry’

Tree names, however, are sometimes feminine, e.g. *harmonta* ‘pomegranate tree/fruit’, *xabušta* ‘apple tree’ (*xabuša* ‘apple’).

Sometimes the meaning of the masculine singular and feminine singular form of the noun is the same, e.g.

<i>banjane</i> ‘tomatoes’	<i>banjanta</i> ‘a tomato’	<i>banjana</i> ‘a tomato’
<i>kəxwe</i> ‘stars’	<i>kxuθa</i> ‘a star’	<i>kəxwa</i> ‘a star’
<i>šəkwanə</i> ‘ants’	<i>šəkwanənta</i> ‘an ant’	<i>šəkwana</i> ‘an ant’
<i>təppe</i> ‘drops’	<i>təpθa</i> ‘a drop’	<i>təppə</i> ‘a drop’

In the case of *tərpə* ‘leaves’, the masculine singular expresses a collectivity, like the plural:

<i>tərpa</i> ‘leaves’	<i>tərpe</i> ‘leaves’	<i>tərəpθa</i> ‘a leaf’
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### 10.5.2.3. *Expressing a Diminutive*

The addition of the feminine ending sometimes denotes the diminutive of the corresponding masculine form, e.g.

<i>ilana</i> ‘tree’	<i>ilanta</i> ‘small tree’
<i>isara</i> ‘rock’	<i>isarta</i> ‘gravel’
<i>bola</i> ‘head of millet’	<i>bulta</i> ‘small head of millet’
<i>čakala</i> ‘pruning hook’	<i>čakalta</i> ‘small pruning hook’
<i>čakuč</i> ‘hammer’	<i>čukučta</i> ‘small hammer’
<i>daloṗa</i> ‘drip’	<i>daluṗta</i> ‘small drip’
<i>dapa</i> ‘plank’	<i>dapθa</i> ‘small board’
<i>dəbbora</i> ‘hornet’	<i>dəbburta</i> ‘horsefly’
<i>dəprana</i> ‘juniper tree’	<i>dəpranta</i> ‘small juniper tree’
<i>dəqna</i> ‘beard’	<i>dəqqənθa</i> ‘chin’
<i>došāka</i> ‘mattress’	<i>došəkθa</i> ‘cushion’
<i>garoma</i> ‘stone rolling pin’	<i>garomta</i> ‘small stone rolling pin’
<i>garuwa</i> ‘pile of twigs’	<i>garuta</i> ‘small pile against a tree’
<i>gəddiša</i> ‘pile of wood’	<i>gəddištə</i> ‘stook (of corn or rice)’
<i>gəzra</i> ‘pile (of stones)’	<i>gəzərtə</i> ‘small pile’



<i>juwala</i> ‘sack’	<i>juwəлта</i> ‘small sack’
<i>kaka</i> ‘tooth’	<i>kakta</i> ‘small tooth of a comb’
<i>kanoša</i> ‘broom’	<i>kanošta</i> ‘small broom, brush’
<i>kisa</i> ‘large bag’	<i>kista</i> ‘small bag’
<i>lawora</i> ‘valley’	<i>lawurta</i> ‘small valley’
<i>lina</i> ‘pot’	<i>linta</i> ‘small pot’
<i>marəgla</i> ‘pan’	<i>marəgлта</i> ‘small pan’
<i>masərqə</i> ‘large carding comb’	<i>masərqθa</i> ‘comb for hair’
<i>nuwa</i> ‘edible herb’	<i>nuta</i> ‘small form of <i>nuwa</i> ’
<i>parša</i> ‘large flat stone’	<i>parəšta</i> ‘small flat stone’
<i>qaxxane</i> ‘pan’	<i>qaxxanta</i> ‘small pan’
<i>qərtala</i> ‘pannier’	<i>qərtalta</i> ‘small pannier’
<i>qoqa</i> ‘water pot’	<i>qoqta</i> ‘small water pot’
<i>qraqipa</i> ‘turtle’	<i>qraqəpta</i> ‘small turtle’
<i>roma</i> ‘hill’	<i>romta</i> ‘small hill’
<i>sašana</i> ‘devil’	<i>sašana</i> ‘demon, evil spirit’
<i>šəndoxa</i> ‘smooth stone’	<i>šənduxta</i> ‘small smooth stone’
<i>stuna</i> ‘post’	<i>stunta</i> ‘small post’
<i>talma</i> ‘water-jar’	<i>taləmθa</i> ‘small water-jar’
<i>tanura</i> ‘oven’	<i>tanurta</i> ‘small oven’
<i>taɣaya</i> ‘slope (of a mountain)’	<i>taɣəθa</i> ‘small slope (of a hill)’
<i>taqa</i> ‘branch’	<i>taqta</i> ‘twig’
<i>tāra</i> ‘door’	<i>tāreθa</i> ‘small door’
<i>xawla</i> ‘rope’	<i>xawəлта</i> ‘small piece of rope’
<i>yama</i> ‘sea’	<i>yamθa</i> ‘lake’

In some cases where a masculine and feminine form of a noun exist, the referent of the feminine form is a figurative or virtual form of the entity denoted by the masculine noun. The feminine form is not necessarily physically smaller than that of the corresponding masculine form, but is nevertheless a derivative, secondary form. This applies to the following pairs of forms:

<i>nāra</i> ‘axe’	<i>nāreθa</i> ‘piece in shape of an axe at the end of the rotating shaft that fits into the upper millstone’
<i>masərqə</i> ‘comb’	<i>masərqθa</i> ‘comb for filtering the water passing through a pipe leading to a water-mill’
<i>ruša</i> ‘shoulder’	<i>rušta</i> ‘spade with a head resembling a shoulder blade’
<i>’ena</i> ‘eye’	<i>’enta</i> ‘hole at the bottom of an oven for the intake of air’

<i>’āra</i> ‘ground’	<i>’āreta</i> ‘layer of stagnant algae on the surface of water’
<i>salla</i> ‘basket’	<i>salθa</i> ‘large basket used to catch fish in a river’
<i>qāra</i> ‘gourd’	<i>qāreθa</i> ‘vessel made from a gourd’

In a few cases there appears to be no difference in meaning between pairs of masculine and feminine nouns, e.g.

<i>’alola</i> ‘alley’	<i>’alulta</i> ‘alley’
<i>rawola</i> ‘small valley’	<i>rawulta</i> ‘small valley’

#### 10.5.2.4. *Expressing a Whole Inclusive of Parts*

There is a small set of items in which the feminine form expresses a whole of which the corresponding masculine form is a part, e.g.

<i>daliθa</i> ‘vine’	<i>dalya</i> ‘tendrils of vine’
<i>sulta</i> ‘dunghill’	<i>sula</i> ‘dung’

Perhaps in this category belongs the pair:

<i>dabašta</i> ‘beehive’	<i>dabaša</i> ‘bee’
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### 10.6. NOUNS WITH *-o* INFLECTION

A number of nouns of feminine gender have the ending *-o*. This is sometimes pronounced higher in the region of /u/. For the sake of orthographic consistency, however, it is here regularly transcribed *-o*. Nouns with this ending generally refer to inanimate entities or small animals. They are attested in the following patterns:

#### (1) *CaCCo*

<i>’atko</i> f.	‘stomach lining of ruminant’
<i>garšo</i> f.	‘tool used to stir up mud in paddy fields’
<i>naqro</i> f.	‘woodpecker’
<i>patlo</i> f.	‘(hot) whirlwind (of sand)’
<i>qap̄yo</i> f.	‘blockage in water channel’
<i>šalqo</i> f.	‘measles’
<i>xapro</i> f.	‘trowel’

Several nouns of this pattern are derived historically from active participles with the base *\*CāCC-*, e.g. *naqro* ‘woodpecker’ (‘borer’ < *nqr* ‘to bore’), *patlo* ‘whirlwind’ (‘twister’ < *pθl* ‘to twist’), *qaḫyo* ‘blockage’ (‘catcher’ < *qḫy* ‘to catch’), *šalqo* ‘measles’ (‘boiler’ < *šlq* ‘to boil’), *xapro* ‘trowel’ (‘digger’ < *xpr* ‘to dig’). It should be noted that the base pattern is not *CaCaC-* (< *\*CaCCāC-*), which is the productive pattern for forming nouns denoting human performers of habitual activities, e.g. *zaqara* ‘weaver’, *kaḫawa* ‘writer’.

(2) *CāCCo*

<i>gabbo</i> f.	‘foam, froth’
<i>gārḏo</i> f.	‘dish consisting of yoghurt and cracked wheat’
<i>qaḫpo</i> f.	‘foam, froth’
<i>sārmo</i> f.	‘herb put in <i>jajik</i> and cheese’
<i>xāppo</i> f.	‘bridal veil’

(3) *CaCo*

<i>garo</i> f.	‘rat’
<i>k’alo</i> f.	‘bride’
<i>majo</i> f.	‘trough for kneading dried yoghurt’

(4) *CāCo*

<i>bālo</i> f.	‘whirlpool’
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Nouns with this pattern are derived historically from the active participle base *\*CāCC-* of verbs from roots with a final pharyngal *\*ʕ*: *bālo* < *\*bal’o* ‘to swallow’. The pharyngal has been dropped but the first vowel remains short, as if it were still in a closed syllable.

(5) *CoCCo*

This occurs only in the word *solho* f. ‘peace, reconciliation’, which is a loan from Arabic.

The historical origin of the ending *-o* is likely to be the diminutive ending *\*-ōn* in the absolute state. The final *\*n* has been elided, as is regularly the case in absolute state endings that survive elsewhere in the dialect, e.g. in the 3pl. present base of the verb (*qaṭli* < *\*qāṭlīn*) and in numerals (‘twenty’ < ‘*ʕsrīn*’).

The diminutive sense of the ending is still evident in most of the nouns listed above. Historically, however, the ending *\*-ōn* (absolute state of *\*-ōnā*) is a masculine rather than a feminine form. It has apparently acquired

feminine gender by a semantic association between feminine gender and diminutives, which is reflected elsewhere in the dialect (§10.5.2.3.). It should be noted, however, that in some NENA dialects this ending is developing into a general feminine inflection. This is the case, for example, in C. Alqosh, where the feminine active participle regularly ends in *-u* (< \**ō*), e.g. *xətu* ‘dressmaker’ (f.), *yap̄yu* ‘baker-woman’, *gaḏlu* ‘knitter-woman’ (Coghill 2003: §7.8.5.). These are feminine equivalents of the masculine active participle *CaCaCa* but are derived historically from the participle base \**CāCC-*, as is the case with nouns such as *patlo*, *naqro*, *xapro* etc. in C. Barwar.

The diminutive sense of *-o* may relate to novelty, as in *kʷalo* ‘bride’, who is a ‘new daughter-in-law’ (*kalθa*).

It can also be used to express endearment rather than physical smallness. It is used productively in this way to create hypocoristic forms of personal names. These are shortened forms that generally have the bisyllabic pattern *CVC<sub>o</sub>* or *CVCC<sub>o</sub>*. Hypocoristic names of this type are those of both men and women (for a full list see §21.22.), e.g.

(i) Men’s names

<i>Banno</i>	< <i>Banyamən</i>
<i>Čābo</i> , <i>Šābo</i>	< <i>Xošāba</i>
<i>Kanno</i>	< <i>Yuxanna</i>
<i>Mixo</i>	< <i>Mixayil</i>

(ii) Women’s names

<i>Bebo</i>	< <i>Xošēbo</i>
<i>Mayyo</i>	< <i>Maryam</i>
<i>Xəzzo</i>	< <i>Xənzada</i>
<i>’Eššo</i>	< <i>’Eləšwa</i>

The kinship term *toṭa* is frequently used with the hypocoristic ending: *toṭo* ‘granny’. Note also the form *šetro* ‘beautiful woman’, a hypocoristic form of *šetranta*.

The ending *-o* is also used in names given to individual domesticated animals (for a full list see §21.23.). In this usage, however, it is restricted to male animals, e.g.

(i) Oxen

<i>Xāmo</i>
<i>Niso</i>

## (ii) Asses

*ʿAnšāro*10.7. NOUNS WITH *-E* INFLECTION

This ending is found in a number of nouns of Aramaic stock. These are of both genders. In some cases it appears to be derived historically from the absolute state of a noun with a final \*y radical, e.g.

<i>ʿarxe</i> , <i>ʿarxe</i> f.	‘water-mill’ (Syr. <i>rahyā</i> )
<i>ʾore</i> f.	‘manger’ (Syr. <i>ʾuryā</i> )
<i>xuwwe</i> m.	‘snake’ (Syr. <i>hewyā</i> )
<i>lele</i> m.	‘night’ (Syr. <i>lilyā</i> , pl. <i>laylē</i> )

In other cases the historical origin is likely to be a plural form, e.g.

<i>gare</i> m.	‘roof’ (Syr. <i>ʿeggārā</i> , pl. <i>ʿeggārē</i> )
<i>kawe</i> f.	‘small window’ (Syr. <i>kawīā</i> , pl. <i>kawwē</i> )

The use of an original plural form to denote a singular is found elsewhere, e.g. *naθa* ‘car’ (< \**ʿdnāθā*). The explanation may be that the referent in question most commonly occurs as a collectivity. The roofs of houses in the villages were generally contiguous and interconnecting. A building generally had several of the small windows in question. All of these originally plural nouns have acquired a new plural form (*garāwaθa* ‘roofs’, *kāwaθa* ‘windows’, *naθyaθa* ‘cars’).

The final *-e* in the form *yamne* ‘right (hand/side)’ probably developed by analogy with the Kurdish loanword *čappe* ‘left’. The form *yamne* is presumably derived ultimately from a form such as \**yammīnā* as in Syriac. The analogy with *čappe*, therefore, affected not only the inflectional ending but also the morphological pattern.

The final *-e* in stem II and stem III infinitives (*mqaṭole*, *maṭole*) is derived historically from final \**-ē*.

The ending *-e* also occurs on numerous Kurdish loanwords that are feminine in gender, e.g.

<i>beriyē</i> f.	‘milkmaid’	< Kurd. <i>bêrî</i> f.
<i>čale</i> f.	‘pit’	< Kurd. <i>çal</i> f.
<i>čappe</i> f.	‘left (hand/side)’	< Kurd. <i>çep</i> f.

<i>dunye</i> f.	‘world, weather’	< Kurd. <i>dinya</i> f.
<i>hawše</i> f.	‘sheep-fold’	< Kurd. <i>hewş</i> f.
<i>hêzuke</i> f.	‘swing’	< Kurd. <i>hêzok</i> f.
<i>juwarre</i> f.	‘nosebag’	< Kurd. <i>cuher</i> m.
<i>maqle</i> f.	‘cooking pot’	< Kurd. <i>meqle</i> f., Arab. <i>maqlā</i>
<i>qarəkke</i> f.	‘crow’	< Kurd. <i>qîrîk</i> f.
<i>quşxane</i> f.	‘saucepan’	< Kurd. <i>qûşxane</i> f.
<i>sarşoye</i> f.	‘washing place’	< Kurd. <i>serşo</i> f.
<i>senike</i> f.	‘metal plate’	< Kurd. <i>sênîk</i> f.
<i>serrəkke</i> f.	‘plughole, drain’	< Kurd. <i>serik</i> f./m.
<i>tâpəkke</i> f.	‘bird trap’	< Kurd. <i>tepkîk</i> f.
<i>tašte</i> f.	‘brass bowl’	< Kurd. <i>teşt</i> f.
<i>taxe</i> f.	‘neighbourhood’	< Kurd. <i>tax</i> f.
<i>tope</i> f.	‘gun’	< Kurd. <i>top</i> f.

It is possible that the origin of this is the Kurdish feminine singular oblique nominal inflection *-ê*. The ending, however, is added as a feminine singular inflectional ending to some words of Aramaic origin, e.g. *quppe* ‘brooding hen’ (cf. Syr. *quppāpā*). Some other NENA dialects inflect this word with the *-o* / *-u* ending (cf. C. Qaraqosh: *qîpu*).

The ending *-e* is also found in feminine loanwords of Arabic origin, in which it can be identified as the Arabic feminine ending corresponding historically to the *tā’ marbūta*, e.g.

<i>bərke</i>	‘pool’	< Arab. <i>birka</i>
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In some cases a noun is used alternatively with either final *-e* or final *-a*, e.g.

<i>xuwwē</i> ~ <i>xuwwa</i>	‘snake’
<i>tašte</i> ~ <i>tašta</i>	‘brass bowl’

The *-e* ending is also used to form hypocoristic personal names of men and women, as is the case with *-o*. This is attached to shortened forms of names with the bisyllabic structure *CVCe* or *CVCCe*:

(i) Men’s names

<i>Ĉaqqe</i>	< <i>’Ishaq</i>
<i>Ĉope</i>	< <i>Yāwsəp</i>
<i>Xaye</i>	< <i>Mixayəl</i>

## (ii) Women's names

<i>Čebe</i>	< <i>Xošebo</i>
<i>Malle</i>	< <i>Maryam</i>
<i>Nane</i>	< <i>Helen</i>

It is found also in other women's names that are not abbreviations of a longer form, e.g.

*Bibe*  
*Guhare*  
*Guzze*  
*Naze*  
*Xamme*  
*Xoxe*

The ending *-e* is used in the names of female domesticated animals (for a full list see §21.23.), e.g.

## (i) Names of female goats and sheep

*Xanne*  
*Poše*

## (ii) Names of cows

*Gazale*  
*Nisane*

## (iii) Names of female mules

*Surme*  
*Gurje*

## 10.8. FURTHER ENDINGS

10.8.1. *-ana*

The suffix *-ana* is found in a number of nouns. It is added to the present base of verbs of all stems to denote the performer of an activity. The construction often refers to habitual action or action performed as a profession. It is a productive inflection and may be regarded as a form of active participle. The patterns are as follows:

Stem I	<i>CaCCana</i>
Stem II	<i>mCaCCana</i>
Stem III	<i>maCCaCana</i> ~ <i>maCaCCana</i>
Quadriliteral	<i>mCaCCaCana</i> ~ <i>mCaCaCCana</i>

Nouns with the function of active participles are not formed productively from the present base by the addition of the basic inflectional ending *-a*. A small set of such nouns derived from stem I verbs with the pattern *CaCCa* are listed above (§10.2.1. pattern 1). The stem I pattern *CaCCana* overlaps semantically with the *CaCaCa* pattern, which is also used productively to form active participles. The corresponding feminine ending is *-anta*. Examples:

## Stem I

<i>ʾaxlana</i>	(f. <i>ʾaxlanta</i> )	‘big eater’
<i>baxyana</i>	(f. <i>baxyanta</i> )	‘weeper’
<i>dawqana</i>	(f. <i>dawqanta</i> )	‘setter of bones’
<i>qaṭlana</i>	(f. <i>qaṭlanta</i> )	‘murderer’
<i>qarmana</i>	(f. <i>qarmanta</i> )	‘winner’
<i>qaryana</i>	(f. <i>qaryanta</i> )	‘reader’
<i>raxšana</i>	(f. <i>raxšanta</i> )	‘walker’
<i>saxḏana</i>	(f. <i>saxḏanta</i> )	‘worshipper’
<i>šawyana</i>	(f. <i>šawyanta</i> )	‘painter’
<i>šāyana</i>	(f. <i>šāyanta</i> )	‘plasterer’
<i>šatyana</i>	(f. <i>šatyanta</i> )	‘big drinker’
<i>xašlana</i>	(f. <i>xašlanta</i> )	‘crusher’ (using a <i>xašola</i> )
<i>yapyana</i>	(f. <i>yapyanta</i> )	‘baker’
<i>zaqrana</i>	(f. <i>zaqranta</i> )	‘weaver’
<i>zonana</i>	(f. <i>zonanta</i> )	‘buyer’

## Stem II

<i>mbašlana</i>	(f. <i>mbašlanta</i> )	‘cook’
<i>mšadrana</i>	(f. <i>mšadranta</i> )	‘sender’
<i>mxamyana</i>	(f. <i>mxamyanta</i> )	‘guard’
<i>mzabnana</i>	(f. <i>mzabnanta</i> )	‘seller’

## Stem III

<i>maxlana</i>	(f. <i>maxlanta</i> )	‘feeder’
<i>mapšamana</i>	(f. <i>mapšamanta</i> )	‘trouble-maker’
<i>maryana</i>	(f. <i>maryanta</i> )	‘repairer of clothes’
<i>māriyana</i>		‘pasturer’



## Quadrilateral

<i>mčakčəkana</i>	(f. <i>mčakčəkanta</i> )	‘garrulous person’
<i>mčarčərana</i>	(f. <i>mčarčəranta</i> )	‘garrulous person’
<i>mgamprana</i>	(f. <i>mgampranta</i> )	‘arrogant person’
<i>mpařəmyana</i>	(f. <i>mpařəmyanta</i> )	‘wise person’
<i>młarłəmana</i>	(f. <i>młarłəmanta</i> )	‘grumbler’

In some cases active participles with one of these patterns has a more specific meaning than the verb from which it is derived, e.g. *dawqana* ‘setter of bones’ (< *dwq* ‘to grasp, stick together’).

Some nouns with inanimate referents with the ending *-ana* or *-anta* are likewise formed from present bases, e.g.

<i>kelana</i>	‘measure’	< <i>kyl</i> I ‘to measure’
<i>parmana</i>	‘cutting tool’	< <i>prm</i> I ‘to cut’
<i>rawđana</i>	‘earthquake’	< <i>rwđ</i> I ‘to quake’
<i>šəpanta</i>	‘rubber, eraser’	< <i>šyp</i> I ‘to erase’
<i>mdabqana</i>	‘glue’	< <i>dbq</i> II ‘to stick’
<i>mxallana</i>	‘cleaning cloth’	< <i>xll</i> II ‘to wash’
<i>mšəpyana</i>	‘strainer’	< <i>m-špy</i> II ‘to purify’
<i>maqərxana</i>	‘whitewash’	< <i>m-qrx</i> III ‘to whitewash’
<i>marmana</i>	‘lever’	< <i>m-rm</i> III ‘to raise’
<i>mšərbətana</i>	‘whip’	< <i>m-šrbt</i> ‘to whip’
<i>mtarkəsana</i>	‘wooden poker’	< <i>m-trks</i> ‘to build up fire’

The *-ana* ending is added to a past base in the following:

<i>mubyana</i>	‘swelling (on skin)’	< <i>m-by</i> ‘to swell’
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Occasionally nouns in *-ana* derive from a identifiable noun base, e.g.

<i>ʼamədyana</i>	‘Amedia stitching’	< <i>ʼAmediya</i> ‘Amedia’
<i>drana</i>	‘arm’	< <i>draʼa</i> , <i>draya</i> ‘span’
<i>duglana</i>	‘liar’	< <i>dugla</i> ‘lie’
<i>gawzana</i>	‘walnut-tree’	< <i>gawza</i> ‘walnut’
<i>kasana</i>	‘glutton’	< <i>kasa</i> ‘stomach’
<i>kepana</i>	‘gravel’	< <i>kepa</i> ‘stone’
<i>məšxana</i>	‘paste’	< <i>məšxa</i> ‘clarified butter’
<i>parranta</i>	‘comb of bird’	< <i>parre</i> ‘feathers’
<i>šišmanta</i>	‘sesame grass’	< <i>šišme</i> ‘sesame’
<i>šliwana</i>	‘knot’	< <i>šliwa</i> ‘cross’

Some nouns with this ending have the function of verbal nouns, e.g.

<i>'aryana</i>	'rainfall'	< <i>'ry</i> 'to rain'
<i>'awqana</i>	'distress'	< <i>'yq</i> 'to be tight, to be distressed'
<i>duxrana</i>	'memorial'	< <i>*dxr</i> (= <i>txr</i> ) 'to remember'
<i>pəlxana</i>	'work, cultivation'	< <i>plx</i> 'to work, cultivate'
<i>pəšmanta</i>	'sorrow'	< <i>pšm</i> 'to be sorry'
<i>puqdana</i>	'command'	< <i>pqđ</i> 'to command'
<i>xumlana</i>	'merriment'	< <i>xml</i> 'to be merry'
<i>yulpana</i>	'learning'	< <i>*ylp</i> 'to learn' (cf. <i>lyp</i> )

The ending *-ana* or its feminine form *-anta* is sometimes used to produce a diminutive of a noun ending in *-a*, e.g.

<i>kepa</i>	'stone'	<i>kepana</i>	'gravel'
<i>guđa</i>	'churn'	<i>guđanta</i>	'small churn'

There is a sizeable group of other nouns ending in *-ana* or *-anta* that are not derived from a clearly identifiable verbal or nominal base that exists in the dialect. They may be classified as follows:

(i) Human referents

<i>rabbana</i>	'monk'
<i>rabbanta</i>	'nun'
<i>turgamana</i>	'interpreter'
<i>xəmyana</i>	'father-in-law'
<i>yakana</i>	'only son'

(ii) Animals

<i>čučana</i>	'magpie'
<i>qənyane</i>	'cattle, sheep'
<i>qəqwana</i>	'partridge' (f. <i>qəqwanta</i> )
<i>sarətlana</i>	'crab'
<i>šəkəwana</i>	'ant'
<i>tabuwana</i>	'tick'

(iii) Inanimate entities

<i>daprana</i>	'juniper'
<i>dərvana</i>	'frying pan'
<i>kuprana</i>	'wooden hut, trellis'

<i>nəsyana</i>	‘experience’
<i>qurbana</i>	‘holy communion’
<i>səndana</i>	‘large pot’
<i>ṭawpāna</i>	‘flood’
<i>xumlana</i>	‘merriment’
<i>zīrana</i>	‘slap’

Some of these nouns can be identified as loanwords with the Aramaic ending *-ana* added to them, e.g. *yakana* ‘only son’ (< Kurd. *yek* ‘one’), *kuprana* ‘wooden hut’ (< Kurd. *kepir*).

### 10.8.2. *-aya*

The suffix *-aya* is found in gentilic nouns expressing geographical origin or affiliation to a religious or ethnic community, e.g.

<i>suraya</i>	‘Assyrian Christian’
<i>mšixaya</i>	‘Christian’
<i>huḏaya</i>	‘Jew’
<i>ʿarabaya</i>	‘Arab’
<i>turkaya</i>	‘Turk’
<i>ʿaramnaya</i>	‘Armenian’
<i>ʿiranaya</i>	‘Iranian’
<i>handawaya</i>	‘Indian’
<i>komaya</i>	‘negro’
<i>qārāčaya</i>	‘Gypsy’
<i>daštaya</i>	‘dweller on the plain’

We should include here also *naxraya* ‘stranger’.

A more common and productive gentilic ending is *-naya*, with an added /n/. This is used with gentiles relating to villages and towns and also with some that relate to nationalities, e.g.

<i>ʿalqošnaya</i>	‘man from Alqosh’
<i>ʿyyətnaya</i>	‘man from Iyyət’
<i>dohuknaya</i>	‘man from Dohuk’
<i>mošulnaya</i>	‘man from Mošul’
<i>zaxonaya</i>	‘man from Zakho’
<i>ʿngləznaya</i>	‘Englishman’

If the place name ends in *-e*, this vowel is elided before the addition of the *-naya* affix, e.g.

<i>bağdednaya</i>	‘man from Qaraqosh (Bağdede)’
<i>durnaya</i>	‘man from Dure’
<i>telkepñaya</i>	‘man from Telkepe’

When the place name ends in *-n* or *-ne*, the gentilic ending *-aya* rather than *-naya* is added, e.g.

<i>’ēn-nunaya</i>	‘man from ’En-Nune’
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Note also the form *slemanaya* ‘man from Sulemaniyya (Slemani)’.

The feminine forms of the suffixes *-aya* and *-naya* are *-εθα* and *-νεθα* respectively, e.g.

<i>sureθα</i>	‘Assyrian Christian woman’
<i>huðεθα</i>	‘Jewess’
<i>’alqošñεθα</i>	‘woman from Alqosh’
<i>durnεθα</i>	‘woman from Dure’
<i>’ēn-nunεθα</i>	‘woman from ’En-Nune’

The ending *-aya* (f. *-εθα*) is used in a few nouns that do not denote geographical origin or religious affiliation, e.g.

<i>’aqraya</i>	‘turtle, tortoise’
<i>’aşraya</i>	‘udder’
<i>barəxmaya</i>	‘brother of wife’
<i>barəxmεθα</i>	‘sister of wife’
<i>paloxaya</i>	‘labourer’
<i>talobaya</i>	‘a man who arranges a betrothal ( <i>talobe</i> )’
<i>xwarzaya</i>	‘nephew (son of sister)’
<i>xwarzεθα</i>	‘niece (daughter of sister)’

In some isolated cases the feminine ending *-εθα* is used to derive a feminine form from a masculine noun that does not have the ending *-aya*, e.g.

<i>taxana</i> ‘miller’	<i>taxanεθα</i> ‘miller woman’
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## 10.8.3. -uθa

## (i) Abstractions

This ending is used productively to form nouns referring to abstractions. The majority of such nouns are derived from an existing adjectival form, e.g.

<i>'azduθa</i>	'permission'	< <i>'azd</i> 'permitted'
<i>'nšanuθa</i>	'mirkiness'	< <i>'ršana</i> 'mirky'
<i>'iquθa</i>	'distress'	< <i>'iqā</i> 'distressed, narrow'
<i>basimuθa</i>	'pleasantness'	< <i>basīma</i> 'pleasant'
<i>baxiluθa</i>	'envy'	< <i>baxīla</i> 'envious'
<i>dāžmānyuθa</i>	'enmity, hostility'	< <i>dāžmānaya</i> 'hostile'
<i>duzuθa</i>	'truth'	< <i>dūs</i> 'true'
<i>heymanuθa</i>	'faith'	< <i>heymana</i> 'faithful, trusted'
<i>kōm-paθuθa</i>	'disgrace'	< <i>kōm-paθa</i> 'disgraced'
<i>kumuθa</i>	'blackness'	< <i>koma</i> 'black'
<i>mājburuθa</i>	'necessity'	< <i>mājbur</i> 'necessary, forced'
<i>milanuθa</i>	'blueness'	< <i>milana</i> 'blue'
<i>ramuθa</i>	'height'	< <i>rama</i> 'high'
<i>sānayuθa</i>	'easiness'	< <i>sānaya</i> 'easy'
<i>šaruθuθa</i>	'spiciness'	< <i>šaruθa</i> 'spicy, smarting'
<i>šaxīnuθa</i>	'heat'	< <i>šaxīna</i> 'hot'
<i>smoquθa</i>	'redness'	< <i>smoqa</i> 'red'
<i>sniquθa</i>	'need'	< <i>sniqa</i> 'needy'
<i>spayuθa</i>	'goodness'	< <i>spay</i> 'good'
<i>šumuθa</i>	'naughtiness'	< <i>šumana</i> 'naughty'
<i>talīluθa</i>	'wetness'	< <i>talīla</i> 'wet'
<i>tāmāzuθa</i>	'cleanliness'	< <i>tāmāz</i> 'clean'
<i>xarayuθa</i>	'finality, end'	< <i>xaraya</i> 'last, final'
<i>xāḍyuθa</i>	'joy'	< <i>xāḍya</i> 'joyful'
<i>xwār-paθuθa</i>	'innocence'	< <i>xwār-paθa</i> 'innocent'
<i>xwaruθa</i>	'whiteness'	< <i>xwara</i> 'white'
<i>zamātuθa</i>	'difficulty'	< <i>zamāt</i> 'difficult'
<i>zāruθa</i>	'yellowness'	< <i>zāra</i> 'yellow'
<i>zoruθa</i>	'smallness, youth'	< <i>zora</i> 'small, young'

In some cases the base of the derived form is a noun, e.g.

<i>bəṛ-našuθa</i>	'mankind'	< <i>bəṛ-naša</i> 'man'
<i>dostuθa</i>	'friendship'	< <i>dost</i> 'friend'

<i>farquθa</i>	‘difference’	< Arab. <i>farq</i> ‘difference’
<i>genawuθa</i>	‘theft, stealth’	< <i>genawa</i> ‘thief’
<i>guruθa</i>	‘bravery’	< <i>gure</i> ‘(brave) men’
<i>ħaqquθa</i>	‘right’	< Arab. <i>ħaqq</i> ‘right’
<i>jwanquθa</i>	‘youth’	< <i>jwanqa</i> ‘young man’
<i>k’aluθa</i>	‘bridehood’	< <i>k’alo</i> ‘bride’
<i>msapyanuθa</i>	‘tradition’	< <i>msapyana</i> ‘tradent’
<i>mušəlmanuθa</i>	‘Islam’	< <i>mušəlmana</i> ‘Muslim’
<i>našuθa</i>	‘humanity’	< <i>naša</i> ‘person’
<i>saduθa</i>	‘martyrdom’	< <i>sada</i> ‘martyr’
<i>surayuθa</i>	‘Christianity’	< <i>suraya</i> ‘Christian’
<i>waduθa</i>	‘promise’	< Arab. <i>wa’d</i>
<i>wajəbuθa</i>	‘duty’	< Arab. <i>wājib</i>
<i>xətnuθa</i>	‘state of a groom’	< <i>xətna</i> ‘groom’
<i>xonuθa</i>	‘brotherhood’	< <i>xona</i> ‘brother’

In a few cases an /ay/ infix is added between the base and the *-uθa* suffix, e.g.

<i>xərbayuθa</i>	‘evil’	< <i>xərba</i> ‘bad’
<i>xəzmayuθa</i>	‘kinship relationship’	< <i>xəzme</i> ‘relatives’

In the case of a few nouns with the ending *-uθa* that express abstractions the base cannot be identified as an existing adjective or noun, e.g.

<i>marðuθa</i>	‘education’
<i>sarastuθa</i>	‘honesty, frankness’
<i>sebuθa</i>	‘old age’
<i>təxruθa</i>	‘memory’
<i>xaduθa</i>	‘joy’

The suffix is also used to express professions by attaching it to nouns referring to practitioners of the profession in question, e.g.

<i>najaruθa</i>	‘carpentry’
<i>zaqaruθa</i>	‘weaving’
<i>karaxuθa</i>	‘the profession of the <i>karaxa</i> (irrigation administrator)’

In a few cases the suffix *-uθa* forms a noun that denotes a diffuse or collective entity rather than an intangible abstraction, e.g.

<i>bεθuθa</i>	‘household, family’
<i>xεpuθa</i>	‘fog’
<i>bər-našuθa</i>	‘mankind’

Occasionally it occurs in words referring to a tangible entity, e.g.

<i>xəlyuθa</i>	‘sweet foods’
<i>xwaruθa</i>	‘dairy products’
<i>milanuθa</i>	‘greens, vegetables’

(ii) Feminine marker

Some feminine nouns referring to concrete entities that do not have a final /w/ element in their root have the ending *-uθa*, e.g.

<i>maṛuθa</i>	‘wooden spade for moving snow’
<i>qaṭuθa</i>	‘(female) cat’

The suffix here should be distinguished from the suffix that expresses abstraction and should be analysed as a feminine marker. The nouns *maṛuθa* and *qaṭuθa* have masculine counterparts, viz. *maṛa* ‘(metal) spade’ and *qaṭa* ‘tomcat’. The distinction between *qaṭa* and *qaṭuθa* is one of biological gender. In the pair *maṛa* : *maṛuθa*, on the other hand, the *-uθa* can be regarded as having a diminutive function. A *maṛuθa* is less robust than a *maṛa*, although it is not necessarily smaller.

The noun *qaṭuθa* is exceptional in that the *-θa* is sometimes omitted when it is indefinite in status: *qaṭu* ‘a cat’, *qaṭuθa* ‘the cat’. This is a vestige of the absolute state of earlier Aramaic (§10.9.).

#### 10.8.4. *-iθa*

In some cases, when a masculine form of a word exists, the corresponding feminine form is constructed by adding the ending *-iθa*, with a supplementary /i/. This forestalls any consequential resyllabification. It is commonly attached to masculine nouns with the pattern *CVCV* or those whose base ends in a geminate consonant. As with the *-ta/-θa* ending, the *-iθa* ending is used to express singulars of collectives and diminutives:

## (i) Singulars of collectives

<i>dəmme</i> ‘tears’	<i>dəmmiθa</i> ‘a tear’
<i>gerwe</i> ‘socks’	<i>gərwiθa</i> ‘a sock’
<i>ʔəppe</i> ‘drops’	<i>ʔəppiθa</i> ‘a drop’
<i>xəʔte</i> ‘wheat’	<i>xəʔtiθa</i> ‘a grain of wheat’

## (ii) Diminutives

<i>gare</i> ‘roof’	<i>gariθa</i> ‘small roof’
<i>gəppa</i> ‘cave’	<i>gəppiθa</i> ‘small cave’
<i>goja</i> ‘stock of tree’	<i>gojiθa</i> ‘small stock of tree’
<i>goma</i> ‘stable’	<i>gomiθa</i> ‘small stable’
<i>qəčča</i> ‘piece of rope’	<i>qəččiθa</i> ‘small piece of rope’
<i>qupa</i> ‘basket’	<i>qupiθa</i> ‘small basket’
<i>rapa</i> ‘gate of pen’	<i>rapiθa</i> ‘small gate of pen’
<i>ʃlawə</i> ‘tether’	<i>ʃlawiθa</i> ‘small tether’
<i>xuwwə</i> ‘snake’	<i>xuwwiθa</i> ‘small snake’

It is found in a few words that have no corresponding masculine form, e.g.

<i>ʔurʔiθa</i>	‘fart’
<i>qunjiθa</i>	‘corner’
<i>qurniθa</i>	‘corner’
<i>ʃopiθa</i>	‘porch’
<i>zarzariθa</i>	‘small ant’

In a few words the suffix is used to express an abstraction or intangible entity, like the ending *-uθa*, e.g.

<i>mamodiθa</i>	‘baptism’
<i>haqqiθa</i>	‘due’
<i>xānāqiθa</i>	‘whooping cough’

10.8.5. *-əʔta*

This ending, which is found in a few nouns that have a corresponding masculine form, has a diminutive function, e.g.

<i>gawza</i>	‘walnut tree’	<i>gawzəʔta</i>	‘small walnut-tree’
<i>biba</i>	‘pupil (of eye)’	<i>bibəʔta</i>	‘(small) pupil’



It occasionally interchanges with the ending *-iθa*, e.g.

*qunjəlta* ~ *qunjiθa*      ‘corner’      < Kurd. *qunc*

A similar ending is probably to be identified in the word *beḏulta* ‘sleeve’, which is in origin a compound form consisting of *be* + *ʾiða* ‘place of the arm’.

#### 10.8.6. *-usta, -əsta*

This feminine ending can be identified in a few nouns with a diminutive function:

<i>danwa</i>	‘tail’	<i>dambusta</i>	‘small tail’
<i>gərra</i>	‘leprosy, psoriasis’	<i>gərrəsta</i>	‘dandruff’

#### 10.8.7. *-əšta*

This ending also has a diminutive function:

<i>margəšta</i>	‘small meadow’	cf. <i>marga</i>	‘meadow’
<i>pəqqəšta</i>	‘blister’	cf. Kurd. <i>peq, peqik</i>	‘blister’

#### 10.8.8. *-ənta*

This ending is found sporadically in feminine nouns that have a masculine counterpart. In all known cases the masculine form is a loanword. The feminine form, however, is an internal development within the Aramaic dialect:

<i>čulla</i>	‘mountain peak’	<i>čullənta</i>	‘small mountain peak’
<i>moja</i>	‘calf’	<i>mojənta</i>	‘heifer’
<i>parra</i>	‘feather’	<i>parrənta</i>	‘comb of a bird’

These feminine forms exhibit different types of semantic relationship to the masculine form, including diminutive (*čullənta, parrənta*) and biological gender difference (*mojənta*).

## 10.8.9. -ona

The diminutive ending *-ona* is found as a fixed component of the kinship terms *brona* ‘son’ (< \**br* + *ona*) and *xona* ‘brother’ < (\**’ah* + *ona*). It is sporadically found elsewhere, mainly in poetic contexts, e.g.

<i>gəppona</i> ‘small cave’ (A51:16)	< <i>gəppa</i> ‘cave’
<i>čarxona</i> ‘small walk’ (A51:12)	< <i>čarxa</i> ‘turn, walk’
<i>bəxyona</i> ‘crying (of a baby)’ (A38:7)	< <i>bəxya</i> ‘crying’
<i>laqtona</i> ‘a small morsel’	< <i>laqta</i> ‘a morsel’

The feminine form of the suffix is either *-oniθa* or *-onta*. The former is a fixed element in the insect name *parxoniθa* ‘butterfly’ (cf. *parxa* ‘bird’), the flower name *wardoniθa* ‘type of small flower’ (cf. *warda* ‘flower’) and possibly also in the bird name *soniθa* ‘swallow’ (cf. *sona* ‘type of duck’). The latter is used to form diminutives from an existing base form, mainly in poetic contexts, e.g.

<i>kačče</i>	‘girl’	<i>kaččonta</i>	‘little girl’
<i>qarəkke</i>	‘crow’	<i>qarəkθonta</i>	‘little crow’ (A34:3)
<i>masrəqθa</i>	‘comb’	<i>masrəqθonta</i>	‘little comb’ (A34:3)

The diminutive plural ending can perhaps be identified as a fixed element in *xəšxəšone* ‘skating, skiing’.

## 10.8.10. -una

This is identifiable as a derivative suffix in the following:

<i>pařuna</i>	‘sheepskin bag’	< <i>pařa</i>	‘lamb’
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## 10.8.11. -unya

The suffix *-unya* is found in a few abstract nouns, e.g.

<i>pəřunya</i>	‘difference’
<i>təxrunya</i>	‘memory, memorial’

## 10.8.12. -ola

This is identifiable as a derivative suffix in the following:

*šaqla* ‘shin’                      cf. *šaqa* ‘legging (worn on shin)’

### 10.8.13. -us, -əs

An ending with the form *-us* with no final vowel can be identified as a derivational ending in *murčanus* f. ‘mashed potato’, which is derived from the Aramaic verbal root *mrč* ‘to crush’, and perhaps also in *dambus* f. ‘a plant resembling a horse’s tail’; *limandus* f. ‘lemon juice’. A related ending appears to be the *-əs* of the form *kundarəs* f. ‘chain stitch’. All these words are feminine in gender. The ending may be related to the diminutive ending *-usta/-əsta* (§10.8.6.). Note the pair *dambus* f. ‘plant like a horse’s tail’: *dambusta* f. ‘small tail’.

### 10.8.14. *Pronominal Suffix Treated as a Nominal Ending*

In the noun *rabi* ‘teacher’ the original pronominal suffix has lost its original attributive function and is treated as the basic ending of the word. It meant originally ‘my master’, but now is used in the sense of ‘teacher’ in general. The ending *-i* is a fixed component of the word and is retained in all circumstances, including in the plural, e.g. *rabi dīyux* ‘your teacher’, *rabiye* ‘teachers’.

## 10.9. NOUNS WITH NO INFLECTIONAL ENDING AND THE ABSOLUTE STATE

It has been remarked in §10.6. and §10.7. that nouns ending in *-o* and some nouns ending in *-e* derive historically from nouns in the absolute state. There are a few other cases of this phenomenon. These include the common word *məndi* ‘thing’ (< \**mənda*‘ < \**mədda*‘). Another case is the form *duka* f. ‘place’, which is used, apparently in free variation, as an alternative to *dukθa* ‘place’ with the ending *-θa*. Due to the feminine gender of *duka* it is most easily interpreted as the absolute form of *dukθa*. We should also mention the two names of instruments *manquš* ‘metal instrument for striking fire on flint’ and *msarbəs* ‘wooden instrument on which balls of wool are wound’. These seem to have Aramaic etymologies (< \**nqš* ‘to strike’, < \**sbs* ‘to be compact’).

In addition to the aforementioned nouns, which are fossilized relics of the absolute state, there are some that lack the inflectional vowels only in certain syntactic contexts. In such cases the erstwhile functional distinction between absolute and determined state has been preserved. The absolute

form *qatu* ‘cat’, for example, is used when indefinite and definite, but the form *qatuθa*, which is historically the determined form, is only used when definite. The nouns *yoma* ‘day’ and *šeta* ‘year’ are used without the final vowel in certain adverbial expressions, such as *kut-yom* ‘every day’, *ʔadyo* ‘today’ (< *ʔad-yom*), *kúššət* ‘every year’ (< *kut-šat*). The noun *geb* ‘side’ is attested in the absolute state form *gēb* in distributive constructions, e.g. *kút-xa xiša l-xà-gēb*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody went in one (= a different) direction’ (B1:8).

#### 10.10. NOUNS WITH PREFIXED *M-*

In addition to infinitives, verbal nouns and participle forms (e.g. *mbašlana* ‘cook’, *maryana* ‘repairer’), there are a number of other nouns of other patterns that have been derived historically by the prefixing of a *m-* element. In a large proportion of cases the root is not used in the current dialect as a verbal form. These can be divided into the following categories:

##### (i) Spatial locations

<i>maʔarwa</i>	‘West’
<i>madənxa</i>	‘East’
<i>meqora</i>	‘hole’
<i>məštaqa</i>	‘place in a chicken-coop where chickens sit’
<i>məštaxa</i>	‘place where fruit and vegetables are spread out to dry’

##### (ii) Instruments

<i>masərqa</i>	‘comb’
<i>maqara</i>	‘gouge’
<i>masəxθa</i>	‘poker; griddle, frying pan’
<i>mazreta</i>	‘yoyo’
<i>məlxawə</i>	‘fork used in threshing’
<i>mziða</i>	‘bag (for storing grain)’

##### (iii) Others

<i>maxmore</i>	‘jewels’
<i>mbadla</i>	‘morning’
<i>mexolta</i>	‘food, meal’

## 10.11. THE MORPHOLOGICAL ADAPTION OF LOANWORDS

The vast majority of loanwords in the dialect originate in Kurmanji Kurdish. There are also loans from other languages used in the region, such as Arabic and Turkish, though many of these may have entered the dialect through Kurdish. Loanwords that end in a consonant in the source language are generally adapted to Aramaic morphology by adding a final *-a* inflectional vowel. This applies to nouns of both genders, e.g.

<i>barana</i>	‘adult male sheep’	Kurd. beran m.
<i>čura</i>	‘angora goat’	Kurd. çûr m.
<i>čuxa</i>	‘broadcloth’	Kurd. çox m.
<i>galaweža</i>	‘Sirius, Dog Star’	Kurd. gelavêj f.
<i>garra</i>	‘turn’	Kurd. geṛ f.
<i>gəra</i>	‘hill’	Kurd. gir m.
<i>gisqa</i>	‘male goat (1–2 years)’	Kurd. gîsk m.
<i>hakima</i>	‘doctor’	Kurd. hekîm m. < Arab. <i>hakîm</i> m.
<i>həlma</i>	‘breath’	Kurd. hilm f.
<i>jeba</i>	‘pocket’	Kurd. cêb f. < Arab. <i>jēb</i> m.
<i>jūwala</i>	‘sack’	Kurd. çewal m.
<i>kaža</i>	‘pine tree’	Kurd. kaj f.
<i>kulənga</i>	‘pickaxe’	Kurd. kuling m.
<i>kura</i>	‘male goat (2–3 years)’	Kurd. kûr m.
<i>pəškoža</i>	‘bud; taste’	Kurd. pişkoj f.
<i>qayişa</i>	‘belt’	Kurd. qayîş f.
<i>razwana</i>	‘guard of orchard’	Kurd. rezvan m.
<i>šamala</i>	‘candle’	Kurd. şemal f.
<i>šəxxaṭa</i>	‘match’	Arab. <i>šəxxaṭ</i> m.
<i>ṭanga</i>	‘saddle girth, strap’	Kurd. ṭeng m./f.
<i>tasa</i>	‘bowl, basin’	Kurd. tas f.
<i>xiza</i>	‘sand’	Kurd. xîz m./f.

When the source form ends in a closed syllable with a short vowel followed by a single consonant, the vowel remains short but the final consonant is generally geminated due to the incidence of stress:

<i>balle</i>	‘sheep with erect ears’	Kurd. bel ‘erect (ears)’
<i>fērassa</i>	‘hero’	Kurd. fêris m. < Arab. <i>fāris</i>
<i>gərsəkka</i>	‘wild pear’	Kurd. girsik m.

<i>hogəçça</i>	‘male sheep (3 years)’	Kurd. hogiç m.
<i>ḵawərra</i>	‘male sheep (1–2 years)’	Kurd. kaviṛ m.
<i>ḵawəlla</i>	‘ruin’	Kurd. kaviḷ m.
<i>ḵalle</i>	‘embers of wood’	Kurd. pel m./f.
<i>ṣakka</i>	‘male sheep (2–3 years)’	Kurd. ṣek m.
<i>sayəssa</i>	‘male goat (3 years)’	Kurd. sayis m.

In a few cases the gemination does not take place, e.g.

<i>doṣāka</i>	‘mattress’	Kurd. doṣek f.
<i>wardāka</i>	‘duck’	Kurd. werdek f.

When the Kurdish source form ends in a vowel, a glide is inserted before the added *-a* inflectional vowel. After unrounded vowels this is /y/ and after rounded vowels it is /w/, e.g.

<i>gāliya</i>	‘valley’	Kurd. gelî m.
<i>neriya</i>	‘male goat’	Kurd. nêrî m.
<i>parsuwa</i>	‘rib’	Kurd. parsû m./f.
<i>poṣiya</i>	‘head kerchief’	Kurd. poṣî m.
<i>qamçiya</i>	‘whip’	Kurd. qamçî m.
<i>qotiya</i>	‘mirror’	Kurd. qotî f.
<i>ṣəfiya</i>	‘watermelon’	Kurd. ṣiftû m.
<i>xādaya</i>	‘lunch’	Arab. <i>ḡadā</i> ’ m.
<i>xaliya</i>	‘carpet’	Kurd. xalî f.

In a few sporadic cases a loanword of feminine gender is adapted by attaching the Aramaic feminine ending *-ta/-tha*, e.g.

<i>qapaxta</i>	‘lid’	Kurd. qapaḵ f.
<i>ṣəmθa</i>	‘hoof’	Kurd. sim f.
<i>tuṣṭirta</i>	‘young female goat’	Kurd. tuṣṭîr f.

The Aramaic feminine ending is sometimes used to derive a feminine form from a masculine loanword that has no corresponding feminine form in the source language, e.g.

<i>gisəqθa</i>	‘1–2 year old female goat’	Kurd. giṣk ‘male goat’
<i>ḵawərta</i>	‘1–2 year old female sheep’	Kurd. ḵavirra ‘male sheep’

Occasionally a final *-a* vowel in the source form of a loanword is interpreted as the Aramaic inflectional ending. Likewise the sequence /*ta*/ at the end of a loan-word is sometimes interpreted as the Aramaic feminine ending. This is shown by the plural forms of such words, in which these endings are removed when the Aramaic plural inflections are added:

<i>darga</i> (pl. <i>darge</i> )	‘door’	Kurd. <i>dergeh</i>
<i>parča</i> (pl. <i>parče</i> )	‘cloth, fabric’	Kurd. <i>perçe</i>
<i>parda</i> (pl. <i>parde</i> )	‘cloth blind’	Kurd. <i>perde</i>
<i>tašta</i> (pl. <i>tašyatha</i> )	‘bowl’	Kurd. <i>tešt</i>
<i>čanta</i> (pl. <i>čanatha</i> )	‘bag’	Kurd. <i>cente</i>

Note also the word *masta* which is construed as feminine in gender although the Kurdish source word *mast* is masculine.

#### 10.12. UNADAPTED LOANWORDS

Numerous loanwords in the dialect do not have Aramaic inflectional endings added to them in the singular. Most of these, nevertheless, take Aramaic plural endings (§10.15.8.). These unadapted loans tend to end in a consonant. Most words with a source form ending in a vowel are adapted. If the word in the source language ends in a closed syllable with a short or long *a* vowel, this is generally raised, when unstressed, to the region of /*ə*/ by a process of attenuation that is normal in the dialect, e.g.

<i>bahər</i>	‘Spring’	Kurd. <i>bihar</i>
<i>manzəl</i>	‘room’	Kurd. <i>mezəl f.</i>
<i>tabəq</i>	‘floor, storey’	Arab. <i>tabaq m.</i>
<i>čangəl</i>	‘fork’	Kurd. <i>çengəl f.</i>
<i>’otəx</i>	‘room’	Kurd. <i>otax f.</i>
<i>tāhər</i>	‘type’	Kurd. <i>teher</i>
<i>heywən</i>	‘animal’	Kurd. <i>heywan m./f. &lt; Arab.</i>
<i>dīwən</i>	‘social gathering’	Kurd. <i>dīwan f.</i>
<i>čakuč</i>	‘hammer’	Kurd. <i>çakûç m.</i>
<i>danbus</i>	‘pin’	Arab. <i>dabbūs</i>
<i>fəstəq</i>	‘pistachio’	Kurd. <i>fistiç f.</i>
<i>pažgir</i>	‘towel’	Kurd. <i>pêjgir f.</i>
<i>brin</i>	‘wound’	Kurd. <i>birîn f.</i>

A consonant after a stressed short vowel in an open syllable is generally geminated in the target form, e.g.

<i>kallāš</i>	‘corpse, carrion’	Kurd. keleş m.
<i>marrās</i>	‘hair of angora goat’	Kurd. merez f.

An *a* vowel that is attenuated in an unstressed syllable is restored when stress shifts onto the syllable after the addition of a suffix and it becomes open, e.g. *mānzəl* ‘room’, *manzāli* ‘my room’.

A few loanwords with a source form that ends in an *a* vowel can be classified as unadapted, in that the final vowel is not interpreted as the Aramaic inflectional vowel but rather is treated as belonging to the base of the word. This applies to the word *panjāra* ‘window’ (Kurd. pencere), the plural form of which is *panjāriyatha* (< \**panjārayatha*) with a vestige of the original final vowel. A singular form *panjāriya* has developed by back-formation from this plural.

Morphological adaptation is inconsistent across the lexicon and also in individual lexical items, since some words are used both in an adapted and also in an unadapted form, e.g.

<i>’otax</i> ~ <i>’otaxa</i>	‘room’
<i>barbi</i> ~ <i>barbiya</i> , <i>barbiye</i>	‘bride’s female companion’
<i>čangəl</i> ~ <i>čəngala</i>	‘fork’
<i>čeydən</i> ~ <i>čeydana</i>	‘teapot’
<i>panjāra</i> ~ <i>panjāriya</i>	‘window’
<i>parzūn</i> ~ <i>parzuna</i>	‘back-pack’ (Kurd. parzūn)
<i>qayiš</i> ~ <i>qayiša</i>	‘belt’
<i>qazəd</i> ~ <i>qazədda</i>	‘messenger’
<i>sənjəq</i> ~ <i>sənjəqa</i>	‘crotch hook’
<i>xəllət</i> ~ <i>xəlləta</i>	‘gift’

### 10.13. NOUNS WITH KURDISH DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

#### 10.13.1. *Diminutive Suffixes*

Various suffixes containing the Kurdish diminutive element /*k*/ are attested. The vast majority of these are attached to nouns of Kurdish origin. It appears, however, that these suffixes are used productively in the Aramaic dialect. This is shown by the fact that several of the nouns bearing these



suffixes are not recorded as having diminutive suffixes in the Kurdish dictionaries. In a few cases, furthermore, they have been attached to nouns of Aramaic or Arabic origin.

#### 10.13.1.1. -əkka

This is composed of the Kurdish diminutive ending *-ək* and the Aramaic inflectional ending *-a*, with the /k/ geminated after the short vowel due to the incidence of stress. The /ə/ is elided if the base of the noun ends in a vowel, e.g.

<i>badəkka</i>	‘small house, hut’	
<i>bazəkka</i>	‘little jump’	cf. <i>baza</i> ‘jump’
<i>čezəkka</i>	‘spark’	
<i>dəndəkka</i>	‘grain’	
<i>halukka</i>	‘plum’	
<i>jaməkka</i>	‘twin’	
<i>kawəkka</i>	‘funnel’	
<i>maməkka</i>	‘breast of a young woman’	
<i>tannəkka</i>	‘tin’	
<i>ziləkka</i>	‘small reed’	cf. <i>zala</i> ‘reed’

The ending *-əkka* is attached also to words of Aramaic and Arabic origin, e.g.

<i>šawməkka</i>	‘little fast’ (custom in fast of Lent)	cf. <i>šawma</i> ‘fast’
<i>miθəkka</i>	‘little dead man’ (custom at Christmas)	cf. <i>miθa</i> ‘dead’
<i>xorəkka</i>	‘little friend’	cf. <i>xawra</i> ‘friend’
<i>lijəkka</i>	‘flannel’	
<i>zarpəkka</i>	‘insect bite’	cf. <i>zarba</i> ‘blow’

In a few isolated cases the suffix has /gg/ instead of /kk/, e.g.

<i>nawəgga</i>	‘great-grandson’
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#### 10.13.1.2. -əkke

This is a variant of the *-əkka* ending with final *-e* in the singular rather than final *-a*. These nouns are feminine in gender, e.g.

<i>sorəkke</i> f.	‘open water pipe’
<i>pozəkke</i> f.	‘nozzle’ (Kurd. <i>poz</i> ‘nose’)
<i>rawəkke</i> f.	‘little rawe’
<i>saləkke</i> f.	‘small basket of beehive’

## 10.13.1.3. -əkθa

This suffix is composed of the Kurdish diminutive ending *-ək* and the Aramaic feminine ending *-θa*.

In a few cases, the *-əkθa* suffix is used to express the female counterpart of a masculine form, e.g.

<i>čurra</i> m. ‘angora goat’	<i>čurrəkθa</i> f. ‘angora goat’
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Several nouns ending in *-əkθa* form a diminutive of a corresponding noun ending in *-a*, e.g.

<i>bāra</i> ‘sheet’	<i>bārəkθa</i> ‘small sheet’
<i>gəra</i> ‘hill’	<i>gərəkθa</i> ‘hillock’
<i>kəppa</i> ‘ankle’	<i>kəppəkθa</i> ‘bottom of the ankle’
<i>lappa</i> ‘palm of the hand’	<i>lappəkθa</i> ‘small hand, paw’
<i>pačča</i> ‘large handful’	<i>paččəkθa</i> ‘small handful’
<i>palla</i> ‘burning coal’	<i>palləkθa</i> ‘small burning coal, ember’
<i>sulina</i> ‘pipe’	<i>suləkθa</i> ‘small pipe’
<i>tulla</i> ‘hound’	<i>tulləkθa</i> ‘a small hound’

The ending is attached to some words of Aramaic origin with a diminutive sense, e.g.

ʾəna ‘eye’	ʾənəkθa ‘small hole in a shoe’
ʾəzza ‘female goat’	ʾəzzəkθa ‘small female goat’

The suffix is used to express the singular of some plural nouns ending in *-e*. These refer to entities that naturally occur as a collectivity, e.g.

<i>palle</i> ‘burning embers’	<i>palləkθa</i> ‘an ember’
<i>kərme</i> ‘worms’	<i>kərməkθa</i> ‘a worm’

Such nouns may also have a secondary plural that is derived from the singular form. This is the case, for example, with *kərməkθa*:

<i>kərme</i> ‘worms’	>	<i>kərməkθa</i> ‘worm’	>	<i>kərməkyaθa</i> ‘worms’
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In some cases a singular noun ending in *-əkθa* is derived from a plural ending in *-əkke*, e.g. *dəndəkke* ‘grains’: *dəndəkθa* ‘grain’; *čučəkke* ‘sparrows’: *čučəkθa* ‘sparrow’. Such nouns can be classified with nouns that form singulars of collectives by the suffix *-ta / -θa* (§10.5.2.2.). The ending *-əkke* is the plural of the diminutive inflection *-əkka*. The form *dəndəkka* is, indeed, also used as the singular for *dəndəkke*. Note also *čučəkke* ‘sparrows’: *čučəkka* ~ *čučəkθa* ‘sparrow’.

The majority of nouns ending in *-əkθa* are not derivative of another noun that exists in the dialect, e.g.

<i>čəlləkθa</i>	‘milking pot; vessel for yoghurt’
<i>kuunnəkθa</i>	‘woman’s headscarf’
<i>ħabbəkθa</i>	‘tablet’
<i>julləkθa</i>	‘milk pail’
<i>koləkθa</i>	‘chicken coop’
<i>laməkθa</i>	‘jaw (of an animal)’
<i>mučəkθa</i>	‘small dry measure’
<i>rapəkθa</i>	‘cup measure for grain’
<i>zarrəkθa</i>	‘detergent made of wood ash’
<i>tăpəkθa</i>	‘lid; trap for sparrows’
<i>dăbbəkθa</i>	‘lid; trap for sparrows’ (variant form of <i>tăpəkθa</i> )
<i>jəlləkθa</i>	‘rabbit trap’
<i>yarəkθa</i>	‘female concubine’

#### 10.13.1.4. *-unka*

This ending can be analysed as the Aramaic diminutive element *-un*, which is related to *-ona* (§10.8.9.), combined with a Kurdish diminutive element */k/*, e.g.

<i>yalunka</i>	‘young child’
<i>sawunka</i>	‘old man’

#### 10.13.1.5. *-ka*

This suffix is composed of the Kurdish diminutive element */k/* and the Aramaic inflectional suffix *-a*, e.g.

<i>baqurka</i>	‘piglet’
<i>haluka</i>	‘black plum’ (Kurd. <i>hîlû</i> )
<i>nawčənkə</i>	‘great-great-grandson’ (Kurd. <i>nevîçîrk</i> )
<i>qālunka</i>	‘pipe’ (Kurd. <i>qelûn</i> )
<i>salaməška</i>	‘beehive’

A few isolated nouns have /g/, /q/ or /č/ instead of /k/ in the suffix, e.g.

<i>jwanqa</i>	‘young man’
<i>nawaga</i>	‘grandson’ (Kurd. <i>nevî</i> )
<i>baqča</i>	‘vegetable garden’

#### 10.13.1.6. -ăka, -akka

A variant of the *-ka* ending is *-ăka* or *-akka* with the /k/ geminated after the stress, e.g.

<i>gozăka</i>	‘ankle’
<i>halučakka</i>	‘black plum’ (< <i>haluka</i> < Kurd. <i>hîlû</i> )

#### 10.13.1.7. -ika

Another rare variant is *-ika*, with a long /i/ before the *-ka* ending, e.g.

<i>prtika</i>	‘splinter’ (cf. Syr. <i>prt</i> ‘to split’)
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#### 10.13.1.8. -ke

This consists of the Kurdish /k/ element and the ending *-e*, which is probably the Kurdish feminine oblique ending in origin, e.g.

<i>pəqqəşke</i> f.	‘bubble, blister’ (cf. <i>pəqqəšta</i> ‘bubble’)
<i>xamişoke</i> f.	‘a bitter herb’

#### 10.13.2. -či

This expresses professions or habitual activities. Nouns with the *-či* suffix are never adapted:

<i>dəkkanči</i>	‘shopkeeper’	< <i>dəkkana</i> ‘shop’
<i>čayxanči</i>	‘teashop owner’	< <i>čayxana</i> ‘teashop’
<i>qumārči</i>	‘gambler’	< <i>qumār</i> ‘gambling’

#### 10.13.3. -dan

This occurs in loanwords denoting containers. These are sometimes adapted to Aramaic morphology by the addition of the ending *-a*:

<i>qawadən</i>	‘coffee pot’
<i>čeydən, čeydana</i>	‘kettle’

## 10.13.4. -i

This Kurdish suffix is used to form nouns expressing abstractions. Loanwords with this ending are never adapted by the addition of Aramaic inflectional endings:

<i>rəqqi</i>	‘stubbornness’
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## 10.14. GENDER

10.14.1. *Feminine Nouns Ending in -a*

Nouns of Aramaic stock ending in the nominal inflections *-ta*, *-θa* and *-o* are feminine in gender. The small number of nouns of Aramaic origin ending in *-e* are of either gender without one clearly predominating. Nouns ending in the inflection *-a* are generally masculine in gender. A few nouns ending in *-a*, however, are feminine. Feminine nouns of Aramaic stock ending in *-a* can be classified as follows:

## (i) Parts of the body

<i>ʾaqla</i>	‘leg’
<i>ʾaṭma</i>	‘side, thigh’
<i>ʾena</i>	‘eye’
<i>ʾəqba</i>	‘heel’
<i>ʾiḏa</i>	‘hand’
<i>bərka</i>	‘knee’
<i>kʾasa</i>	‘stomach’
<i>kawda</i>	‘liver’
<i>naθa</i>	‘ear’
<i>nəšma</i>	‘soul’
<i>qana</i>	‘horn’
<i>raθa</i>	‘lung’
<i>roxa</i>	‘spirit’
<i>səmmala</i>	‘left handful, small bundle held in left hand’
<i>šərma</i>	‘buttock’

<i>təpra</i>	‘fingernail, toenail’
<i>šlada</i>	‘corpse’

Numerous nouns referring to other parts of the body are masculine in gender, e.g. *biba* ‘pupil’, *čəčča* ‘shoulder-blade’, *kaka* ‘tooth’, *kawsa* ‘hair’, *lappa* ‘palm’, *lišana* ‘tongue’, *naxira* ‘nose’, *šaqa* ‘thigh’, *šaqola* ‘lower leg’, *reša* ‘head’, *ruša* ‘shoulder’, *wariša* ‘vein’, *xəđya* ‘breast’, *yalma* ‘face’.

## (ii) Small animals

<i>’aqərwə</i>	‘scorpion’
<i>buma</i>	‘owl’
<i>čena</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>dəbba</i>	‘bear’
<i>dəda</i>	‘hawk’
<i>harnuwa</i>	‘rabbit’
<i>nama</i>	‘ostrich’
<i>pəqqa</i>	‘frog’
<i>qalma</i>	‘louse’
<i>šəməwla</i>	‘squirrel’
<i>šəpra</i>	‘sparrow’
<i>šəšra</i>	‘cockroach’
<i>sona</i>	‘type of duck’
<i>tabuwana</i>	‘tick’
<i>yawna</i>	‘dove’

## (iii) Female animals

<i>’əzza</i>	‘nanny-goat’
<i>wana</i>	‘ewe’

## (iv) Various inanimate nouns

Many of the residue of feminine nouns refer to natural phenomena, locations, containers or weapons:

<i>’ərbala</i>	‘medium sized sieve’
<i>’əryana</i>	‘rainfall’
<i>’ərzala</i>	‘portable bed’
<i>’əsra</i>	‘large storage basket’
<i>’ilana</i>	‘tree’
<i>’urədxə</i>	‘large needle’
<i>’urxa</i>	‘road’

<i>barða</i>	‘hail’
<i>bādra</i>	‘threshing floor’
<i>bera</i>	‘well’
<i>bałma</i>	‘terebinth tree’
<i>bzara</i>	‘plough’
<i>dana</i>	‘time’
<i>gərwa</i>	‘sock’
<i>gorna</i>	‘baptismal font’
<i>gurza</i>	‘club’
<i>halwasna</i>	‘raspberry’
<i>kawuθra</i>	‘lunch’
<i>masina</i>	‘earthenware pot’
<i>mālxā</i>	‘salt’
<i>māšna</i>	‘whetstone for sharpening blades’
<i>māššara</i>	‘paddy-field basin’
<i>māḥra</i>	‘rain’
<i>murza</i>	‘ball and chain weapon’
<i>paḡxa</i>	‘wind’
<i>praza</i>	‘harvested field’
<i>punda</i>	‘wick’
<i>qawera</i>	‘grave’
<i>qanna</i>	‘nest’
<i>qarṭala</i>	‘pannier bag’
<i>qutana</i>	‘shirt’
<i>rumxa</i>	‘spear’
<i>swana</i>	‘eaves of roof’
<i>šamərma</i>	‘a thorny tree’
<i>šana</i>	‘honeycomb’
<i>šapna</i>	‘instrument for smoothing ground after ploughing’
<i>šmša</i>	‘sun’
<i>šmayya</i>	‘sky’
<i>šra’a, šraya</i>	‘oil-lamp’
<i>ṭalla</i>	‘shade’
<i>xaqla</i>	‘field’
<i>xmaṭa</i>	‘needle’
<i>yama</i>	‘sea’
<i>zeḏaya</i>	‘flat bread’
<i>zəqqa</i>	‘water-skin’

Some issues regarding the morphophonology of feminine nouns in *-a* should be noted here.

In a few feminine words with the *-a* ending an original feminine inflection has been reanalysed as part of the root. Such a development is reflected by the fact that the plural is formed by replacing only the *-a* and not the whole ending. This applies to the words *šədda* f. ‘demon’, *ʾarda* f. ‘floor, bottom’, and *rəzda* f. ‘line of stones’, the ending *-da* of which, although originally the feminine affix (cf. *šəda* m. ‘demon’, *ʾāra* f. ‘ground’, *reza* m. ‘line’), is now no longer interpreted as such and the plurals are formed by replacing the final *-a* by *-aθa* or *-e*: *šəddaθa*, *ʾardaθa*, *rəzde*. Likewise *raθa* f. ‘lung’ and *naθa* n.f., although derived historically from plural forms with the feminine plural ending *\*-āθā*, the /θ/ is now interpreted as part of the root of the words, their plurals being *raθe* and *naθyaθa* respectively. Conversely, the word *šawθa* ‘word, speech’ from the root *šwθ* is feminine since the ending *-θa* has been interpreted as the feminine inflectional suffix, although /θ/ is originally a radical. This is reflected in the plural form *šəwəθa*, in which the *-θa* ending is replaced by *-aθa*.

When two nouns in *-a* are distinguished only by emphasis and one is feminine in gender, there is a tendency for the emphasis to be present in the masculine word of the pair, e.g.

<i>bera</i> f. ‘well’	<i>beṛa</i> m. ‘light’
<i>paqqa</i> f. ‘frog’	<i>paqqa</i> m. ‘crack’
<i>čəčča</i> f. ‘breast’	<i>čəčča</i> m. ‘shoulder-blade’

In at least the first two pairs the emphasis distinction appears to have developed secondarily to distinguish meaning (§1.4.4., §1.4.5.) so gender is likely to have been a factor determining phonological form.

#### 10.14.2. *Infinitives*

The infinitive form of verbs, which does not have a feminine ending, is sometimes construed as feminine in gender, e.g.

<i>zraʾa</i> f.	‘to cultivate’
<i>mzabone</i> f.	‘to sell’
<i>maštuye</i> f.	‘to irrigate’

#### 10.14.3. *Loanwords*

Loanwords that are feminine in the source language are generally feminine in the Aramaic dialect. There are a few discrepancies between the gender of the loanword and the gender indicated in Kurdish dictionaries. This



may be due to a certain degree of instability of gender assignment in Kurdish. Arabic loanwords that are masculine in Arabic are frequently assigned feminine gender in Kurdish and these generally appear in the Aramaic dialect as feminine. Examples of nouns loaned from Kurdish that have feminine gender are:

<i>’araq</i>	‘arak’
<i>’askar</i>	‘army’ (Arab. <i>’askar</i> m.)
<i>’otax</i>	‘room’
<i>’bena</i>	‘breath, time (instance)’
<i>’brîn</i>	‘wound’
<i>’çay</i>	‘tea’
<i>’diwên</i>	‘social gathering’
<i>’dakkana</i>	‘shop’ (Arab. <i>’dukkân</i> m.)
<i>’ga</i>	‘time’
<i>’juwala</i>	‘sack’ (Kurd. <i>’çewal</i> m.)
<i>’kallêş</i>	‘corpse’ (Kurd. <i>’keleş</i> m.)
<i>’qarwên</i>	‘caravan’ (Kurd. <i>’karwan</i> m.)
<i>’kolana</i>	‘street’
<i>’kûprana</i>	‘wooden hut’
<i>’manzêl</i>	‘room’ (Arab. <i>’manzil</i> m.)
<i>’panjâriya</i>	‘window’
<i>’şart</i>	‘condition’ (Arab. <i>’şart</i> m.)
<i>’tasa</i>	‘bowl’
<i>’xêdaya</i>	‘lunch’ (Arab. <i>’ğadâ</i> ’ m.)
<i>’xaliya</i>	‘carpet’
<i>’xanjêr</i>	‘dagger’

#### 10.15. PLURAL FORMS

The plural of nouns is generally expressed by attaching a plural inflectional ending. The plural endings that are used in the dialect are the following: *-e*, *-ane*, *-atha*, *-âwatha*, *-watha*, *-yatha*. These replace the singular nominal inflections *-a*, *-ta*, *-tha*, and *-e*. In the case of nouns ending in *-o*, the plural ending is added to the singular form without replacing the *-o* inflection. The correspondence between the various plural endings and the singular endings is not one-to-one. For this reason the plural inflection is not predictable for a singular form. If a singular form with one of the feminine endings *-ta* or *-tha* takes a plural ending beginning with a vowel,

there is generally some consequential resyllabification, e.g. *tarəpθa* ‘leaf’ > *tarpe* ‘leaves’. This tends to be avoided, however, by the predominant use of the plural inflection *-yaθa*. Since this begins with a consonant, no resyllabification takes place, e.g. *gdišta* ‘stook of corn’ > *gdišyaθa* ‘stooks of corn’.

In what follows the various plural endings are classified according to the form of the singular inflection that they replace. It will be seen that some nouns have more than one plural form. In some cases, there is a semantic distinction between the different plurals, e.g.

<i>’ena</i>	‘eye’	pl. <i>’ene</i>
<i>’ena</i>	‘hole in shoe-strap’	pl. <i>’enaθa</i>
<i>’ena</i>	‘spring’	pl. <i>’enaθa, ’enāwaθa</i>
<i>reša</i>	‘head (of a man)’	pl. <i>rešāwaθa</i>
<i>reša</i>	‘head (of a tool)’	pl. <i>rešaθa</i>
<i>reša</i>	‘top (of a village)’	pl. <i>rešane</i>
<i>lappa</i>	‘palm, sole’	pl. <i>lappape</i>
<i>lappa</i>	‘wave’	pl. <i>lappe</i>
<i>parra</i>	‘feather’	pl. <i>parre</i>
<i>parra</i>	‘fin (on propeller)’	pl. <i>parrane</i>

Some alternations of plural forms do not, however, entail a semantic distinction, e.g.

<i>’ilana</i>	‘tree’	pl. <i>’ilane, ’ilanane</i>
<i>’ida</i>	‘hand’	pl. <i>’idaθa, ’idāwaθa</i>
<i>pəqqa</i>	‘frog’	pl. <i>pəqqe, pəqqaθa</i>

When one of these alternative plurals ends in *-e*, this tends to be used with low numerals (see §14.12.), e.g. *tre pəqqe* ‘two frogs’, *raba pəqqaθa* ‘many frogs’.

### 10.15.1. *The Plural Ending -e*

#### 10.15.1.1. *Plurals in -e from Singulars in -a*

This category includes singular nouns in *-a* of both genders:

## (i) Masculine

Singular	Plural	
<i>’mwa</i>	<i>’mwe</i>	‘grape’
<i>boya</i>	<i>boye</i>	‘hole’
<i>čamča</i>	<i>čamče</i>	‘spoon’
<i>dabaša</i>	<i>dabaše</i>	‘bee’
<i>dugla</i>	<i>dugle</i>	‘lie’
<i>garma</i>	<i>garme</i>	‘bone’
<i>genawa</i>	<i>genawe</i>	‘thief’
<i>gāšra</i>	<i>gāšre</i>	‘bridge’
<i>gādda</i>	<i>gādde</i>	‘string, strand’
<i>gārwa</i>	<i>gārwe</i>	‘sock’
<i>gumla</i>	<i>gumle</i>	‘camel’
<i>jeba</i>	<i>jebe</i>	‘pocket’
<i>kaka</i>	<i>kake</i>	‘tooth’
<i>kepa</i>	<i>kepe</i>	‘stone’
<i>kəxwa</i>	<i>kəxwe</i>	‘star’
<i>labbā</i>	<i>labbē</i>	‘heart’
<i>naxira</i>	<i>naxire</i>	‘nose’
<i>pərtana</i>	<i>pərtane</i>	‘flea’
<i>punda</i>	<i>punde</i>	‘wick’
<i>qaša</i>	<i>qaše</i>	‘priest’
<i>qazba</i>	<i>qazbe</i>	‘date’
<i>qəṭwa</i>	<i>qəṭwe</i>	‘wooden needle’
<i>susa</i>	<i>suse</i>	‘horse’
<i>šāmala</i>	<i>šāmale</i>	‘candle’
<i>šawpa</i>	<i>šawpe</i>	‘footprint’
<i>šəftiya</i>	<i>šəftiye</i>	‘watermelon’
<i>taqa</i>	<i>taqe</i>	‘branch’
<i>tawra</i>	<i>tawre</i>	‘ox’
<i>tena</i>	<i>tene</i>	‘fig’
<i>ṭlawxa</i>	<i>ṭlawxe</i>	‘lentil’
<i>xabuša</i>	<i>xabuše</i>	‘apple’

## (ii) Feminine

<i>’ena</i> f.	<i>’ene</i>	‘eye’
<i>’ilana</i> f.	<i>’ilane</i>	‘tree’
<i>čena</i> f.	<i>čene</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>čeydān</i> f.	<i>čeydane</i>	‘teapot’
<i>čeypās</i> f.	<i>čeypase</i>	‘small teapot’

<i>darjāma</i> f.	<i>darjāme</i>	‘screen used by hunters’
<i>harnuwa</i> f.	<i>harnuwe</i>	‘rabbit’
<i>kawaza</i> f.	<i>kawaze</i>	‘earthenware pot’
<i>lagna</i> f.	<i>lagne</i>	‘thorny plant’
<i>mašana</i> f.	<i>mašane</i>	‘beam of plough’
<i>qalma</i> f.	<i>qalme</i>	‘louse’
<i>qawadən</i> f.	<i>qawadane</i>	‘coffeepot’
<i>qərtała</i> f.	<i>qərtałe</i>	‘pannier bag’
<i>šarba</i> f.	<i>šarbe</i>	‘earthenware jug’
<i>sarməjanika</i> f.	<i>sarməjanke</i>	‘hook of plough beam’
<i>səmmala</i> f.	<i>səmmale</i>	‘small bundle of grass’
<i>səsra</i> f.	<i>səsre</i>	‘cockroach’
<i>tabuwana</i> f.	<i>tabuwane</i>	‘tick’
<i>yasmina</i> f.	<i>yasmine</i>	‘jasmin’
<i>zəḏaya</i> f.	<i>zəḏaye</i>	‘flat bread’

#### 10.15.1.2. *Plurals in -e from Singulars in -ta or -θa*

This includes the nouns listed in §10.5.2.2., where a referent is usually referred to as a collectivity by the plural form and the singular with a feminine ending is used to denote a single item of the collectivity:

Singular	Plural	
<i>beta</i>	<i>be'e</i>	‘egg’
<i>nunta</i>	<i>nune</i>	‘fish’
<i>bətəθa</i>	<i>bətme</i>	‘terebinth nut’
<i>tarəpθa</i>	<i>tarpe</i>	‘leaves’

The word *raθa*, which is historically a plural form with the plural ending *\*-āθā*, has been reinterpreted as a singular form ‘lung’ and the /θ/ is treated as part of the root. The plural is formed by replacing the final *-a* with *-e*:

<i>raθa</i>	<i>raθe</i>	‘lung’
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#### 10.15.2. *The Plural Ending -ane*

Nouns that take this plural ending almost all have inanimate referents.

10.15.2.1. *Plurals in -ane from Singulars in -a*

This include nouns of both genders:

## (i) Masculine

Singular	Plural	
<i>'umra</i>	<i>'umrane</i>	'church'
<i>'upra</i>	<i>'uprane</i>	'land, soil'
<i>bura</i>	<i>burane</i>	'unirrigated field'
<i>darmana</i>	<i>darmanane</i>	'drug, medicine'
<i>drana</i>	<i>dranane</i>	'arm'
<i>gawza</i>	<i>gawzane</i>	'walnut tree'
<i>geba</i>	<i>gebane</i>	'side'
<i>gewana</i>	<i>gewanane</i>	'border of field'
<i>gulpa</i>	<i>gulpane</i>	'wing'
<i>gwinā</i>	<i>gwinane</i>	'boundary'
<i>jeba</i>	<i>jebane</i>	'pocket'
<i>karma</i>	<i>karmane</i>	'orchard'
<i>kuprana</i>	<i>kupranane</i>	'trellis, bower'
<i>māra</i>	<i>mārane</i>	'illness'
<i>marga</i>	<i>margane</i>	'meadow'
<i>pālxana</i>	<i>pālxanane</i>	'work'
<i>rasa</i>	<i>rasane</i>	'grass used for animal fodder'
<i>reša</i>	<i>rešane</i>	'top (of a village)'
<i>ruša</i>	<i>rušane</i>	'shoulder'
<i>stuna</i>	<i>stunane</i>	'post'
<i>sya'a</i>	<i>sya'ane</i>	'fence'
<i>šamma</i>	<i>šammane</i>	'name'
<i>šula</i>	<i>šulane</i>	'job'
<i>šuqa</i>	<i>šuqane</i>	'market'
<i>talma</i>	<i>talmane</i>	'water pot'
<i>taqa</i>	<i>taqane</i>	'branch'
<i>tāra</i>	<i>tārane</i>	'door'
<i>tura</i>	<i>turene</i>	'mountain'
<i>tuθa</i>	<i>tuθane</i>	'mulberry tree'
<i>yoma</i>	<i>yomane</i>	'day'

## (ii) Feminine

<i>'ilana</i> f.	<i>'ilanane</i>	'tree'
<i>dākkana</i> f.	<i>dākkanane</i>	'shop'
<i>qana</i> f.	<i>qanane</i>	'horn'

<i>qənnna</i> f.	<i>qənnnane</i>	‘nest’
<i>šana</i> f.	<i>šanane</i>	‘honeycomb’
<i>swana</i> f.	<i>swanane</i>	‘overhanging eaves of roof’

Most nouns ending in the singular nominal inflectional ending *-a* that have a plural in *-ane* can also form a plural with the shorter ending *-e*, e.g. *‘ilana* ‘tree’ (pl. *‘ilanane*, *‘ilane*), *‘umra* (pl. *‘umrane*, *‘umre*), etc. For the usage of these variant plurals see §14.12.

#### 10.15.2.2. *Plurals in -ane from Singulars in -θa*

<i>dukθa</i>	<i>dukane</i>	‘place’
<i>gənθa</i>	<i>gənnnane</i>	‘garden’
<i>kənθa</i>	<i>kənnnane</i>	‘kidney’

#### 10.15.3. *The Plural Ending -aθa*

##### 10.15.3.1. *Plurals in -aθa from Singulars in -a*

Nearly all nouns in this category are feminine in gender, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>‘aqla</i> f.	<i>‘aqlaθa</i>	‘leg’
<i>‘atma</i> f.	<i>‘atmaθa</i>	‘thigh, side’
<i>‘aqba</i> f.	<i>‘aqbaθa</i>	‘heel’
<i>‘asra</i> f.	<i>‘asraθa</i>	‘storage basket’
<i>‘ida</i> f.	<i>‘idaθa</i>	‘hand’
<i>barbiya</i> f.	<i>barbiyaθa</i>	‘bride’s female companion’
<i>baxta</i> f.	<i>baxtaθa</i>	‘woman’
<i>bədra</i> f.	<i>bədraθa</i>	‘threshing floor’
<i>bera</i> f.	<i>beraθa</i>	‘well’
<i>beriya</i> f.	<i>beriyaθa</i>	‘milkmaid’
<i>buma</i> f.	<i>bumaθa</i>	‘owl’
<i>bzara</i> f.	<i>bzaraθa</i>	‘plough’
<i>dəbba</i> f.	<i>dəbbaθa</i>	‘bear’
<i>dudiya</i> f.	<i>dudiyaθa</i>	‘cradle’
<i>gana</i> f.	<i>ganaθa</i>	‘person’
<i>guniya</i> f.	<i>guniyaθa</i>	‘sack’
<i>gutta</i> f.	<i>guttaθa</i>	‘ball’
<i>kasa</i> f.	<i>kasaθa</i>	‘stomach’
<i>kawda</i> f.	<i>kawdaθa</i>	‘liver’

<i>mbadla</i> f.	<i>mbadlaθa</i>	‘morning’
<i>məṭra</i> f.	<i>məṭraθa</i>	‘rain’
<i>pəqqa</i> f.	<i>pəqqaθa</i>	‘frog’
<i>pošiya</i> f.	<i>pošiyaθa</i>	‘festive headscarf’
<i>qawra</i> f.	<i>qawraθa</i>	‘grave’
<i>qənna</i> f.	<i>qənnaθa</i>	‘nest’
<i>qatta</i> f.	<i>qattaθa</i>	‘handle of a knife’
<i>salla</i> f.	<i>sallaθa</i>	‘basket’
<i>šapna</i> f.	<i>šapnaθa</i>	‘instrument for smoothing ground’
<i>šarba</i> f.	<i>šarbaθa</i>	‘jug’
<i>šərma</i> f.	<i>šərmaθa</i>	‘buttock’
<i>šəšra</i> f.	<i>šəšraθa</i>	‘cockroach’
<i>šlada</i> f.	<i>šladaθa</i>	‘corpse’
<i>sona</i> f.	<i>sonaθa</i>	‘type of duck’
<i>šudra</i> f.	<i>šudraθa</i>	‘shirt’
<i>suta</i> f.	<i>sutaθa</i>	‘partridge trap’
<i>ṭəpra</i> f.	<i>ṭəpraθa</i>	‘fingernail, toenail’
<i>xaliya</i> f.	<i>xaliyaθa</i>	‘carpet’
<i>xaqla</i> f.	<i>xaqlaθa</i>	‘field’
<i>xmaṭa</i> f.	<i>xmaṭaθa</i>	‘needle’
<i>yama</i> f.	<i>yamaθa</i>	‘sea’
<i>yawna</i> f.	<i>yawnaθa</i>	‘dove, pigeon’
<i>yəmma</i> f.	<i>yəmmaθa</i>	‘mother’
<i>yubqa</i> f.	<i>yubqaθa</i>	‘skirt’
<i>zəqqa</i> f.	<i>zəqqaθa</i>	‘waterskin’
<i>zorna</i> f.	<i>zornaθa</i>	‘pipe’

An exception is the masculine noun *reša*, which has the plural *rešaθa* when it is used in the secondary sense of ‘head of a tool’.

Most nouns ending in the singular nominal inflectional ending *-a* that have a plural in *-aθa* can also form a plural with the shorter ending *-e*, e.g. *ʾaqla* ‘leg’ (pl. *ʾaqlaθa*, *ʾaqlə*), *ʾaṭma* ‘thigh’ (pl. *ʾaṭmaθa*, *ʾaṭme*), etc. For the usage of these variant plurals see §14.12. Exceptions to this are the nouns *baxta* ‘woman’ and *yəmma* ‘mother’, which have plurals only in *-aθa*.

In a few feminine nouns with the singular feminine ending *-ta* the plural *-aθa* is added after the ending without replacing it, as if the */t/* were part of the root, e.g.

<i>xəlleta</i> f.	<i>xəlletaθa</i>	‘gift’
<i>yamta</i> f.	<i>yamtaθa</i>	‘lake’

Note also the word *šadda* f. ‘demon’, the ending *-da* of which, although originally the feminine affix (cf. *šəða* m. ‘demon’), is now no longer interpreted as such and forms a plural by replacing the final *-a* by *-aθa*:

<i>šadda</i>	<i>šaddaθa</i>	‘demon’
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### 10.15.3.2. *Plurals in -aθa from Singulars in -e*

All nouns in this category are feminine in gender:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʾarxe</i> f.	<i>ʾarxaθa</i>	‘water-mill’
<i>beriyē</i> f.	<i>beriyaθa</i>	‘milkmaid’
<i>hawšē</i> f.	<i>hawšaθa</i>	‘sheep-fold’
<i>kawē</i> f.	<i>kawaθa</i>	‘small window’
<i>kore</i> f.	<i>koraθa</i>	‘hole in the ground’
<i>pəqqəške</i> f.	<i>pəqqəškaθa</i>	‘bubble, blister’
<i>qalle</i> f.	<i>qallaθa</i>	‘hawk’
<i>tašte</i> f.	<i>taštaθa</i>	‘brass bowl’
<i>toke</i> f.	<i>tokaθa</i>	‘type of bird’
<i>tope</i> f.	<i>topaθa</i>	‘gun’

### 10.15.3.3. *Plurals in -aθa from Singulars in -ta*

Singular	Plural	
<i>čanta</i>	<i>čanaθa</i>	‘bag’
<i>karta</i>	<i>karaθa</i>	‘load of wood’
<i>mđita</i>	<i>mđinaθa</i>	‘town’
<i>qušarta</i>	<i>qušaraθa</i>	‘cooking pot’
<i>šabota</i>	<i>šabaθa</i>	‘finger’
<i>šəbbalta</i>	<i>šəblaθa</i>	‘head of corn’
<i>šišalta</i>	<i>šišlaθa</i>	‘chain’
<i>tawərta</i>	<i>taweraθa</i>	‘cow’
<i>taxərta</i>	<i>taxraθa</i>	‘small pitta bread’

Some nouns also have plurals in *-yaθa*, which is the more common plural inflection for nouns with singulars in *-ta*, e.g. *tawərta* pl. *tawəriyaθa*, *qušarta* pl. *qušariyaθa*.

Note the appearance of the /n/ in the plural form *mđinaθa*, which has been lost in the singular form through a process of assimilation: *mđita*



< \**mǝntā*. The plural *šabaθa* ‘fingers’ has developed from an original \**šabāθā*. The historical background of the singular *šabota* is < \**šabuʔa*.

Some feminine nouns retain the /t/ of the feminine singular ending after the attachment of the plural inflection:

<i>ʾamta</i>	<i>ʾamtaθa</i>	‘paternal aunt’
<i>gota</i>	<i>gotaθa</i>	‘side’
<i>lota</i>	<i>lotaθa</i>	‘cheek’
<i>niṭa</i>	<i>niṭaθa</i>	‘all night wedding celebration’
<i>qulta</i>	<i>qultaθa</i>	‘animal trap’
<i>ruta</i>	<i>rutaθa</i>	‘Friday’
<i>šatta</i>	<i>šattaθa</i>	‘bottom’
<i>tata</i>	<i>tataθa</i>	‘crest of a bird’
<i>xalta</i>	<i>xaltaθa</i>	‘maternal aunt’

The nouns *gota*, *lota* and *qulta* also have the plural forms *goyaba*, *loyaba* and *qulyaba* respectively.

#### 10.15.3.4. Plurals in -aθa from Singulars in -a

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʾapεθa</i>	<i>ʾapayaθa</i>	‘cloth put over bread’
<i>daliθa</i>	<i>dalyaθa</i>	‘vine’
<i>kalθa</i>	<i>kalaθa</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
<i>kliθa</i>	<i>kəlyāθa</i>	‘kidney’
<i>kutəlθa</i>	<i>kutlaθa</i>	‘cutlet’
<i>kθεθa</i>	<i>kθayaθa</i>	‘chicken’
<i>mawmiθa</i>	<i>mawmaθa</i>	‘oath’
<i>paṛθa</i>	<i>paṛaθa</i>	‘female lamb’
<i>qalθa</i>	<i>qalaθa</i>	‘basket’
<i>qāreθa</i>	<i>qāraθa</i>	‘gourd’
<i>səpθa</i>	<i>səppaθa</i>	‘lip’
<i>šabθa</i>	<i>šabbaθa</i>	‘week’
<i>šəkθa</i>	<i>šəkkaθa</i>	‘testicle’
<i>šmεθa</i>	<i>šāmaθa</i>	‘report’
<i>šwiθa</i>	<i>šəwyaθa</i>	‘bed’
<i>xamθa</i>	<i>xamaθa</i>	‘young woman’

The plural forms *səppaθa*, *šabbaθa* and *šəkkaθa* exhibit gemination of the second consonant, which has prevented the elision of the preceding vowel.

Note the syllabic restructuring in some of the plural forms, viz. *kalyaθa*, *šāmaθa* (< \*šam'aθa), *šəwyaθa*.

10.15.3.5. *Plurals in -aθa from Singulars in -o*

Singular	Plural	
<i>toto</i> f.	<i>toṭaθa</i>	'old woman'

Most words of feminine gender ending in *-o* form a plural in *-owaθa* (§10.15.5.2.).

10.15.4. *The Plural Ending -āwaθa*

10.15.4.1. *Plurals in -āwaθa from Singulars in -a*

This plural ending is commonly found with masculine nouns, many of which have human referents, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
(i) Masculine nouns with human referents		
<i>ʔd̥ma</i> m.	<i>ʔdmāwaθa</i>	'brother of husband'
<i>baba</i> m.	<i>babāwaθa</i>	'father'
<i>mama</i> m.	<i>mamāwaθa</i>	'paternal uncle'
<i>mara</i> m.	<i>marāwaθa</i>	'master, owner (pl. family)'
<i>sawa</i> m.	<i>sawāwaθa</i>	'grandfather, ancestor'
<i>xala</i> m.	<i>xalāwaθa</i>	'maternal uncle'
<i>xawera</i> m.	<i>xawerāwaθa</i>	'friend'
<i>xaθa</i> f.	<i>xaθāwaθa</i>	'sister'
<i>xətna</i> m.	<i>xətnāwaθa</i>	'son-in-law'
<i>xona</i> m.	<i>xonāwaθa</i>	'brother'
(ii) Other masculine nouns		
<i>ʔaθra</i> m.	<i>ʔaθrāwaθa</i>	'country, place'
<i>ʔəða</i> m.	<i>ʔədāwaθa</i>	'festival'
<i>bεθa</i> m.	<i>bεθāwaθa</i>	'house'
<i>koza</i> m.	<i>kozāwaθa</i>	'cave for sheltering sheep'
<i>nera</i> m.	<i>nerāwaθa</i>	'river'
<i>pumma</i> m.	<i>pummāwaθa</i>	'mouth'
<i>reša</i> m.	<i>rešāwaθa</i>	'head, summit'

<i>susa</i> m.	<i>susāwaθa</i>	‘horse’
<i>kursa</i> m.	<i>kursāwaθa</i>	‘chair’
<i>mez</i> m.	<i>mezāwaθa</i>	‘table’
<i>xela</i> m.	<i>xelāwaθa</i>	‘force’
<i>zoma</i> m.	<i>zomāwaθa</i>	‘summer camp’
<i>čāčca</i> m.	<i>čāčcāwaθa</i>	‘teat, breast’
<i>xəḍya</i> m.	<i>xəḍyāwaθa</i>	‘breast’

It is used with a few feminine nouns with *-a* in the singular, e.g.

<i>’iḍa</i> f.	<i>’iḍāwaθa</i>	‘hand’
<i>’ena</i> f.	<i>’enāwaθa</i>	‘spring (of water)’
<i>gurza</i> f.	<i>gurzāwaθa</i>	‘club’
<i>murza</i> f.	<i>murzāwaθa</i>	‘ball and chain weapon’

The /θ/ of the noun *xaθa* ‘sister’, although historically a feminine marker suffix, is treated as part of the root and retained in the plural *xaθāwaθa*.

#### 10.15.4.2. *Plurals in -āwaθa from Singulars in -e*

Nouns in this category are of both genders:

Singular	Plural	
<i>gare</i> m.	<i>garāwaθa</i>	‘roof’
<i>lele</i> m.	<i>lelāwaθa</i>	‘night’
<i>maqla</i> m.	<i>maqlāwaθa</i>	‘cooking pot’
<i>xuwxwe</i> m.	<i>xuwxwāwaθa</i>	‘snake’
<i>’ore</i> f.	<i>’orāwaθa</i>	‘manger’
<i>baste</i> f.	<i>bastāwaθa</i>	‘expanse of stones in river’
<i>čale</i> f.	<i>čalāwaθa</i>	‘pit’
<i>kore</i> f.	<i>korāwaθa</i>	‘hole’
<i>šarre</i> f.	<i>šarrāwaθa</i>	‘battle’
<i>ṭaražoke</i> f.	<i>ṭaražokāwaθa</i>	‘small blue bird’

#### 10.15.5. *The Plural Ending -waθa*

##### 10.15.5.1. *Plurals in -waθa from Singulars in -a*

Nouns in this category are of both genders:

Singular	Plural	
<i>bεθα</i> m.	<i>bεθwaθa</i>	‘house’
<i>xona</i> m.	<i>xonwaθa</i>	‘brother’
<i>xulamα</i> m.	<i>xulamwaθa</i>	‘servant’
<i>maθa</i> f.	<i>maθwaθa</i>	‘village’
<i>paθa</i> f.	<i>paθwaθa</i>	‘face’
<i>xaθa</i> f.	<i>xaθwaθa</i>	‘sister’
<i>zabbara</i> f.	<i>zabbərwəθa</i>	‘group of workers’

The plural ending *-waθa* is an abbreviated form of the ending *-āwaθa* and, indeed, some nouns in this group also have an alternative plural in *-āwaθa*, e.g. *bεθāwaθa*, *xonāwaθa*, *xaθāwaθa*.

#### 10.15.5.2. *Plurals in -waθa from Singulars in -o*

All nouns in this category are feminine. The *-o* is retained after the attachment of the plural ending:

<i>’atko</i>	<i>’atkowaθa</i>	‘stomach lining of ruminant’
<i>bālo</i>	<i>bālowaθa</i>	‘whirlpool’
<i>garo</i>	<i>garowaθa</i>	‘rat’
<i>garšo</i>	<i>garšowaθa</i>	‘tool used in paddy fields’
<i>k’alo</i>	<i>k’alowaθa</i>	‘bride’
<i>majo</i>	<i>majowaθa</i>	‘crushing bowl’
<i>naqro</i>	<i>naqrowaθa</i>	‘woodpecker’

#### 10.15.5.3. *Plurals in -waθa from Singulars in -uθa*

Feminine nouns with the singular ending *-uθa* form the plural by replacing the *-θa* with *-waθa*:

<i>’aθuθa</i>	<i>’aθuwaθa</i>	‘letter (of the alphabet)’
<i>malkuθa</i>	<i>malkuwaθa</i>	‘kingdom’
<i>maṛuθa</i>	<i>maṛuwaθa</i>	‘snow spade’
<i>qaṭuθa</i>	<i>qaṭuwaθa</i>	‘(female) cat’

#### 10.15.6. *The Plural Ending -yaθa*

This is the usual plural ending of singulars in *-ta* and *-θa*.

10.15.6.1. *Plurals in -yaθa from Singulars in -ta*

Singular	Plural	
<i>'aqlta</i>	<i>'aqlyaθa</i>	'piece used to tighten rope'
<i>'idamta</i>	<i>'idamyathā</i>	'sister of husband'
<i>'ipta</i>	<i>'ipyathā</i>	'leather strap'
<i>barāšta</i>	<i>barāšyathā</i>	'pillow'
<i>baxošta</i>	<i>baxošyathā</i>	'large spoon, ladle'
<i>gdišta</i>	<i>gdišyathā</i>	'stook of corn'
<i>genawta</i>	<i>genawyaθa</i>	'thief (f.)'
<i>gawzəłta</i>	<i>gawzəlyathā</i>	'small walnut tree'
<i>gusta</i>	<i>gusyathā</i>	'ball of dough'
<i>gərgərtā</i>	<i>gərgəryathā</i>	'wheel'
<i>kodəntā</i>	<i>kodənyathā</i>	'mule'
<i>kurtəxtā</i>	<i>kurtəxyathā</i>	'lower back'
<i>margəłta</i>	<i>margəlyathā</i>	'small pan'
<i>məssukta</i>	<i>məssukyathā</i>	'craw, gizzard (of a bird)'
<i>mojəntā</i>	<i>mojənyathā</i>	'heiffer'
<i>parošta</i>	<i>parošyathā</i>	'smooth pebble'
<i>paṭorta</i>	<i>paṭoryathā</i>	'mushroom'
<i>pəqqəšta</i>	<i>pəqqəšyathā</i>	'bubble'
<i>pista</i>	<i>pisyathā</i>	'bag for jajik'
<i>qalta</i>	<i>qalyathā</i>	'basket'
<i>qedamta</i>	<i>qedamyathā</i>	'morning'
<i>qursəłta</i>	<i>qursəlyathā</i>	'elbow'
<i>quşarta</i>	<i>quşaryathā</i>	'pot'
<i>romta</i>	<i>romyathā</i>	'small hill'
<i>skinta</i>	<i>skinyathā</i>	'knife'
<i>susta</i>	<i>susyathā</i>	'mare'
<i>šənduxta</i>	<i>šənduxyathā</i>	'smooth stone'
<i>tarəqta</i>	<i>tarəqyathā</i>	'button'
<i>tuθta</i>	<i>tuθyathā</i>	'berry'
<i>xalaqta</i>	<i>xalaqyathā</i>	'earring'
<i>xazəmtā</i>	<i>xazəmyathā</i>	'nose-ring'
<i>yaləxtā</i>	<i>yaləxyathā</i>	'scarf'
<i>jəreta</i>	<i>jəryathā</i>	'lunch box'
<i>gota</i>	<i>goyathā</i>	'side'
<i>garuta</i>	<i>garuyathā</i>	'stack of branches'
<i>lota</i>	<i>loyathā</i>	'cheek'
<i>pasuta</i>	<i>pasuyathā</i>	'pace'
<i>zruta</i>	<i>zryathā</i>	'cultivation'

In a few cases the vowel /i/ is inserted before the ending. This sometimes involves resyllabification of the noun base:

<i>tawərta</i>	<i>tawəriyaθa</i>	‘cow’
<i>zawərta</i>	<i>zawəriyaθa</i>	‘clay water pot’
<i>xorta</i>	<i>xoriyaθa</i>	‘willow tree’

10.15.6.2. *Plurals in -yaθa from Singulars in -θa*

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʼašīθa</i>	<i>ʼašiyāθa</i>	‘avalanche’
<i>ʼelīθa</i>	<i>ʼalyaθa</i>	‘fat tail (of sheep)’
<i>ʼisəqθa</i>	<i>ʼisəqyaθa</i>	‘ring’
<i>dapθa</i>	<i>dapyaθa</i>	‘strip of wood’
<i>gərəkθa</i>	<i>gərəkyaθa</i>	‘small hill’
<i>ħabbəkθa</i>	<i>ħabbəkyaθa</i>	‘tablet’
<i>kusiθa</i>	<i>kusiyāθa</i>	‘hat’
<i>laməkθa</i>	<i>laməkyaθa</i>	‘jaw (of an animal)’
<i>naθa</i>	<i>naθyaθa</i>	‘ear’
<i>qariθa</i>	<i>qariyaθa</i>	‘beam’
<i>qarqubθa</i>	<i>qarqubyaθa</i>	‘skull’
<i>qurniθa</i>	<i>qurniyāθa</i>	‘corner’
<i>šaqiθa</i>	<i>šaqiyaθa</i>	‘irrigation channel’
<i>šəbbərθa</i>	<i>šəbbəryaθa</i>	‘bracelet’
<i>snoniθa</i>	<i>snoniyāθa</i>	‘swallow’
<i>šəsiθa</i>	<i>šəsiyaθa</i>	‘plait’
<i>squbθa</i>	<i>squbyaθa</i>	‘lintel’
<i>xtiθa</i>	<i>xtiyaθa</i>	‘sin’

The plural of *naθa* ‘ear’ is formed irregularly in that the /θ/ is retained when the *-yaθa* ending is attached, resulting in the form *naθyaθa*. Historically the singular form *naθa* is, in fact, a plural form (< \*ʼədnāθa).

10.15.6.3. *Plurals in -yaθa from Singulars in -e*

<i>pozəkke</i>	<i>pozəkyaθa</i>	‘nozzle’
<i>qarəkke</i>	<i>qarəkyaθa</i>	‘crow’
<i>quşxane</i>	<i>quşxanyaθa</i>	‘pan’

A few bisyllabic nouns retain the final /e/ vowel in the plural:

<i>qare</i>	<i>qareyaθa</i>	‘chicken coop’
<i>quppe</i>	<i>quppeyaθa</i>	‘brooding hen’

#### 10.15.7. *Plurals with Reduplication of the Final Syllable*

Most nouns that have this type of plural have in the singular the bisyllabic pattern *CVCCa*. The reduplication consists of the repetition of the final radical. In the case of nouns with a geminated final radical, it is repeated ungeminated. Reduplicative plurals are found both in nouns of Aramaic stock and also in loanwords. None have human referents.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʾaqra</i>	<i>ʾagrare</i>	‘stock, stem’
<i>boya</i>	<i>boyaye</i>	‘hole’
<i>šamma</i>	<i>šammame</i>	‘split hoof’
<i>garra</i>	<i>garrere</i>	‘pool’
<i>galla</i>	<i>gallale</i>	‘herb’
<i>gappa</i>	<i>gappape</i>	‘cave’
<i>gara</i>	<i>garare</i>	‘hill’
<i>lappa</i>	<i>lappape</i>	‘palm, sole’
<i>mæxra</i>	<i>mæxrare</i>	‘small water channel’
<i>paqqa</i>	<i>paqqaqe</i>	‘frog’
<i>qaṭta</i>	<i>qaṭtate</i>	‘piece’
<i>talpa</i>	<i>talpape</i>	‘eyelash’
<i>tiya</i>	<i>tiyaye</i>	‘mountain peak’
<i>tuwa</i>	<i>tuwawe</i>	‘coloured gem’
<i>xaṛta</i>	<i>xaṛtate</i>	‘line (of palm)’
<i>xuwwa</i>	<i>xuwwawe</i>	‘snake’

Occasionally reduplicative plurals are formed from feminine singular nouns ending in *-ta* or *-θa*:

<i>ʾašarta</i>	<i>ʾašrare</i>	‘evening’
<i>sakθa</i>	<i>sakkake</i>	‘peg’
<i>šamθa, šamma</i>	<i>šammame</i>	‘hoof’
<i>takθa</i>	<i>takkake</i>	‘trouser cord’

Some of these nouns also have plurals without reduplication, e.g. *boya* ‘hole’, pl. *boye* ‘holes’. In the case of *lappa*, the plural form *lappē* means ‘waves’ rather than ‘palms’.

#### 10.15.8. *Plural Endings on Loanwords with Unadapted Singulars*

Most loanwords that are unadapted in the singular form a plural by attaching an Aramaic plural inflection. This is normally the inflection *-e* irrespective of the gender of the noun.

Where the original vowel of the final syllable is attenuated in the singular due to its occurrence in an unstressed closed syllable, this is retained unattenuated in the plural, in which it occurs in a stressed open syllable, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʾatnábəl</i>	<i>ʾatnabéle</i>	‘car’
<i>ʾótəx</i>	<i>ʾotáxe</i>	‘room’
<i>čángəl</i>	<i>čangále</i>	‘fork’
<i>čéypəs</i>	<i>čeypáse</i>	‘small teapot’
<i>derúbər</i>	<i>derubáre</i>	‘wood, forest’
<i>dárəj</i>	<i>dáráje</i>	‘step’
<i>héywən</i>	<i>heywáne</i>	‘animal’
<i>kəlbəttən</i>	<i>kəlbəttáne</i>	‘pincers’
<i>márkən</i>	<i>markáne</i>	‘pot’
<i>qárwən</i>	<i>qarwáne</i>	‘caravan’
<i>táhər</i>	<i>tahére</i>	‘type’
<i>tábəq</i>	<i>təbáqe</i>	‘floor, storey’

If the original vowel in the final closed syllable is a short /ə/, this remains short in the plural, even though it is in an opened stressed syllable, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>fəlfəl</i>	<i>fəlfále</i>	‘pepper’
<i>mášməš</i>	<i>məšməšə</i>	‘apricot’

In some cases the consonant after the short vowel is geminated when a plural ending is added, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>šab</i>	<i>šábbe</i>	‘alum’
<i>xam</i>	<i>xámme</i>	‘worry’



<i>xəllət</i>	<i>xəllátte</i>	‘gift’
<i>qarawət</i>	<i>qarawátte</i>	‘bed’

When the loanword ends in a vowel, a glide /y/, /w/ or /ʔ/ is inserted before the *-e* plural ending, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ga</i>	<i>gaye</i>	‘time’
<i>turši</i>	<i>turšiye</i>	‘pickled vegetable’
<i>kilo</i>	<i>kiloye ~ kiloʔe</i>	‘kilo’

A final *-a* vowel in a loanword is, however, sometimes interpreted as the Aramaic singular inflection *-a* and the plural is formed by replacing the *-a* with *-e*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>parča</i>	<i>parče</i>	‘cloth, fabric’ (Kurd. perçe)

Occasionally other plural endings are used on loanwords with unadapted singulars, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>brīn</i> f.	<i>brinane</i>	‘wound’
<i>ʾadət</i> f.	<i>ʾadətəθa</i>	‘custom’
<i>jamm</i> f.	<i>jamməθa</i>	‘glass; green-house’
<i>ʾaskar</i> f.	<i>ʾaskaryəθa</i>	‘army’
<i>barbi</i> f.	<i>barbiyəθa</i>	‘bridesmaid’
<i>čəlluri</i> f.	<i>čəlluriyəθa</i>	‘small lizard’
<i>barju</i> f.	<i>barjuwəθa</i>	‘channel in a paddy field’

When the singular ends in *-a*, a glide /y/ is inserted before the plural ending and the preceding /a/ has a tendency to shift to /i/ through assimilation to this, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>panjāra</i>	<i>panjāriyəθa</i>	‘window’
<i>wasta</i>	<i>wastiyəθa</i>	‘woman’s dress’

The sequence /ta/ at the end of an unadapted singular form is sometimes interpreted as the Aramaic feminine inflection and it is replaced by the plural endings *-aθa* or *-yaθa*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>čanta</i>	<i>čanaθa</i>	‘bag’ (Kurd. cente f.)
<i>tašta</i>	<i>tašyaθa</i>	‘brass bowl’ (Kurd. tešt f.)

A few unadapted loanwords are invariable and have no inflectional endings in the plural, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>qaṭ</i>	<i>qaṭ</i>	‘floor, storey’

#### 10.15.9. Irregular Plurals

Singular	Plural	
<i>šeta</i>	<i>šanne</i>	‘year’
<i>bεθa</i>	<i>bate</i>	‘house’
<i>brata</i>	<i>bnathā</i>	‘daughter’
<i>brona</i>	<i>bnone</i>	‘son’
<i>gʾawra</i>	<i>gure, gurane</i>	‘man, gentleman’
<i>kalba</i>	<i>kalwe</i>	‘dog’
<i>ʾarba</i>	<i>ʾarwe ~ ʾarbe</i>	‘sheep’
<i>yala</i>	<i>ʾayale</i>	‘child’

The irregular plural forms *bate*, *bnathā*, *bnone* and *gure* have their roots in earlier Aramaic, except that the word *bnone* has a diminutive suffix. The plural *gure* derives from *\*gubrē* whereas the singular *gawra* derives from *\*gabrā*. The plural *kalwe* with /w/ has developed from *\*kalbē* with the fricative *\*b*, whereas the singular *kalba* is derived historically from *\*kalbā* with the stop *\*b*. This differs from other words in the dialect that are derived historically from the pattern *\*CVCC* with a *BGDKPT* letter as third radical, since all of these extend the stop pronunciation of the *BGDKPT* letter in the singular to the plural, e.g. *malka*, pl. *malke* ‘king’ (< *\*malkā*, pl. *\*malkē*). The word *bεθa* also has the regular plural form *bεθāwaθa*.

10.15.10. *Pluralia Tantum*

This category includes plural nouns for which no singular form appears to be available. They are mainly nouns of mass:

<i>'awahaθa</i>	‘parents’ (rare)
<i>'awahe</i>	‘parents’ (rare)
<i>'axre</i>	‘excrement’
<i>dawwe</i>	‘yoghurt mixed with water’
<i>čakke</i>	‘weapons; jewels’
<i>həšše</i>	‘senses’
<i>miya</i>	‘water’
<i>parpīte</i>	‘brushwood’
<i>prage</i>	‘millet’
<i>pode</i>	‘pus from nose’
<i>riye</i>	‘slobber, drivel’
<i>šāre</i>	‘wet cattle dung’
<i>šamme</i>	‘sky’
<i>xaye</i>	‘life’
<i>xroriye</i>	‘sorghum’
<i>xəšxəšone</i>	‘skating, skiing’

The form *miya* ‘water’ has developed from the plural form *\*mayyā*.

## 10.16. THE ANNEXATION OF NOUNS

A noun may be syntactically annexed to a following noun or clause by means of the particle *D* (§4.4.), which has the phonetic realization of *t* or *d*. Although historically this particle is derived from *\*d* of earlier Aramaic, with a voiced consonant, there are grounds for considering the unvoiced realization *t* to be the basic form in annexation constructions in the C. Barwar NENA dialect, with *d* now being a secondary form that is conditioned by the environment. The abstract representation *D* is used to refer to both phonetic realizations. We shall be concerned here with the annexation of a noun to a another noun. The annexation of a noun to a clause will be dealt with in §19.1.

When a noun is annexed to a following noun, the first noun functions as the head of the phrase and the second has the function of a modifier which stands broadly in a genitive relation to the head. The *D* particle is

normally cliticized to the head noun rather than to the following dependent modifier noun. The final inflectional vowels *-a* or *-e* of the head noun are reduced to /ə/ in the resulting closed syllable. Other vowels retain their quality:

<i>-a + t</i>	>	<i>-ət</i>
<i>-e + t</i>	>	<i>-ət</i>
<i>-i + t</i>	>	<i>-it</i>
<i>-u + t</i>	>	<i>-ut</i>
<i>-o + t</i>	>	<i>-ot</i>

If the singular and plural forms of the noun are distinguished only by the inflectional vowels *-a* and *-e*, this distinction is lost. Examples: *xá-gəldət tawra* ‘a skin of an ox’ (A11:10), *tré-gəldət tawre* ‘two skins of oxen’ (A11:11), *kértət qəse* ‘a load of wood’ (A15:13), *dánət kawùθra* ‘time of lunch’ (A22:22), *ṭəppəryáθət heywàne* ‘the claws of animals’ (A19:2).

When the first consonant of the dependent noun is voiced, the *D* particle sometimes becomes voiced by assimilation. This voice assimilation is not marked in the transcription, e.g. *béθət* [bɛθət] *duglana* ‘the house of the liar’ (A48:7), *bábət* [bɑbət] *bráta* ‘the father of the girl’ (A17:20), *násət* [nɑsət] *màθa* ‘the people of the village’ (A48:3). On numerous occasions, however, this assimilation does not take place before a voiced consonant and the particle retains its default unvoiced form, e.g. *brónət* [brɔnət] *málka* ‘the son of the king’ (A32:21), *ḏa-qənnət* [qənnət] *dəbbòre* ‘a nest of hornets’ (A20:6), *’anna násət* [nɑsət] *màθa* ‘these people of the village’ (A48:2).

An unadapted loanword that has a final vowel that it has retained from the source language sometimes has the annexation suffix *-ət* connected to it by the glide /y/, e.g. *ḥabbayət xəttəθa* ‘a seed (*ḥabba*) of grain’.

When the dependent noun begins with a laryngal /ʔ/ followed by a vowel, the laryngal is generally retained and not elided, e.g. *mástət ’arye* ‘the yoghurt of lions’ (A33:2), *xa-káwtət ’rwe* ‘a flock of sheep’ (A32:14), *b-úrxtət ’alàħa* ‘on the path of God’ (A15:19).

When the item dependent on the head noun is a demonstrative pronoun, however, the phonotactics are different, in that the particle is regularly syllabified with the demonstrative pronoun and replaces the initial laryngal. The head noun may end in the centralized vowel /ə/ or the original /a/ or /e/ vowel may be retained. A further difference is that the particle in such contexts is regularly pronounced voiced as *d*, e.g. *málka d-áyya bəžər* ‘the king of this town’ (A32:5), *gu-sádrə d-áwwa sùsa* ‘in the chest of this horse’ (A14:67), *čádra d-ò-málka* ‘the tent of that king’ (A4:2), *rixə d-o-xámra*

‘the smell of that wine’ (A12:47), *manáyə d-áyya tása* ‘the meaning of this goblet’ (A15:17), *xadámta d-ε-bráta* ‘the servant of that girl’ (A4:50), *šámma d-ε-bráta* ‘the name of that girl’ (A25:4), *qam-’énə d-ánna botanəye* ‘before the eyes of these Botan people’ (A26:72). The same applies to nouns annexed to independent demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *čánta d-áwwa* ‘the bag of this one’ (A14:5), *fěka d-áwəha* ‘the fruit of that one’ (A14:7), *béθa d-aw* ‘his house’ (A8:24), and also to those annexed to interrogative pronouns, e.g. *’an-’ərwe d-ənila*.<sup>21</sup> ‘Whose sheep are those?’ (A32:16), *’áyya bárke d-ənila*.<sup>21</sup> ‘Whose pool is this?’ (A25:61).

The regular voicing of the particle before demonstratives and the syllabification of the particle with the demonstrative rather than with the head noun has the appearance of an archaism. It is likely, however, to have arisen by analogical association with constructions containing the independent genitive particle, which begins with /d/:

*bεθa diya : bεθa d-ay* ‘her house’

When the demonstrative pronoun is 3ms the head noun sometimes has a 3ms suffix, as does the construction with the independent genitive particle:

*bεθe diye : bεθe d-aw* ‘his house’

The base of the analogy was presumably in constructions with independent demonstratives, as above, and this was then extended to nominal phrases beginning with attributive demonstratives.

On some occasions the annexation particle is separated from the head noun and attached to the dependent noun even when it is not combined with a demonstrative. In such cases the particle has its usual unvoiced form *t*. It is often preceded by a prosthetic vowel, though this is not marked in the transcription, e.g. *t-’ərxe* [ʔət-’ərxe] ‘of the mill’ (A19:4). Examples of this type of annexation are found where the head noun is an unadapted loanword with an inflectional vowel, e.g. *múxtər t-Bàrwər* ‘the chief of Barwar’ (B15:20), *mánquš t-prəzla* ‘a sparking tool made of metal’ (B7:19) *púwuš t-’ilāna* ‘hay kindling of a tree’ (B7:19), *qáṣṣət t-Fárxo diyəxu* ‘the story of your Farxo’ (A25:21). It is also found after words of Aramaic stock with an inflectional vowel, which retains its original quality in the annexation, e.g. *dámma t-təla* ‘the blood of a fox’ (A32:21), *xa-málka t-Yāman* ‘a king of Yemen’ (A14:36), *brátət málka t-Māgrəb* ‘the daughter of the king of Morocco’ (A28:17). When the dependent noun begins with a laryngal,

this is occasionally elided, in which case the *D* particle is syllabified with the following word and realized as an unvoiced unaspirated /t̪/ before the vowel, e.g. *tre-pánxe t-árxe* ‘two stones of a water-mill’ (A24:13).

A dependent noun that has the particle prefixed to it is sometimes put in a separate intonation group. In some cases this is the result of hesitation or correction by the speaker, e.g. *tálləθ bnáθa xène<sup>1</sup> t-Bākürku<sup>1</sup>* ‘three other girls, of Bākürku’ (A26:24), *nixa<sup>1</sup> t-xa-kálləs<sup>1</sup>* ‘the scent of carrion’ (C8:5), *šišət prəzla<sup>1</sup> t-árxe<sup>1</sup>* ‘The bars of iron, of the mill’ (A19:4), *ða-gótət məθa, t-möüta<sup>1</sup>* ‘one side of the village, of the town’ (A29:54), *qúwewət... t-urusnəye<sup>1</sup>* ‘the force... of the Russians’ (B7:8), *pənxə, t-árxe, pənxət árxe<sup>1</sup>* ‘the stone, of the mill, the mill stone’ (B5:90), *dän-t pəlgət yóma, kawüθra, t-xädäya<sup>1</sup>* ‘the time of midday, lunch, of lunch’ (B11:34).

In some sporadic cases the annexation particle occurs twice in the construction, being affixed both to the head noun and to the dependent nominal, e.g. *qurtánət t-xməre<sup>1</sup>* ‘the blankets of the mules’ (A23:13), *bába-w yámmət... t-yála<sup>1</sup>* ‘the father and the mother of the boy’ (A25:10), *qam-tárət d-ó-boyət tèle<sup>1</sup>* ‘before the door of the hole of the foxes’ (A20:6), *ahwältət d-ò našá<sup>1</sup>* ‘the condition of that person’ (B5:8).

In some loanwords a final /ət/ syllable in their base is interpreted as the annexation particle. This applies to annexation constructions of the nouns *qəşət* ‘story’ and *sa’ata* ‘hour’ such as *qəşət xóni* ‘the story of my brother’ (A8:65), *sá’ət árpa* ‘the hour of four (= four o’clock)’ (A17:27).

Occasionally the /ə/ vowel of the -ət ending on the head noun is elided and the /t/ clusters with the final consonant of the noun. This is found where the final consonant is a sonorant or sibilant. A long vowel in an originally open syllable generally remains long despite the fact that it has been closed by this syllabic contraction, e.g. *düwən-t málka* ‘the audience chamber of the king’ (A17:31), *guðän-t ’arye<sup>1</sup>* ‘a churn of lions’ (A33:13), *dän-t pəlgət yóma<sup>1</sup>* ‘the time of midday’ (B11:34), *xás-t dawèra* ‘the back of a mule’ (B5:125), *rěš-t-k’əlo* ‘the head of the bride’ (B5:49).

More frequently the /t/ in the ending -ət of the head noun is elided, with the result that the head noun ends in the vowel -ə, e.g. *’énə miya* ‘the spring of water’ (A11:17), *’enáθə miya* ‘springs of water’ (A12:9), *nürə šməyya* ‘the fire of heaven’ (A12:31), *yománə šəbθa* (A17:15), *nášə ’əskar* ‘the people of the army’ (A11:14).

In some cases the contraction of the head noun is further advanced, in that the entire ending -ət is elided. If the preceding syllable originally contained a long vowel, this is usually retained in the resultant closed syllable, e.g. *brön* < *bronat* ‘son of’. If the elision brings about a final cluster, the cluster is often broken by an epenthetic vowel, e.g. *bəxət* < *baxtat*

'the wife of'. A distinction should be made between this contracted form of annexation and compound nominal constructions (§10.17.). Unlike compound nominals, which are fixed phrases with an invariable form, contracted annexation is an optional process and interchanges with less contracted annexation of the same word in the same or similar contexts, e.g. *brōn mami* ~ *bronət mami* 'the son of my uncle (my cousin)', *bāxət babi* ~ *baxtət babi* 'the wife of my father (my step-mother)'. When the word *baxta* is used outside of expressions relating to kinship relationships to the speaker, it is generally not contracted, e.g. *bāxtət 'āga Čāl* 'the wife of the Agha of Čāl' (A19:29), *bāxtət 'Abda-Raḥmān-bēk* 'the wife of 'Abda-Raḥmān-bēk' (A23:26). Further examples from the text corpus: *rš-āqəl bāxta* 'onto the leg (*'aqla*) of the woman' (A16:11, but *'āqlət mälla* 'the leg of the mullah' A22:38), *'āθər dəwele* 'It is the land of the wolves' (A14:55, but *'āθrət bābux* 'the land of your father' A14:89), *'āw šēr-Māyele* 'That is the festival (*šera*) of Maye' (B5:229, but *šérət Dúre* 'the festival of Dure' B5:228), *zawn-šlāmēle* 'It is the time (*zawna*) of peace' (A1:26, but *záwnət qəṭla* 'the time of killing' A1:25), *xāš-sūsux* 'the back of your horse' (A14:67, but *xāša sūse diye* 'the back of his horse' A25:54). The contraction is commonly found in some place names, e.g. *'Ēn-Nune* 'Spring of Fishes' (name of village, but *'Ēn-Nūne* B3:3) and *Rōm-Dibo* 'Hill of Dibo' (locality in 'Ēn-Nune).

The annexation particle is always retained on a demonstrative that occurs in the dependent nominal phrase, e.g. *brōn-d-o-nāša* 'the son of that man' (A9:2).

The gender of the phrase with contracted annexation is that of the head noun, as is the general rule in annexation. The plural is formed by putting the head noun in the plural, like other forms of annexation, e.g. *bnōn mami* ~ *bnonət mami* 'the sons of my uncle (my cousins)'.

## 10.17. COMPOUND NOMINAL PHRASES

### 10.17.1. *General Remarks*

Compound nominal phrases consist of two nouns linked together, but differ from annexation constructions in a number of respects.

The first noun does not have the morphophonological shape of a noun in annexation. In most cases it exhibits a more advanced degree of phonetic contraction than the head noun in contracted annexation constructions described above. This is reflected by the shortening of an originally long vowel in a closed syllable, e.g. *bεθ-gora* ~ *bəθ-gora* 'cemetery'

< *bēθ-qora*, and the elision of consonants, e.g. *xa-ramša* ‘dinner’ < \**xal-ramša* ‘eating of evening’).

In some cases the second noun of the construction also undergoes contraction. In the second element of *bēθ-qora*, for example, the original diphthong /*aw*/ is regularly contracted to /*o*/, whereas the diphthong is preserved when the word *qawra* ‘grave’ is used independently (§2.4.2.). In a few cases consonants are elided, e.g. *barša* ‘namesake’ (< \**bar-šma* ‘son of the name’), *šammaxta* ‘palate’ (< \**šamme-ħakta* ‘sky of the palate’).

The first noun sometimes has the form of the construct of earlier Aramaic, e.g. *bər-zāra* ‘seed’ (< \**bar-zar-ā* ‘son of a seed’), *mare bena* ‘tolerant person’ (‘owner of breath’; cf. Syriac construct *mārē*). This applies to various originally feminine singular construct forms in which the ending \*-*aθ* has been contracted to -*a*, which include compounds with the element *bra-* (< \**braθ* ‘daughter of’), e.g. *bra-šappa* ‘thimble’ < \**braθ-šappa* (‘daughter of the finger’), and compounds with an original feminine singular participle, mainly names of insects and small animals, e.g. *ʿazla-kuše* ‘dragonfly’ (literally: ‘spinner of spindles’ < \**ʿazlaθ kuše*), *zaqra-qode* ‘spider’ (literally: ‘weaver of traps’ < \**zāqraθ qode*), *taqla-šakke* ‘spider’ (literally: ‘weigher of testicles’ < \**tāqlaθ šakke*), *marča-xuwwe* ‘chameleon’ (literally: ‘squasher of snakes’ < \**mārčaθ xuwwe*), *mēša-ʿazze* ‘lizard’ (literally: ‘sucker of goats’ < \**māyšaθ ʿazze*), *parxa-lele* ‘bat’ (literally: ‘flyer of the night’ < \**pārxaθ lele*), also *pašxa rase* ‘late snow’ (literally: ‘breaker of *rasa* grass’ < \**pāšxaθ rase*). The construct state of masculine participles can be identified in forms such as *mayas-ʿazze* ‘lizard’ (literally: ‘sucker of goats’), *makrab ʿuṣane* ‘late snow’ (literally: ‘the one that angers the magpies’), *gambal-ʿaxre* ‘dung-beetle’ (literally: ‘roller of dung’), *ʿaxal-qarša* ‘the devil’ (literally: ‘the eater of a morsel’).

The original meaning of the first element of compound phrases is generally not maintained in the meaning of the phrase as a whole. This is particularly the case with compounds containing the initial elements *bər* (< \**bar* ‘son of’), *bra* (< \**braθ* ‘daughter of’) and *be-* (< *bēθ* ‘house of’), e.g. *bər-gare* ‘plateau’ (< *bər* ‘son’ + *gare* ‘roof’), *bra-qala* ‘echo’ (< *bra* ‘daughter’ + *qala* ‘voice’), *be-takke* ‘waist’ (< \**bēθ* ‘house’ + *takke* ‘trouser cords’), *be-yalda* ‘Christmas’ (< \**bēθ* ‘house’ + *yalda* ‘birth’). The meaning of the first element is occasionally completely lost, e.g. *be-dyuθa* (< \**bēθ* ‘house’ + *dyuθa* ‘ink’), which is generally used with the meaning ‘ink’ rather than ‘inkpot’, and *be-gwine* ‘eyebrows’, sing. *be-gwina* (< \**bēθ-gbīnē* ‘space between the eyebrows’).

The plural of a compound nominal is formed by attaching a plural ending to the end of the phrase rather than to the first noun, viz. *bēθ-qorāwatha* ‘cemeteries’ and *xa-ramšatha* ‘dinners’. If the basic singular form of



the compound has a plural noun as its second element, the plural form of the phrase has the same form as the singular. This applies to the names of insects and small animals mentioned above, e.g. *'azla-kuše* sing. and pl. 'dragon-fly' (*kuša* 'spindle'), and other compounds with this features, e.g. *be-tune* sing. and pl. 'store-room for straw' (*tuna* 'straw').

The gender of a compound nominal phrase is sometimes taken from that of the second noun, e.g. *bra-qala* m. 'echo' (< *\*braθ* f. 'daughter' + *qala* m. 'voice'), *xa-ramša* f. 'dinner' (< *xal* m. 'eating' + *ramša* f. 'evening'). In some cases, on the other hand, the gender is that of the first noun, e.g. *bεθ-gora* 'cemetery' m. (*bεθα* m. + *qawra* f.), *be-'ena* 'forehead' m. (< *\*beθ* m. + *'ena* f. 'eye'). We could include here the names of insects and small animals such as *'azla-kuše* f. 'dragon-fly', *zaqra-qode* f. 'spider', *taqla-šakke* f. 'spider', the feminine gender of which was presumably taken from the original feminine singular initial element. The insect name *gambal-ʿaxre* m. 'dung-beetle' (literally: 'roller of dung') is masculine since the first element is derived from a masculine singular participle. Note, however, *jalla nune* m. 'fish-eating bird, stork', (< *\*šālyath nune* 'extractor of fish?'), which is masculine. When the basic singular form of other compounds has a plural noun as its second element and the phrase refers to an inanimate entity, the gender of the phrase is feminine, e.g. *be-tune* f. 'store for straw', *be-qanke* f. 'chancel', *be-takke* f. 'waist', *be-laye* f. 'upper room', *be-xənxe* f. 'oesophagus', *makrəb ʕūčane* f. 'late snow falling at the beginning of Aðar' (literally: 'the one that angers the magpies'), *mkase qarʔale* f. 'late snow falling at the end of Aðar' (literally: 'the coverer of panniers'). We may include here also the compound *bəṛ-gare* f. 'plateau', the word *gare* 'roof' being historically a plural, although it is now interpreted as singular (§10.7.).

On account of these features, the two elements in such compound nominal phrases should not be analysed as head noun + dependent noun, as in annexation constructions, but rather as a single head. The first element cannot be considered to be a head since, in principle, it cannot stand independently of the second element and it does not control the number and gender of the phrase.

Certain initial elements are attested recurrently in a series of compound phrases, these include *be-* (< *\*beθ* 'house of'), *bəṛ* (< *\*bar* 'son of'), *bra* (< *\*braθ* 'daughter of'), *mare* (< *mare* 'owner of'), *məl* (< *\*māl* < *\*ma'lā* 'eve of' a day or festival, literally 'entrance of'),<sup>1</sup> *sar* (Kurd. 'head'). Full inventories of the compounds containing these elements are given below.

<sup>1</sup> The word has the form *māl* in the J. Betanure dialect (Mutzafi, p.c.).

10.17.2. *be-*

This is used productively to denote the family or household of somebody, e.g. *be-Hèdo* ‘the family of Hèdo’ (B3:12), *be-xòni* ‘the family of my brother’ (B8:9), *be-mámi Čùna* ‘the household of my uncle Čuna’ (B8:19), *be-šwàwən* ‘household of our neighbour’ (A5:3), *be-k’àlo* ‘the family of the bride’ (B5:4). It does not, in principle, mean ‘house’ in the sense of a physical building, which is expressed by the noun *bεθa*. The two may be combined, e.g. *násət xátna y-azìwa¹ l-bēθ-be-k’àlo¹* ‘The relatives of the groom would go to the house of the family of the bride’ (B5:1).

The form *be-* is also used in the following fixed phrases, where its meaning has been generalized to being a marker of location, which may be spatial or temporal:

## (i) Spatial

<i>be-gwina</i> m.	‘eyebrow’ (< * <i>beθ-gbīnē</i> ‘space between the eyebrows’)
<i>be-laye</i> f.	‘upper room’
<i>be-palga</i> m.	‘(the place) in the middle’ (< * <i>beθ-palgā</i> )
<i>be-qanke</i> f.	‘chancel’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>qanke</i> ‘sanctuary of the church’)
<i>be-takke</i> f.	‘waist’ ( <i>be</i> + < <i>takke</i> ‘trouser cords’)
<i>be-tune</i> f.	‘store for straw’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>tuna</i> ‘straw’)
<i>be-xənxe</i> f.	‘oesophagus’
<i>be-xtaye</i> f.	‘lower room’
<i>be-’ena</i> m.	‘forehead’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>’ena</i> ‘eye’)
<i>be-dyuθa</i> f.	‘ink’ (< * <i>beθ-dyūṭā</i> ‘inkpot’)

In some compounds, the initial element *be-* has contracted or changed its phonetic shape, e.g.

<i>beḏulta</i> f.	‘sleeve’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>’iða</i> ‘hand’ + diminutive suffix §10.8.5.)
<i>beθaθa</i>	‘sleeves’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>’iθaθa</i> ‘hands’)
<i>barāšta</i> f.	‘pillow’ (< <i>beθ</i> + <i>reša</i> ‘head’ + <i>-ta</i> )
<i>bādra</i> f.	‘threshing floor’ ( <i>be</i> + * <i>’addāra</i> ‘threshing floor’)

## (ii) Temporal

<i>be-yalda</i> m.	‘Christmas’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>yalda</i> ‘birth’)
<i>be-qyamta</i> m.	‘Easter’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>qyamta</i> ‘resurrection’)
<i>be-dənxa</i> m.	‘Epiphany’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>dənxa</i> ‘rising, appearance’)
<i>be-nisane</i> m.	‘Spring’ ( <i>be</i> + <i>nisən</i> )

Note the use of plural forms in the second element of several of these compounds, viz. *be-laye*, *be-xtaye*, *be-tune*, *be-təkke*, *be-nisane*.

### 10.17.3. *baṛ-*, *bəṛ-*

This element originally meant ‘son of’. The vowel is regularly attenuated to /ə/ in most forms, but in some words the original /a/ is retained. It is used with various senses. It has a sense that is close to its original meaning of offspring in the phrases:

<i>bəṛ-naša</i> m.	‘person, human’ ( <i>bəṛ</i> + <i>naša</i> ‘person’)
<i>bəṛ-gawra</i> m.	‘young sheep/goat’ ( <i>bəṛ</i> + <i>gawra</i> ‘man’)
<i>bəṛ-zāra</i> f.	‘seed’ ( <i>bəṛ</i> + <i>zāra</i> ‘seed’)

The following kinship terms are ms. and fs. back-formations of \**bar* + \**xmāhē* ‘son of parents-in-law’:

<i>barəxmaya</i>	‘brother of wife’
<i>barəxməθa</i>	‘sister of wife’

The sense of offspring is sometimes generalized to denote something similar to the item designated by the second noun, e.g.

<i>bəṛ-gare</i> f.	‘plateau’ ( <i>bəṛ</i> + <i>gare</i> ‘roof’)
<i>bəṛ-qatta</i> f.	‘type of worm’ ( <i>bəṛ</i> + <i>qatta</i> ‘stick, handle’)
<i>baṛ-xoxa</i> m.	‘thorny pod’ ( <i>baṛ</i> + * <i>xoxa</i> ‘thorn’)
<i>bəṛ-zoma</i> m.	‘cool storeroom’ ( <i>bəṛ</i> + <i>zoma</i> ‘cool summer-camp’)

It may also express possession of some property, e.g.

<i>bəṛ-‘āqəl</i>	‘wise man’ ( <i>bəṛ</i> + ‘āqəl ‘mind’)
<i>baṛ-xəlyə</i>	‘fennel’ ( <i>baṛ</i> + <i>xəlyə</i> ‘milk, sap’)

### 10.17.4. *bra-*

In most cases compounds with this element express something that is closely associated with the item designated by the second noun:

<i>bra-‘īḏa</i> f.	‘glove’ ( <i>bra</i> + ‘īḏa ‘hand’)
<i>bra-qala</i> m.	‘echo’ ( <i>bra</i> + <i>qala</i> ‘voice’)

<i>bra-qaple</i> m./f.	‘babe in arms’ ( <i>bra</i> + <i>qaple</i> ‘arms’)
<i>bra-qḏala</i> m.	‘collar’ ( <i>bra</i> + <i>qḏala</i> ‘neck’)
<i>bra-qanna</i> f.	‘egg placed in chicken’s nest’ ( <i>bra</i> + <i>qanna</i> ‘nest’)
<i>bra-ṣappa</i> f.	‘thimble’ ( <i>bra</i> + <i>ṣappa</i> ‘finger’)
<i>bla-mandora</i> m.	‘shaft of a roller’ (< <i>bra</i> + <i>mandora</i> )
<i>bla-jorta</i> f.	‘bladder’

Note the shift  $r > l$  in the last two words.

#### 10.17.5. mare

<i>mare-ʿarxe</i>	‘hospitable man’ ( <i>mare</i> + <i>ʿarxe</i> ‘guests’)
<i>mare-bena</i>	‘tolerant person’ ( <i>mare</i> + <i>bena</i> ‘breath’)
<i>mare-janga</i>	‘contentious person’ ( <i>mare</i> + <i>janga</i> ‘fight, contention’)

#### 10.17.6. məl-

<i>məl-xošeba</i>	‘eve of Sunday = Saturday’
<i>məl-trušeba</i>	‘eve of Monday = Sunday’
<i>məl-ṭlaṭušeba</i>	‘eve of Tuesday = Monday’
<i>məl-ʿarbušeba</i>	‘eve of Wednesday = Tuesday’
<i>məl-xamsušeba</i>	‘eve of Thursday = Wednesday’
<i>məl-ruta</i>	‘eve of Friday = Thursday’
<i>məl-šabṭa</i>	‘eve of Saturday = Friday’

#### 10.17.7. sar-

The Kurdish word *sar* ‘head’ is not used as an independent word in the C. Barwar dialect, but it occurs in the following compounds. In the first four the second noun is Aramaic, while in the remainder both elements are Kurdish:

<i>sar-amōḏa</i>	‘the first child to be baptized’
<i>sar-bari</i>	‘my first born child’
<i>sar-dera</i>	‘the head of a monastery’
<i>sar-qanna</i>	‘firstborn (literally: head of the nest)’
<i>sar-bar</i>	‘front row’
<i>sar-dər</i>	‘lintel’
<i>sar-gera</i>	‘(animal) taking the lead’



## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### ADJECTIVES

#### 11.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Adjectives of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology are inflected for gender and number. In addition to the basic masculine singular form they are inflected for the feminine singular and the plural. They are closely related morphologically to nouns. There is, however, a case on syntactic grounds for distinguishing the categories of noun and adjective (see §14.7.). The attributive function of adjectives is reflected not only by their syntactic function of a modifier of a head noun but also by their inflection, in that attributive adjectives, unlike referential nouns, do not exhibit a large diversity of plural endings but generally have only the ending *-e* irrespective of whether the plural noun is masculine or feminine (for some isolated exceptions see §14.7.), e.g.

<i>ʾurza sniqa</i>	‘a needy man’
<i>baxta sniqta</i>	‘a needy woman’
<i>ʾurze sniqe</i>	‘needy men’
<i>baxtaθa sniqe</i>	‘needy women’

#### 11.2. BISYLLABIC PATTERNS

- (1) *CaCa* (ms.), *CaCta*, *CaCθa* (fs.), *CaCe* (pl.)
- |                   |                    |                   |                   |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>paxa</i> (ms.) | <i>paxta</i> (fs.) | <i>paxe</i> (pl.) | ‘insipid’         |
| <i>raba</i> (ms.) | <i>rabθa</i> (fs.) | <i>rabe</i> (pl.) | ‘large, numerous’ |
| <i>rama</i> (ms.) | <i>ramta</i> (fs.) | <i>rame</i> (pl.) | ‘high’            |
| <i>xaθa</i> (ms.) | <i>xaθta</i> (fs.) | <i>xaθe</i> (pl.) | ‘new’             |
- (2) *CoCa* (ms.), *CoCta* (fs.), *CoCe*
- |                   |                    |                   |         |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------|
| <i>goṛa</i> (ms.) | <i>goṛta</i> (fs.) | <i>goṛe</i> (pl.) | ‘big’   |
| <i>koma</i> (ms.) | <i>komta</i> (fs.) | <i>kome</i> (pl.) | ‘black’ |
| <i>kopa</i> (ms.) | <i>kopta</i> (fs.) | <i>kope</i> (pl.) | ‘low’   |
| <i>zora</i> (ms.) | <i>zorta</i> (fs.) | <i>zore</i> (pl.) | ‘small’ |

The /o/ vowel in the fs. forms of this pattern is often centralized to the region of [ɔ], e.g. *zorta* [zortæ]. This tends not to occur, however, in the form *gorta*, in which the /o/ generally remains in a back position due to the adjacent pharyngalized /r/.

(3) *CCaCa* (ms.), *CCaCta* (fs.), *CCaCe* (pl.)  
*xwara* (ms.)      *xwarta* (fs.)      *xware* (pl.)      ‘white’

(4) *CCiCa* (ms.), *CCiCta* (fs.), *CCiCe* (pl.)

Most adjectives with this pattern are in origin resultative participles of stem I verbal roots:

<i>bliga</i> (ms.)	<i>bligta</i> (fs.)	<i>blige</i> (pl.)	‘busy’
<i>brika</i> (ms.)	<i>brikta</i> (fs.)	<i>brike</i> (pl.)	‘kneeling’
<i>briza</i> (ms.)	<i>brizta</i> (fs.)	<i>brize</i> (pl.)	‘dry’
<i>dwira</i> (ms.)	<i>dwirta</i> (fs.)	<i>dwire</i> (pl.)	‘closed’
<i>gðila</i> (ms.)	<i>gðilta</i> (fs.)	<i>gðile</i> (pl.)	‘frozen’
<i>kčixa</i> (ms.)	<i>kčixta</i> (fs.)	<i>kčixe</i> (pl.)	‘tired’
<i>kriβα</i> (ms.)	<i>kribta</i> (fs.)	<i>kriβε</i> (pl.)	‘angry’
<i>pčila</i> (ms.)	<i>pčilta</i> (fs.)	<i>pčile</i> (pl.)	‘bendy’
<i>prisa</i> (ms.)	<i>prista</i> (fs.)	<i>prise</i> (pl.)	‘spread, famous’
<i>pšima</i> (ms.)	<i>pšimta</i> (fs.)	<i>pšime</i> (pl.)	‘sad’
<i>pšixa</i> (ms.)	<i>pšixta</i> (fs.)	<i>pšixe</i> (pl.)	‘happy’
<i>sniqa</i> (ms.)	<i>sniqta</i> (fs.)	<i>sniqe</i> (pl.)	‘needy’
<i>špina</i> (ms.)	<i>špinta</i> (fs.)	<i>špine</i> (pl.)	‘level (ground)’
<i>spisa</i> (ms.)	<i>spista</i> (fs.)	<i>spise</i> (pl.)	‘worn out, rotten’
<i>šřixa</i> (ms.)	<i>šřixta</i> (fs.)	<i>šřixe</i> (pl.)	‘flat’
<i>tpina</i> (ms.)	<i>tpinta</i> (fs.)	<i>tpine</i> (pl.)	‘mouldy’
<i>trisa</i> (ms.)	<i>trista</i> (fs.)	<i>trise</i> (pl.)	‘fat’
<i>xlima</i> (ms.)	<i>xlimta</i> (fs.)	<i>xlime</i> (pl.)	‘thick’
<i>xliřa</i> (ms.)	<i>xliřta</i> (fs.)	<i>xliře</i> (pl.)	‘tight’
<i>xmiqa</i> (ms.)	<i>xmiqta</i> (fs.)	<i>xmiqe</i> (pl.)	‘rotten’
<i>xřiwa</i> (ms.)	<i>xřiwta</i> (fs.)	<i>xřiwe</i> (pl.)	‘respected’

(5) *CiCa* (ms.), *CiCta* (fs.), *CiCe* (pl.)

This is the equivalent to pattern (4) from middle /y/ roots or initial /ʹ/ roots:

<i>ʹiqα</i> (ms.)	<i>ʹiqta</i> (fs.)	<i>ʹiqe</i> (pl.)	‘narrow’
<i>dīpa</i> (ms.)	<i>dīpta</i> (fs.)	<i>dīpe</i> (pl.)	‘bent’

<i>miθa</i> (ms.)	<i>miθta</i> (fs.)	<i>miθe</i> (pl.)	‘dead’
<i>nixa</i> (ms.)	<i>nixta</i> (fs.)	<i>nixe</i> (pl.)	‘slow’
<i>pixa</i> (ms.)	<i>pixta</i> (fs.)	<i>pixe</i> (pl.)	‘cool’
<i>qixa</i> (ms.)	<i>qixta</i> (fs.)	<i>qixe</i> (pl.)	‘faded’
<i>rixa</i> (ms.)	<i>rixta</i> (fs.)	<i>rixe</i> (pl.)	‘long’
<i>šima</i> (ms.)	<i>šimta</i> (fs.)	<i>šime</i> (pl.)	‘huge’
<i>šipa</i> (ms.)	<i>šipta</i> (fs.)	<i>šipe</i> (pl.)	‘worn down, erased’

We should include here the form *qirθa* ‘barren, infertile’ which occurs only in the fs. and pl., e.g. *tawərta qirθa* ‘a barren cow’, *tawriyaθa qire* ‘barren cows’.

(6) *CəCya* (ms.), *CCiθa* (fs.), *CəCye* (pl.)

This is equivalent to pattern (4) from final /y/ roots or final /ʔ/ roots that have adopted the pattern of final /y/ roots:

<i>dəxya</i> (ms.)	<i>dxiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>dəxye</i> (pl.)	‘pure’
<i>kəlyā</i> (ms.)	<i>kliθa</i> (fs.)	<i>kəlye</i> (pl.)	‘standing’
<i>kərya</i> (ms.)	<i>kriθa</i> (fs.)	<i>kərye</i> (pl.)	‘short’
<i>məlyā</i> (ms.)	<i>mliθa</i> (fs.)	<i>məlye</i> (pl.)	‘full’
<i>mərya</i> (ms.)	<i>mriθa</i> (fs.)	<i>mərye</i> (pl.)	‘ill’
<i>mətyā</i> (ms.)	<i>mṭiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>mətye</i> (pl.)	‘ripe’
<i>pəryā</i> (ms.)	<i>priθa</i> (fs.)	<i>pərye</i> (pl.)	‘much, abundant’
<i>pəθyā</i> (ms.)	<i>pθiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>pəθye</i> (pl.)	‘wide’
<i>rəmyā</i> (ms.)	<i>rmiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>rəmye</i> (pl.)	‘woeful’
<i>rəpyā</i> (ms.)	<i>rpiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>rəpye</i> (pl.)	‘lazy’
<i>səmyā</i> (ms.)	<i>smiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>səmye</i> (pl.)	‘blind’
<i>šəpyā</i> (ms.)	<i>špiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>šəpye</i> (pl.)	‘pure’
<i>təryā</i> (ms.)	<i>triθa</i> (fs.)	<i>tərye</i> (pl.)	‘wet’
<i>xəḏyā</i> (ms.)	<i>xḏiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>xəḏye</i> (pl.)	‘joyful, happy’
<i>xəlyā</i> (ms.)	<i>xliθa</i> (fs.)	<i>xəlye</i> (pl.)	‘sweet’

When the medial radical is /w/, the vowel in the first syllable of the ms. and pl. forms is generally rounded with the quality of /u/ by assimilation, e.g.

<i>quwya</i> (ms.)	<i>qwiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>quwye</i> (pl.)	‘strong, tough’
<i>šuwya</i> (ms.)	<i>šwiθa</i> (fs.)	<i>šuwye</i> (pl.)	‘hard’



When the initial radical is /ʕ/, this is elided in the fs. form, e.g.

ʕsya (ms.)      ʕiθa (fs.)      ʕsye (pl.)      ‘stuck, trapped’

(7) *Ciya* (ms.), *Ciθa* (fs.), *Ciye* (pl.)

This is equivalent to pattern (4) from final /y/ roots that had a laryngal as their medial radical at some stage of development (§8.12.10.) or medial /y/ and final /ʕ/ roots (§8.12.7.), e.g.

čiya (ms.)      čiθa (fs.)      čiye (pl.)      ‘tired’  
 šiya (ms.)      šiθa (fs.)      šiye (pl.)      ‘stuck, trapped’  
 qiya (ms.)      qiθa (fs.)      qiye (pl.)      ‘blunt’

(8) *CCiya* (ms.), *CCiθa* (fs.), *CCiye* (pl.)

This is equivalent to pattern (4) from final /ʕ/ roots (§8.12.2.), e.g.

mriya (ms.)      mriθa (fs.)      mriye (pl.)      ‘ill’  
 ʔliya (ms.)      ʔliθa (fs.)      ʔliye (pl.)      ‘asleep’  
 zliya (ms.)      zliθa (fs.)      zliye (pl.)      ‘cracked’

(9) *CCoCa* (ms.), *CCoCta* (fs.), *CCoCe* (pl.)

glola (ms.)      glolta (fs.)      glole (pl.)      ‘round’  
 prora (ms.)      prorta (fs.)      prore (pl.)      ‘open (space)’  
 ptoxa (ms.)      ptoxta (fs.)      ptoxe (pl.)      ‘wide’  
 rpoxa (ms.)      rpoxta (fs.)      rpoxe (pl.)      ‘loose’  
 smoqa (ms.)      smoqta (fs.)      smoqe (pl.)      ‘red’  
 xloša (ms.)      xlošta (fs.)      xloše (pl.)      ‘tight’

The /o/ vowel in the fs. forms of this pattern is often centralized to the region of [u], e.g. *smoqta* [smoqta]. Some roots may form adjectives with both this pattern and also the resultative participle pattern *CCiCa*, e.g. *xliša* ‘tight’, *xloša* ‘tight’. There is a slight difference in sense, in that *xliša* denotes the final resultant state of the action of tightening whereas *xloša* denotes an inherent, characteristic property of an entity.

(10) *Cuwa* (ms.), *Cuta* (fs.), *Cuwe* (pl.)

čūwa (ms.)      čūta (fs.)      čūwe (pl.)      ‘smooth’

This appears to be equivalent to pattern (9). The historical root of *čūwa* is likely to be \*šʕoʕa (ms.), \*šʕoʕta (fs.), \*šʕoʕe (pl.). The original pharyngals

have been elided. The two vowels in the ms. and pl. forms are separated by the glide /w/, which probably brought about the raising of the vowel to /u/. In the fs. form the original presence of the pharyngal before the feminine ending prevented the /t/ of this ending from being pronounced as a fricative.

- (11) *Caya* (ms.), *Cεθa* (fs.), *Caye* (pl.)  
*xaya* (ms.)      *xεθa* (fs.)      *xaye* (pl.)      ‘living, alive’

The fs. form *xεθa* is used as an attribute of a woman who is giving birth, or has recently given birth, e.g. *baxta xεθa*.

### 11.3. TRISYLLABIC PATTERNS

- (1) *CaCiCa* (ms.), *CaCiCta* (fs.), *CaCiCe* (pl.)

This pattern is derived historically from \**CaCCiCa* with gemination of the middle radical. The vowel in the first syllable is in principle pronounced long, in accordance with the normal rules of vowel lengthening in pretonic open syllables (§2.2.1.4.), although the duration is reduced in fast speech.

<i>'atiqa</i> (ms.)	<i>'atiqta</i> (fs.)	<i>'atiqe</i> (pl.)	‘ancient’
<i>basima</i> (ms.)	<i>basimta</i> (fs.)	<i>basime</i> (pl.)	‘pleasant’
<i>baṭila</i> (ms.)	<i>baṭilta</i> (fs.)	<i>baṭile</i> (pl.)	‘idle’
<i>dalila</i> (ms.)	<i>dalilta</i> (fs.)	<i>dalile</i> (pl.)	‘thin, fine’
<i>marira</i> (ms.)	<i>marirta</i> (fs.)	<i>marire</i> (pl.)	‘bitter’
<i>naqida</i> (ms.)	<i>naqidta</i> (fs.)	<i>naqide</i> (pl.)	‘thin’
<i>qarira</i> (ms.)	<i>qarirta</i> (fs.)	<i>qarire</i> (pl.)	‘cold, cool’
<i>rakixa</i> (ms.)	<i>rakixta</i> (fs.)	<i>rakixe</i> (pl.)	‘soft’
<i>raqiqa</i> (ms.)	<i>raqiqta</i> (fs.)	<i>raqiqe</i> (pl.)	‘thin’
<i>talila</i> (ms.)	<i>talilta</i> (fs.)	<i>talile</i> (pl.)	‘wet’
<i>sapiqa</i> (ms.)	<i>sapiqta</i> (fs.)	<i>sapiqe</i> (pl.)	‘empty’
<i>ṣalila</i> (ms.)	<i>ṣalilta</i> (fs.)	<i>ṣalile</i> (pl.)	‘sober’
<i>ṣapira</i> (ms.)	<i>ṣapirta</i> (fs.)	<i>ṣapire</i> (pl.)	‘beautiful’
<i>ṣarira</i> (ms.)	<i>ṣarirta</i> (fs.)	<i>ṣarire</i> (pl.)	‘true, truthful’
<i>ṣaxina</i> (ms.)	<i>ṣaxinta</i> (fs.)	<i>ṣaxine</i> (pl.)	‘hot’
<i>xamima</i> (ms.)	<i>xamimta</i> (fs.)	<i>xamime</i> (pl.)	‘hot’

In the form *qaddiṣa* ‘holy’ the original gemination is usually preserved due to the influence of the language of the church liturgy, which is based on literary Syriac.

(2) *CaCuCa* (ms.), *CaCuCta* (fs.), *CaCuCe* (pl.)

This also is derived historically from a pattern with an originally geminated middle radical (*\*CaCCuCa*). Adjectives of this pattern typically denote permanent, characteristic properties:

<i>ʾamuqa</i> (ms.)	<i>ʾamuqta</i> (fs.)	<i>ʾamuqe</i> (pl.)	‘deep’
<i>ʾamura</i> (ms.)	<i>ʾamurta</i> (fs.)	<i>ʾamure</i> (pl.)	‘dense’
<i>bahura</i> (ms.)	<i>bahurta</i> (fs.)	<i>bahure</i> (pl.)	‘shining’
<i>baruza</i> (ms.)	<i>baruzta</i> (fs.)	<i>baruze</i> (pl.)	‘dry’
<i>gamura</i> (ms.)	<i>gamurta</i> (fs.)	<i>gamure</i> (pl.)	‘sour’
<i>jaruṭa</i> (ms.)	<i>jaruṭta</i> (fs.)	<i>jaruṭe</i> (pl.)	‘slippery’
<i>paruḏa</i> (ms.)	<i>paruḏta</i> (fs.)	<i>paruḏe</i> (pl.)	‘coarse (grain)’
<i>paruxa</i> (ms.)	<i>paruxta</i> (fs.)	<i>paruxe</i> (pl.)	‘able to fly’
<i>qalula</i> (ms.)	<i>qalulta</i> (fs.)	<i>qalule</i> (pl.)	‘light, quick’
<i>qaruṭa</i> (ms.)	<i>qaruṭta</i> (fs.)	<i>qaruṭe</i> (pl.)	‘tough (food)’
<i>rapuxa</i> (ms.)	<i>rapuxta</i> (fs.)	<i>rapuxe</i> (pl.)	‘loose’
<i>ṣaruḫa</i> (ms.)	<i>ṣaruḫta</i> (fs.)	<i>ṣaruḫe</i> (pl.)	‘smarting’
<i>tawuna</i> (ms.)	<i>tawunta</i> (fs.)	<i>tawune</i> (pl.)	‘lukewarm’
<i>xamuṣa</i> (ms.)	<i>xamuṣta</i> (fs.)	<i>xamuse</i> (pl.)	‘sour’
<i>xaruḫa</i> (ms.)	<i>xaruḫta</i> (fs.)	<i>xaruḫe</i> (pl.)	‘sharp’
<i>yaḏuwa</i> (ms.)	<i>yaḏuwa</i> (fs.)	<i>yaḏuwe</i> (pl.)	‘knowledgeable’
<i>yaqura</i> (ms.)	<i>yaqurta</i> (fs.)	<i>yaqure</i> (pl.)	‘heavy’

Some roots may form adjectives with both this pattern and also the resultative participle pattern *CCiCa*, e.g. *briza* ‘dry’, *baruza* ‘dry’. The form *briza* denotes the final resultant state of the action of drying whereas *baruza* denotes an inherent, characteristic property of an entity. This can be interpreted as a difference of degrees of intensity, in that *briza* denotes ‘completely dried out’ whereas *baruza* is used as an attribute of something that is ‘habitually dry’ but not necessarily completely dried out at any specific point in time.

(3) *CaCoCa* (ms.), *CaCoCta* (fs.), *CaCoCe* (pl.)

Adjectives of this pattern typically denote permanent, characteristic properties:

<i>karoba</i> (ms.)	<i>karobta</i> (fs.)	<i>karobe</i> (pl.)	‘angry’
<i>laxoma</i> (ms.)	<i>laxomta</i> (fs.)	<i>laxome</i> (pl.)	‘handsome’
<i>mayoθa</i> (ms.)	<i>mayoθta</i> (fs.)	<i>mayoθe</i> (pl.)	‘mortal’
<i>payoxa</i> (ms.)	<i>payoxta</i> (fs.)	<i>payoxe</i> (pl.)	‘cool’
<i>naxopa</i>	<i>naxopta</i> (fs.)	<i>naxope</i> (pl.)	‘shy’
<i>paroxa</i>	<i>paroxta</i> (fs.)	<i>paroxe</i> (pl.)	‘flying’

The /o/ vowel in the fs. forms of this pattern is often centralized to the region of [ʊ], e.g. *karobta* [kæɪrʊbtæ].

#### 11.4. ADJECTIVES WITH DERIVATIVE AFFIXES

##### 11.4.1. -ana (ms.), -anta (fs.), -ane (pl.)

This ending is used productively to form attributive adjectives from nouns, e.g.

<i>ʔršana</i>	‘mirky’	< <i>ʔrša</i> ‘mirkinness’
<i>ʔɛwana</i>	‘cloudy’	< <i>ʔɛwa</i> ‘cloud’
<i>berana</i>	‘light’	< <i>bera</i> ‘light’
<i>dəmmana</i>	‘bloody’	< <i>dəmma</i> ‘blood’
<i>denana</i>	‘owing’	< <i>dena</i> ‘debt’
<i>didwana</i>	‘full of flies’	< <i>didwa</i> ‘fly’
<i>dunana</i>	‘fatty’	< <i>duna</i> ‘fat’
<i>gazəndana</i>	‘moaning’	< <i>gazənda</i> ‘complaint’
<i>hawwana</i>	‘clever’	< <i>hawna</i> ‘intelligence’
<i>lebana</i>	‘tricky’	< <i>leba</i> ‘trick’
<i>ləbbana</i>	‘brave’	< <i>ləbba</i> ‘heart’
<i>mārana</i>	‘ill’	< <i>māra</i> ‘illness’
<i>məlxana</i>	‘salty’	< <i>məlxā</i> ‘salt’
<i>milana</i>	‘blue/green’	< <i>mila</i> ‘blue/green colour’
<i>miyana</i>	‘watery, wet’	< <i>miya</i> ‘water’
<i>puryana</i>	‘light’	< <i>purya</i> ‘light (noun)’
<i>raxmana</i>	‘merciful’	< <i>raxme</i> ‘mercy’
<i>rəqqiyana</i>	‘stubborn’	< <i>rəqqi</i> ‘stubbornness’
<i>šawwana</i>	‘ill with a cold’	< <i>šawba</i> ‘head-cold’
<i>šaθana</i>	‘feverish’	< <i>šaθa</i> ‘fever’
<i>šəðana</i>	‘mad’	< <i>šəðe</i> ‘demons’
<i>šəklana</i>	‘beautiful’	< <i>šəkla</i> ‘form’
<i>šəxtana</i>	‘dirty’	< <i>šəxta</i> ‘dirt’

<i>šumana</i>	‘badly behaved’	< <i>šumuθa</i> ‘bad behaviour’
<i>temana</i>	‘valuable’	< <i>tema</i> ‘value’
<i>xasšana</i>	‘sad’	< <i>xasša</i> ‘sadness’
<i>xelana</i>	‘strong’	< <i>xela</i> ‘strength’
<i>xalyana</i>	‘producing milk’	< <i>xalya</i> ‘milk’
<i>xamma</i>	‘hot’	< <i>xamma</i> ‘heat’
<i>xumθana</i>	‘angry’	< <i>xumθa</i> ‘anger’
<i>xuyana</i>	‘dark’	< <i>xuya</i> ‘darkness’
<i>zduwana</i>	‘fearful’	< <i>zduθa</i> ‘fear’

The suffix is attached productively to the present base of verbs to form active participles (§10.8.1.). Sometimes these forms are used primarily as attributes rather than nouns, e.g.

<i>malyana</i>	‘enough’	< <i>mly</i> I ‘to fill’
<i>malyazana</i>	‘hasty’	< <i>m-lyz</i> III ‘to hasten’
<i>maqħarana</i>	‘sad’	< <i>m-qħr</i> III ‘to sadden’
<i>maşyana</i>	‘capable’	< <i>mşy</i> I ‘to be able’
<i>maxjəlana</i>	‘terrifying’	< <i>m-xjl</i> III ‘to terrify’

In some cases the ending is attached to an existing adjective. The forms with *-ana* in principle express permanent, characteristic properties, whereas the forms without the suffix can be regarded as unmarked with regard to permanence, in that they may denote a property of an entity on one particular occasion or a permanent property, e.g.

<i>čuwana</i>	‘smooth’	< <i>čuwa</i> ‘smooth’
<i>kopana</i>	‘low’	< <i>kopa</i> ‘low’
<i>quwyana</i>	‘tough’	< <i>quwya</i> ‘strong, tough’
<i>ramana</i>	‘high’	< <i>rama</i> ‘high’
<i>zawdana</i>	‘excessive’	< <i>zawda</i> ‘major, largest’
<i>zalmana</i>	‘unjust’	< <i>zaləm</i> ‘unjust’

The base of the word may be a Kurdish loanword, e.g.

<i>gežana</i>	‘dizzy’	< Kurd. <i>gêj</i>
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There is a residue of adjectives with this affix that do not have a base that is a functional word in the dialect, e.g.

<i>nimana</i>	‘damp’
<i>šedana</i>	‘mad’
<i>šətrana</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>xaršana</i>	‘non-fruit-bearing (tree)’
<i>xarsupana</i>	‘rough’

Verbs are derived from some adjectives with the *-ana* ending. In such cases the verbs are quadriliteral with /*n*/ as the fourth radical, e.g. *m-xršn* ‘to become barren, non-fruit-bearing’, *m-ʾršn* ‘to become mirky’, *m-šyðn* ‘to go mad’, *m-gyžn* ‘to become dizzy’.

#### 11.4.2. *-aya* (*ms.*), *-εθα* (*fs.*), *-aye* (*pl.*)

In some cases the base form of these adjectives is used in the dialect as an independent word. These base forms are either nouns or adverbs, e.g.

<i>čəppaya</i>	‘left-handed’	< <i>čəppe</i> ‘left’
<i>drangaya</i>	‘late’	< <i>drang</i> ‘late (adverb)’
<i>rangaya</i>	‘colourful’	< <i>rang</i> ‘colour’
<i>rešaya</i>	‘first class, excellent’	< <i>reša</i> ‘head’
<i>šəmsaya</i>	‘sunny’	< <i>šəmsa</i> ‘sun’
<i>šenaya</i>	‘tame’	< <i>šena</i> ‘tameness’
<i>yamnaya</i>	‘right-handed’	< <i>yamne</i> ‘right’

The *-aya* affix is combined with the *-ana* affix in some such forms, e.g.

<i>ʾetanaya</i>	‘ecclesiastical’	< <i>ʾeta</i> ‘church’
<i>tašʾiθanaya</i>	‘historical’	< <i>tašʾiθa</i> ‘history’

In the majority of cases the *-aya* ending can be identified as an affix on etymological grounds, but the base form cannot stand alone as a separate word, e.g.

<i>ʾəllaya</i> , <i>laya</i>	‘upper’
<i>naxraya</i>	‘foreign, strange’
<i>qamaya</i>	‘first’
<i>suraya</i>	‘Assyrian Christian’
<i>šluxaya</i>	‘naked’
<i>xaraya</i>	‘last’
<i>xəpyaya</i>	‘barefoot’
<i>xtaya</i>	‘lower’

Gentilic forms with the *-aya* ending, such as *suraya* ‘Christian’, are classified as nouns (§10.8.2.). When qualifying another noun in constructions such as *gawra suraya* ‘a Christian man’, they are best interpreted as nouns in apposition rather than adjectives (§14.7.).

#### 11.4.3. *-naya* (*ms.*), *-nəθa* (*fs.*), *-naye* (*pl.*)

The ending *-naya* also is commonly used in gentilic nouns (§10.8.2.), e.g. *durnaya* ‘a man from Dure’. Within the category of adjectives, it is added to those denoting colours in order to give them the connotation of approximation, e.g.

<i>gawrnaya</i>	‘greyish’	< <i>gawra</i>
<i>kasknaya</i>	‘greenish’	< <i>kaska</i>
<i>komnaya</i>	‘blackish’	< <i>koma</i>
<i>milannaya</i>	‘bluish’	< <i>milana</i>
<i>smoqnaya</i>	‘reddish’	< <i>smoqa</i>
<i>xwarnaya</i>	‘whitish’	< <i>xwara</i>
<i>zarnaya</i>	‘yellowish’	< <i>zāra</i>

#### 11.4.4. *Adjectival Participles with the m- Prefix*

Active and resultative participles of stems II and III from some verbal roots and also those derived from some quadriliteral verbs are used predominantly as adjectives rather than referentially as nouns. These have an *m-* prefix in their pattern. In the stem II and quadriliteral participles, in which the *m-* is in contact with the initial radical, the prefix is often elided, unless the root begins with the laryngal /ʔ/, e.g.

##### Stem II

<i>məʔybana</i>	‘amazing’
<i>mbaxlana</i> ~ <i>baxlana</i>	‘envious’
<i>mšutra</i>	‘spoilt (child)’

##### Stem III

<i>makəčxana</i>	‘tiring’
<i>mapšəmana</i>	‘sad’
<i>mugədla</i>	‘frozen’

## Quadrilateral

<i>mḥarḥmyana</i> ~ <i>ḥarḥmyana</i>	‘knowledgeable, wise’
<i>mhumna</i> ~ <i>humna</i>	‘faithful, trustworthy’

11.5. *XENA* ‘OTHER’

The adjective *xena* ‘other’ exhibits a certain irregularity, in that the /n/ of the base is elided with the attachment of the *-ta* ending in the feminine singular form. Note also the free alternation between forms with /r/ after the initial consonant and those lacking it. The forms with /r/ preserve a more archaic form:

<i>xena</i> ~ <i>xrena</i> (ms.)
<i>xeta</i> ~ <i>xreta</i> (fs.)
<i>xene</i> ~ <i>xrene</i> (pl.)

## 11.6. INVARIABLE ARAMAIC ADJECTIVES

A few adjectives of Aramaic stock are invariable in inflection. These are in origin nouns, which have come to be used as adjectives (§14.7.). They include the following:

<i>rəḥqa</i>	‘distant’
<i>qurba</i>	‘near, nearby’
<i>xərba</i>	‘bad’
<i>šena</i>	‘tame’

## Examples:

<i>bəṯa rəḥqa</i>	‘a distant house’
<i>maṯa rəḥqa</i>	‘a distant village’
<i>maṯwaṯa rəḥqa</i>	‘distant villages’
<i>bəṯa qurba</i>	‘a nearby house’
<i>maṯa qurba</i>	‘a nearby village’
<i>maṯwaṯa qurba</i>	‘nearby villages’
<i>ʾurza xərba</i>	‘a bad man’
<i>baxta xərba</i>	‘a bad woman’
<i>naše xərba</i>	‘bad people’



<i>susa šena</i>	‘a tame horse’
<i>susta šena</i>	‘a tame mare’
<i>susawaθa šena</i>	‘tame horses’

The adjective *ṭawa* ‘good’ is invariable in the singular, in that it does not take a feminine inflection, but it takes the usual plural inflection *-e*, as is seen in the following examples:

- (1) *’áwwa náša sáwa rába ṭawa-wewa*<sup>1</sup> ‘This old man was very good’ (A15:19)
- (2) *ramšéxu ṭawa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Good evening (*ramša* f.)’
- (3) *nómu ’anna là-biš ṭáwe m-áwwa Gozáli xóni!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Surely they are not better than Gozali, my brother!’ (A8:72)

### 11.7. COMPOUND FORMS

Several attributive phrases are formed by combining a preposition with a noun. These include phrases introduced by *b-* ‘with’ and those introduced by *be-* ‘without’:

- (i) *b-*

<i>b-xamme</i>	‘sad’
<i>b-xaye</i>	‘alive’
<i>b-ṭali</i>	‘ill (with a disease)’
<i>b-švara</i>	‘truthful’
<i>b-pəlxana</i>	‘busy, hard-working’

The adjectival form *šarira* is synonymous with *b-švara*. There is not, however, always complete semantic overlap between the compound adjectival form and a corresponding simple form. The compound form *b-xaye* ‘alive’, for example, is used for both male and female referents, whereas the simple fs. form *xəθa* does not mean ‘alive’ but rather ‘giving birth’ or ‘having recently given birth’.

- (ii) *be-*

<i>be-bāxət</i>	‘lacking in honour, dishonest’
<i>be-nxəpθa</i>	‘shameless’

## 11.8. ADAPTED LOANS

Some adjectives that are loanwords have been fully adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology, e.g.

<i>zangina</i> (ms.)	<i>zanginta</i> (fs.)	<i>zangine</i> (pl.)	‘rich’	< Turk. <i>zengin</i>
<i>fāqira</i> (ms.)	<i>fāqirta</i> (fs.)	<i>fāqire</i> (pl.)	‘poor’	< Arab. <i>faqīr</i>
<i>bāxila</i> (ms.)	<i>bāxilta</i> (fs.)	<i>bāxile</i> (pl.)	‘miserly’	< Arab. <i>baxīl</i>

## 11.9. PARTIALLY ADAPTED LOANS

Some adjectives that are loaned from Kurdish are inflected with the Aramaic ms. ending *-a* and pl. ending *-e*, but in the fs. have the ending *-e*, which is in origin the Kurdish feminine singular oblique nominal inflection *-ê*, e.g.

<i>gawra</i> (ms.)	<i>gawre</i> (fs.)	<i>gawre</i> (pl.)	‘grey’	< Kurd. <i>gewr</i>
<i>kāčāla</i> (ms.)	<i>kāčāle</i> (fs.)	<i>kāčāle</i> (pl.)	‘bald’	< Kurd. <i>keçel</i>
<i>karra</i> (ms.)	<i>karre</i> (fs.)	<i>karre</i> (pl.)	‘deaf’	< Kurd. <i>keç</i>
<i>kaska</i> (ms.)	<i>kaske</i> (fs.)	<i>kaske</i> (pl.)	‘green’	< Kurd. <i>kesk</i>
<i>korā</i> (ms.)	<i>korē</i> (fs.)	<i>korē</i> (pl.)	‘blind’	< Kurd. <i>kor</i>
<i>lala</i> (ms.)	<i>lale</i> (fs.)	<i>lale</i> (pl.)	‘dumb’	< Kurd. <i>lal</i>
<i>lat̄ta</i> (ms.)	<i>lat̄te</i> (fs.)	<i>lat̄te</i> (pl.)	‘shallow’	< Kurd. <i>lat</i> (‘flat’)
<i>lānga</i> (ms.)	<i>lānge</i> (fs.)	<i>lānge</i> (pl.)	‘crippled’	< Kurd. <i>ling</i> (‘leg’)
<i>marda</i> (ms.)	<i>marde</i> (fs.)	<i>marde</i> (pl.)	‘generous’	< Kurd. <i>merd</i>
<i>qopa</i> (ms.)	<i>qope</i> (fs.)	<i>qope</i> (pl.)	‘hunchbacked’	< Kurd. <i>qop</i>
<i>qutta</i> (ms.)	<i>qutte</i> (fs.)	<i>qutte</i> (pl.)	‘tailless’	< Kurd. <i>qut</i>
<i>sarkōla</i> (ms.)	<i>sarkōle</i> (fs.)	<i>sarkōle</i> (pl.)	‘bare-headed’	< Kurd. <i>ser-kol</i>
<i>zāra</i> (ms.)	<i>zāre</i> (fs.)	<i>zāre</i> (pl.)	‘yellow’	< Kurd. <i>zer</i>
<i>zaxma</i> (ms.)	<i>zaxme</i> (fs.)	<i>zaxme</i> (pl.)	‘huge, mighty’	< Kurd. <i>zexm</i>

A few loaned adjectives retain the source form without inflection in the ms. and fs. but take the Aramaic plural inflection *-e*, e.g.

<i>krēt</i> (ms.)	<i>krēt</i> (fs.)	<i>krete</i> (pl.)	‘bad’	< Kurd. <i>kirēt</i>
<i>krehat</i> (ms.)	<i>krehat</i> (fs.)	<i>krehatte</i> (pl.)	‘bad’	variant of <i>krēt</i>
<i>saqqat</i> (ms.)	<i>saqqat</i> (fs.)	<i>saqqate</i> (pl.)	‘crippled’	< Kurd. <i>seqqet</i>

<i>sāx</i> (ms.)	<i>sāx</i> (fs.)	<i>saxe</i> (pl.)	‘healthy, alive’ < Kurd. sax
<i>taza</i> (ms.)	<i>taza</i> (fs.)	<i>taze</i> (pl.)	‘beautiful’ < Kurd. taze

## 11.10. UNADAPTED LOANS

Several loaned adjectives are left unadapted without Aramaic morphological endings and remain invariable for number or gender. Examples of such adjectives include:

<i>ʾarzən</i>	‘cheap’
<i>ʾaši</i>	‘difficult (terrain)’
<i>ʾašəq</i>	‘in love’
<i>ʾškāra</i>	‘clear’
<i>bista</i>	‘familiar (with)’
<i>brindar</i>	‘injured’
<i>dūs</i>	‘right, just’
<i>gārən</i>	‘expensive’
<i>həšyər</i>	‘careful’
<i>maqul</i>	‘acceptable, respectable’
<i>qālās</i>	‘miserly’
<i>sānayi</i>	‘easy’
<i>šarəz</i>	‘familiar, knowledgeable’
<i>tambəl</i>	‘lazy’
<i>zābun</i>	‘weak’

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### NUMERALS

#### 12.1. CARDINALS

##### 12.1.1. Numerals 1–10

	With masculine noun	With feminine noun
1	<i>xa</i>	<i>ða</i>
2	<i>tre</i>	<i>tárte ~ tátte</i>
3	<i>tláθa ~ tla</i>	<i>tálləθ</i>
4	<i>'árba ~ 'árpa</i>	<i>'árbe</i>
5	<i>xámša</i>	<i>xámməš</i>
6	<i>'šta</i>	<i>'ššət</i>
7	<i>šáwwa</i>	<i>'šwa</i>
8	<i>tmányá</i>	<i>tmáne</i>
9	<i>'əčča</i>	<i>'əčča</i>
10	<i>'əsra</i>	<i>'əssər</i>

Examples: *xa* 'urza 'one man', *ða baxta* 'one woman'; *tre* 'urze 'two men', *tarte baxtaθa* 'two women'; *tláθa* 'urze ~ *tla* 'urze 'three men', *tálləθ baxtaθa* 'three women', etc.

The feminine form *ða* has developed from an original *\*hðā* by elision of the initial consonant. The feminine forms *tálləθ* and *'əssər* have developed from original monosyllabic forms *\*tlāθ* and *\*'sar* by the insertion of a stressed epenthetic vowel between the first two consonants, as is the case with forms such as *dəm̄ma* < *\*dmā* 'blood', *šənnē* < *\*šnē* 'years' (§3.3.3). The development of the masculine forms *'árba* and *'árpa* is *\*'arb'a* < *\*'arb'ā*. The /p/ in *'árpa* has arisen by the devoicing of /b/ due to contact with the laryngal (*\*'arb'a* > *'arpa*), as in *p-aqlē* 'by foot' (< *\*b-aqlē*). The feminine form *'árbe* derives from *\*'árba'*. An intermediary stage would have been *\*'arbə'*, in which the /a/ of the final syllable was attenuated. The /e/ in the final syllable of the form *'árbe* has developed by the lengthening of the attenuated vowel after the elision of the final laryngal. The feminine form *'əššət* has resulted from the stressing of a prosthetic vowel, which was attached

to the form by analogy with the masculine  $\text{'š}ta$ . The development of the masculine form  $\text{šáw}wa$  is  $\langle *šáwá \langle *šaw'a \langle *šab'ā$ , with the secondary gemination of the /w/ after the stressed short /a/ vowel. The feminine form  $\text{'šš}wa$  has developed from an original  $*šba'$  by the acquisition of a stressed prosthetic vowel. Unlike  $\text{'ar}be$  the final vowel remains /a/, probably since it was stressed in the original monosyllabic form  $\text{šba}'$ .

The masculine form  $\text{'šš}a$  is distinguished from the feminine form  $\text{'šš}a$  only by the emphatic articulation of the medial consonants. As is commonly the case with such minimal pairs (§1.2.3.), the pharyngalization of the emphatic /šš/ is sometimes weakened and the two words are distinguished by a difference in the general setting of the body of the tongue rather than the position of the root of the tongue. The vowel segments are more susceptible to such a difference in setting, with the result that the most perceptible distinction between  $\text{'šš}a$  and  $\text{'šš}a$  is in the relative position of the vowels, which is more retracted in the former than in the latter, i.e. [ʔətʃ[ɑ] vs. [ʔtʃ[ɑ].

Although distinct masculine and feminine forms exist for the cardinal numerals, there is an incipient tendency to use the masculine forms with all nouns. As a result, there is an inconsistent use of the feminine forms, even within the speech of an individual informant, e.g.

$\text{š}a\text{-m}á\theta a$  'a village' (A48:1)— $xa\text{-m}á\theta a$  (A15:10)  
 $\text{t}á\text{r}te\text{ }bná\theta a$  'two girls' (A25:1)— $tre\text{-}bná\theta a$  (A24:20)  
 $\text{t}á\text{ll}á\theta\text{ }gáye$  'three times' (A28:36)— $\text{t}l\hat{a}\text{-}gáye$  (A24:47)

The usage of the feminine forms is rarer for the cardinals 4–10 than for the cardinals 1–3.

When the cardinals are used without a following counted nominal, the monosyllabic numerals  $xa$  /  $\text{š}a$  and  $tre$  often have the extended forms  $xá'a$  /  $\text{š}á'a$  and  $tre'e$ . In these circumstances the long form  $\text{t}l\hat{a}\theta a$  is preferred to the short form  $\text{t}l\hat{a}$ . If the cardinals are used for counting in a series without reference to a specific referent, only the masculine forms are used, e.g.  $xá'a$ ,  $tre$ ,  $\text{t}l\hat{a}\theta a$ ,  $\text{'ar}ba$ , etc.

When the cardinal  $xa$  occurs in predicative position with an enclitic copula, it sometimes has the form  $xat$ . The final /t/, which may be a reflex of the original final consonant of the numeral ( $*h\hat{a}d$ ), acts as a buffer between its vowel and that of the copula. It is pronounced unaspirated before the following vowel, e.g.

- (1)  $\text{'á}na\text{-}w\text{ 'á}w\text{ }x\hat{a}t\text{-}ix'$  'What I and he are [is] one (= We are the same) (A30:55)

The fact that it has the stop /t/ rather than the expected fricative /ð/ (< \**had*) may be due to a false morphological division whereby the sequence \**had-ile* was analysed as \**ha-d-ile*, the original \**d* being interpreted as the subordinating particle. If this *xat* form is not used, the numeral has the long form *xa'a* in predicative position, e.g. *xà'ela* 'They are one'.<sup>1</sup> The use of the form *xat* has been extended to predications with the past copula and the verb *hwj*, e.g. *xàt-wεwa* 'They were one', *xàt b<sub>2</sub>-áwa* 'They will be one'.

### 12.1.2. Numerals 11–19

Cardinals from 11 onwards have one invariable form, which is used with nouns of both genders. The numerals 11–19 are as follows:

11	<i>xadássær ~ xadéssær</i>
12	<i>trássær ~ tréssær</i>
13	<i>táltássær</i>
14	<i>'arbássær</i>
15	<i>xamšássær</i>
16	<i>'áštássær</i>
17	<i>šwássær</i>
18	<i>tmanássær ~ tmanéssær</i>
19	<i>'áččássær</i>

The /s/ in the 'ten' component of these forms is geminated. The historical forms \**tré'sær*, \**tlaθa'sær* etc. would be expected to develop into \**tréssær*, *táltásær*. The gemination may have arisen by analogy with the feminine form *'ássær*. Another possible explanation is that these forms were treated as stress groups consisting of two words, i.e. *táltá-ssær*, *'arbá-ssær* etc. When numerals 1–10 ending in *-a* are combined with the counted nominal in a stress group and the stress is placed on the final syllable of the numeral, the stressed vowel is generally not lengthened, e.g. *xá-naša* (A1:4), *dá-kista* (A4:15), *'áštá-maθwaθa* (B1:3), *šawwá-šanne* (A25:23). This may be the reason why the stressed /a/ in forms such as *táltá-ssær*, *'arbá-ssær* remained short. The gemination of the /s/ would have developed secondarily after the stressed short vowel. This gemination could have been extended to the

<sup>1</sup> Some NENA dialects block contraction of a diphthong in this context without the buffer consonant, e.g. J. Urmi *xaylu* 'They are one', in which the /ay/ diphthong does not undergo the usual contraction to /e/; cf. Garbell (1965: 64).

forms *xadássær*, *trássær* and *tmanássær* by analogy. In slow speech the latter numerals have /e/ in the stressed syllable, viz. *xadéssær*, *tréssær*, *tmanéssær*.

The stop /d/ after the vowel in *xadássær* probably developed from an originally geminated \**dd*. This seems to have been secondarily geminated in order to allow an /a/ vowel to follow the initial letter, presumably by analogy with the form for *xa* ‘one’, i.e. *xadássær* < *xadð’sær* < \**xaddð’sær* < \**h’ðaða’sær*.

### 12.1.3. *Tens*

20	ʔsri
30	ʔláθi
40	ʔarbi
50	xámšǐ
60	ʔšti
70	šáwewi
80	tmáni
90	ʔččǐ

### 12.1.4. *Hundreds*

100	ʔmma
200	tré ʔmma ~ tré-mma
300	ʔláθa ʔmma ~ ʔláθá-mma, ʔlá ʔmma ~ ʔlá-mma
400	ʔarba ʔmma ~ ʔarbá-mma, etc.

In natural speech the phrases for 200 and above are usually combined into a single stress group and the initial ʔ- of ʔmma is elided. In these phrases the numeral preceding ʔmma is a masculine form numeral, although historically ʔmma is feminine. When it is combined with another numeral, the noun remains in the singular form. When standing independently and designating an unspecified number of ‘hundreds’, it has the plural form ʔmmaye.

### 12.1.5. *Thousands*

1,000	ʔalpa
2,000	tré ʔalpe

3,000	<i>tlátha 'álpe</i>
4,000	<i>'árba 'álpe</i> , etc.

Unspecified plural: *'alpaye*.

#### 12.1.6. *Combination of Numerals*

Cardinals are combined by the conjunction *w* in descending order, e.g. *'álpa-w 'ástà-mma šanne* ‘one thousand six-hundred years’ (B1:7), *'ásti-w xámša šéere* ‘sixty-five poems’ (B1:15), *'amma-w xamšĭ-false* ‘a hundred and fifty fil’s’ (B1:20), *'álpa-w 'áččá-mma-w 'ásti-w tré* ‘1962’.

#### 12.1.7. *Cardinals with Pronominal Suffixes*

Distinct forms of the cardinals 2-10 are used when they are combined with a pronominal suffix. There are two alternative forms for the numeral ‘2’ in these constructions:

2	<i>tərwáθnən</i>	‘the two of us’
	<i>tərwəθnéxu</i>	‘the two of you’
	<i>tərwəθnéy</i>	‘the two of them’
	<i>tráθnən</i>	‘the two of us’
	<i>traθnéxu</i>	‘the two of you’
	<i>traθnéy</i>	‘the two of them’
3	<i>tláθnən</i>	‘the three of us’
	<i>tləθnéxu</i>	‘the three of you’
	<i>tləθnéy</i>	‘the three of them’
4	<i>'arbáθnən</i>	‘the four of us’
	<i>'arbaθnéxu</i>	‘the four of you’
	<i>'arbaθnéy</i>	‘the four of them’
5	<i>xamšáθnən</i>	‘the five of us’
	<i>xamšəθnéxu</i>	‘the five of you’
	<i>xamšəθnéy</i>	‘the five of them’



6	<i>ʔstáθnən</i>	‘the six of us’
	<i>ʔstaθnéxu</i>	‘the six of you’
	<i>ʔstaθnéy</i>	‘the six of them’
7	<i>šawwáθnən</i>	‘the seven of us’
	<i>šawwaθnéxu</i>	‘the seven of you’
	<i>šawwaθnéy</i>	‘the seven of them’
8	<i>tmanyáθnən</i>	‘the eight of us’
	<i>tmanyathéxu</i>	‘the eight of you’
	<i>tmanyathény</i>	‘the eight of them’
9	<i>ʔččáθnən</i>	‘the nine of us’
	<i>ʔččaθnéxu</i>	‘the nine of you’
	<i>ʔččaθnéy</i>	‘the nine of them’
10	<i>ʔšraθnən</i>	‘the ten of us’
	<i>ʔšraθnéxu</i>	‘the ten of you’
	<i>ʔšraθnéy</i>	‘the ten of them’

In these constructions the stress is often moved forwards to the place it occupies in the isolated form of the numeral, e.g. *ʔarbaθnən* (cf. *ʔarba*), *xámšaθnən* (cf. *xámša*), etc.

## 12.2. ORDINALS

A distinct ordinal form is used for ‘first’, viz. *qamáya*, fs. *qaméθa*, pl. *qamáye*. The remaining ordinals are expressed by combining the cardinal with the genitive particle *D*. The cardinals 2–10 have the appropriate form in accordance with the gender of the noun:

	With ms. nouns	With fs. nouns	With pl. nouns
1st	<i>qamáya</i>	<i>qaméθa</i>	<i>qamáye</i>
2nd	<i>t-tre</i>	<i>t-tórtə</i>	<i>t-tre</i>
3rd	<i>t-tláθa</i>	<i>t-tálləθ</i>	<i>t-tláθa</i>
4th	<i>t-ʔarba</i>	<i>t-ʔarbe</i>	<i>t-ʔarba</i>
5th	<i>t-xámša</i>	<i>t-xámməš</i>	<i>t-xámša</i>
6th	<i>t-ʔšta</i>	<i>t-ʔššət</i>	<i>t-ʔšta</i>
7th	<i>t-šáwra</i>	<i>t-ʔšwa</i>	<i>t-šáwra</i>

8th	<i>t-tmánya</i>	<i>t-tmáne</i>	<i>t-tmánya</i>
9th	<i>t-’ǰǰča</i>	<i>t-’ǰǰča</i>	<i>t-’ǰǰča</i>
10th	<i>t-’ǰšra</i>	<i>t-’ǰssər</i>	<i>t-’ǰšra</i>

The feminine forms of the cardinals 2–10 in these constructions are used inconsistently. There is a tendency to generalize the use the masculine forms after all nouns. The genitive particle is usually bonded with the preceding noun.

Examples: *’úrza qamáya* ‘the first man’, *báxta qaméθa* ‘the first woman’, *’árxe qamáye* ‘the first guests’, *’úrət tré* ‘the second man’, *báxtət tárte ~ báxtət tré* ‘the second woman’, *’árxət tré* ‘the second guest’; *’úrət tláθa* ‘the third man’, *báxtət tálləθ ~ báxtət tláθa* ‘the third woman’, *’árxət tláθa* ‘the third guest’, etc.

Ordinals from 11th onwards are, likewise, expressed by the particle *D* and the appropriate cardinal:

11th	<i>t-xadǰssər</i>
12th	<i>t-brǰssər</i>
13th	<i>t-táltǰssər</i> , etc.

### 12.3. FRACTIONS

The words for ‘half’ and ‘quarter’ are as follows:

‘half’	<i>pálga</i>
‘quarter’	<i>čárək</i>

Constructions such as ‘one and a half’, ‘two and a half’ etc. are formed by attaching the 3ms. suffix *-e* to the word *palga* thus: *xa-w palge*, *tre-w palge* (Literally: ‘one and its half’, ‘two and its half’). Although in origin the 3ms. pronoun, the ending *-e* has become fossilized in this context and is used also when the preceding item is feminine, e.g. *xa-kista-w palge* ‘one and a half bags’.

The word *čárək* is a loan from Kurdish. It is usually given an Arabic plural pattern, e.g. *tłáθa čǰwárək* ‘three quarters’.

Other fractions may be expressed by the structure *xa mən + cardinal*, e.g. *xá mən-tlá* ‘a third’, *xá mən-xámša* ‘a fifth’.

## 12.4. DAYS OF THE WEEK

<i>xošéba</i> (m.)	‘Sunday’
<i>trušéba</i> (m.)	‘Monday’
<i>!laθušéba</i> (m.)	‘Tuesday’
<i>ʾarbušéba</i> (m.)	‘Wednesday’
<i>xamsušéba</i> (m.)	‘Thursday’
<i>rúta</i> (f.)	‘Friday’
<i>šáθa</i> (f.)	‘Saturday’

The days Sunday—Thursday are derived historically from the phrases *\*xa b-šabba* ‘the first in the week’, *\*tre b-šabba* ‘the second in the week’, etc. The /e/ vowel in the component *-šéba* has apparently arisen by the following development *\*šabba* > *\*ša’ba* > *\*šə’ba* > *šéba* (see §2.5.2.).

## 12.5. NAMES OF MONTHS

<i>kánun qamáya</i>	‘December’
<i>kánun xaráya</i>	‘January’
<i>ʾšwəʔ</i>	‘February’
<i>ʾáðər</i>	‘March’
<i>nísən</i>	‘April’
<i>yār</i>	‘May’
<i>xzírən</i>	‘June’
<i>támuz</i>	‘July’
<i>!ábbəx</i>	‘August’
<i>ʾilul</i>	‘September’
<i>čəri qamáya</i>	‘October’
<i>čəri xaráya</i>	‘November’

## 12.6. THE SEASONS

<i>sátwa</i>	‘Winter’
<i>báhəʔ, bé-nisane</i>	‘Spring’
<i>qéʔa</i>	‘Summer’
<i>čəri</i>	‘Autumn’

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### PARTICLES

#### 13.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The term ‘particle’ is used in a broad sense to include all items that do not fall into the categories of noun, pronoun, adjective or verb. Some of the particles take nouns as their complement to express relations between elements in a clause, others take clauses as their complement to express relations between clauses. These two classes of particles are termed ‘prepositions’ and ‘clausal conjunctions’ respectively. The large residue of particles that do not fall into one of these two classes have various disparate functions, including adverbs, quantifiers, determiners, connectives and interrogative particles. Apart from the prepositions, most particles are uninflected. We bring together here all the particles except the quantifiers and determiners, which are discussed in the chapter concerning the syntax of nominals §14.9.

#### 13.2. ADVERBS

There is no productive adverbial inflectional ending that can be used freely to create adverbs from nouns or adjectives. The ending *-ayiθ* is occasionally used by educated speakers to form adverbials, e.g. *prišáyiθ* ‘specifically’ (B1:10), *šotapayiθ* ‘socially’ (B15:72). This inflection, however, must be considered a literary borrowing from Classical Syriac rather than a living feature of the spoken dialect. A phonetically reduced reflex of the Syriac ending may, nevertheless, be tentatively identified in the spoken dialect in the words referring to languages such as *surəθ* ‘in Sureth’ (< \**sūrā* ʾiθ) and *qurdəθ* ‘in Kurdish’. These words, however, are now often treated syntactically as nouns rather than adverbs, e.g. *y-ámrx ʾáxni b-súrəθ* ‘We say in Sureth’ (A8:23), where the word is governed by a preposition.

Several adverbs and adverbial phrases of Aramaic origin are nouns in the absolute state without an inflectional vowel, e.g. *ʾadyo* ‘today’ (< \**ʾadyom*). Some adverbs have the ending *-aye*, e.g. *qamáye* ‘formerly’, *baráye* ‘outside’, *gawáye* ‘inside’, *šuraye* ‘at first’. In fast speech the final /e/ is sometimes

elided, resulting in the forms *qamáy*, *baráy*, *gawáy*. It is possible that this ending has evolved from the absolute state of the feminine singular: *qamáye* < \**qamayaθ* < \**qadmayath* (cf. Syr. *qadmāyat* ‘at first’).

Some spatial adverbs have endings that are related to those of demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *támma* ‘here’, *támáha* ‘over there’ (in sight), *táma* ‘there’ (out of sight); cf. *’áwwa* ‘this’, *’áwáha* ‘that’ (in sight), *’aw* ‘that’ (out of sight).

In a number of cases, an adverb is a noun with a nominal inflectional ending or a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition and noun. Adverbs such as these are not particles and are best referred to as ‘adverbial expressions’. This category is open ended and will be exemplified in more detail in the chapter on the syntax of nominals (§14.13.).

We give here a full inventory of adverb particles and a selection of the basic adverbial expressions that complement these.

(i) *Spatial adverbs*

<i>’áxxa</i> , <i>láxxa</i>	‘here’
<i>’axxáne</i> , <i>laxxáne</i>	‘here, hereabouts’
<i>támma</i>	‘here’
<i>támáha</i> , <i>támá’ha</i>	‘there (in sight)’
<i>táma</i>	‘there (out of sight)’
<i>hódax</i>	‘beyond’
<i>húdxá</i>	‘beyond’
<i>baráye</i> , <i>baráy</i>	‘outside’
<i>qam-tára</i>	‘outside’
<i>wádar</i>	‘outside’
<i>gawáye</i> , <i>gawáy</i>	‘inside’
<i>’állul</i>	‘above’
<i>’áltax</i>	‘below’
<i>rama</i>	‘above’
<i>reša</i>	‘above’
<i>xóθa</i>	‘below’
<i>bár-eli</i>	‘upwards’
<i>bár-taxti</i>	‘downwards’
<i>qámθa</i> , <i>qáma</i>	‘in front’
<i>báθra</i> , <i>bára</i>	‘behind’
<i>la-qámθa</i> , <i>la-qáma</i>	‘in front, forwards’
<i>la-báθra</i> , <i>la-bára</i>	‘behind, backwards’
<i>reša xtáya</i>	‘upside down’
<i>l-xárxəθ</i>	‘upside down, back to front’

(ii) *Temporal adverbs*

<i>hadíya, díya</i>	‘now’
<i>’ádyo</i>	‘today’
<i>’ádléle</i>	‘tonight’
<i>’áššeta</i>	‘this year’
<i>kúš-šət</i>	‘every year’
<i>bázzune</i>	‘last year’, ‘next year’
<i>bzúne</i>	‘two years ago’ (rarely used)
<i>tábzune</i>	‘three years ago’ (rarely used)
<i>táltalune</i>	‘four years ago’ (rarely used)
<i>təmməl</i>	‘yesterday; tomorrow’
<i>b-óma xéna</i>	‘the day before yesterday; the day after tomorrow’
<i>təmməl b-léle</i>	‘last night’
<i>qédamta</i>	‘in the morning’
<i>mbádla</i>	‘in the morning’
<i>m-léle</i>	‘early morning, before dawn’
<i>’ašórta</i>	‘in the evening’ (approx. 5–8 pm)
<i>bórmaše</i>	‘evening’
<i>jálde</i>	‘early’
<i>qedámta jálde</i>	‘early in the morning’
<i>qamáye</i>	‘at first’
<i>qámθa</i>	‘formerly’
<i>xárθa</i>	‘afterwards’
<i>gá-gaθa</i>	‘sometimes’

(iii) *Interrogative adverbs*

<i>’éka</i>	‘where? whither? how? (marginal)’
<i>m-éka</i>	‘from where?’
<i>’iman</i>	‘when?’
<i>dax, dáxi</i>	‘how?’
<i>kəmə</i>	‘how much, how many?’
<i>ta-mó, tla-mó, qa-mó</i>	‘why?’

(iv) *Adverbs of manner*

<i>hádax</i>	‘like that’
<i>hátxa</i>	‘like this’
<i>hatxáne</i>	‘(approximately) like this’
<i>jálde</i>	‘quickly’
<i>níxa</i>	‘slowly’

<i>pánde</i>	‘slowly’
<i>spay</i>	‘well’

### 13.3. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are either placed directly before the following word or are linked to it by an annexation construction containing the subordinating particle *D*. The practice of combining the preposition with *D* is not completely consistent and is not found at all with some prepositions. There is a greater tendency to use *D* before demonstratives and the interrogative pronoun *’eni* than before other words. Monosyllabic prepositions are frequently linked with their nominal complement in one stress group. This is always the case with those that have a base consisting of a single consonant, such as *b-* ‘in’, *l-* ‘to’.

Most prepositions can take pronominal suffixes. In some cases a different allomorph of the preposition is used before the suffixes, e.g. *max* ‘like’, but *maxwáθi* ‘like me’.

#### 13.3.1. *’ax* ‘like’

This preposition is normally combined with the following word in the same stress group, e.g. *’ax-bràta* ‘like a girl’ (B7:1), *’ax-tré tabàqe* ‘like two floors’ (B2:3), *’ax-qamàye* ‘like before’ (A4:34). The /a/ vowel is often centralized to [ə] by a process of attenuation (§2.3.5.). This is not represented in the transcription, e.g. *’ax-nàša* [’əx-’næ:ʃæ] ‘like a human’ (A19:1), *’ax-nàšra* [’əx-’nə]ræ] ‘like an eagle’ (A24:56).

It is linked to a following demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *’eni* by the particle *D*, e.g. *’ax-d-àwwa* ‘like him’ (A26:34), *’ax-d-àyya* ‘like this one’ (A21:6), *’ax-d-ó-dewa kòra* ‘like that blind wolf’ (A10:5), *’ax-d-an-t-íla míθe tàma* ‘like those who have already died there’ (A14:70), *’ax-d-’eni?* ‘like whom?’

When it is combined with pronominal suffixes, two constructions are available. The suffixes may be attached to the base form *’axwaθ-*, e.g. *’axwáθi* ‘like me’ (A26:48). Third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *’axwáθe díye* ‘like him.’ (A25:44). Alternatively the base *’ax-* may be combined with suffixes by means of the independent genitive particle *díy-* without taking the suffixes directly, e.g. *’ax-díye* ‘like him?’ (A4:3), *’ax-díyux* ‘like you (ms.)’ (A4:26), *’ax-díyax* ‘like you (fs.)’ (A8:77).

13.3.2. *b-* ‘in, at, on, by means of’

This particle is regularly prefixed to the following word, e.g. *b-lèle* ‘at night’ (A15:8), *b-semälta* ‘by a ladder’ (A23:28). When the word to which it is prefixed begins with /ʃ/, this is sometimes elided, e.g. *b-iθàθi* ‘with my hands’ (A17:32), *b-aqláθa dīya* ‘with its feet’ (A23:19). This elision is regular before demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *b-o nǎra* ‘with that axe’ (A30:23), *b-áyya dána* ‘at this time’ (A15:7), *b-ánna čakälle* ‘in these slippers’ (A6:7) and also before the noun *ʾalaha* in the oath *b-álaha* ‘by God’. The /ʃ/ at the beginning of many nouns, however, is retained, e.g. *b-ùrxa* ‘on the road’ (A15:1), *b-ʾide dīye* ‘in his hand’ (A22:30), *b-ʾašǎrta* ‘in the evening’ (A22:31).

When the particle stands before a consonant, the cluster is often broken by an epenthetic vowel, which is placed either after the particle or in front of it. This is not represented in the transcription, e.g. *b-ǧǧàðe* [bəʏʔðæðe] ‘with each other’ (A4:50), *b-lèle* [ʔəbʰlexle] ‘at night’ (A26:3).

When in contact with an unvoiced consonant, the preposition is often devoiced to [p], e.g. *b-súrəθ* [p-ʃurəθ] *ʾatīqta* ‘in ancient Syriac’ (A24:6), *b-kú-mǎnna* [p-kuʔ-mǎnnæ] ‘by any of them’ (A41:8). Devoicing takes place before a vowel in a few fixed expressions including *p-àqla* (< *b-ʾaqla*) ‘on foot’ (B5:37) and *p-ápe* (< *b-ʾape*) ‘beyond’ (A12:21). In such cases the devoicing is represented in the transcription.

The preposition sometimes undergoes total assimilation to the labial consonants /m/ and /p/, e.g. *b-mälla* [m-ʰmællæ] ‘against the mullah’ (A22:34), *b-mašīna* [m-mæʃiʔnæ] ‘with a machine’ (B10:59), *b-panjarīye* [p-pændʒæʰriʒe] ‘at the window’ (A4:38).

In some cases the preposition loses all phonetic realization. This occurs before labial consonants, probably by weakening of an initial gemination, e.g. *mǎšxa* [< m-məʃxæ < b-məʃxæ] ‘with oil’ (B5:40), *mǎlxàwa* [< m-məʃxəʔwa < b-məʃxəʔwa] ‘with a threshing fork’ (B5:85), and also elsewhere, especially on words bearing the nuclear stress, e.g. *pθixla tǎra qðila* (< *b-qðila*) ‘She opened the door with a key’ (A18:3), *har-gubbān-ix* (< *b-gubbān-ix*) *wiðalle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We made it exactly according to a spirit-level’ (A17:20), *ʾm-háwe t̄lā* (< *b-t̄lā*) *ʾaqláθa* ‘if it is with three legs’ (A22:3). On strongly stressed words in focus it may be omitted even before initial /ʃ/, e.g. *kut-ʾarba ʾaqlət-gāne páyās tǎlya* ‘Every sheep is hung up by his own legs’ (D2:55).

When the preposition takes pronominal suffixes, these are usually attached to the base form *bīy-*, which stands independently with its own stress, e.g. *bīyi*, *bīyux*, *bīyax*, etc. A third person suffix may be extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *bīye dīye* ‘with him’ (A14:8), *bīya dīya*



‘with her’ (A4:26). Sometimes the first component is contracted and the suffix is expressed only on the genitive particle, e.g. *bi-díye* (B5:126). If the independent genitive particle is used with 1st and 2nd person suffixes, no corresponding suffix occurs on the preposition base, e.g. *bi-diyi*, *bi-diyux*.

An alternative, less commonly used, base form for suffixes is *ʔbb-*, which stands independently, e.g. *qéθa ʔbbux* ‘It hits you’ (D1:8). The pronominal suffix is attached to the basic form *b-* in constructions with the existential particle, e.g. *ʔθbe*, *ʔbe* ‘There is in it’, *líθbe*, *líbe* ‘There is not in it’ (§8.20.1.). In such cases the phrase has the status of a suffix.

Before demonstrative pronouns the preposition *b-* is sometimes combined with the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *b-d-ó-qesa* ‘with that wood’ (B5:145), *ràba xðéle b-d-a-bràta* ‘He was very happy with that girl’ (A14:96), *moríwa dána b-d-àwwa mándi* ‘They spent time in this’ (B15:72).

Sporadically the prosodically independent base form *biy-* is used for constructions where the preposition occurs before a noun. In such cases the *biy-* base is combined with the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *kúlla mpurpəssela* *bíyət plàšə* ‘They were all scattered by wars’ (B4:5).

A phrase with the form *bəd-* or *bud-* is used before nouns or demonstratives. This appears to be in origin a combination of the preposition *b-* with the particle *D*, but now is treated as a separate preposition. This is reflected by the fact that it is not used in complete free variation with the basic preposition *b-* (§16.1.11). It normally has the sense of ‘about, concerning’ before a noun or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *bəd-bròni* ‘about my son’ (A14:92). It, moreover, keeps its phonetic shape in all contexts and exhibits distinct phonotactic properties, in that an initial /ʔ/ of a demonstrative is sometimes not elided after the /d/ of the phrase, e.g. *bəd-ʔáwwa náša* ‘concerning this man’ (A30:41). Pronominal suffixes are attached by combining the phrase with the independent genitive particle, e.g. *bəd-díye* ‘about him’.

### 13.3.3. *bahs*, *bas* ‘about, concerning’

This is in principle connected to a noun by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *báhsət šúli* ‘about my job’. Forms with the subordinating particle contracted are also used, e.g. *bahs-šúli*. The subordinating particle regularly occurs, however, before a demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *ʔeni*, e.g. *báhs d-áwwa mándi* ‘about this thing’, *bahs-d-éni?* ‘about whom? Pronominal suffixes are attached by combining the preposition with the independent genitive particle, e.g. *bas-diyux* ‘about you’ (A8:41).

13.3.4. *baθər, bar* ‘*behind, after*’

This may be used in a spatial or temporal sense. It is generally placed before the following word without the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *báθər qðàle* ‘behind his neck’ (A22:38), *báθər tára* ‘behind the door’ (A23:25), *báθər ʔlá-yarxe* ‘after three months’ (A17:28), *bar-tre-yòme* ‘after two days’ (A22:17). When it has a temporal sense, it is sometimes combined with *mən*, e.g. *m-báθər xámša daqìqe* ‘after five minutes’ (A22:23), *m-báθər Mămo* ‘after Mămo (= after his death)’ (A26:89). The preposition is occasionally attached to a following word by annexation with the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *kályele báθrət xàwri* ‘He is standing behind my friend’. The subordinating particle is regularly used after the preposition before a demonstrative pronoun and the interrogative pronoun *ʔeni*, e.g. *báθər d-è-maθa* ‘behind that village’ (A24:30), *ʔu-báθər d-èni ʔáyən?* ‘and who should I look for?’ (A26:9).

Pronominal suffixes are added directly to the preposition, e.g. *ʔay-mʔúsýalla bàre* ‘He hid her behind him’ (A26:47), *qíməle xóne diye* Čəkko *báθre* ‘His brother Čəkko stood up after him’ (A26:69), *mxiáðrən bàrux* ‘I shall search after you’ (A25:64). Third person suffixes are often extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *ʔu-şátyele bára diya* ‘and he swooped after her’ (A24:56). In such constructions the suffix on the preposition may be contracted, e.g. *kályele báθər diye* ‘He is standing behind him’.

13.3.5. *barqul-* ‘*opposite*’

This is joined in an annexation relation to a following nominal, e.g. *ʔaw kályele barqúlət bàbe* ‘He is standing opposite his father’, *ʔaw kályele barqúlə d-o-xèna* ‘He is standing opposite the other’. The annexation ending is usually contracted, e.g. *dmixele bárqul d-ay-kàwe* ‘He slept opposite that hole’ (A10:4), *plíte bárqul mđitèy* ‘They came out opposite their town’ (A4:28). It takes pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʔaw kályele barqùli* ‘He is standing opposite me’, *hon-láxxa barqùlux* ‘I am here opposite you’ (A52:19).

13.3.6. *bən, bəl* ‘*between*’

The preposition regularly has the form *bən*, with the original final /n/, when it is used before a plural nominal without a co-ordinated component, e.g. *bən-ʔisàre* ‘between the rocks’ (B9:4), *bən-trè ʔuráne* ‘between two mountains’ (B4:1). The vowel is sometimes shortened, e.g. *bən-náθ sùsta* ‘between the ears of the horse’ (A12:5). When a pair of items are coordinated

(‘between A and B’), the preposition may have the form *bēn* or *bēl*. The second item may be introduced simply by the connective particle *w*, e.g. *bēn-’arbá-mma-w ’aštá-mma šānne* ‘between four-hundred and six-hundred years’ (B6:31), *turánaṯ t-’ína bēl-’Irāq ’u-Türkiya* ‘the mountains that are between Iraq and Turkey’ (B3:3). The preposition may be repeated before the second item, e.g. *bēn ’aturāye ’u-bēn barzanāye* ‘between the Assyrians and the people of Barzan’ (B19:1). The second item may be introduced by the preposition *l-*. In such cases the form *bēl* is generally used before the first item, no doubt by assimilation to the *l-*, e.g. *bēl-pānxa l-pānxa* ‘between one grinding wheel and the other’ (B5:91), *bēl-šādla l-šādla* ‘between one sapling and the other’ (B5:103), *bēl-’āra l-’āra* ‘between one plot of land and the other’ (B5:131), *bēl-tūra l-tūra* ‘between one mountain and another’ (B5:147), *bēn-Sattiye l-Fārxo* ‘between Sattiye and Farxo’ (A25:29).

Pronominal suffixes are added to the base *bēn-/bēl-* in co-ordinated constructions, e.g. *’áwwa hákəm béni ’u-bēnax* ‘He will arbitrate between me and you’ (A47:3), *béli ’allux* ‘between you and me’ (A4:7). Plural pronominal suffixes in constructions without a co-ordinated member are generally attached to the base *benath-*, e.g. *benathən* ‘between us’ (A17:9), *benathéy* ‘between them’.

The subordinating particle *D* is used before a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *bēl-d-’ayya l-d-’ayya* ‘between this and that’ (B5:115), *bélan ’u-bēl-d-’anna dēwe* ‘between us and these wolves’ (A14:49). This is not the case, however, if the co-ordinated member is introduced only by the connective particle *w*, e.g. *bēn-’áskar-t málkət ’Iran* ‘between the army of the king of Iran and him’ (A11:16).

The sense of ‘in between’ without any explicit complement is expressed by *be-palga*, e.g. *’u-yatáxwa xāš-kodānta rēš-d-’án qrtāle, be-palga* ‘We would sit on the back of the mule on top of those baskets, in between (them)’ (B5:138). This expression can also be used in constructions with two co-ordinated members, e.g. *’áw kályele be-palgət kúrsi ’u-mēz* ‘He is standing between the chair and the table’.

### 13.3.7. čənnəkər- ‘around’

This preposition, which is a loan from Kurdish (çarnikar), is connected to the following word by annexation, e.g. *čənnəkərat guda* ‘around the wall’ (B5:191), *čənnəkərat swana* ‘around the eves’ (B5:195). Pronominal suffixes are attached directly to it, e.g. *čənnəkəre* ‘around it (m.)’ (B5:183), *čənnəkəra* ‘around them’ (B5:202). Third person suffixes may be extended by the

independent genitive particle, e.g. *ḥannakéere diye* ‘around him’ (A8:71), *ḥannakéra diya* ‘around it (f.)’ (B5:105).

### 13.3.8. darqul- ‘against’

This preposition, which resembles *barqul-* ‘opposite’ in form, is used in a more abstract sense to express opposition and enmity. It is joined in an annexation relation to a following nominal, e.g. *’áw darqúlát málkēle* ‘He is against the king’. The annexation ending is usually contracted, e.g. *dárqūl d-a-māndīla* ‘They are against that thing’ (A12:55). It takes pronominal suffixes, e.g. *’u-xákma darqúle diye* ‘and some were against him’ (A7:20).

### 13.3.9. gu ‘in’

This is always connected to the following word in the same intonation group, e.g. *gu-yàma* ‘in the sea’ (A13:10), *gu-ḍa-lawùrta* ‘in a valley’ (A14:17), *gu-’ilāna* ‘in the tree’ (A13:12), *siqle gu-šmāyya* ‘He went up into the sky’ (A13:10). It is linked to a following demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *’ēni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *gu-d-o-qàšra* ‘in that palace’ (A14:41), *gu-d-áyya tārma* ‘in this porch’ (A13:6), *gu-d-anna gùde* ‘in these skins’ (A14:18), *gu-d-ēni máḥa?* ‘in which village?’

Pronominal suffixes are attached to the related base form *gaw-* rather than to *gu-*, e.g. *’nwe ’iḥ gáwe* ‘There are grapes in it (m.)’ (A12:9), *’ana hon-sxáya gáwa* ‘I am swimming in it (f.)’ (A25:61), *matṭiwala xabúše gawèy* ‘They would put the apples in them’ (B15:51). When the suffix is third person, the form is sometimes extended by combining it with the independent genitive particle, e.g. *’iḥ ḍa-yàwna gáwe diye* ‘There is a dove in it’ (A12:24), *npílle ’áp-aw gáwa diya* ‘He also fell in it’ (A25:90).

### 13.3.10. hal ‘until, as far as’

Examples: *hal-’ašárta plixele* ‘He worked until evening’ (A16:5), *hal-yómāt ’àrpa* ‘until the fourth day’ (A21:39), *hál yomāt-mèḥi* ‘until the day they die’ (A26:7), *hal-hadíya* ‘until now’ (A26:91), *hal-’iman* ‘until when?’ (A26:56), *hal-làxxa* ‘up to here’ (A20:3), *m-áxxa hál qašrāt-mìra* ‘from here until the palace of the amir’ (A26:68), *mān-yále zóre ’u-hal-gòre* ‘from young children to old people’ (B16:4), *hal-gu-réšāt tūra* ‘up to the top of the mountain’ (A14:49).

It is sometimes connected to a demonstrative pronoun by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *hál d-ε-dánāt mīéla l-yála* ‘until the time that she

came to the boy' (A25:4), *hal-d-o-yómə qárya tōkē*<sup>1</sup> 'until the day when the *tōkē* bird sings' (A30:3). It is often, however, followed by a demonstrative pronoun without this particle, e.g. *hál 'o-yómət 'áp-'ana mēθən*<sup>1</sup> 'until the day that I also die' (A4:43), *hál-'ε-gət 'ana mátyən 'alle diyē*<sup>1</sup> 'until the time I reach him' (A26:80).

It does not take pronominal suffixes directly, but must be combined with another preposition, e.g. *zilli hal-kəslux*<sup>1</sup> 'I went as far as you'.

### 13.3.11. *kəs-* 'by, at the home of'

This is connected directly to a following nominal, e.g. *mattátla xa-kawázət míya kəs-réša* 'Put out for her a jar of water by her head' (A21:7), *dírele kəs-bábe diyē*<sup>1</sup> 'He returned to his father's home' (A4:7), *wírre kəs-bràta*<sup>1</sup> 'He went into the home of the girl' (A17:24).

It is connected to demonstrative pronouns and the interrogative pronoun 'eni by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *'áwwa nabláxle kəs-d-áy' yan-'áy nabláxla kəs-d-áwwa*.<sup>21</sup> 'Should we take him to her or take her to him?' (A4:3), *múttalla kəs-d-ó Kārim-addin*<sup>1</sup> 'He put it next to Karimaddin' (A14:31), *ríqle kəs-d-à 'ilána*<sup>1</sup> 'He ran to the tree' (A14:27), *qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwəm*<sup>1</sup> 'Go to these neighbours of ours' (A5:1), *kəs-d-éni?*<sup>2</sup> 'at whose home?'

Pronominal suffixes are attached to the base form *kəsl-*, e.g. *kásle*, *káslux*, *kásli*, etc. Forms with the third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive pronoun, e.g. *kásle diyē*, *kásla díya*, etc.

### 13.3.12. *l-* 'to, for, upon'

This preposition is derived from two different prepositions in earlier Aramaic, namely \**l-* 'to, for' and \**al* 'upon'. Examples: *si-dúr l-šōpux*<sup>1</sup> 'Go back to your place' (A15:20), *masqánne l-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall take it up to the house' (A22:19), *šuxa-l-šamme* 'praise be to his name' (A6:10), *hóle tíwa l-kèpa*<sup>1</sup> 'He is sitting on a stone' (A15:13). When the nominal to which it is attached begins with a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is often inserted either before or after the particle. These are not represented in the transcription, e.g. *Čuxo híwle bále l-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> [lɔ-bɛɪθæ] 'Čuxo set off for home' (A7:12), *mosáqtalla bráta l-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> [ɔl-bɛɪθæ] 'She took the girl up to the house' (A25:7). On some rare occasions the stress is retracted onto the preposition with a following epenthetic, in which case the epenthetic is represented in the transcription, e.g. *jmila lə-ğðaðe*<sup>1</sup> 'They gathered together' (A26:1).

Occasionally the *l* is assimilated completely to the consonant, e.g. *šaléwa gáwəra l-šūqa*<sup>1</sup> [ɔ]-[lɪɪqɑ] 'Her husband would go down to the market'

(A22:1). In the adverbials *la-qâma* ‘forwards’ and *la-bâra* ‘backwards’ the initial *la-* element is unlikely to be the preposition *l-* but rather should be identified as the Kurdish word ‘side, direction’, which is used in some other adverbial expressions, e.g. *la-zràqət yóma* ‘in the direction of the rising of the sun’ (A8:22).

The laryngeal consonant /ʕ/ at the beginning of a word is usually not elided when the preposition is attached, e.g. *théla šléla l-’árxət be-Xâmmo* ‘She came down to the water-mill of the family of Xammo’ (A19:1), *mattíwala l-’ára* ‘They would put it onto the ground’ (A12:3), *šqúl ’áwwa qésa l-’idux* ‘Take this stick in your hand’ (A22:26). It is only sporadically elided from the beginning of nouns, e.g. *dáqne díye mtáya l-’ára* ‘His beard reached the ground’ (A15:13). It is regularly elided, however, before demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *t-’ásqəx l-’áwwa tóra*.<sup>21</sup> ‘Shall we go up to this mountain?’ (A17:4), *xulamwátha l-’áy-gota ’u-l-’ayya* ‘servants on that side and this one’ (A4:37), *mtéle l-’án tre-képe t-qítla b-gòðde* ‘He reached the two stones that knocked together’ (A24:20).

The preposition is sometimes linked to demonstrative pronouns by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *mátye l-d-o-nèra* ‘They arrived at that river’ (A14:58), *’θyεle l-d-ay-’ilána* ‘He came to that tree’ (A13:10), *brōn-málka tíwεle l-d-a-tàxta* ‘The son of the king sat on the throne’ (A14:43).

When the preposition is combined with pronominal suffixes, these are either attached directly to the *l-* base or are attached to a longer base form *’all-*. The phonotactic distribution of these two pronominal forms is different. The lighter forms with the *l-* base are the so-called L-suffixes, which form inseparable affixes of verbs or the existential particle *’iθ/liθ*. The heavier form with the base *’all-* is generally prosodically independent and bears its own stress, e.g. *hàtxa mjuwáble ’alli málka* ‘The king replied to me in this way’ (A17:34), *mattí ’ída ’alle* ‘They place a hand on it’ (B5:100). They are often combined with the independent genitive particle, especially when the suffix is third person, e.g. *’áxni t-yawáxla xa-b-tlàtha ’ille díye* ‘We shall give him threefold (if it is lost)’ (A7:10), *mamtátla ’illa díya* ‘Deliver them to her’ (A4:16). The two pronominal forms also differ in their functional distribution (for further details see §16.2.2.).

In some marginal cases the preposition has the form *’al-* when it has the sense of ‘upon’, preserving more conservatively the original phonetic shape *\*’al-*, e.g. *’al-’ára* ‘on the ground’ (A21:5), *’al-rúše díye* ‘on his shoulder’ (A22:18), *’al-túrat Jazíra Bóta* ‘on the mountain of Jazira Bota’ (A26:19). This may be the result of influence from the C. Urmi dialect, where the preposition ‘upon’ regularly has this form.

13.3.13. *max* 'like'

This is a common variant of *'ax*, which has evolved historically by prefixing the relative particle *ma* ('what, that which'). It is normally combined with the following word in the same stress group, e.g. *max-tàla*<sup>1</sup> 'like a fox' (A17:35), *max-qàsta*<sup>1</sup> 'like a bow' (A25:28). The /a/ vowel is often centralized to [ə], though this is not represented in the transcription, e.g. *max-šedàna*<sup>1</sup> [mæx-ʃe'ðæ:næ] 'like a madman' (A26:9).

It is linked to a following demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *'eni* by the particle *D*, e.g. *max-d-áy* 'like that one' (A4:16), *max-d-ót Leliθa*<sup>1</sup> 'like that of Leliθa' (A52:15), *max-d-éni?* 'like whom?' When it is combined with pronominal suffixes, these are either attached to the base form *maxwaθ-*, e.g. *maxwáθi* 'like me', *maxwáθux* 'like you', or are linked to the base *max* by means of the independent genitive particle *dīy-*, e.g. *max-dīyi* 'like me', *max-dīyux* 'like you'.

13.3.14. *mən*, *m-* 'from, with'

This preposition represents the merging together of two prepositions that were distinct in earlier Aramaic, viz. *\*men* 'from' and *\*am* 'with'. It is used either in its full form *mən*, e.g. *mən-máθa*<sup>1</sup> 'from the village' (A48:1), *xa-mən-zaráye* 'one of the farmers' (A4:31), *mən-xuráne dīye* 'with his friends' (A4:2), or in the abbreviated form *m-*, e.g. *m-yámma dīya* 'from her mother' (B10:22), *m-kérbi* 'out of my anger' (A2:11), *m-tàma* 'from there' (A20:7). The full form is more frequently used when it has the comitative sense of 'with'. An epenthetic vowel is sometimes pronounced after the /m/ of the short form, especially when the following word begins with a consonantal cluster, e.g. *m-ğdàðe* [mə-y'ðæ:ðe] 'with each other' (A25:65), *m-yabiše* [mæ:yæ:biz]e<sup>1</sup> 'from raisins' (B5:12).

Before nouns beginning with the laryngal /ʔ/ there is a tendency to retain the laryngal and use the long form *mən*, e.g. *mən-šrba*<sup>1</sup> 'from a sheep' (B7:20), *mən-ʔiláne*<sup>1</sup> 'from the trees' (A25:44), *mən-ʔára*<sup>1</sup> 'from the ground' (A25:43). When the laryngal is elided, which is commonly the case before adverbial particles such as *'axxa* 'here' and *'eka* 'where', and also expressions with the word *'alaha* 'God', the short form of the preposition is used, e.g. *qu-plút m-àxxa!*<sup>1</sup> 'Get out of here!' (A16:11), *m-éka?* 'from where?' (A17:3), *m-alàha*<sup>1</sup> 'from God' (A3:3).

The preposition is connected to a demonstrative pronoun in two ways. It is sometimes used in its full form and connected to the pronoun by the particle *D*, e.g. *mən-d-ε-tàsa* 'from that bowl' (A15:11), *xákma mən-d-ó-šəmra*

‘Some of the soot’ (A4:60), *mən-d-ánna bnàθi* ‘with these daughters of mine’ (A25:15), *m-áwwa náša* ‘with this man’. Alternatively it is connected in its short form directly to the pronoun with elision of the initial laryngal, e.g. *m-ó-yoma* ‘from that day’ (A26:75), *ðà-m-aw* ‘one from that one’ (A7:19), *m-an-kòče* ‘some of those hornless sheep’ (A7:24), *m-an-képe t-íla tàma* ‘some of the stones that are there’ (A14:70).

Before pronominal suffixes, the preposition has the base *mənn-* with a geminated /n/, e.g. *qəm-šaqałle mánmux*<sup>1</sup> ‘He took it from you’ (A17:35), *y-oðíwa yabiše mánna*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would make raisins from them’ (B5:210), *la-hérwət mənni*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not speak angrily with me’ (A1:18), *’illi šúla mənnox*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have business with you’ (A21:33). Forms with pronominal suffixes are sometimes combined with the independent genitive particle when the suffix is third person, e.g. *nèxət mánne díye*<sup>1</sup> ‘You will be relieved of him’ (A10:10), *’u-pišéle mánne díye*<sup>1</sup> ‘and he stayed with him’ (A14:76), *dáməx mánna díya*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let him sleep with her’ (A13:2). Occasionally these constructions are contracted with the suffix being elided from the preposition base, e.g. *xa-yasáqwa mən-díye* ‘Somebody went up with him’ (B5:158). If the independent genitive particle is used with 1st and 2nd person suffixes, no corresponding suffix occurs on the preposition base, e.g. *mən-díyux*<sup>1</sup> (A12:35).

The base form *mənn-* is occasionally used before a noun in combination with the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *xaşìre*<sup>1</sup> *y-awwa-zqíre mánnat zàle*<sup>1</sup> ‘The mats were woven from reeds’ (B5:201), *šálanwa mánnat xóni*<sup>1</sup> ‘I used to go down with my brother’ (B5:170).

### 13.3.15. *qa-* ‘to, for’, object marker

Examples: *qa-brònx*<sup>1</sup> ‘for your son’ (A21:8), *qa-šèra*<sup>1</sup> ‘for the festival’ (B5:69), *qa-’álaha*<sup>1</sup> ‘to God’ (A15:17), *maláxa mūrəšle*<sup>1</sup> *qa-ràbbən*<sup>1</sup> ‘The angel woke the monk’ (A15:8). It is connected to a demonstrative or the interrogative pronoun *’eni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *qa-d-áwwa ’ixála* ‘for this food’ (A22:31), *qa-d-áyya bráta* ‘to this girl’ (A21:2), *qa-d-ánna heywàne*<sup>1</sup> ‘to these animals’ (A27:33), *qa-d-áy*<sup>1</sup> ‘to her’ (A4:22), *qa-d-àni*<sup>1</sup> ‘to them’ (A27:8).

Pronominal suffixes may be attached in two ways. The independent genitive particle *díy-* may be combined with *qa-* and bear the suffix, e.g. *qa-díyi*<sup>1</sup> ‘to me’ (A22:31), *qa-díyux*<sup>1</sup> ‘to you (ms.)’ (A8:36). Alternatively the suffixes may be attached to the base form *qal-*, e.g. *qàlux*<sup>1</sup> ‘for you (ms.)’ (A26:62), *qàləx* ‘to you (fs.)’ (A18:13), *qàlən*<sup>1</sup> ‘to us’ (B15:42).



13.3.16. *qam* ‘before’

This preposition is usually attached directly to the following word in the same intonation group. It may be used either in a spatial or temporal sense. Examples with a spatial sense: *qam-tárət bəya* ‘before the door of the hole’ (A20:9), *qam-’énux* ‘before your eyes’ (A15:15), *qam-’aqlaθəy* ‘in front of their legs’ (A16:9). Temporal sense: *qam-mxəθət madənxa* ‘before the rise of dawn’ (A8:51), *qam-dàna* ‘beforehand’ (A4:30).

Sporadically it is connected to a following nominal by annexation, e.g. *qámət gəppa* ‘in front of the cave’ (A12:7). Before a demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *’éni* the subordinating particle *D* is regularly used, e.g. *qam-d-o-gəppa* ‘before that cave’ (A8:28), *qam-d-àwəwa déwa* ‘before this wolf’ (A10:3), *qám d-áyya qəššət* ‘before this story’ (A16:5), *qam-d-éni?* ‘before whom?’

Pronominal suffixes are added directly to the preposition when it has a spatial sense, e.g. *qáme* ‘before him’ (A25:50), *qámux* ‘before you (ms.)’ (A15:20), *qáməx* ‘before you (fs.)’ (A22:20), *qámi* ‘before me’ (A24:33). Third person suffixes are often extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *qáme dīye* ‘before him’ (A25:50). When used in a temporal sense, pronominal suffixes are generally not added directly to the base *qam-* but rather on the preposition *mən* that is combined with it, e.g. *’áw qam-mənnux hóle ’áθya l-áxxa* ‘He has come back here before you’ (A22:39), *’u-xoránux t-íla qám-mənnux zíle məθóye Bəlbəl Hazàr* ‘your friends who went before you to bring Bəlbəl Hazar’ (A8:47).

13.3.17. *qamθ-*

The form *qamθ-* expresses the spatial relation ‘in front of’. It has a narrower distribution than *qam-* and is used mostly after verbs of movement to express the sense of ‘meeting’ somebody. It is connected to a nominal by annexation or takes pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ríqa qímle plítəle qámθət bróne dīye* ‘He ran out to meet his son’ (A14:95), *šlí qamθə-d-áwəwa nəša* ‘Go down to meet this man’ (A15:6), *mádre xúwwe plítəle qámθe* ‘Again the snake came out before him’ (A1:11), *šəlyele qámθe dīye* ‘He came down to meet him’ (A15:6). Occasionally it is used in other contexts, e.g. *l-qámθe dīye* *’íθ xa-čòl* ‘Before it lies barren countryside’ (A8:21).

13.3.18. *qaməθ-*

The form *qaməθ-* is used like *qamθ-* after verbs of movement to express the sense of ‘meeting’, e.g. *xúwwe plítəle l-qaməθe* ‘The snake came out to

meet him' (A1:18), *'axni şalax qamóthe diye'* 'We shall come down to meet him' (A4:25), *yáwax xàbra' ta-t-pálîi l-qamòðan'* 'We give word for them to come out to meet us' (A4:30).

### 13.3.19. *rêš-* 'upon'

In origin this preposition is the noun *rêša* 'head' used as a locative adverbial and attached to a following nominal in a contracted annexation construction without the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *rêš-bárka diya'* 'on her knees' (B5:175). The vowel of the preposition is often shorted to /ə/, e.g. *rêš-tûra'* 'on a mountain' (A20:2), *rêš-qarâwət'* 'on the bed' (A21:6), *rêš-rúşe diye'* 'on his shoulders' (A13:10).

It is connected to a following demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *'eni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *rêš-d-ò-dapa'* 'on that board' (A22:27), *rêš-d-ay-'ilána* 'on that tree' (A13:11), *rêš-d-ε-'èna'* 'on that spring' (A15:1), *rêš-d-àn qartàle'* 'on those baskets' (B5:138), *'u-xá-wázir diye rêš-d-áwewa-kursa' xa-rêš-d-áwaha'* 'one minister sitting on a chair and one on another chair' (A14:43), *rêš-d-éni?* 'on whom?'

The form of the preposition is sometimes contracted further to *rš-* or *š-*, e.g. *'ò-rábban múttalla 'agle diye rš-áqəl baxta'* 'The monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman' (A16:11), *múttalla rš-d-àn bəzmáre'* 'He placed them on the nails' (A17:28), *dáryalla š-qarâwət'* 'They put her on the bed' (A21:7), *mátti š-nûra* 'They put it on the fire' (B5:65).

When the /š/ of the preposition is in contact with a following voiced consonant, it is often pronounced voiced. This is not represented in the normalized transcription, e.g. *š-gúda'* [ʒ-'gu:dæ] 'on the wall' (B5:192), *š-d-ó* [ʒ-d-oz] *huðála'* 'on that fodder stack' (B5:113).

Pronominal suffixes are added to the base *rêš-*, e.g. *rêşe* 'on him', *rêşux* 'on you (ms.)', *rêši* 'on me'. Third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *rêşe diye* 'on him', *rêša diya* 'on her'. In such constructions the suffix on the preposition is sometimes contracted, e.g. *rêš-diye* 'on it' (B5:67). When used with the pronominal suffixes, it is sometimes combined with the preposition *b-*, e.g. *b-rêša* 'over them' (A25:48), *b-rêša* 'on it' (A12:47).

The use of the word 'head' as a preposition is no doubt influenced by the semantic range of the equivalent word in Kurdish *ser*, which may mean both 'head' and 'upon'.

## 13.3.20. šawp-, šop- ‘instead, in the place of’

This is the noun *šawpa* ‘place, trace’ used adverbially. When used with this adverbial function the diphthong is frequently contracted to /o/ (§2.4.2.). It is combined with the following nominal in an annexation relation, e.g. *dáx páyəs máłka šáwpət bròni*? ‘How will he become king in place of my son?’ (A8:4), *múttalle šópe diye* ‘He put him in his place’ (A25:51), *hálli básra šópət ləxma* ‘Give me meat instead of bread’, *šópə d-áw* ‘instead of him’. It takes pronominal suffixes, e.g. *šópux* ‘instead of you’, *šópən* ‘instead of us’.

## 13.3.21. t-la ‘without’

Examples: *t-la-zúze* ‘without money’ (A24:23), *t-lá miya* ‘without water’ (B5:14), *t-lá mexòlta* ‘without food’ (B5:114), *t-lá marāwàθele ʾo-márga*? ‘Is the meadow without owners?’ (A25:60). It is connected to a following demonstrative pronoun by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *t-lá d-o-náša* ‘without that man’, *t-lá d-áw* ‘without him’. Pronominal suffixes are expressed by combining it with the independent genitive particle, e.g. *t-lá díyi* ‘without me’, *t-lá díyux* ‘without you’. Occasionally the preposition *b-* is placed before the genitive particle, e.g. *t-la-b-díyi* ‘without me’ (A24:9).

## 13.3.22. ʔla-/ta- ‘to, for’, object marker

Either of the two variant forms of the preposition, *ʔla-* or *ta-*, are used before nominals, e.g. *maláxa máre ʔla-ràbbən* ‘The angel said to the monk’ (A15:7), *ʾawwa q̄t̄lle ʔla-ʾarya* ‘He killed the lion’ (A11:1), *húwəlla qušárta ta-mállə* ‘They gave the pot to the mullah’ (A5:8), *dáʔra ta-ʾaθr̄əy* ‘They returned to their land’ (A4:27).

They are connected to demonstrative pronouns and the interrogative pronoun *ʾeni* by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g. *mtúnyəlla qəššátte kúlla ʔla-d-o-sàwa* ‘He told all his story to the old man’ (A14:76), *pálga ʔla-d-áy ʾu-pálga ʔla-d-àw* ‘half for her and half for him’ (A4:46), *bronət-málka máre ta-d-an-wāz̄ire* ‘The son of the king said to the ministers’ (A14:40), *ʾo-bába sáwa máre ta-d-àni* ‘The old timer said to them’ (A14:85), *ʔla-d-éni?* ‘for whom?’

Pronominal suffixes are added to the base form *ʔlal-*, e.g. *ʔlále* ‘to him’, *ʔlálux* ‘to you (ms.)’, *ʔláli* ‘to me’, etc. Forms with the third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive pronoun, e.g. *ʔlále diye* ‘to him’, *ʔlála díya* ‘to her’. The form *ta-* may be combined with pronominal

suffixes by means of the independent genitive particle, e.g. *ta-dìyi*<sup>1</sup> ‘to me’ (A25:84).

### 13.3.23. *xo-*, *xoθ-* ‘under’

This is generally attached directly to the following word in the short form *xo-*, e.g. *xo-kosiθe*<sup>1</sup> ‘under his hat’ (A23:6), *xo-réša diya*<sup>1</sup> ‘under her head’ (A24:17), *xo-ðà ’ilána*<sup>1</sup> ‘under a tree’ (A35:12). Occasionally the longer form *xoθ-* is used, e.g. *’axni xoθ-tagbártat malkax*<sup>1</sup> ‘We are under the administration of the king’ (A8:80).

The subordinating particle *D* is sporadically used to connect the preposition to a nominal without a demonstrative, e.g. *xó-t máθa* ‘under the village’. It is regularly used before a demonstrative, e.g. *xo-d-áwwa jùlla*<sup>1</sup> ‘under this cloth’ (A25:49), *xo-d-ò-kepa*<sup>1</sup> ‘under that stone’ (A12:27), *xo-d-à ’ilána*<sup>1</sup> ‘under that tree’ (A35:12).

Pronominal suffixes are attached to the base form *xoθ-*, e.g. *xóθe* ‘under him’, *xóθux* ‘under you (ms.)’, *xóθi* ‘under me’. Third person suffixes may be extended by the independent genitive particle, e.g. *xóθe díye* ‘under him’, *xóθa díya* ‘under her’.

Sometimes *xo-/xoθ-* is combined with the preposition *mən* even when static location is intended, e.g. *’u-m-xòθe*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðíwa nùra*<sup>1</sup> ‘and under it they would put fire’ (B5:183).

The original initial /t/ of this preposition is preserved in some proverbial sayings, e.g. *’ði txo-kèpela*<sup>1</sup> ‘My hand is under a stone’ (D2:20), *míya txo-tùna*<sup>1</sup> ‘(He is like) water under straw’ (D2:42).

## 13.4. MISCELLANEOUS UNINFLECTED PARTICLES

These may operate within a clause or may function as clausal conjunctions.

<i>’ap</i> , <i>’up</i>	‘also’, connective particle (§18.1.3.)
<i>’axéi</i>	‘just’
<i>’alla</i>	‘if not, except, but’ (§19.5.5.)
<i>’ən</i>	‘if’ (§19.5.)
<i>’ina</i>	‘but’, presentative particle (§18.1.5.)
<i>’o</i>	vocative particle
<i>balki</i>	‘perhaps’
<i>bas</i>	‘only’
<i>biš</i>	‘more’ (§14.8.1.)

<i>čū</i>	‘none’
<i>ga</i>	‘almost’, connective particle (§15.1.1.11., §18.1.6.)
<i>hade</i>	‘just, hardly’
<i>hala</i>	‘still (not)’ (§15.11.1.)
<i>halbat</i>	‘of course’
<i>ham</i>	‘also, even, again’
<i>hammaše, hammaša</i>	‘always’
<i>har</i>	‘just, still, always, again’ (§15.11.)
<i>hatta</i>	‘even’
<i>he</i>	‘yes’
<i>heš, hæš</i>	‘still; (not) yet; (no) longer’ (§15.10.)
<i>hič</i>	‘none’ (§14.9.18.)
<i>ka-</i>	‘while’ (§19.3.14.)
<i>kačune</i>	‘at least’
<i>la</i>	‘no, not’
<i>lo</i>	‘or’
<i>mædre</i>	‘again’
<i>mæjjəd</i>	‘really’
<i>nagastən</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>nəmu, ləmu</i>	asseverative particle, ‘why?’ (§17.9.1.)
<i>sābab, sab</i>	‘because’
<i>w</i>	‘and’ (§14.11., §18.1.1.)
<i>xatər</i>	‘because’
<i>xo-, xu-</i>	intensifying particle (§17.9.2.)
<i>yan</i>	‘or’
<i>ye, yehe</i>	‘yes’
<i>zor</i>	‘hardly, barely’
<i>-ži</i>	‘also’, connective particle (§18.1.4.)

## SYNTAX



## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### THE SYNTAX OF NOMINALS

#### 14.1. EXPRESSION OF DEFINITENESS

##### 14.1.1. *Preliminary Remarks*

The term 'definiteness' can refer to a cognitive phenomenon in the act of linguistic communication or to a feature in the grammatical structure of a language. It is important to distinguish these, since the definiteness of something on the cognitive level is not always signalled by the grammatical structure. When a nominal is said to be definite on the cognitive level, this refers to the informational status of a nominal. The crucial factor is the judgement by the speaker concerning the identifiability of the referent by the hearer. If the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify which specific referent he is referring to by the nominal, the nominal is treated by the speaker as definite in status. This assumption is typically made when the referent has been mentioned previously or at least is associated in some way with the context or situation that is being talked about, or when the nominal has a unique referent, as is the case with proper nouns. If, on the other hand, the speaker assumes that the hearer cannot identify which specific referent he is talking about, the nominal is treated as indefinite in status. The grammatical expression of this definiteness varies across languages.

In Aramaic the distinction between the definite and indefinite status of nominals was originally expressed grammatically by the distinction between the 'determined state' and the 'absolute state' respectively. In the NENA dialects, this original grammatical means of expressing the distinction has broken down, but other devices have been developed to compensate for its loss. In the C. Barwar dialect, as in other NENA dialects and indeed as in many other languages, the cardinal numeral 'one' (*xa m.*, *ða f.*) is often used as an indefinite article that is a grammatical signal of the indefinite status of the nominal. The dialect has not, however, a corresponding definite article, though, as we shall see, there are embryonic signs of this developing.



In this section we shall be concerned with the usage of the particle *xa* in its function as an indefinite article.

#### 14.1.2. *The Distribution of the Cardinal Indefinite Particle*

The masculine form of the cardinal indefinite particle *xa* is often used with nouns of feminine gender, although the feminine form *ða* is available. This reflects a general phenomenon in the numeral system, whereby the distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of the numerals is in the process of decay, with the masculine form replacing the feminine. Examples:

<i>ða-bráta</i> (A25:25)	<i>xa-bráta</i> (A4:32)	‘a girl’
<i>ða-máθa</i> (A48:1)	<i>xa-máθa</i> (A15:10)	‘a village’
<i>ða-dùkθa</i> (A12:54)	<i>xa-dùkθa</i> (A10:1)	‘a place’
<i>ða-qàtu</i> (A14:2)	<i>xa-qàtu</i> (A23:19)	‘a cat’
<i>ða-káwe</i> (A18:22)	<i>xa-káwe</i> (A10:4)	‘a window’
<i>ða-yáma</i> (A11:7)	<i>xa-yáma</i> (A12:30)	‘a sea’
<i>ða-lawùrta</i> (A14:17)	<i>xa-lawùrta</i> (A22:38)	‘a valley’
<i>ða-kértə qəsa</i> (A10:6)	<i>xa-kértə qəsa</i> (A12:69)	‘a bundle of wood’
<i>ða-qàššət</i> (A14:35)	<i>xa-qàššət</i> (A4:31)	‘a story’

The feminine words *gaya* (*ga*) and *bena*, both meaning ‘time, instance’, regularly take the masculine *xa* in adverbial phrases such as *xa-ga* ‘once’, *xa-gaya xeta* ‘another time, again’, *xa-bena* ‘for a while, after a while/then’, e.g.

- (1) *málla Našradin xá-ga bǎyéwa mbašðlwa pača*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Once mullah Našradin wanted to cook pača.’ (A5:1)
- (2) *xá-ga xéta plittela Leliθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Again Leliθa came out.’ (A51:12)
- (3) *málka hóle xázya xá-ga xéta xəlma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The king has had a dream again.’ (A1:12)
- (4) *šuréla xá-bena xéta bxàya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They began to cry again.’ (A25:7)
- (5) *túwela xá-bena hādax*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They sat for a while like that.’ (A26:17)
- (6) *zàléwa*,<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena xzèle m-rəhqa xá-mdi xwàra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He was going along and (after) a while he saw in the distance something white.’ (A14:28)

The cardinal particle *xa* is not used with all nominals that have indefinite status on the cognitive level. Certain general tendencies can be discerned in its usage, though there are no categorical rules. These patterns of usage of the indefinite particle have been found in other NENA dialects (cf.

Khan 1999: 195–203, Khan 2002: 245–251, Khan 2004: 225–231). The English indefinite article has a far wider distribution among nouns with indefinite status and it is often appropriate to use the indefinite article in English translation where no *xa* particle appears in the dialect.

In general, the indefinite particle *xa* occurs with an indefinite countable nominal with a referent that is individuated and salient in some way but tends to be omitted when the referent lacks this feature. The particle picks out one of a class of items denoted by the description of the noun. It is used or omitted in accordance with the degree to which the speaker wishes to focus on a referent of the nominal or on the descriptive content of the class denoted by the nominal respectively.

#### 14.1.2.1. *Particle Used*

There is a tendency to use the particle in the following circumstances:

##### (i) Nominals with a topically prominent referent

In such cases the referent of a nominal with the particle acquires salience due to its prominent topical role within the following text. This is clearly seen by the regular use of the particle to introduce a protagonist at the beginning of a narrative, e.g.

- (7) *ʔiθwa xa-nāša<sup>1</sup> gu-ḏa-màθa,<sup>1</sup> rába rába duglāna-wewa.<sup>1</sup> mdagálwa mən-nāše,<sup>1</sup> ɣ-ámər hətxele wíḏa fállən,<sup>1</sup> hətxele wíḏa fállən.<sup>1</sup> rába məndiyáne ɣ-awəḏwala,<sup>1</sup> béna náše là hāməníwa ʔille díye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was a man in a village who was a great liar. He would tell lies about people, saying so-and-so did such-and-such, so-and-so did such-and-such. He would do all kinds of (deceptive) things to them and people did not believe him.’ (A48:1)
- (8) *xa-nāša<sup>1</sup> siqewa<sup>1</sup> l-túra<sup>1</sup> qṭála ʔrwe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A man had gone up into the mountains to kill sheep.’ (A31:1)
- (9) *ʔiθwa xa-mālka<sup>1</sup> ʔáwewa málka xzéle xa-xəlma.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qédamta móre<sup>1</sup>...* ‘There was (once) a king. This king had a dream. In the morning he said...’ (A1:2)

In (7)–(9) the nominal has a specific, unique referent. This is not, however, the crucial feature that conditions the use of the particle. A nominal that has a non-specific referent that plays a prominent role in the following discourse is often marked with the particle due to this textual prominence, e.g.

- (10) *xa-náša* *y-azákwá*<sup>1</sup> *ʔíθwa maθwáθa qurbèni*<sup>1</sup> *šaqákwá čánta* *mènne-u*<sup>1</sup> *máttu lóxma gáw*<sup>1</sup> *y-azákwá čyáda*<sup>1</sup> *béθa bèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘A man would go to villages that were near us. He would take a bag with him, in which he put bread, and would go from house to house making invitations.’ (B5:20)
- (11) *ʔasqáxwa márzə* *Žáwa*<sup>1</sup> *šaqákwá xa-ʔərba* *mónnən*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔurxa-ʔurxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔarmáxwale har-táma l-márzə* *Žáwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-odáxwa nùra*<sup>1</sup> *m̄tawáxwale táma*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would go up to the banks of the Zab. We would take a sheep with us and slaughter it there, on the trip, on the banks of the Zab. We would make a fire and roast it there.’ (B3:6)

In (10) the phrase *xa-náša* does not refer to one specific man who would take invitations to the villages each time there was a wedding. Rather the sense is that one man went around on each occasion, but not necessarily the same man, i.e. one unspecified item of the class denoted by the nominal. Similarly in (11) *xa-ʔərba* refers to one item of the class of sheep that was slaughtered on each occasion, but obviously not the same item.

In (12) both the man and the woman play a prominent role in the ensuing discourse. The nominal phrase containing the two coordinated nouns is treated as a unit and has only one indefinite particle:

- (12) *ʔíθwa xa-gáwra-w báxta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔíθwala bnòne*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a husband and wife. They had children.’ (A 22:1)

We may include in this category the regular use of the indefinite particle before a noun denoting a period of time in adverbial expressions with enduring relevance in that they set the temporal frame for the following discourse. The most common adverbial construction of this nature in narratives is *xa-yoma* ‘one day’, e.g.

- (13) *xá-yoma qáryele méré tla-réšət màθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa šəmma mšaxálpùle*<sup>1</sup> ‘One day he appealed to the head of the village saying “Change this name.”’ (A7:2)
- (14) *xa-yóma síqe-wawá l-šèda*<sup>1</sup> ‘One day they had gone up (the mountains) hunting.’ (A25:2)
- (15) *xa-yóma*<sup>1</sup> *qímila zúlla mərə*<sup>1</sup> *t-ázax l-ʔərwe*<sup>1</sup> ‘One day they set off and said “Let’s go to the sheep.”’ (A25:23)

In (16), which occurs at the beginning of a narrative, the frame setting adverbial and the two protagonists are all marked with the indefinite particle:

- (16) *xá-yoma 'íθwa xá-qaša 'u-xà-malla.*<sup>1</sup> 'One day there was a priest and a mullah.' (A2:1)

(ii) Contrasted members of a set

There is a tendency to use the particle when the indefinite nominal is presented as one member of a limited set of items in some kind of contrastive opposition to other members of the set. The set is assumed to be identifiable, either since it is mentioned explicitly or at least implied. In such cases the nominal has salience due to this contrastive opposition, e.g.

- (17) *'ap-ánna pési trè jwíne.*<sup>1</sup> ***xa-jwína***<sup>1</sup> *gawàye,*<sup>1</sup> *xà<sup>1</sup> qam-tàra.*<sup>1</sup> 'They again form two teams, one team inside and one outside.' (B11:11)
- (18) *qímεle 'ap-Fárxo šqilálle zòrna,*<sup>1</sup> *mxyá zòrna,*<sup>1</sup> *bejýe hóla* ***xa-gòta***<sup>1</sup> *'úrwa* ***xa-gòta.***<sup>1</sup> 'Farxo also took up the pipe and played pipe music, the young lambs were one side and the sheep on one (other) side.' (A25:31)

In some cases only one member of the set is explicitly given, the other members being implied. This is often found in clauses containing a universal quantifier, in which the construction has a distributive sense, e.g.

- (19) *qam-mpatpètla<sup>1</sup> kút-xa qam-xašálle* ***ða-gòta.***<sup>1</sup> 'He tore them apart and threw everybody down to one side.' (A25:56)
- (20) *kút-yum* ***ða-brata*** *gawórwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Every day he would marry a girl.' (A14:1)
- (21) *bεθ-qòra,*<sup>1</sup> *'an-náše mìθe<sup>1</sup> 'áni y-amráxxa bεθ-qòra.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-y-azíwa.*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa 'itle* ***xa-míða.***<sup>1</sup> 'The cemetery, (in which were) the dead people, we call the place they lie (literally: we call them) the cemetery. The people would go (there). Each person has a dead (family member).' (B5:56–57)
- (22) *díya kút-bεθα 'itle* ***xa-tanùra.***<sup>1</sup> 'Now every house has an oven.' (B10:93–94)
- (23) *θáni yómæt 'éða y-odðxwa duxràna.*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa mašléwa* ***xà-lagãna.***<sup>1</sup> 'On the second day of the festival (of Easter) we would make a memorial. Everybody would take down a pan (of food).' (B10:2)

The distributive sense is expressed in (24) and (25) by the repetition of the particle:

- (24) *xá-b-xa béθa y-oràxwa gáwe mbarxàxwa 'éða.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would go into one house after another and offer festival blessings.’ (B6:15)
- (25) *xa-xá-ga márát béθa mbašálwa 'ixála 'imà-t hóya dànát 'ixála.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Sometimes (i.e. on one occasion and on another occasion) the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food.’ (B6:16)

In a related construction, the particle is used with the adjective *xena* (f. *xeta*) ‘other’ in references to a further member of a set of items that is assumed to be identifiable, e.g.

- (26) *paltíwa mən-bèθa<sup>1</sup> y-oríwa gu-xa-béθa xèna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would leave one house and enter another house.’ (B15:7)
- (27) *'áp-xa lìθ láxxa gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> *'ayále díye hóle mšüdrəlla xa-dúkθa xéta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is nobody here in the house. He has sent his children to another place.’ (A22:28)
- (28) *'iman t-àθyət,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-kəsta-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When you come back, I’ll give you another purse like that one.’ (A4:16)

When the indefinite noun has a possessive pronominal suffix and so denotes one member of a set of items in the possession of the referent of the suffix, the particle is obligatory, e.g. *xa-xòri* ‘a friend of mine’ (B15:88), *xa-xóni* ‘a brother of mine’ (A18:16), *xa-nàsí* ‘a relative of mine’ (A18:16), *xa-màmi* ‘a maternal uncle of mine’ (B8:7), *xá-'ərwən* ‘a sheep of ours’ (A10:5).

(iii) Portion of a mass

The particle is used with a noun that by itself denotes an undelimited mass to express a single countable portion of this mass, e.g.

- (29) *qāša<sup>1</sup> 'u-šamāša<sup>1</sup> 'i-mšàli<sup>1</sup> b-réše-u béθa dére míye b-réše díye.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-máxa xa-mášxa gu-be-'éne díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The priest and the deacon pray over him and his family and they put water on his head. They put some oil on his forehead.’ (B6:36)
- (30) *māsta<sup>1</sup> xálya mēθàxxe,*<sup>1</sup> *marəθxàxxe.*<sup>1</sup> *qāyər xánčí.*<sup>1</sup> *dérəx xa-māsta gáwe,*<sup>1</sup> *péša māsta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Yoghurt—we would fetch milk and boil it. It would cool slightly. We would put a portion of yoghurt in it and it would become yoghurt.’ (B10:26)
- (31) *'u-talile b-xa-qəša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They hang it onto a piece of wood.’ (B6:38)

Similarly, nouns meaning ‘piece of’ or the like are typically preceded by the particle, e.g. *xa-qəttət qəša*<sup>1</sup> ‘a piece of wood’ (B10:100).

A noun of mass is given the particle when its description is delimited by an attributive modifier of some kind and is thereby presented as one member of a set of types, e.g.

- (32) *'iθwa xa-ùpra<sup>1</sup> məšxàna,<sup>1</sup> 'ùpra smòqa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was an oily clay, red clay.’ (B10:68)

(iv) Focus on unity

The particle is regularly used when the speaker wishes to give prominent focus to the unity or uniqueness of the referent. This focus is expressed on the prosodic level by putting the nuclear stress on the particle, e.g.

- (33) *'iθwalən šawwá 'abòne<sup>1</sup> gu-máθa dīyən.<sup>1</sup> píšela mútte gu-Mar-Qiyóma kúlla gu-ðà qáwra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We had seven bishops in our village. They were all laid in one grave in (the church of) Saint Qiyoma.’ (B2:6)
- (34) *'ána xà-yoma káslux la-péšən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I won’t stay with you a single day (longer).’ (A12:40)
- (35) *'ána ðà-braten.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I am an only daughter.’ (A34:7)

14.1.2.2. *Particle Omitted*

The indefinite marker tends to be omitted in the following circumstances, in which the referent of the nominal is low in individuation and salience.

(i) Nominals with a referent that play an incidental role in text

Nominals often lack the indefinite marker when their referent does not play a prominent, durable role in the text, but is only incidental and is part of supportive background material. In (1), for example, the ‘old man’ marked with the particle has a degree of durability of reference, but the ‘load of wood’ that he was carrying and the ‘stone’ on which he was sitting are incidental. Likewise in (2) the ‘basket’ in which the eggs and bread were placed plays no significant role in the text. In all cases the nominals have specific referents:

- (1) ***xa-náša sàwa<sup>1</sup>** 'úmre dīye..., yá'ni dāqne dīye mṭáya l-àra,<sup>1</sup> hóle tīna **kértət qése<sup>1</sup>** l-xàse.<sup>1</sup> hóle tīwa l-**kəpa<sup>1</sup>**, hātxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna pīðalla mənne dīye,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-šlāma léla dóryalle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘An old man, whose age... that is his beard reached the ground, was carrying a load of wood on his back. He was sitting on a stone, like this. They passed by him, but did not even greet him.’ (A15:13)

- (2) *mšádrən məxòlta ʔalle dýe,<sup>1</sup> ʔixàla.<sup>1</sup> qìmtəla,<sup>1</sup> šlìqta<sup>1</sup> bəʔe,<sup>1</sup> šàwwa bəʔe.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-muttəθəla t̪l̪áθi ləxme<sup>1</sup> gu-čànta.<sup>1</sup> mərə bábí nábəlla gu-jàma<sup>1</sup> hàlle!<sup>1</sup> “‘I shall send food to him, some food.’ She boiled eggs, seven eggs, and put thirty loaves of bread in a basket. She said “‘Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him.’” (A17:11)*

The omission of the particle with the word *məndi* ‘thing’ can be explained in the same way in (3) and (4), where it refers to something that is incidental and not referred to in what follows. By contrast in (5) and (6), where *məndi* has the particle, it refers to something that is talked about in the ensuing discourse:

- (3) *ʔáθət ʔána mbàšlən məndi.<sup>1</sup> ‘Come and I shall cook something.’ (A22:14)*
- (4) *t̪wəle,<sup>1</sup> xille məndi<sup>1</sup> ‘He sat down and ate something.’ (A15:1)*
- (5) *ʔána ʔáxxa nšéli xa-məndi.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have forgotten something here.’ (The speaker then goes on to talk about the thing he had forgotten to mention earlier) (B5:35)*
- (6) *ʔámər ʔàlla dýa<sup>1</sup> t̪-amrənnəx xa-məndi.<sup>1</sup> mərə mùr.<sup>1</sup> ‘He said to her “I shall tell you something.” She said “Tell (me).”’ (A16:7)*

In some cases the particle is omitted before a nominal with a referent that has a certain durability in the ensuing clauses of a section of discourse, but lacks textual salience due to the fact that the section of discourse in question is not in the foreground of the discourse as a whole, but supplies background information. This applies to (7), in which the ‘lion’ clearly plays a dominant role in the chain of clauses that is cited, but these are not in the main foreground of the narrative, but rather provide explanatory background information as to how the protagonist of the section lost his hand:

- (7) *zille xa-béna ʔárya θéle t̪álbe dýe,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa q̪t̪ille t̪la-ʔárya,<sup>1</sup> ʔína ʔárya ʔide dýe q̪m-axəlla.<sup>1</sup> ‘A lion once attacked him. He killed the lion, but the lion ate his hand.’ (A11:1)*

(ii) Listing members of a set

In contexts where a member of a set is presented as one of a list of many rather than being presented in distinct opposition to another member, the particle is sometimes omitted, e.g.

- (8) *qimle 'áqla xéta... qəm-parəmla.*<sup>1</sup> 'He cut off another leg (one of a series).' (A22:5),

(iii) Where the existence of a referent is negated or questioned

In negative or interrogative constructions that deny or question the existence of a referent, where the nominal clearly does not denote a referent that saliently stands out from the class of items denoted by the description of the noun, the particle is often omitted, e.g.

- (9) *la-bāba 'itle,*<sup>1</sup> *la-yəmma 'itle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He has neither a father nor a mother.' (A14:16)
- (10) *har-ʔawwəle<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ʔitle nawəge,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ʔitle bāba,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ʔitle yəmma,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ʔitle xonāwəθa.<sup>1</sup>* 'Is he alone or does he have grandchildren, does he have a father, does he have a mother, does he have brothers?' (A17:16)
- (11) *m-éka məθənnux nasarta<sup>1</sup> ta-t-nasrənnux qəse t-odənnux gəšra,<sup>1</sup> šáwerax réše réše diye.<sup>1</sup>* 'From where should I bring you a saw so that I could saw the wood to make a bridge, over which we could cross?' (A17:3)
- (12) *Mar-Yúhanna lá-mšele kút-xa dréle qáwwət míya b-rəše.*<sup>1</sup> 'Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody.' (B6:10)

When, however, the noun is presented as standing out distinctly as a single individual member of a identifiable set, the particle may be used. In (13), for example, the phrase *xa-səryóqa* has the sense of 'not even one single member of the set of twigs':

- (13) *məθíwa səryóqe,<sup>1</sup> tárpa qātiwa y-azíwa.<sup>1</sup> məθíwa 'ən-qése naqíde.<sup>1</sup> kúlla torəxwala.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni la-morəxwa xa-səryóqa gu-béθa 'ən-la-torəxwale.<sup>1</sup> torəxwala kúlla barəye.<sup>1</sup>* 'They would bring thin pieces of wood. We would break them all. We would not bring a single twig into the house without breaking it. We would break everything outside.' (B10:70)

(iv) Focus on descriptive content

The particle tends to be omitted in a variety of contexts in which attention is being directed to the description or descriptive content of the nominal rather than to a referent. This is clear in cases such as (14) and (15) in which a specific referent of a nominal is first introduced into the narrative by a phrase containing the particle and then the definition of



the descriptive content of the nominal is clarified in a subsequent clause, in which the nominal is indefinite but without the particle:

- (14) *ʔiθwaʔ* ***xa-rəbbən***,<sup>1</sup> *tíwəwa gu-xa-gəppíθa*.<sup>1</sup>...***rəbbən*** *yăðət-mà-ylə*?<sup>1</sup>  
***rəbbən*** <sup>ʔ</sup>*áwəwa t-i-sàxəð l-ʔálahá* <sup>ʔ</sup>*u-t-i-m.sàle-u* *lé-y-ʔaxəl bəsra-w*<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>ʔ</sup>*áw y-amrile* ***rəbbən***.<sup>1</sup> ‘There was once a monk who lived in a cave.... Do you know what a monk is? A monk is somebody who worships God, who prays and does not eat meat. He is called a monk.’ (A15:1–4)
- (15) *múttela* ***xa-sállət miya***.<sup>1</sup> *múttela qam-ʔaqlaθèy*.<sup>1</sup> ***sállət miya*** *yăðət mēla*?<sup>1</sup> *béna miya kólýe gu-sállá*?<sup>1</sup> ‘They had put out a basket of water, they put it in front of their legs. Do you know what a basket of water is? But, can water stay in a basket?’ (A16:9–10)

Similarly in (16) the first mention of ‘a mountain’ introduces a specific referent and has the particle, whereas the following occurrence of the noun without the particle occurs in an appositional phrase that is intended to clarify the descriptive content of ‘a mountain’:

- (16) *síqela gu-xa-ʔúra*,<sup>1</sup> ***ʔúra*** *ʔisáre ramáne*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They went up into a mountain, a mountain (with) high rocks.’ (A15:13)

In (17) the first noun ‘a board’ introduces a referent, but the second noun ‘a ladder’ in the double object construction (‘to make something into something’) denotes a change of description rather than a change of referent:

- (17) *qíméle mtúrşalla* ***xa-tàxta***,<sup>1</sup> *wíðalla* ***semálta***.<sup>1</sup> ‘He constructed a board and made it into a ladder.’ (A17:23)

Similarly the particle is omitted when attention is directed to the description of the class denoted by a noun rather than to a particular referent representing the class, e.g.

- (18) ***báxta*** *xáçça zəbbun-ila*.<sup>1</sup> ‘A woman is rather weak.’ (A10:12)

Further examples where the description or descriptive content is the main concern of the speaker:

- (19) *'áraq—'íθwa masína.<sup>1</sup> masína mturáštewa m-ʔúpra.* <sup>1</sup> 'As for arak, there was (a pot called a) *masina*. A *masina* was made from clay.' (B5:14)
- (20) *'áxni<sup>1</sup> kàslàn<sup>1</sup> šàbθa<sup>1</sup> 'íla šawwà-yome<sup>1</sup> 'u-yàrxá<sup>1</sup> 'íle t̄laθì-yome.* <sup>1</sup> 'A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days.' (A17:13)
- (21) *'ína wírele gáwe díye 'àrya<sup>1</sup> 'u-plítele t̄ela.* <sup>1</sup> 'A lion entered it and a fox came out (i.e. he entered proudly like a lion but came out stealthily like a fox).' (A17:34)

A noun that is a predicate in a copula clause and ascribes a descriptive property to the subject frequently lacks the particle, e.g.

- (22) *'áwwa-ží zamàrele.* <sup>1</sup> 'He is a singer.' (A11:4)
- (23) *'ána 'adléle 'árxa t-áwəm láxxa kàsləx.* <sup>1</sup> 'Tonight I shall be a guest in your home.' (A17:24)
- (24) *'u-xátna l-béθa p̄šəna.* <sup>1</sup> 'I shall become a son-in-law in the house.' (A17:35)

If, however, a noun is qualified by an attributive description in the contexts described above, there is a greater tendency for it to be given the indefinite particle, since by such qualification its individuation is increased, e.g.

- (25) *bəllòrta 'íla.* <sup>1</sup> *mattəxla qa-yála zòra,* <sup>1</sup> *mattəxxa wàšla,* <sup>1</sup> *xa-wàšla rakixa.* <sup>1</sup> 'It had a pipe. We set it up for a young child, we set up a joining piece, a soft joining piece.' (B10:77)
- (26) *'áti xa-náša xarəmət.* <sup>1</sup> 'You are a villainous man.' (A16:11)
- (27) *dáwla 'íle xa-sandüqa<sup>1</sup> réše p̄hixəle d̄ere xət̄te gáwe.* <sup>1</sup> 'The *dawla* is a box the top of which is open and in which they put wheat.' (B6:54)

#### 14.1.3. *Stress Placement*

There is no clear-cut phonological difference between the usage of the particle *xa* as a cardinal numeral and its usage as a marker of indefiniteness. As a general rule, however, the particle is stressed when acting as a cardinal numeral in opposition to another cardinal, e.g.,

- (1) *'íθwa xá-ʔotəx yan-trè.* <sup>1</sup> 'There was one room or two.' (B5:199)
- (2) *xalmüwa<sup>1</sup> xâ-siṭa<sup>1</sup> yan-trè-siṭe<sup>1</sup>* 'They become one span or two spans thick.' (B5:207)
- (3) *p̄šüwa xá-lele trè.* <sup>1</sup> 'They stayed for one night or two.' (B5:234)

When functioning as a marker of indefiniteness the stress most commonly falls on the nominal, as can be seen in the examples cited above. Retraction of the stress onto the particle occurs in some cases. This is found mainly in the following contexts:

(i) Temporal or spatial adverbial expressions:

- (4) *xàrθa<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma síqa l-gàre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then, one day, he went up onto the roof.’ (A14:87)
- (5) *ʔáyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorəllux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They have been here for a year but have not asked for you.’ (A26:78)
- (6) *ʔaw mášli xá-dukθa t-óya šaxínta y-amrəxxwa góma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They deposit it in a warm place that we called a *goma*.’ (B5:211)
- (7) *mállá Našrádín xá-ga bəyéwa mbašəhwa pəča.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Once mullah Našradin wanted to cook *pəča*.’ (A5:1)
- (8) *túwela xá-bena hàdax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They sat for a while like that.’ (A26:17)

(ii) Before nouns that are annexed to a following noun:

- (9) *xá-zawgət xoriyàθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘a pair of willow trees’ (A26:90)
- (10) *xá-palgət sàʔt<sup>1</sup>* ‘half an hour’ (A10:5)
- (11) *xá-boyət xùwwe<sup>1</sup>* ‘a snake’s hole’ (A9:6)
- (12) *xá-borət kəpe<sup>1</sup>* ‘a pile of stones’ (A11:5)

The same applies to functionally similar constructions such as (13) and (14), in which the indefinite noun is combined with a following noun in apposition:

- (13) *xá-tena qésa<sup>1</sup>* ‘a load of wood’ (A14:9)
- (14) *xá-reša tuma<sup>1</sup>* ‘a head of garlic’ (B10:19)

(iii) Nouns qualified by the modifier ‘other’:

- (15) *ʔəyεle xá-naša xəna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Another man came.’ (A12:9)
- (16) *xàrθa<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xá-ʔəða xréna zòra<sup>1</sup>* ‘Afterwards comes another small festival.’ (B6:8)

(iv) Before the word *məndi* ‘thing’:

- (17) *hálli xá-məndi t-àxlən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Give me something to eat.’ (A26:57)
- (18) *bəyax xá-məndi gu-təra qablitula.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We want you to pledge something for her at the door.’ (B10:36)

- (19) *ʔat-ɣǎðət xá-məndi bas-dìye.ʔ* ‘Do you know something about it?’  
 (20) *xá-mdi xwàra* ‘something white’ (A14:28)

#### 14.1.4. *Suffixed Cardinal Indefinite Particle*

The suffixation of the cardinal particle *xa* to the noun is attested in the phrase *xabra-xa* in (1) below. The particle here expresses the internal uniformity of the referent (‘consensus, agreement’) rather than its individuation:

- (1) *ʔáw-w bàxta, ǂǎlkǎze ʔo-ɣàla, ʔidla xǎbra-xa.* ‘He and the woman, that is ǂǎlkǎze and the young man, made an agreement.’ (A12:37)

#### 14.1.5. *Pronominal Use of Indefinite Particle*

The cardinal particle *xa/ða* can be used as an indefinite pronoun independently of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *bányət-əlla ʔótəx tàma, ǔá-t mabə̀sma kút-yom xà.* ‘You have built her a room there in order for her to entertain somebody everyday.’ (A4:52)  
 (2) *ʔə̀tyele xàʔa.* ‘A certain person came.’ (A7:24)  
 (3) *ʔu-ʔə̀wa ʔawáltət bə̀rràne, ʔa-ráqa báθər d-ə̀-xena.* ‘There was the game of “groups”, one person running after the other.’ (B7:6)  
 (4) *béna xá-mə̀nna máre de-ɣàlla!* ‘Then one of them said “Go for it!”’ (A44:3)  
 (5) *mútyele trè susǎwáθa. ʔa-múxlə̀lle mə̀lxa. ʔu-xá har-múšə̀tyele mīya.* ‘He brought two horses. He fed one salt. One he only gave water to drink.’ (A34:31)

Such indefinite pronouns can be qualified by an adjective, e.g.

- (6) *xa-gòrə̀le.* ‘He is a great one (a great person).’ (A26:72)  
 (7) *də̀-mxíli ʔa-xə̀na.* ‘Strike me another one (another blow)!’ (A52:24)

If the referent is feminine, there is a greater tendency to use the feminine form of the particle *ða* than there is when the particle is used before a feminine noun, e.g.

- (8) *'ína brónat málka θèle' 'u-ðà mánne díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'Behold the son of the king has come and a girl is with him.' (A14:93)
- (9) *dawqíwa bnáθa b-'íðat gðáðe hátxa,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni ràbe doqíwa,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-dwíqta 'íð d-a-xèta.*<sup>1</sup> 'The girls held each other's hand like this. Many held (hands), one holding the hand of the other.' (B12:1)
- (10) *'áyya Zíne 'íθan trè'e.*<sup>1</sup> *ða-xàθela' 'u-ða-bàxtela.*<sup>1</sup> 'There are two of such (women called) Zine. One is his sister and one is his wife.' (A26:61)
- (11) *šqílalla mán-d-ε-dèrta,*<sup>1</sup> *núblalla zàdyalla gu-ða-xèta.*<sup>1</sup> 'They took it from that enclosure, took it away and threw it into another one.' (A15:12)
- (12) *muttéθalla təl̄l̄θ xamməryáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *m-an-xməryáθa tabzìye.*<sup>1</sup> *muttéθalla rəs-pársət 'èna,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-smòqta,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-xwàrta,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-milànta.*<sup>1</sup> 'She laid down three beads, beads of a rosary. She put them on the stone slab of the spring, one red, one white and one blue.' (A25:34)

A few exceptions are attested, such as (13) and (14), in which the feminine form of the adjective *xeta* is combined with *xa* rather than *ða*:

- (13) *ðà-b-ða šáqla-w' mattá xa-xèta.*<sup>1</sup> 'She takes them (*guttaθa* f. balls of dough) one by one and puts another in.' (B5:102)
- (14) *'ap-xa-xéta 'axlála.*<sup>1</sup> 'She eats another one (another leg *'aqla* f.).' (A18:21)

## 14.2. GENDER

We shall restrict ourselves here to noting the use of the feminine singular form of pronouns and verbal inflection in situations where they do not refer to a distinct referent. These can be categorized as follows:

### 14.2.1. *Discourse Anaphora*

Feminine singular forms are used to refer anaphorically to the general, propositional content of the surrounding discourse, e.g.

- (1) *'m-'áwəð hátxa,*<sup>1</sup> *lèla spáy.*<sup>1</sup> 'If he does this, it is not good.' (A14:6)
- (2) *'áyyət miràli 'əllux' kulla wiðále.*<sup>1</sup> 'What I have told you—all of this he has done.' (A24:20)

- (3) *mxéli sépa ʔlle*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔú-məndi la-widla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I struck a sword into him, but that (action) did nothing.’ (A12:36)
- (4) *xamláxwa biya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We enjoyed the occasion.’ (B5:33)
- (5) *m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabərri*<sup>1</sup> *mxalóse xàye díye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He fabricated it (what he had just said) to save his life.’ (A39:6)
- (6) *plittela*<sup>1</sup> *gu-màtha*,<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa qtála gđàde*.<sup>1</sup> ‘It (what had happened) got about in the village and everyone fought with one another.’ (A7:14)
- (7) *hátxa la-hàwya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘This cannot be.’ (A21:32)
- (8) *šwiqáli táma-w théli làxxa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have left it (the situation of the narrative) there and come here’ (formula marking the end of a narrative). (A26:91)
- (9) *b-àyyət mšúdrəlli*?<sup>1</sup> ‘Did you send for me because of this?’ (A21:35)
- (10) *módi mqúma ʔllux*?<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-qamáya miràle*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-t-tré miràle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘“What has befallen you?” The first one told it (= the event) to him, the second one told it to him.’ (A17:31)

The normally masculine noun *məndi* is construed as feminine singular in (11), where it is singular, and (12), where it is plural, since in such cases it refers anaphorically to the general, propositional content of what precedes in the discourse, rather than to a specific referent:

- (11) *ʔáyya məndi lè-ʔaθya l-manšóye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘This thing is unforgettable.’ (B15:8)
- (12) *rába gáye wítela ʔánna məndiyàne*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Many times such things happened.’ (B5:163)

In (13)–(15) the propositional content of what follows is referred to anaphorically by feminine singular inflection. In (13) the content in question is that of a subordinate clause that is construed as the subject of the preceding copula (*léla šəklánta*). In (14) the feminine singular form *píštela* refers to the proposition ‘the bees are going back and forth’. In (15) the feminine singular copula in the disclaimer *zàwdela mánni* ‘it is too much for me’ refers to the content of the following speech of the speaker:

- (13) *ʔən-bábux ʔu-yámmux gu-bèθela*,<sup>1</sup> *léla šəklánta t-ásqət l-gàre*.<sup>1</sup> ‘If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof.’ (D2:7)
- (14) *ʔu-píštela ʔan-dabbòre*<sup>1</sup> *har-zála-w θàya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The hornets continued going back and forth.’ (A20:8)

- (15) *mìr-e-mən<sup>1</sup> zàwdelel mónni,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-amrənnèxu<sup>1</sup> mšáxəlpu dukàne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My lord, may I humbly suggest you change places (Literally: It is too much for me, let me say to you, change places).’ (A26:65)

Expressions referring to mathematical operations are also treated as feminine singular, e.g.

- (16) *tré-gaye tré wíta 'àrba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Two times two equals four.’  
 (17) *xámša gáye xámša wáyela 'əsri-w xámša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Five times five is twenty-five.’

Infinitives, which refer to a general activity unbound to a particular point in time, are usually construed as feminine in gender when they function as arguments in a clause, e.g.

- (18) *qráya zàmət-ila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Reading is difficult.’  
 (19) *mdaróye modíla.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What is winnowing?’ (B5:97)

Occasionally the inanimate interrogative pronoun ‘what?’ is treated as feminine when it relates to a situation with propositional content rather than a distinct referent, e.g.

- (20) *mo-t-áθya b-rəšəni.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What will come upon us?’

#### 14.2.2. *General Speech Situation*

In direct speech the feminine singular is used in various expressions to refer to the general speech situation, e.g.

- (1) *'áxxa biš-salàmət-ila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Here it is safer.’ (A30:51)  
 (2) *há xər,<sup>1</sup> mòdila.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Is everything all right? What is it? (= What is the matter?)’ (A17:29)  
 (3) *šrixəle<sup>1</sup> hāwəri!<sup>1</sup> hāwəri!<sup>1</sup> bəθi qidde!<sup>1</sup>* ‘He cried “Woe! Woe! (literally: It is woe) My house has burnt down.”’ (A48:2)  
 (4) *xwítla 'əlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am confused (literally: It is mixed up for me).’

#### 14.2.3. *Temporal Expressions*

The feminine singular is used in some temporal adverbial expressions to refer to the general temporal situation in a narrative, e.g.

- (1) *b-lèlela*,<sup>1</sup> *plittèla ziltela* *xziθalle xa-nàša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘(When) it was night, she went out and found a man.’ (A22:36)
- (2) *wútela b-lèle*<sup>1</sup> *maláxa mūrásle qa-ràbban*.<sup>1</sup> ‘In the night (literally: It became in the night) the angel woke the monk.’ (A15:11)
- (3) *pišla b-lèle*,<sup>1</sup> *siqele* *l-gàre*.<sup>1</sup> ‘In the night (literally: It became in the night), he went up onto the roof.’ (A25:52)
- (4) *kpinna*<sup>1</sup> *yómà tlàθela*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She went hungry when the third day came.’ (A21:16)
- (5) *wútela bar*-<sup>2</sup>*o-nàša sáwa šályele mtāmòzalla čannakéra diya*,<sup>1</sup> *’áp-’aw šályele mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After the old man went down to clean around it (literally: It became after...), he also went down to help the old man.’ (A14:77)
- (6) *hánt-ila t-àθe*<sup>1</sup> ‘He will come very soon (literally: It is a little he will come).
- (7) *’u-šaqláwa qúrbə l-’arbi, xamsi yomáθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘It would take about forty or fifty days.’ (B5:12)
- (8) *mádre ’i-zamrúwa-w šatèwa*<sup>1</sup> *hál y-oráwa gu-lèle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They again sang and drank until it was night (literally: until it passed into night).’ (B5:18)
- (9) *zilta láxxa tre-tlà-yarxe*,<sup>1</sup> *’arbà-yarxe*,<sup>1</sup> *máre xa-béna xéta mjarbàнна*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Two or three months, four months passed. He said “I’ll test them again.”’ (A48:4)
- (10) *pišla qúrbət xà-yarxa*<sup>1</sup> *’é-ga málka máre tla-bàxte*<sup>1</sup> ‘Almost a month went by and then the king said to his wife...’ (A4:38)
- (11) *y-oráwa káma yàrxə*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Several months would pass.’ (B5:18)
- (12) *palta-bàhər*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðáxwa ’ùpra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When Spring came, we would collect the mud.’ (B10:68)

In (9)–(12) the fs. verb forms appear to take the following plural nouns as their grammatical subject, but they should be interpreted as referring to the general temporal situation: ‘(Time) went by (for) two or three months, four months’, etc.

#### 14.2.4. Object Pronoun

In a number of expressions a 3fs. object pronoun on a verb has no clear referent. The purpose of this otiose object appears to be to denote the telicity of the verb. In (1), for example, the verb phrase *mtagbàrra* denotes that the man administers something and achieves a result, whereas the form *mtagbər* without the object could be construed as non-telic, denoting



that he administers without necessarily achieving a result. In (2) the verb *qəm-jarála* denotes not only that the cat engaged in the activity of urinating, but also that it completed the activity, fully emptying its bladder. The same applies to the act of defecation in (3). In (4) and (5) the object pronoun conveys the sense of finality in the act of surrender.

- (1) *bíš-yǎðe mtagbàrra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He knows better how to deal with things.’ (A30:2)
- (2) *qátu kribla*,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-jarála gu-nùra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The cat was angry and urinated in the fire.’ (A34:8)
- (3) *kút-ile xílalla xa-ràmšī-məndi* *gu-bèθi* *ʔáθe xarèla gu-béθi*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Everyone who has eaten my dinner or the like (i.e. any food) in my house, let him come and defecate in my house.’ (A7:5)
- (4) *lá qəm-mattúla qəm-málka*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He did not surrender to the king.’ (A27:1)
- (5) *m-xúwwe hon-muxərwəlla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have wrecked it with the snake’ (i.e. I have wrecked my relationship). (A1:10)

An intransitive verb may be given a complement of a prepositional phrase containing a 3fs. non-referential pronominal suffix. Again the effect is to express telicity and hence greater salience and force, e.g.

- (6) *ʔána zála har-zílən biya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have absolutely gone with it!’ (i.e. I am finished!) (A14:25)

#### 14.2.5. Meteorological Expressions

In some expressions relating to the weather a 3fs. inflection is used without any explicit subject, e.g. *tómməl rítela* ‘Yesterday it rained’, *bṭ-àrya* ‘It will rain’, *ʔáθyo šaxinta* ‘Today it is hot’. In such cases the subject should be understood as the feminine noun *dunye* ‘world, weather’, which is used in other meteorological expressions such as *dunye rəya* ‘It is raining’, *dunye šaxinta* ‘It is hot’, *dunye xəmmànta* ‘It is hot’. Note also expressions of temperature such as (1)–(3), where the implicit subject again can be interpreted as *dunye*:

- (1) *qəm-xǎðúla hátxa t-la-qəralèy*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They wrapped them up, like this, so that they would not be cold.’ (A8:12)
- (2) *wítela xáçça b-yóma xəmma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘It became rather hot during the day.’ (A14:68)

- (3) *ta-t-óya šaxínta b-sátwa ʔallèy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘So that it will be warm for them in the winter.’ (B14:9)

### 14.3. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

#### 14.3.1. Preliminary Remarks

The demonstrative pronouns may qualify a noun or stand independently. When they qualify a noun, they are regularly placed before the noun, e.g. *ʔáwwa gáwya* ‘this man’, *ʔáyya báxta* ‘this woman’, *ʔánna náše* ‘these people’, etc. They may be combined with nouns that have possessive pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʔáwwa ʔarbi* ‘this sheep of mine’ (A10:3), *ʔáwwa bèθux* ‘this house of yours’ (A11:11), *ʔáw kawsey* ‘that hair of theirs’ (A8:14), *ʔaw-nàre* ‘that axe of his’ (A14:12), *ʔo-qése diyè* ‘its wood’ (B5:84), *ʔay bráti* ‘that daughter of mine’ (A40:10), *ʔe-braténì* ‘that daughter of ours’ (A21:25), *ʔáyya róxi* ‘this soul of mine’ (A26:82), *qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwəm*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go to these neighbours of ours’ (A5:1).

Independent demonstrative pronouns may stand in any syntactic position in a clause, including subject, predicate, direct object of a verb or complement of a preposition or particle. In the majority of attested cases they are in subject position:

#### (i) Subject

- (1) *ʔaw-tiwéle xaràya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He sat last (in the queue).’ (A17:31)  
 (2) *xa-bèna,*<sup>1</sup> *dmixéle ʔáw.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then he went to sleep.’ (A24:40)  
 (3) *ʔay-θéla dmíxla gu-ʔótəx diyə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She came back and went to sleep in her room.’ (A17:26)  
 (4) *kliθéla-ay.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She stood.’ (A31:10)  
 (5) *ʔáwwa zílele b-ʔürxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went on his way.’ (A17:12)  
 (6) *w-áyya šurèla ʔlába mən-ʔálaha ta-t-méθa ʔup-ày.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She began to ask God to let her also die.’ (A26:87)  
 (7) *hadíya lèla syámalla ʔáni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now they do not fast.’ (B16:12)  
 (8) *šəbab ʔáwáha škéle*<sup>1</sup> ‘because that one complained’ (A25:32)

#### (ii) Predicate

- (9) *ʔitwa náše šuléy ʔáwwele líθəm.*<sup>2</sup> ‘There were people whose job was this, is that not so?’ (B5:135)  
 (10) *ʔánnela ʔeðwáθə diyéni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Our festivals are these.’ (B6:16)

## (iii) Direct object

- (11) *'aw-g-y-oðəxwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'We would do that.' (B10:49)  
 (12) *'u-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma t-íla xziθalle 'áw.*<sup>1</sup> 'and she has been mad from the day that she saw him.' (A4:12)  
 (13) *'áwowa xá-ga xéta dəréle gu-míya.*<sup>1</sup> 'They put it again in water.' (B6:44)  
 (14) *dáx permánne 'áwowa?*<sup>1</sup> 'How can I slaughter him?' (A15:9)  
 (15) *t-awðətla 'áyya.*<sup>1</sup> 'Will you do this?' (A25:75)  
 (16) *'axčī muθéli 'ánna.*<sup>1</sup> 'I have only brought these.' (A7:22)  
 (17) *pálsəx 'áni* 'Let us fight them.' (A14:52)

## (iv) Complement of a preposition or particle

- (18) *b-xa-'úrxa t-'áy!* 'in a way of her own' (A8:48)  
 (19) *pálga tla-gəwra! pálga tla-d-áy!* 'half for her husband and half for her' (A10:6)  
 (20) *káwa tla-d-áni.*<sup>1</sup> 'Let it be for them.' (A15:18)  
 (21) *yawəlla qa-d-áy!* 'He gives it to her.' (A4:22)  
 (22) *mút farqùθela, gu-d-áyya dərta 'aw-gu-d-əyàha?*<sup>1</sup> 'What is the difference (whether it is) in this enclosure or that one?' (A15:12)  
 (23) *t-áθe xa-'árxa 'ax-d-áwowa! gu-bèθi.*<sup>1</sup> 'A guest comes like this into my house.' (A26:34)  
 (24) *kúlla 'aqára gárəg máxe m-d-áw.*<sup>1</sup> 'The whole farm must spread some of this (on the crops).' (B5:138)  
 (25) *'a-d-áy mláyalla kulle míya! 'a-d-áw har-məlyə.*<sup>1</sup> 'She fills hers all with water. His was continuously full.' (A17:25)  
 (26) *'ána! dárdi léla d-áyya.*<sup>1</sup> *dárdi 'íla t-'á-t gu-panjərye.*<sup>1</sup> 'My suffering is not from this (game), my suffering is from that one at the window.' (A26:66)

The independent demonstrative pronouns function as 3rd person personal pronouns. The distribution of the independent demonstrative pronouns is wider than that of 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns, which can occupy the subject, direct object or predicate positions of clause, but cannot be the complement of prepositions.

14.3.2. *The Function of the Demonstrative Pronouns*

When examining the function of the demonstrative pronouns a distinction should be made between their use to refer to visible objects in the extra-linguistic speech situation and their use to refer to referents within

the discourse. As indicated in §7.4., when used to refer to extra-linguistic objects the pronoun system can be said to be ‘hearer orientated’, in that the deictic centre for all pronouns is the hearer. It consists of three series:

‘speaker deixis’	<i>’áwwa kθáwa</i> ‘this book (near me)’
‘far deixis’	<i>’áwáha kθáwa</i> ‘that book (remote from me and you)’
‘default’	<i>’o-kθawa</i> ‘that book (with you)’

The far deixis form may be intensified by replacing the /a/ with /a’/ in the stressed syllable: *’áwá’ha kθáwa* ‘that book (very remote from me and you).

Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *qu-šqúlla ’áyya skànta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Get up and take this knife.’ (A15:8)
- (2) *yába là dámxəx gu-d-áwwa qášra.*<sup>1</sup> *dámxəx l-wáðər.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s not sleep in this palace. Let’s sleep outside.’ (A12:11)
- (3) *y-ásqəx méθəx míya mən-d-áwáha túra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there.’ (A39:9)
- (4) *résux mattánne gu-d-yáha káwe*<sup>1</sup> *t-íla pyáša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall put your head in that opening over there that remains.’ (A25:62)
- (5) *máre kèle béθα díya.*<sup>21</sup> *’aw-xášu xa-badəkkəle.*<sup>1</sup> *məra ’áwá’ha qášra t-it-xzəyalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “Where is her house?” He thought it was a hut. They said “That villa that you can see over there.”’ (A40:11)
- (6) *mátyele xa-káwtət ’ərwe.*<sup>1</sup> *’ibe tre-tláθα ’álpa rēs-’ərwe.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-qaréla ’an-šavàne*<sup>1</sup> *máre d-ənila ’an-’ərwe.*<sup>21</sup> ‘He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep. He called the shepherds and said “Whose are those sheep (which are in your keeping)?”’ (A32:14)
- (7) *šqílalla qamáye dá-kista dawe.*<sup>1</sup> *máre ’áy tlàləx*<sup>1</sup> ... *mjunəgníla hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> ... *máre ... ’íman t-àθyət,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He first took out a purse of gold pieces. He said “This is for you” ... She shook them like this ... He said ... “When you come back, I’ll give you another purse like that one (you are holding).”’ (A4:15–16)
- (8) *kúlla ’an-waríðəx qəťənna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall cut all those roots of yours.’ (A25:64)
- (9) *’ay-mòdila.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What is that (by you)?’ (A21:8)

The structurally least complex form, which is designated here as ‘default’, is used when the item is with the hearer in the deictic centre. Since it is in

the deictic centre, it does not have a deictic function, i.e. it does not point the attention of the hearer to a specific point in the surrounding environment. Rather it simply indicates that the item in question is identifiable somewhere in the accessible situation of the hearer. It would be, in fact, more accurate to translate it simply by the English definite article, which, likewise, is non-ostensive. The ‘speaker deixis’ and ‘far deixis’ forms, on the other hand, have ostensive force and point the attention of the hearer to a specific point in the environment.

Several NENA dialects have only two series of demonstratives. These consist of a speaker deixis form and a default form. e.g. J. Arbel:

Speaker deixis	Default
<i>ʔyya</i>	<i>ʔo</i>

The speaker deixis form always points to a specific point close to the speaker. The default form may be used in a deictic or non-deictic sense. When used in a deictic sense, it expresses ‘far deixis’, pointing to an item that is remote from the speaker and hearer. When used in its non-deictic sense, it does not point the hearer’s attention to any specific point but simply indicates that the referent is identifiable somewhere in the environment (cf. Khan 1999: 208–219). It has this non-deictic sense when it refers to an item that is with the hearer. This two pronoun system consisting of a speaker deixis and default form is more archaic than the three pronoun system that is found in C. Barwar and numerous other NENA dialects. The three pronoun system developed by creating a new form to take over from the default form to express far deixis. As a result, the original default form now only has a non-deictic sense.

When used to refer to items within the discourse rather than to items in the extra-linguistic situation, demonstrative pronouns generally have an anaphoric function, i.e. they form a referential link with some item elsewhere, usually earlier, in the discourse. Of the three series of pronouns, it is the default (*ʔo-kθawa*) and speaker deixis (*ʔawwa kθawa*) forms that are most frequently used with this anaphoric function. The default form, as is the case when used to refer to extra-linguistic items, does not point to any specific place in the discourse, but simply indicates that the referent of the item is accessible somewhere in the discourse environment, typically in the discourse history. The nearest functional equivalent in English is the definite article, which is often the most natural translation. It is used with a nominal, for example, when the referent of the nominal has been explicitly mentioned in the preceding discourse, e.g.

- (10) *ʔíθwa xa-málka gu-ða-màθa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-màlka*<sup>1</sup> *ʔíθwale t̄rte bnáθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a king in a village. That/the king had two daughters.’ (A25:1)
- (11) *šálat xázat xa-képa l-márzat yàma.*<sup>1</sup> *dérat ʔíðux xo-d-ò-kepa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go down and you will find a stone on the shore of the sea. Put your hand under that/the stone.’ (A12:27)
- (12) *b-úrxa t̄f̄iqele xá-xuwwē biye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-xúwwē móre*<sup>1</sup> *hà-naša*<sup>1</sup> *lèk̄at zála.*<sup>2</sup> ‘On the road a snake met him. The snake said “Hey, man, where are you going?”’ (A1:4–5)
- (13) *ʔaxnìwala,*<sup>1</sup> *p̄sí qāmxa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-qāmxa*<sup>1</sup> *m̄θéwale b̄èθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would grind it and it would become flour. They would bring the flour home.’ (B5:15–16)

It is sometimes used with proper names when these have been mentioned previously, e.g.

- (14) *ʔo-Barzókko zila dm̄xa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Barzəkko went and slept.’ (A12:10)
- (15) *ʔaw-mtunéle ʔaw-xálma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand.’ (A10:9)

It may also be used to mark a nominal with a referent that has not been explicitly mentioned earlier but is accessible from the preceding discourse by virtue of its typical association with some element in the content of this discourse (associative anaphora). Such uses of the demonstrative can normally only be translated by the English definite article, e.g.

- (16) *ʔina m-báθ̄ar maq̄ðàl*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-q̄əṭma*<sup>1</sup> *šaq̄l̄itule*<sup>1</sup> *m̄xam̄itule.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After she burns me, take the ashes and keep them.’ (fire typically produces ashes) (A26:85)
- (17) *q̄imta z̄ilta k̄as-d-aw-š̄waw̄əy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She went to their neighbour.’ (people located at home typically have a neighbour) (A10:9)
- (18) *m̄átyele xa-káwtat ʔ̄arwe,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔibe tre-!láθa ʔápa r̄ēs-ʔ̄arwe.*<sup>1</sup> *q̄am-qaréla ʔan-š̄av̄àne*<sup>1</sup> *m̄aré...* ‘He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep. He called the shepherds and said...’ (A32:14)
- (19) *ʔina... xa-q̄áysa rába šap̄ira.*<sup>1</sup> *... br̄on-málka t̄úwele l-d-a-t̄àxta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Behold a beautiful palace... The son of the king sat on the throne’. (A14:42–43)

- (20) *ʔáy šwíqtəlwə májma tàma.<sup>1</sup> qátu wirtəla,<sup>1</sup> npíla gu-d-án panjàne<sup>1</sup> mquwədxela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She (the servant) had left a tray there. A cat came in, fell into the glasses and they shattered.’ (A4:53)

On numerous occasions the speaker deixis pronoun is used with the same anaphoric function, viz. when the nominal has been explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse (21–24), with previously mentioned proper names (25), or when the referent of the nominal is accessible by associative anaphora (26):

- (21) *ʔíθwa xa-málka.<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa málka xzéle xa-xəlma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was a king. This king had a dream.’ (A1:2)
- (22) *ʔíθwa xá bəxta,<sup>1</sup> ʔítwala<sup>1</sup> xa-bróna šəmme díye Kārīm-addin.<sup>1</sup> ... ʔáyya bəxta<sup>1</sup> kút-yum<sup>1</sup> goyàwa,<sup>1</sup> maxláwa ʔla-bróna díya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was a woman, who had a son called Karimaddin. . . . Everyday the woman would beg to feed her son.’ (A14:4)
- (23) *xa-málka<sup>1</sup> kút-yum də-brata gawərwə.<sup>1</sup> mbádla qayəmwə qatəlwəla.<sup>1</sup> wəzír<sup>1</sup> xđírre xđírre,<sup>1</sup> bnáθa pɹiqla.<sup>1</sup> kút-yum də,<sup>1</sup> lìθ.<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa wəzír<sup>1</sup> ʔíθwale də-brata.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A king would marry a girl everyday. In the morning he would get up and kill her. The minister searched and searched, but the girls had run out. Every day (he had killed) one and there were no more. The minister had a daughter.’ (A14:1)
- (24) *súla modíle.<sup>21</sup> ʔáwəwa yáʔni zəblət haywəne.<sup>1</sup> ... ʔáwəwa súla dax-maşləwəle.<sup>21</sup>* ‘What is manure? It is the muck of animals. . . . How did they take the manure down?’ (B5:134–135)
- (25) *t-amɹənnux də-xéta šəmma Čuxole.<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa Čuxo xáye gu-xə-maθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall tell you another (story) called Čuxo. This Čuxo lives in a village.’ (A7:1)
- (26) *síqe<sup>1</sup> ʔərxə,<sup>1</sup> síqe<sup>1</sup> gu-kotála,<sup>1</sup> rəš-kotála dəryəlle gu-míya.<sup>1</sup> šəlyele<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa ʔažvəna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He went up to the water-mill, he went up to the water duct (of the mill) and placed him on the water duct in the water. The mill caretaker came down.’ (a water-mill is typically administered by a caretaker) (A22:42)

Since the referents in the examples cited above are all internal to the discourse, the speaker does not use the speaker deixis demonstratives to point to an item that is physically close to him. Rather they express a virtual or psychological closeness to the speaker, the purpose of which is often to give prominence to the referent in the staging and perspective with which it is presented. The default demonstrative, on the other hand,

is neutral with regard to perspective and personal engagement. The choice of the perspective with which the speaker wishes to present the referent in a particular point in the discourse is a subjective one. Speaker deixis demonstratives are often used to give prominence to the referents that play a prominent role in the text, as is the case in examples (21)–(26).

In a similar way, anaphoric reference is expressed by independent demonstrative pronouns, with the speaker in most cases choosing either the default demonstrative or the speaker deixis form according to the perspective with which he wishes to present the referent. Default independent pronouns indicate that the referent is identifiable somewhere in the discourse and are unspecified as to perspective or speaker engagement, e.g.

- (27) *ʔaw-məlyále tópe díye spàʔ.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He loaded his gun well.’ (A31:7)  
 (28) *ʔay-θéla dmíxla gu-ʔótəx díya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She came back and went to sleep in her room.’ (A17:26)  
 (29) *xárθa ʔáni mátyela tàma<sup>1</sup> l-márzət yàma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then they arrived there, by the shore of the sea.’ (A14:37)

Speaker deixis independent pronouns are used to give prominence to a referent in close perspective. They are often used to refer to protagonists in a narrative and other textually prominent referents, e.g.

- (30) *ʔáwwa plítəle gu-ða-dúnje xèta,*<sup>1</sup> *šəmša milánta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔára milánta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He opened it and he came out into another world, with a blue sun and a blue land.’ (A14:26)  
 (31) *ʔáyya ríqtəla<sup>1</sup> šliθəla<sup>1</sup> hàwənila!*<sup>1</sup> ‘She ran and went down (crying) “Beware!”’ (A24:42)  
 (32) *ʔánna píðela mánne díye,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-šlāma léla dəryalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They passed by him, but did not even greet him.’ (A15:13)

There may be a shift in the type of demonstrative that is used to refer to one particular referent in different sections of the discourse, which reflects changes in perspective. This is illustrated in (33), an extract from a narrative that involves two protagonists, the Leliθa monster and the daughter-in-law of the family. The narrative begins with the arrival of the Leliθa. In this section she is the most salient and most active character and is presented with close perspective by the speaker deixis demonstrative *ʔayya* [1]. In the course of the narrative, however, the daughter-in-law becomes the most salient character, who has the most control over the flow of events. This is reflected by the use of the speaker deixis pronouns *ʔayya* [2] and [4],



whereas *Leliθa* is referred to by default demonstratives, viz. *'ay* [3] and [5], and the attributive demonstrative in *'ε-Leliθa*.

- (33) *hadiya' 'iθwa xa-Leliθa θiθa mən-Ĉāl.<sup>1</sup> θéla šlèla<sup>1</sup> l-'árxət be-Xàmmo.<sup>1</sup> xa-náša 'iθwale 'àrxé<sup>1</sup> šimme díye Xàmmo-wewa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale kàlθa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale bnòne.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya [1] šlèla,<sup>1</sup> dréla šláma 'állèy.<sup>1</sup> ... 'u-'áyya [2] gu-dyàrta<sup>1</sup> mòdi wídlá.<sup>21</sup> qìmla,<sup>1</sup> qəm-'ačməle tára.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-pálgət béθa wídlá núra.<sup>1</sup> ... 'u-'ε-Leliθa θèla.<sup>1</sup> 'áy [3] kúlla dònèla,<sup>1</sup> dóna,<sup>1</sup> mǎšxa.<sup>1</sup> ... 'u-'áyya [4] har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíšé<sup>1</sup> mattàwa<sup>1</sup> 'állá díya<sup>1</sup> hál 'é-gət qəm-qatlàla.<sup>1</sup> qəm-qatlàla,<sup>1</sup> 'áy [5] píšla tàma.<sup>1</sup> 'Now, there was a *Leliθa* who came from Ĉāl. She came down to the water-mill of the family of Xammo. A man had a water-mill and his name was Xammo. He had a daughter-in-law. He had sons. **She** (*Leliθa*) came down and greeted them. ... What did **she** (the daughter-in-law) do on her return? She closed the door and in the middle of the house she made a fire. ... **The Leliθa** came. **She** was all (made of) fat, fat, oil. ... **She** (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her. She killed her, and **she** (*Leliθa*) remained there.' (A19:1–6)*

A further example is the extract in (34), in which the protagonist Xano is referred to by a speaker deixis demonstrative [2] and subsequently by a default demonstrative [3]. This can be correlated with a difference in discourse prominence. The section beginning with the speaker deixis demonstrative [2] is a foregrounded section that advances the narrative. The following section with the default form [3] supplies elaborative background information, which recapitulates an earlier, previously mentioned event. It is worth noting that the clause with the default pronoun [1], which refers to the king, also conveys repetitive background material, since it comes immediately after a speech of the king in which he reports his dream:

- (34) *'aw-[1]mtunéle 'aw-xálma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa [2] móre b-àlaha<sup>1</sup> har-xá-məndi 'iθ b-áyya dúkθa t-íle wíra.<sup>1</sup> 'áw [3] xzèle 'o-dídwa 'éka wírre.<sup>1</sup> 'He (the king) told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand. **He** (Xano) said (to himself) 'By God, there must be something in this place where it entered'. **He** (Xano) had seen where the fly had entered.' (A11:9)*

Similarly in (35) the speaker deixis demonstrative [1] is in a clauses that initiates a section describing a foreground event. The default deixis demonstrative [2], which refers to the same character, can be interpreted as elaborative information, which supplements the previously described event rather than advancing the narrative:

- (35) **'áwwa** [1] *b-léle qiméle.*<sup>1</sup> *gáwra díya mquľbzballe dáyalle gawàya.*<sup>1</sup> **'áw** [2] *píša b-áy-gota xètéle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He got up in the night. He rolled over her husband and put him in the middle. He came to be on the other side.' (A30:53)

In constructions expressing a contrastive opposition between two items, the two different demonstratives are used to separate distinctly the two items, since they present them with different virtual spatial locations in the staging of the situation. In (37) and (38) the demonstratives express associative anaphora. The 'boys' in (37) are typically associated with a school and the table and its sides in (38) are associated with the act of sitting:

- (36) *'ε-dánə t-ìla říše,*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa gu-šwíθət gàne,*<sup>1</sup> **'áyya** *gu-qásrət bába díya,*<sup>1</sup> **'áw** *gu-čádre díye*<sup>1</sup> 'When they woke up, each in their own bed, she in the palace of her father and he in his tent...' (A4:5)
- (37) *bróna díya gu-mádrása kút-yum y-awéwa mxáya l-aw-yála,*<sup>1</sup> *šqála čánta d-áwwa,*<sup>1</sup> *šràta mändiyáne.*<sup>1</sup> 'Her son everyday in school would beat one child, take the bag of another, tear things.' (A14:5)
- (38) *holá-əθye tíwe,*<sup>1</sup> *báxta tíwta l-áyya-gotət més,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-gáwra tíwa l-áy-gota.*<sup>1</sup> 'They came and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side.' (A4:57)

The virtual spatial separation is sometimes enhanced by using spatial adverbs, e.g.

- (39) *díwən t-xále díye hóla dwíqta.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya díwən ləxxela'* *'aw-gàrele.*<sup>1</sup> 'The meeting room of his uncle is full. The meeting room is here and that is its roof.' (A23:14)

The speaker deixis demonstratives are sometimes used primarily to express close emotional engagement with the referent with an evaluative sense, which may be negative or positive. This is the case in (40)–(42), which are extracts from direct speech. This speech is uttered by the speakers to

themselves in the absence of the referent of the nominal. The demonstratives, therefore, are not anaphoric nor are they used to point the attention of a hearer to an item in the extra-linguistic situation:

- (40) *ʔáyya xmàrta!*<sup>1</sup> ‘That she-ass!’ (A10:10)  
 (41) *mo-čára t-óðax tla-d-áyya qátu t-la ʔaxläləni?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us?’ (A44:1)  
 (42) *b-álaha hóle híwalle rásqa d-áwwa gáwra* ‘By God, he has provided the sustenance of this husband (of mine).’ (A10:7)

Speaker deixis demonstratives are occasionally used with a nominal that introduces a new referent into the discourse, when the speaker has a particular personal interest in the referent. In (43), for example, a speaker deixis demonstrative is used with the word ‘bridge’, which does not yet exist in the extra-linguistic situation, nor has it been mentioned in the preceding discourse. The speaker, however, proposes building such a bridge. In (44) the speaker has a strong personal interest in the pot of gold, which she introduces here for the first time in her speech to her neighbour, although the object itself is not visible in the speech situation. In English such demonstratives are most naturally translated by the indefinite article, though in some contexts a translation with a demonstrative is also possible:

- (43) *xàli<sup>1</sup> lá ʔawðáxle ʔáwwa gəšra<sup>1</sup> šáwrax réša réša d-ánna mīya?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Uncle, should we not make a bridge for it so that we can cross over this water?’ (A17:3)  
 (44) *xá-dukθa hon-xzíθa hátxa dàwe,<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya qadáltə dàwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In a certain place I have found gold coins like this, a/this pot of gold coins.’ (A10:9)

A demonstrative may have an anaphoric function when the referent in question is visible in the speech situation. In (45), for example, the function of the default demonstrative *ʔan-* is to indicate that the arrows which the speaker shows to the hearer are those that have been mentioned previously in the discourse history. It does not point the hearer’s attention to the referent. This is done by the presentative particle *ho*. In (46) the speaker deixis subject pronoun *ʔanna* points to the ring and scarf in the speech situation, but the default demonstrative *ʔani* in the predicate has an anaphoric function binding the reference to the preceding discourse:

- (45) *θέλι hó 'an-tlá gerā-qàšta.*<sup>1</sup> 'I've come back and here are the three arrows of a bow (to which reference was made earlier).' (A12:46)
- (46) *'ina 'áyya 'isàqθa 'u-yalàxta d-ènila.*<sup>2</sup> *hóla 'isàqθa,*<sup>1</sup> *hóla yalàxta.*<sup>1</sup> *máto mda-glánna gànì*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámran 'ánna léla 'àni.*<sup>1</sup> 'But whose is this ring and scarf? Here is a ring and here is a scarf. How can I make myself lie and say that these are not those (belonging to the girl I mentioned)?' (A26:12)

The far deixis demonstrative is occasionally used to refer to items that are internal to the discourse. The usual context for this is where two or more members of a set are presented in a contrastive opposition. One member is typically presented with either a speaker deixis or default deixis demonstrative and the other and any further members are given a far deixis demonstrative. The function of the far deixis demonstrative is to separate the members of the set clearly in the virtual space of the discourse, e.g.

- (47) *mattíwala gu-d-é māššára xá, tré, t̄làθa.*<sup>1</sup> *manéwa hal-ʔsra.*<sup>1</sup> *'sra gu-d-àyya,*<sup>1</sup> *'sra gu-d-**yáha,***<sup>1</sup> *'sra gu-d-**yáha** xèta,*<sup>1</sup> *hàtxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'They would plant them in the paddy field, one, two, three and count up to ten. Ten in this (row), ten in that one, ten in that other one, and so forth.' (B7:13)
- (48) *gu-māhàll-žì*<sup>1</sup> *kút-yum gánu kθéθa d-àwwa,*<sup>1</sup> *'é-ga y-azšhwa fēka d-**àwàha.***<sup>1</sup> 'Every day in the neighbourhood he would steal the chicken of one person, then go (and steal) the fruit of another.' (A14:7)
- (49) *brōn-málka tíwεle l-d-a-tàxta.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xá-wāžzīr diye rāš-d-àwwa-kursa*<sup>1</sup> *xa-rāš-d-**àwàha.***<sup>1</sup> 'The son of the king sat on the throne, one minister (sat) on this chair and one on that one.' (A14:43)
- (50) *zìlla d-wiqla náwεba l-**àyyà'ha** qunjálta t-hódax,*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya gu-d-ε-qunjálta xèta.*<sup>1</sup> 'They went and kept a guard in that far corner, and one in that other corner.' (A18:3)

Sometimes only one member of the set is explicitly mentioned, the other(s) being implied, e.g.

- (51) *kút-xa t̄la-gáne šuréle dwàqa.*<sup>1</sup> *šúdrət Səttiye*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa xálqa nēlle,*<sup>1</sup> *Fárxo qəm-xazéle šàdra. Čixàlo,*<sup>1</sup> *m-**ya-góta xèta,***<sup>1</sup> *qəm-xazéla 'ina xzéle šàdra diya,*<sup>1</sup> *kriblé.*<sup>1</sup> 'Each of them started grasping the other. The button of the blouse of Səttiye was torn off and Fárxo saw her breast.

Čixalo, on the other side, saw them and noticed that he saw her breast, and became angry.’ (A25:29–30)

In (52) the narrator uses a far deixis demonstrative to express the physical distance of one referent from another:

- (52) *mára Fárxo tu-támà’ha.*<sup>1</sup> *Fárxo tíwéle rəs-d-wá’ha kəpa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She (Naze) said “Farxo sit far over there.” Farxo sat on that far stone (i.e. far from Naze).’ (A25:17)

In (53) the far deixis independent demonstrative is used contrastively to make it clear that the reference is to somebody other than the person mentioned in the previous clause:

- (53) *Səttiye’ šmila’ baba dīya hóle mütta’ jallàde,*<sup>1</sup> *b-jáldi rəsət Fárxo.*<sup>1</sup> *səbab’*<sup>1</sup> *’awáha škèle,*<sup>1</sup> *máre liθba fáyda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Səttiye heard that her father had appointed executioners, who would cut off the head of Farxo. This was because he (i.e. Čixalo not Farxo) had complained. He (the king) said “It is no use” (he should be executed).’ (A25:32)

In principle a noun that has an attributive demonstrative is definite in status, i.e. the speaker assumes that the hearer is able to identify the referent. The only exception is where the speaker uses the speaker deixis form to introduce into the discourse a new referent in which he has a particular interest (43–44). We have seen that anaphoric reference is generally expressed either by the default or speaker deixis demonstratives, the use of the far deixis being marginal. A noun that is definite in status, however, is not obligatorily combined with an anaphoric demonstrative. It can also be left without any demonstrative. We have discussed above the circumstances that motivate the speaker to use different demonstratives for anaphoric reference in discourse. Here we shall examine the motivation to omit a demonstrative on a definite noun that has an anaphoric connection with the preceding discourse. In general the heavier morphology with the explicit anaphoric demonstrative (*’o-kθawa*) is a more powerful anaphoric device that is used when the noun is disjoined to a greater extent from its anaphor. This disjunction is not brought about only by

textual distance but also by boundaries in the discourse structure. Indeed, the heavy morphology can be used as a device to mark boundaries.<sup>1</sup> This is illustrated in the passage (54) below, which describes the preparation of yoghurt butter know as *çita*. The passage can be divided into four sections according to its content. The noun *masta* ‘yoghurt’ is introduced in section (ii). At the onset of section (iii) the second mention of the noun is marked by a demonstrative. The third mention of the noun, however, has no demonstrative, since it occurs in a clause that is closely connected with what precedes and is not separated from the previous mention by a discourse boundary. The fourth mention of the noun at the onset of section (iv), however, has a demonstrative again, since it is separated from the previous mention by a discourse boundary. The same applies to the noun *məšxa* ‘butter’. The second mention has no demonstrative, since it is not separated from the first mention by a discourse boundary. The third mention, however, at the onset of the section (v) has a demonstrative.

- (54) (i) *xálya t-heywàne<sup>1</sup> t-ʔarwe ʔn-tawràða,<sup>1</sup> xálya marəxθile<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šoqile pəša dárəj hǎrára díye taqríban ʔarbi.<sup>1</sup> (ii) déri marèða bíya.<sup>1</sup> ʔi-mxamèla.<sup>1</sup> déri xa-júlla b-réša qá-t hár-hawe šaxinta<sup>1</sup> múddət tmányá sàʔate.<sup>1</sup> ʔi-páyəš ʔo-xəlyá<sup>1</sup> páyəš **màsta (1).**<sup>1</sup> (iii) ʔ-**màsta (2)**<sup>1</sup> ʔi-deríla gu-gúða.<sup>1</sup> ... ʔi-deréla gáwe díye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-yi-mǎyile<sup>1</sup> ... xa-rúba<sup>1</sup> sáʔa,<sup>1</sup> ʔasrí daqíqe,<sup>1</sup> pálgə sàʔa.<sup>1</sup> ʔi-šəšíla ʔi-šəšíla<sup>1</sup> hal-**másta (3)**<sup>1</sup> ʔi-péša ʔax-míya.<sup>1</sup> (iv) **məšxət (1)** gu-d-**á-masta (4)**<sup>1</sup> ʔi-jámi l-gòðə.<sup>1</sup> ʔi-jámi l-gòðə,<sup>1</sup> ʔi-mpaltíle.<sup>1</sup> **məšxa (2)** páyəš xòðe.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-dáwwe deréla gu-xa-quxáne gòrta.<sup>1</sup> (v) ʔ-**áwwa məšxa (3)** y-amrəxle *çita*.<sup>1</sup>*

‘(i) They boil the milk of animals, of sheep or cows, and let its heat become about forty degrees. (ii) They put rennet in it. They keep it. They put a cloth over it so that it remains warm, for eight hours. The milk then becomes **yoghurt (1)**. (iii) They put **the yoghurt (2)** in a churn... They put it in it and churn it... for quarter of an hour, ten minutes, half an hour, they shake it and shake it until **the yoghurt (3)** becomes like water. (iv) They gather together **the butter (1)** of **the yoghurt (4)**. They gather it together and take it out. **The butter (2)** becomes separated. They put the *dawwe* (yoghurt water) in a large pot. (v) We call **this butter (3)** *çita*.’ (B6:37–40)

<sup>1</sup> The cross-linguistic evidence for fuller coding being used at the boundaries of discourse units is examined by Huang (2000: 309ff).

In certain constructions a demonstrative pronoun is regularly used. The use of the default demonstrative is the norm, for example, with a noun that is the head of a restrictive relative clause. As elsewhere, this demonstrative does not point to any particular place in the discourse but rather indicates simply that the referent is identifiable in the accessible context. The close syntactic dependence of the relative clause on the head forces the search for the identity of the referent to be made in the relative clause rather than the preceding discourse, even if the referent has been mentioned previously, e.g.

- (55) *ʔθyεle ʔo-yálat báyàwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The young man whom she loved came.’ (A12:42)
- (56) *ʔa-pállá t-wawa-rəš-qalùnka<sup>1</sup> wíðtəlla hátxa šlìθεla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She moved the burning coal that was in the pipe like this and it fell.’ (A11:21)
- (57) *ʔθyεle<sup>1</sup> wíðεle ʔa-dúkθa nišànqa,<sup>1</sup> ʔa-dúkθa t-wéwa ʔo-dídwa wíra tàma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He came and marked the place, the place where the fly had entered.’ (A11:10)

In some cases the noun has not been referred to in the preceding discourse and the scope of the anaphora can only be internal to the nominal phrase, e.g.

- (58) *hál ʔo-yómət mèθən<sup>1</sup> har-ʔúrxət ʔálaha dóqən b-ìdi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Until the day I die I shall always keep to God’s way.’ (A15:21)

The head noun may have a non-specific, generic referent. In such cases the the scope of the anaphora is generally internal to the nominal phrase and a translation with an indefinite article is most natural in English, e.g.

- (59) *mən-sab-ʔé-ʔotəx t-là-hawe gáwa šópa,<sup>1</sup> yá’ni pεšúwa tàlga hal-qedámta,<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-xa le-məšéwa damáxwa gáwa dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Since a room that did not have a stove in it would become icy by the morning and nobody would be able to sleep in it.’ (B15:26)

The demonstrative pronoun on the head noun of a restrictive relative should still be regarded as anaphoric in function in that it relates the noun to some other item in the discourse, viz. the description in the relative clause. Although the default demonstrative here and elsewhere are often most appropriately translated by the English definite article and, like the English article, does not have ostensive force, it still differs from the English

article in some respects. Crucially the default demonstrative always has an anaphoric function and is not used simply as a marker of definiteness. This is shown by the fact that, unlike the English article, it is not used with a noun whose referent is identifiable by virtue of its descriptive content, independently of context or dependent modifiers, when this noun has no anaphoric connection with the preceding context, e.g. ‘the sun’:

- (60) *ššma haš-lēla mxiθa l-turáne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The sun has not yet struck the mountains.’ (A26:37)

A relative clause that does not have a head noun must have a pronominal head in the form of a demonstrative. Again, the demonstrative is anaphoric, in that it binds its referent to the content of the dependent relative clause. The referent may be specific or, more commonly, non-specific. When it is non-specific, it generally has no anaphoric connection with what precedes and the scope of the anaphora is internal to the nominal phrase, e.g.

- (61) *ʔo-t-ile plixa ʔaw bṭ-áxəl.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He who has worked will eat.’ (A21:15)  
 (62) *ʔo-t-mašəwa<sup>1</sup> ʔitwale ʔəwwe rabe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever had the means, had many sheep.’ (B10:54)  
 (63) *ʔo-t-ʔitle ʔəwwe,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-ʔitle tawre<sup>1</sup> y-áwe xzída gəlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Somebody who has sheep or somebody who has cattle has harvested grass.’ (B5:108)  
 (64) *ʔa-t-la-saléwa kawsa-díya* ‘she whose hair did not come down (when combed)’ (B10:68)  
 (65) *ʔan-t-wéwa gu-Lèvi*<sup>1</sup> ‘those who were in the Levies’ (B10:52)

Occasionally a default anaphoric demonstrative is used on a newly introduced item that is described further in subsequent clauses as in (66). In such cases the specifying clauses are not syntactically embedded in a relative construction. The demonstrative nevertheless binds the noun to what follows, in that it introduces the expectancy that what follows will assist in its identification:

- (66) *ʔu-qəṭa,<sup>1</sup> bár t-ila-dwàqa,<sup>1</sup> qám t-màṭi<sup>1</sup> gārəg maxətla darmàna,<sup>1</sup> qá-t ʔan-márre la-ʔáθi ʔilla díya,<sup>1</sup> mtarəmza,<sup>1</sup> yán tarpáθa díya xàrwí,<sup>1</sup> xabúšta xàrwa.<sup>1</sup> ‘In summer, after it bears fruit, before (the apples) become ripe, you must apply chemical (insecticide), so that the diseases do not afflict it, (whereby) it wilts or its leaves are harmed and the apple tree is harmed.’ (B5:106)*



An adjective that stands independently of a head noun is generally nominalized by taking a pronominal head. If the resultant phrase is definite, the head is a demonstrative (see §14.7.). The default demonstrative is generally used when the speaker wishes to express anaphora rather than deixis, e.g.

- (67) *ʔiθwa xa-mālka.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwale<sup>1</sup> t̄lā bnónē.<sup>1</sup>...ʔo-gòra<sup>1</sup> máre...* ‘There was a king. He had three sons... The elder one said...’ (A24:4)
- (68) *θéle xa-náša swariyya,<sup>1</sup> rakáwa.<sup>1</sup> šléle rāš-xa-ʔéna.<sup>1</sup>... θéle xá rakáwa xèna,<sup>1</sup> swariyya.<sup>1</sup> z̄ille rāš-ʔéna.<sup>1</sup>...ʔo-qamāya<sup>1</sup> ʔámər ʔoh<sup>1</sup> zúzi munš̄li.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring... Another rider came, a horseman. He went to the spring... The first one said “Oh, I have forgotten my money.”’ (A15:1–2)
- (69) *fa-náše kúlla p̄l̄ti<sup>1</sup> xa-maryóse ʔo-xréna m̄ya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘All the people go out and scatter water on one another.’ (B6:10)

If the adjective is modified by an intensifier or by the comparative particle *bīš*, the demonstrative pronoun is combined with the relative particle *D*, e.g.

- (70) *ʔo-t bīš-daḡiqa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘the one that (is) thinner’ (B10:49)

The independent demonstrative head may be placed before a genitive phrase consisting of the particle *D* and a dependent noun, e.g.

- (71) *p̄uḡuš m-éni m̄nnèle.<sup>2</sup> ʔo-t r̄zza.<sup>1</sup>* ‘What type of hay is it? That of rice.’ (B5:113)
- (72) *ʔina mástət ʔr̄we rába bīš-basimtéla bīš-pr̄štela m̄n-d-a-t-tàwre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.’ (B5:173)

The pronominal heads of headless relative, genitive or nominalized adjectives are occasionally expressed by a speaker deixis demonstrative. This may have either intra-linguistic reference (73) or extra-linguistic reference (74–75):

- (73) *n̄bl̄lle k̄s-xá m-ánna t̄-òḡi t̄asmə s̄àwle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He took it to one of those people who make shoelaces.’ (A11:12)

- (74) *ga-béna ʿánna kúlla t-íla zála léla mšáya b-an-ʿárbi bnàθa?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Well, cannot all these people who are going (to fight) prevail against the forty girls?’ (A12:58)
- (75) *ʿáyya smóqta ʿíla dāmmi<sup>1</sup> ʿu-ʿáyya milánta ʿíla ròxi<sup>1</sup> ʿu-ʿáyya xwárta ʿíla nàšmi<sup>1</sup>.* ‘This red one (bead) is my blood. This blue one is my spirit. This white one is my soul.’ (A25:35)

A demonstrative is the norm after the particle *har* in constructions with the sense of ‘the same’, e.g.

- (76) *šaqíle-har-ʿo-ləxma<sup>1</sup>.* ‘They take the same bread.’ (B6:49)
- (77) *tírwaθna mubrèla<sup>1</sup> hàr ʿo-yóma<sup>1</sup>.* ‘The two of them gave birth on the same day.’ (A25:4)
- (78) *húwele xábra tla-wǎžǎ<sup>1</sup> har-b-ò-ləle<sup>1</sup>.* ‘He gave word to the minister on the same night.’ (A4:34)
- (79) *díya<sup>1</sup> ahwalátte šuxləpla<sup>1</sup> ləla-ʿax-qàmθa<sup>1</sup> ʿína šəra<sup>1</sup> har-ʿo-šəra<sup>1</sup> har-o-ʿiqàra<sup>1</sup>.* ‘Now circumstances have changed. It is not like formerly, but the festival is the same festival, the same respect (is shown).’ (B5:72)

In (80) and (81) the demonstrative expressing ‘the same’ is anaphorically bound to a dependent noun in an annexation construction. The particle *har* is used only in (80):

- (80) *ʿap-ʿáni har-ʿó-mdi-t xabùšela<sup>1</sup>.* ‘They are the same thing as apples.’ (B5:218)
- (81) *ʿap-ʿána b-ay-ʿúrxa d-ànnən ʿəθya<sup>1</sup>.* ‘I have come on the same way as these people.’ (A8:58)

#### 14.3.3. *Stress Position in Stress Groups*

When an attributive demonstrative is combined with a noun in a single stress group, the stress may fall on the demonstrative or on the noun (§6.5.). The normal position of the stress is on the noun. When it is placed on the demonstrative, it generally increases the anaphoric force of the demonstrative. This is particularly clear when the demonstrative takes a nuclear stress in expressions such as *har-ò-yoma<sup>1</sup>* ‘on that very same day’ (B5:48). The nuclear stress is put on the demonstrative also in cases where the previous mention of the referent occurred a long way back in the discourse history. Example (1) comes after a lengthy section of

discourse at a scene away from the spring. In this clause the reference to the spring is reinvoked:

- (1) *ʔu-dirɛle ʃɔlyɛle rəʃ-d-ɛ-ʔɛna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went back down to that spring.’ (A26:32)

This may be contrasted with (2), which occurs earlier in the discourse when the scene is still set at the spring and the referent of ‘the spring’ is more accessible:

- (2) *ʔanna bnáthe díye rəʃ-d-ɛ-ʔɛna-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His daughters were by that spring.’ (A26:25)

In cases such as (3) and (4) the anaphoric connection is powerfully asserted since the speaker judges that some clarification of reference is necessary:

- (3) *qímɛle zùlɛle<sup>1</sup> múθya xákma gòlde,<sup>1</sup> síralla b-gàne.<sup>1</sup> wíðalla gān-díye ʔax-dàbba,<sup>1</sup> ʔò-naša.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He went and brought some skins and tied them on himself. He made himself like a bear, that man.’ (B18:5)
- (4) *ʔina yómət ʔéðə ʃlāwa<sup>1</sup> təltássər b-ʔčča<sup>1</sup> ʔé-šetət wírra<sup>1</sup> qúrbət tré-ʔalpe ʔu-xamš-ammā-naše<sup>1</sup> ʔitwa hðire<sup>1</sup> ʔò-yoma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘On the day of the Festival of the Cross, the thirteenth of September last year, about two thousand five hundred people were present, on that day.’ (B15:93)

Stress is sometimes put on the demonstrative of a noun that is modified by a syntactically dependent relative clause, which has the effect of binding the head more closely with its modifier. This is often found when the head noun is low in semantic content, especially *ʔó-məndit* ‘the thing that’ or temporal expressions such as *ʔó-yómət* ‘the day that’, *ʔé-šetət* ‘the year that’, e.g.

- (5) *ʔó-məndit ʔàna xílli<sup>1</sup>* ‘the thing that I ate’ (A2:8)
- (6) *ʔó-yómət xəzya dúnye ráye tèle<sup>1</sup> záwonət ləbewa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The day he saw that it was raining foxes, it was the time of tricks.’ (A1:24)
- (7) *ʔé-šetət məθi<sup>1</sup>* ‘the year they were to die’ (A4:57)

Referential binding is also the purpose of the stress on the demonstrative in constructions such as (8) and (9). These are correlative type constructions, in which the speaker wishes to signal the tight dependency of the second member with what precedes by means of the stressed demonstrative:

- (8) *ʔékela t́éra díya θíθa tíwta báθar d-è-maθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Where her bird had come—she settled behind that village (= She settled behind the village where her bird had come)’ (A24:30)
- (9) *lā-páltət,*<sup>1</sup> *hal-t-amènnux plùtgena<sup>1</sup> ʔè-ga páltət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not come out, until when I say to you “Come out!”, at that time you should come out’ (A14:67)

#### 14.3.4. *Discourse Anaphora*

An independent demonstrative pronoun may refer to the propositional content of the surrounding discourse rather than to a referent. In such cases of discourse anaphora the demonstrative is often a feminine speaker deixis form, e.g.

- (1) *ʔap-ʔáyya qbiláli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I accept also this.’ (A15:17)
- (2) *ʔáyya<sup>1</sup> kùlla<sup>1</sup> b-lèlela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘All this is at night.’ (A25:67)

Alternatively an attributive demonstrative may be combined with a noun that refers to the propositional content of what precedes, e.g.

- (3) *fa-l-d-áw tuxsa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaxni ʔo-yoma y-óðexi ʔáp-ʔaxni musàrde.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In this manner we perform (the festival of) *musarde* on that day.’ (B6:11)

#### 14.3.5. *Combination of a Demonstrative Pronoun with the Indefinite Particle*

A default attributive demonstrative may be combined with the indefinite cardinal particle *xa*. The forms are as follows:

ms.	<i>ʔó-xa ~ ʔo-xáha</i>
fs.	<i>ʔá-ğđa ~ ʔa-ğđáha</i>
pl.	<i>ʔán-xa ~ ʔan-xáha</i>

Examples: *ʔó-xa náša,* *ʔo-xáha náša* ‘the man’, *ʔá-ğđa baxta,* *ʔa-ğđáha baxta* ‘the woman’, *ʔán-xa náše,* *ʔan-xáha náše* ‘the people’.

As can be seen, the feminine form of the cardinal numeral preserves its original consonant (*ğđa* < *\*xđa* < *\*hđā*), whereas this is elided in other contexts (*đa*). Note also that the cardinal *xa* is used also with plural nouns, which is not the case in other contexts. The *-aha* ending in the alternative forms presumably arose by analogy with that of the far deixis pronouns.

The usual function of this construction is to indicate that the referent of the noun is accessible in the memory of the hearer rather than in the current discourse history. The indefinite particle by itself indicates to the hearer that the referent is newly introduced and not accessible. Its combination with the anaphoric demonstrative is used as a device to signal that it is newly presented in the current discourse but nevertheless recoverable from some discourse or experience that took place on some other occasion in the past. It is, therefore, less easily accessible than referents that have a connection with the preceding discourse. Examples:

- (1) *θέλε 'o-xa-náša t-in mírəllux təmməl t-əθe 'ədyo.*<sup>21</sup> 'Has that man come who I said to you yesterday would come today?'
- (2) *θέλε 'o-xa-náša t-ít xəzyalle təmməl.*<sup>21</sup> 'Has the man whom you saw yesterday come?'
- (3) *txárət 'o-xa-náša t-wéwa láxxa qam-səbθa.*<sup>21</sup> 'Do you remember the man who was here a week ago?'
- (4) *txárət 'a-əðə-báxta kóre t-wáwa gu-màθa.*<sup>21</sup> 'Do you remember the blind woman who was in the village?'
- (5) *txárət 'án-xa xonāwáθa kóre t-wéwa gu-màθa.*<sup>21</sup> 'Do you remember the blind brothers who were in the village?'

Examples from the text corpus:

- (6) *txárət 'an-xa-tré t-mutəpqiwalən b-əðəðe.*<sup>21</sup> 'Do you remember the couple that we brought together?' (A4:45)
- (7) *'ána 'o-xə qáša t-in 'əθya gu-Tiyàre, qam-dogátli xošátli gu-gòma.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am the priest who (you remember) came to Tiyare, whom you seized and confined in the basement stable.' (B17:15)
- (8) *'u-hádəx 'iθwa 'án-xa sobáθət kəslən, buxeriyewa.*<sup>1</sup> 'The stoves (you remember) in our community were thus, they were smoke ducts.' (A4:60)
- (9) *'o-xá-məndi 'ile xəzwa 'əθyalli ləle xəlma.*<sup>1</sup> 'The thing (that I remember seeing) is a vision that came to me, it is not a dream.' (A8:7)

In (10) the referent of the noun 'washing-board' is, in fact, mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse. The demonstrative + indefinite particle construction, however, makes an anaphoric connection with an earlier conversation in the memory of the interlocutor rather than with the mention in the current discourse. Similarly in (11) 'the blind wolf' is mentioned in the preceding question of the woman. The demonstrative

+ indefinite particle construction in the response of the husband, however, makes an anaphoric connection with the story about the wolf that the woman remembers rather than with the mention of the wolf in her current question:

- (10) *qəm-qatlıle b-xatoryàθa,<sup>1</sup> **an-xá xatoryáθa** t-ínwa mârəllux<sup>1</sup> mási jülle bíya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with.’ (B19:9)
- (11) *xá-yoma mbuqárra mára mòdi m-áyya qásşət díye ’o-déwa kóra.<sup>2</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> ’ərəwən<sup>1</sup> **o-xá-dewa kóra** dmixa gu-túra.<sup>1</sup> kút-yum xá-’ərəwən y-aráqwa y-ásəq qám... d-o-déwa,<sup>1</sup> ’aw y-axəlwale.<sup>1</sup>* ‘One day she asked saying “What is this story about the blind wolf?” He said “Our sheep—the blind wolf (you remember me talking about) is sleeping in the mountains. Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf and he would eat it.”’ (A10:5)

#### 14.4. ANNEXATION CONSTRUCTIONS

As described in §10.16., when one noun is annexed to another by means of the particle *D* (§4.4.), the first noun in the phrase is a head noun and the second is a dependent modifier. The modifier noun is, in principle, restrictive in function. Various types of semantic relationship exist between the head and the modifier, including:

- (i) Item—possessor, e.g. *şawlət málka<sup>1</sup>* ‘the shoe of the king’ (A17:28), *’árxət be-Xàmmo<sup>1</sup>* ‘the water-mill of the family of Xammo’ (A19:1).
- (ii) Part—whole, e.g. *yománət yàrxá<sup>1</sup>* ‘the days of the week’ (A17:15), *kotálət ’ərxé<sup>1</sup>* ‘the channel of the water-mill’ (A22:45).
- (iii) Vessel—contents, e.g. *xá-kawázət mīya<sup>1</sup>* ‘a pot of water’ (A21:10), *ða-qánnat dəbbòre<sup>1</sup>* ‘a nest of hornets’ (A20:6).
- (iv) Item—affiliation, e.g. *’áğət Čāl<sup>1</sup>* ‘the lord of Čāl’ (A19:2), *málkət Məğrəb<sup>1</sup>* ‘the king of Morocco’ (A28:37), *’ánna náşət mətθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘these people of the village’ (A48:2), *brónət málka<sup>1</sup>* ‘the son of the king’ (A32:21).
- (v) Item—material, e.g. *xá-tásət dəwa<sup>1</sup>* ‘a goblet of gold’ (A15:11), *şışət prəzla<sup>1</sup>* ‘bars of iron’ (A19:4).
- (vi) Time—event, e.g. *dánət kawùθra<sup>1</sup>* ‘lunch-time’ (A22:22).
- (vii) Item—attribute, e.g. *xále díye t-ħaqqùθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘his real uncle’ (A23:28).

- (viii) Item—identification, e.g. *ʾáθrət Bārwar* ‘the land of Barwar’ (B4:1), *máθət ʾĒn-Nune* ‘the village of ʾĒn-Nune’ (B1:9).
- (ix) Evaluation—item, e.g. *qaṭòleʿ t-mušəlmàneʿ* ‘murderers of Muslims, murderous Muslims’ (B2:2)
- (x) Action—participant, e.g. *qyámtət màranʿ* ‘the resurrection of our Lord’ (B5:55), *xyáptət xətnaʿ* ‘the washing of the groom’ (B15:74).

The annexation particle is generally suffixed to the head noun. As described in §10.16., this is sometimes contracted, e.g. *ʾénə miya* ‘the spring of water’ (A11:17), *šōp-rəšux* ‘the place of your head’ (A24:51). On some occasions, on the other hand, the particle is prefixed to the dependent noun, e.g. *dómma t-təla* ‘the blood of a fox’ (A32:21). For the sake of the following discussion, the two constructions may be represented by the two variant phrases *kθawət qaša* and *kθawa t-qaša* ‘the book of the priest’.

Annexation is recursive, in that a series of more than two nouns may be connected together in annexation, e.g. *tárrət béθət xa-nəšaʿ* ‘the door of the house of a man’ (A15:7), *púmmət líntət nepuxtaʿ* ‘the mouth of the jar of syrup’ (A23:21). Such recursive constructions may exhibit a combination of both the *kθawət qaša* and the *kθawa t-qaša* constructions, e.g. *brátət málka t-Màgrəbʿ* ‘the daughter of the king of Morocco’ (A28:17).

The head of an annexation construction may consist of two or more nouns. These may be conjoined together with the particle *w*, in which case the annexation particle is attached to the last noun only, e.g. *bába-w yámmət yálaʿ* ‘the father and the mother of the boy’ (A15:9). An alternative construction that is attested is one in which the nouns are coordinated without the *w* conjunction and both take the *D* annexation particle, e.g. *ʾáqlət ʾidə d-áy-baxta* ‘the legs of, the hands of that woman’ (A10:10).

When an adjective or non-attributive modifier qualifies a definite head noun, this is placed after the head noun, before the dependent annexed noun, if it is non-contrastive, e.g.

- (1) *le-y-basámli ʾo-béθa zórət yəmmi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not like the small house of my mother.’

Examples from the text corpus: *ʾe-káwe díye zórtə šəpaʿ* ‘this small window of the stove’ (B15:25), *ʾúmra ʾatíqa t-Màr-Sawaʿ* ‘the ancient church of Saint Sawa’ (B3:19), *ʾúmra xáθət Mar-Sàwaʿ* ‘the new church of Saint Sawa’ (B3:23), *l-a-páθa xétət nərəʿ* ‘on the other side of the river’ (A14:50), *ṭlá šarbətáne xéne t-qəšəʿ* ‘three other wooden canes’ (A24:53).

If the adjective is restrictive and contrastive, two constructions are commonly used. The adjective may remain next to the head noun and take the nuclear stress. If, for example, my mother has two houses, one small and one big, I could say:

- (2) *le-y-basámli 'o-béθa zòrət yámmi,<sup>1</sup> bás basámli 'o-gòra<sup>1</sup>* ‘I do not like the *small* house of my mother, but I like the *big* one.’

Example from the text corpus: *m-d-ay-góta xètə šaqíθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘from the other side of the channel’ (A9:4).

Alternatively the contrastive attribute is placed after the dependent noun in a nominalized appositive phrase consisting of the adjective with a demonstrative head (*'o-zora* ‘the small one’, *'o-gora* ‘the big one’)

- (3) *le-y-basámli b'éθət yámmi 'o-zòra,<sup>1</sup> bás basámli b'éθa díya 'o-gòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I do not like the *small* house of my mother, but I like her *big* house.’

When the head noun is indefinite, the adjective is placed either after the head noun or after the dependent noun, according to the degree of prominence the speaker wishes to give the adjective, e.g.

- (4) *díya xzéli xa-bóya górat dábba.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I have just now seen a big hole of a bear.’  
 (5) *díya xzéli xa-bóyət dábba gòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I have just now seen a big hole of a bear.’

In (5) the adjective has greater prominence than in (4). This could be paraphrased by a non-restrictive relative clause in English: ‘a hole of a bear, which was big’. Additional prominence is given to the postposed adjective by putting it in a separate intonation group:

- (6) *díya xzéli xa-bóyət dábba<sup>1</sup> gòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I have just now seen a hole of a bear, which was big.’

The structural difference between the *kθawət qaša* construction and the *kθawa t-qaša* construction reflects different degrees of prosodic bonding between the nouns. The first noun in the *kθawa t-qaša* construction is prosodically more independent than the first noun in the *kθawət qaša* construction. This is reflected by the fact that an intonation group boundary would not normally fall immediately after a head noun in a *kθawət*



*qaša* construction, but this is possible in the case of one in a *kθawa t-qaša* construction, e.g. *rìxa' t-xa-kàllàs'* 'the scent of carrion' (C8:5), *tálləθ bnáθa xène' t-Bākürku'* 'three other girls, of Bākürku' (A26:24).

If the head noun has a possessive suffix, the annexation particle is obligatorily attached to the following dependent noun, e.g. *julléy t-yáwene* 'their clothes of doves' (A14:80), *sawáwáθən t-qámθa* 'our ancestors of former times' (B3:21), *kísti t-tútun* 'my bag of tobacco' (A11:9). The same applies to head nouns modified with a following quantifier, in that the annexation particle is not attached to the quantifier but to the dependent noun, e.g.

- (7) *mjámí náše kúlla t-màθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'All the people of the village gather together.' (B5:110)

The *kθawa t-qaša* construction is a 'heavier' form of coding than the more compact *kθawət qaša* construction. This heavy coding is sometimes used to give particular salience to a newly introduced referent that plays an important role in the discourse, e.g.

- (8) *'íθwa xa-málka t-Yàman.*<sup>1</sup> 'There was a king of Yemen.' (A14:36)  
 (9) *xazéla xá parizàda,*<sup>1</sup> *xá šapírta,*<sup>1</sup> *brátət málka t-Màgrəb.*<sup>1</sup> 'They saw a princess, a beautiful one, the daughter of the king of Morocco.' (A28:17)  
 (10) *'úmra 'atíqa t-Mār-Sawa,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa píšele bənyə qúrbə qam-šawwə-šmma xámšī tmany-əmmə-šənnə.*<sup>1</sup> 'The old church of Saint Sawa was built about seven hundred and fifty or eight hundred years ago.' (B3:19)

When these referents are mentioned subsequently in the discourse, they are typically present with the lighter coding of the *kθawət qaša* construction, e.g.

- (11) *'u-'áp-yaha bráta xéta t-íla brátət málkət Məgrəb'* *'áp-'ay qəm-šaqəlla Bəjəm,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-məθəla.*<sup>1</sup> 'The other girl, who was the daughter of the king of Morocco, Bəjəm took her also and brought her back.' (A28:37)

The heavy coding of the *kθawa t-qaša* construction may be used to give prominence to the clause as a whole. This is the case in (12), where the speaker gives added force to his assertion by uttering it in three separate intonation groups, the boundary of one of them falls between the components of the annexation construction:

- (12) *le-šàwqən<sup>1</sup> máttu bàsra<sup>1</sup> t-ʔázza ʔε-Núne gu-pùmmē.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall not let him put the meat of the nanny-goat Nune in his mouth.’ (C7:6)

In (13) the heavy coding of the *kθawa t-qaša* construction is used in a temporal expression to mark a clear episodic boundary in the narrative:

- (13) *wítela b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> dána t-dmàxa,<sup>1</sup> xílela m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> wítela dána t-dmàxa,<sup>1</sup> xamm̀ərθa,<sup>1</sup> xamm̀ərθa š̀nθa,<sup>1</sup> š̀qilt̀alla,<sup>1</sup> mutt̀éθalla rəs-šádrət xmáθa díya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘At night, the time of sleep, they ate something. At the time of sleep, she (Leliθa) took a bead, a bead of sleep, and put it on the chest of her mother-in-law.’ (A19:3)

The looser prosodic connection between the two components in the *kθawa t-qaša* construction is sometimes used as a device to give prominence to the dependent noun rather than to the phrase as a whole. This applies to cases where the speaker wishes to give prominence to a non-restrictive dependent noun that supplies new, supplementary information about a referent that has been previously introduced. In many cases the prominence is enhanced by presenting the dependent noun with the annexation particle in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (14) *t̀əll̀əθ bnáθa x̀ene<sup>1</sup> t-Bākürku<sup>1</sup>* ‘three other girls, (who were those) of Bākürku’ (A26:24)
- (15) *sab-š̀qíllux xa-xab̀úšta<sup>1</sup> m-gu-d-àwwa<sup>1</sup> m̀ana<sup>1</sup> t-málka-w mal̀kθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Since you took an apple from this plate, which belongs to the king and queen.’ (B15:71)
- (16) *qímela z̀ile x̀ázye ʔina d̀üs<sup>1</sup> xa-képa h̀atxa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ða-yàdde gáwe díye,<sup>1</sup> t-pr̀əzla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They went and saw that it was true, there was a stone like this, with a handle in it, which (was) of iron.’ (A14:13)

On some occasions the dependent noun is separated from the head noun by intervening material. In such cases the looser *kθawa t-qaša* construction is always used, e.g.

- (17) *ʔáwwa xa-niš̀anqele<sup>1</sup> t-ʔáθra d-è-ga.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This is a symbolic act of the country at that time.’ (B5:153)
- (18) *zmaryáθa basímewa t-ʔáθra tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The songs of the land there were beautiful.’ (B5:11)
- (19) *ʔina hurrás ʔíθwa t-málka t-ila mútte tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But there were guards of the king who were posted there.’ (A14:92)

- (20) *kúlla piše qalíbe hátxa t-gùpta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would all turn into cheese moulds.’ (B16:25)
- (21) *’ε-kosíθa múšlalla gu-’éne díye t-Čuxo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes.’ (A7:19)

Note that in (21) the definite noun *kosíθa* ‘hat’ has a demonstrative pronoun. This has the correlative function of binding the noun to the annexation particle *D* in the phrase *t-Čuxo*. It invites the hearer to seek the means of identifying the referent of the noun ‘hat’ in the surrounding discourse. Since it has not been mentioned previously, the source of identification is the subsequent genitive phrase.

When one or more nouns are presented as alternative dependent nouns on one head, the alternative nouns may be listed with the annexation without repeating the head, e.g.

- (22) *šáxtat haywàne,*<sup>1</sup> *t-tàwre,*<sup>1</sup> *koðanta,*<sup>1</sup> *t-’arwe*<sup>1</sup> ‘the muck of animals, of oxen, a mule, of sheep’ (B5:105)

The head noun of an annexation construction may be replaced by a pronoun in the form of a default demonstrative, e.g.

- (23) *’íθwa tré málke,*<sup>1</sup> *xonáwàθa.*<sup>1</sup> *xá gu-Bábal-wewa,*<sup>1</sup> *xá gu-Nínwe.*<sup>1</sup> *’o-t-Bábal muxánna mən-xóne díye gu-Nínwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were once two kings, brothers. One was in Babylon and one in Nineveh. The one in Babylon missed his brother in Nineveh.’ (A13:1)
- (24) *’o-t-Nínwe máre...* ‘The one (= the king) of Nineveh said...’ (A13:14)
- (25) *lá-méθat m-an-t-qanàne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Don’t bring those with horns.’ (A7:24)
- (26) *’ína mástət ’arwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-príštela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.’ (B5:173)

Occasionally a demonstrative from the speaker deixis series is used, e.g.

- (27) *’ánna-t ’arxe har-y-ođíwa nùra gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘People who had mills would always make a fire in the house.’ (A19:4)

The pronominalized annexation phrase may be used as a non-restrictive appositive to a preceding noun, e.g.

- (28) *xóne díye 'o-t-Nínwe<sup>1</sup> máre...* ‘His brother from Nineveh said...’  
(A13:3)
- (29) *márele xóne díye xá-ga xéta 'o-t-Bàbəl<sup>1</sup>* ‘His brother from Babylon once more says...’ (A13:7)
- (30) *y-odáxwa nahíra,<sup>1</sup> tàxin,<sup>1</sup> 'a-t-sîšme.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We used to make lamp oil, *tahini*, which is from sesame.’ (B10:82)

This construction is also used as a restrictive appositive when it is in contrastive opposition with another such appositive, e.g.

- (31) *béθa 'o-t-xáli gòrele<sup>1</sup> bas-béθa 'o-t-mámi zòrele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The house of my maternal uncle is big but the house of my paternal uncle is small.’
- (32) *yále 'an-t-xáli gòrele<sup>1</sup> bás-yále 'an-t-mámi zòrela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The children of my maternal uncle are big but the children of paternal uncle are small.’

The dependent component of an annexation construction may be used with the annexation particle alone, without a head noun, when it constitutes the predicate of a clause, e.g.

- (33) *mára 'an-'árwe d-ènila?<sup>2</sup> mára t-'Ájdən tēla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They said “Whose are those sheep?” They said “(They are the sheep) of Ajdən the fox.”’  
(A32:16)
- (34) *trè 'enáθa 'ílən.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya y-amráxwa t-šáttat tàxela<sup>1</sup> 'áyya t-réšat máθa díyən-íla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We have two springs. One we call the one of the lower district, the other the one of the upper district of our village.’ (B10:61)
- (35) *gáre y-awéwa yá'ni t-'úpura, tina.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A roof was of earth, mud.’  
(B5:145)
- (36) *léwət d-áwwa 'əθra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You are not of this country.’ (A25:82)
- (37) *dárdi léla d-àyya.<sup>1</sup> dárdi 'íla t-'á-t gu-panjāriye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My suffering is not from this (game). My suffering is from that woman who is at the window.’ (A26:66)
- (38) *záwna wíyēle t-šlāma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The time has become one of peace.’  
(A1:26)

The copula may be omitted, as in (39–41). In such constructions the disconnection of the dependent component from the preceding noun that is expressed by the position of the annexation particle is used as a signal of predicative relationship, e.g.

- (39) *búrra t-xmìra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The *burra* pot is for yeast.’ (B10:76)  
 (40) *qariyátha y-áwi hàtxa*.<sup>1</sup> *’anna t-mìya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Gourds are like this. They are for water.’ (B10:75)  
 (41) *sátwa tàlga*<sup>1</sup> *màrkən*<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa t-dùša*,<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa t-màšxa*,<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa t-jàjak*,<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa t-gùpta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘In the winter (we had containers known as a) *markən*, one was for honey, one was for butter, one was for *jajək*, one was for cheese.’ (B8:11)

When a nominal expressing a quantified measurement is combined with a nominal denoting what is quantified, the two are juxtaposed in an appositional relationship without being linked with an annexation particle, e.g. *xá-reša tùma*<sup>1</sup> ‘a head of garlic’ (B10:19), *xá-tena qésa* ‘one load of wood’ (A14:9), *xa-kílo dāwe* ‘a kilo of gold pieces’ (A14:94), *xa-záwga ’ène* ‘a pair of eyes’ (D2:62); *xá-qapla qése*<sup>1</sup> ‘a bundle of wood’ (A30:6), *’arbi dráye pàrča*<sup>1</sup> ‘forty yards of material’ (A28:10). Note also the expression *xa-darya* ‘a deal of, many’, e.g. *xa-darya nāše* ‘many people’ (B5:135). This corresponds to the syntax of quantifiers and cardinal numerals, which likewise are not connected to the noun by an annexation particle (*raba qesa* ‘much wood’, *xa-qesa* ‘one piece of wood’). The contrast between the use of annexation in *xa-káwtət ’arwe*<sup>1</sup> ‘a flock of sheep’ (A32:14) and the lack of it in *xa-bárra ’arwe bāθre*<sup>1</sup> ‘with a horde of sheep behind him’ (A7:21) reflects the fact that in the latter the first noun has the function of a quantifying modifier whereas in the former it is the head of the nominal phrase. The two elements of the phrase in such quantifying constructions may be split by intervening material, e.g. *xá-tena wéwa dáwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘It was one load of gold’ (A7:11).

In some cases apposition rather than annexation is used also in phrases expressing containers and their contents, e.g. *xa-qadálta dāwe*<sup>1</sup> ‘a pot of gold’ (A10:7), *jarréta lāxma zedāye*<sup>1</sup> ‘a bag of pitta breads’ (A30:5), *xa-marāgla gōra*<sup>1</sup> *xàlya*<sup>1</sup> ‘a big pan of milk’ (A28:10).

## 14.5. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

### 14.5.1. *Distribution of Short and Long Forms of Suffixes*

Some of the pronominal suffixes on nouns and prepositions exist in variant forms, which differ in phonetic length. This applies to the 1pl. suffix and 3pl. suffixes, which exist in short and long forms:

	Short form	Long form
1pl.	-ən	-əni
3pl.	-a, -e	-aḅ, -eḅ, -eḃ

The long form of the 1pl. suffix is not prosodically conditioned since it occurs both in pause at the end of an intonation group and also within the body of an intonation group. The motivation is rather semantic. The heavier morphology of the suffix is used as a device for endowing it with a degree of prominence to express a 1pl. reference that is exclusive of the hearer, i.e. ‘ours but not yours’. The prominence is, therefore, contrastive in nature. This contrast is seen clearly in examples such as (1) and (2), in which the head noun is presented in opposition to another noun with a 2nd person suffix:

- (1) *ʔáxni šabθèni<sup>1</sup> šawwà yomána<sup>1</sup> ʔu-yarxéni tlaθi yómele.<sup>1</sup>... ʔáxtu šabθéxu ʔila ʔštā-yome<sup>1</sup> ʔu-yarxéxu ʔile ʔasri-w-ʔáççà-yome.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Our week is seven days and our month is thirty days... Your week is six days and your month is twenty-nine days.’ (A17:14)
- (2) *y-amríwa ʔáxni bəyax<sup>1</sup> talbáxxa bratéxu qa-d-ó bronèni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We want to ask (for the hand of) your daughter for our son.’ (B5:1)

Elsewhere the exclusive long -*eni* suffix is typically used by speakers when they refer to aspects of the life and customs of their community to hearers who do not belong to this community, e.g.

- (3) *ʔu-y-azíwa<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa,<sup>1</sup> mən-kùl béθa<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa rəzza,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa qàlya,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa ləxma,<sup>1</sup> mən-kùlla béθə maθéni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then they went and took from every house rice, they took meat fat, they took bread, from every house in our village.’ (B7:1)
- (4) *hal-ʔaşrta ʔáw háwe šulèni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Until evening this is our job.’ (B6:11)
- (5) *ʔáxni beθèni<sup>1</sup> har-ḥina-wəwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Our houses were only made of mud.’ (B10:57)
- (6) *qaplèni mattáxwa l-gáre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We put our bundles (armfuls of bedding) on the roof.’ (B10:60)
- (7) *dukáne liθən rába dásta qamèni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There are not many places with open fields that are available for us (in Barwar).’ (B11:31)

When the 1pl. reference is inclusive of the hearer, the short form is used, e.g.

- (8) *ʔay-xá-yoma har-t-γǎða<sup>1</sup> t-íle míθa brònən.* '... *péša ʔáy ʔàxxa,<sup>1</sup> b-šópət brònən.* 'She will surely know one day that our son is dead. ... Let her stay here in the place of our son.' (A4:39)
- (9) *lá xazǎxle brònən.* 'We shall not see our son.' (A25:11)
- (10) *maqðǎxle béθən.* 'Let's burn our house.' (A26:51)
- (11) *qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwən.* 'Get up and go to these neighbours of ours.' (A5:1)

The short form is, however, also used in contexts where the reference of the 1pl. suffix is exclusive, e.g.

- (12) *ʔaxni léle šùlən.* *har-sa-xúpla ʔáti b-gânəx!* 'It is not our job. Go and wash her yourself!' (A27:25)
- (13) *máxyəxəlla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma m-báθre diyə.* 'We have covered all our village with blue and black after he left.' (A4:32)

The short form should, therefore, be regarded as the unmarked form that can be used for both exclusive and inclusive reference, whereas the long form is the marked form, which expresses only exclusive reference.

The long form of the 3pl. suffix, which consists of a diphthong, is the most frequently used form of the suffix. It is found in all prosodic positions, e.g.

- (14) *ʔu-šwiqála mđíta-w dǎrya ta-ʔaθrəy.* 'They left the town and returned to their land.' (A4:27)
- (15) *tá-t šaqłíle nəšməy* 'so that they could take away their soul' (A4:59)
- (16) *bálki ʔadətəy hətxəla.* 'Perhaps their custom is that.' (A4:36)
- (17) *bratəy gwirtəla.* 'Their daughter is married.' (A30:29)

The occasional retraction of the stress from the long form of the suffix to the penultimate syllable appears, however, to be prosodically motivated since it tends to occur within the interior of intonation groups and not at their boundary, e.g.

- (18) *ʔap-xmərey šqiləlla<sup>1</sup> dawérey tridəlla.* 'They also took their asses and drove away their mules.' (A7:15)

The use of the short form of the 3pl. pronominal suffix, in which the diphthong is contracted to the monophthong *-ε* or *-a*, is pragmatically motivated. It tends to be restricted to contexts where the suffix is predictable and has low information value, especially when it is coreferential with the subject of the clause. This is no doubt due to the fact that in these contexts the suffix is less likely to be confused with the basic nominal inflectional ending *-a*, e.g.

- (19) *prímalla sosiyáθa*,<sup>1</sup> *dáryalla réše díye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They had cut their locks and laid them on him.’ (A31:10)  
 (20) *xákma teníwa xàsa*<sup>1</sup> *masqíwale bàdra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Some carried it on their back and brought it up to the threshing floor.’ (B5:81)  
 (21) *xayúθa qəm-mšaxəlpíla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They changed their livelihood.’ (B5:75)  
 (22) <sup>2</sup>*u-xákma mxulšàla gána*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Some saved themselves.’ (B6:18)

The contracted form of the suffix is frequently used also on numerals, where no confusion with the nominal inflectional ending is possible, e.g. *tərwəθna* ‘the two of them’ (A25:2), *trəθna* ‘the two of them’ (A25:6), *tláθna* ‘the three of them’ (A24:3), *šáwəwaθna* ‘the seven of them’ (A23:15). Occurrences of the long form on numerals are also found, e.g. *tráθney* ‘the two of them’ (A26:89), *tláθnèy* ‘the three of them’ (A28:37).

#### 14.5.2. Suffixes on the Independent Genitive Particle

The pronominal suffixes of a noun may be suffixed directly to it or by the mediation of the independent genitive particle *díy-*. The genitive particle is placed after the noun in an annexation relationship, the initial *d-* being in origin the annexation particle:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>béθa díye ~ bεθe díye</i>	‘his house’
	fs.	<i>béθa díya</i>	‘her house’
	pl.	<i>béθa díyéy</i>	‘their house’
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>béθa díyux</i>	‘your (ms.) house’
	fs.	<i>béθa díyax</i>	‘your (fs.) house’
	pl.	<i>béθa díyéxu</i>	‘your (pl.) house’
1st pers.	s.	<i>béθa díyi</i>	‘my house’
	pl.	<i>béθa díyən ~ bεθa diyéni</i>	‘our house’



Note that when the 3ms. form of the genitive particle is combined with a noun, the 3ms. suffix (-e) may optionally be attached also to the noun, which, in fact, is the more frequent construction.

The annexation between the head noun and the particle may undergo various degrees of contraction. The final inflectional vowel of the noun is sometimes reduced to the central vowel /ə/, e.g. *ʔarúθə dīye* ‘his lands’ (B5:73), *m-zorúθə dīyən* ‘from our childhood’ (B3:10), *taxrúnyə dīyən* ‘(according to) our memory’ (B3:10). On several occasions the inflectional ending of the head noun is completely elided, e.g. *brōn-dīye* ‘his son’ (A14:36), *brōn-dīya* ‘her son’ (A14:5), *bēθ-dīye* ‘his house’ (B5:18), *šūl dīya* ‘its job’ (B5:90), *ʔáθər dīyən* ‘our country’ (A14:91), *nās-dīyən* ‘our people’ (B15:9), *taqān-dīye* ‘its branches’ (B5:206), *xəzmān-dīye* ‘his relatives’ (B5:60).

The distribution of the independent genitive particle and the motivation for its use differs according to the suffix. When the pronominal suffix is 3ms. or 3fs., the genitive particle construction is the norm. This is no doubt a device to disambiguate the pronominal suffixes -e (3ms.) and -a (3fs.) from the simple nominal inflectional endings. Examples: *qále dīye* ‘his voice’ (A25:43), *kosíθa dīya* ‘her hat’ (A25:83), *júlle dīye* ‘his clothes’ (A25:33). When two nouns are conjoined in a tightly-knit phrase, one genitive particle may serve for the phrase as a whole, e.g. *bábe yámme dīye* ‘his mother and father’ (A25:11).

The genitive particle is occasionally omitted after 3ms. and 3fs. suffixes. This occurs in principle where the interpretation of the suffix is highly predictable from the context and it has low information value. A typical context for this omission is where the suffixes are attached to words referring to body parts or implements and they refer unambiguously to the subject of the clause or a topical referent in the discourse, e.g.

- (1) *máxyalla ʔide hátxa gu-nartómə sūsa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He put his hand like this on the snout of the horse.’ (A12:65)
- (2) *ʔawəð ʔide xo-d-ò képa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He put his hand under the stone.’ (A12:30)
- (3) *šléla dámme rəš-pàθe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Blood flowed down onto his face.’ (A24:40)
- (4) *ʔawwa náša lóbbe pǫile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This man—his heard burst.’ (A31:2)
- (5) *ʔéne pθixtela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His eye is open.’ (A31:6)
- (6) *šqúltalla kosíθa dīya hátxa m-rəša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She took off her hat from her head.’ (A25:82)
- (7) *ʔawwa máxyele sépe l-qđálə d-o-súsa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He drove his sword into the neck of the horse.’ (A12:61)
- (8) *ʔo-yála zóra žàre<sup>1</sup> šqíla ʔaw-nàre mánne dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The poor young boy took that axe of his with him.’ (A14:12)

When the reference of the suffix on a direct object is different from that of the subject, there is a greater tendency for the ‘heavier’ construction with the genitive particle to be used, e.g.

- (9) *ʔina ʔarya ʔðe díye qam-axəlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The lion ate his hand.’ (A11:1)

The particle is sometimes omitted before other types of inanimate inalienable possessions, e.g.

- (10) *de-qíma mtúnyalla qəşşátte kúlla ʔla-d-o-sàwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He told all his story to the old man.’ (A14:76)  
 (11) *mtagbárwala gʔān-díye xayùθe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He would support his life himself.’ (B5:74)

Animate inalienable possessions such as family relations in general take the genitive particle, e.g. *bábe díye* ‘his father’ (A32:31), *yámme díye* ‘his mother’ (A14:5), *xóne díye* ‘his brother’ (A25:1), *xále díye* ‘his uncle’ (A25:45), *bába díya* ‘her father’ (A14:1), *bróna díya* ‘her son’ (A14:4).

The genitive particle is sometimes omitted after a 3rd person singular suffix when the nominal phrase as a whole has reduced information value due to its status in the discourse. This is exemplified in (12). Here ‘his dream’ in the initial announcement ‘Anybody who knows... what he saw in his dream...’ has the genitive particle (*xəlme díye*), but later in the discourse, where this announcement is repeated and does not convey new information, the narrator uses the ‘lighter’ form without the particle to express the same (*xəlme*):

- (12) *ʔáwwa málka xzéle xa-xəlma.*<sup>1</sup> ... *kút yǎðe... mòdile xəzya b-xəlme díye*<sup>1</sup> *b-yawəlle ʔmma dáwe.*<sup>1</sup> ... *ʔo-xúwwe mərə*<sup>1</sup> *hà-naša*<sup>1</sup> *lèkət zála?*<sup>1</sup> *mərə b-álaha hon-zála kəs-málka.*<sup>1</sup> *málka hóle xəzya xa-xəlma.*<sup>1</sup> *màra*<sup>1</sup> *kút-yǎðe mòdile xəzya b-xəlme* *w-amərre*<sup>1</sup> *bəd-šəqəl ʔálpa dáwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This king had a dream.... Anybody who knows... what he saw in his dream, he will give him a hundred gold coins.... The snake said “Hey, man, where are you going?” He said “By God, I am going to the king. The king has had a dream and says that anybody who knows what he saw in his dream and tells him will have a thousand gold pieces.”’ (A1:2–5)

Conversely, when a noun with a suffix is repeated in a clause that expresses climax (13) or one that reiterates a fact to express its importance (14–15),

the genitive particle sometimes occurs in the second, more prominent, clause but not in the first:

- (13) *qam-maxéla 'áqla biš-xelàna, ' qam-parèla 'áqla diya.* 'He struck her leg harder and burst her leg.' (A33:12)
- (14) 'ó Kārīm, ' bābe mittle. ' bābe diye mittle. 'Now, the father of Karim died. His father died.' (A14:4)
- (15) *dwíqalle, nšiqalle, múttalle šope. ' múttalle šope diye.* 'He held him, kissed him and put him in his place. He put him in his place.' (A25:51)

The genitive particle with pronouns other than the 3ms. and 3fs. have a different distribution.

The particle is often used when the head noun is an unadapted loanword, e.g. *bálam diyéy* 'their boat' (A14:39), *hàðð diyí* 'my luck' (A1:4), *quwāt-diyān* 'our forces' (A14:53), *qàššət diyux* 'your story' (A14:33). They are also generally used after a proper name, e.g. *Fárxo diyēxu* 'your Farxo' (A25:21), *be-Hédo diyèni* 'our family of Hèdo' (B8:1).

On common nouns with nominal inflectional endings, however, the suffixes of the 1st and 2nd person and 3pl. tend to be attached directly without the mediation of the genitive particle. Some cases are, nevertheless, found where the genitive particle is used with these suffixes. This mostly occurs when the speaker wishes to give some kind of prominence to the suffix. In this group of suffixes it is the 1pl. suffix that is expressed by the genitive particle with the greatest frequency. In most cases where the particle is used for the 1pl. suffix, the speaker is referring to a referent that belongs to his community but not to that of the hearer, i.e. the 1pl. suffix is 'exclusive'. The exclusive interpretation arises from the prominence that the heavy coding of the construction gives to the suffix, which is contrastive in nature ('ours not yours'). This can be compared to the exclusive 1pl. function of the long suffix *-eni* described above (§14.5.1.). The construction with the genitive particle is frequently used with the nouns denoting the location of the speaker's community, such as *maθa* 'village' and *'aθra* 'country', its people, institutions or aspects of its life, e.g.

- (16) *'iθwalən šawwá 'abòne ' gu-máθa diyān.* 'We had seven bishops in our village.' (B2:6)
- (17) *klá klá làxxa! ' áwwa 'áθər diyān-ile.* 'Stop, stop here! This is our land.' (A14:91)

- (18) *'u-gnávalla 'rwe' 'u-mupídalla b-hūdūd' yá'ni 'áθra d-áy-gotat diyèni.*<sup>1</sup> 'They stole the small cattle and took them over the border, that is (the border of) the country on our side.' (B5:161)
- (19) *har-madre-táma xzélèn nās-diyàn.*<sup>1</sup> 'Again we saw our relatives.' (B15:9)
- (20) *'áxni 'ax-t-ix bányalle 'úmra diyàn gu-'Èn-Nùne.*<sup>1</sup> 'When we built our church in 'Èn-Nune...' (B6:31)
- (21) *'áti díya píslux máلكa diyàn,*<sup>1</sup> *máلكat maymùne.*<sup>1</sup> 'You have now become our king, the king of the monkeys.' (A14:45)
- (22) *sab-áxni xluláne diyàn*<sup>1</sup> *hammáše y-odáxwala' čeriyāváθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'because we always used to hold our weddings in Autumn.' (B5:18)
- (23) *'u-rába psíttewa xayúθa diyàn gu-mathwáθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Our life in the villages was very simple.' (B15:12)

In some cases the genitive particle has the long form of the 1pl. suffix, e.g.

- (24) *'ánnela 'edáváθa diyéni.*<sup>1</sup> 'These are our festivals.' (B6:16)
- (25) *násē diyèni' 'i-šemi tlá yománe.*<sup>1</sup> 'Our people fast for three days.' (B6:21)

The 1pl. suffix is given additional prominence in (26) by expressing it as an independent phrase with a demonstrative head (*'o-diyàn* 'our one') and placing this in apposition to the noun:

- (26) *máx gášrā Žáwa d-o-diyàn*<sup>1</sup> 'like the bridge over our Zab' (A30:51)

The genitive particle with a 1s. suffix is rarely attested in the text corpus. In (27) it is clearly a contrastive focus:

- (27) *'u-qále díye rába basimewa.*<sup>1</sup> *mút qála diyí?*<sup>2</sup> 'His voice is very beautiful. What is my voice (in comparison)?' (A25:43–44)

In some cases the speaker appears to be giving prominence to the intrinsically exclusive nature of the 1s. reference, e.g.

- (28) *báyàn xáðràn gu-'úpra díyi xazàne.*<sup>1</sup> 'I (the king) want to go around my own land to see it.' (A14:47)
- (29) *mumèθewan,*<sup>1</sup> *kómət 'úrət dúnye 'áθa báθri le-y-azàna' tla-hič-'urza.*<sup>1</sup> *bas-'án 'áθya xá-baxta nabláli qa-kut-t-báyā,*<sup>1</sup> *yàn-qa-xóna díya,*<sup>1</sup> *'ána bt-azàna.*<sup>1</sup>

*móra* <sup>2</sup>*àwwele qawla-díyi.*<sup>1</sup> “‘I have taken an oath that however many men in the world may come after me I shall not go to any man. But, if a woman comes to take me to anyone she wants, or to her brother, I shall go.’” She said “‘This is my word (i.e. which I made to myself, not to anybody else).’” (A8:78–79)

Likewise 2nd person suffixes are rarely expressed by the genitive particle. The cases that are attested in the text corpus can be interpreted as having the purpose of giving the suffix some kind of prominence. In (30)–(32) the exclusivity of the 2nd person reference is given distinctness. In (30) and (31) this is the exclusivity of a family or community. In (32) it connotes the sense of uniqueness to the head noun:

- (30) *xəzmáyúθa* <sup>2</sup>*íla manáy* <sup>2</sup>*ən-xá náša díyux*<sup>1</sup> *yan-xá bráta díyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maða,*<sup>1</sup> *píše xəzme.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ən-ʔáti*<sup>1</sup> *máθálan xa-xəzmux*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ən xa-nāš-díyux*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ən xa-gwíra m-ðá-maða xéta* <sup>2</sup>*ʔθye kəslux,*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ánna y-amríla xəzme yáʕni.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘The meaning of family relationship is (as follows). If you have given somebody of your family or a daughter of yours to a certain village (in marriage), (the two families) become relatives. If a relative of yours, a person of your family or somebody married (into your family) comes to you, they call these people family relatives.’ (B5:232)
- (31) *ku-brónət bəŕ-naša* <sup>2</sup>*áθe l-d-áy jəzúra qamàye,*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áwwa t-áwe málka díyèxu.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Whichever human being comes to the island first, he will be your king.’ (A14:46)
- (32) *liθ bəŕ-náša hátxa b-aw-pəʂla díyux.*<sup>1</sup> *m-hàdəx qəm-yəðənnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is nobody with that figure of yours (i.e. it is unique to you). That is how I knew you.’ (A8:41)

In (33) the prominence gives added force to the assertion of a pragmatic relation that is contrary to expectation:

- (33) <sup>2</sup>*áwwa rəʂí*<sup>1</sup> *t-áθe xá-yoma pràma*<sup>1</sup> *bəd-ʔíθáθa díyux.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áti parmátte rəʂí.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This head of mine will one day be cut off by your own hands. *You* will cut off my head.’ (A14: 35)

The genitive particle may be used independently of a head noun. If it functions as an ascriptive predicate that assigns a property to the subject of the clause, it requires no pronominal head, e.g.

- (34) *ʔanna ʔápa-w xamšá-mma diyuxila*<sup>1</sup> *ʔanna ʔápa-w xamšá-mma diyila*.<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘These one thousand five-hundred are yours and these one thousand five-hundred are mine.’ (A1:20)
- (35) *ʔáp ʔanna-jülle t-ilà-llux*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔýya xmárta diyila*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Also the clothes that are on you and this donkey are mine.’ (A6:12)
- (36) *ʔáwwa béθa diyaxile bráti*?<sup>1</sup> ‘Is this house yours, my daughter?’ (A40:13)
- (37) *baxyóna léle diyux*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Crying is not for you.’ (A38:7)

In other contexts the genitive particle without a head noun requires a pronominal head in the form of a demonstrative pronoun. This pronoun is anaphoric and functions like the anaphoric pronoun at the head of a relative clause (see §14.3.2.), in that it binds the reference to the description in the following modifier phrase, e.g.

- (38) *ʔan-diyən tíwla tàma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Those (people) of ours settled there.’ (B8:5)
- (39) *ʔanna diyən*<sup>1</sup> *wídla tàgbir*.<sup>1</sup> ‘These (people) of ours made a plan.’ (B19:5)
- (40) *rába xá-mdi prišela júllux gu-d-ánna diyéni*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Your clothes are something special compared to ours.’ (A35:10)
- (41) *b-àlaha*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána har-ʔa-diyi zála xišta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘By God, that (fate) of mine has gone (= I’m doomed).’ (A14:29)

We should include in this section the idiomatic phrases relating to family relations exemplified in (42)–(44):

- (42) *bábe díye ʔu-d-áni ʔθyela*.<sup>1</sup> ‘His father and his father’s family came.’ (A4:55)
- (43) *txírre béθət bábe ʔu-d-áni*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He remembered the house of his father and his family.’ (A14:87)
- (44) *ʔé-ga b-léle tíwax kəs-xáli d-àni*.<sup>1</sup> ‘That night we sat with my uncle and his family.’ (B15:57)

Since the phrase *ʔu-d-áni* in this construction does not have a pronominal head, it must be construed as a modifier of the head noun *bábe* (*díye*) ‘his father’, co-ordinated with the suffix modifier of the noun ‘his’, rather than a head coordinated with the head ‘his father’. The meaning, therefore, is ‘the father of him and of them’, i.e. his father and the family of his father. The head noun may take other suffixes, e.g. *babi ʔu-d-áni* ‘my father and my father’s family’.

## 14.6. REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

When a pronoun is reflexive, i.e. it is coreferential with the subject of the clause, it is generally expressed by attaching a pronominal suffix to the noun *gana*. This is a noun of Kurdish origin meaning ‘soul, life, body’. It still retains its original meaning in some contexts, e.g.

- (1) *ʔm-lá-ʔawðət b-xábra dīyi<sup>1</sup> gánux šaqłanna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life.’ (A15:20)
- (2) *y-aθéwa m-bár hàdax<sup>1</sup> xámša ʔəštà ganáθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Afterwards, five or six people would come.’ (B5:77)
- (3) *ʔina xa-senīye<sup>1</sup> dáwa xaše-dīye xá-xuwwe zòra,<sup>1</sup> réšət nàša<sup>1</sup> ʔu-gánət xùwwe<sup>1</sup>* ‘He saw a gold tray on which there was a small snake with the head of a man and the body of a snake.’ (A14:31)

It is used as a respectful address, e.g.

- (4) *ha-gàni,<sup>1</sup> lèkət zála?<sup>1</sup>* ‘Hey, my dear, where are you going?’ (A15:6)
- (5) *háyyo ya-gàni t-amrànnux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Come, my dear, let me tell you something.’ (A22:36)

It is used with the function of a reflexive pronoun in the following contexts:

## (i) Direct object

- (6) *zdíθalla gána dīya<sup>1</sup> kəsle-dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She threw herself down beside him.’ (A37:18)
- (7) *ʔáp-ʔaw qəm-qatálle gān-dīye,<sup>1</sup> zadéle gān-dīye tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He also killed himself and threw himself there.’ (A38:15)
- (8) *mtugbəràli gáni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I have looked after myself.’ (A1:11)
- (9) *mrazgət gánux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Prepare yourself.’ (A6:4)
- (10) *gáwri θéle mʔáši gánux!<sup>1</sup>* ‘My husband has come, hide yourself!’ (A22:29)
- (11) *xúš šqúl gánux<sup>1</sup> si-l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Go, take yourself off, go home.’ (A23:39)

## (ii) Complement of a preposition

- (12) *wídla ʔixála ʔáy b-gàna<sup>1</sup> ʔu-b-pəlxána b-gána zála-w θáya gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She made the food by herself and did the chores by herself, going to and fro in the house and she ran the house.’ (A21:40)
- (13) *ʔáwwa ʔərbi<sup>1</sup> m-gáne díye θéle ríqle l-túra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord.’ (A10:3)
- (14) *bašláxla b-gànan.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s cook them by ourselves.’ (A2:2)
- (15) *ma-lat-ðáya b-gánax qàrθəla.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Don’t you know yourself that it is cold?’ (A20:1)
- (16) *ʔay-gu-gána mtuxmànná.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She thought to herself.’ (A21:19)
- (17) *la qémán jàlde<sup>1</sup> ta-t-ódən pəlxána<sup>1</sup> tla-gáni<sup>1</sup> ta-t-àxlən.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Should I not get up early to work for myself, so that I can eat?’ (A21:19)
- (18) *m-kəs-gáne qəm-mdabərri<sup>1</sup> mxalóse xàye díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He made this up by himself (literally: from himself) to save his life.’ (A39:6)

## (iii) Complement of a noun in annexation

- (19) *maxbánət gáne-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He was a lover of himself (= selfish).’ (A3:1)
- (20) *ʔe-dána t-ila ríše,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa gu-šwíθət gáne<sup>1</sup>...* ‘When they woke up, each one in his own bed...’ (A4:5)
- (21) *šqille dābānjə gáne díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He took his pistol.’ (A27:2)

When the pronominal suffix is 1pl., the effect of using the reflexive pronoun is to express exclusivity (‘ours not yours’):

- (22) *gu-ʔáθrət gʻànən<sup>1</sup> rəbəxwa xəðye p.šixe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In our own land we were very happy and cheerful.’ (B16:6)
- (23) *ʔiθwalən ʔurxáθət gʻànən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We used to have our own (customary) ways.’ (B5:1)

## (iv) Apposition

- (24) *ʔiθi gáni šéra hon-widəlle<sup>1</sup>* ‘I have myself a poem that I composed.’ (B1:14)

In some of these syntactic positions a reflexive pronoun that is coreferential with the subject may also be expressed by a pronominal suffix or demonstrative pronoun. This applies to reflexive pronouns that express the beneficiary of the action, which may be expressed by L-suffixes or prepositional phrases without *gan-*, e.g.



- (25) *qémən šaqlónni xákma m̀ndi m̀nni b-ʔiði.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall get up and take for myself a few things, with me in my hand.’ (A23:5)
- (26) *bǎyánni ʔ́mma bnàθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want for myself a hundred girls.’ (A25:74)
- (27) *si-bn̄lux dúkθat tré-gəldat t̀wre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go and build for yourself in a place (the size of) two ox skins.’ (A11:11)
- (28) *dwíqle ʔ́skar ʔ́lle díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He recruited an army for himself.’ (A11:15)
- (29) *y-áθe mزابانوا tla-d-àw-u yámme díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then he would come back and sell them for himself and his mother.’ (A14:10)
- (30) *tla-d-áy dráyela xàčča tla-d-áw r̀ba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot.’ (A17:25)

Also reflexive possessive pronouns are frequently expressed by pronominal suffixes, e.g.

- (31) *ʔay-lwíštəlla júlla díya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She put on her clothes.’ (A14:91)
- (32) *máxyalla ʔ́de hátxa gu-narjómə s̀sa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He put his hand like this on the snout of the horse.’ (A12:65)

An L-suffix expressing a direct object is used with a reflexive sense when the preceding clause has a *gan-* phrase in direct object position, e.g.

- (33) *xá-paṛa ʔawádla gáne ʔax-qàšta, maxéla bēn-Səttiye l-Fàrxo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘One lamb made itself like a bow and pushed itself between Səttiye and Fàrxo’ (A25:29)

The phrase *b-gan-* + suffix ‘by oneself’ denotes the agency of an action. If the sense of ‘by oneself’ is locative isolation rather than agency, the particle of isolation *xoð-* is used. This is optionally preceded by the prepositions *l-* or *b-*, e.g.

- (34) *líθ ʔáp-xa gu-b-èθa.ʔ m̀ra l̀ har-ʔána, xoðiwən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “There is nobody in the house?” She said “No, only me. I am alone.” (A22:32)
- (35) *p̄šela har-ʔáni-tre l-xoðéy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Only those two remained by themselves.’ (A20:9)
- (36) *xá-naša l-xóðe litle la-bába la-yámme la-ʔáp-xa, ʔ́w y-amrile litle náše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody, they say that he has no relatives.’ (A17:17)

- (37) *'šrwe b-xòðe,*<sup>1</sup> *'ina tawráða 'u-táwre 'áni kút-xa b-xòðe.*<sup>1</sup> 'Sheep were by themselves, cows and oxen, they were all by themselves.'  
(B10:55)

Occasionally the pronoun of isolation is combined with the cardinal numeral *xa*, e.g.

- (38) *'áw xa-l-xòðe díye tāmaha.*<sup>1</sup> 'He is all alone there.' (A27:5)

The reciprocal pronoun *ğðàðe* is used in the following syntactic contexts:

(i) Direct object

- (39) *bróni 'u-brátux xázyela ġðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> 'My son and your daughter saw each other.' (A4:26)  
(40) *muxábla ġðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> 'They loved (i.e. fell in love with) each other.'  
(A4:4)  
(41) *'u-'áθyela xpíqe ġðàðe, nšáqa ġðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> 'They came and hugged each other, kissing each other.' (A4:55)

(ii) Complement of a preposition

- (42) *mšawθítu m-ğðàðe, ta-t-ťúra ja-jálde pàraq.*<sup>1</sup> 'You should speak with one another, so that the mountain would finish quickly.' (A17:19)  
(43) *'u-xállan kúllan m-ğðàðe*<sup>1</sup> 'and we all ate together' (A21:39)  
(44) *xáyi m-ğðàðe! t-láθi šanne-u' méθi m-ğðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> 'They will live together thirty years and die together.' (A4:46)  
(45) *xá-bena 'an-tre-maláxe t-wéwa 'áθye biya, t-wéwa mutšpqalla b-ğðàðe, t-éla pyáða táma támara.*<sup>1</sup> 'Then, those two angels who had brought her, who had caused them to meet each other, came passing by.'  
(A4:44)  
(46) *'u-'úllan' 'áštá-maθwaθa qúrba l-ğðàðela.*<sup>1</sup> 'We have six villages that are near to one another.' (B1:3)  
(47) *písla nepúxta 'u-práge gu-ğðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> 'The syrup and the millet seed were mixed together.' (A23:21)  
(48) *šiqən' mjāmòyalla qése, dráya rəs-ğðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> 'I went up and collected the wood and piled them up.' (A23:34)

Another means of expressing the reciprocity of an action is to use constructions expressing the two individual participants with the forms *xa/ða... xena/xeta* 'one... the other', e.g.

- (49) *tára ãmtela baréy.<sup>1</sup> xùyéle.<sup>1</sup> xa-mxàyéle l-o-xéna.<sup>1</sup> xa-mxàyéle l-o-xéna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She had closed the door after them and it was dark. One was beating the other, one was beating the other.’ (A22:35)
- (50) *ʔu-ʔówa ʔawáltat berràne,<sup>1</sup> xa-ráqa báθar d-ò-xena.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was the game of “groups”, (in which) one person runs after the other.’ (B7:6)
- (51) *dawqúwa bnáθa b-ʔíðat gðáðe hátxa,<sup>1</sup> yáʔni ràbe doqúwa,<sup>1</sup> ða-dwíqta ʔíða d-a-xéta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The girls held each other’s hand like this. Many held (hands), one holding the hand of the other.’ (B12:1)
- (52) *y-amráxxe mxáya béʔe.<sup>1</sup> yáʔni šmáta béʔe xa-d-o-xéna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We call this “striking eggs”, that is breaking the eggs of one another (literally: breaking eggs, one (breaking that) of the other).’ (B5:58)
- (53) *xa-maryóse ʔo-xréna mýya.<sup>1</sup> maryástat míya xa-l-d-o-xréna mòdila.<sup>21</sup>* ‘All the people go out and scatter water on each other. What is (the significance of) scattering water over each other?’ (B6:10)
- (54) *ʔáni píšela màra<sup>1</sup> ða-ʔla-ða-xéta<sup>1</sup>* ‘They started saying to one another . . .’ (A12:60)

#### 14.7. ADJECTIVES AND APPOSITIVES

Adjectives that modify a noun are generally placed after it. The attributive function of adjectives is reflected not only by their syntactic function of a modifier of a head noun but also by their inflection, in that attributive adjectives, unlike referential nouns, do not normally express gender differences in their plural form, e.g.

<i>ʔurza sníqa</i>	‘a needy man’
<i>baxta sníqta</i>	‘a needy woman’
<i>ʔurze sníqe</i>	‘needy men’
<i>baxtaθa sníqe</i>	‘needy women’

Most adjectives, furthermore, are not used referentially in the same way as nouns. The head noun can be omitted, but an adjective without a head noun must normally take a pronominal head in the form of an indefinite pronoun, when it is referentially indefinite, and in the form of demonstrative pronoun when anaphorically definite, e.g.

<i>xa-sníqa</i>	‘a needy one (ms.)’
<i>ʔo-sníqa</i>	‘the needy one (ms.)’
<i>ða-sníqta</i>	‘a needy one (fs.)’

<i>ʔe-sniqta</i>	‘the needy one (fs.)’
<i>xakma sniqe</i>	‘some needy ones’ (pl.)
<i>ʔan-sniqe</i>	‘the needy ones’ (pl.)

These pronominal heads are closely related to relative clause heads and, indeed, the constructions can be regarded as contracted relative clauses (*ʔo-sniqa* < *ʔo-t-ile sniqa* ‘the one who is needy’). If the adjective is extended by an intensifier or by the comparative particle *biš*, the relative particle is sometimes used in the phrase, e.g.

- (1) *ʔo-t biš-daqiqa* ‘The one that (is) thinner’ (B10:49)

Adjectives nominalized with a demonstrative head are often definite by associative anaphora, typically when they express a member of a previously mentioned or implied set, e.g.

- (2) *tláθna bnóne díye zìlela<sup>1</sup> gu-dùnye,<sup>1</sup> tàyela<sup>1</sup> ʔal-d-ò<sup>1</sup> darmana ta-t-xázi qa-ʔénat... babèy.<sup>1</sup> zìlela mátye gu-ðá mðita.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-gòra<sup>1</sup> móre ʔana pésən láxxa gu-d-áyya mðita.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The three sons of his went on their way in the world, searching in order to find the remedy for the eyes of their father. They travelled and arrived in a certain town. The eldest one said “I shall remain here in this town.”’ (A24:3–4)
- (3) *zòre-wəwa ʔanna xonáwáθi.<sup>1</sup> ʔa-góɾta ʔənəwə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘These brothers of mine were young. The edler one (of the children) was me.’ (B8:13)
- (4) *ʔé-ga xázət yále zòre<sup>1</sup> ráqa báθər d-àn məndyáne<sup>1</sup>... ʔáp ʔan-gòre<sup>1</sup> mjämìwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then you would see small children running after those things... Also the older people would gather them.’ (B15:69)
- (5) *ʔanna kúlla xipla<sup>1</sup> ʔan-zòre-w ʔan-ràbe-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘They all washed, young and old.’ (B10:69)

As discussed in §14.3.2., when the default demonstrative is attached to a noun, although often translated most idiomatically with the English definite article, it is always anaphoric in function and is not used with a noun that is definite by virtue of the descriptive content of the noun alone without any anaphoric connection with the surrounding discourse. For example, a noun referring to a generic class without any anaphoric connection to what precedes would be definite, since the class it refers to is assumed to be known to the hearer, but would not be combined with a demonstrative, e.g.

- (6) *ʔarya héywan maxjalàna y-áwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The lion is a terrifying animal.’

An adjective with a default demonstrative head, on the other hand, may refer to a non-anaphoric generic class. In such cases English most idiomatically uses the indefinite article, e.g.

- (7) *ʔo-góra gǎrag lá-maxe ʔo-zòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A big (person) should not hit a small (person).’  
 (8) *ʔan-góre gǎrag lá-maxi ʔan-zòre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Big (people) should not hit small (people).’  
 (9) *ʔo-kóra xa-záwga ʔene báye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A blind man wants a pair of eyes.’ (D2: 62)

The explanation appears to be that an expression such as *ʔo-góra* ‘the big’ is a reduced form of the relative phrase *ʔo-t-ile góra* ‘he who is big’, in which the demonstrative is anaphoric within the phrase, in that it binds the referent of the pronoun to the description in the embedded relative clause. The construction, therefore, assigns the property to the head, like a predicative adjective, rather than presenting it as a component of the description of the head. This analysis is supported by the fact that resultative participles of atelic intransitive verbs may be combined with a demonstrative, e.g. *ʔo-zmíra zmárta xàwri!* ‘The one who has sung the song is my friend’. Such participles cannot be used as attributive modifiers of nouns but can only be used predicatively (§15.4.1.1.). A phrase such as *ʔo-zmíra*, therefore, must be analysed as a reduced relative phrase in which the participle is predicative (*ʔo-t-ile zmíra*).

Generic phrases are definite since they refer to an entire class, inclusive of all its referents, which the hearer is assumed to be able to identify from its description alone. A demonstrative cannot have ‘intra-phrasal’ anaphora when a noun head is qualified by an adjective, e.g. *ʔo-naša góra* ‘the big man’, which must be anaphorically linked to the preceding discourse. Intra-phrasal anaphora is only possible in constructions with a genitive/relative particle *D*, or reduced forms of these constructions. This particle can be regarded as the anaphor of the demonstrative. It follows that the adjective in a phrase such as *ʔo-naša góra* cannot be regarded as being a reduced embedded relative ‘the man who is big’, whereas this analysis is applicable to the adjective in a phrase such as *ʔo-góra*, which can be regarded as a reduced form of *ʔo-t-ile góra* ‘He<sub>i</sub> who<sub>i</sub> is big’.

Likewise a demonstrative can have intra-phrasal anaphoric reference in annexation constructions, which contain the particle *D*. Again, the anaphor of the demonstrative must be this particle. Examples: *m-an-t-qanàne*<sup>1</sup> ‘some

of those with horns' (A7:24), *gu-d-ó garrə zòre*<sup>1</sup> 'in the pool of young ones (< *garrət zore*)' (B15:32), *gu-d-o-gárra dīya*<sup>1</sup> 'in their pool' (B15:32). The referents of none of these are mentioned in the preceding discourse.

An indefinite nominalized adjective that has the indefinite cardinal particle *xa/ða* as its head generally has a specific referent, e.g.

- (10) *muttéθalla təl̄l̄θ xəmməryáθa*,<sup>1</sup> *m-an-xməryáθa tabzīye*.<sup>1</sup> *muttéθalla rəš-pársət*<sup>1</sup> *'əna*,<sup>1</sup> *ða-smòqta*,<sup>1</sup> *ða-xwàrta*,<sup>1</sup> *ða-milànta*.<sup>1</sup> 'She laid down three beads, beads of a rosary. She put them on the stone slab of the spring, a red one, a white one and a blue one.' (A25:34)

In some circumstances it can be used when the phrase has a non-specific referent, provided that it is extracted from a known, limited set. In a context such as (11), for example, the phrase *ða-smòqta* 'a red one' can have either a specific ('one particular red one') or non-specific ('any of the red ones') interpretation:

- (11) A: *gu-sálla 'iθ b'ée xwáre 'u-b'ée smòqe*.<sup>1</sup> B: *'ána šáqlən ða-smòqta*.<sup>1</sup> A: In the basket there are white eggs and red eggs. B: I shall take a red one'

The indefinite cardinal particle tends to be omitted, however, when the existence of the set that it belongs to is unknown. A construction such as that in (12), for example, would be used when the speaker has no evidence that any big apples exist:

- (12) *la-hállì 'o-xabúša zòra*,<sup>1</sup> *'ána báyn gòra*.<sup>1</sup> 'Don't give me that small apple, I want a big one.'

Similarly the cardinal particle is omitted in negative constructions when the existence of the class is denied, e.g.

- (13) *gòra lìθ*.<sup>1</sup> 'There is no big one.'  
 (14) *'iθwa-w lìθwa*<sup>1</sup> *bíš m-álaha gòra*<sup>1</sup> *líθwa gòra*.<sup>1</sup> 'There was and there was not, there was no great one greater than God.' (A8:2)

Nominalized plural adjectives typically take the indefinite pronoun *xakma* as their head when they refer to a specific group of referents extracted from a set, e.g.

- (15) A: *gu-sállá 'íθ bé'e xwáre 'u-bé'e smòqe.*<sup>1</sup> B: *'ána šáqlan xakma-smòqe.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: In the basket there are white eggs and red eggs. B: I shall take some red ones.'

When the speaker is not referring to a delimited specific group, but to a non-specific open-ended group, the indefinite pronominal head tends to be omitted. This applies to contexts such as the following:

- (16) *'u-čidεle zóre-u gòre.*<sup>1</sup> 'He invited young and old.' (A7:3)  
 (17) *xoš-sxí gu-d-ó garrā zòre.*<sup>1</sup> 'Go and swim in the pool for young ones.' (B15:32)  
 (18) *'íθan... biš-šapìre mánni-w*<sup>1</sup> 'There are some more handsome than me.' (A26:79)

It is found in proverbial contexts referring to generic classes, e.g.

- (19) *b-núrat raš'ye y-áqđi mǎskène.*<sup>1</sup> 'By the fire of wicked people the poor burn.' (D2:73)

Likewise the head is omitted in negative constructions where the existence of any members of a set are denied, e.g.

- (20) *'m-liθ biš-zlíme mánnan, har-t-àzax.*<sup>1</sup> 'If there are none more wronged than us, we shall continue on our way.' (A13:9)

It is important to note that these constructions with headless adjectives are found also with non-telic resultative participles, which cannot function as adjective attributes but only as predicates, e.g.

- (21) *pálxi plixe, y-áxli nixe.*<sup>1</sup> 'Those who have worked hard work but those who are inactive eat.' (D2:33)

It follows, therefore, that also these headless adjectives are not true nominalized adjectives but must be regarded as predicates of reduced relative clauses without an explicitly expressed head ('those who are big', 'those who have worked', etc.).

When a plural adjective relating to a group of feminine gender has a numeral as its head, the feminine form of the numeral may be used although gender distinction is neutralized in the adjective inflection, e.g.

- (22) *bálki mabárya tǎrtè-xene.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps it will give birth to two others.’  
(A5:8)

There are some items that act as attributes of nouns but distinguish between genders in their plural inflection. This applies to gentilic expressions ending in *-aya*, e.g.

<i>ʔurza suraya</i>	‘a Christian man’
<i>baxta surεθa</i>	‘a Christian woman’
<i>ʔurze suraye</i>	‘Christian men’
<i>baxtaθa surayaθa</i>	‘Christian women’

Furthermore, such gentilic expressions can be used as referential head nouns in a wider range of contexts than other adjectives, with a distribution that is equivalent to that of other nouns. Notably, they can be used as indefinite nouns with a specific referent, anaphorically definite and generically definite nouns without obligatorily being combined with the indefinite particle or a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *suraya* ‘a/the Christian’. They have a greater independence than other adjectives and have a lesser need for a head:

Specific indefinite	Anaphoric definite	Generic definite
<i>xa-sniqa</i>	<i>ʔo-sniqa</i>	<i>ʔo-sniqa</i>
<i>(xa-)suraya</i>	<i>(ʔo-)suraya</i>	<i>suraya</i>

On distributional grounds, therefore, it would be more appropriate to interpret the gentilic forms in attributive position as nominal appositives rather than adjectives. Their status as nouns is reflected by greater independence and a noun-like feminine plural ending. The noun-like nature of gentilic forms is also identifiable in their semantic content, in that they have stability over time, denoting, in principle, the permanent constellation of properties of a class rather than contingent qualities. A distinction, therefore, can be made in terminology between ‘quality-denoting’ terms such as *sniqa* and ‘class-denoting’ terms such as *suraya*. Both ‘quality-denoting’ and ‘class-denoting’ terms can function as attributes, but their morpho-syntactic behaviour is different.

The feminine plural ending is regularly used with attributes ending in *-aya* when they are gentilic. Further examples:



<i>baxtaθa huḏayaθa</i>	‘Jewish women’
<i>baxtaθa durnayaθa</i>	‘women from Dure’
<i>baxtaθa ʾen-nunayaθa</i>	‘women from ʾEn-Nune’
<i>baxtaθa naxrayaθa</i>	‘foreign women’

The feminine plural ending is used also in the attributes *šulxaya* ‘naked’ and *xaya* (f. *xεθa* recently given birth), which end in *-aya* but is not gentilic, e.g.

<i>baxtaθa šulxayaθa</i>	‘naked women’
<i>baxtaθa xayaθa</i>	‘women who have recently given birth’

This pattern of agreement in these lexical items has presumably arisen by analogy with gentilics. It has not, however, been extended to all non-gentilic adjectives ending in *-aya*, as shown by the following, all of which take the ending *-e* when they are attributes of feminine plural nouns:

<i>baxtaθa xεpyaye</i>	‘barefooted women’
<i>baxtaθa komaye</i>	‘black women’
<i>baxtaθa qamaye</i>	‘the first women’
<i>tawriyaθa rešaye</i>	‘the highest quality cows’

When nominals denoting professions such as *zamara* ‘singer’ and *raqaḏa* ‘dancer’ are used as attributes, they regularly agree with feminine plural nouns and should be regarded as class-denoting appositives rather than adjectival modifiers:

<i>baxtaθa zamaryaθa</i>	‘singer women’
<i>baxtaθa raqaḏyaθa</i>	‘dancer women’

The nominal *xamθa* ‘beautiful woman’ also agrees with feminine plural nouns when it is used as an attribute:

<i>baxtaθa xamaθa</i>	‘beautiful women’
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The attribute of a noun is sometimes expressed by appositives consisting of other types of nouns, e.g. *súsa šéna* ‘a tame horse’, *ʾúrza gáwra* ‘a brave man’ (A29:27), *xabúšta ʾixála* ‘an apple tree bearing edible fruit’ (B5:104).

Speakers occasionally use the feminine plural ending on adjectives ending in *-ana*, but in all cases an alternative with the *-e* ending is available.

This applies to adjectives with the ending *-ana* that belong to the active participle patterns and also other forms, e.g.

<i>baxtaθa ʾaxlanyaθa ~ ʾaxlane</i>	‘gluttonous women’
<i>baxtaθa palxanyaθa ~ palxane</i>	‘hard-working women’
<i>tawriyaθa maxjəlanyaθa ~ maxjəlane</i>	‘frightening cows’
<i>baxtaθa hawnanyaθa ~ hawnane</i>	‘clever women’

In general, there is a degree of subjectiveness in the use of the feminine plural on non-gentilic adjectives. The motivation for giving the adjective the noun-type inflection *-aθa* may be to make the adjective more independent from its head for the sake of endowing it with greater prominence. Perhaps this is the reason why *-aθa* is normally used on the adjective *šulxaya* ‘naked’ in phrases such as *baxtaθa šulxayaθa* ‘naked women’, where it expresses a perceptually salient property! The feminine ending is sporadically found on non-gentilic adjectives that are in predicative position, e.g.

(23) *rmyàθa hawetúwa!* ‘May you (fpl.) be cursed ones!’ (A26:27)

In such cases, again, the use of the feminine ending endows the adjective with the status of a noun (‘cursed ones’). The effect is to present them as having the permanent time-stability typical of nouns. In (23) this strategy is used to give particular force to the curse.

Another way in which attributive adjectives are given prominence is to combine them with a default demonstrative, e.g. *xoni ʾo-góra* ‘my big brother’, *xathi ʾa-zurta* ‘my little sister’. As remarked above, the demonstrative supplies a head for the adjective. A construction such as *xoni ʾo-góra*, therefore, consists of two heads and the phrase *ʾo-góra* should be considered to have the status of a noun in apposition rather than an adjectival modifier. By giving the attribute this syntactic independence the speaker endows it with added prominence. The construction is used both when the attribute is restrictive and also when it is non-restrictive.

The construction is used with a restrictive attribute when the attribute contrasts between members of a known set designated by the noun, e.g.

(24) *ʾiθwa xa-màlka! ʾiθwale ʾarbi bnòne. **brón-diye ʾo-zòra!** ʾiθwale ʾarbi šánne. ... **xóna ʾo-góra** máre čú-məndi lax-xəzye.* ‘There was a king. He had forty sons. His little son was forty years old. ... The elder brother said...’ (A12:1/17)

In such contrastive contexts this construction is used also with gentile attributes, which, as we have seen, are best considered appositives even without the demonstrative, e.g.

- (25) *ʔiθ tré-yale lâxxa,<sup>1</sup> xa-suràya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xa-huðàya.<sup>1</sup> yála ʔo-suràya diyènile.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There are two children here, one Christian and one Jewish. The Christian child is ours’.

We can include here a similar type of construction that is used to express the name of animals, whereby the name is combined with a default demonstrative and this phrase is placed as an appositive after a noun expressing the class of animal it belongs to, e.g.

- (26) *báyən pèrmáthi ʔázza ʔε-Nüne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I want you to slaughter for me the nanny-goat Nune.’ (C7:3)
- (27) *ta-mòdi<sup>1</sup> ʔílla ʔáy ʔázza ʔε-Nüne?<sup>1</sup> šqúl ða-xèta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Why (do you want) only that nanny-goat Nune? Take another one.’ (C7:6)

The name *Nüne* in phrases such as *ʔázza ʔε-Nüne* is treated like an attributive adjective and is given a head in the form of a default demonstrative. As in a phrase such as *xona ʔo-goya*, the attributive appositive *ʔε-Nüne* picks out one member from a set, namely the flock of ‘nanny-goats’. Further examples: *tawri ʔo-Xammo* ‘my ox called Xammo’, *tawrti ʔa-Gazale* ‘my cow called Ġazale’.

The attributive appositive that is combined with a demonstrative may also be non-restrictive. In such cases the identity of the noun is presupposed to be known independently of further description. The attribute, therefore, has greater prominence relative to the noun since it is the more informative part of the phrase. This inherent informativeness may in itself be sufficient motivation to give syntactic prominence to the attribute by using the appositive construction. In some cases, however, an additional motivation for giving syntactic prominence to the non-restrictive attribute by the appositive construction is to contrast it with the attribute of some other item in a set of entities. In (28), for example, the phrase *ʔa-qšitha* ‘thick’ is non-restrictive since the dish known as *gərðo* is always thick, but it contrasts with the attribute ‘watery’ of the related dish known as *bušala* ‘stew’:

- (28) *y-òðáxwa gərðo,<sup>1</sup> bušála.<sup>1</sup> ʔay-gárðo ʔa-qšitha,<sup>1</sup> ta-duxràne,<sup>1</sup> ʔina bušála t-ʔòðáxwala t̄l̄l̄m̄,<sup>1</sup> xánč̄i m̄iyànta,<sup>1</sup> la-ràba.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would make *gərðo* and

stew. The thick *gərðo* is for church memorial festivals. But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was somewhat watery, though not too much.’ (B10:17)

The sense here may be captured rather more closely by translating with an English non-restrictive relative clause: ‘The *gərðo*, which is thick, is for church memorial festivals’.

The construction is used to express non-restrictive attributes also after proper names, which by their nature are presupposed to have an identifiable referent, e.g.

- (29) *Náze ’ε-gòrta<sup>1</sup> móre Fàrxo,<sup>1</sup> máttu xa-képa lāxxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Naze, the elder one,—Farxo said (to her) “Place a stone here.”’ (A25:16)
- (30) *’ε-ga xáθi hàqya,<sup>1</sup>—Jénni ’ε-gòrta<sup>1</sup>—’ámra...* ‘Then my sister tells me—Jenny, the older one—she says...’ (B15:39)

The syntactic status of the attributive phrases as appositives, which are heads parallel with the noun rather than dependent on it, is reflected by the fact that the particle *D* is attached to such appositives when the noun is governed by a noun in annexation or a preposition. The appositive is treated like an independent head that is directly governed by the governing noun or preposition. When the whole phrase is governed by a noun in annexation the particle *D* is used before both the initial noun and the appositive, e.g.

- (31) *’m-xátta pçille,<sup>1</sup> gnáyat táwra d-o-gòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If the line (drawn by the plough) is crooked, it is the fault of the big ox.’ (D2:19)
- (32) *taxrúθa ðiyi<sup>1</sup> ’u-t-xóni d-o-gòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They memory of myself and of my elder brother.’ (B8:10)
- (33) *básrat ’azzi d-ε-Nune* ‘the flesh of my goat (called) Nune’ (C7:13)
- (34) *guðì t-’azzi d-ε-poše* ‘my churn of my goat (called) White Spotted’ (C5:3)

When the whole phrase is governed by a preposition, the particle is sometimes placed only on the demonstrative of the appositive, since some prepositions in principle are only followed by the particle before nominal phrases beginning with a demonstrative. In (35)–(38) the attribute is restrictive and in (39)–(41) it is non-restrictive:

- (35) *yámma d-an-hambišàye<sup>1</sup> máreła tla-brón d-o-zòra<sup>1</sup>* ‘The mother of the giants said to the young son...’ (A12:7)
- (36) *’ó-xona zóra ’ámər tla-xonǎwátha d-an-xène<sup>1</sup>* ‘The young brother said to the other brothers...’ (A12:23)
- (37) *báθər ’éða gòra<sup>1</sup> y-áθe ’arbi-yome<sup>1</sup> báθər ’éða d-o-gòra<sup>1</sup> ’iθena<sup>1</sup> ’éðət sulāqa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘After the Great Festival, forty days after the Great Festival, the festival of Ascension occurs.’ (B6:5)
- (38) *xo-tútha d-o-çúwa hox-xyàpəlle Šámmo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We wash Šámmo under the smooth mulberry tree.’ (B8:27)
- (39) *mára ’áp-’ana dáqrən ’ax-déwa d-o-kòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “I am worth as much as that wolf, which is blind.”’ (A10:5)
- (40) *húwəlle bála l-gáppa d-o-láya ’u-qərye<sup>1</sup>* ‘He directed his attention to the cave, which was above, and cried...’ (A8:57)
- (41) *’u-túwele xá-ga xéta xās-súse díye d-o-kòma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He sat once again on the back of his horse, which was black.’ (A8:52)

The construction may be used as an appositive after 1st and 2nd person pronouns, e.g.

- (42) *’ati ’o-zóra lá ’azèti.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You, the younger one, don’t go.’ (A30:2)

An attributive appositive introduced by a demonstrative may be placed in a different intonation group from that of the preceding noun, e.g.

- (43) *hon-zàla<sup>1</sup> yàwənna<sup>1</sup> mattóyanna ks-’áyya xàθi<sup>1</sup> ’ε-gòrta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I went and delivered them to this sister of mine, the elder one.’ (B15:89)

The prominence of such attributive appositives arises not only from the fact that as appositives they have more syntactic independence than modifiers, but also from the fact that they assign the noun to a property like a predicative adjective. As remarked earlier, they can, indeed, be regarded as reduced relative clauses: *xàθi ’ε-gòrta* ‘my sister, the one (who is) big’. An adjective that assigns in this way is naturally more informative and prominent than one that is presented as part of the description of the noun. Occasionally an appositive attribute has an explicit embedded relative clause. Such constructions are usually non-restrictive, e.g.

- (44) *m-yəmmiñ šmitəlla ’áyya,<sup>1</sup> m-bnōn-mámi ’an-t-wéwa gòre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I heard this from my mother, from my cousins, who were older.’ (B8:5)

- (45) *béna 'iθ linyáθa, l' l'ine, l' l'inyáθa 'an-t-íla 'axðar.*<sup>1</sup> 'There were pots, pots, pots, which are green.' (B10:75)

An alternative strategy for expressing a non-restrictive attribute is to repeat the noun in apposition together with an added adjective, e.g.

- (46) *w-áyya tullákθa, l' tullákθa zórta mánnox, l' k'álba zóra mónnox t-àwe.*<sup>1</sup> 'This hound, small hound, small dog, will be with you.' (A30:4)

An adjective that qualifies an indefinite noun is occasionally separated from the noun by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

- (47) *'áy 'ítla xa-bərke l' gòrta hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'She has a pool, which is large like this.' (A25:56)
- (48) *wírɛle gu-xà-'otəx xéta l' gòrta.*<sup>1</sup> 'He entered another room, which was big.' (A14:30)
- (49) *hóle xa-kullixa l' xa-bèθa l' zóra táma hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'There was a hut, a house, which was small, (standing) there like this.' (A8:40)
- (50) *xzéli xa-xəlma l' rába mazdiyána.*<sup>1</sup> 'I had a dream, which was very frightening.' (A11:6)

In such cases the indefinite noun is introducing a specific referent, i.e. one particular referent of the class of referents designated by the description of the noun. The adjective, therefore, is non-restrictive, since the noun already has a unique referent, i.e. it supplies further description of the referent that has been introduced. The placement of the adjective in a separate intonation group gives it an enhanced degree of prominence. This arises from the fact that it assigns the noun to a property like a predicative adjective. Such an adjective in a separate intonation group is, therefore, similar in function to a non-restrictive relative clause and can, indeed, be regarded as a reduced relative structure: *xa-bərke l' gòrta* 'a pool (one that is) large'. Indeed, it is usually appropriate to translate it with an English non-restrictive relative, as can be seen in the foregoing examples. This would be equivalent to a definite phrase such as *bərke 'a-gòrta*, where the reduced relative construction has an explicit head: 'the pool the one (that is) big'.

An alternative strategy is to repeat the noun placed as an appositive after the first noun together with an added adjective, e.g.

- (51) *qimtele*,<sup>1</sup> *šqíla xa-neríya*,<sup>1</sup> *neríya gòra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She took a male goat, a large goat.’ (A28:26)

The appositive status of the attribute is sometimes demonstrated by its combination with the indefinite particle *xa*, e.g.

- (52) *’ína ’áθyεle xa-γàla*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-’ašòta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘But a tiresome youth came (literally: a youth, a tiresome one).’ (A17:7)

After a generic noun of mass an adjective with the status of a non-restrictive relative clause may be presented in a separate intonation group. Although the generic noun is definite in status, the adjective does not have a demonstrative head, e.g.

- (53) *páyaxwa ’ax-xàlwa*,<sup>1</sup> *bríza hádax*.<sup>1</sup> ‘It would become *xalwa*, which was dry, like this.’ (B7:22)

Some adjectival modifiers may be placed before the head noun. When in this position they are non-restrictive attributes. They are generally evaluative, expressing a subjective assessment of a known referent by the speaker, e.g.

- (54) *’áw mąskéna nąšele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a poor person.’  
 (55) *’áw spáy nąšele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a good person.’  
 (56) *’áw xárba nąšele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a bad person.’  
 (57) *’áw táza mbašlánele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a good cook.’

The subjective evaluative sense is sometimes ironic in nature, as is typically the case with the adjective *hawána* ‘clever’ in constructions such as (58):

- (58) *’áw hawána nąšele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a clever person.’

The non-restrictive evaluative attribute of a nominal phrase that constitutes an ascriptive predicate of the clause is often given prominence by placing the nuclear stress on it. Since it is a subjective evaluation, it is inherently gradable and so susceptible of being intensified by strategies such as nuclear stress placement, e.g.

- (59) *’áw spáy nąšele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a good person.’  
 (60) *’ána gáræg hawánwa spáy zúze šqíla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I should have got a good sum of money.’ (B1:19)

- (61) *xòš-zuzax wîðe*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We have made good money.’ (A14:18)

Such adjectives can also be placed after the noun. This is used to make more objective, factual statements, restricting the reference to a subset of the class denoted by the head noun, e.g.

- (62) *’aw náša hawnânele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is an intelligent man.’  
 (63) *’aw náša spây-ile*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a good man.’  
 (64) *’aw mbašlána tâzele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a good cook.’

The two different functions of the adjective *spây* are seen in the following two examples from the text corpus. In (65) the speaker knows the person and gives a non-restrictive personal evaluation. In (66) the noun is referentially indefinite and the adjective is restrictive and so descriptive rather than evaluative:

- (65) *bábux spây-našele*.<sup>1</sup> *xâwran-ile*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Your father is a good man. He is our friend.’ (A14:61)  
 (66) *hállî xa-súsa spây*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Give me a good horse.’ (A12:62)

The Kurdish loan-word *xoš* ‘good’ can only be used as an evaluative adjective before the noun, e.g.

- (67) *’aw xoš-nàšele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a good man.’  
 (68) *’áyya b-álaha xòš-məndîla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘This, by God, is a good thing.’ (A14:9)

When the nominal phrase is definite, a fronted non-restrictive attribute is often expressed by a nominalized phrase consisting of a demonstrative head and an adjective, which is combined with the following noun in an annexation construction. Such non-restrictive attributes are also generally evaluative, e.g.

- (69) *’o-məškénat xónî mîéwale təmməl*.<sup>1</sup> ‘My poor brother arrived yesterday.’  
 (70) *’o-šəđánat xónî mîéwale təmməl*.<sup>1</sup> ‘My mad brother arrived yesterday.’

The construction is used with the non-restrictive attribute *nîxa* ‘deceased’ when referring to dead family members, e.g. *’o-nîxat babi* ‘my late father’.



A restrictive appositive, which picks out one member of a set, is not normally fronted in this way before a singular noun. It can only be annexed to a plural noun referring to all members of the set, e.g.

(71) *'o-gorət xonāwaθa* ‘the elder of the brothers’

Exceptions to this are attested with the ordinal adjectives *qamaya* ‘first’ and *xaraya* ‘last’, e.g.

(72) *w-āti θélax, 'a-qamèθa báxta θélax.* ‘Now, you have come. You are the first woman to come (literally: You have come, the first woman).’ (A8:79)

(73) *'asrì 'otáxe' hòla' čime. 'áni paθxàtla. 'an-ṭ-íla pθixe' 'ačmàtla. 'mátət 'ε-xaréθət 'òtəx.* ‘Twenty rooms are closed. You should open these. Close the ones that are open. You will reach the last room.’ (A24:16)

The plural adjectives *priše* ‘various, different’ and *rabe* ‘great, abundant’ may be placed before or after the head noun. Their semantic range is more restrictive when they come before the noun, in that in this position they can only have a quantifying sense:

<i>priše mändiyane</i>	‘various things’
<i>mändiyane priše</i>	‘different/various things’
<i>rabe mändiyane</i>	‘many things’
<i>mändiyane rabe</i>	‘great/many things’

An adjective may be combined with further material that is dependent on it. This may take the form of a prepositional phrase, e.g. *gòre b-šinne* ‘old in years’ (B15:62). In some cases the adjective is combined with the dependent item in a nominal annexation construction, e.g.

(74) *'áyya dúkθe díye... qíθət kèpe.* ‘This place on him was wounded by the stones.’ (B9:25)

Such constructions often exhibit tightly-knit asyndetic annexation, e.g. *kōm-paθa* ‘black-faced, disgraceful’, *xwār-paθa* ‘white-faced, innocent’, *xwār daqna* ‘white bearded = senior’, *pθix 'ena* ‘open-eyed’ (in the expression *miθa pθix 'ene* ‘dead with his eyes open’), *priṭ-dína* ‘destroyed of religion =

irreligious' (A30:28), *pr̄t̄-baba* 'destroyed of father = bastard' (C7:11), *x̄w̄-diyára* 'destroyed of houses = accursed scoundrel' (A30:24).

Note the constructions *'arbat xware* 'white sheep' and *'arbat kome* 'black sheep (goats)'. Here a noun is annexed to a plural adjective. The noun may be singular or plural in number, e.g. *xa 'arbat xware* 'a white sheep', *raba 'arbat xware* 'many white sheep'. These phrases express the affiliation of the sheep to a generic class that share the property of being 'white' or 'black' respectively, rather than expressing a property that is peculiar to one particular sheep or group of sheep. A similar construction is *xatt̄at romaye* 'roman wheat, maize', properly 'wheat of (the class of) roman (wheat)'.

An adjective stands without a head when it occurs in an ascriptive predicate with the verb 'to be', which assigns a property to the subject of the predication, or in a predicate containing copula-like verbs such as *pyš* 'to become, remain', e.g.

(75) *gilándi rába gòyle.*<sup>1</sup> 'A scythe is very big.' (B5:143)

(76) *y-áwa hátxa zòre.*<sup>1</sup> 'They are small like this.' (B6:52)

(77) *maš̄t̄wala qá-t xáčča p̄š̄awa rakixta.*<sup>1</sup> 'They would irrigate it so that it would become rather soft.' (B5:76)

As indicated in (§11.6.), some words of Aramaic stock that function like adjectives remain uninflected for gender and number. In some cases the explanation for this is that they are in origin adverbial expressions whose use has been extended to attributive positions. This applies, for example, to the words *qurba* 'near' and *rəḥqa* 'far', which are used as invariable attributes modifying nouns, e.g.

<i>bəḥa qurba/rəḥqa</i>	'a nearby/distant house'
<i>maḥa qurba/rəḥqa</i>	'a nearby/distant village'
<i>maḥwaḥa qurba/rəḥqa</i>	'nearby/distant villages'

These words are nouns that are used in other contexts in adverbial phrases, modifying verbs. They may be accompanied by a preposition (78–79) or used without one (80–81)

(78) *xá-bena xz̄ele m-rəḥqa xá-mdi xwàra.*<sup>1</sup> 'He suddenly saw from afar something white.' (A14:28)

(79) *mátyela l-qurbat bəḥa.*<sup>1</sup> *mátyela l-qurbat qásrat málka.*<sup>1</sup> 'They came near to home. They came near to the palace of the king.' (A24:24)

(80) *m̄t̄iḥela qurbat qàsra.*<sup>1</sup> 'He came close to the palace.' (A27:31)

- (81) *qímtela šqíltela xa-bròna<sup>1</sup> ’u-nobàltàlle<sup>1</sup> ta-ṭ-axlâle.<sup>1</sup> muttêṭalle rəḥqa<sup>1</sup> mən-màṭa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She got up and took a son (of hers) and took him for her to eat. She put him down far away from the village.’ (A19:3)

They occur in the predicate of clauses containing the verb ‘to be’, where they were originally locative predicates, but evidently came to be re-interpreted as attributes, e.g.

- (82) *rəḥqele qáṣra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The palace is in the distance [locative]’ > ‘The palace is far [attribute].’ (A24:48)
- (83) *kúlla náše díye t-wéwa qúrba.<sup>1</sup>* ‘All his relatives who were in the vicinity [locative]’ > ‘All his relatives who were near [attribute].’ (B8:38)

Due to their being re-interpreted as attributes in predicative position, they could then be used as attributives of nouns in a nominal phrase, e.g. *qaṣra rəḥqa* ‘a distant palace’, *bəṭa qúrba* ‘a near-by house’, etc.

An attributive adjective is sometimes separated from its head noun by intervening material. The purpose of this is generally to give the adjective prominence by placing it in the default position of the nuclear stress at the end of the intonation group, e.g.

- (84) *ṭáṭiye y-odáxwa gòre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We made big rugs.’ (B10:79)
- (85) *bálkət qámṭa ’íṭwa nune gáwa díya gòre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Perhaps formerly there were large fish in it.’ (B3:11)
- (86) *b-álaha hóle xa-púrya láxxa zòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘By God there is a small light here.’ (A14:25)
- (87) *’ina dá qoṭíya hátxa zòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Behold a box, small like this.’ (A12:51)
- (88) *píṣele mājbur<sup>1</sup> hā-ṭ-ile<sup>1</sup> ríxa ’áṭya mánne díye spísa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He remained like that, of necessity, until a rotten smell came from him.’ (A27:43)
- (89) *’u-xá káxwa gu-be-’éne díye kòma<sup>1</sup>* ‘with a black star on its forehead’ (A8:62)
- (90) *’anna zmaryàṭax<sup>1</sup> m-ékət líptalla hátxa basime?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Where did you learn those songs of yours, which are so beautiful?’ (A35:8)

When the adjective is given contrastive focal prominence, it is sometimes placed at the front of the clause, e.g.

- (91) *’áy xwàra<sup>1</sup> mṭalbále sùsa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She requests a *white* horse (whereas her brother requested a black one).’ (A8:62)

In some contexts an adjective without a head should be interpreted as the predicate of a reduced adverbial clause. This applies to cases such as the following:

- (92) *yámmi zòrta mítla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My mother died (when she was) young.’ (B8:14)
- (93) *daqnáy gǎréwale bríza m-àxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He would shave their beard (while it was) dry from here.’ (A11:14)
- (94) *šléla xaššáne l-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They went down to their home (while they were) sad.’ (A14:20)
- (95) *ʔu-qímεle málka<sup>1</sup> xəðya<sup>1</sup> gu-gàne-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘The king left, (while he was) cheerful in spirits.’ (A21:30)
- (96) *ʔáy hár mšeyðone<sup>1</sup> šwára ndáya gu-d-án ʔotáxe šluxèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around (while she was) naked in the rooms.’ (A4:17)
- (97) *koðánta b-ìðiyawa<sup>1</sup> šulxèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The mule was in my hand, (while it was) bare-backed.’ (B5:130)
- (98) *dráya képe ʔaxni sxàya<sup>1</sup> šluxayàθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He threw stones when we were swimming (while we were) nude.’ (A25:20)
- (99) *qam-qabàlle šláme tíwa l-ʔàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He received his greetings (while he was) seated on the ground.’ (A26:47)
- (100) *Səttiye tu-láxxa xarèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Səttiye, sit here (while being) the last (i.e. in the last place).’ (A25:16)
- (101) *xánči t-amrónna qalùlta<sup>1</sup> qa-t-pàrqa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I’ll tell it (the story) to you quickly (= it being quick) so that it will finish.’ (A4:5)

Resultative participles of verbs with atelic actionality in some contexts appear to be attributes of a noun. Participles from such verbs cannot in principle have this attributive adjective function (see §15.4.1.1.). In examples such as (102)–(104), therefore, they must be regarded as the predicate of reduced relative clauses:

- (102) *ʔána<sup>1</sup> ʔwənwə jásūs ʔəθya tàma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I was a spy, (who had) come there.’ (B17:16)
- (103) *ʔíθwa xa-Leliθa θiθa mən-Čǎl.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a Leliθa, (who had) come from Čǎl.’ (A19:1)
- (104) *ʔu-ʔən-íθən náše ʔəθye m-maθwáθa xène<sup>1</sup>* ‘If there are people (who have) come from other villages...’ (B5:60)

Such resultative participles may be used in nominalized phrases such as (105), which, as has been shown, should be regarded as predicates of reduced relative clauses:

- (105) *kúlla ʾóθye ʾilléy šārâte t-amríla qa-málka.*<sup>1</sup> ‘All (those who have) come have cases to tell the king.’ (A17:31)

Resultative participles of verbs that take a double direct object (§15.13.7.) take the second object as their direct complement without any linking preposition, e.g.

- (106) *dáwən-t málka hóle mlíθa náše ràbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The audience chamber of the king is full of many people.’ (A17:31)  
 (107) *ʾən-háwe pláta mən-ʾárxé říša qámxa,*<sup>1</sup> *lá hámánət ʾalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If he is coming out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him.’ (D2:61)  
 (108) *ʾaqára hóle dwiqa sállər.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The farm land is packed hard with frost.’

A noun may be modified by a following prepositional phrase. This is most frequently a locative or partitive expression, e.g.

- (109) *ʾu-náše gu-mđita kúlle mèθula.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Bring all the people in the town.’ (A8:32)  
 (110) *máθət Dúre<sup>1</sup> gu-Bárwər Bála<sup>1</sup> m-záwəna qamáya ʾiθwala<sup>1</sup> ʾarbà ʾumráne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The village of Dure in Barwari Bala from ancient times had four churches.’ (B2:1)  
 (111) *xzítəlle bába dīya<sup>1</sup> ʾu-ʾup-wázīr mənne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She saw her father and also the vizier with him.’ (A21:26)  
 (112) *ʾóθyax xa-néra benàθm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We came to a river between us (and the town).’ (A17:9)  
 (113) *dīya ʾəlla xá-mđi dàwa báyi,<sup>1</sup> ya-šlīwa,<sup>1</sup> ya-šəbbə̀rθa,<sup>1</sup> ʾisáqθa mən-d-án yaqùre,<sup>1</sup> m-an-tàze.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now they only want something made of gold, a cross, bracelet, a heavy, fine quality ring.’ (B10:40)

Such prepositional phrases may be combined with an adjective in the modifying phrase, e.g.

- (114) *mrázəgli xa-súsa xwàra,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaqláθe díye kòme,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xá káxwa gu-b-éne díye kòma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Prepare a white horse for me, with black legs and a black star in its forehead.’ (A8:62)
- (115) *mabyóne túra gu-čól ramànele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It seems it is a high mountain in the countryside.’ (A8:70)

The prepositional phrase modifier may be connected to the head noun by the relative *D* particle, e.g.

- (116) *hát kléle zàga!* *t-rəš-čàdra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘until the bell that was over the tent stopped.’ (A25:41)

A prepositional phrase may modify a demonstrative or personal pronoun, e.g.

- (117) *ʔu-ʔáni l-xáše díye mrùpyalla gu-dúwən-t xále.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He threw those things on his back into the meeting room of his uncle.’ (A23:14)
- (118) *ʔáxni gu-ʔáθrət Bārwar!* ‘we in the land of Barwar’ (B7:1)
- (119) *ʔáxni gu-maθwàθa!* ‘we in the villages’ (B5:52)

After a demonstrative head the relative particle is used when the prepositional phrase is a restrictive modifier, e.g.

- (120) *ʔu-kút-xa ʔo-t-qáme díye qaʔəlle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody should kill the one in front of him.’ (B19:6)
- (121) *ʔá-t gu-ʔaqàra!* ‘the one (sowing place) in the farm land’ (B5:95)
- (122) *ʔa-t-bàθra!* ‘the one after her’ (A25:17)
- (123) *ʔá-t gu-panjāriye!* ‘the one at the window’ (A26:66)

#### 14.8. COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Constructions denoting various types of comparison are expressed using the particles *biš* and *zawda/zoda*.

##### 14.8.1. *biš*

This particle, a rare variant of which is *buš*, is an intensifier expressing a higher degree in comparative constructions. It is used in the following contexts:

14.8.1.1. *With Adjectives*

If the item with which the comparison is made is mentioned, this is introduced by the preposition *mən*, e.g.

- (1) *'ina mástət 'ərwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-príštela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*<sup>1</sup> 'But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.' (B5:173)
- (2) *xázəx 'ən-'iθ náše biš-zlíme mánən, d'əřəx. 'ən-lìθ biš-zlíme mánən, har-t-àzəx.*<sup>1</sup> 'If we find that there are people more wronged than us, we shall return. If there are none more wronged than us, we shall continue on our way.' (A13:9)
- (3) *'o-xéna biš-basíméle.*<sup>1</sup> 'The other is more tasty.' (B15:55)
- (4) *'aşrta mēθéwala ḏa-dúkθa biš-qurba t-y-awéwa mīya táma.*<sup>1</sup> 'In the evening they would bring them to a closer place where there was water.' (B5:160)

In (5) the particle is combined with the evaluative adjective *xoš*, which is placed before the head noun (§14.7.):

- (5) *'iθm... biš-xoš-gùre.*<sup>1</sup> 'There are better men.' (A26:79)

On some occasions the particle is separated from the adjective, as in (6)–(8):

- (6) *qá-t b'éθa bùš t-awéwa qúwya*<sup>1</sup> 'so that the house would be stronger' (B15:16)
- (7) *'iθwa liθwa' biš-m-álaha góra čú-mdi liθwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God.' (A30:1)
- (8) *'áxni b'éθət be-bábi 'atíqa-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> *'ina ramánewa biš-mən-qářrət kùl-naše.*<sup>1</sup> 'The house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of everybody.' (B10:51)

The particle may be repeated to express intensity, e.g.

- (9) *zílta zílta dax-t-íwa'... mářu Gozáli xona-dýa zíla' hár biš-biš-xelántewawa m-àw'*<sup>1</sup> 'She went, she went, as Gozali her brother had gone, though she was even faster than him.' (A8:63)

The particle also expresses the superlative degree, e.g.

- (10) *múr ʔeni-mənnən<sup>1</sup> biš-šapirtela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Say which of us (three) is most beautiful.’ (A25:17)

This can be made explicit by adding a phrase such as ‘than all’, e.g.

- (11) *ʔáy biš-xámθela m-kùlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She is more beautiful than all (= the most beautiful of all).’ (A25:26)
- (12) *ʔáw biš-spáy-ile m-kùlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He is better than all of them (= the best of all).’
- (13) *ʔáw biš-xərbēle m-kùlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He is worse than all of them (= the worst of all).’

The superlative may also be expressed by a definite nominalized adjective, e.g.

- (14) *Səttiye ʔε-gòrta-wawa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-Nāze<sup>1</sup> gawèθa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-Žine ʔε-zòrtat kùlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Səttiye was the oldest one, Naze the middle one and Zine the youngest.’ (A26:20)

This qualifies a nominal by being placed before it in annexation, e.g.

- (15) *ʔo-bašórət béθa ʔúwa trè ʔotáxe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The smallest house was two rooms.’ (B15:20)

The phrase *biš-spáy* ‘better, best’ is used as an evaluative tag placed after a preceding sentence, e.g.

- (16) *qu-qálbəx béθa biš-spáy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Come let’s return home—(that is) better.’ (A30:55)
- (17) *dámxəx rəš-d-ò-gəšra.<sup>1</sup> dāmxxəx réše biš-spáy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Let’s sleep on that bridge. Let’s sleep on it—(that is) better.’ (A30:51)

The preceding sentence may be introduced by the subordinating complementizer *D*, e.g.

- (18) *t-lá-hawəmwə mbúqrəlləxu biš-spáy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It would have been better if I had not asked you (literally: that I had not asked you is better).’ (A26:27)

The particle *biš* is occasionally used alone in the sense of ‘better’, e.g.



- (19) *biš m-áyya dúkθa ʔəka xázəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Where could we find (something) better than this place.’ (A12:4)

#### 14.8.1.2. *With Adverbs*

- (1) *qəm-maxéla ʔáqla biš-xelàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He struck her leg harder.’ (A33:12)  
 (2) *dráyele biš-hódəx mánna díya xáčča xàmra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He put some wine further up from them.’ (A12:49)  
 (3) *y-oráwa xa-dána biš-hódəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Further time passed (literally: A time passed further on).’ (B5:6)

#### 14.8.1.3. *With Verbs*

When combined with verbs the particle may express a comparative degree of intensity, e.g.

- (1) *xáčča biš-slèla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She became a little more calm.’ (A4:17)  
 (2) *ʔay-hádəx biš-bàya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She wants this more (= She prefers this).’ (A8:75)  
 (3) *biš madqərre mən-d-ó déwa t-axəlwa ʔərbe dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He (God) valued him more than the wolf that ate his sheep.’ (A10:13)  
 (4) *deréwa xáčča tūna,*<sup>1</sup> *biš-dawūqwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They put down a little straw, so that it became more compact.’ (B5:146)

A particle placed before a verb may intensify the whole verbal predicate, including not only the verb but also gradable modifiers, e.g.

- (5) *biš yáwi tūnta ràbθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They will yield more abundant fruit.’ (B5:103)  
 (6) *derálla sūla líθm<sup>1</sup> qá-t šéta b-šéta biš-mqārəna tàza.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You put manure on it, you see, in order that from year to year it grows better.’ (B5:105)

In negative clauses the particle may act as an intensifier of a negator giving the sense ‘not at all’. It is placed either before or after the negator, e.g.

- (7) *y-amríwa ʔaw biš la-mzànzər<sup>1</sup> yáwəl téma pàyəšwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They said that it does not lose its taste at all. It keeps its taste.’ (B10:76)  
 (8) *ʔáp-xa lá-biš-ile-mšaya mqarów-əlla dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nobody was able to go near her at all.’ (A4:6)  
 (9) *b-qə̀ta<sup>1</sup> biš liθ-mə̀ràθa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-biš liθ-tàlga.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In summer there are no rains at all and there is no snow at all.’

14.8.2. *zawda, zoda*

This particle is used as a comparative quantifier. It is usually, but not obligatorily, combined with the intensifier *biš*, the /š/ of which usually assimilates to the word, resulting in forms such as *biz-zawda* or *bi-zawda*.

The particle may be placed after a noun or before it. When placed after the noun, it sometimes expresses an increase in quantity by the amount expressed by the noun, i.e. ‘an additional *x*’, e.g.

- (1) *y-oráwa...xákma dána...xá-saʔat biz-zòda,<sup>1</sup> qayəmwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then, after some time had passed, one hour more, the resurrection would be celebrated (literally: he would arise).’ (B5:54)
- (2) *báyən ʔálaha t-yawállli mándi zàwda.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I want God to give me something more.’ (A3:1)
- (3) *ʔána báyən ʔálaha t-yawállli kùl-məndi bi-záwda.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I want God to give me more of everything.’ (A3:3)

To express an excess of something (‘too much...’) constructions such as (4) are used:

- (4) *qəm-hawátli zúze záwda mən-làzəm.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You have given me more money than necessary (= too much money).’

The particle may also have a looser relationship with the preceding noun and have the sense of ‘or more’ in estimates of quantity. When used in this way, it is sometimes put in a separate intonation group from that of the noun, e.g.

- (5) *y-oráwa šaqláwa dàna<sup>1</sup> rába gáye<sup>1</sup> ʔštà yarxé<sup>1</sup> xamšà yarxé<sup>1</sup> biz-zàwda.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It would take time. Often it would take five or six months, or more.’ (B5:3)
- (6) *šaqáwa máθálan xamši kiloʔé bi-zòda.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would take, for example, fifty kilos or more.’ (B5:125)

The phrase (*biz*)-*zawda mən* is used before a nominal expressing a quantity in the sense of ‘more than...’, e.g.

- (7) *ʔu-bréle díya b-xšáwəm biz-záwda mən-ʔǎǎ-mma ʔálpa nàše.<sup>1</sup>* ‘By now there have been born, I think, more than nine-hundred thousand people.’ (B2:10)

- (8) *zàwda m-əmmà-kilo<sup>2</sup>e<sup>1</sup> yúgra d-ε-gúrze dīye-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The weight of that club of his was more than one hundred kilos.’ (A29:14)
- (9) *zàwda mən-<sup>2</sup>arbá-mma šənnele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is more than four hundred years old.’ (B6:31)

The particle may be used independently of a noun either as the argument of a verb or as an ascriptive predicate, e.g.

- (10) *hállule biš-zawda mən-kúlla náše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Give him more (food) than (you give) anybody else.’ (B17:16)
- (11) *yǎđíwa mo-qádra deréwa<sup>1</sup> t-lá-hawewa biz-zàwda<sup>1</sup> yá<sup>2</sup>ni t-la xarúwewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They knew how much to put on, so that it was not too much and it spoilt.’ (B5:191)
- (12) *zàwdəla mánni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is too much for me (to tell).’ (A26:65)

The particle may function as an adverb, e.g.

- (13) *lá maspráxlax bi-zàwda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall not make you wait any more.’ (A4:42)
- (14) *xáyíwa biz-zàwda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They survived longer.’ (B5:190)
- (15) *màra b-qáryən <sup>2</sup>u-hèš-biš zàwda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall call still more.’ (A8:72)

The particle is combined with the noun *sama* ‘portion’ in the phrase *sama zoda* to express the majority of a set of items, e.g.

- (16) *xákma har-damxíwa l-àra<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ina sáma zóda <sup>2</sup>yéwala qaràwət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Some would even sleep on the floor (of the roof). Most people, however, had a bed.’ (B5:204)
- (17) *<sup>2</sup>ina sáma zóda<sup>1</sup> y-ođíwa <sup>2</sup>araq.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Most people, however, would make arak.’ (B5:213)

The phrase may also be used adverbially in the sense of ‘mostly, most frequently’, e.g.

- (18) *yá<sup>2</sup>ni zəpíwa tàlga<sup>1</sup>... <sup>2</sup>ima-t-y-aθéwa tàlga<sup>1</sup> sáma zóda b-yárxət trèssər<sup>1</sup> yárxət xà.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would push off the snow...when it snowed, mainly in December and January.’ (B5:196)

14.8.3. *Equality of Degree*

Equality of degree ('as big as you' etc.) is expressed in phrases with the preposition 'ax/max 'like', e.g.

- (1) 'ən-háwε 'əsrà 'tɪyáre xéne<sup>1</sup> 'axwáθux hawənàne,<sup>1</sup> la-ma'fétuxwa l-àwɔwa ləxma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'attítuxwa láxxa pɛšítuxwa hátxa snìqe.<sup>1</sup> 'If ten other men from Tiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (necessity to beg for) bread and you would not be sitting here and become so poor.' (B17:16)

## 14.9. NON-ATTRIBUTIVE MODIFIERS

## 14.9.1. kut 'each, every'

This particle is used before a singular indefinite noun and has a distributive sense ('each of the items of the set named by the noun'). It appears to be derived historically from the phrase \*kul-xa-t < \*kull-ħad-d 'each one of'. It is normally combined with the noun in the same stress group, e.g. kut-yàrxax<sup>1</sup> 'each month' (A24:5), kut-téna 'each load' (B5:181), kut-másta 'each hair' (A27:10). The final consonant is often pronounced voiced when in contact with a following voiced consonant. The transcription, however, has been normalized and the letter is always written /t/. If the noun consists of at least two syllables, the stress is generally placed on the noun. The stress is retracted onto the quantifier particle in some cases where the noun has sufficient syllables to take it. This occurs mainly with phrases containing nouns that are qualified by a relative clause and so are themselves of attenuated information status, e.g. kút-dukθət kále sùsi<sup>1</sup> 'each place that my horse stops' (A26:27).

The quantifier particle is not combined with the indefinite particle xa before a noun. It may, however, be combined with xa when this is used pronominally, e.g.

- (1) kút-xa y-azólwa bēθ-dìye.<sup>1</sup> 'Every person went to his home.' (B5:18)  
 (2) kút-xa xá-məndi y-áwe mbùšla.<sup>1</sup> 'Everybody has cooked something.' (B5:48).

This phrase is used as an appositive to pronominal reference of all persons, e.g.

- (3) *zonáxwa kút-xa xà.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would each buy one.’ (B10:76)

It may also be used in a distributive sense before quantifiers or numerals that designate groups of entities, e.g. *kút kəma-šanne*<sup>1</sup> ‘every few years’ (B10:59), *kút xamsássər yomàne*<sup>1</sup> ‘every fifteen days’ (B10:73).

The particle may act as the head of a relative clause, which is evidence for the identification of the final consonant with the annexation/relative particle *D*, e.g.

- (4) *kut-məθéli xábra bəd-bròni,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-míθa ʔən-šàxi,*<sup>1</sup> *pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne ʔalle díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I’ll give him half of my gold.’ (A14:92)
- (5) *kút mətθela*<sup>1</sup> *t-yánne zúze ràba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever brings her, I shall give him a lot of money.’ (A27:18)
- (6) *kút y-azálwa záyəwə gótə d-o-xəna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody who went (there) stood next to another one.’ (A8:31)

#### 14.9.2. kul, kulla

The historically absolute form of this quantifier particle *kul* is always placed before a noun and never after it. In most cases it is used with a singular indefinite noun with the sense of ‘every’, i.e. the entire set of items named by the noun, e.g. *kúl-naša* ‘every person’ (B6:35), *kúl-məndi* ‘everything’ (B10:64), *kúl bétə* ‘every house’ (B7:1), *kúl-xalta* ‘every (type) of food’ (B15:64).

A short form *ku-* is used, which, due to its usage, is best interpreted as an abbreviation of *kul* rather than *kut*, e.g. *kú-məndit báyrət* ‘everything you want’ (A25:14), *ku-bétə* ‘every house’ (B7:7).

The particle *kul* may be combined with the indefinite particle *xa* before the noun, e.g. *kúl-xa náša* ‘every person’ (B6:9), *kúl-xa məndi* ‘everything’ (B7:15), *kúl-xa suràya* ‘every Christian’ (B6:1).

The quantifier *kul* is used with a plural noun when it is a generic expression that is intended to denote all items in the class named by the noun, e.g.

- (1) *ʔaxni bétət be-bábi ʔatíqa-wəwa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina ramánəwa biš-mən-qásrət kúl-naše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of anybody (anywhere).’ (B10:51)

- (2) *'u-har-d-ε-dána štéθα prìθewa-ω<sup>1</sup> kul-náše tre-ḥlá-yomane šatíwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'At that time drink was abundant. Everybody (as a general principle) would drink and eat for two or three days.' (B15:64)

The form *kulla*, with the *-a* inflectional ending, is used with singular or plural nouns. It is placed either before or after the noun.

(i) Before a singular definite noun *kulla* has the sense of 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g. *kùlla máθα* 'the whole village' (B6:14), *kùlla tumìθα* 'the whole story' (A29:12), *kùlla Bèwær* 'the whole of Barwar' (B10:100), *kùlla ðimye* 'the whole world' (B6:1), *kùlla záwni* 'all of my time' (A4:43). In some isolated cases the particle is annexed to the noun by means of the *D* particle, e.g. *kùllat yóma* 'all of the day' (A14:15). When the noun is masculine, the quantifier sometimes has an anticipatory 3ms. pronominal suffix *-e*, e.g. *kùlle tàlga* 'all of the snow' (A25:43), *kùlle 'o-nerìya*<sup>1</sup> 'all of that goat' (A31:5), *kùlle 'ó-nura* 'all of the fire' (A31:8), *kùlle yòma* 'the whole of the day' (B7:4).

In a few cases the form *kulla* is used with a following indefinite noun to express the sense of 'every', e.g. *kùlla-mændi* 'everything' (A2:8), *kùlla nàša* 'everybody' (A8:3), *kùlla béθα maθéni*<sup>1</sup> 'every house of our village' (B7:1). The absolute form *kul-* is more usual in this function.

(ii) When *kulla* is placed after a singular noun, the noun is always definite and the meaning of the quantifier is 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g. *'o-béθα kùlla* 'the whole of that family' (B5:21), *qəššátte kùlla* 'the whole of his story' (A14:76), *téni kùlla* 'all of my load' (A7:11). After a masculine noun, the quantifier sometimes has a co-referential 3ms. pronominal suffix *-e*, e.g. *'o-rázza kùlle* 'all of that rice' (B5:89), *qéta kùlle* 'all of the summer', (B5:107), *'ixála kùlle* 'all of the food' (B6:5), *'aw-qásra kùlle* 'all of the palace' (A25:53). It may be placed after an independent demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *'aw-kùlla* 'all of that' (B10:91). The postposed quantifier may be separated from the noun by intervening material, e.g.

- (3) *máxe 'o-másxa l-gðáðe kùlle.*<sup>1</sup> 'All the butter gathers together.' (B7:24).

(iii) When *kulla* is placed before a plural noun, the noun is always definite and the particle has the sense of 'all', e.g. *kùlla 'askərwáθi* 'all my armies' (A29:43), *kùlla beθwáθα ðýən* 'all our houses' (B15:17), *kùlla náše* 'all the people' (B10:88). In such constructions the noun is a definite referential expression and not generic. It refers to a specific group of items in the class named by the noun, which can be identified in the context. The particle may be placed before a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *kùlla-'ani* 'all

of them' (A13:9). It is sometimes linked to the pronoun by the annexation particle, e.g. *kùlla d-àнна* 'all of these' (A8:55).

(iv) When *kùlla* is placed after a plural noun, the noun is always a definite referential expression rather than generic, e.g. *náše kùlla* 'all the people' (B6:10), *maymúne kùlla* 'all the monkeys' (A14:56), *míye díye kùlla* 'all its water' (B6:42). It may be placed after an independent demonstrative or personal pronoun, e.g. *'áni kùlla* 'all of them' (B7:17), *'áxtu kùllexu* 'all of you' (A8:85). The postposed quantifier may be separated from the noun or pronoun by intervening material, e.g.

- (4) *'ánna xaqlàθa' z'áruwala kùlla.*<sup>1</sup> 'They would plough all these fields.' (B7:10)  
 (5) *'ánna píšla gu-lábbe díye kùlla.*<sup>1</sup> 'All these (words) weighed on his heart.' (A38:13).

(v) The particle may also be used independently of a noun. It may be used pronominally to refer to a specific referent that is identifiable in the context. This referent may be masculine singular (6), feminine singular (7) or plural (8):

- (6) *zadáwale kùlla m-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> 'They throw all of it (= the snow *talga* m.) from the room' (B5:195)  
 (7) *kùlla šáxna.*<sup>1</sup> 'All of it (= the yoghurt *masta* f.) warms up.' (B5:65)  
 (8) *kùlla m'téla tàma.*<sup>1</sup> 'They all arrived there.' (B2:8)

It should be pointed out, however, that the 3fs. suffix and the short form of the 3pl. suffix are homophonous with the nominal inflectional ending *-a* and so the form *kùlla* could also be interpreted as having one of these suffixes. The particle is used also with the 3ms. suffix and the unambiguous long form of the 3pl. suffix, e.g.

- (9) *kùlle lwíša smòqa.*<sup>1</sup> 'All of him was dressed in red.' (A12:19)  
 (10) *kùlley' ta-t-máta míya 'állè.*<sup>1</sup> 'so that the water would reach all of them.' (B6:11)

It is also used with 1st and 2nd person suffixes, e.g.

- (11) *kùlli b-xá-gaya p'éšən kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> 'All of me will become stone at once.' (A8:75)

- (12) *b-tanúra kùllən yaþáxwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We all used to bake with an oven.’ (B10:95)  
 (13) *kùllux péšət kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The whole of you (ms.) will become stone.’ (A8:48)  
 (14) *kùllexu dmùxu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘All of you go to sleep.’ (A14:56).

### 14.9.3. raba

This functions as a quantifier of intensity that modifies nouns, adjectives and verbs. When it has this function it is not inflected. It may also function as an adjective, in which case it is inflected for gender and number with the usual adjectival endings.

#### 14.9.3.1. *Quantifier of a Noun*

It is placed either before or after the noun:

(i) Before the noun: *ràba tàlga* ‘much snow’ (B10:47), *ràba šlàṃ-əlləx* ‘much peace to you’ (A22:31), *ràba dána* ‘a long time’ (A28:2), *ràba ʔéba* ‘a lot of shame’ (B4:9), *ràba xyàtta*<sup>1</sup> ‘much sewing’ (B10:45), *ʔan-ɣomáθa t-awéwa ràba séra*<sup>1</sup> ‘the days when there was a lot of moonlight’ (B11:3), *ràba mándi tēmàna* ‘a lot of valuable stuff’ (A7:9), *ràba náše* ‘many people’ (B5:66), *ràba mándiyáne* ‘many things’ (A48:1), *ràba gəye* ‘many times’ (B5:70). The particle may be separated from the following noun by intervening material, e.g.

- (1) *qámθa ràba y-áθe tàlga.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the old days a lot of snow would fall.’ (B6:147)  
 (2) *ràba ʔiθwa zálta-w θéθa maθwàθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a lot of coming and going among the villages.’ (B5:234).

(ii) After the noun: *tálga ràba* ‘much snow’ (B5:108), *šúla ràba* ‘a lot of work’ (B5:19), *ʔúpra ràba*<sup>1</sup> ‘a lot of land’ (A26:24), *mánda ràba*<sup>1</sup> ‘a lot’ (A26:63), *šuláne ràba*<sup>1</sup> ‘many jobs’ (B11:17), *zúze ràba*<sup>1</sup> ‘a lot of money’ (A27:18), *náše ràba*<sup>1</sup> ‘a lot of people’ (B5:69). The particle may be separated from the noun by intervening material, e.g.

- (3) *xəlyə ʔi-mjáməxwa ràba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would collect a lot of milk.’ (B10:21)  
 (4) *y-áθi náše m-wáðər ràba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Many people come from outside.’ (B5:69)  
 (5) *ʔu-náše y-áwa ràba ʔiθye m-maθwàθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Many people have come from the villages.’ (B5:70)  
 (6) *líθwa mándiyáne t-zoníwa ràba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were not many things that they bought.’ (B5:73)



14.9.3.2. *Inflected Adjective*

When the form modifies a noun, it is sometimes treated syntactically as an adjective and inflected for gender and number. The adjective has the sense of ‘big (size)’ or ‘abundant, numerous (quantity)’, e.g.

- (1) *ʔəyēle xa-máymun ràba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A big monkey came.’ (A14:45)
- (2) *píšla máθa ràbθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It has become a big village.’ (B10:94)
- (3) *ʔašírat ràbθa-wawa ʔazíre Bóta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Jazire Bota was a large community.’ (A26:59)
- (4) *bíš yáwi túnta ràbθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They will give more abundant produce.’ (B5:103)
- (5) *ʔíθwa qásre ràbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were big villas.’ (B10:52)
- (6) *ʔíwa bíye xmatáθa ràbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It had many needles in it.’ (B10:49)

When it denotes quantity, it may also be placed before the noun, e.g.

- (7) *ràbe mǎndiyáne šmili.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have heard many things.’ (A38:13)
- (8) *ràbe gúre y-awðíwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Many men (were needed to) make it.’ (B10:79)

14.9.3.3. *Predicative*

The word may be used predicatively either as an uninflected quantifier or as an inflected adjective.

## (i) Uninflected Quantifier:

- (1) *ʔaší-šanne ràbela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Sixty years are a lot.’ (A4:48)
- (2) *šáwwa xmáre ràbela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Seven asses are a lot.’ (A23:13)
- (3) *mtagbárta díya bíš-ràbela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Its maintenance is more (= It requires more maintenance).’ (B5:105)

## (ii) Inflected adjective:

- (4) *bár t-iyáwa ràbθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘after it became abundant’ (B5:168)
- (5) *heywáne ràbe-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The animals were numerous.’ (A27:36)
- (6) *ma-t-wéwa ràbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘so numerous were they.’ (B6:10)
- (7) *ʔítwala mašína t-wéwa ràbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Those who were many (had large families) had a machine.’ (B10:59)

14.9.3.4. *Independent Quantifier*

On some occasions the word functions as a quantifier independently of a head noun. If it refers to a large quantity of something expressed by a noun of mass, it has the form *raba*, e.g.

- (1) *ḫla-d-áy dráyela xàččá<sup>1</sup> ḫla-d-áw ràba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot.’ (A17:25)

If it refers to many items in a set, the plural inflected form *rabe* is generally used, e.g.

- (2) *léđúwa ràbe<sup>1</sup> Fárxo màṭole.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Many people did not know what Farxo was like.’ (A25:78)  
 (3) *ràbe doqíwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Many held (hands).’ (B12:1)  
 (4) *t-lá-šala ràbe b-xa-bèna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘so that many (wheat grains) do not come down at once.’ (B6:56)

#### 14.9.3.5. *Intensifier of an adjective*

It is placed either before or after the adjective.

(i) Before the adjective:

- (1) *xa-yála ràba šapíra*<sup>1</sup> ‘a very handsome youth’ (A25:58)  
 (2) *ràba šapírtewat.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You are very beautiful.’ (A25:18)  
 (3) *ràba hawnànele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is very clever.’ (A17:21)

The particle is also used with active participle forms:

- (4) *ràba zamàra-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He was a great singer.’ (A25:43)  
 (5) *ràba raqáđetu šəmyən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have heard you are good dancers.’ (A51:19)

The nuclear stress is placed on the particle to give it greater prominence:

- (6) *xzéle xa-qásra ràba góra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He saw a very large palace.’ (A14:28)  
 (7) *tárət ’úmra ràba zóra-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The door of the church was very small.’ (B2:5)

In copula clauses the copula is sometimes placed on the particle in these circumstances:

- (8) *ràbəxwa xəđye p.síxe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We were very merry and joyful.’ (B16:6)

On sporadic occasions the particle is separated from the adjective by intervening material:

- (9) *rāba ʔtley xayúθa basímta bəd-àyya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They have a very fine life in this.’ (B5:106)

(ii) After the adjective:

- (10) *ʔó-leša páyāš raqíqa rāba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The dough becomes very fine.’ (B6:46)  
 (11) *basíma rāba* ‘(May you be) very well (= Thank you very much).’

Although the default position of the nuclear stress is at the end of the intonation group, it is sometimes retracted and placed on the adjective rather than on the intensifying particle:

- (12) *zʔdyalle gu-xa-dúkθa ʔamùqta rāba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He threw him in a very deep place.’ (A22:40)  
 (13) *sab-ʔáxtu hótu kḕxe rāba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘because you are very tired.’ (A14:56)

#### 14.9.3.6. *Instensifier of a Verb*

It is placed either before or after the verb. In both constructions the nuclear stress is placed either on the intensifier or on the verb.

(i) Intensifier before the verb:

- (1) *ʔáti rāba bāyánnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I love you a lot.’ (A22:19)  
 (2) *rāba xǎ́le b-d-a-bràta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He was very happy with the girl.’ (A14:96)  
 (3) *rāba zalámwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He acted very unjustly.’ (A27:1)  
 (4) *gǎ̀rag rāba ʔáxlət xàm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You must be very careful.’ (B5:105)

The intensifier may be modified by the comparative particle *biš*:

- (5) *l-garǎ̀wàθa biš-rāba mǎ́lǎ̀wala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They played it most often on the roofs.’ (B11:29)

(ii) Intensifier after the verb:

- (6) *xáyam rāba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It becomes very hot.’ (B6:48)  
 (7) *ʔrísla rāba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She became very fat.’ (A21:1)  
 (8) *paxlǎ̀tli rāba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Forgive me greatly (= I’m very sorry).’ (A1:11)

#### 14.9.4. *başora*

This is used with the sense of ‘small in quantity’. It may be placed after a noun as a modifier or be put in an ascriptive predicate. It inflects for gender and number like adjectives, e.g.

- (1) *ʔap-dəndəkkə başòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Just a small piece.’ (A18:27)
- (2) *zrúta rába başórta ʔìθena.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is very little cultivation.’ (B5:75)
- (3) *b-kúlla yóma zór maşúwa<sup>1</sup> xàzdi<sup>1</sup> xá-mdi rába başòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the whole day they can barely harvest something very little.’ (B5:144)
- (4) *ʔé-ga zúze başòrewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘At that time money was scarce.’ (B5:5)

It may be used independently of a head noun, e.g.

- (5) *başóra mənñè<sup>1</sup> ʔi-peşúwa yáni t-la maşúwa ʔékle bəθè.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A few of them remained without arriving at their house.’ (B15:44)

In some contexts it expresses the ‘minimum quantity’, e.g.

- (6) *ʔo-başórat bəθa ʔúwa t-trè ʔotáxe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The minimum amount (of rooms) of a house was two rooms.’ (B15:20)

The expression *biş başora*, with the comparative particle, expresses the sense of ‘less’ or ‘least’:

- (7) *hállí zúze biş-başòre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Give me less money.’
- (8) *hállí biş-başóra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Give me less.’
- (9) *qəm-hawónne biş-başóra mən-kullè.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I gave him less than all of them (= I gave him the least).’
- (10) *taqriban ʔo-biş-başóra ʔàñnwa şqíla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It was I who received almost the least.’ (B1:19)

The word is used adverbially in the form *başore* with a final *-e*, e.g.

- (11) *rába başòre xazáñne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I rarely see him.’
- (12) *ʔúna biş-kəsléni xámra lè-y-ođúwa rába.*<sup>1</sup> *yáni xàñçí,*<sup>1</sup> *başòre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In general in our community they did not make wine much, only rarely.’ (B5:213)

#### 14.9.5. *kēm*

This particle, of Kurdish origin, is used in the sense of a ‘few’ members of a set of items. It may modify a following noun, e.g. *kēm naşe* ‘a few people’, *kēm baxtáθa* ‘a few women’ (B10:22), or stand independently of a head noun, e.g.

- (1) *xa-kēm y-ódi hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A few do this.’

When in an ascriptive predicate position, it has the sense of ‘small in quantity, scarce’, e.g.

- (2) *gólla kēm hawéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Grass was scarce.’

When combined with the comparative particle *bis̄*, it expresses the sense of ‘less than’, e.g.

- (3) *bálki bis̄-kēm mən-ʔáštà-mma šánnela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps it is less than six-hundred years old.’ (B6:31)

#### 14.9.6. *katte*

This word is used independently in the sense of an ‘odd number’. It is occasionally used as a quantifier denoting paucity, e.g. *katte dukane* ‘the odd place, a few places’.

#### 14.9.7. *xáčča*

This is a quantifier with the sense of ‘a little quantity of’ or ‘a few’. It is placed before singular nouns of mass or plural count nouns: *xáčča tūna* ‘a little straw’ (B5:146), *xáčča tīna* ‘a little clay’ (B5:190), *xáčča šūla* ‘a little business’ (A16:4), *xáčča šarníye* ‘a few sweets’ (B5:40), *xáčča qése* ‘a few pieces of wood’ (A48:3). When denoting ‘a few items’ from a set, it is followed by the preposition *mən* ‘from’: *xáčča mən-d-án-našət bèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘a few of the people of the house’ (B5:51).

The quantifier can be used independently of a head noun as a referential expression:

- (1) *!la-d-áy dráyela xáčča.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She serves a small amount for herself.’ (A17:25)

It may be used predicatively:

- (2) *bar-náše xáčča wéla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘after people became few.’ (B5:197)

The word may function as a quantifying modifier of an adjective that expresses a gradable property. In most cases it is placed before the adjective:

- (3) *xáčča zàmət iyáwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It was a little difficult.’ (B5:3)  
 (4) *xáčča màrya xónəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Your brother is rather ill.’ (A32:27)  
 (5) *béθe díye xáčča rə̀hqa-weewa mən-máθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His house was rather distant from the village.’ (A48:1)

It may function as an adverb, being placed either before or after the verb:

- (6) *xáčča plišela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They fought a little.’ (B5:163)  
 (7) *tu-maníxəx xáčča.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Sit let us rest a little.’ (A26:17).

#### 14.9.8. xənčí

This is a quantifier that overlaps in meaning with *xáčča*. It has the sense of ‘a little quantity of’ or ‘a few’ and is placed before singular nouns of mass or plural count nouns, e.g.

- (1) *šále xənčí ’upra gu-réšət k’ə̀lo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A little earth falls on the head of the bride.’ (B8:34)  
 (2) *xənčí qámxa m-àxxa,*<sup>1</sup> *xənčí m-àxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(We put) a little flour here and a little here.’ (B10:89)  
 (3) *xənčí halúke țàrre*<sup>1</sup> ‘a few fresh plums’ (B8:19)

The particle may be used independently of a head noun, e.g.

- (4) *qá-t ’əp-xənčí mətəwalèy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘so that they would gain a little.’ (B5:135).

It may be used predicatively, e.g.

- (5) *sab-xənčí y-áwe xályə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘because milk was scarce.’ (B10:22)  
 (6) *’m-wéwa xənčí*<sup>1</sup> ‘If they were few...’ (B10:6)

It may modify an adjective, e.g.

- (7) *’ina bušála t-’oðəxwala t̄lələn,*<sup>1</sup> *xənčí miyànta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was a little watery.’ (B10:17).

It frequently functions as an adverb, e.g.

- (8) *šaxámwa xànčǐ*.<sup>1</sup> ‘It heated up a little.’ (B5:154)  
 (9) *hal-qayǝrwa xánčǐ*.<sup>1</sup> ‘until it cooled a little.’ (B5:164)  
 (10) *xánčǐ šoqáxwale gu-margàlta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We left it a little in the pan.’ (B10:10)

A rare variant form of the particle is *xanča*, e.g.

- (11) *šála xánča xànča*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They go down little by little.’ (B6:56)

#### 14.9.9. *kəma*

This is a quantifier that is used as follows.

##### 14.9.9.1. *Interrogative Quantifier*

When used interrogatively it has the sense of ‘how many’ or ‘how much’. It may be combined with a head noun, which is either a plural count noun or a singular noun of mass, e.g.

- (1) *ʔina kəmə-gaye zillux ʔu-šqillux ʔáyya*.<sup>21</sup> ‘How many times have you gone and taken it?’ (B15:90)  
 (2) *ʔawwa ʔaskariya diye ʔlā-kəma dánəla*.<sup>21</sup> ‘For what time is this army of his for?’ (A17:22)

It is sporadically separated from its head by intervening material, e.g.

- (3) *qá-t yǎđíwa kút-xa məššáre kəma b-šále míya gáwa diya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘so that everybody would know much water would go into his paddy field.’ (B5:77)

The particle may be used independently of a head noun as an argument of the clause, e.g.

- (4) *kəmə t-yátli*.<sup>21</sup> ‘How much will you give me?’ (A24:5)  
 (5) *kəmə t-àxlət*.<sup>21</sup> ‘How much will you eat?’ (B5:33)

It may also function as an ascriptive predicate, e.g.

- (6) *sáʔt kəməla*.<sup>21</sup> ‘The time is how much? (= What time is it?)’ (A26:27)  
 (7) *báyən t-xazánne ʔupra diyi kəməla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I want to see how big my land is.’ (A14:47)

On some occasions it is used adverbially, especially in expressions relating to cost, e.g.

- (8) *kəmə zənátle?*<sup>1</sup> ‘For how much will you buy him?’ (A24:23)  
 (9) *xzi-kəmə t-ázəl ’áwəwə táwəra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘See how much this ox will go for.’ (A22:1)

Variants of these expressions have *b-* before the particle, e.g. *b-kəmə zənátle?*

#### 14.9.9.2. *Indicative Quantifier*

When used indicatively it has the sense of ‘some, several’ and is always combined with a head noun, either a plural count noun or a singular noun of mass, e.g.

- (1) *y-oráwa káma yàrxə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Several months passed.’ (B5:18)  
 (2) *kút-kəma yomáθa mbarəxšwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Every few days they would stir it.’ (B4:212)  
 (3) *bróne díye tliqa kəma-dána.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His son was lost for some time’ (A14:95)

When it has this function, it is frequently combined with the particle *xa* resulting in the form *xakma* (§14.9.10.). When the head noun is omitted, the form *xakma* is regularly used in place of *kəma*.

#### 14.9.9.3. *Exclamatory Quantifier*

When it has an exclamatory function, it may be combined with a head noun, e.g.

- (1) *’ána kəmə dána t-in-mšalóye tla-márya ’álaha! ta-t-yawállli ’emma dáwə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins.’ (A6:10)

More frequently it is a modifier of an adjective (2) or an adverb (3):

- (2) *kəma-basimtəla ’ixála!*<sup>1</sup> ‘How delicious the food is!’ (A21:31)  
 (3) *baxtáθa káma zádúwa mən-xuwəwəwə!*<sup>1</sup> ‘How much the women feared snakes!’ (B5:78).



14.9.10. *xakma*

This particle has been formed by the combination of *xa* with *kama*. It is used in the sense of ‘a small quantity of’ or ‘some (items/portion of a set)’: *xákma mǎndiyàne*<sup>1</sup> ‘some things’ (B5:62), *xákma xabráne* ‘some words’ (A4:40), *xákma šǎnne xène*<sup>1</sup> ‘a few more years’ (B5:208), *xákma dukáne*<sup>1</sup> ‘some places’ (B6:2). In some cases it is used with a singular noun of mass: *báθar xákma dàna*<sup>1</sup> ‘after some time’ (B165),

- (1) *hálli xákma mǎndi*<sup>1</sup> *masqánnne l-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Give me some stuff to take up to the house.’ (A22:19)

It may be used pronominally, independently of a head noun. In such cases it normally denotes groups of items that belong to a set, e.g.

- (2) *xákma doqíwale xúwwa qatlíwale*<sup>1</sup> *xákma zǎdǎwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Some took hold of the snake and killed it. Some used to be afraid.’ (B5:78)  
 (3) *xákma la-šǎmi*<sup>1</sup> *xákma šǎmi tǎlá yománe*<sup>1</sup> ‘Some do not fast. Some fast for three days.’ (B6:21)  
 (4) *xákma dǎwáqa xáše dǎye*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-xákma darqúle dǎye*<sup>1</sup> ‘Some (villagers) supported him and others were against him.’ (A7:20)  
 (5) *náše mšuréla xnàqa*<sup>1</sup> *xákma náše*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-xákma mxulšàla gána*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-xákma síqla garǎwáθət bâte*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-xákma síqla dukáne ramáne qa-t-la-máti míya ʔǎlla*<sup>1</sup> ‘People began to drown—some people, some saved themselves. Some went up onto the roofs of houses. Some went up onto high places so that the water would not reach them.’ (B6:18)

Occasionally the particle has the form *xamka* by metathesis, e.g.

- (6) *yáþaxwale xámka yománe*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would bake for a few days.’ (B10:91)  
 (7) *xámka bǎnya*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-xámka là*<sup>1</sup> ‘Some built (such houses), some did not.’ (B10:52)

14.9.11. *xena* (*f.* *xeta*, *pl.* *xene*)

Sporadically this word is attested in the form *xrena* (*f.* *xreta*, *pl.* *xrene*), in which the original /r/ has been preserved.

14.9.11.1. *Modifier of a Noun*

When functioning as a modifier of a noun, the word is always placed after the noun. A singular indefinite noun in such phrases generally has the

indefinite cardinal particle *xa/ða* ‘a, one’ and definite nouns singular and plural have demonstratives. The word means ‘other’, both in the sense of ‘different, alternative’ and also that of ‘additional’:

- (1) *matúli xá-šamma xèna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Give me another name.’ (A7:2)
- (2) *m-ya-góta xèta*<sup>1</sup> ‘from the other side’ (A25:30)
- (3) *’áwwa plítéle gu-ða-dúnye xèta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He came out in another world.’ (A14:26)
- (4) *w-an-xonǎwátha xéne mára* ‘the other brothers said...’ (A12:17)
- (5) *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawǎnnax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall give you another bag like that one.’ (A4:16)
- (6) *xa-béna xéta mjarbǎmma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall test them another time (= again).’ (A48:4)

The particle *čú-* may replace *xa/ða* before negated indefinite nouns:

- (7) *čú-mǎi xéna liθm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is nothing else.’ (A4:43)

An indefinite singular noun does not have any preceding particle if it is a noun of mass: *tálga xèna*<sup>1</sup> ‘more snow’, *mǎndi xéna kúlla* ‘all else’ (A21:14). Elsewhere an indefinite singular noun rarely lacks the preceding particle. The attested examples are listing constructions, expressing one of several items in a list rather than one that is in binary opposition to another item (8) or adverbial phrases (9), e.g.

- (8) *qímle ’áqla xéta... qǎm-parǎmla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He cut off another leg (one of the four).’ (A22:5)
- (9) *zille ’u-xyèle gu-mǎtta xéta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went and lived in another town.’ (A18:11)

The head of the phrase may be an interrogative pronoun: *módi xèna.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What else?’ (A23:35), *’éni xèna.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who else?’

Indefinite plural nouns may have the indefinite determiner *xakma* ‘some, a few’ or a numeral: *xákma šǎnne xène*<sup>1</sup> ‘a few more years’ (B5:208), *trè-mǎndi-yane xéne*<sup>1</sup> ‘two other things’ (A39:8), *’ǎsrà tǎyáre xéne*<sup>1</sup> ‘ten other people from Tiyare’ (B17:16), *’ǎští-šǎnne xène*<sup>1</sup> ‘sixty more years’ (A4:48). It is, however, often left without any determiner:

- (10) *’o-tǎjǎr núbléle náše xène.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The merchant brought other people.’ (A14:72)

An adjective is placed after the particle if the adjective is presented as specific to the item in question:

- (11) *xzéli xa-béθa xéna zòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I saw another house, (which was) small.’  
 (12) *xârθa t-áθe xá-<sup>2</sup>eða xréna zòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then comes another festival, (which is) small’ (B6:8)

If the adjective expresses a property that is common to the set of which the noun in question is one member, the particle *xéna* is placed after the adjective:

- (13) *xzéli xa-béθa zóra xéna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I saw another small house (another one of the set of small houses).’

The noun may be omitted with the singular indefinite particle *xa/ða* or a demonstrative alone functioning as the head of the phrase: *xa-xéna* ‘another one’ (A23:27), *ða-xéta* ‘another one’ (A22:9), *’o-xéna* ‘the other one’ (A4:45), *’áyya xéta* ‘this other one’ (B12:2), *’an-xéne* ‘the others’ (A8:86). The singular indefinite particle is occasionally omitted in contexts where the item is presented as one of a list of members of a set:

- (14) *qayámwa xéna t-amàrwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Another man (from the group) would get up and say...’ (B5:9)  
 (15) *’áy y-oya-priqta,*<sup>1</sup> *mátta xéta sópa dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(When) that is finished, she puts in another in its place.’ (B5:102).

It can act as the modifier of an interrogative pronoun in constructions such as *’u-mòdi-xenat xózya?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What else have you seen?’ (A17:8).

#### 14.9.11.2. *Adverbial*

The particle *xéna* may be used adverbially with the sense of ‘more, again’:

- (1) *’ána xéna súla la-pàlxm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not work any more.’ (A23:40)  
 (2) *xéna rìšele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He woke up again.’ (A14:95)  
 (3) *xéna téla télēle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The fox was a fox again.’ (A32:26)

When it occurs at the front of a clause, it is often largely devoid of semantic content, serving, it seems, as a discourse particle expressing some kind of boundary and prominence, e.g.

- (4) *xéna polise mù t-ódi?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Well, what should the police do?’ (A8:9)  
 (5) *xéna ’ána qémən ’ázən ’ùmra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Well, I shall go to church.’ (A37:2)  
 (6) *xéna šlìθela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Well, she went down.’ (A4:37)

#### 14.9.11.3. *Modifier of Quantifier*

On some occasions the particle is placed after a quantifier:

- (1) *šqilənwə xáčča xéna qàlya<sup>1</sup> ta-t-axlənne b-’ùrxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I took a little more roasted meat to eat on the way.’ (A23:10)  
 (2) *’ən-hawéšuwə dóryalli xáčča xéna biš-hódəx...* ‘If you had thrown me a little further along...’ (A7:22)  
 (3) *xáčča xéna mumžəlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She delayed a little more.’ (A18:21)

#### 14.9.12. *mo, mu, mut, modi*

This interrogative particle, in its various forms, may be used as a modifier of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *’áwəwə mò-tāhər nāsəle?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What kind of man is he?’ (A25:31)  
 (2) *mò-čára t-óðəx tla-d-áyya qātu t-la ’axlələni?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us?’ (A44:1)  
 (3) *’áwəwə mò-qalət bəxyele?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What sound of screaming is this?’ (A4:44)  
 (4) *’áwəwə mut-qələle?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What noise is this?’ (A26:53)  
 (5) *’áyya mòdi mđitela?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What town is this?’ (A26:26)

The particle may also function as an exclamatory modifier of nouns, e.g.

- (6) *’ina mù-brata!*<sup>1</sup> ‘But what a girl!’ (A13:11)

More frequently the particle is used as an interrogative particle independently of a head noun, e.g.

- (7) *mò-bəyət?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What do you want?’ (A13:13)  
 (8) *mòdi widdle?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What did he do?’ (A25:19)

It is also used as an exclamatory interrogative in constructions such as (9) and (10), also occasionally in exclamatory assertions (11):

- (9) *mu-štímlux bèθi:ʔ<sup>n</sup>* ‘Why have you destroyed me (literally: my house)?!’ (A15:14)  
 (10) *mùt hole-pčíla:ʔ<sup>n</sup>* ‘How could it be that it is crooked?’ (A17:20)  
 (11) *téla mo-ʔréle ʔlla!<sup>n</sup>* ‘How the fox ran to it!’ (A49:4)

14.9.13. *ma-*

This particle may be used in the same way as *mo* and its variants as an interrogative modifier of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *ʔanna ma-brinànela gu-réšux:ʔ<sup>n</sup>* ‘What wounds are these on your head?’ (A29:6)  
 (2) *ʔanna ma-dàwela:ʔ<sup>n</sup>* ‘What (type of) gold are they?’ (A7:13)

It may be used as an exclamatory modifier of a noun, e.g.

- (3) *ʔu-Bəlbəl Hazár yăđátla ma-báxta xàmθela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You know what a beautiful woman Bəlbəl Hazar is.’ (A8:65)

It is occasionally used in other syntactic positions to mark prominence. These include before adjectives (4), in exclamatory statements (5) and before negated questions (6)–(7):

- (4) *mříle ma-dûs téla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The fox really became ill.’ (A32:32)  
 (5) *ma-píštət kaxwəlla!<sup>n</sup>* ‘How you have become a ruin!’ (A18:16)  
 (6) *ma-lat-đáya b-gánəx qàrθela:ʔ<sup>n</sup>* ‘Don’t you know yourself that it is cold?!’ (A20:1)  
 (7) *ma-létu mšiwəre:ʔ<sup>n</sup>... ma-létu gnìwe:ʔ<sup>n</sup>* ‘Have you not cursed?... Have you not stolen (something)?’ (B8:18).

For the use of *ma* in conjoining constructions see §14.11.

14.9.14. *ʔeni*

This may be used as an interrogative modifier of a noun in the sense of ‘which’, e.g.

- (1) *ʔeni bəxtela mubrèθa:ʔ<sup>n</sup>* ‘Which woman has given birth?’ (A25:6)  
 (2) *ga-léđəx ʔekèla,<sup>1</sup> b-éni dükθela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But we do not know where she is, in which place she is.’ (A26:18)

- (3) *ga-ʿēni Zīne<sup>1</sup> ʿáxni lèðax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now, which Zine we do not know.’  
(A26:61)

It may be separated from its head by intervening material, in which case it is linked to the noun by the annexation particle *D*, e.g.

- (4) *ʿēni ʿitlexu t-náše t-mási mšáwθi mənna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘What people do you have who can talk with her?’ (A4:13)

In (5) the particle is placed after the noun and is followed by a prepositional phrase that restricts the scope of the question to a previously mentioned known set of items:

- (5) *þónxa ʿēni mənnele.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Which of the (types of) grind wheel is it? (literally: a grind wheel which of them is it?)’ (B5:92)

It is more frequently encountered in the text corpus as an independent interrogative with the sense of ‘who’, e.g.

- (6) *ʿēnile.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Who is he?’ (A2:7)  
(7) *ʿēni híwle-llax.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Who gave it to you?’ (A4:19)  
(8) *ʿēnile qtilalle.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Who has killed him?’ (A15:16)  
(9) *ʿēni b-záwən tawra.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Who will buy an ox?’ (A22:2)

This usage no doubt developed from questions concerning members of a set such as:

- (10) *ʿēni mənneXu t-àzəl.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Which of you will go?’ (A30:1)  
(11) *múr ʿēni-mənnən<sup>1</sup> biš-šapirtela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Say which of us is the most beautiful.’  
(A25:17)

#### 14.9.15. *hatxa*

This word may be used as an anaphoric determiner before a singular or plural noun in the sense of ‘such a’, ‘such’, e.g.

- (1) *bróni lá-wuð hátxa mändi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My son, do not do such a thing.’ (A14:6)  
(2) *lið hátxa-mändi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There is not such a thing.’ (A25:69)  
(3) *lið hátxa mändi wíya gu-mđíta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Such a thing has not happened in the town.’ (A22:2)

- (4) *hátxa pəlxána pəlxeti?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do you do such work as this?’ (A23:32)  
 (5) *málka krìble<sup>1</sup> bud-hátxa məndiyáne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The king became angry about such things.’ (A25:8)

It may be used independently of a head noun as a subject or object argument in a clause, e.g.

- (6) *hátxa la-hàwya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Such a thing should not be.’ (A21:32)  
 (7) *si-hátxa múrgən tla-málka.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go, say thus to the king.’ (A17:30)  
 (8) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why are you doing this to me?’ (A25:42)

It can take a nominal plural ending, e.g.

- (9) *’ána gárəg ’amrən hatxàne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I must tell such things.’ (A39:7)

It is used predicatively, e.g.

- (10) *hàtxela qəşşət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The story is this.’ (A13:5)  
 (11) *ta-módila ’áyya mǝíta hátxa?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why is the town like this?’ (A4:31)

The particle may function as a modifier of adjectives, e.g.

- (12) *’iman t-ile xəzyəlla, hátxa şətránta-w şapirta, ’ay-şrixla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When he saw her, so beautiful and good-looking, she screamed.’ (A4:4)  
 (13) *’u-paroşyáða hátxa glòle*<sup>1</sup> ‘pebbles, round like this’ (A23:17)  
 (14) *hátxa faqira*<sup>1</sup> ‘so poor’ (A40:4)

It is frequently used adverbially, e.g.

- (15) *mjunəgníla hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She shook them like this.’ (A4:15)  
 (16) *dwiqəlla hátxa gu-’iðe diyə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He took her like this in his hand.’ (A13:25)  
 (17) *şışále gáne hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He rocked himself like.’ (A31:7)

#### 14.9.16. hodəx

This is occasionally used as a deictic modifier of a nominal with the sense of ‘yonder’, e.g.

- (1) *m-támma hódəx tura ’áθrə d-ánna dəwele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘From here to yonder mountain is the land of the wolves.’ (A14:48)

It is combined with a demonstrative pronoun in expressions such as *l-ay-gōt-hòdax t-šaqíθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘on the farther side of the channel’ (A9:1). It is more commonly used as an adverbial meaning ‘beyond, further’, e.g.

- (2) *m-táma hódax t-ázət máət xa-nèra*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go onwards from there and you will reach a river.’ (A14:50)

It is often combined with *biš*, e.g. *xáčča xéna biš-hódax* ‘a little further on’ (A7:22). On some occasions it has temporal rather than spatial reference, e.g.

- (3) *m-táma hòdax<sup>1</sup> ’áxtu ’u-g’anèxu*<sup>1</sup> ‘From then onwards you are by yourselves.’ (A8:27)

#### 14.9.17. ču

This is used as a negative determiner in the sense of ‘not any.’ The predicate of the clause in which it occurs is itself always negative, e.g.

- (1) *’u-łlálux lan-šwíqa ču-məndi*<sup>1</sup> ‘and for you I have not left anything.’ (A2:11)  
 (2) *’ána bsiml<sup>1</sup> ču-mđi liθ-biyi*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am cured, nothing is the matter with me.’ (A4:20)  
 (3) *ta-t-čú-mđi lā-’aθe bíye diye*<sup>1</sup> ‘so that nothing will happen to it.’ (A7:9)  
 (4) *čü pəlxána la-pəlxət ’áti*<sup>1</sup> ‘You shall do no work.’ (A23:32)  
 (5) *hon-dáryəlle gu-xa-čále ’amúqta lā-’aməš čü-ga čü-ga palət*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have put him in a deep hole and he will never be able to come out.’ (A22:41)

The negation can be reinforced by prefixing the particles *la* and *har*, e.g.

- (6) *la-har-čü-dúkθa liθwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘She was nowhere at all (to be found).’ (A27:26)

#### 14.9.18. hič

The particle *hič* is used with the same function as *čü* by some speakers, e.g. *hič-nəša*<sup>1</sup> ‘nobody’ (A8:2). It may be combined with the indefinite article, e.g.



- (1) *hič xa-náša lá-maše mēθéla Bálbəl Hazàr.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nobody could bring back Bəlbəl Hazar.’ (A8:25).

#### 14.9.19. *la*

The negative particle *la* can be used as a modifier of an adjective, e.g. *fəl-fəl... lā-xšilta* ‘uncrushed pepper’ (B10:21), *miya la-rθixe* ‘unboiled water’.

#### 14.9.20. *fəllən, pəllən, flan*

This word, in its various alternative forms, is used as a modifier of a noun with the sense of ‘such-and-such’, e.g.

- (1) *sí-mur ta-pəllən wāzìr.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go and tell such-and-such a minister.’ (A4:38)  
 (2) *ʔána siqli fəllən dükθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I went up to such-and-such a place.’ (A10:9)  
 (3) *só l-béθət flān-naša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go to the house of such-and-such a man.’ (A8:8)

In (4) it modifies a pronoun, e.g.

- (4) *mó-t mára fəllən ʔàti?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What do you, so-and-so, say?’ (B5:9)

It may be used independently, e.g.

- (5) *hàtxele wiða fəllən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘So-and-so did such-and-such.’ (A48:1)  
 (6) *hà-pəllən ləkət zála?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Hey so-and-so, where are you going?’ (A1:11)

#### 14.9.21. *ʔay*

This is marginally used instead of *ʔeni* with the sense of ‘which’, e.g.

- (1) *ʔàti xázət ʔay-məna báyət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘See which one you like.’ (A14:80)

## 14.10. REPETITION OF CONSTITUENTS

The repetition of constituents in a clause has various functions, which can be classified as follows.

14.10.1. *Intensity*

Adjectives and adverbs are repeated with an intensifying function, e.g.

- (1) *máglət gilándi xá-mdi gòrəle... tla-d-án mǝrgáne góre gòre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The scythe is something big... for the very big meadows.’ (B5:144)
- (2) *ʔiθwa tawalyáθa rábe ràbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were very many games.’ (B7:4)
- (3) *pálti wènde,<sup>1</sup> béher y-áwe príše príše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Flowers come out, in Spring there are lots of different kinds.’ (B5:176)
- (4) *y-aθiwa baxtáθat màθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔi-mbašlìwa,<sup>1</sup> m-qúrbə qúrbət mǝrət xlùla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Women of the village who were close (relatives of) the head of the wedding would come and cook.’ (B15:63)
- (5) *lwíša júlle hátxa jálde jálde.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He put on his clothes very quickly.’ (A4:55)

The expression *jalde jalde* is often abbreviated to *ja-jalde*, e.g.

- (6) *mšawθitu m-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-túra ja-jalde pǝrəq.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should speak with one another, so that the mountain (journey) would finish very quickly.’ (A17:19)

In (7) a plural attributive demonstrative is repeated to convey an intensified quantity:

- (7) *ʔánna ʔánna šazàde<sup>1</sup> ʔánna jwàñqe,<sup>1</sup> ʔánna náše kulla-ʔəθye tìlǝbǝlləx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘These many princes, these young men, these people have all come to seek your hand.’ (A8:77)

14.10.2. *Increment*

In some contexts nouns or adverbs are repeated to express gradual increase or progression, e.g.

- (1) *t-la-nápal ʔo-rázza ʔurxà-w-urxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘so that the rice does not fall along the road.’ (B5:80)

- (2) *šléle ʔurxa-ʔurxa xzélé ʔina pyáša dabbòre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went down and along the way saw that they were becoming hornets.’ (A10:10)
- (3) *y-àθi<sup>1</sup> góta góta d-è-maθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They come alongside that village.’ (B18:2)
- (4) *báláwala yabišta xərqá xərqá gu-qðála díya mabyànwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck (as it went down).’ (A8:63)
- (5) *qíméle sáryalle b-réšət ʔilanáne ʔilanáne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He tied it to the tops of the trees (one after the other).’ (A39:12)
- (6) *šléla béʔe ʔàx-ʔaxxe díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The eggs ran down him here and here.’ (A23:8)
- (7) *ʔan-tre-maláxe... θéla pyáða táma tàma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Those two angels... came passing by.’ (A4:44)
- (8) *garšúle níxa níxa-w.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They gradually pull it out.’ (B5:178)
- (9) *já-jámúwa náše,<sup>1</sup> níxa níxa níxa níxa,<sup>1</sup> pəššúwa xámša-w ʔəra-w hál xamšəssər.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The people would gather and would gradually become five, ten, up to fifteen.’ (B5:61)
- (10) *xánčǎ xánčǎ<sup>1</sup> pərməxwa bi-díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would cut down with it little by little (a little at a time).’ (B5:144)

#### 14.10.3. *Distribution*

Nouns are repeated in some distributive expressions, e.g.

- (1) *qíma kút-yoma yóma šláya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everyday he would get up to go down (to the pool).’ (A14:79)
- (2) *y-azəlwa ʔyáda,<sup>1</sup> béθa béθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He would go to make an invitation, at each house.’ (B5:20)
- (3) *kút y-azəlwa zayənwa,<sup>1</sup> píše xá ʔarb-əmma xamš-əmma náše réza rəza.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody who went would stand, about four or five hundred people, in rows.’ (A8:31)

#### 14.11. CONJOINING OF NOUNS IN A NOMINAL PHRASE

Two nouns in a compound nominal phrase are linked together by the connective particle *w*. This may be attached as a clitic either to the beginning of the second noun or to the end of the first noun. When in contact with a consonant at the beginning of a word it is realized as *ʔu-* (< \**ʔuw*), e.g.

- (1) *xá-yoma 'íθwa xá-qaša 'u-xà-malla.*<sup>1</sup> 'Once there was a priest and a mullah.' (A2:1)
- (2) *lát-xíla xa-láxma-w xa-bèta.*<sup>1</sup> 'Have you not eaten a loaf of bread and an egg?' (A17:15)
- (3) *t-ámrax 'ána w-àti<sup>1</sup> xóna-w xàθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Let's say I and you (we are) brother and sister.' (A16:8)
- (4) *sab-k'álo-w xátna 'íwa málka-w malàkθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'since the bride and groom were the king and queen.' (B15:71)

The conjoining may have a concomitative sense, e.g.

- (5) *xá-gaya y-asqàxwa<sup>1</sup>...kút-xa-w táxte díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'Sometimes we went up (onto the roof)...everybody with his bed.' (B10:58)

In such cases the two items are not coordinated but rather the first has greater prominence. This may be reflected in verb agreement, in that the verb in some cases agrees only with the first item. In (6), for example, the verb is singular:

- (6) *kályele gu-tárət bέθa 'áv 'u-?áy.*<sup>1</sup> 'He stood at the door of the house together with her.' (A4:55)

When three or more items are linked in a chain, the connective particle is usually attached to each item before the one at the end of the chain, e.g.

- (7) *'íwa záwnat qátla-w dómma-w pràma.*<sup>1</sup> 'It was a time of killing, blood and slaughter.' (A1:24)
- (8) *qáryalle wazír-díye 'u-xákma guřàne<sup>1</sup> 'u-báxte díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'He called his minister, a few courtiers and his wife.' (A4:40)
- (9) *báyən lá-?aθi b-xàsša<sup>1</sup> 'u-bxáya-w jnàna.*<sup>1</sup> 'I do not want them to come in sadness, weeping and singing dirges.' (A4:33)

The connective particle is used in some contexts as an intensifier of a gradable relation or quality. In (10), for example, it intensifies the comparative adverbial:

- (10) *b-qáryən 'u-hèš-biš záwda.*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall call yet louder.' (A8:72)

It is used in constructions expressing a range of items with the prepositions *mən... 'u-hal* 'from...to' in order to express increased extension, e.g.

- (11) *kùllən,*<sup>1</sup> *mən-yále zóre* *ʔu-hal-gôre*<sup>1</sup> ‘all of us, from young children all the way to old people’ (B16:4)
- (12) *m-ó-yoma dwíqalle Mămo gu-hàbsa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-hàl-ʔadyo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘From that day he has held Mămo in prison, all the way until today.’ (A26:75)

Lists of items, which are presented individually rather than linked together in a composite whole, are in some cases expressed without any connective particles, e.g.

- (13) *gàrwe,*<sup>1</sup> *šàwle,*<sup>1</sup> *jùlle rixe,*<sup>1</sup> *jùllə jərjèt*<sup>1</sup> ‘stockings, shoes, long clothes, clothes of purple fabric’ (B10:30)
- (14) *y-awéwa wásta bra-qđàla,*<sup>1</sup> *breθáthe rixe*<sup>1</sup> *y-odđxwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was the chest (of the blouse), the collar, long sleeves, which we would make.’ (B10:45)
- (15) *ʔu-kùl-məndi y-áwe pàrya,*<sup>1</sup> *xàlta,*<sup>1</sup> *štèθa,*<sup>1</sup> *m-kùl-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everything was in abundance, food, drink, (something) of everything.’ (B15:63)

A noun may be repeated to make the class denoted by it more general. In most cases the second occurrence of the noun is introduced by the particle *ma-*. The connective particle *w* may optionally occur before the *ma-* particle (*X ma-X ~ X ʔu-ma-X*), e.g.

- (16) *jawáttə tla-pràma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔanna qése ma-qése.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A chopper was for chopping wood and the like.’ (B5:141)
- (17) *ʔaxxa xuwwáwe ma-xuwwáwe lè-y-aθe l-d-áwwa gášra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Here snakes and the like will not come onto this bridge.’ (A30:49)
- (18) *kùl-məndi deréwa biya.*<sup>1</sup> *harmòne*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ma-harmòne,*<sup>1</sup> *hermìye,*<sup>1</sup> *sparəgle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would put everything on it. Pomegranates and the like, pears, quinces.’ (B8:31)
- (19) *xóna mənèxule,*<sup>1</sup> *léla ta-t-ʔamráti tliba ma-tliba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is your brother, you should not say (that he) is a fiancé or something.’ (A25:22)

On some occasions, instead of prefixing the *ma-* particle, the first consonant of the second occurrence of the noun is replaced by a different consonant, resulting in a word that has no meaning in isolation, e.g.

- (20) *ʔána háwən Qára Tèždin,*<sup>1</sup> *maθyánət xárje-w bájət botanəye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am Qara Teždin, the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan.’ (A26:34)

A related strategy is to repeat the word with a change of internal vocalic pattern, e.g.

- (21) *bráte díye muttúla qásre ʾu-qasòre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His daughter established villas and palaces.’ (A40:7)

We may include here the combination of stem I and stem II resultative participles in order to express intensity in contexts such as (22) and (23):

- (22) *bád-pésát b-šòpi,*<sup>1</sup> *bríxta mburàxta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You will stand in my place, (you are) greatly blessed. (A40:15)
- (23) *pàqəð bába ʾazíza,*<sup>1</sup> *xqàra,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-áyya dúnye mxùgra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Welcome dear, esteemed father, honoured in this world.’ (A40:12)

In (24) the second resultative participle is from a cognate quadrilateral verb:

- (24) *qčpewəx mgorəčpewəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We are cut down and harvested.’ (A51:8)

Another practice is to place the generic word *məndi* ‘thing’ in apposition to the noun, e.g.

- (25) *kút-ile xílalle xa-rəmsi-məndi*<sup>1</sup> *gu-bəθi*<sup>1</sup> *ʾáθe xarəla gu-bəθi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everyone who has eaten my dinner or the like (i.e. any food) in my house, let him come and defecate in my house.’ (A7:5)

#### 14.12. NUMERALS

Cardinal numerals are placed before the counted nominal, which follows in apposition. The nominal is in the plural after all numerals above ‘one’, unless it is a loanword that has not been adapted to Aramaic morphology and does not take plural inflection. The only exception to this is the word *ʾamma* ‘hundred’, which remains singular when preceded by numerals, e.g. *tré ʾamma* ‘two-hundred’, *tláθa ʾamma* ‘three-hundred’, *ʾarba ʾamma* ‘four-hundred’. The word *ʾalpa* ‘thousand’, by contrast, is made plural after numerals, e.g. *tré ʾalpe* ‘two-thousand’, *tláθa ʾalpe* ‘three-thousand’, *ʾarba ʾalpe* ‘four-thousand’. The word *ʾamma* is plural in expressions such as *ʾammáyət ššne*<sup>1</sup> ‘hundreds of years’ (B15:92).

In principle, the cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 exist in both masculine and feminine forms in agreement with the gender of the noun they are combined with. In practice, the masculine form is in the process of becoming the default form in the dialect and is used with both masculine and feminine nouns (§12.1.1., §14.1.2.). It is worth noting that the levelling is regular in certain common multiplicative expressions. These include phrases containing the word *'amma* 'hundred', which is historically feminine, but regularly takes the masculine form of numeral. We should also mention expressions containing the feminine nouns *gaya* and *bena* 'time, instance', which regularly take the masculine cardinal *xa* rather than *ða*, viz. *xa-gaya*, *xa-bena* 'once' (§14.1.2.).

Most nouns ending in the singular nominal inflectional ending *-a* that have a plural in *-ane* or *-aθa* can also form a plural with the shorter ending *-e*, e.g. *tāra* m. 'door' (pl. *tārane*, *tāre*), *qawra* f. (pl. *qawraθa*, *qawre*). In exceptional cases all three plural endings are used, e.g. *yoma* m. 'day' (pl. *yomane*, *yomaθa*, *yome*). In the case of most such nouns, the shorter plural form with the *-e* ending tends to be used after numerals, whereas the long form is used for plurals denoting groups of an unspecified number of items. There is a particular tendency for the short form to be used with the numeral 'two'. In all cases, however, these are only tendencies and not absolute rules, e.g.

<i>tāra</i>	'door'
<i>tre tāre</i>	'two doors'
<i>ʔla tārane</i>	'three doors'
<i>raba tārane</i>	'many doors'
<i>pəqqa</i>	'frog'
<i>tre pəqqe</i>	'two frogs'
<i>ʔla pəqqaθa</i>	'three frogs'
<i>raba pəqqaθa</i>	'many frogs'
<i>yoma</i>	'day'
<i>tre yome</i>	'two days'
<i>ʔla yome ~ yomane ~ yomaθa</i>	'three days'
<i>raba yomane ~ yomaθa</i>	'many days'
<i>gaya</i>	'time'
<i>tre gaye</i>	'two times'
<i>ʔla gaye</i>	'three times'
<i>raba gayaθa</i>	'many times'

The *-e* plural ending of *'ida* 'hand' and *'aqla* 'foot' is regularly used in the fixed expression *'ide 'u-'aqle* 'arms and legs' / *'aqle 'u-'ide* 'legs and arms', whereas the plurals *'iθaθa* and *'aqlaθa* are normal elsewhere, e.g.

- (1) *dawéra 'ide-w 'àqle.*<sup>1</sup> 'A mule (is a man's) arms and legs.' (B5:124)  
 (2) *šryalla 'aqle w-ide.*<sup>1</sup> 'He untied the legs and arms.' (A10:13)

The nouns *baxta* 'woman' and *γamma* 'mother', which have human referents, have the feminine plural ending *-aθa* in all contexts.

This alternation between short and long plurals is rare in nouns ending in the singular feminine endings *-ta* and *-θa*. A few nouns with the feminizing ending *-ta* or *-θa* in the singular that have a plural in *-aθa* may be given the plural ending *-e* after numerals, e.g.

<i>kθeθa</i>	'chicken'
<i>təte kθaye</i>	'two chickens'
<i>raba kθayaθa</i>	'many chickens'

Nouns that form a plural by reduplication of the final consonant in many cases use a simple plural in *-e* after numerals, e.g.

<i>pəčča</i>	'piece'
<i>tre pəčče</i>	'two pieces'
<i>raba pəččače</i>	'many pieces'

Numerals are sometimes repeated in order to express distribution, either within one event (3) or across different events (4):

- (3) *kút-xa mánən t-ámrx máttəx tlaθa tlaθa teballe.*<sup>1</sup> 'We each put down, let's say, three marbles.' (B11:25)  
 (4) *xa-xá-ga mərət bəθa mbašlwa 'ixála 'imət hoya dənət 'ixála.*<sup>1</sup> 'Sometimes the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food.' (B6:16)

Numerals may be used independently of a head noun as an argument in a clause, e.g.

- (5) *xà-qaṭlitu,<sup>1</sup> trè-qaṭlitu,<sup>1</sup> mò bṭ-ódəx b-ánna.<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> 'You may kill one, you may kill two, but what will we do with (all the rest of) them?' (A14:44)



- (6) *ʔáyya kista<sup>1</sup> hóle mxožábnalla max-xà.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He has reckoned this bag as one.’ (A6:3)
- (7) *ʔašarta<sup>1</sup> tre-šléla.* ‘In the evening two men went down.’ (A14:15)
- (8) *ʔanna treʔe zərək-ila.<sup>1</sup>* ‘These two are strong.’ (B11:4)
- (9) *péšət lāxxa<sup>1</sup> gu-bèθa<sup>1</sup> xòna<sup>1</sup> mən-d-ánna bnàθi.<sup>1</sup> ʔitli t̪əlləθ.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Stay here in the house, brother, with these daughters of mine. I have three.’ (A25:15)

When an ordinal number is used independently of a head noun, it generally takes a pronominal head in the form of a demonstrative, e.g.

- (10) *ʔo-qamáya miràle,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-tré miràle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The first one said it, the second one said it.’ (A17:31)

These phrases may be used in apposition to a nominal with the same function as appositives consisting of a demonstrative head and an adjective (§14.7.). They are either non-restrictive appositives, e.g. *Žine,<sup>1</sup> ʔa-t-t̪ərte<sup>1</sup>* ‘Zine, the second one’ (A25:20), or restrictive appositives with a contrastive function, e.g. *ʔé-ga ʔé-t-tré* ‘the second time (as opposed to the first), secondly’ (B15:19).

When the number of times is left imprecise, two or more numerals are placed together asyndetically, e.g. *xa-tré-yarxe xéne* ‘one or two months later’ (A1:16), *tre-t̪lā-yarxe<sup>1</sup>* ‘two or three months’ (A48:4), *xámša ʔáštà ganáθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘five or six people’ (B5:77), *ʔáštà šáwwa manzàle<sup>1</sup>* ‘six or seven rooms’ (B10:52), *qám šáwwi tmáni šanne* ‘seventy or eighty years ago’ (B5:179), *yómə t̪lāθa ʔárba* ‘on the third or fourth day’ (A14:91).

A group of numbered items may be presented as a single whole by placing *xa* before the phrase, e.g.

- (11) *matt̪iwa<sup>1</sup> t̪-ámrax xá xámša dinàre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would deposit let’s say a sum of five dinars.’ (B5:6)

This construction is particularly common when two or more numerals are juxtaposed to express approximation, e.g. *xa-ʔárba xámša bēʔe<sup>1</sup>* ‘four or five eggs’ (A23:6), *xa-tmánya ʔəsrà-maθwaθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘a (group of) eight or ten villages’ (B15:61), *xa-ʔáštà šáwwa yòme<sup>1</sup>* ‘a (period of) six or seven days’ (A24:48).

Distributive expressions relating to groups of numbered items may be formed by combining the particle *kut/ku* with the numeral phrase, e.g. *ku-tmánya yománe* ‘every eight days’ (B7:15), *kút xámšássər yománe<sup>1</sup>* ‘every fif-

teen days' (B10:73), *kút-ɬla šanne xa-béna* 'once every three years' (A14:61), *'u-kut-šéta xa-gáya* 'once every year' (B10:68).

When a cardinal qualifies a definite noun, the numeral generally takes an anticipatory suffix in constructions such as *ɬláθna t-bnóne díye* or *ɬláθna bnóne díye* 'His three sons (literally: the three of them, [of] his sons)' (A24:3).

The following examples illustrate various ways in which multiples ('x-fold', 'x times as much') are expressed:

- (12) *'ina qəm-xazənnəx 'áti rába hawənànta, biš-mánni xa-tàrte.*<sup>1</sup> 'I see that you are very clever, twice as much as me.' (A40:16)
- (13) *'ən-háwe dāwa-žì' 'áxni t-yawəxla xa-b-ɬlàθa 'álle díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold.' (A7:10)
- (14) *tarpána biš-góra tárte gáye mən-màgləwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'A scythe was twice as big as a sickle.'
- (15) *'o-qášra 'o-náša hàdəx-ile wíðəlle, 'əšrà-gaye béna qamáya.*<sup>1</sup> 'The man made the palace in such a way (that it was) ten times (bigger than) before.' (A12:22)

Expressions relating to the clock: *sá'ət kəmèla.*<sup>21</sup> 'What time is it?', *sá'ət 'ərbəla*<sup>1</sup> 'It is four o'clock', *sá'ət 'əšra b-lèle*<sup>1</sup> 'ten o'clock at night', *sá'ət xa-w-pàlg'e*<sup>1</sup> 'half past one', *sá'ət xa-w cārək*<sup>1</sup> 'a quarter past one', *sá'ət tré 'u-'əšra*<sup>1</sup> 'ten past two', *cārək ɬla-'əšra*<sup>1</sup> 'a quarter to ten', *xámša ɬla-ɬlàθa*<sup>1</sup> 'five to three', *'əšra pyáša xámša daqìqe*<sup>1</sup> 'five to ten'.

Numerical expressions relating to the calendar: *yárxət trè*<sup>1</sup> 'February', *yárxət 'əçça*<sup>1</sup> 'September', *táltássər b-'əçça*<sup>1</sup> 'the thirteenth of September' (B15:92), *táltássər b-yérxa*<sup>1</sup> 'the thirteenth of the month' (B16:22); *b-'arbiye* 'In the (19)40s' (B5:161), *šét 'arbiye-u l-àxxa*<sup>1</sup> 'from the (19)40s onwards' (B5:179).

Numerical expressions relating to age:

- (16) *kəmə šanne-wət.*<sup>21</sup> 'How old are you?'
- (17) *'ána 'əšri šannewəm.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am twenty years old.'
- (18) *'áni qúrbət 'əšra trəsər šannəwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'They were around ten or twelve years old.' (B15:32)
- (19) *'é-gə 'ána 'úmur díyi 'əštà-šannewa*<sup>1</sup> 'when I was six years old' (B15:32)
- (20) *záwda mən-'arba-mma šannele.*<sup>1</sup> 'It (the church) is more than four-hundred years old.' (B6:31)
- (21) *'uwabi' 'əšrá šanne.*<sup>1</sup> 'I was ten years old.' (B5:130)
- (22) *brón-díye 'o-zòra' 'ítwale 'arbi šanne.*<sup>1</sup> 'His youngest son was forty years old.' (A12:1)

- (23) *mṭéle ʾáštī šáwwi šanne*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He reached sixty or seventy years old.’ (A24:1)
- (24) *ʾánaʾ šawwà-šanne*,<sup>1</sup> *ʾáštá-šanne šáwwa plítewən mən-tàma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I left there when I was seven or six years old.’ (B15:30)
- (25) *taqriban ʾanna xamšī-šanne ʾumri*<sup>1</sup> *ʾána lān-miralla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have not told it (the story) for almost fifty years.’

‘Ago’ is expressed by the preposition *qam-* ‘before’, e.g. *qám šáwwi tmáni šanne*<sup>1</sup> ‘seventy or eighty years ago’ (B5:179), *qúrba qam-šaww-amma xámšī tmany-ammā-šanne*<sup>1</sup> ‘about seven hundred and fifty or eight hundred years ago’ (B3:19). Occasionally *qam-* is omitted, e.g.

- (26) *ʾáwwa yála yúwalle ʾálaha ʾálla díya ʾáštà yárxe*.<sup>1</sup> ‘God gave this baby to them six months ago.’ (A15:9)

Other numerical expressions relating to periods of time:

- (27) *ʾanna tḷà yománela mátye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They arrived in three days.’ (A25:76)
- (28) *píšla tḷa-yárxe*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They stayed for three months.’ (A14:84)
- (29) *ʾána tré-yome lāxxewən*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have been here for two days.’
- (30) *hóle tíwa gu-xa-gəppíθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʾarbi-šanne*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He has been dwelling in a cave for forty years.’ (A15:4)
- (31) *ʾána ʾanna-šawwá-šanne hon-θàya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have been travelling (on my way here) for these (last) seven years.’ (A37:17)
- (32) *ʾanna xamšassər-šanne šópa lánwa xəzya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I had not seen a stove for fifteen years.’ (B15:23)
- (33) *hál xámšī-w xámša šanne*<sup>1</sup> *y-awéwa sxáða ʾalaha*.<sup>1</sup> ‘For fifty-five years they were worshipping God (and then stopped doing so).’ (A15:17)
- (34) *xá-saʾət qam-dāna*<sup>1</sup> ‘an hour beforehand’ (B5:119)
- (35) *m-díya ʾarba-saʾəte*<sup>1</sup> ‘in four hours from now’ (B1:13)

Mathematical operations:

- (36) *xámša záyəd tré y-áwði šáwwa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Five plus two makes seven.’
- (37) *xámša náqəs tré y-áwði tḷàθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Five minus two makes three.’
- (38) *xámša gáye tḷáθa y-áwði xamšəssər*<sup>1</sup> ‘Five times three makes fifteen.’
- (39) *tré-gaye tré wíta ʾarba*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Two times two is four.’
- (40) *xámša gáye xámša wáyela ʾəsri-w xámša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Five times five is twenty-five.’
- (41) *ʾəšra qa-tré y-áwði xámša*<sup>1</sup> ‘Ten divided by two makes five.’

- (42) *píšela mnáyalla l-xà-xa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They began counting them one by one.’  
(A6:3)

Percentages are expressed thus: *xámšī mən-ʔamma* ‘fifty percent’, *ʔamma mən-ʔamma* ‘a hundred percent’.

#### 14.13. ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

Many nominals are used with the function of adverbials without an explicit marking of their relation by a preposition.

The majority of these are temporal expressions, e.g. *xa-yóma* ‘one day’ (A25:2), *yóma qamáya* ‘on the first day’ (A25:14), *hàr ʔo-yóma* ‘on the same day’ (A25:4), *yómət trè* ‘on the second day’ (A21:14), *yómət xyáptət xàtna* ‘on the day of the washing of the groom’ (B15:74), *yòma* ‘during the day’ (B5:27), *qédamta* ‘in the morning’ (A1:2), *pálgət yòma* ‘at midday’ (B5:62), *ʔašrta* ‘in the evening’ (A21:12), *šábθa* ‘on Saturday’ (A25:90), *dánət kawùθra* ‘at lunchtime’ (A22:22), *dánət xa-rámša* ‘at dinner time’ (A21:12), *xá-xa-gaya* ‘sometimes’ (B3:9), *xá-ga xèta* ‘another time’ (A48:4), *ʔanna šñne xaráye* ‘in recent years’ (B3:9), *ʔé-šetat wìrra* ‘last year’ (B15:93), *qéta* ‘in the summer’ (B5:107), *sátwa* ‘in winter’ (B5:107), *qámθa* ‘formerly’ (B5:179), *xàrθa* ‘afterwards, then’ (A13:15).

The adjectives *qamaya* ‘first’ and *xaraya* ‘last’, when used adverbially, have the adverbial ending *-e*: *qamaye* ‘at first’, *xaraye* ‘finally’ (< \**qamayəθ*, \**xarayəθ*; see §13.2.). Note the phrases *bánta qamàye* ‘for the first time’ (B5:1), *ʔax-d-é-ga qamàye* ‘as before’ (A27:31), *bánta xaráye* ‘finally’ (A29:65), and *béna xaráye* ‘finally’ (B5:43), in which the noun is modified by the adverbial forms rather than by adjectives that agree with the head noun. Elsewhere the adjectival form is used, e.g. *béna qamáya* (A12:22), *béna xaráya* (A12:47).

In a few such temporal adverbials the nominal is in the absolute state with no inflectional vowel, e.g. *kut-yom* ‘every day’, *ʔadyo* ‘today’ (< ʔ*ad-yom*), *kúššət* ‘every year’ (< *kut-šət*).

Temporal adverbial expressions with prepositions are also used. Some of these are parallel to the phrases cited above, e.g. *b-qéta* ‘in summer’ (B5:19), *b-sátwa* ‘in winter’ (B5:145). The sense of ‘in the day(time)’ and ‘in the night(time)’ are regularly expressed by phrases with the preposition *b-*, e.g.

- (1) *ʔó dewərrəš b-yóma y-azálwa l-tùra*,<sup>1</sup> *b-lèle y-aθéwa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The vagabond used to go to the mountains in the day and come back at night.’  
(A12:46)

Occasionally nouns are used without prepositions as adverbials expressing static spatial location, e.g.

- (2) *ʔiman-t y-awíwa bèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘when they were at home’ (B5:128)
- (3) *ʔasʔàtla xa-dúkθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Tether her in some place.’ (A12:29)
- (4) *túwtela márʒət yàma*<sup>1</sup> ‘She sat on the sea shore.’ (A13:12)
- (5) *béθe díye šáttat màθa-wewa*<sup>1</sup> ‘His house was at the bottom of the village.’ (A29:15)

Note also the expression *be-pàlga* (< \**beθ-palgā*) ‘in the middle’ (A24:24). The noun *šawpa* ‘place’ is often used adverbially without a preposition. In such cases the diphthong /aw/ is generally contracted (§2.4.2.), e.g.

- (6) *de-puš-šòpux!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Stay in your place (where you are).’ (A14:20)
- (7) *ʔáwewa píšle málka šópət bábe díye*<sup>1</sup> ‘He became king in place of his father.’ (A12:70)

A further example is *xása* ‘back’ in constructions such as

- (8) *ʔu-yatáxwa xās-koðánta*. ‘We would sit on the back of the mule.’ (B5:138)

We may include here also the nouns *rəḥqa* ‘distance’ and *qurba* ‘vicinity’, which are used adverbially and attributively (§14.7.), e.g.

- (9) *muttəθalle rəḥqa*<sup>1</sup> *mən-màθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘She put him down far away from the village.’ (A19:3)
- (10) *kúlla náše díye t-wéwa qurba*<sup>1</sup> ‘all his relatives who were in the vicinity’ (B8:38)

The adjective *rama* ‘high’ may be used as a locative adverbial, e.g.

- (11) *bíš y-awéwa ráhat rama*<sup>1</sup> ‘It was more comfortable above.’ (B5:204)

The adjectives *baraya* ‘external’ and *gawaya* ‘internal’ have the adverbial ending *-e* when used adverbially: *baraye* ‘outside’, *gawaye* ‘inside’.

More frequently a noun without a preposition is used to express an adverbial denoting movement towards a place, e.g. *kút-xa y-áθe bēθ-díye*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody returns home’ (B5:155), *məθéle bēθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘They bring it back home’ (B5:164), *zilele súle díye*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went to his work’ (A21:16), *xákma*

*síqla garāwáθat bâte*<sup>1</sup> ‘Some went up onto the roofs of the houses’ (B6:18), *maşléwala ʔrxex*<sup>1</sup> ‘They took it down to the water-mill’ (B5:15), *şláya npála ʔārele*<sup>1</sup> ‘It falls onto the ground’ (A10:11), *qəm-xaşǎlle ʔāra*<sup>1</sup> ‘He threw him on the ground’ (A28:36), *ʔaw-ʔéne díye npúltela ʔisàqθe*<sup>1</sup> ‘His eye fell onto his ring (= he noticed his ring)’ (A26:31). Movement towards can also be expressed by a preposition in these contexts, e.g. *dírğa l-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘She returned home’ (A22:47), *si-l-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go home!’ (A23:39), *qédamta y-ázi náşe l-ʔùmra*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the morning people go to church’ (B6:23).

Adjectives are occasionally used as adverbials of manner, e.g. *qəm-maxéla ʔáqla biş-xelàna*<sup>1</sup> ‘He struck her leg harder’ (A33:12), *ʔina şláya xelànele*<sup>1</sup> ‘It (the river) is flowing down in spate’ (A14:58), *tríθa qùwya*<sup>1</sup> ‘She rode hard’ (A8:70), *qa-t xáyən spáy ʔaxxa*<sup>1</sup> ‘so that I can live well here’ (A3:3).

The adverbs *ʔaxxa* ‘here’ are *tama* ‘there’ in some contexts are treated syntactically like nouns, in that they may take pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʔaxxi hóle mràya*<sup>1</sup> ‘It hurts me here (literally: My here hurts)’, *şléla bʔe ʔax-ʔaxxe díye*<sup>1</sup> ‘The eggs ran down him here and here (literally: his here and here)’ (A23:8), or occur in an annexation construction, e.g. *déwe ʔu-haywáne t-ʔaxxa t-axlilən*<sup>1</sup> ‘The wolves and the animals here (literally: of here) will eat us’ (B9:11), *xayúθat táma dàx-ila*<sup>1</sup> ‘What is the life there like? (literally: the life of there)’ (B5:107).



## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

### THE SYNTAX OF VERBS

#### 15.1. THE FUNCTION OF THE VERBAL FORMS DERIVED FROM THE PRESENT BASE

The verbal forms are categorized here according to their structure. The stem I root *qtl* 'to kill' is used to illustrate these. The forms derived from this root given below will be used as general labels to designate all variations and inflections of forms that fall within the category. The label 'qatəl form', for example, will be used to designate all verb forms that consist of the present base without prefixed or suffixed particles, including not only stem I verbs with strong consonants, such as *garəš* 'He pulls', *šarəx* 'He shouts', etc., but also stem II, stem III and quadriliteral verbs as well as all weak and irregular verbs, e.g. *mšadər* 'He sends', *maplax* 'He uses', *mkankəš* 'He drags', *qayəm* 'He rises', *xaze* 'He sees', *mšare* 'He begins', *mašle* 'He brings down', *mčawčē* 'He twitters', etc.

When discussing the function of forms derived from the present base *qatəl-*, a distinction must be made between verbs with an initial laryngeal /ʔ/ and verbs with an initial strong radical. The reason for this is that the distribution of preverbal particles such as *ʔi-* and *bəd-* on initial /ʔ/ verbs is different from their distribution on verbs with a strong initial radical. Initial /ʔ/ verbs are in general consistent and conservative in their use of the particles whereas in verbs with initial strong consonants the particles are frequently elided. The divergent distribution of the prefixed particles in the two groups of verbs has arisen from differences in phonetic structure rather than any semantic distinction. The crucial difference, it would seem, is that in initial /ʔ/ verbs the particle normally replaces the /ʔ/ and becomes the onset of the first syllable of the word, e.g. *ʔi + ʔazəl > y-azəl* 'He goes', *bəd + ʔazəl > t-azəl* 'He will go'. Since the particle is the onset of the syllable, it is protected from elision. Another factor is that the number of syllables in the form has not been increased. When the particles are attached to a verb with an initial strong consonant, on the other hand, they constitute a separate syllable, adding to the morphological weight of the form. In this environment they have become more vulnerable to elision. In the description of the function of forms derived



from the present base, therefore, these two groups of verbs will be treated separately. Initial /ʔ/ verbs will be designated as group A and other verbs as group B. Since group A is the more conservative one with regard to the preverbal particles, the main classification of functions will be based on the distribution of the particles in verbal forms from this group.

### 15.1.1. qaṭəl

The form *qaṭəl* has a wide range of functions. These include the expression of both realis and irrealis. It can be regarded as the default, unmarked form in relation to the forms with prefixed particles such *ʔi-qaṭəl* and *bəd-qaṭəl*, which have more specific functions.

#### 15.1.1.1. Narrative Present (*Realis*)

One realis function of the *qaṭəl* form is to denote foreground events in a narrative. These express a perfective aspect and present the actions as punctual events with their deictic temporal centre in the present. They should not be interpreted as expressing imperfective progressive aspect, which is a function that is in principle not expressed by the *qaṭəl* form.

Examples from groups A and B:

- (1) *ʃàlyə, ʔap-xa-xéta ʔaxlāla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She goes down and eats also another one.’ (A18:21)
- (2) *ʔu-ʔáyya zəŋjir ʔáwra ʔanna waríðət qðàle, kasxàla ʔu-nàpəl.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The chain goes into the veins of his neck and cuts them. He falls down.’ (A26:81)
- (3) *ʔáwwa bíye bə-b-sùse ʔáwər gu-xa-gəppa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He together with his horse enters a cave.’ (A28:3)
- (4) *ʔàzəl, ʔàzəl, ʔàzəl, ʔu-màte, máte l-čádrət bábe díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He goes, goes and goes and arrives, arrives at the tent of his father.’ (A28:33)
- (5) *yátu l-xásət dawéra, ʔáp-ʔaw ʔàzəl. ʔàzəl di-di-di ʔapéle xále díye ʔu-d-ày-maθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He sits on the back of a mule and he also sets off. He goes along and catches up with his uncle in that village.’ (A28:11)
- (6) *mən-lábbe díye qíða, dére xèla, načəlle ʔo-šəryóxa. ʔu-ʔáθe ʃaqəlla xa-ʔáqrət bəṭma. ʃaqəlla ʔu-šaməṭla ʔaqàne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Out of his fervour, he applies force and pulls the tether apart. He goes and takes the stock of a terebinth tree. He takes it and breaks off the branches.’ (A28:20)
- (7) *ʔəsqi, ʔina xazèla qáwra pθixta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They go up and find the open grave.’ (A25:91)

15.1.1.2. *Performative Present (realis)*

Another perfective use of the *qaṭəl* is to express the performative present, i.e. the action denoted by the verb is performed by the act of uttering it. The form is not, however, regularly used with all verbs that have performative function. Clear performative usage has been indentified in the verbs *qbl* ‘to accept, permit’ and *ymy* ‘to swear’, e.g.

- (1) *qáblən ʔázət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I permit you to go.’
- (2) *lâ-qablən ʔázət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I forbid you to go.’
- (3) *yamyannux b-ʔumrət Ğamme.* ‘I swear to you by the church of Ğamme.’  
(C2:19)

The performative *qaṭəl* verb may be preceded by the particle of immediacy *də-/de-*, e.g.

- (4) *də-yamyannux b-awwa kəxwa.* ‘I swear to you by this star.’ (C2:25)
- (5) *də-yamyannux b-aw Mar Sawwa.* ‘I swear to you by Saint Sawa.’  
(C2:42)

With other verbs speakers express performative function by the compound infinitive + copula construction (§15.4.2.), which is the normal means of denoting progressive action, e.g. *mqawólən t-âṭən*<sup>1</sup> ‘I promise I shall come’.

15.1.1.3. *Habitual Action (Realis)*

In class A verbs imperfective habitual action that includes the present is normally expressed by the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form with the *ʔi-* prefix in main clauses. The *qaṭəl* form, however, is sporadically found with this function in main clauses in the text corpus, e.g.

- (1) *ʔu-máxa xa-mášxa gu-be-ʔéne d̄iye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔoḍíle rúšma ʔax-šl̄iwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They put some oil on his forehead and make the sign of the cross.’ (B6:36)

The *qaṭəl* form of class B verbs, on the other hand, is frequently used to express the present habitual, e.g.

- (2) *kut-béθa mbášəl xa-màndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Every household cooks something.’  
(B5:64)

- (3) *náše jámi qa-šera*.<sup>1</sup> ‘People gather for the saint’s festival.’ (B5:69)  
 (4) *šáqli lèša*,<sup>1</sup> *mattíle š-xá pársa ptòxa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They take the dough and put it on a wide stone.’ (B6:46)  
 (5) *xálya mēθàxxe*,<sup>1</sup> *marəθxàxxe*.<sup>1</sup> *qàyər xánčī*.<sup>1</sup> *dérax xa-màsta gáwe*,<sup>1</sup> *péša màsta*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ey-màsta*<sup>1</sup> *péša xamùsta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Yoghurt—we fetch milk and boil it. It cools slightly. We put a portion of yoghurt in it and it becomes yoghurt. That yoghurt becomes sour.’ (B10:26)

The *qatəl* form of class A verbs is more frequently used in verbs expressing habitual aspect that are in subordinate protasis clauses of temporal sentences, e.g.

- (6) *ʔimət ʔàθya*,<sup>1</sup> *mzàngər zága*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When it (the cat) comes, the bell will sound.’ (A44:2)  
 (7) *fa-l-gàre*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiman t-aryáwa dùnye*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔθwalən mandòrta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘On the roof, when it rained, we had a roller.’ (B5:145)  
 (8) *imət ʔàza màsta*,<sup>1</sup> *qéθa b-è-ʔaqla*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-dèra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When the yoghurt (churn) moves, it strikes her leg and returns back.’ (B7:24)

#### 15.1.1.4. *Actual Present (Realis)*

The *qatəl* form is in some cases used imperfectively to refer to a situation that holds in the present but is not necessarily a permanent, habitual property of the subject of the verb. This usage is restricted lexically to a few verbs that have a non-dynamic actionality. They include verbs expressing mental processes or states and verbs of perception, viz. *by* ‘to want’, *txr* ‘to remember’, *yð* ‘to know’, *xšw* ‘to think’, *zð/zdl* ‘to fear’, *šbr* ‘to dare’, *msy/ʔms* ‘to be able’, *xzy* ‘to see’. The only class A verb in this set is the variant form *ʔms* ‘to be able’, which is attested in the *qatəl* form without a *y-* prefix in the contracted negated forms *la-məs* (< *la-ʔaməs*) ‘He cannot’, *la-mšət* (< *la-ʔamšət*) ‘You cannot’, etc. Examples:

- (1) *mò báyat*.<sup>21</sup> ‘What do you want?’ (A26:73)  
 (2) *ʔáp-ana báyan mtanánmux ða-qəššət*<sup>1</sup> *díyi*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I also want to tell you a story of mine.’ (A14:35)  
 (3) *kut-báye pálaš mənni pálaš mənni*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever wants to fight with me, let him fight with me.’ (A12:60)  
 (4) *lá-báyan dèrən*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not want to return.’ (A4:43)  
 (5) *tàxrena*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla náše qimela*<sup>1</sup> *síqe l-hàwar*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I remember that all the people got up and went up (the mountain) at the alarm.’ (B5:162)  
 (6) *yáðət ʔaw-ʔənile*.<sup>21</sup> ‘Do you know who he is?’ (A4:2)

- (7) *lèle-xəzya çù-náša<sup>1</sup> bas-yáðəx hóla tlíxe ʾánna bàte.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nobody has been seen, but we know that the houses have been destroyed.’ (A29:52)
- (8) *la-yáðət mo-qálat bəxyele?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Do you not know what the sound of weeping it is?’ (A4:45)
- (9) *léðən (< la yáðən) kʾèle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not know where he is.’ (B9:9)
- (10) *míðən (< mo yáðən) ʾo-béθa ʾəkəle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not know where that house is.’ (A12:63)
- (11) *ʾu-ʾána xásəwən ʾáp-brōn-málka b-tàrəs.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I think, furthermore, that the son of the king will be cured.’ (A8:88)
- (12) *máre la-záðət?*<sup>21</sup> *máre la-záðən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “Are you not afraid?” He said “I am not afraid.”’ (A11:2)
- (13) *la-sábrəx t-òrəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We do not dare enter.’ (A14:40)
- (14) *máre mášyət mtányət tuníθa t-la-xàšla?*<sup>21</sup> *mára he-màšyən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “Can you tell a story that does not end?” She said “Yes, I can.”’ (A36:2)
- (15) *šùqlí.*<sup>1</sup> *lá-mašən díya tanənna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Leave me alone. I cannot tell (the story) now.’ (A18:32)
- (16) *lá-məs (< la-ʾaməs) xónux daréli gu-səndàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Your brother cannot put me in prison.’ (A26:44)
- (17) *lá-məšən t-ásqən xazyənnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I cannot go up and find you.’ (A34:29)
- (18) *bábi táməl ʾáyya mđíta xu-kómta-wawə?*<sup>21</sup> *xázəx ʾdyo hóla xwərtə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Father, was this town not black yesterday? We see today that it is white.’ (A4:36)

The default time reference of such *qaṭəl* forms is the present. They may also be used in clauses that are dependent on clauses containing past verbs either syntactically or at least in the discourse structure. In such circumstances they have a relative time deixis and refer to the past, e.g.

- (19) *ʾan-wəzire gríšela sépa-w qášta-w gəra<sup>1</sup> báyi máxi tla-d-an-maymùne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The ministers drew their sword as well as their bow and arrow, intending to strike the monkeys.’ (A14:44)
- (20) *Mír-Zəndin qiməle<sup>1</sup> báye qaṭəlle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Mir-Zandin got up, wanting to kill him.’ (A26:67)
- (21) *θéle b-léle xðàra<sup>1</sup> báye t-áxəl xà-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He came at night searching, wishing to eat something.’ (A43:1)
- (22) *jirtəla gu-qəwəwə<sup>1</sup> ʾu-yiwətəlle ʾəlle díye.*<sup>1</sup> *šətyəlle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾaw-míðe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She urinated in a pot and gave it to him. He drank it. He did not know.’ (A24:37)

- (23) *qəm-šawúqla xa-bóya zòra hátxa,<sup>1</sup> bás mujárrad šəkwánta mášya t-áwra-w pàlta. ‘He left a small hole like this, through which only an ant could go in and come out.’ (A36:4)*

When used to express a temporary state in the actual present or with past time reference the *qatəl* forms of these verbs never take the <sup>ʔ</sup>*i*- prefix. The verbs are occasionally used in these contexts in the compound infinitive + copula form, which is the usual form for the expression of progressive action in other verbs (§15.4.2.).

#### 15.1.1.5. *Deontic Future (Irrealis)*

Among the various forms of irrealis expressed by the *qatəl* form is deontic modality. In such cases while occurring in a main clause without being subordinated to another verb, it conveys an element of will and expresses various degrees of intention, obligation, request, and permission regarding a future action. In this function the verb in principle has perfective aspect. In most cases it presents the action as a complete event with a start and endpoint. Sometimes it does not have a clearly delimited endpoint, but it must have a start point future to the present moment.

Main clause verbs in the first person used in a deontic function generally express the intention of the speaker, e.g.

- (1) *ʔázən ʔódən qázəd d-àwowa gəppa. ‘I shall go and make towards this cave.’ (A39:3)*
- (2) *ʔána qémən ʔázən ʔòmra. ‘I shall go to church.’ (A37:2)*
- (3) *ʔána har-šálən mðita<sup>1</sup> méθən ʔixála<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔàθena. ‘I shall just go down to the town to bring food and shall come back.’ (A26:30)*

In the verb <sup>ʔ</sup>*mr* ‘to say’ the modality can be interpreted as expressing either intention or a request for permission from the hearer:

- (4) *ʔamrənnəx xá-məndi. ‘I shall tell you something./Let me tell you something.’ (A4:15)*
- (5) *ʔamrəxlux xə-mdi xéna. ‘We shall tell you something else./Let us tell you something else.’ (A39:8)*

Questions in the *qatəl* forms such as (6–9) are deontic expressions whereby the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation (deontic necessity) or give permission (deontic possibility):

- (6) *mó 'amràna*<sup>21</sup> 'What should/can I say?' (A26:33)  
 (7) *mò 'awðéna 'ána hadíya*<sup>21</sup> 'What should/can I do now?' (A26:13)  
 (8) *mó 'àwəð*<sup>21</sup> 'What should/can he do?' (A28:20)  
 (9) *lèka 'azéxi*<sup>21</sup> 'Where should we go?' (A26:18)

Such questions in the 1st person can be transposed into the 3rd person in indirect questions, e.g.

- (10) *lèðe gu-d-éni kúrsi 'átu*<sup>1</sup> 'He does not know in which chair he should sit.' (A40:14)  
 (11) *lèði mò 'áwðí*<sup>1</sup> 'They do not know what they should do.'

Deontic *qaṭəl* forms in the 2nd and 3rd person express a variety of types of will on the part of the speaker, including request, recommendation and permission, e.g.

- (12) *'áxtu kúlləxu 'azítu bèθa*<sup>1</sup> 'All of you should go home.' (A8:85)  
 (13) *yába háyyo*<sup>1</sup> *'aθítu*<sup>1</sup> *'çdetu*<sup>1</sup> 'Come, you (are requested to) come. You are invited.' (A7:3)  
 (14) *'ámrat ṭla-málka*<sup>1</sup> 'You should say to the king...' (A1:6)  
 (15) *'ázət táwrux pərmətle*<sup>1</sup> 'You should go and slaughter your ox.' (A7:2)  
 (16) *xúwwe 'ázəl dúke diye*<sup>1</sup> 'Let the snake go to its place.' (A1:8)  
 (17) *xà-bena 'ázi náše*<sup>1</sup> 'People should go (only) once.' (B15:91)  
 (18) *kút-yom páłṭət 'u-xàðrat*<sup>1</sup> *'ásərta 'áθət bèθa*<sup>1</sup> 'Every day go out and wander about and then in the evening come back home.' (A14:62)  
 (19) *hàtxa 'oðéti b-náše*<sup>1</sup> 'This is what you should do to people!' (A22:47)

This type of deontic *qaṭəl* may occur in indirect speech in a subordinate clause, e.g.

- (20) *múr ṭla-xònxəl qa-t 'ədyo*<sup>1</sup> *'áwðí tàgbir*<sup>1</sup> *'ásqi l-šèda*<sup>1</sup> 'Tell your brother that today they should make a plan to go out hunting.' (A26:43)

The use of the form to express iterative actions as in (18) and (19) above can be accommodated in the interpretation of it as a perfective form, in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation.

The various deontic expressions described above can be negated, e.g.

- (21) *ʔána là-ʔaθan mǎnnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not come with you.’ (A6:6)  
 (22) *là-ʔawrən gu-máθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not go into the village.’ (A25:34)  
 (23) *là-mšawθat!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not speak!’ (A26:89)  
 (24) *là-daqrət bíye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not touch him.’ (A26:74)  
 (25) *la-ʔáθat t-áwðət cû-mǎndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(There is no requirement for) you to come and do anything.’ (A28:22)  
 (26) *ʔáp-xa mǎnnéxu la-ʔámər.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána múθyanna Bǎlbəl Hazār.*<sup>1</sup> ‘None of you should say “I have brought back Bǎlbəl Hazār.”’ (A8:82)  
 (27) *ʔáp-xa la-jáwəj mən-gu-ʔAmedia.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let nobody move from Amedia.’ (A25:27)

Deontic *qaʔəl* forms may be preceded by various preverbal particles:

(i) *xoš*

The particle *xoš* is in origin the imperative of the verb *rxš* ‘to go’. It is most frequently attested with verbs with 3rd person subjects, though it can be used with all persons. Examples:

- (28) *ʔu-béθux xoš-ʔaqð!* ‘and may your house burn down.’ (A17:6)  
 (29) *xoš-ʔáθa ʔáp-anna!* ‘Let them also come back.’ (B8:4)  
 (30) *bas-ʔéni t-xzéla ʔəy xoš-ʔáza gu-jahànnam.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But let my eye, which saw her, go to hell.’ (A16:2)  
 (31) *ku-mǎndi bǎyi xoš-ʔòði.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let them do whatever they want.’ (A14:46)  
 (32) *xoš-ʔáwər ʔu-ʔaxəl ʔu-šáte gu-þərdèsə-w!* ‘Let him enter and eat and drink in Paradise.’ (A2:8)  
 (33) *kúlla xoš-dámxi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let everybody sleep.’ (A14:56)  
 (34) *ʔáxcǐ xoš-qàyəm!* *xazyánne xàmša daqíqe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let him rise for me to see him for only five minutes.’ (A4:49)  
 (35) *suràye!* *xoš-ʔámərəx ʔánna ʔürze,*<sup>1</sup> *xà b-nošəy!* *ʔu-ʔi-zamríwa ràwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The Christians, let’s say the men, by themselves, would sit in a reception room and sing *ràwe*.’ (B15:75)

It is placed before the negative particle *la* in negative deontic expressions, e.g.

- (36) *xoš la-ʔàθe!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let him not come!’

(ii) *də-, de-*

The particle *də-/de-* may be related to the adverbial particle *diya* ‘now’. It is more frequently attested as a prefix to imperative forms than to deontic *qaʔəl* forms.

- (37) *də-mjämáxlən jarrèta.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔázəx xá-mdíta xèta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s put together a food-bag for ourselves. Let’s go to another town.’ (A30:41)
- (38) *ʔu-ʔáti də-ráqðət šéšátla gànəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should dance and shake yourself.’ (A27:11)

It may be used in deontic questions such as (39), in which the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation or give permission:

- (39) *də-maxə̀xle?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Should we beat him?’ (A14:8)

It is placed before the negative particle *la* in negated deontic expressions, e.g.

- (40) *ʔáti də-la-dámxeti!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not sleep!’ (A29:19)
- (41) *ʔámər ham-ma-yxələf,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔabda-Raḥmán də-la-ʔərəq.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “That’s all right, (only) don’t let ‘Abda-Raḥmán get away.”’ (A23:30)
- (42) *ʔálaha də-là-ʔawəð!*<sup>1</sup> ‘God forbend!’ (A27:37)

The particle may be combined with *xoš*, e.g.

- (43) *də-xoš-gàwra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let her marry.’ (A26:79)

(iii) *šut*

As with the other particles, this occurs in both positive and negative deontic expressions, e.g.

- (44) *ʔən-masya šut-ʔoðala.* ‘If she can, let her do it.’ (C1:11)
- (45) *šut la-ʔàθe!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let him not come!’

15.1.1.6. *Predictive Future (Irrealis)*

The *qaṭəl* is used to predict a future event. In class A verbs that are not negated this is restricted to predictions that the speaker is not completely certain about and that he is not guaranteeing will be fulfilled. This can be designated as a modal future, e.g.

- (1) *bálki ʔàṭya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps she will come.’ (A8:49)
- (2) *bálki ʔàθe xa-yóma ʔə-bráta kèrba mánni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps a day will come when that girl will be angry with me.’ (A14:98)



- (3) *ʔāp-təmməl ʔaxləx mánna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We may (perhaps) eat them also tomorrow.’ (A2:2)
- (4) *qa-mò ʔódət ʔatxa-šùla.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Why would you do this thing?’ (A8:17)

The form is perfective, since it presents actions delimited with a start and end point or at least with a start point. The form may also express iterative aspect. In this context the form can still be interpreted as perfective, in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation, e.g.

- (5) *bálki ʔábe kùt-yum*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps he will come everyday.’

Non-modal future verbs, by which the speaker asserts that something will take place and is committed to the truth of this assertion, are expressed by the *bəd-qaṭəl* form with the prefixed future particle (cf. §15.1.5.). When negated, however, the *qaṭəl* form in group A verbs is used to express both the modal predictive future, where the action is uncertain (6–7), and also the non-modal future, which predict events that the speaker is certain will take place (8–10), e.g.

- (6) *bálki lá-ʔawðən xàbrux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps I shall not do as you say.’ (A21:43)
- (7) *dāx la-yǎðšenne.*<sup>21</sup> ‘How could I not know?’ (A14:90)
- (8) *ʔāti xúwəe là ʔaxóllax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The snake will not eat you.’ (A24:39)
- (9) *mállā t-axólla ʔaw-lá-ʔaxəl čú-mdi sab-rùtela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The mullah will eat it and he will eat nothing because it is Friday.’ (A2:4)
- (10) *qázi t-awóđla ṭlálux,*<sup>1</sup> *lá-ʔawəđla ṭláli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The judge will make a decision in your favour, he will not make it in my favour.’ (A6:8)

In class B verbs the *qaṭəl* form is used to express the modal and non-modal future in both positive and negated clauses, e.g.

- (11) *qaṭlənnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall kill you.’ (A15:4)
- (12) *ʔana maṭyánne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall bring her back.’ (A27:30)
- (13) *bálki qàrmən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps I shall win.’ (A1:4)
- (14) *brátət málka<sup>1</sup> páłta l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The daughter of the king will come out onto the roof.’ (A27:11)
- (15) *ʔaw-máyəθ ʔu-ʔupra páyəs bíyi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He will die and his land will remain for me.’ (A26:25)
- (16) *ʔo-Mar-Müše<sup>1</sup> xelànele,*<sup>1</sup> *maxèlexu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Saint Muše is strong. He will strike you.’ (B18:7)

When expressing the future, the *qatəl* form may have its deictic centre in the past, as is the case with (17) where it occurs in the context of a past narrative:

- (17) *hádəx m-bar-t-gwírra, ʔaláha qəm-yawə́lla xa-bróna. ʔíma.ʔ ʔé-šetət mə̀θi. ʔé-šetət mə̀θi qəm-yawə́lla xa-bróna zòra.* 'So, after they married, God gave them a son. When? The year they would die. The year they would die, He gave them a small son.' (A4:57)

#### 15.1.1.7. *Conditional Constructions (Irrealis)*

The *qatəl* form is used in the protasis of conditional sentences referring to present or future time, e.g.

- (1) *ʔən-ʔána ʔamrə́nnux móðile xə́zya máłka b-xə̀lme, ʔána ʔálpa dáwe pə̀lə̀tla, ʔálga ʔlə̀l ʔálga ʔlə̀lux.ʔ* 'If I tell you what the king saw in his dream, will you divide those thousand gold pieces, half for me and half for you?' (A1:6)
- (2) *bas-ʔən ʔáθya xá-baxta nabláli qa-kut-t-bə́ya, ʔən-qa-xóna dīya, ʔána b-t-azə́na.* 'But, if a woman comes to take me to anyone she wants, or to her brother, I shall go.' (A8:78)
- (3) *ʔən-lá-ʔə̀ðət b-xə̀brət ʔaláha, b-talqə̀ti.* 'If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.' (A8:97)
- (4) *ʔən-lá-ʔazə́n mə̀şə̀yðən.* 'If I do not go, he will go mad.' (A4:27)

The *qatəl* form occurs in the apodosis when there is a degree of uncertainty concerning the occurrence of the situation. This is attested in contexts where two possible alternative situations are referred to, e.g.

- (5) *ʔən-íle mīθa, gə́rəg mə̀θən. ʔu-ʔən-ʔə̀θe ʔáθyən mə̀nne.* 'If he is dead, I must die. If he comes back, I shall come back with him.' (A8:61)
- (6) *ʔən-ʔə̀ðət xə̀bri, ʔə̀ðət. ʔən-lá ʔə̀ðət, kliθə̀-llux-ila.* 'If you do as I say, you will do so (so be it). If you do not do so, it is up to you.' (A8:44)

#### 15.1.1.8. *Irrealis Complement Clauses*

The *qatəl* form occurs in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized. It is used after verbs expressing desire and permission (e.g. *by* 'to want', *šwq, qbl* 'to permit'), and also in complements of various other verbs and predications where the action is as yet unrealized relative to the main clause. The *qatəl* form in the subordinate

clause expresses perfective aspect, in that it presents the action as an event with start and endpoint or at least one that is delimited by a start point future to the present moment. It may also be used to denote an iterative activity. In this function it is still perfective, since the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation.

The verb of such subordinate clauses is sometimes introduced by the subordinating particle *D*. This particle is, however, often omitted. Its omission is particularly common after the verb *by* ‘to want’, e.g.

- (1) *ʔáp-ʔana bǎyən ʔàzən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I also want to go.’ (A1:5)
- (2) *bǎyən ʔamrǎnnəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want to tell you.’ (A4:41)
- (3) *bǎye ʔáthe xazǎlux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He wants to come and see you.’ (A4:24)
- (4) *ʔana bǎyən mǎnnəx<sup>1</sup> ʔàwəwa xóni<sup>1</sup> ʔodǎtle xá-ga xéta mǎdǎǎtle nǎšma diye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want you to make my brother (alive) again and return his breath to him.’ (A8:80)
- (5) *bǎyǎx xá-mǎndi gu-tǎra qablítula.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We want you to pledge her something on the doorstep.’ (B10:36)

On some occasions, the particle occurs before the verb of the complement clause, e.g.

- (6) *bǎyən t-àzən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want to go.’ (A8:65)
- (7) *bǎyən ʔálaha t-yawǎlli mǎndi zàwda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want God to give me something more.’ (A3:1)

Examples with other verbs:

- (8) *ʔáp-xa la-qáblət t-áwər gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should not allow anybody to come into the house.’ (A23:25)
- (9) *dǎ-šúqlən dǎmxəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Allow us to us sleep.’ (A15:8)
- (10) *ʔu-hállle šàle,<sup>1</sup> šáməʔ qǎdale diye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let him go down (the mountain) and break his neck.’ (A15:13)
- (11) *léle šbára t-áwər xà.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nobody dares enter.’ (A32:32)
- (12) *ʔo-t-léle plíxa là sǎpər t-áxəl.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever has not worked should not expect to eat.’ (A21:15)

The negative particle *la* is sometimes used in clauses that are the complement of the verb *zǎp* ‘to fear’, reflecting a negative deontic dimension to the situation, e.g.

- (13) *hon-zála réšə d-ò gǎšra,¹ ʔina rāba zdáʔa¹ t-là-naplən gu-d-a-yáma.¹* ‘I went over the bridge, fearing greatly that I would fall into the sea (= wishing that I would not fall).’ (A11:7)

The *qaṭəl* form occurs in complements of expressions of obligation consisting of the impersonal forms *gǎrəg*, *lazəm*, *bǎye* (‘it is necessary’), the former of these being the most common one. The complement clause is not introduced by the particle *D*, e.g.

- (14) *gǎrəg ʔamrəx.¹* ‘We must say.’ (A4:38)  
 (15) *gǎrəg ʔəθət.¹* ‘You must come.’ (A7:9)  
 (16) *gǎrəg ʔəzi bəθ-be-xətna.¹* ‘They must go to the house of the groom.’ (B5:36)  
 (17) *gǎrəg rāba ʔəxlət xəm.¹* ‘You have to be very careful.’ (B5:105)  
 (18) *bəl-šādla l-šādla¹ gǎrəg mətteti xa-xamšá ʔəqləθa.¹* ‘Between the saplings you must leave about five steps.’ (B5:103)  
 (19) *lazəm ʔəxlənne.¹* ‘I must eat him.’ (A47:5)  
 (20) *hadīya bǎye mṕaltətle.¹* ‘Now you must take him out.’ (A26:77)

The negative particle is placed before the verb in the complement clause, e.g.

- (21) *gǎrəg lə-ʔamrət hátxa.¹* ‘You must not say that.’ (A18:10)

The *qaṭəl* form occurs in complements of the verb *məy* ‘to be able’ and also of various other expressions denoting possibility (or lack of it). The particle *D* is used in these constructions, though not consistently, e.g.

- (22) *máşəx t-əmrx.¹* ‘We can say.’ (B4:3)  
 (23) *máşəx ʔəmrx.¹* ‘We can say.’ (B15:16)  
 (24) *máşi mṭəli gáwa.¹* ‘They can play in it.’ (B11:30)  
 (25) *har-lə-mşən t-amrənnux.¹* ‘I just cannot tell you.’ (A11:2)  
 (26) *ʔəp-xa léle məyaya ʔə-šárəṭ t-awəðdla.¹* ‘Nobody can fulfil the condition.’ (A25:70)  
 (27) *ʔana bi-zóda m-hódəx lə-maşən ʔəðənnux¹ cū məndí.¹* ‘I cannot do anything more for you than that.’ (A8:44)  
 (28) *lax məyaya ʔəzəx ʔamrxəla.¹* ‘We cannot go and tell her.’ (A4:39)  
 (29) *le-y-bárya ʔəyya ʔə-šúla ʔəðəxle.¹* ‘It is not possible for us to do this thing.’ (A8:10)  
 (30) *lá-hoya yóma qamáya xətna t-xazéla kʔəlo.¹* ‘On the first day it is not possible for the groom to see the bride.’ (A4:36)

15.1.1.9. *Irrealis Clauses Introduced by Prepositions*

The *qaṭəl* form is sometimes used in a clause introduced by the prepositional phrases *qam* ‘before’, *ha-t*, *hal* ‘ε-gət’, *ta* ‘until’ or *t-la* ‘without’, which refer to an event that has not yet taken place from the perspective of the verb in the main clause, e.g.

- (1) *qam-t-àṭi<sup>1</sup> mpáləṭle mən-hàbsa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before they return, release him from prison.’ (A26:72)
- (2) *qám t-qáre ‘ax-diga,<sup>1</sup> šáqlət mən-d-ó ‘ixála.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before it calls out like a cock, take some of the food.’ (A24:16)
- (3) *qam-máṭe šəta ‘úmre diye,<sup>1</sup> ‘i-nablile l-‘úmra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before he reaches a year in age, they take him to the church.’ (B6:35)
- (4) *wúr gu-d-áwewa bəṭa,<sup>1</sup> čúmle tára bəru<sup>1</sup>... ha-t-gáwəri ‘ázəl.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Go into this room and close the door behind you... until my husband goes.’ (A22:26)
- (5) *ya-‘álaha,<sup>1</sup> háwe šáxi hál-‘ε-gət ‘ána mátyən ‘šlle diye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Oh God, let him be well until I reach him.’ (A26:80)
- (6) *móra də-kliḡən.<sup>1</sup> pəltən m-gáwe.<sup>1</sup> móre là<sup>1</sup> ta-t-ódən qápəx ‘əp ʔla-réšəx,<sup>1</sup> ba‘dēn pəltət.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said “Stop! I (want to) get out of it.” He said “No, not until I make a lid also for your head, then you come out.”’ (A20:3)
- (7) *‘u-màsta<sup>1</sup> ‘áxlət mánna qrišta diya t-la-xàrwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You should eat the yoghurt without the crust being spoilt.’ (A30:5)
- (8) *Qaṭina xətnəle t-la-mbarxile.* ‘Qaṭina is a groom without being wed.’ (A50:15)

15.1.1.10. *Purpose Clauses (Irrealis)*

The *qaṭəl* form is used in clauses expressing purpose. These clauses are sometimes introduced simply by the particle *D*. In many cases, however, this is combined with the particles *qa* or *ta*, e.g.

- (1) *‘ána paqðənnəxu<sup>1</sup> t-azitu b-‘úrxa maṭitu ‘əlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall instruct you so that you go on the road and reach her.’ (A8:27)
- (2) *‘āti qam-‘énə d-ánna botanəye<sup>1</sup> mšádərri t-‘azi méṭi xərje.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before the eyes of these people of Botan, send them in order to go and collect taxes.’ (A26:72)
- (3) *xonəwáṭi mṵádo mṵádo<sup>1</sup> t-la-‘azitu b-miya ‘ap-əxtu.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My brothers, move out of the way so that you do not go with the water (i.e. so that you are not carried away by the water).’ (A39:12)

- (4) *xánci t-amrónna qalùlta<sup>1</sup> qa-t-pàrqa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I’ll tell it to you quite quickly so that it will finish.’ (A4:5)
- (5) *šráxele qa-t-šàma<sup>1</sup> brátat màlka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He is shouting so that the daughter of the king hears.’ (A21:16)
- (6) *derátla sùla líðan<sup>1</sup> qá-t šéta b-šéta biš-mqāróna tàza.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You put manure on it, you see, in order that from year to year it grows better.’ (B5:105)
- (7) *mšaxnánne ’ixála<sup>1</sup> ta-t-áxlax ’ána-w ’áti m-ğđàðe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall heat the food so that you and I may eat together.’ (A22:31)
- (8) *mṭamrátle spáy ta-t-là dáyar.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Bury him well so that he does not return.’ (A22:37)
- (9) *’áwewa téni páyāš ntìra<sup>1</sup> ta-t-čú-mdi là-’aθe biye diye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This saddle bag will be guarded so that nothing will happen to it.’ (A7:9)
- (10) *la qémān jàlde<sup>1</sup> ta-t-óðan pàlxàna<sup>1</sup> ṭla-gāni<sup>1</sup> ta-t-àxlān.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Should I not get up early to work for myself, so that I can eat?’ (A21:19)

Occasionally the *D* particle is elided before the initial consonant of class B verbs, e.g.

- (11) *bāyánna biya<sup>1</sup> b-sùsa<sup>1</sup> b-rášan diyéy kùlla,<sup>1</sup> ta-šályan maθyànnē.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I want them all with their horse and rations, in order for me to go down to bring him back.’ (A25:75)
- (12) *táxtela mútte hàtxa<sup>1</sup> ta-šáli tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They have put a board like this in order to go down there.’ (A22:10)

#### 15.1.1.11. After Particle of Imminent Future *ga-*

The element *ga-*, most likely in origin the noun *gaya* ‘time, instance’, takes a verb in the *qaṭal* form introduced by the subordinator *D* as its complement to express the imminent future (‘is about to...’), e.g.

- (1) *ga-t-àðan.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I am about to come.’

The subordinator *D* is often elided before consonants:

- (2) *ga-t-pàrqan<sup>1</sup> ~ ga-pàrqan.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I am about to finish.’
- (3) *ga-t-màṭax<sup>1</sup> ~ ga-màṭax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We are about to arrive.’

The construction is attested in the text corpus in (4):

- (4) *’áθyela ’àrye.<sup>1</sup> ’áθye,<sup>1</sup> ’áθye,<sup>1</sup> š-léwa mátye ’alle-diye,<sup>1</sup> há há ga-mátya t-axlāle,<sup>1</sup> dárýalla bòčē.<sup>1</sup> dárýalla bòčē,<sup>1</sup> qíme tre-xùre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The lions came. They came, they came.’

but they had not yet reached him. “Hah, hah” she is about to eat him. So, he cast the seeds. When he cast the seeds, two willow trees grew up.’ (A18:26)

#### 15.1.1.12. *Generic Relative Clauses*

The *qaṭəl* form is used in a relative clause that has a non-specific antecedent rather than one referring to a specific referent, e.g.

- (1) *ʔalpá-dáwe bəd-yáwəl ʔla-kút ʔamórre mòdile xálme.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall give a thousand gold pieces to whomsoever tells me what my dream is.’ (A1:12)
- (2) *kút ʔásəq qamáya xazéla ʔe-dalíṭa brìṭəll-ani ʔavəmla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The first one who goes up and sees the vine growing on those (trees) cuts it down.’ (A26:91)
- (3) *kút-dukṭa ʔáza ʔàwra ʔáp ʔayya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to follow after her.’ (B12:2)
- (4) *ʔan-t-óḍi koḍənta, ʔ-awéle tina.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Those who keep (literally: do) mules have hay.’ (B5:108)

#### 15.1.1.13. *In Subordinate Clauses with Past Time Reference*

On numerous occasions, the *qaṭəl* form is used in subordinate clauses in the contexts described above also when the main clause contains a past form verb. Such *qaṭəl* forms have past time reference, with their deictic centre in the tense of the main clause, e.g.

- (1) *ʔu-bäyéwa palət-u plīṭle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He wanted to come out and he did come out.’ (A22:45)
- (2) *ʔəlyele ʔa-t-ʔázəl ʔürxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went down to set off on the road.’ (A15:5)
- (3) *ʔu-tára čiməlle ta-t-lá-ʔawər ʔáp-xa náša gəwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They closed the door so that nobody would go into it.’ (A23:24)
- (4) *qimṭela šqiltəla xa-brəna ʔu-nobəltəlle ʔa-t-axlāle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She got up and took a son (of hers) and took him in order for her to eat him.’ (A19:3)
- (5) *ʔu-siqle ta-t-áxəl mənḍi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went up to eat something.’ (A21:8)
- (6) *ʔáy wela-ʔá-bráta xarəṭət mṭúmra gu-Düre, ʔam-maqimīln.*<sup>1</sup> ‘That was the last girl to be buried in Dure before they evacuated us.’ (B1:12)
- (7) *ʔu-zilela ha-t-ázi máti l-ʔəṭət... d-áw... bábə d-a-bráta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They travelled until they reached the land of the girl’s father.’ (A29:36)

15.1.2. *qaṭəlwa*

The *qaṭəlwa* form, with the past verbal affix *-wa*, always has past time reference. It has both realis and irrealis functions.

15.1.2.1. *Narrative Past (Realis)*

In a few cases the *qaṭəlwa* form is used in narrative perfectly to express an event in the past. The clauses in which it occurs can be interpreted as having a background function, preliminary to an ensuing foreground section of the narrative. In (1), for example, the event of the woman going to church and her kidnap by Arab horsemen is part of the preliminary section of the narrative, which sets the scene for the following foregrounded events. In (2) the event of the baby Leliṯa going out to eat a child is presented as the setting for the following foregrounded scene in which the people of the village come to the king in panic. In (3) the main prominence in the speaker's narration of events is on the reaction of the other man to the speaker's blows, the act of the speaker striking him being preliminary to this. Similarly in (4) the main prominence is given to the event resulting from the Leliṯa's biting of the man's leg:

- (1) *ʔazáwa ʔumra qa-t-qarwàwa, 1 dášta malyáwa rakáwe ʔarabàye. 1* 'She went to church to take communion and the plain filled with Arab horsemen.' (A37:2)
- (2) *gu-dargúšta qemàwa, 1 šaryáwa bānúda dīya 1 ʔu-ʔazáwa gu-màṯa, 1 ʔaxláwa xa-bróna, 1 ʔaḫyàwa, 1 damxàwa. 1 ʔáp-xa lè-y-yāḏewa bīya dīya. 1 y-aḫéwa škáya qa-málka. 1 málka t-áwət basīma, 1 ʔýya mut-máṯela. 2 1 ʔanna mut-ḫàrs-it mat-tóye. 2 1 bróni hóle xīla ʔdlèle, 1 gu-dargúšta dmīxa. 1* 'She (the baby Leliṯa) stood up in the cradle, untied her bands, went into the village, ate a child, then came back and went to sleep. Nobody knew about her. They came (repeatedly) to complain to the king. "King, may you be healthy, what kind of village is this? What kind of guard are you appointing? My son was eaten tonight while asleep in his cradle."' (A18:1)
- (3) *maxánwale sépa gu-xàse. 1 yáha móre mù-mxelux gu-xási. 1 tabzīya qítla bīyux. 1 maxánwale rúmxi ʔálle dīye 1 mù-qítte bīyi. 2 1* 'I struck a sword on his back and he said "What did you strike on my back", (I said) "A rosary has hit you". I struck my spear into him (and he said) "What has hit me?"' (A12:20)
- (4) *xá-ʔaqle ʔaxláwale, 1 qáṯma kúlle šléle gu-páṯa dīya. 1* 'She (the Leliṯa) bit (literally: ate) one of his legs and the ash all fell into her face.' (A18:23)



This perfective narrative use of the *qaṭṭlwa* form can be regarded as standing in a relationship to the narrative *qaṭṭal* form (§15.1.1.1.) that is similar to the relationship of *qṭilwale* to *qṭille* in narrative (§15.2.2.). In both cases the form of the pair with the explicit marking of the past with the *-wa* particle denotes a prior event that is off the line of the main narrative foreground. Although the form *qaṭṭlwa* when used in this function may in some cases be felicitously translated by the English pluperfect (e.g. ‘She had gone to church...’), it is important to note that it expresses an event and not a resultant state. Any resultant state is only an implicature not a component of its meaning. When the speaker wishes to express a resultant state directly, the compound construction consisting of the resultative participle and the past copula is used (§15.4.1.).

#### 15.1.2.2. *Past Habitual (Realis)*

The *qaṭṭlwa* form is occasionally used with class A verbs to refer to habitual actions in the past, expressing an imperfective aspect in the past indicative, though in the majority of cases the past habitual of this class of verb is expressed by the *ʔi-qaṭṭlwa* form with the *ʔi-* prefix. Examples from the text corpus in main and subordinate clauses include the following:

- (1) *kút-yum ʔazáwa l-ṭúra maṭyáwa ḏa-kértə qésa l-xáša diya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everyday she would go to the mountains and bring a bundle of wood on her back.’ (A10:6)
- (2) *ṭūtun-ṣigən<sup>1</sup> zāriwala<sup>1</sup> ʔánna xaqlàṭa<sup>1</sup> zāriwala kùlla.<sup>1</sup> ʔawḏiwala zriṭa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would cultivate tobacco. They would plough all the fields and make them into ploughed land.’ (B7:10)
- (3) *ʔasriwala dàsta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would bind it (the tobacco) in bundles.’ (B7:16)
- (4) *mən-ʔamməyət šonne<sup>1</sup> duxránət Mar-Sáwət ʔoḏiwale<sup>1</sup> ʔiwa təltássər b-ḏčča.<sup>1</sup>* ‘For hundreds of years the memorial of Saint Sawa which they observed was on the thirteenth of September.’ (B15:92)
- (5) *ʔina bušála t-ʔoḏáxwala ṭlālən,<sup>1</sup> xánči miyànta,<sup>1</sup> la-ràba.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was somewhat watery, though not too much.’ (B10:17)
- (6) *ʔimət-ʔaṭiwa barzanáye kəsle,<sup>1</sup> y-ámər...* ‘When the people of Barzan came to him, he would said...’ (B19:1)

In class B verbs the *qaṭalwa* form without the prefix is very frequently used to express past habitual action, e.g.

- (7) *bašlīwa rəzza.<sup>1</sup> bašlīwa šōrba.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would cook rice. They would cook soup.’ (B7:3)
- (8) *qemīwa mṭalīwa,<sup>1</sup> raqḏūwa,<sup>1</sup> zamrīwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would get up and play, dance and sing.’ (B7:4)
- (9) *ʿan-šādle<sup>1</sup> šalkīwala mən-tāma<sup>1</sup> maxéwala gu-māššāra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would uproot the seedlings from that place and plant them in the paddy field.’ (B7:11)
- (10) *béna halbát meḥéwa štèḥa-w,<sup>1</sup> yáʿni ʿāraq,<sup>1</sup> ʿu-m-xāmra-w<sup>1</sup> zamrīwa-w<sup>1</sup> xamlīwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then they would, of course, bring drink, arak together with wine, and they would sing and enjoy themselves.’ (B5:62)
- (11) *kút-xa šáqalwa xákma xəzmān-dīye,<sup>1</sup> masáqla kəsle-dīye ṭla-ftārtā.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Each person would take some of his relatives and take them up to his home for breakfast.’ (B5:60)

The form may be used also to express iterative action that took place over a short interval of time, e.g.

- (12) *máre ʿána báyan Səttiye.<sup>1</sup> ʿáy biš-šapirtela Səttiye<sup>1</sup> ʿu-deréwa képe hátxa biyèni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “I love Səttiye. Səttiye is the most beautiful” and threw stones (repeatedly) at us.’ (A25:20)
- (13) *xà-gaya,<sup>1</sup> darīwa xà-fəlsa.<sup>1</sup> ʿený yawīwala l-tūra<sup>1</sup> ʿu-xašéy ʿəl-gàrra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘On one occasion they were throwing a coin (repeatedly). They turned their eyes to the mountain and their backs to the pool.’ (B15:33)

### 15.1.2.3. *Continuous Situation in the Past*

We have seen in §15.1.1.4. that a small set of verbs denoting mental processes or states are used in the *qaṭal* form to express a situation that holds in the actual present but is not necessarily a habitual property of the subject. When such verbs are used in the *qaṭalwa* form, they may denote, accordingly, a continuous situation at a particular period in the past rather than a habitual property of the subject, e.g.

- (1) *ʿu-bāyéwa palát-u plītle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He wanted to come out and he came out’ (A22:45)
- (2) *ʿap-qtála báyanwa qaṭlēmwale.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I even wanted to to kill him.’ (A1:17)
- (3) *ʿáyya Čəlkāze Bādal Sahàre<sup>1</sup> yāḏāwa<sup>1</sup> ʿáwewa hóle ḥāya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This Čəlkāze Bādal Sahare knew that he was coming.’ (A12:33)

The *qatəlwə* form is used with these verbs also to express a habitual situation, e.g.

- (4) *ʔu-mdi bǎyàxwa<sup>1</sup> zaqrəxwa ʔəxni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whatever we wanted we used to knit.’ (B10:46)
- (5) *ʔǎdǐwa mo-qádra derəwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They knew how much (soil) to put on.’ (B5:191)

#### 15.1.2.4. *Conditional Constructions*

The *qatəlwə* form is used in the protasis of conditional constructions. These may refer to real iterative situations in the past (1–3). Alternatively, the *qatəlwə* form may be used to refer to a hypothetical condition in the past, which was not fulfilled, or to a hypothetical condition in the present or future, which the speaker assesses to be impossible to fulfil (4–6). Such hypothetical conditions refer to a single event or an iterative event. The verb can be interpreted as expressing perfective aspect, presenting the action as an event delimited by a start and end point, or at least with a start point. In the case of iterative actions, the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation. Verbs expressing mental processes and states such as *by* ‘to want’ in (3) are exceptions. In main clauses the *qatəlwə* form of these verbs are used imperfectively to express a continuous situation in the past and this applies also to their usage in the syntactic context under discussion here. Examples:

- (1) *ʔu-ʔən-xàčča<sup>1</sup> xáčča xa-béna ʔaryàwa-dunye<sup>1</sup> deréwa xáčča tùna,<sup>1</sup> biš-dawùqwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If it rained, they put down a little straw, so that it was more compact.’ (B5:146)
- (2) *ʔm-parəqwa ʔǎšwut,<sup>1</sup> ʔáw ʔsri-tmanyə yomáθa yan-ʔsri-ʔəčča yomànele,<sup>1</sup> ʔ-azəxwa tùra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains.’ (B5:152)
- (3) *ʔm-bǎyáxwa tuma,<sup>1</sup> ʔla-mbašálda,<sup>1</sup> kəfən-ile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us.’ (B10:24)
- (4) *ʔm-maxéwala xa-xéna xaθmáwa<sup>1</sup> t-axlávale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If he had hit another (blow), she would have healed and eaten him.’ (A50:14)
- (5) *ʔm-mašéwa t-axəlwala,<sup>1</sup> ləla xamúše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If he could have eaten them, (he would not have said that) they were sour.’ (A43:4)
- (6) *ʔm-mašənwə,<sup>1</sup> t-aθənwə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I could, I would come.’

Note the usage of the *qatəlwa* form to refer to a hypothetical perfective event in the past that did not actually take place in contexts such as (7)–(10) or a hypothetical condition in the future, which the speaker assesses to be unlikely to take place (11)–(12):

- (7) *ʔó-yomət gorànwá,<sup>1</sup> ʔθyεle ʔáwwa ʔafrit gnìwəlli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The day I would have got married, this demon came and stole me away.’ (A13:14)
- (8) *ʔap-ʔàti<sup>1</sup> m-géb t-aθítwa méθətwali zùze,<sup>1</sup> ʔqillux xa-ʔəndòxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘So you, instead of coming and bringing me money, took a rock.’ (A1:25)
- (9) *m-éka ʔáyənwalux ʔána.<sup>2</sup>* ‘From where could I have sought this for you?’ (A30:23)
- (10) *túwe t-xazənwale!<sup>1</sup>* ‘If only I had seen him!’
- (11) *bas-xáθi Nozáli xazənwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If only I could see my sister Nozali.’ (A8:57)
- (12) *pəʔənwá mevan diya.* ‘(If only) I could become her guest.’ (C2:1)

#### 15.1.2.5. Other Subordinate Clauses

The *qatəlwa* form is used in the various other types of subordinate clauses that the *qatəl* form is used in. It has past tense reference and is dependent, in principle, on a past verb, which may express perfective or imperfective aspect, e.g.

- (1) *báyéwa pələ́twa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He wanted to come out.’ (A22:45)
- (2) *lá-qabə́lwa ʔəxni saxə́xwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He did not allow us to swim.’ (A25:20)
- (3) *lé y-ʔəwqíwa mʔələnwa mənney.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They did not let me play with them.’ (B15:33)
- (4) *rəqə́nwá ta-t-mbaʔlənwa-w qítli biyux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I was running in order to cook and I knocked into you.’ (A27:42)
- (5) *pərmə́xwala qá-t ʔε-qálya mbarzə́xwale.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would slaughter them in order to dry the fat tail.’ (B5:139)
- (6) *qam-t-asə́qwa móre ʔla-bnə́θe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before he went up he said to his daughters...’ (A26:85)
- (7) *ʔi-pəʔə́wá yáʔni t-la matíwa ʔékele beθə́y.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Only a few of them remained without arriving at (the place) where their house was.’ (B15:44)

On some sporadic occasions the *qatəlwa* form is used in a subordinate clause that is dependent on a main clause containing a *qatəl* form. In such cases the *qatəl* form of the main has past time reference. This is attested in constructions with the verbs *by* ‘to want’ and *məy* ‘to be able’ in the main clause, e.g.

- (8) *bǎye qatəlwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He wanted to kill it.’ (A10:2)  
 (9) *lá-bǎye t-awǎðwa lèbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He did not want to play tricks.’ (A29:36)  
 (10) *ʔu-láxma t-la-qǎya là-mšən t-axlǎnwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I could not eat the bread without breaking it.’ (A30:13)

It is far more common for a *qatəl* form with past time reference to occur in a subordinate clause dependent on a past tense verb (§15.1.1.13.).

#### 15.1.2.6. *After Particle of Imminent Future*

The *qatəlwa* form is used after the particle *ga-* to express imminent future in the past in expressions such as the following:

- (1) *ga-t-aθǎnwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I was about to come.’

#### 15.1.3. ʔi-qatəl

##### 15.1.3.1. *Habitual*

The function of this form is, in principle, to express an imperfective habitual aspect with present tense reference, i.e. the deictic centre of the tense is the time of speaking. The action of the verb is presented as a characteristic and sometimes permanent property of the subject of the clause.

In class A verbs the ʔi-*qatəl* form is regularly used when the speaker wishes to express this type of imperfective aspect, e.g.

- (1) *qédamta y-ázi náše l-ʔúmra,*<sup>1</sup> *y-óði qurbàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the morning the people go to church and take communion.’ (B6:23)  
 (2) *xǎtte y-ázi dá gòta!* *ʔu-túna y-ázəl dá gòta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other.’ (B5:97)  
 (3) *ʔáyya y-amrǎxla mǎmaðta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We call this “baptism.”’ (B6:8)  
 (4) *qam-dàna,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áxli kawùθra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Beforehand they eat lunch.’ (B5:36)  
 (5) *xàrθa!* *y-aθéleni ʔèða!* *ʔèðət be-yàlda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then we have a festival (literally: a festival comes to us), the festival of Christmas.’ (B6:12)  
 (6) *y-asrǐle b-xǎwla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They tie it with a rope.’ (B6:38)  
 (7) *y-átwi fǎtri qamǎye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They sit and have breakfast first.’ (B5:71)  
 (8) *ʔu-y-açmǐla hátxa qa-t-là-napli m-gáwe díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They close them like this so that they do not fall out.’ (B6:51)

As we have seen (§15.1.1.3.), the present habitual of class B verbs beginning with a strong consonant is often expressed by the *qatəl* form without

the *ʔi-* prefix. Habitual action of verbs of this class is on many occasions also expressed by the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form. The choice of the speaker to use the *qaṭəl* form or the *ʔi-qaṭəl* is not completely random but is motivated to a large extent by differences in discourse prominence. In general the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form tends to be used in clauses denoting situations to which the speaker wishes to draw particular attention in a section of discourse. Consider the following passage:

- (9) [1] *ṭəlme*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiman-t qámxa* ***lešíle*** *lěša*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔi-xámme*<sup>1</sup>, ***déré*** *xmíra gáwe*  
*ʔi-xámme*<sup>1</sup>, ***i-méθi*** *səla*<sup>1</sup> *səla*<sup>1</sup> *prəzlele*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw dax-t-ámrax ʔax-siniyele*<sup>1</sup>  
*bas-gōra*<sup>1</sup>, ***i-mattíle*** *š-kəpe*<sup>1</sup>, *xóthe díye y-ódi núra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-səla* ***i-xáyəm***<sup>1</sup>  
 [2] ***šáqli*** *lěša*<sup>1</sup>, ***mattíle*** *š-xá pársa pṭòxa*<sup>1</sup>, *š-xa-méz hátxa pṭòxa*<sup>1</sup>  
*xa-qəsa*<sup>1</sup> *glòla*<sup>1</sup> ***i-zepíle*** *rěše díye*<sup>1</sup>, ***nablíle*** *ʔu-məθéle* *həl-ε-gət* ***páyəš***  
*raqíqa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔó-leša* ***páyəš*** *raqíqa ràba*<sup>1</sup> [3] ***i-šaqlíle*** *b-g'era*<sup>1</sup> *yáni xa-qəsa*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔu-déréle* *rəš-d-ó-səla t-íle núra xóthe xamíma*<sup>1</sup> ***i-bəšəl***<sup>1</sup> ***i-bəšəl***<sup>1</sup>  
***maxəðríle*** *xá-ga l-əy-gota*<sup>1</sup>, *xá-ga l-əy-gota*<sup>1</sup> *hal-d-é-gət* ***bəšla***<sup>1</sup> *ʔawwa*  
*y-ámrile ṭəlme*<sup>1</sup>, *ṭləmθa*<sup>1</sup>.

‘*ṭəlme*: When they knead the dough and it rises, they put yeast in it and it rises, they bring a griddle. The griddle is made of iron. We could say that it is like a tray, but bigger. They put it on stones and make a fire under it. The griddle becomes hot. They take the dough and put it on a wide stone, on a wide table like this. They push a round stick of wood on it, moving back and forth, until it becomes thin. The dough becomes very thin. They take it with a rolling pin, that is a stick of wood, and put it on the hot griddle with fire under it and it cooks. It cooks, they turn it on one side and on the other, until it cooks. They call this *ṭəlme*, *ṭləmθa* (sing).’  
 (B6:45–47)

This passage contains a description of the various actions that are undertaken and events that take place in the preparation of the flat breads known as *ṭəlme*. Both *qaṭəl* and *ʔi-qaṭəl* forms of class B verbs are used to express these actions and events (marked in bold). The clauses containing the *ʔi-qaṭəl* forms can be interpreted as denoting the ones that the speaker is inviting the hearer to pay particular attention to.

In section [1] of the passage all class B verbs are in the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form except *lešíle* and *déré*. In the preparation of the dough, its rising (*ʔi-xámme*) is presented as the crucial event that will allow the process of baking to advance. This importance is expressed also by the repetition of the verb. The kneading (*lešíle*) and adding of yeast (*déré xmíra gáwe*) are auxiliary

activities. The bringing onto the scene of a griddle (*'i-méθi sèla*) and the activities associated with setting it up (*'i-mattile š-kèpe, 'i-xàym*) are presented as noteworthy features of the preparation of this type of bread.

In section [2] only the verb in the phrase *xa-qèsa' glòla' 'i-zεpile rèše díye'* ('They push a round stick of wood on it') is in the *'i-qaṭəl* form. This is being presented as the central and most noteworthy activity in this section. The taking of the dough and placing it on a flat surface are preparatory to this. The description of the moving of the stick back and forth until the dough becomes thin is an elaboration of the central activity.

In [3] the activity of using the rolling-pin (*g'era*), which is a noteworthy referent that is here newly introduced into the discourse, is expressed by a *'i-qaṭəl* form (*'i-šaqlíle*). The *'i-qaṭəl* form is used also to express the event of cooking, which is the climax of the preparation of the bread (*'i-bàšəl*). This event is given additional prominence by repeating the mention of it. The acts of putting the dough on the griddle and the turning the dough over on the griddle, which are expressed by *qaṭəl* forms, are preparatory to this event.

Some further examples are the following:

- (10) *'áni xátte huwèdi sáma zóda' 'i-zāríla t-là maštóye, 'y-amrāxxa dèmi. 'áni z'ári gu-h'ira.* 'The *huwèdi* wheat they generally sow without irrigation, they call it "unirrigated" (*dèmi*). They sow it in the mountains.' (B5:94)
- (11) *'m-'iθ pàwxa, 'i-marmíle gu-hàwa. xátte y-ázi dá gòta' 'u-túna y-ázəl dá gòta. p'ársi m-gòðe.* 'If there is wind, they raise it in the air. The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other. They separate.' (B5:97)
- (12) *'i-doqíla šàna. 'u-sulámməš doqíle lóši xa-júlla' qa-t-lá nesíla-w' 'u-dére gu-'amàna, garšíle níxa níxa-w.* 'They (the beekeepers) would take hold of the honeycomb. They would hold the hive whilst wearing a cloth so that the bees would not sting them. They put it into a vessel and took it away slowly.' (B5:178)

These consist of series of clauses containing both realis *qaṭəl* and *'i-qaṭəl* forms of class B verbs. The *'i-qaṭəl* forms can be interpreted as occurring in the clauses to which the speaker wishes to draw particular attention, whereas the *qaṭəl* forms are ancillary to these. In (10) the main point the speaker is making is that *huwèdi* wheat is cultivated without irrigation. The statement that they sow it in the mountains is an elaboration to this central point. In (11) the raising (*'i-marmíle*) of the threshed harvest

in the air is a central activity of the process of winnowing that is here newly introduced into the discourse and is of high information value. The clause with the *qaṭəl* form ‘They separate’ (*páwšî*), on the other hand, is an elaborative repetition of the preceding statement that ‘The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other’. In (12) the key activity that the speaker draws attention to is the taking hold of the honeycomb (*ʔi-dogila*). The following clauses containing *qaṭəl* forms offer a supplementary elaboration on the details of this activity.

The *ʔi-qaṭəl* form may be used to express imperfective habitual actions in the past. This is found where there is a past tense verb in the adjacent context expressing an action that is closely connected, either syntactically or on a discourse level, with that of the *ʔi-qaṭəl* verb. The *ʔi-qaṭəl* verb takes the tense of the past verb as its deictic centre. In most cases the *ʔi-qaṭəl* verb occurs in a clause that follows the clause(s) containing a past tense verbs, e.g:

- (13) *kut-qedàmta<sup>1</sup> xadámta d-ε-bráta meθyáwala čây<sup>1</sup> ʔu-támta,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-y-àsqa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘Every morning the servant of that girl brought her tea and breakfast, then would go back.’ (A4:50)
- (14) *zonìwala,<sup>1</sup> xálát xàtnεle.<sup>1</sup> zabáwwa ʔilána,<sup>1</sup> b-é-ga náše xéne ʔi-zòni.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘They would buy it—it was the uncle of the groom (who bought it first). He would sell the tree. Then other people would buy it.’ (B10:28)
- (15) *y-azólwa l-bèθa-w<sup>1</sup> y-ámər čīdetu.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘He would go to the house and say “You are invited.”’ (B5:22)
- (16) *ʔu-bár mtámzúwale rəzza,<sup>1</sup> béna níxa níxa,<sup>1</sup> hál qayàmwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔíθwale xà-yarxa,<sup>1</sup>*  
*trè-yarxe hatxáne,<sup>1</sup> †lâθa,<sup>1</sup> béna ʔi-sàməq.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘After they cleaned the rice, ... (they did this) until it gradually grew. It took one month, two or three and then it would become brown.’ (B5:79)

The past tense verb occasionally follows the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form. This is found where the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form and the past tense verb form a particularly closely knit unit, as in (17), where the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form is a verb of movement:

- (17) *ʔúrza y-áθe y-asəṛwale.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘Another man would come and tie it up.’ (B5:85)

#### 15.1.3.2. *Persistent Situation*

Verbs of non-dynamic actionality from the set listed in §15.1.1.4., which are used in the *qaṭəl* form when expressing the actual present, may be used



in the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form to express the temporal persistence of a situation. The situation is not a permanent, habitual property of the subject referent. This construction is found where the verb is modified by the particle *har* ‘still’ in which the speaker asserts the persistence a situation where there is some expectation that it will not persist, e.g.

- (1) *har-xáθe ʔi-bāyela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He still loves his sister.’ (A18:16)

The motivation for using the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form rather than the *qaṭəl* form would, therefore, again be to draw particular attention to the situation, in this case due to its unexpectedness.

### 15.1.3.3. *Narrative Present*

The *ʔi-qaṭəl* form is used on a few sporadic occasions as a narrative present referring to a single specific event and not a repeated habitual action. This is only attested in the text corpus with the verb *ʔmr*. The normal form of expressing the perfective narrative present is by the *qaṭəl* form without the *ʔi-* prefix (§15.1.1.1.). Examples:

- (1) *plítla šamála šéve lhàya.*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər bàbi,*<sup>1</sup> *bràti,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya dūs-ila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She came out glowing like a night candle. He said “My dear, my girl, it is true.”’ (A38:14)
- (2) *y-ámər ya-ʔàlaha,*<sup>1</sup> *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “Oh God, why have you done this to me?”’ (A25:42)
- (3) *kúlla musàqle.*<sup>1</sup> *béna y-ámər Tóma:* ‘He took it all up. Then Toma said...’ (A52:25)

This perfective use of *y-amər* cannot be reconciled with the basic habitual function of the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form in all other contexts. A possible explanation is that this usage of *y-amər* is an archaism, preserving a vestige of an earlier function of *ʔi-qaṭəl*. It is likely that the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form originally had a progressive function.<sup>1</sup> The form *y-amər* could, therefore, be survival of the progressive used as a narrative present. The new progressive form based on the infinitive, which has supplanted the progressive use of the *ʔi-qaṭəl* form in the present state of the dialect, is sometimes used with this narrative function (§15.4.2.3.). It is relevant to note that the verb *ʔmr* ‘to say’ exhibits another conservative feature in narrative, in that it is regu-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Khan (2007b).

larly used in the *q̄tille* form to express the preterite and is in principle not used in the narrative resultative form *q̄tīlele* (§15.4.1.3.) The *q̄tille* form, which is used in all NENA dialects, can be regarded as the earlier type of narrative preterite.

#### 15.1.4. ʔi-qaṭəlwa

In class A verbs the ʔi-*qaṭəlwa* form is the normal means of expressing repeated, habitual activities in the past, e.g.

- (1) *násət xətna y-azīwa l-bēθ-be-kʔəlo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The family of the groom would go to the house of the bride’s family.’ (B5:1)
- (2) *ʔá mexólta násət kʔəlo y-odíwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The family of the bride would make that food.’ (B5:7)
- (3) *kúlle náše y-aθéwa y-atwíwa bēθət xətna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody would come and sit in the house of the groom.’ (B5:25)
- (4) *y-atwíwa ʔsri, ʔlātí ʔárbi náše y-atwíwa zmára rqaða.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Twenty, thirty, forty people would sit singing and dancing.’ (B5:13)
- (5) *ʔíθwa dáwla-w zórna y-amrəxwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was (what) we used to call the drum and pipe.’ (B5:24)
- (6) *y-orəxwa gu-ʔumra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would go into the church.’ (B15:2)

The ʔi- prefix is only sporadically omitted from verbs of class A that have this function. In class B verbs, on the other hand, the past habitual is frequently expressed by the *qaṭəlwa* form without the ʔi- prefix (§15.1.2.2.). The ʔi-*qaṭəlwa* form in verbs of this class tends to be used when the speaker wishes to give it discourse prominence.

The ʔi-*qaṭəlwa* form of a class B verb is often used in a clause that is the main point of a particular section of discourse, whereas clauses that elaborate on the assertion made by this clause have *qaṭəlwa* forms, e.g.

- (7) *ʔəxnən zōrəxwa, ʔi-zəđəxwa ʔap-mən-rabíye diyən.*<sup>1</sup> ʔé-gət y-azəxwa xa-xlúla,<sup>1</sup> xazəxwala rabíye diyən táwe mən-ʔawahəθən,<sup>1</sup> mən-babəwəθən,<sup>1</sup> lé-y-maşəxwa şabrəxwa ʔazəxwa<sup>1</sup> qarbənəxwa ʔalləy.<sup>1</sup> qa-mò.<sup>2</sup> səb ʔába mattəxwa ʔiqára ʔalləy.<sup>1</sup> zəđəxwa mənənəy.<sup>1</sup> ‘(When) we were young, we were afraid of our teachers. When we went to a wedding and we saw our teachers sitting with our parents, with our fathers, we did not dare approach them. Why? Because we felt great respect for them and we feared them.’ (B15:10)
- (8) [GK: *zaqrítuwa?*] *zqára ʔi-zaqrəxwa ʔəxni, hē.*<sup>1</sup> *zaqrəxwa bluzət,*<sup>1</sup> *zaqrəxwa ǵrəwe.*<sup>1</sup> *b-gənən zaqrəxwa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mdi bəyəxwa<sup>1</sup> zaqrəxwa ʔəxni.*<sup>1</sup> [GK: Did

you knit?] We used to knit, yes. We knitted blouses, we knitted socks. We knitted by ourselves. Whatever we wanted we knitted.’ (B10:46)

- (9) *ʔi-zaqráxwa šále.<sup>1</sup> ʔašitnàye<sup>1</sup> qam-mpalṭila ʔáwwa šálat qðàla,<sup>1</sup> hàšya,<sup>1</sup> ʔána hon-zqirta mánne.<sup>1</sup> ʔáni zaqráxwa táma bèθa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla b-ʔidən zaqráxwa,<sup>1</sup> b-ʔidən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would knit shawls. The people from Ashitha produced the neck shawl, out of lace. I have knitted with this. We used to knit these at home. We knitted everything by hand.’ (B10:50)

In (7) the general statement that ‘we were afraid (*ʔi-záðáxwa*) of our teachers’ is the main point of the section. The subsequent clauses elaborate on this by offering an illustration and explanation. In (8) the main assertion that ‘we used to knit’ has the *ʔi-qaṭalwa* form (*ʔi-zaqráxwa*). This is followed by a series of clauses with *qaṭalwa* forms (*zaqráxwa*) that expand on this by giving examples of the kind of clothes that were knitted. The *ʔi-qaṭalwa* form in (9) introduces a section about shawls by asserting the main point of the section, namely that ‘we would knit (*ʔi-zaqráxwa*) shawls’. The following clauses elaborate on this general statement by presenting further details about the process.

Two verbs that are set up in a contrastive opposition are sometimes given prominence by using the *ʔi-qaṭalwa* form, as is the case in (10), where the ‘sowing’ is set up in contrast to the ‘harvesting’:

- (10) *ʔan-xáṭte zǎríwala... çèri zǎríwala.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa rába ʔi-zǎríwala çèri.<sup>1</sup> bèher,<sup>1</sup> b-yáraxət xámša, ʔášta,<sup>1</sup> ʔi-xazdìwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would sow the wheat... in Autumn they would sow it. Many people sowed it in Autumn. In Spring, in May or June, they would harvest it.’ (B5:15)

In some cases the clause that contains a *ʔi-qaṭalwa* form does not have greater discourse prominence than adjacent clauses with *qaṭalwa* forms by virtue of its content. Rather, its prominence arises from its position in the structure of a section of discourse. The speaker sometimes gives prominence to a clause by using the *ʔi-qaṭalwa* form to flag the clause as a boundary in a section of discourse. In the text corpus a number of examples are found where the *ʔi-qaṭalwa* form is used in this way to mark a clause that occurs at the onset of a discourse unit. Consider the following passages:

- (11) *zìlèla<sup>1</sup> ʔammáyət náše maθóye Bálbəl Hazàr.<sup>1</sup> ʔi-maṭíwa tàma.<sup>1</sup> qála qamàya,<sup>1</sup> xeríwa b-áqlət susèy,<sup>1</sup> píša hal-bárkət súsá kèpa.<sup>1</sup> qálat trè,<sup>1</sup> ʔó Bálbəl Hazàr!<sup>1</sup>*

*xeríwa Bálbəl Hazár liθ.*<sup>1</sup> *mattíwa bála b-áqlə susèy,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-aqlə-d-àw,*<sup>1</sup> *hál be-palge-díye píša kèpa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxǐ rešət-sùsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-palge-díye bàr-elì*<sup>1</sup> *léle píša kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-qaréwa qálat t!àθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Hundreds of people went to bring back Bəlbəl Hazar. They would arrive there. At the first cry, they would look at the legs of their horse (and see that the part) up to the knees of the horse had become stone. On the second cry “Bəlbəl Hazar!,” they looked but Bəlbəl Hazar was not there. They checked the leg of their horse and behold, the leg itself, until the middle of the horse had become stone. Only the head of the horse and its upper half had not become stone. They would cry a third cry.’ (A8:30–31)

- (12) *xà-gaya,*<sup>1</sup> *daríwa xà-fəlsa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔenéy yawíwala l-tùra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xaşéy l-gàrra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-daríwa xà-fəlsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-salıwa xárθa gu-gàrra xázi ʔó-fəlsa ʔèkele.*<sup>1</sup> *kú-t šaqəlwale*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-qrimwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Once they were throwing a coin, turning their eyes to the mountain and their backs to the pool. They threw a coin then went down into the pool to find where the coin was. Whoever picked it up had won it.’ (B15:33)
- (13) *y-amríwala ǎppe buke.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya mpalı́wala kʔàlo*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mattíwala xásət kodənta,*<sup>1</sup> *sab-qámθa liθwa rába susyáθa.*<sup>1</sup> *xásət kodənta ʔi-mattíwala,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-azíwa xadriwa*<sup>1</sup> *barəbárat mǎθa*<sup>1</sup> *hal-é-gət mamtíwala bəθət gáwra díya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They called this *ǎppe buke*. They would bring the bride out and put her on the back of a mule, since in the old days there were not many horses. They would put her on the back of a mule and they would go and take her around the village, until they brought her to the house of her husband.’ (B15:65–66)
- (14) *ʔan-t-napliwa l-àrra,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni lè-y-axliwala náše.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni daríwala qam-qənyàne.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-mjǎmíwala gu-guniya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-daríwala gu-gòma,*<sup>1</sup> *qa-mpalı́wala mǎnnèy*<sup>1</sup> *daríwa qam-tawriyàθa*<sup>1</sup> *qam-qənyàne*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-ʔaxliwa mǎnnèy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘People did not eat those that fell on the ground. They gave these to the animals. They gathered them in a sack and put them in the basement stable, so that they could take from them and give them to the cows and animals for them to eat.’ (B15:50)

In (11) the arrival of the participants on the scene is expressed by a *ʔi-qatəlwə* form but the speaker uses *qatəlwə* forms to describe their subsequent actions on the scene. The intention is not to present the act of arrival as the most prominent one from the point of view of its content. Rather the purpose of the *ʔi-qatəlwə* form is to signal that it has prominence from the point of view of the discourse structure in that it marks the onset of a span of discourse describing the actions of the suitors at the scene of Bəlbəl Hazar’s cave.

In (12) the second mention of the act of throwing the coin is expressed by a *ʔi-qaṭṭwa* form (*ʔi-darṭwa*). The purpose is not to present this act as more noteworthy than the acts that follow it. Rather it is used to mark a boundary in discourse structure, namely the onset of a sequence of clauses describing the game at the pool. Similarly in (13) the second mention of the placing of the bride on the back of a mule, which is expressed by a *ʔi-qaṭṭwa* form, marks the onset of a sequence of clauses that describe the event known as *ṣappe buke*.

The *ʔi-qaṭṭwa* form in (14) marks the beginning of a span of discourse that elaborates and expands on the previous general statement that they gave the fallen apples to the animals. It coincides with a shift from general to specific perspective.

On some occasions the *ʔi-qaṭṭwa* form is used to signal the closure of a discourse section. Again, the primary purpose is not to give particular prominence to the semantic content of this final action in the section, but rather to use it as a boundary marker in the discourse structure. This is the case, for example, in (15), where the man's going to sleep is the final event of his working day, but is not intended to be interpreted as the most important one:

- (15) *kút-yum šúle díye mòdi-wewa.ʔl šaqṭṭwale táwre díyeʔ u-šaqṭṭwa xmáre díyeʔ qédamtaʔ y-azṭṭwa zārèwaʔ ʔu-y-aṭéwa l-bèṭa,ʔ y-axṭṭwa mándi ʔi-damṭxwa.ʔ*  
 'Everyday what was his job? He would take his ox and take his ass early in the morning and go to cultivate (his field). He would then come back home, eat something and go to sleep.' (A21:4)

#### 15.1.5. bəd-qaṭṭ

The prefixed particle *bəd-* in this form is generally phonetically reduced in natural fast speech to *bṭ-*, *t-* or *b-* (cf. §8.6.2.), e.g. *ʔána bṭ-àzəm* 'I shall go' (A8:51), *t-azṭtu* 'You shall go' (A8:27), *b-tàrəṣ* 'He will be cured' (A8:33).

##### 15.1.5.1. Predictive Future

One of the basic functions of the *bəd-qaṭṭ* form is to express the future tense. In cases where the subject of the verb is 3rd person or where it is a non-agentive 1st or 2nd person, this is generally a predictive future, e.g.

- (1) *b-nayəslíʔ t-axəlli.ʔ* 'He will bite me. He will eat me.' (A1:17)  
 (2) *ʔəp-ʔana b-qaṭṭəlli.ʔ* 'He will kill me also.' (A42:3)  
 (3) *ʔáy hóla dmixta.ʔ yómət ʔərbi b-qéma.ʔ* 'She is asleep. On the fortieth day she will get up.' (A24:17)

- (4) *táma b-xázət xa-túra ramàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There you will see a high mountain.’ (A8:47)
- (5) *b-qlábtux b-xazánna Bálbəl Hazàr mónnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When you return I shall see Bəlbəl Hazar with you.’ (A8:52)
- (6) *ʔáy šaqítha bt-áza.* ‘The channel will flow.’ (A8:11)
- (7) *kút-yom t-ábi ləxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They will come here every day.’

The form is perfective, since it presents actions delimited with a start and end point or at least with a start point. The form may also express iterative aspect (7). In this context the form can still be interpreted as perfective, in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation.

The predicted events may be about to occur in the very near future, as is shown by (8) and (9), where the verb is used with the adverb ‘now’:

- (8) *hadíya t-àþya žine,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔarbi bərbiyátha mənna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now Zine is going to come with forty bridesmaids.’ (A26:78)
- (9) *díya t-ábi þermilən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now they are going to come to slaughter us.’ (A4:54)

The expression of imminence may be intensified by the phrase *hənt-ila* ‘It is a little’ (Kurd. hind), e.g.

- (10) *hənt-ila t-àþe*<sup>1</sup> ‘He will come very soon’

The *bəd-qaṭəl* form is used as a future tense in direct or indirect interrogative clauses, e.g.

- (11) *ʔéka b-kále Gozàli?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Where will Gozali stay?’ (A8:51)
- (12) *xázəx mò-t-awəð.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s see what he will do.’ (A4:21)
- (13) *xázən mó bt-amərri.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I’ll see what he’ll say to me.’ (A8:43)

#### 15.1.5.2. Deontic Future

When the verb has an agentive 1st singular subject the *bəd-qaṭəl* form generally has a modal sense expressing deontic intention, e.g.

- (1) *b-šàlyən<sup>1</sup> b-táþqən biye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall go down to meet him.’ (A4:21)
- (2) *ʔəp-ʔana bt-ázən šúla<sup>1</sup> pəlxən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I also shall go and work.’ (A23:1)
- (3) *b-zonánne b-xamšī dínare.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall buy it for fifty dinars.’ (A24:23)
- (4) *t-yawənnux zùzux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall give you your money.’ (A1:10)

The intention may be to perform the action in the immediate future, e.g.

- (5) *hadíya b-zadràmma gáni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now I am going to shake myself.’ (A24:27)

When expressing deontic intention the *bəd-qatəl* form is occasionally combined with the particle of immediacy *də-/de-*, e.g.

- (6) *’ána də-t-amrànnox ’ó-mdi-t taxrànne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall tell you what I remember.’ (B15:1)  
 (7) *pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne ’ílle dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall give him half of my gold.’ (A14:92)

When the verb has an agentive 1st plural subject, the form often has a cohortative modal sense (Let’s...), e.g.

- (8) *bṭ-ārqexi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s flee.’ (A30:41)  
 (9) *bas-t-ázexi ṭalbéxla m-bába dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But let us go and ask her father for her hand.’ (A29:38)  
 (10) *b-súrəθ lédən mú y-amrile,*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrx mtagəbràna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not know what they call it in *súrəθ*, let’s say “governor.”’ (B6:47)

The form may express deontic obligation. In such cases the verb generally has an agentive 2nd person subject, e.g.

- (11) *’ati bṭ-àzet.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should go.’ (A8:46)  
 (12) *t-azitu qam-d-o-gəppa,*<sup>1</sup> *’aw-gəppa rába ramànzle.*<sup>1</sup> *b-qaritu:*<sup>1</sup> *’ó Bəlbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should go to the cave, the cave is very high. You should cry “Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!”’ (A8:28)  
 (13) *b-zènət!*<sup>1</sup> *gótət d-an-xoránux xène!*<sup>1</sup> *’u-b-qàrət.*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrxət ’ó Bəlbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should stand next to the others, your friends, and call out. You should say “Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!”’ (A8:48)

Occasionally the form expresses deontic obligation also in other persons, e.g.

- (14) *t-ázəl ṭaləbla m-be-bába dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He should go and ask her father’s family for her hand.’ (A29:39)  
 (15) *’ílla b-šaqlənna’ xáθət Mir-Zəndin barxàmma-llux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But I must first take the sister of Mir Zandin to marry her to you.’ (A26:39)

When used in questions the form can sometimes be interpreted as expressing deontic obligation ('What should he do?') or deontic possibility ('What can he do?'), whereby the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation or give permission, e.g.

- (16) *políse mù t-ódi?*<sup>1</sup> 'What should/can the police do?' (A8:9)  
 (17) *mó t-odèna?*<sup>1</sup> 'What should/can I do?' (A1:17)  
 (18) *mò t-ámrən 'ána?*<sup>1</sup> 'What should/can I say?' (A26:34)

It is occasionally used to express deontic possibility in other contexts, for example in the expression *t-amrət* 'you could say', which is used to introduce comparative descriptions as in (19) and (20):

- (19) *rqəðela,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-píšla t-amrət xlúlele táma.*<sup>1</sup> 'They danced and you could say that (= it seemed that) there was a wedding there.' (A35:7)  
 (20) *'o-kəłša<sup>1</sup> rába qüwyeywa,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni m-bár xá 'əsrá yomàtha,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni t-amrətte dabəšwa,*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla t-amrətte dabəšwa xá kəpa yá'ni,*<sup>1</sup> *képa-w kəłša.*<sup>1</sup> 'After about ten days, you could say concerning it (= it seems) that it stuck together, you could say concerning it (= it seems) that the gypsum all stuck together in a single stone.' (B5:185)

### 15.1.5.3. Conditional Constructions

The *bəd-qaṭəl* form is used in the apodosis of conditional sentences. In the majority of cases it expresses an action that is temporally sequential to a hypothetical situation in the future. As elsewhere the form should be interpreted as perfective, expressing a complete action with start and end point or an action that is at least delimited with a start point that is sequential to the situation described in the protasis, e.g.

- (1) *'ən-háwe t-tərtə 'aqlátha,*<sup>1</sup> *'ána b-zawənəne.*<sup>1</sup> 'If it were two legged, I would buy it.' (A22:5)  
 (2) *'ən-hawéli bráta<sup>1</sup> t-yánna qa-bronəxu.*<sup>1</sup> 'If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son.' (A25:8)  
 (3) *'ən-kpinni,*<sup>1</sup> *t-axlənne.*<sup>1</sup> 'If I am hungry, I shall eat it.' (A23:5)  
 (4) *'ən-šáwət díyi qəm-yəðətla,*<sup>1</sup> *xo-b-gawrənnux.*<sup>1</sup> 'If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed then marry you.' (A25:62)  
 (5) *'ən-amrənnux 'áp-'ati b-šənət.*<sup>1</sup> 'If I tell you, you will faint.' (A11:2)  
 (6) *'ən-'ánna mtəməmətla,*<sup>1</sup> *'ána t-yánna-llux.*<sup>1</sup> 'If you fulfil these (conditions), I shall give them to you.' (A12:2)  
 (7) *'ən-'axlilən šəkawáne t-axlilən.*<sup>1</sup> 'If the ants eat us, they shall eat us.' (A14:52)



In some cases it expresses a future action that follows logically from a given, real situation in the present denoted by the protasis clause, e.g.

- (8) *ʾm-île xwarzàyi, t-áðe t-yăðéla ʾanna mòdila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If he is my nephew, he will come and he will know what these are.’ (A25:49)
- (9) *ʾm-réšət bábe díye ʾax-túra, ʾu-hóle qṭíla l-Tătár-i Slemán-i Səndi, ləka bt-ázəl?*<sup>1</sup> ‘If the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by Tătár-i Sleman-i Səndi, where will he go?’ (A28:8)

#### 15.1.5.4. *Discourse Dependency*

In conditional constructions such as those illustrated in §15.1.5.3. the action in the apodosis is presented from the viewpoint of the situation in the protasis and always has a future reference relative to this viewpoint. On some occasions the *bəd-qatəl* form expresses dependency on a preceding clause outside of conditional constructions. In such cases the action in the *bəd-qatəl* clause is not presented from the viewpoint of the preceding clause and so does not necessarily have future time reference. It may have present time reference. The form is perfective, delimited either by a start and end point or at least by a start point that is sequential to what precedes. It may also express iterative aspect, but still should be interpreted as perfective, in that it expresses one occurrence of an event that is representative of the iterated situation. The *bəd-* prefix in these constructions has lost the function of future temporal reference but expresses only dependency. This dependency make take the form of temporal sequentiality as in (1)–(5), e.g.

- (1) *ʾrbe máxe l-gđàðe, t-ázi xa-fâtra, ʾal-salıqə zòrna. máxe zòrna xa-salıqa xəna, ʾrbe b-dəri, b-ganəy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He gathers the sheep together and they go off for a while according to the tune of the pipe. He plays another tune on the pipe and the sheep return, by themselves.’ (A25:27)
- (2) *ʾu-zúlele t-ázəl ʾáθrət bəbə d-ε-bráta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He set off and went to the land of the girl’s father.’ (A29:34)
- (3) *b-léle qimla šárya bānúda díya, t-àza, pθixla tára qđíla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘At night she got up, untied her bands, then went and opened the door with a key.’ (A18:3)
- (4) *ʾu-šuréle ʿajðze ʾyáni kčāxa. ʾu-t-lá xələt t-ámər ya-ʾálaha šqulli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He had started to get incapable and tired and, in order for him not to commit an error, he says “Oh God, take me!”’ (A15:19)
- (5) *báθər ʿéda gōra ʾy-áðe ʾarbi-yome ʾbáθər ʿéda d-o-gōra ʾiθena ʿéðət sulāqa. ... xārθa t-áðe xá-ʿéda xréna zóra, ʾy-amrile ʿéðət musārde.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After the Great

Festival, forty days after the Great Festival, the festival of Ascension takes place.... Afterwards comes a small festival, which is called *musarde*.' (B6:5–8)

In some cases the *bəḏ-qaṭəl* form does not express temporal sequentiality but only some kind of relevance to a preceding clause. Consider (6) and (7):

- (6) *báwθə Ninwàye<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ay 'ítwa.<sup>1</sup> ʃemíla.<sup>1</sup> t-ámri díge-w kθàye<sup>1</sup> 'áp 'an-zóre xtàye.<sup>1</sup>* 'The Rogation of the Ninevites was also observed (in our community). They would fast during it. They would say "The cocks and the chickens, and also the small lowly creatures (should observe the fast)."' (B16:15)
- (7) *'ána háwəm Qára Teždin,<sup>1</sup> maθyánət xárje-w bájəṭ boṭanàye.<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xa-<sup>2</sup>árxa 'ax-d-àwwa<sup>1</sup> gu-bèθi<sup>1</sup> 'u-páləṭ ləðəm ləkəle zála,<sup>1</sup> léka là!<sup>1</sup>* 'I am Qara Teždin, the collector of all taxes of the people of Botan, and a guest comes like this into my house and leaves without me knowing where on earth he was going!' (A26:34)

In (6) the clause introduced by the verb *t-ámri* constitutes an elaboration of the preceding statement that people would hold a fast, which could be paraphrased 'with regard to this fasting they say...'. In (7) the *bəḏ-qaṭəl* form verb *t-áθe* denotes an action that is to be interpreted in the context of the speaker having a high social position, which is expressed by the statement 'I am Qara Teždin, the collector of all taxes of the people of Botan'. In (6) and (7) the *bəḏ-qaṭəl* verbs do not express sequentiality but nevertheless they are in some way dependent on what precedes. In (6) it may be said that the clause with the *bəḏ-qaṭəl* form introduces background to the preceding foreground, whereas in (7) the form introduces a foregrounded statement that is to be interpreted against the preceding background.

The fact that the use of the *bəḏ-qaṭəl* form may be motivated by the broad property of relevance to what precedes implies that it could be used anywhere within a section of discourse, since, in principle, all clauses would be in some way relevant to what precedes. This is how we should understand its use with the verb *'mr* 'to say' within sections of expository discourse such as (8) and (9), where they have habitual aspect:

- (8) *m-ləle mbàdla táma,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mbarxàwa.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa qàša.<sup>1</sup> har-gu-bèθa<sup>1</sup> y-asrìwale gnùna-w<sup>1</sup> yá'ni t-ámraḥ mbarxàwale.<sup>1</sup>* 'In the early morning they would perform the blessing (of the wedding ceremony) there. A priest

would come. In the house they would tie the band. We say “They blessed it.”’ (B5:30)

- (9) *béna bálki ’o-náša,<sup>1</sup> ’o-xàtna t-ámraḫ,<sup>1</sup> ’o-’ùrza,<sup>1</sup> lè-y-awe táma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Perhaps the person, we say the groom, the man, was not there.’ (B5:18)

These *bəd-qaṭəl* forms of *’mr* are used interchangeably with the *’i-qaṭəl* form, e.g.

- (10) *y-atwáwa b-dawèrè,<sup>1</sup> ’é-ga b-dawèrè,<sup>1</sup> ... koðànta y-amráxxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would sit on mules, at that time (they sat) on mules, .. a *koðànta* (‘female mule’) we call it.’ (B5:28)

In (11) the *bəd-qaṭəl* form is used in clauses that depend on what precedes in that they have the status of non-restrictive relative clauses qualifying a head noun in the first clauses. This is similar to the elaborative function in (6) above:

- (11) *kút-naša gu-’Ĕn-Núne ’itle xaqlàṭa,<sup>1</sup> b-zǎrèla<sup>1</sup> zrùta,<sup>1</sup> ’m-t-awáḍla bustàne,<sup>1</sup> ’m-t-awáḍle kù-mḍi-t báye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Everybody in ’Ĕn-Nune has fields, which he cultivates, or he makes into an orchard or whatever he wants.’ (B4:2)

#### 15.1.5.5. *Negation of bəd-qaṭəl Forms*

The negative particle cannot be combined with the *bəd-qaṭəl* form. To express the negative, the negated form of the *qaṭəl* or *’i-qaṭəl* form is used, viz. *la-qaṭəl* or *la-y-qaṭəl* respectively. As described in §8.9., there are various phonetic variants of the *la-y-qaṭəl* form, which exhibit various degrees of contaction, viz. *lè-y-qaṭəl*, *lè-qaṭəl*, e.g.

- (1) *’ána là-’aṭən mánnuḫ.<sup>1</sup> ṭla-mò la-’áṭət mánni.<sup>2</sup>1 sí là-’aṭən mánnuḫ ’ána.<sup>1</sup>* ‘“I shall not come with you.” “Why won’t you come with me?” “Go away, I shall not come with you.”’ (A6:6)
- (2) *qázi t-awáḍla ṭlálux,<sup>1</sup> lá-’awáḍla ṭláli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The judge will make a decision in your favour, he will not make it in my favour.’ (A6:8)
- (3) *lá maspə̀rə̀xlə̀x bi-zàwda.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We shall not make you wait more.’ (A4:41)
- (4) *lè-y-axlena.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall not eat.’ (B5:35)
- (5) *’ána m-axxa-húdxə̀ lè-y-azən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall not go beyond here.’ (A12:23)
- (6) *’ána là-y-asqən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall not go up.’ (A32:29)

- (7) *bas-lè-y-yanna bnáθi-llèxu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But I shall not give my daughters to you.’  
(A12:17)

The *ʔi-qaṭəl* form is used elsewhere to express imperfective habitual aspect. As remarked above, however, the positive *bəd-qaṭəl* form is intrinsically perfective. The explanation appears to be that the positive future perfective form asserts that a specific action will take place at a particular point in time whereas its negated form should properly be interpreted as expressing an enduring property of the subject referent rather than referring to an event that is bound to a particular point in time. When a speaker says *t-axlən* ‘I shall eat’, he is asserting that there will be a particular point in time when he will eat. When he says *le-y-axlən*, on the other hand, the sense is ‘I have the property of not eating’. The salience of the particular point in time of an action is diffused when it is negated to the extent that an imperfective form is used. The use of the negated *qaṭəl* form, viz. *la-qaṭəl*, should, likewise, be interpreted as expressing a non-punctual habitual imperfective aspect.

A parallel to this diffusion of the salient temporal punctuality of a perfective form by negation is found in the imperative. Imperative forms express a more salient, immediate command than deontic *qaṭəl* forms. Although imperatives can be negated, there is a greater tendency for negated commands to be expressed by *qaṭəl* forms than is the case with positive commands (for further details see §15.7.). In some NENA dialects, furthermore, a negated command can only be expressed by a *qaṭəl* form.

#### 15.1.6. *bəd-qaṭəlwa*

##### 15.1.6.1. *Conditional Constructions*

The *bəd-qaṭəlwa* form, with the past converter suffix *-wa*, is used in the apodosis of conditional sentences that refer to a hypothetical condition in the past, which was not fulfilled (1–2), or to a hypothetical condition in the present or future, which the speaker assesses to be impossible to fulfil (3–4). The verb form expresses an action that is temporally or logically sequential to the situation expressed in the protasis. Since it is delimited by a starting point that is sequential to what precedes, it is inherently perfective, e.g.

- (1) *ʔən-mbaqrətwa,*<sup>1</sup> *t-yawónwalux zùze,*<sup>1</sup> *bás là mbuqárrux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.’

- (2) *ʔm-yaðánwa manay-díye mòdúwa,<sup>1</sup> t-amrènwálux,<sup>1</sup> bas-là yáðánwa.* <sup>1</sup> ‘If I had known what its meaning was, I would have told you, but I did not know.’
- (3) *ʔm-maşànwá,<sup>1</sup> t-aðánwa,<sup>1</sup> bás lè-y-maşən.* <sup>1</sup> ‘If I could, I would come, but I cannot.’
- (4) *ʔm-hawátwa gu-ʔáθra dìyi,<sup>1</sup> kú-məndi bǎyátwa t-yànwálux.* <sup>1</sup> ‘If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted.’ (A26:57)

The form may also express iterative aspect. In this context the form can still be interpreted as perfective in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation, e.g.

- (5) *ʔm-maşánwa t-yawánwálux zúze kùt-yum,<sup>1</sup> t-yawènwálux,<sup>1</sup> bás le-y-maşənwá.* <sup>1</sup> ‘If I had been able to give you money every day, I would have given it to you, but I could not.’
- (6) *ʔm-maşánwa t-yawánwálux zúze kùt-yum,<sup>1</sup> t-yawènwálux,<sup>1</sup> bás le-y-maşən.* <sup>1</sup> ‘If I could give you money every day, I would give it to you, but I cannot.’

#### 15.1.6.2. *Deontic Constructions*

The *bəd-qaṭəlwá* form is used in questions relating to counterfactual situations in the past. They are of a deontic nature, in that the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation (deontic necessity: ‘What should I have done?’) or give permission (deontic possibility: ‘What could I have done?’), e.g.

- (1) *ʔina m-èka<sup>1</sup> t-óðmwalé gášra.<sup>21</sup>* ‘But from where could I have made him a bridge?’ (A17:18)
- (2) *gúrə ʃərmux xo-ʔána t-azánwa bìya.<sup>21</sup>* ‘(Why) should I have been finished off by your stupid club (literally: the club of your behind)?’ (A52:17)

#### 15.1.6.3. *Discourse Dependency*

The *bəd-qaṭəlwá* form is used outside of conditional constructions in clauses that are in some way dependent on the preceding discourse. In such cases the verb always expresses an iterative action. Various types of discourse dependency are attested in the text corpus. In (1) and (2) the *bəd-qaṭəlwá* verbs are temporally sequential to what precedes:

- (1) *čerxìwala máθa<sup>1</sup> xásə dawèrè.<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa čáppe bükela.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-t-aθyàwa,<sup>1</sup> t-oràwa,<sup>1</sup> maxyáwa... màsxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-oðáwa šlìwa,<sup>1</sup> màsxa,<sup>1</sup> gu-tárrat qàsra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would take her (the bride) round the village on the back of mules. They called it *čappe buke*. (Then) she would come back, enter (the house) and make with oil... and make (the sign of) the cross in oil on the door of the house.’ (B10:34–35)
- (2) *la-θéle rēs-šàwma.<sup>21</sup> b-šaqláxwa kùlla 'amànan,<sup>1</sup> kùlla b-šaqláxwala<sup>1</sup> déraxwa qá'tma mxalláxwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘When the beginning of the (Lent) fast came, we would take all our vessels, we would take them all and put ash on them to clean them.’ (B16:7)

Other types of dependency are exhibited by the verb forms in the following examples:

- (3) *qam-šàwma<sup>1</sup> 'iθ xošéβə bnàθa.<sup>1</sup> bnáθa kùlla b-t-azíwa bèθa,<sup>1</sup> b-šaqlíwa 'ixála mən-d-áwwa d-áwwa d-àwwa,<sup>1</sup> t-azíwa gu-xa-tùra,<sup>1</sup> t-atwíwa,<sup>1</sup> t-axlìwa,<sup>1</sup> b-šatíwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before the fast (of Lent) was Girls’ Sunday. All the girls went home, took food from here and from there, then went to a mountain, where they sat, ate and drank.’ (B16:18)
- (4) *'a-'ilána mزابنìwala y-amrìxxa.<sup>1</sup> t-aθéwa xázme dìye<sup>1</sup> t-amèrwa<sup>1</sup> hé gállak nàsè,<sup>1</sup> 'éni zàwən 'ilána.<sup>21</sup> xa-násə dìye t-ámərwa 'ána zonánna b-'əšra,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa 'əšra dínàrè.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xéna t-ámərwa zonánna b-xamšàsšə,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa xamšàsšə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They sold the tree, as we say. His relatives would come and (one) said “Hey, everybody, who will buy the tree?” One relative of his would say “I shall buy it for ten” and they would receive ten dinars. Another would say “I shall buy it for fifteen” and they would receive fifteen.’ (B5:42)
- (5) *'iθwalən 'umra<sup>1</sup> Mar-Gwìrgis<sup>1</sup>... 'u-réšə dìye<sup>1</sup> 'iwàwa<sup>1</sup> wíðta tla-plàša.<sup>1</sup> t-awríwa nàsè<sup>1</sup> gáwa gáwət 'umra,<sup>1</sup> rəšə,<sup>1</sup> xazíwala kùlla dukáne,<sup>1</sup> palšíwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We had the church of Saint George... The top of it was designed for war. People would enter into the church, (go up) on top of it, and they would see all places, when there was fighting.’ (B2:3)
- (6) *lá-mšəxwa t-oðəxwa cú-mdi qam-tàlga.<sup>1</sup> ma-t-y-aθéwa tálga,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa,<sup>1</sup> lá-mšíwa 'əp-axxa paltíwa.<sup>1</sup> t-attáxwa béna gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We could not do anything on account of the winter. So much snow fell that people could not go out even to here. We sat in the house.’ (B16:27)

In (3) the clause containing the first *bəd-qatəlwa* verb, *b-t-azíwa*, opens a section of discourse that elaborates on the preceding general statement that

the festival of Girls' Sunday took place. The dependency expressed by the verbal form binds it semantically to what precedes signalling that the description of the specific event in the clause is intended to be understood as a component of the festival. This example also contains a subsequent chain of *bəd-qaṭəlwa* forms (*b-šaqlíwa... t-azíwa... t-atwíwa... t-axlíwa, b-šatíwa*). The clauses containing these verbs are also elaborative of the initial general statement. Most of them can also be interpreted as temporally sequential to the clause immediately preceding it. The semantic dependency in these clauses consists of both the relation of specific to general and also temporal sequence.

Example (4) is similar to (3). The first *bəd-qaṭəlwa* verb, *t-aḥéwa*, occurs in a clause at the onset of a section of discourse that describes the specific events of the general event of selling the tree. The discourse dependency, therefore, is the relationship of specific to general. The subsequent *bəd-qaṭəlwa* verbs (*t-ámərwə... t-ámərwə*) are, likewise, specifying this general event, but also are temporally sequential to what immediately precedes them.

The clause containing the *bəd-qaṭəlwa* verb in (5) occurs at the onset of a section that elaborates on the preceding statement concerning the roof of the church.

The relationship of the verb *t-attáxwa* in (6) to what precedes is one of effect to cause, i.e. people could not go out on account of the snow and for this reason we sat in the house.

#### 15.1.6.4. *Negation of bəd-qaṭəlwa Forms*

There is a similar constraint against combining the negative particle with the *bəd-qaṭəlwa* as there is with the *bəd-qaṭəl* form. To express negation, the negated *qaṭəlwa* and *ʔi-qaṭəlwa* forms are used suppletively, e.g.

- (1) *xà-mənnəxu b-taréwa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xéna là taréwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'One of you would get wet and the other would not get wet.' (A17:18)
- (2) *ʔən-háwə ʔəšà tɿyáre xéne<sup>1</sup> ʔaxwáθux hawənàne,<sup>1</sup> la-maṭétuwa l-àwəwa ləxma,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔattítuwa láxxa pəšítuwa hátxa smíqe.*<sup>1</sup> 'If ten other men from Tiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this miserable condition, you would not be sitting here and have become so poor.' (A17:16)
- (3) *ʔáp-ʔən mbaqrətəwa,<sup>1</sup> le-y-yawómwalux zùze.*<sup>1</sup> 'Even if you had asked, I would not have given you money.'

15.1.7. *qəm-qaṭəl*15.1.7.1. *Preliminary Remarks*

This form is used before pronominal L-suffixes, i.e. *qəm-qaṭalle*, *qəm-qaṭalla*, *qəm-qaṭəlle*, etc. The L-suffixes may express the direct object or the indirect object. It expresses a past perfective aspect. As has been remarked (§15.1.1.1.), the *qaṭəl* form without additional affixes may express a present perfective. The *qəm-qaṭəl* form has been formed by attaching the prefix *qəm-* to this perfective *qaṭəl* base. The *qəm-* prefix is likely to be a fossilized form of the old suffix conjugation form *\*qaddəm* ‘He did (something) beforehand’.<sup>2</sup> In some isolated cases before initial /ʔ/ verbs, the subordinating *D* particle is inserted between the *qəm* and the verb, e.g. *qəm-t-amōrra* ‘He said to her’ (A4:4).

There is no functional difference between the *qəm-qaṭəl* form and the *qṭille* form, which also expresses past perfective aspect. The *qəm-qaṭəl* form is used as a more versatile means of expressing the past perfective with L-suffixes. Direct or indirect pronominal objects of the 3rd person may be expressed by incorporation into the past base *qṭille* form, e.g. *qṭille* ‘He killed him’, *qṭilale* ‘He killed her’, *qṭilile* ‘He killed them’. The *qəm-qaṭəl* form is the usual means of expressing pronominal objects of the 1st and 2nd person on a past perfective verb and it expresses 3rd person objects interchangeably with the *qṭille* form with object incorporation.

15.1.7.2. *Recent Past Events*

In conversational discourse the normal function of the *qəm-qaṭəl* form is to express with perfective aspect the occurrence of a punctual event in the recent past. The margin of the recent past may extend up to the present moment. The form may be used, therefore, when the endpoint of the event is witnessed in the present moment. It is appropriate to translate the form in such contexts by the English perfect of recent past. Examples of this are found in the text corpus, mainly in sections of direct speech, e.g.

- (1) *ʔati qəm-xalsātli<sup>1</sup> mən-d-āwewa mōṭa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You have saved me from death.’  
(A14:35)

<sup>2</sup> In many NENA dialects the prefix has an /a/ vowel (*qam-*). In Barwar the attenuation of the /a/ to /ə/ is regular and the form contrasts with the particle *qam* ‘before’, which generally preserves the /a/ (§2.3.5.). In the C. Sulemaniyya and C. Sanandaj dialects the auxiliary verb *\*qaddəm* has developed into the form *tam-* with the elision of the first syllable and devoicing of the medial *\*d*.



- (2) *xzi-<sup>2</sup>aláha lá qəm-msapélən l-iθàθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘See, God has not delivered us into their hands.’ (B9:26)
- (3) *’áwewa Mār-Múše qəm-mayéla ’áyya biyéxu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘St. Muše has brought this upon you.’ (B18:17)
- (4) *qəm-jarbàtleni<sup>1</sup> xázax t-áθax hayoráxlux lo-là.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You have tested us to see whether we would come to help you or not.’ (A48:6)

When it has this function, it is sometimes combined with the deictic copula, which refers to the grammatical subject of the verb, e.g.

- (5) *hóla qəm-qatǎle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They have killed him.’ (A28:27)

The results of such events that occur in the very recent past are likely to have some relevance in the present. It is important to note, however, that the *qəm-qatǎl* form does not assert the existence of a resultant state in the present, rather it is only an implicature. If the speaker wishes to assert that such a resultant state holds at present, the compound form consisting of resultative participle and copula is used (§15.4.1.). This applies also to constructions with verbs with stative actionality such as *yð<sup>3</sup>* ‘to know’, where the *qəm-qatǎl* form is most appropriately translated by the English present, e.g.

- (6) *móre ’èkele beθéxu.<sup>2</sup> móra fǐllən dükθa.*<sup>1</sup> *móre qəm-yǎðñne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “Where is your house?” She said “In such-and-such a place.” He said “I see” (literally: I have (now) know it).’ (A22:14)

### 15.1.7.3. Past Perfective in Narrative

The *qəm-qatǎl* form is used in narrative as a preterite to refer to punctual events in the past with a perfective aspect, e.g.

With direct pronominal object suffixes:

- (1) *θéla qəm-mparqǐli m-gu-<sup>2</sup>iθàθux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They came and saved me from your hands’ (B17:15)
- (2) *záwena qəm-<sup>2</sup>awóðlux lebàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The time made you a trickster.’ (A1:22)
- (3) *qəm-tarádle θéle zǐlle<sup>1</sup> be-<sup>2</sup>ámte diyé.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He drove him away and he went back to his aunt’s house.’ (A23:33)
- (4) *’ána<sup>1</sup> tǐlà-yome<sup>1</sup> qəm-mjarbàнна.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I tested her for three days.’ (A21:36)
- (5) *θéle xa-náša qəm-šaqǎlle ’o-kàrmi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A man came and took away my orchard.’ (A17:30)
- (6) *qəm-<sup>2</sup>ačmàle tára.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She closed the door’ (A19:4)

With indirect pronominal object suffixes:

- (7) *'á-dana qəm-amərra.*<sup>1</sup> 'Then he said to them.' (A52:3)
- (8) *'áw qəm-mjəwəbla.*<sup>1</sup> 'He replied to her.' (A25:65)
- (9) *qəm-hawila xáčča 'ixála.*<sup>1</sup> 'They gave them some food.' (A8:12)
- (10) *qəm-yállli šùla.*<sup>1</sup> 'He gave me a job.' (A23:34)

On some occasions in a narrative the *qəm-* prefix is omitted from the form in verbs that follow an initial *qəm-qatəl* form in a closely knit sequence. The resulting reduced forms consist only of the *qatəl* base and L-suffixes, but still have past time reference, e.g.

- (11) *θéla jənnə, qəm-šaqlile, nablile, mattile 'al-túrət Jazira Bòta.*<sup>1</sup> 'Jinn came and took him. They took him away and put him on the mountain of Jazira Bota.' (A26:19)
- (12) *rəwèle qəm-dəqále p-əqle, xrrr garšále nablile gu-čàčma.*<sup>1</sup> 'He became drunk and she grasped him by his legs, dragged him along and took him to the bathroom.' (A17:26)
- (13) *qəm-čərxile dawqile.*<sup>1</sup> 'They surrounded him and caught him.' (A28:24)
- (14) *qəm-šaqailla məθèla.*<sup>1</sup> 'He took her and brought her back.' (A28:37)
- (15) *'əti qəm-asrətla 'əqli w-iθàθi, mrapətli ləxxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'You bound my legs and hands and left me here.' (A10:12)
- (16) *kùlla qəm-məθila qatlıla.*<sup>1</sup> 'He brought them all and killed them.' (A12:70)
- (17) *qəm-dəqətli xošətli gu-gòma.*<sup>1</sup> 'You seized me and confined me in the basement.' (B17:15)

#### 15.1.7.4. Conditional Constructions

The *qəm-qatəl* form may be used in the protasis of a conditional construction. In such contexts it may have not only past, but also present or future time reference, e.g.

- (1) *'ən- kùlla qəm-maxıla bərrəy' 'áw qəm-dawqile 'o-qésa t-ile be-pəlga, θèla xá mən-d-ánna t-ila qəm-təra, θéle qəm-dawəqle, xsirra 'an-gawəye.*<sup>1</sup> 'If they have broken up all their group or have seized the piece of wood that is in the middle, if one of those who are outside has come and seized it, those inside have lost.' (B11:9)
- (2) *'ən-šərarət dıyi qəm-yəđətla, xo-b-gawənnux. 'ən-šərarət dıyi là qəm-yəđətla, rəšux mattánne gu-d-yəha kəwe t-ila pyəša.*<sup>1</sup> 'If you know (the answer

to) my challenge, I shall indeed marry you. If you do not know (the answer to) my challenge, I shall put your head in that opening that remains.’ (A25:62)

### 15.1.8. *qəm-qaṭəlwa*

The *qəm-qaṭəl* form may be augmented with the past suffix *-wa*. As is the case with the *qəm-qaṭəl* form, the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* is used only with L-suffixes.

The basic function of the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* form is to denote an event in the past with the deictic temporal reference point in the present, just as is the case with the *qəm-qaṭəl* form. The difference between the two forms is that in conversational discourse *qəm-qaṭəl* refers to the recent past, the margin of which may extend up to the present moment, whereas the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* form is detached temporally from the present. The action expressed by the *qəm-qaṭəlwa* form, however, is not necessarily in the remote past. It may have occurred a few minutes prior to the present moment. There is, in fact, a degree of overlap between the absolute temporal reference of *qəm-qaṭəl* and *qəm-qaṭəlwa*. Informants, however, tend to judge that it is not felicitous to use the *qəm-qaṭəl* form to refer to an event that took place on the previous day or prior to it, whereas the time reference of *qəm-qaṭəlwa* can be extended indefinitely into the past. The relationship between *qəm-qaṭəl* and *qəm-qaṭəlwa* in conversational discourse may be summarized as follows:

(i) Immediate past temporal reference

*qəm-qaṭəl:*

‘I have just now seen him’      *diya qəm-xazənne*

(ii) Recent past temporal reference

*qəm-qaṭəl:*

‘I saw him five minutes ago’<sup>3</sup>      *qəm-xazənne qam xamša daqiqe*

*qəm-qaṭəlwa:*

‘I saw him five minutes ago’      *qəm-xazənwale qam xamša daqiqe*

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<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that in English the present perfect is not used in a clause containing certain time adverbials although the event has relevance for the present moment.

## (iii) Remote past temporal reference

*qəm-qatəlwə:*

'I saw him yesterday'

*qəm-xazənəwale təmməl*

'I saw him a year ago'

*qəm-xazənəwale qəm-xa šeta*

Examples (1) and (2) below from expository texts contain *qəm-qatəlwə* forms functioning as a preterite. Note that in (2) the preterite form *qəm-ʔodənwale* is used with the same time reference as the adjacent form *qəm-ʔodənnə*, which is also used as a preterite, as is usual in narrative:

- (1) *ʔina bāte qámθa fīna-wəwə.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-píšwala t-amrəxwə qəšre,<sup>1</sup> bēna ʔəwəwə lé y-amrəxwə bāte<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwə qəšra.<sup>1</sup> sab-biš muntəwale<sup>1</sup> šəmma díya qəm-mšaxəlpəwale.<sup>1</sup>* 'Formerly, however, houses were made of mud. They (the houses) became villas, as we called them. We did not call them houses, we called them villas. Since (people) were more prosperous, (they built bigger houses) and they changed the name of them.' (B5:198)
- (2) *ʔəyya šətə<sup>1</sup> t-zilli l-ʔəθra,<sup>1</sup> ʔənə Nūne,<sup>1</sup> ʔəxčī lə gu-ʔənə Nūne qəm-ʔodənnə ʔədə,<sup>1</sup> qəm-ʔodənwale gu-Dohok,<sup>1</sup> har-mədre-tāma xzələn nāš-diyən,<sup>1</sup> maplášlən bēe smòqe<sup>1</sup> sətət ʔərba-w pəlge qədəmta.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mən-tāma zilwalən xilwalən fəmta.<sup>1</sup>* 'This year, when I went to the land, ʔən-Nune—but I did not spend the festival in ʔən-Nune, I spent it in Dohok—again we saw our relatives, we knocked red eggs together at half past four in the morning. Then we went and ate breakfast.' (B15:9)

The *qəm-qatəlwə* form is rarely found in narrative sections of stories in the text corpus. When it is used in this context, it tends to be used to denote an event that took place at a point in the past that is detached temporally from that of the events in the surrounding narrative line, in that it took place at some period in the remoter past. It does not denote a resultant state that acts as the background against which the narrative takes place and so should not be characterized as a pluperfect or past perfect. Such a state, however, may be an implicature and it is often appropriate to translate the form by the English pluperfect, e.g.

- (3) *bēna ʔurxa-ʔurxa,<sup>1</sup> qəm-jayərwəwə.<sup>1</sup> šləla<sup>1</sup> jòre.<sup>1</sup> məre məšxàne!<sup>1</sup> káde məšxàne!<sup>1</sup> šləla b-jülle diyə,<sup>1</sup> šqələlla mšəyəlla.<sup>1</sup>* 'Now, on the way, he urinated (at a point detached from the immediate situation) / he had urinated. The urine flowed down. He said "They're oily! The *kade* cakes are oily." It ran down onto his clothes.' (A30:46)

15.1.9. *şadle*

The irregular form *şadle* ‘He is afraid’, which is conjugated with L-suffixes, is used to express imperfective aspect to refer to the actual present. It is treated like verbs derived from the present base and can take the prefix *ʔi-* and the affix *wa* in a variety of forms with imperfective function. The *ʔi-* prefix is optionally added when it has a habitual imperfective aspect. The *wa* affix gives the form a past time reference:

<i>şadle</i>	‘He is afraid (now)’	= <i>qaʔəl</i>
<i>(ʔi-)şadle</i>	‘He is afraid (habitually)’	= <i>ʔi-qaʔəl</i>
<i>şadwale</i>	‘He was afraid’	= <i>qaʔəlwa</i>
<i>(ʔi-)şadwale</i>	‘He was afraid (habitually)’	= <i>ʔi-qaʔəlwa</i>

The forms without the *ʔi-* prefix may also be used deontically, e.g. *la-şadlux* ‘Do not be afraid!’ (B9:26). Perfective past or future tenses can only be expressed by the regular verb *zəʔ*.

## 15.2. THE FUNCTION OF THE VERBAL FORMS DERIVED FROM THE PAST BASE

15.2.1. *qʔille*15.2.1.1. *Recent Past Events*

In conversational discourse the normal function of the *qʔille* form is to express with perfective aspect the occurrence of a punctual event in the recent past. The margin of the recent past may extend up to the present moment. The form may be used, therefore, when the endpoint of the event is witnessed in the present moment. It is appropriate to translate the form in such contexts by the English perfect of recent past. Examples of this are found in the text corpus, mainly in sections of direct speech, e.g.

- (1) *gáwʔi ʔéle mʔáši gànux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My husband has come back. Hide yourself!’ (A22:29)
- (2) *xázəx müdəʔilux,<sup>1</sup> ʔla-mò?<sup>2</sup>* ‘I see you have brought them back. Why?’ (A17:14)
- (3) *mu-şʔimlux bəʔi,<sup>1</sup> ʔati wídlux hátxa hátxa biyi?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Why have you ruined my house and done such a thing to me?’ (A15:14)
- (4) *txírri xá-məndi xəna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I have (just) remembered something else.’ (B15:45)

- (5) *šwiqáli táma ʔu-θéli l-àxxa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have left it there and come here’ (closing formula of a story). (A4:60)

The results of such events that occur in the very recent past are likely to have some relevance in the present. It is important to note, however, that the *q̄tille* form does not assert the existence of a resultant state in the present, rather it is only an implicature. If the speaker wishes to assert that such a resultant state holds at present, the compound form consisting of the resultative participle and copula is used (§15.4.1.). This applies also to constructions with verbs with stative actionality such as *yθ* ‘to know’, where the *q̄tille* form is most appropriately translated by the English present, e.g.

- (6) *ʔu-hadiya ðili ʔána manáy diyux mòdila<sup>1</sup> ʔu-t-màlka*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Now I know what you mean and what the king means.’ (A17:35)
- (7) *har-šúqla tàma*.<sup>1</sup> *la-báyən ʔo-qàšra*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔámər hé xàli<sup>1</sup> ðili díya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘“Leave it alone over there. I don’t want (anything to do with) that palace.” He said “Well, uncle. Now I know.”’ (A25:53)
- (8) *rábe mändiyáne šmili*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔati lát-glaya ʔláli*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔána ðili*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have heard many things. You are not revealing (the truth) to me. I know (the truth).’ (A38:13)

The basic meaning of the *q̄tille* form here is ingressive, expressing the event of entering into the state denoted by the verbal lexeme in the recent past (‘I have just come to know’). The existence of a resultant state is an implicature. Verbs that acquire this ingressive sense in the *q̄tille* form characteristically express a continuous state rather than iterative action in the imperfective *qaṭal* base forms, e.g. *yāde* ‘He knows’, *yāḍewa* ‘He used to know’. They should be distinguished from verbs that express the entering into a state in their basic lexical meaning, e.g. *ʔtw* ‘to sit down’, *kly* ‘to stand up’, *kpn* ‘to become hungry’. The latter type of verb can be interpreted as having an ingressive sense in the *q̄tille* form, e.g. *tivle* ‘He has sat down’ (= he has entered the state of sitting), *klele* ‘He has stood up’ (= he has entered the state of standing), *kpinne* ‘He has become hungry’. This ingressive sense, however, arises from the telic lexical meaning of the verb rather than from the *q̄tille* form, as is shown by the fact that the imperfect *qaṭal* base forms of these verbs characteristically express iterative rather than continuous action, e.g. *y-atwənwə tama* ‘I used to sit there’, *ʔi-kalewa tama* ‘He used to stand there’, *har ʔi-kaṭənwə* ‘He was always becoming hungry’.

The function of the *qtille* form is occasionally exploited to denote an event that is about to take place in the immediate future by presenting it as if it has just happened, e.g.

- (9) *mítli m-kəpna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have (almost) died of hunger = I am dying of hunger.’ (A27:31)  
 (10) *’ána zilli kəs-bábi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have (almost) gone to my father = I am going just now to my father.’ (A14:102).  
 (11) *sríxεle yàba<sup>1</sup> qídle bèθi!<sup>1</sup> qídle bèθi!<sup>1</sup>* ‘He cried “Oh my house has (almost) burnt down! = My house is burning down.”’ (A48:4)

The *qtille* form is sometimes used to express a perfective event that overlaps with the present moment in that it takes place by virtue of the utterance of the clause, i.e. in a performative function. The verbs in (12) and (13) can be interpreted in this way:

- (12) *mére báyən talbónna brátux tla-xòni.*<sup>1</sup> *mére hiwàli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “I want to ask for the hand of your daughter for my brother.” He said “I give her to you.”’ (A32:11–12)  
 (13) *xa-zawánwala ’amèrwa<sup>1</sup> ’ána puxlàli tlátux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘One would buy it and say “I (hereby) relinquish it (and give it back) to you.”’ (B8:38)

When the endpoint of the past event is adjacent to the present moment, the *qtille* form is sometimes combined with the deictic copula, which refers to the grammatical subject of the verb, e.g.

- (14) *hóle dirre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has returned.’ (A22:39)  
 (15) *Mir-Zándin hóle θèle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Mir-Zandin has come.’ (A26:46)

#### 15.2.1.2. *Past Perfective in Narrative*

In narratives the *qtille* form is used as a preterite to refer to punctual events in the past with a perfective aspect. This usage is abundantly attested in the narratives of the text corpus, e.g.

- (1) *θéle xa-náša swarýya<sup>1</sup> rakáwa.*<sup>1</sup> *sléle rəs-xa-’èna.*<sup>1</sup> *tùwle,*<sup>1</sup> *xille mèndi,*<sup>1</sup> *stéle mýya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring. He sat down, ate something and drank some water.’ (A15:1)  
 (2) *b-lèle,*<sup>1</sup> *zilla,*<sup>1</sup> *síqla xa-máθa xèta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘At night they went off, and went up to another village.’ (A15:10)

- (3) *zilla báre báre diyé.<sup>1</sup> wírre gu-xa-bòya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She went after him. He entered a hole.’ (A20:5)
- (4) *mǝlé gárre diyé<sup>1</sup> wírre kàs-málka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘His turn came and he entered into the presence of the king.’ (A1:7)
- (5) *ʔáwɔwa málka xzéle xa-xàlma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This king had a dream’ (A1:2)
- (6) *bréla ðá xadúθa gu-d-ò-ʔalma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A (great) joy arose among the people.’ (A4:56)
- (7) *ʔaw-bxéle ʔu-mquhèrre.<sup>1</sup> tíwle bxàya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He wept and became sad. He sat down weeping.’ (A37:6)

The event that is referred to by the *qǝille* form may extend over a long period of time. The crucial feature is that the speaker presents the event with perfective aspect, i.e. a complete, delimited event. This applies to cases such as the following:

- (8) *píšla xà-šabθa,<sup>1</sup> tré šabbàθa,<sup>1</sup> kpinna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A week, two weeks went by and they became hungry.’ (A20:9)
- (9) *píšla yóma ʔla-yòma,<sup>1</sup> yóma ʔla-yòma,<sup>1</sup> píšla b-šanne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She went on (like this) from day to day, day to day, she went on for years.’ (A21:1)

The *qǝille* form is occasionally used in contexts where the action is iterative, consisting of a series of punctual events in the past. The speaker uses the perfective *qǝille* form to focus on one of these punctual events as representative of the series. The iterativity of the event is an implicature of the context, e.g.

- (10) *mxéla l-gòðàðe<sup>1</sup> ha-t-ʔláθna mìtla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They beat one another until the three of them died.’ (A22:35)

Conversely, a series of *qǝille* forms are sometimes used in narrative to express a gradual execution of a single event, each form expressing a component phase of the event, e.g.

- (11) *ʔu-sìqla-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sìqla-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sìqla-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sìqla-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘She (gradually) came up and up and up and up.’ (A4:17)

### 15.2.1.3. Future Perfect

The *qǝille* form is occasionally used with the function of a future perfect, i.e. it refers to a future event that occurs prior to another future event. In



such constructions, the form expresses past time, in accordance with its normal usage, but its deictic centre has been shifted from the present to some point in the future, e.g.

- (1) *har-qítla biyux,<sup>1</sup> qatlílux t-axlílux. 'As soon as they hit you, they will kill you and eat you.' (A22:29)*
- (2) *dánat kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> har-wéla dánat kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> xzélux xa-náša θàya,<sup>1</sup> málla b<sub>t</sub>-àθe,<sup>1</sup> t-áwər gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xamšá daqígela hal-əšra<sup>1</sup> 'áti 'àθeti. 'At lunchtime, as soon as lunchtime has come and you have seen a man coming—the mullah will come and enter the house—after five or ten minutes you should come back.' (A22:22)*

#### 15.2.1.4. Conditional Constructions

A function of the *qítile* form that is related to that of the future perfect is its use in the protasis of conditional constructions to express a possible event in the future that is temporally and/or logically anterior to the situation described in the apodosis, e.g.

- (1) *'ən-kpìnni,<sup>1</sup> t-axlànne. 'If I get hungry, I shall eat it.' (A23:5)*
- (2) *'ən-mpüqèli<sup>1</sup> garšáti tla-gére mánne diye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ən-là mpüqèli,<sup>1</sup> 'ána pálxən b-réše bäləš.<sup>1</sup>* 'If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free.' (A12:44)
- (3) *'ən-báxtux muθéla bràta<sup>1</sup> 'u-báxti muθéla bròna,<sup>1</sup> brátux qa-bròni.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-báxti muθéla bràta<sup>1</sup> 'u-báxtux muθéla bròna,<sup>1</sup> 'a-bráti qa-brònux.<sup>1</sup>* 'If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to a boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. If my wife gives birth to a daughter and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son.' (A25:2–3)
- (4) *'ən-θèli<sup>1</sup> xó baxtiwət.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ən-là-θeli,<sup>1</sup> kú-məndit 'áwəθ wùð.<sup>1</sup>* 'If I come back, then you are my wife. If I do not come back, do anything you want.' (A25:66)
- (5) *qrèla!<sup>1</sup> 'ən-mjuwəbla,<sup>1</sup> xo-'ənan 'əθya kásləx.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là mjuwəbla,<sup>1</sup> 'àtit θiθa kásli.<sup>1</sup>* 'Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me.' (A26:4)
- (6) *'ən-θéla šláya 'əxxa,<sup>1</sup> xákma náše 'əxxa,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-mboqərra mánnux,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna d-ənila,<sup>1</sup> múr ga-'ánna t-'Ájdən tələla.<sup>1</sup>* 'If they come down here, some people (come down) here, if they ask you "Whose are these?", say "Well, these belong to Ajdən the fox."' (A32:17)

15.2.1.5. *Possible Events in the Future*

The *q̄tille* form is occasionally used in other contexts expressing a possible event in the future. It is found, for example, in constructions with *balki* ‘perhaps’. Here there is no necessary implication of anteriority to a subsequent event:

- (1) *bálki zilli b-’úrxa’ ’u-kpinni.* ‘Perhaps I shall go on the road and shall become hungry.’ (A23:5)
- (2) *t-’ázan’ xázax’ bálki lá-hawe tãma, bálki là-pliṭle l-’úrxi.* ‘I shall go. Let’s see, perhaps he will not be there, perhaps he will not go out onto the road to meet me (literally: onto my road).’ (A1:10)

It is also used in the contexts of oaths to refer to an event that has not yet taken place, e.g.

- (3) *b-rèšux’ b-réšat bábux, ’àxa. la-tiwe páška gu-púmmux blilux’ d-áy ’azza-a-Nüne, lá-xillux bèsra.* ‘(I swear) by your head and the head of your father, Agha, (that) a piece of the goat Nune will not enter (literally: settle in) your mouth and you will not swallow it, you will not eat its meat.’

15.2.2. *q̄tilwale*

The *q̄tilwale* form, which is augmented by the past tense affix *wa*, has the same distribution as that of the *q̄m-q̄atəwale* form described in §15.1.8. The basic function of the *q̄tilwale* form is to denote the occurrence of an event in the past with the deictic reference point in the present. The difference between the *q̄tille* form and the *q̄tilwale* form in conversational discourse is that *q̄tille* refers to the recent past, the margin of which may extend up to the present moment, whereas *q̄tilwale* is detached temporally from the present. The action expressed by the *q̄tilwale* form, however, is not necessarily in the remote past. It may have occurred a few minutes prior to the present moment. There is, in fact, a degree of overlap between the absolute temporal reference of the *q̄tille* and the *q̄tilwale*. Informants, however, tend to judge that it is not felicitous to use the perfect *q̄tille* to refer to an event that took place on the previous day or prior to it, whereas the time reference of *q̄tilwale* can be extended indefinitely into the past.

It is misleading to interpret the *q̄tilwale* form as a pluperfect or past perfect, since its basic meaning is not to denote a state that held at the time of a past action as a result of an event further in the past. It denotes

an event rather than a resultant state, although such a state may be an implicature of the verb form.

The relationship between *q̄tille* and *q̄tilwale* in conversational discourse may be summarized as follows:

- (i) Immediate past temporal reference

*q̄tille:*

‘He has just now come’                      *diya ðele*

- (ii) Recent past temporal reference

*q̄tille:*

‘He came five minutes ago’<sup>4</sup>                      *ðele qam xamša daqiqe*

*q̄tilwale:*

‘He came five minutes ago’                      *ðewale qam xamša daqiqe*

- (iii) Remote past temporal reference

*q̄tilwale:*

‘He came yesterday’                                      *ðewale tamməl*

‘He came a year ago’                                      *ðewale qam-xa šeta*

In some expository discourse or direct speech in the text corpus the *q̄tilwale* form is used as a narrative preterite interchangeably with *q̄tille* narrative preterites, e.g.

- (1) *’áyya šeta’ t-zilli l-’àθra, ’Énə Nùne, ’áxcī là gu-’Énə Nùne qəm-’oðánne ’éda, ’qam-’oðánwale gu-Dòhok, ’har-mədre-táma xzélən nāš-diyən, ’muplášlən b’ē smòqe’ sá’ət ’árba-w pálge qèdamta. ’u-mən-táma **zilwalən xilwalən** tàmta.* ‘This year, when I went to the land, ’En-Nune—but I did not spend the festival in ’En-Nune, I spent it in Dohok—again we saw our relatives, we knocked red eggs together at half past four in the morning. Then we went and ate breakfast.’ (B15:9)
- (2) *’ána gšiqli, **xzéwali** qa-t-’ó-falsa ’éka npille.* ‘I looked and saw where that coin fell.’ (B15:34)
- (3) *’u-hadíya **zilwàli** **xzéwali** qá-t ’o-’úmra tilixele kúlla.* ‘Recently I went and saw that the church was completely destroyed.’ (B3:20)

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that in English the present perfect is not used in a clause containing certain time adverbials although the event has relevance for the present moment.

- (4) *mára ɬlaθá dēwe,<sup>1</sup> tré-mə́nna q̄tilə́lla<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔo-xéna m̄surbíyalle gu-də́mma<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ríqele m-qáme díye.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáy hal-hadíya ʔθya l-bàli,<sup>1</sup> sáb **plítwalən** qàmθe díye.<sup>1</sup> yále zóre qáme qàme.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They said “(There were) three wolves, it killed two and drenched the other in blood and it (the wolf) ran away from it.” I remember this until now, since we children went out to meet it.’ (B15:49)
- (5) *ʔáp-ʔanna mə́ndyáne taxrə́nna májəd.<sup>1</sup> yáʔni y-áθi l-bàli<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔána zòra<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔúp ʔε-ga-**píšwalən** gòre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Indeed I remember also these things. I recall them (from the time when) I was young and also when we grew up.’ (B15:73)
- (6) *ʔána táxrən hal-hadíya<sup>1</sup> zòrə́xwa ʔáxni,<sup>1</sup> y-azə́xwa kalə́xwa m-qamə́ye<sup>1</sup> sab-yalúnke zòre<sup>1</sup> ʔimə́ **klíwala** gu-ʔumrə́ díyən,<sup>1</sup> yáʔni táxsət ʔétə́ díyən,<sup>1</sup> maklílən qamə́ye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I remember until today that we were young and we went and stood at the front, for when young children stood in the church, it was a rule of our church that they would make us stand at the front.’ (B15:82)
- (7) *txárət ʔan-xa-tré t-**mutəpqiwalən** b-gə́ðə́de?<sup>1</sup> hè.<sup>1</sup> máre ʔu-xarə́ye ɬliba díya qəm-šaqłə́xle.<sup>1</sup> ʔáy píšla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘“Do you remember the couple that we brought together?” “Yes”. He said “and in the end we took her betrothed and she remained alive.”’ (A4:45)

Examples of *q̄tilwale* preterites are found also in some poetry texts of the corpus, e.g.

- (8) *xa-čə́rxona črixwala<sup>1</sup> kribta kribta l-šadrət gə́ppa wirwala<sup>1</sup> ču mə́ndi la xzewala<sup>1</sup>* ‘She took a short turn around. Very angry she went back into the cave. She saw nothing’ (A51:12)

The *q̄tilwale* form is rarely found in the narrative sections of the stories of the text corpus. In cases where it is used, it expresses an event that is not sequential to the verb in the main narrative line that precedes it. It occurred prior to it (9–10) or, in some cases, overlapped with it temporally (11). Although the form can often be felicitously translated by the English pluperfect, it is important to note that it expresses an event and not a resultant state. Any resultant state is only an implicature not a component of its meaning. When the speaker wishes to express a resultant state directly, the compound construction consisting of the resultative participle and the past copula is used (§15.4.1.):

- (9) *dárya ʔíde b-brôn-díye.<sup>1</sup> brôn-díye qimwale.<sup>1</sup> máre ha-bábi mò báyyat.<sup>2</sup>* ‘He put his hand on his son. His son had woken up (at some point prior to this, implying that he was at that point awake). He said “Hey, father, what do you want?”’ (A9:6)
- (10) *kút-yoma šàle,<sup>1</sup> wíðwale xa-dúkθa mtaşéwa tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Every day he would go down—he had made (at some prior point) a place to hide in (implying that it was in existence for him to use).’ (A14:81)
- (11) *nčíltalle rěše-w<sup>1</sup> rúše-w<sup>1</sup> kúlla rupèθalla.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-ʔaw mítwale<sup>1</sup> har-a-dàna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She pulled its head and its shoulder apart and threw everything down. At the same time he also died.’ (A12:53)

### 15.3. THE VERB ‘TO BE’

The verb ‘to be’ can be expressed in various ways. These include the basic copula, the deictic copula, the existential particle and a form of the verb *hwy*. In general, these perform different functions. The factors that determine which particular form is used include the semantic and information status of the predicate and subject components and the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause as a whole.

#### 15.3.1. *The Present Basic Copula*

The present basic copula exists in two forms, enclitic and independent. These must be distinguished when determining its function. The position of the enclitic copula in the clause must also be taken into account. In the majority of cases the enclitic form is attached to the end of the predicate, e.g. *brónux spây-ile<sup>1</sup>* ‘Your son is good’, though in some circumstances it is attached to the subject, e.g. *ʔaw-ile spây<sup>1</sup>* ‘He is good’. The independent form bears its own stress and typically occurs between the subject and predicate, e.g. *brónux ʔile xàwri<sup>1</sup>* ‘Your son is my friend’.

##### 15.3.1.1. *Enclitic Copula Attached to the Predicate*

The enclitic copula attached to the predicate may be regarded as the functionally unmarked form of the basic copula. It is used irrespective of the time stability of the predicate. The predicate may express a permanent property of the subject, e.g. *brónux spây-ile<sup>1</sup>* ‘Your son is good’. It may identify the referent of the subject with that of the nominal of the predicate, which is typically a permanent relationship, e.g. *ʔawáha gáwya brónm-ile<sup>1</sup>* ‘That man is our son’. The predicate may also express a contin-

gent situation that is not necessarily a permanent property of the subject, e.g. *brónux kpìnɛle*<sup>1</sup> ‘Your son is hungry’. Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *’áθya rába basímɛle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The country is very beautiful.’ (B5:148)
- (2) *’ána taxàɛwɛn*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I am a miller.’ (A32:10)
- (3) *bráta zamàrtɛla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The girl is a singer.’ (A25:68)
- (4) *hadíya ’áti málkən-it*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now you are our king.’ (A14:46)
- (5) *šiwɛn dỳwɛn-ile*.<sup>1</sup> ‘It is our border.’ (A14:48)
- (6) *’ána ‘Abda-Rahmàn-iwɛn*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I am Abda Rahmān.’ (A23:26)
- (7) *rába kǎɛwɛwɛn*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I am very tired.’ (A18:32)
- (8) *xòðiwɛn*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I am by myself.’ (A22:32)
- (9) *čidɛwət ’ašrta tla-xa-ràmša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘You are invited in the evening to dinner.’ (A22:17)

The predicate may be combined with the particles *heš* ‘still’ and *hár* ‘already, still’, which demonstrate that the situation is not permanent, implying an end-point or starting-point, e.g.

- (10) *brónux heš kpìnɛle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Your son is still hungry.’
- (11) *brónux hár kpìnɛle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Your son is already hungry.’
- (12) *’áw heš málkɛle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is still king.’
- (13) *’áw hár málkɛle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is already king.’

When expressing a contingent situation the enclitic copula is occasionally combined with the deictic copula, e.g.

- (14) *hóle qúrbat nùrɛle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He is near to the fire.’ (A23:9)

It is unmarked with regard to the referential nature of the subject argument, in that it is used both with subjects that have a specific referent, as is the case in examples adduced so far, and also with those that denote a generic class, as in (15)–(16):

- (15) *gilándi rába gòrɛle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The scythe is very big.’ (B5:143)
- (16) *jawáttá t-prəzɛlɛla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The sickle is made of iron.’ (B5:140)

The construction exhibits functional unmarkedness with regard to the topical status of the subject. The subject is normally definite, i.e. its referent is identifiable, but there is no restriction on the topicality of the subject referent. The topicality of this referent depends on the degree to which it

has been evoked in the immediately preceding discourse or in the speech situation. If it has been explicitly mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, it is high in topicality, e.g.

- (17) *ʾána xzéli brònuḡ.ʼ brònuḡ spàḡ-ile.ʼ* ‘I have seen your son. Your son is good.’

Such nominals can be pronominalized, e.g.

- (18) *ʾána xzéli brònuḡ.ʼ ʾáw spàḡ-ile.ʼ* ‘I have seen your son. He is good.’

A nominal may also be definite, with an identifiable referent, by virtue of the fact that it is anchored to the preceding discourse by a some element within it, such as a pronominal suffix or an annexed noun with a referent that has been evoked previously, although the referent of the nominal itself has not been evoked. In such cases the nominal is lower in topicality and cannot be pronominalized, e.g.

- (19) *kut-šéta ḡ-ázḡḡ l-màḡa.ʼ nášat máḡa spàḡ-ila.ʼ ḡawili fêke mən-kermàne.ʼ*  
‘Every year I go to the village. The people of the village are good. They give me fruit from the orchards.’

A nominal may also be definite by virtue of the fact that it is inferable as being a component associated with the situation evoked in the preceding discourse, although it is not specifically mentioned in it. Also in such cases it is lower in topicality, arguably lower even than when anchored, and cannot be pronominalized, e.g.

- (20) *kut-šéta ḡ-ázḡḡ l-màḡa.ʼ náše spàḡ-ila.ʼ ḡawili fêke mən-kermàne.ʼ* ‘Every year I go to the village. The people are good. They give me fruit from the orchards.’

This topicality scale of definite nominals may be summarized by the following hierarchy, in which the symbol > denotes ‘of higher topicality than’:

Explicitly mentioned > Anchored > Inferable

First and second person pronouns are high in topicality by virtue of the fact that their referents are given in the speech situation, e.g.

- (21) *ʔána spày-iwən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am good.’  
 (22) *ʔáti spày-iwət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You are good.’

It can be seen, therefore, that the construction in which the enclitic copula is attached to the predicate is used irrespective of the topicality of the subject nominal.

The construction is also unmarked with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition of the clause as a whole. This is reflected by its usage irrespective of the factivity of the proposition. It is used both in factive and non-factive propositions. Clauses expressing assertive, factive propositions are high in communicative salience in that the speaker is committed to its factuality. Non-factive propositions do not involve such commitment and are low in communicative salience. This applies, for example, to interrogative clauses, in which the proposition is being questioned, e.g.

- (23) *bróne díye spày-ile*<sup>1</sup> ‘His son is good’  
 (24) *bróne díye spày-ile?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Is his son good?’

The present enclitic copula sometimes has a past tense reference in clauses that are syntactically subordinated to or closely associated with a clause with a past verb form, e.g.

- (25) *Fárxo m̀̀re*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp-ʔana mt̀̀lən m̀̀nǹxu.*<sup>1</sup> *z̀̀rele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Farxo said “I also shall play with you.” He was young.’ (A25:87)  
 (26) *ʔu-ʔε-Leliθa θ̀̀la.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáy k̀̀lla d̀̀nəla,*<sup>1</sup> *d̀̀na,*<sup>1</sup> *m̀̀šxa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina θ̀̀la l-t̀̀ra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The Leliθa came. She was all (made of) fat, fat, oil. She came to the door.’ (A19:4)  
 (27) *š̀̀lela,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔfiqla muʔ̀̀lləm.*<sup>1</sup> *muʔ̀̀lləm,*<sup>1</sup> *dəkkána g̀̀rtela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She went down and met the teacher. The teacher—the shop (he was in) was big.’ (A22:18)  
 (28) *q̀̀mtela*<sup>1</sup> *wiđtəlle ʔixàla,*<sup>1</sup> *b̀̀e.*<sup>1</sup> *q̀̀damtela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She made him food, some eggs. It was early morning.’ (A23:4)

### 15.3.1.2. *The Independent Basic Copula*

The independent basic copula is marked with regard to the nature of the predicate and subject and also with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause.

There are restrictions with regard to the type of predicate and subject that occur in this construction. The predicate is identificatory or expresses



a permanent property of the subject, which is typically an intrinsic defining property rather than an acquired property. It is not used when the predicate denotes a contingent situation. The subject of the construction is always high in topicality. There is no restriction, however, regarding the referential status of the subject, in that it may have a specific referent or denote a generic class. This is illustrated in the following examples,

- (1) *'ána 'úwən Rustámo brōn-t-žàlo.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am Rustam son of Zāl.' (A29:63)
- (2) *'ána 'úwən Yúwəl Yuḥanna.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am Yuwəl Yuḥanna.' (A1:1)
- (3) *'áxni 'úwəx mālke.*<sup>1</sup> 'We are kings.' (A18:8)
- (4) *'áwəwa 'ile sulàqa.*<sup>1</sup> 'This is the (festival of) Ascension.' (B6:7)
- (5) *béθət Qára Téždin qìdle.*<sup>1</sup> *Qára Téždin 'ile xətne dýe.*<sup>1</sup> 'The house of Qara Teždin has burnt down. Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law.' (A26:55)
- (6) *'iθwalən šàwma,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni 'éða y-aθéwa mən-šàwma.*<sup>1</sup> *šàwma 'ile xamšī yomáθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'We had a fast, that is the festival came after a fast. The fast is fifty days.' (B5:52)
- (7) *'áxxa 'iθəna dàwla.*<sup>1</sup> *dàwla 'ile xa-sandùqa*<sup>1</sup> *réše pθixele dére xətte gáwe.*<sup>1</sup> 'Here there is a drum. The drum is a box, with an open top, in which they put wheat.' (B6:54)
- (8) *θáyəle qàša*<sup>1</sup> *'u-sára gnùnele.*<sup>1</sup> *'ó gnúna 'ile nišānqa.*<sup>1</sup> 'The priest comes and ties the band. The band is a symbol.' (B5:44)
- (9) *'u-küt-xa*<sup>1</sup> *'itle gómət g'áne,*<sup>1</sup> *'itle dúka mruzáğa y-amráxla duna.*<sup>1</sup> ... *góma 'ile gawəyē,*<sup>1</sup> *dúna 'ile qam-tára.*<sup>1</sup> 'Everybody has his own basement stable and a place prepared (for feeding), which we call a *duna* (feeding pen)... The basement stable is inside and the feeding pen is outside.' (B5:110)
- (10) *xārθa*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéleni 'éða*<sup>1</sup> *'éðət be-yálda.*<sup>1</sup> *'éðət be-yálda 'ile wéθət Mšixá.*<sup>1</sup> 'Then we have (another) festival, the festival of Christmas. The festival of Christmas is (in commemoration of) the birth of Christ.' (B6:12)

The high topicality of the subject item in (4)–(10) arises from the fact that its referent has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse, where it is an item of central concern. In the case of full nominal subjects, moreover, the nominal itself has typically been mentioned in the preceding clause, as can be seen in the examples. Constructions such as (1)–(3) with 1st person pronominal subjects, however, often occur at the beginning of speech. One factor contributing to the high topicality of the subject referent could be that the referent of the pronoun is present and observable by the hearer in the speech situation. Another factor is that

such clauses are typically used at the beginning of a speech in which the first person referent plays a prominent role in the subsequent clauses. We may call this forward pointing topicality. This is the case, for example, with the discourse following the clause adduced in (1) above, which is reproduced below:

- (11) *'ána 'íwən Rustámo brōn-t-žàlo, '...hon-žəθya t̪láballa bràtux, 'nablánna t̪la-bàbi.* 'I am Rustam son of Zāl... I have come seeking the hand of your daughter, in order to take her to my father.' (A29:63)

A construction with an independent copula is marked with regard to communicative salience. It is used in clauses expressing assertive, factive propositions, which are high in communicative salience in that the speaker is committed to their factuality, but it is not used to express non-factive propositions such as interrogative clauses, in which the proposition is being questioned. If the clause is interrogative, the enclitic copula on the predicate is used. This is illustrated in (12), which contains assertive and interrogative clauses:

- (12) *'àxni' kàslàn' šàbθa' 'ila šawwà-yome' 'u-yàrxax' 'ile t̪laθi-yome. 'áxtu šabθéxu 'áštà-yomela?' 'yàrxéxu 'asri-w-žččà-yomele?' 'A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days. Is your week six weeks? Is your month twenty-nine days?' (A17:13)*

The communicative salience of the construction gives the clause a degree of independence from the preceding discourse. This is often exploited to express some kind of reorientation in the discourse. When the subject is a 3rd person pronoun or a nominal that has been mentioned in the preceding discourse, the construction is generally used to express some kind of elaborative background on what precedes. It can be seen as a device to mark a boundary or discontinuity in the flow of the discourse. This is a common discourse usage of constructions with communicative salience. Alternatively communicative salience of the construction is sometimes exploited to give prominence to a statement deemed to be of particular importance. This applies especially to clauses with a 1st or 2nd person pronominal subject (1–3). These often occur at the beginning of a section of discourse.

When the subject of the independent copula is pronominal, in some cases it is expressed only by the inflection of the copula and is not realized by an independent pronoun, e.g.

- (13) *'ε-màsta<sup>1</sup> 'i-dεríla gu-gùða.<sup>1</sup> gúða mòdile?<sup>2</sup> 'íle góldot xa-hèγwən.<sup>1</sup>* 'They put the yoghurt in a churn. What is a churn? It is an animal skin.' (B6:38)
- (14) *xéla díya mòdile<sup>1</sup> t-mazvèrra.<sup>2</sup> 'íla mìya.<sup>1</sup>* 'What is its power, which turns it? It is water.' (B6:53)
- (15) *ba'úθot nínwàye<sup>1</sup>... léle 'éða díyàna.<sup>1</sup> 'íle 'éða qàwmi.<sup>1</sup>* 'The Rogation of the Ninevites is not a religious festival. It is a national festival.' (B6:17)

Occasionally the independent copula with its own stress is placed after the predicate, e.g.

- (16) *'ána Qára Teždin 'úwən.<sup>1</sup>* 'I am Qara Teždin.' (A26:68)
- (17) *'ána brònux 'úwən.<sup>1</sup>* 'I am your son.' (A18:7)
- (18) *'áw har-xá-mdi 'íle.<sup>1</sup>* 'It is something.' (A14:25)

#### 15.3.1.3. *Enclitic Copula Attached to the Subject*

When the subject of the clause is high in topicality, the copula in some instances does not stand independently with its own stress but rather is cliticized to the subject, e.g.

- (1) *'áyyela číta.<sup>1</sup>* 'This is butter.' (B6:41)
- (2) *'u-'áyyela kùlla.<sup>1</sup>* 'This is all (the story).' (A4:24)
- (3) *'áw-íle síra bìya.<sup>1</sup>* 'It is tied to it.' (B6:55)
- (4) *xúwwele qíla.<sup>1</sup>* 'The snake is killed!' (A24:42)

These constructions share with the independent copula construction the feature of having subjects with topical prominence. In the examples cited above, the referent of the subject has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse where it is of central concern. The clauses are, however, unmarked with regard to the nature of the predicate, in that they may express either a contingent or a permanent property of the subject. They are also unmarked with regard to the communicative salience and assertiveness of the proposition of the clause as a whole. This is shown by the fact that the construction is used in interrogative clauses containing interrogative words that are in the subject position, e.g.

- (5) *'énile gu-bèθa.<sup>2</sup>* 'Who is in the house?'
- (6) *'énile zaqàra.<sup>2</sup>* 'Who is a weaver?'

Such constructions, therefore, are close in function to clauses with the copula cliticized to the predicate, which are likewise unmarked with regard to the nature of the predicate and the communicative salience of the clause. They differ only in the marked status of the subject referent, in that this must be an item that is topically prominent. The placement of the copula on the interrogative subject as in (5) and (6) can be interpreted as a reflection of the topical prominence of the interrogative word. It is not topically prominent by virtue of being informationally given, but rather since it is what the question primarily requests information about.<sup>5</sup> Moreover it has a feature analogous to what has been described above as forward pointing topicality. This is because the referent of the interrogative constituent is typically expected to be identified in the subsequent discourse.

The notion of forward pointing topicality also explains the attachment of the copula in (7) to the adverbial *hádax*, which is linked as a correlative to the following prepositional phrase:

- (7) *ʔitli dá brátət-màma<sup>1</sup> hádax-ila štrànta<sup>1</sup> max-d-àwewa yóma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I have a cousin. She is as beautiful as this sun (lit. She is thus beautiful, like this sun).’ (A7:17)

### 15.3.2. *The Deictic Copula*

As is the case with the independent basic copula, the deictic copula exhibits certain restrictions with regard to the nature of the predicate and subject and also with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause. It is generally used when the predicate expresses a contingent situation that is not necessarily a permanent property of the subject. It may be used without any other clause constituents to draw attention to the location of a referent in the current speech situation, e.g.

- (1) *máre kèla tóto.<sup>21</sup> máre hòla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “Where is grandma?” He said “There she is (as we speak).”’ (A7:24)

In many cases it is combined with a locative adverbial in the predicate. Examples from the text corpus:

- (2) *yonátha hóla reše-reše-diye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Doves are over him.’ (A25:58)

<sup>5</sup> For the topicality of interrogative words see Steedman (2000: 659).

- (3) *hóla skínta mǎnne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A knife is with him (= he has a knife).’ (A30:21)  
 (4) *ʔu-hóla wajjúwe díya làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘and her personal effects are here.’  
 (A21:9)  
 (5) *baxtáθn hóla yaqúre tǎwəθna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Our wives are both pregnant.’ (A25:2)  
 (6) *xátna hóle zína l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The groom is standing on the roof.’ (B8:34)

Examples (2)–(6) all express contingent situations that hold at the moment of speaking, but are not presented as permanent. The subjects are of various different types of informational value including newly introduced referents (2)–(3), referents that are anchored by a pronominal suffix to the a previously mentioned referent (4) or to the participants of the speech situation (5) and a referent that is explicitly given in the preceding discourse (6).

The construction with the deictic copula is occasionally used where the predicate is intended to express a permanent property of the subject. In such cases the subject is generally a referent that has been newly introduced into the discourse, e.g.

- (7) *xa-bráta hóla tàma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A girl is there.’ (A25:68)  
 (8) *ʔĒn-Nùne<sup>1</sup> hóla nǐlta gu-ʔáθrət Bǎrwǎr.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Ēn-Nune lies in the land of Barwar.’ (B4:1)  
 (9) *qǐmele,<sup>1</sup> šǐmmət máθa díye wéwa Barwǎre.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔámte díye<sup>1</sup> hóla gu-Sǎrzar<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xále díye<sup>1</sup> hóle gu-Daštáne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The name of his village was Barwore. His aunt is in Sarzar and his uncle is in Daštane.’ (A23:1)  
 (10) *ʔiθǎn xáʔa<sup>1</sup> hóle gu-Kǎrkuk.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is a person, he is in Kirkuk.’ (A16:1)  
 (11) *kúlla pǎlxána,<sup>1</sup> pǎlxánət bǎθa hóle b-qðàli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘All the work, the work of the house is my duty (literally: is on my neck).’ (A21:27)

The deictic copula may be used to express a permanent property in a clause that has a topical, informationally given, subject. In such cases the speaker draws special attention to the proposition expressed by the clause rather than to the referent of the subject, e.g.

- (12) *ʔaw-ʔéne díye nǐltele ʔisəqθe<sup>1</sup> ʔámər hà!<sup>1</sup> hóla gwirta!<sup>1</sup>* ‘His eye fell on his ring and he said “Ah, she is married!”’ (A26:31)

In (12) the deictic copula gives particular prominence to the proposition that ‘she is married’ due to the fact that the speaker is surprised by the discovery of this unexpected situation.

In principle the subject of a deictic copula has a specific referent and does not denote a generic class. Examples are sometimes encountered that appear to go against this principle, such as (6) above where the subject *xátna* ('the groom') is referring generically to the groom in any wedding. In such cases the speaker is no doubt presenting the subject as if it were a specific case of the class concerned for the sake of vividness.

Constructions with the deictic copula are marked with regard to communicative salience, as is the case with the independent basic copula. It is used in clauses expressing assertive, factive propositions, which are high in communicative salience in that the speaker is committed to their factuality, but it is not used to express non-factive propositions such as interrogative clauses, in which the proposition is being questioned. If the clause is interrogative, the enclitic copula on the predicate is used.

(13) *baxtáθm hóla yaqùre.*<sup>1</sup> 'Our wives are pregnant.'

(14) *baxtáθm yaqùrela?*<sup>21</sup> 'Are our wives pregnant?'

If a question does not relate to the factuality of a proposition, the deictic copula may be used, e.g.

(15) *qa-mó brónux hóle gu-bèθa?* 'Why is your son in the house?'

The deictic copula is also used in an assertion that is embedded in a question, e.g.

(16) *lá-màrxu ʔáyya quşárta hóla b-ʔùrxa?*<sup>21</sup> 'Did you not say that this cooking pot is on the way (to giving birth)?' (A5:5)

In general the deictic copula is a device for drawing the particular attention of the hearer to something in the immediate speech situation. This may be a property of the subject expressed in the predicate that is observable in the immediate situation, but not necessarily a permanent property, or a permanent property that is unexpected. Alternatively it may be a referent that is newly introduced into the discourse and, therefore, worthy of particular attention. In some cases, both of these conditioning factors may be operative. The ultimate decision as to whether a basic copula or a deictic copula is used, however, depends on the degree of prominence that the speaker wishes to give to the subject referent or the predication in a particular discourse context. Consider, for example, (17):

- (17) *xa-šaḡòlɛlɛ<sup>1</sup> mkùlčɛlɛ<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xa-xèna<sup>1</sup> ḏa-ʔàtma<sup>1</sup> hóla sàxi.<sup>1</sup> máre ʔáyya ʔàtma<sup>1</sup> nablátla ʔəlla-dìya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘One is a shank, it is stripped (of its meat). Another, a thigh, is in good condition. He said (to the servant) “Take this thigh to her.”’ (A30:30)

Here both the ‘shank’ and the ‘thigh’ are newly introduced referents and the predications concerning them both denote contingent situations that exist at the time of speaking. The narrator, however, wishes to give greater prominence in the discourse to the ‘thigh’ since this is the concern of the following speech.

The deictic copula may be used to draw attention to the situation as a whole expressed by a clause when this marks the onset of a section of discourse and provides the background for what follows. Consider the wider context of (5) cited above:

- (18) *málka máre ʔla-d-o-xóne fāqira,<sup>1</sup> máre xòni<sup>1</sup> baxtáθan hóla yaqúre tər̀wə̀θna.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-báxtux muθéla bràta<sup>1</sup> ʔu-báxti muθéla bròna,<sup>1</sup> brátux qa-bròni.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-báxti muθéla bràta<sup>1</sup> ʔu-báxtux muθéla bròna,<sup>1</sup> ʔa-bráti qa-brònux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The king said to the poor brother, he said “My brother, our wives are both pregnant. If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. If my wife gives birth to a daughter and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son.”’ (A25:2–3)

The predicate of the independent basic copula, on the other hand, expresses that a certain property is a permanent feature of the subject but does not specify whether this property is observable in the immediate speech situation. Similarly the independent basic copula does not draw attention to the subject of the clause, since it is already activated in the consciousness of the hearer due to its high degree of topicality.

It is likely that the basic copula originated as a presentative construction, similar in function to the deictic copula that is in use today. This explains the use of the L-suffixes in the 3rd person, which originally expressed the object of the presentative. At some stage this old presentative would have lost its presentative function and been cliticized to the predicate, in conformity with the syntactic position of verbal inflection. This would have been accompanied by the emergence of a new presentative device in the form of the deictic copula. The construction with the basic independent copula placed before the predicate, e.g. *brònux ʔile xàwri<sup>1</sup>* ‘Your son is my

friend' is likely to reflect a transitional stage of this development which has survived in the modern dialect. As remarked, this construction does not have an attention-drawing function to the same degree as the deictic copula, but it nevertheless has greater communicative salience than the construction with the enclitic copula.

The deictic copula may be used with past tense reference in the context of clauses with past verb forms, e.g.

- (19) *xa-pàra,<sup>1</sup> wiðále gáne max-qəšta.<sup>1</sup> Fárxo 'u-Səttiye hóla kəs-gòðə.<sup>1</sup>* 'One lamb made itself like a bow. Farxo and Səttiye were together.' (A25:28–29)
- (20) *qíməle 'ap-Fárxo šqílalle zòrna,<sup>1</sup> mxáya zòrna,<sup>1</sup> bejiye hóla xa-gòta<sup>1</sup> 'ərwa xa-gòta.<sup>1</sup>* 'Farxo also took up the pipe and played pipe music, the young lambs were one side and the sheep the other.' (A25:31)
- (21) *hóla 'iθáθa gu-lèša,<sup>1</sup> lyása kùbbe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-əθyele<sup>1</sup> bába diya<sup>1</sup> 'u-wəžir.<sup>1</sup>* 'Her hands were in dough, while kneading the meat-balls, and her father and the vizier came.' (A21:26)
- (22) *múšlyalla diwən.<sup>1</sup> diwən t-xále diye hóla dwiqta.<sup>1</sup>* 'He brought them down to the meeting room. The meeting room of his uncle was full.' (A23:14)

The deictic copula may be combined with the expressions *heš* 'still', *hal-diya* 'until now', and *har* 'already, still', which imply that the situation has an end-point or starting-point and is not permanent, e.g.

- (23) *'áy heš-hóla gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup>* 'She is still in the basement stable.' (A18:22)
- (24) *jullákθa hóla hár qrišta rəša.<sup>1</sup>* 'As for the bowl (of yoghurt)—here, its crust is still on it.' (A30:24)
- (25) *'áp-ə-ɬlaθa qəm-permile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dəbbóre hár-hóla qam-tárat bəya.<sup>1</sup>* 'They slaughtered also the third one. The hornets were still before the door of the hole.' (A20:9)
- (26) *hal-diya hóla gu-móxən 'áya 'áxni.<sup>1</sup>* 'Until now this is in our memory.' (B16:12)

Occasionally the deictic copula is placed after the predicate, e.g.

- (27) *'árye diye<sup>1</sup> kəs-báxte diye hóla.<sup>1</sup>* 'His lions are with his wife.' (A18:19)
- (28) *'əne pθixtela,<sup>1</sup> bas-ɬliya hóle.<sup>1</sup>* 'His eye is open, but he is asleep.' (A31:6)



The deictic copula is sometimes used to present a nominal, denoting its existence without ascribing any property to it in a predicate, e.g.

- (29) *hóla 'isáqθa diya.*<sup>1</sup> 'Here is her ring.' (A25:69)  
 (30) *hóla zedáye.*<sup>1</sup> 'Here are the breads.' (A30:24)  
 (31) *hó'la miya.*<sup>1</sup> 'Here is some water.' (A28:18)

### 15.3.3. *The Copula in Subordinate Clauses*

The distinction between the various copula constructions described above are neutralized in subordinate clauses that are introduced by the conditional particle *'m* and the general subordinating particle *D*. The latter has various functions, such as a relativizer and complementizer, and is often combined with other particles. If a copula clause occurs in such clauses, the enclitic copula is always used, rather than the independent or deictic copula, and this is attached to the particle at the head of the clause, e.g.

- (1) *'m-íle miθa,*<sup>1</sup> *gárag mēθm.*<sup>1</sup> 'If he is dead, I must die.' (A8:61)  
 (2) *'m-ít xonèni,*<sup>1</sup> *háyyo tu-'áxxa káslèni.*<sup>1</sup> 'If you are our brother, come and sit here with us.' (A39:7)  
 (3) *'m-íle xiwarzāyi,*<sup>1</sup> *t-áθe t-yāðéla 'anna mòdila' 'u-módi lèla' xo-d-áwwa jùlla.*<sup>1</sup> 'If he is my nephew, he will come and know what these are or are not under this cloth.' (A25:49)  
 (4) *si-prúme 'áwwa yála zòra' t-íle gu-dudíya.*<sup>1</sup> 'Go and slaughter this baby boy who is in the cradle.' (A15:8)  
 (5) *xílalle 'o-'ixála t-íle kàsle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He ate the food that was in front of him.' (A23:5)  
 (6) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàša' t-íle palàxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Let's look for a man who is a hard worker.' (A21:3)  
 (7) *'anna yáði t-íle duglana.*<sup>1</sup> 'They know that he is a liar.' (A48:3)  
 (8) *lēt-xzáya bíye díye t-íle miθa?*<sup>1</sup> 'Don't you see that he is dead?' (A17:2)

### 15.3.4. *Copula on Focused Elements*

The distinction between the various types of copula is neutralized also when the speaker wishes to place a particular focus on one argument of the clause. In such circumstances only the enclitic copula is used, even where in equivalent clauses without such argument focus the deictic or

independent copula occurs. The enclitic copula is attached to the focused element, whether this be the subject or a component of the predicate of the clause. The focused element bears the nuclear stress and is typically moved to the front of the clause if is not already situated there. This type of construction is used when the speaker wishes to put a contrastive focus on one argument. In what follows the focus is represented in the translation with italics:

- (1) A: *bróni hóle gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *bàbux-ile gu-béθa,*<sup>1</sup> *lá brónux.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "My son is in the house". B: "No, *your father* is in the house, not your son."<sup>2</sup>
- (2) A: *bróni hóle dmíxa gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-kèrmæle dmíxa,*<sup>1</sup> *lá gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "My son is asleep in the house". B: "No, he is asleep *in the orchard*, not in the house."<sup>2</sup>
- (3) A: *'áwwa 'íle xàtna.*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *qrùwæle 'áwwa,*<sup>1</sup> *lá xàtna.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "This is the groom". B: "No, this is the *best-man*, not the groom."<sup>2</sup>
- (4) A: *'áwwa 'íle mtúrša mən-kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *mən-qèsele mtúrša,*<sup>1</sup> *lá mən-kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "This is made of stone". B: "No, this is made of *wood*, not of stone."<sup>2</sup>

Examples from the text corpus:

- (5) *'áwwa læle kálba.*<sup>1</sup> *'àtit kálba.*<sup>1</sup> 'He is not a dog, *you* are a dog' (A11:2)
- (6) *'áni xšwæla dābbæla táma.*<sup>1</sup> 'They thought the bear (not the bees) was there.'<sup>2</sup> (A10:7)

The contrastive focus may be an informationally given referent, as in the following:

- (7) A: *'ádyo xzéli xónat Dawíd 'u-brōn-màme. brōn-màme 'íle zaqàra.*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *xònele zaqàra,*<sup>1</sup> *lá brōn-màme.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "Today I saw the brother of David and his cousin. His cousin is a weaver". B: "No, *his brother* is a weaver, not his cousin."<sup>2</sup>

This neutralization applies only to strong focus, as is the case with contrastive focus. It is not necessarily used with a simple new information focus, as is seen in constructions such as the following:

- (8) A: *'énile gu-bèθa?*<sup>1</sup> B: *brónux hóle gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "Who is in the house?" B: "Your son is in the house"<sup>2</sup>.
- (9) A: *'énile?*<sup>2</sup> B: *'áw 'íle xòni*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "Who is he?" B: "He is my brother"<sup>2</sup>.

15.3.5. *Past Copula Placed after the Predicate*

The past copula may be placed after or before the predicate. Constructions with the copula after the predicate are unmarked with regard to the nature of the subject and predicate and also with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition expressed by the clause. The predicate may express a permanent situation in the past (1–6) or one that is contingent to a particular moment or space of time and exists only temporally (7–9). The subject may have a specific referent or denote a generic class. In most cases the copula is cliticized to the predicate:

- (1) *yámme díye yámmi-wawa<sup>1</sup>... bábe díye bábíwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘His mother was my mother... His father was my father.’ (A32:31)
- (2) *ʔǎšwuʔ rába krèt-íwa gu-<sup>2</sup>àθra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘February was very bad in our country.’ (B5:152)
- (3) *marúθa mturástewa m-qèsa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The snow shovel was made of wood.’ (B5:196)
- (4) *ʔína báte qámθa òna-wewa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Formerly, however, houses were made of mud.’ (B5:198)
- (5) *fa-xayuθéy b-dawèrewa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Their livelihood was in the mule.’ (B5:126)
- (6) *xóne díye fáqira-wewa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘His brother was poor.’ (A25:1)
- (7) *gu-bèθa wéwa,<sup>1</sup> har-zála-w θàya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He was in the house, walking back and forth.’ (A6:1)
- (8) *b-yárxat šáwrewa,<sup>1</sup>... xošèbewa.<sup>1</sup>... kodámta b-ìdi-yawa<sup>1</sup> šulxèθa.<sup>1</sup>... ʔána šobàñanwa xáçça.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It was in the month of July... it was a Sunday... The mule was in my hand... I was suffering from a bit of a cold.’ (B5:130)
- (9) *w-áw xamímewa,<sup>1</sup> pšira,<sup>1</sup> šálya gu-tálga.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It was warm, (the snow) melted and it dropped down into the snow.’ (B5:154)

The unmarkedness of the construction with regard to the communicative salience of the proposition it expresses is shown by the fact that it is used both in assertive, factive clauses and also in non-factive, interrogative clauses, e.g.

- (10) *xónux gu-bèθewa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Your brother was in the house.’
- (11) *xónux gu-bèθewa?<sup>1</sup>* ‘Was your brother in the house?’

On some occasions the copula bears its own stress, e.g.

- (12) *'áni milâne 'iyéwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'They were green.' (B5:218)  
 (13) *xá gáwra xelána-w zaxma wéwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'He was a powerful, tough man.'  
 (A27:1)  
 (14) *sab-qyámta b-lèle 'iyáwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'because Easter was at night.' (B5:53)

### 15.3.6. Past Copula Placed before the Predicate

Constructions with the copula placed before the predicate are likewise unmarked with regard to the nature of the predicate, in that it may express a permanent (1–7) or contingent (8–9) situation. There is no past form of the deictic copula and the construction Subject—*'iwa*—Predicate, therefore, corresponds to both that of the independent present copula (Subject—*'ile*—Predicate) and that of the deictic copula (Subject—*hole*—Predicate).

- (1) *máxáwa 'iwa mtúrša m-qèsa.*<sup>1</sup> 'The winnowing fork was made from wood.' (B5:87)  
 (2) *w-áw 'iwéwa malàxa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áw yáðéwala 'áyya tuniθat Bəlbəl Hazār.*<sup>1</sup> 'He was an angel. He knew the story of Bəlbəl Hazār.' (A8:25)  
 (3) *gá'at tárte xzéle málka dúnye ráya dèwe.*<sup>1</sup> *xálmət málka 'iwa 'úp-'aw zàwna.*<sup>1</sup> 'The second time the king saw (in his dream) that it was raining wolves. Also that dream of the king was (like) the time.' (A1:24)  
 (4) *'u-'áy 'iyéwa qəššət yá'ni rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> 'That was the story of rice' (B5:87)  
 (5) *dawèra' 'iwa xa-mánda 'ax-t-ámrx 'iðe-w 'àgle y-amrúxla*<sup>1</sup> 'The mule was something that was (as important to somebody as) "his hands and his legs," as we say.' (B5:124)  
 (6) *Ninwe' 'iwáwa pétaxt 'aθoráye.*<sup>1</sup> 'Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrians.' (B6:17)  
 (7) *'iθwa xa-Xáno Lapzèrin.*<sup>1</sup> *b-'ášəl díye 'iwéwa qāřčāya.*<sup>1</sup> 'There was a certain Xano the Golden Hand. In origin he was a gypsy.' (A11:1)  
 (8) *hadiya mšárx qəššáttat Mámō-w Zíne.*<sup>1</sup> *Mámō' 'iwewa gu-'Alān' 'u-Zíne 'iwáwa gu-Jazíre Bòta.*<sup>1</sup> 'Now we shall begin the story of Mámō and Zine. Mámō was in 'Alān and Zine was in Jazire Bota.' (A26:1)  
 (9) *m-bar-hàdax' qemíwa' mزابóne 'ilána.*<sup>1</sup> *náše 'iwa kòpa.*<sup>1</sup> 'After that they would sell the tree. The people were below.' (B5:42)

When the clause expresses a permanent situation, the subject typically has topical prominence, as is the case in Subject—*'ile*—Predicate constructions. In the examples occurring in the text corpus, the topical prominence generally results from the fact that the referent has been evoked in the

immediately preceding context. Note that in (5), however, the referent has not been previously activated, but it plays a central role in the following context.

When the copula is placed before the predicate, the clause has some kind of communicative salience. This is reflected by the fact that it is restricted to assertive, factive clauses and is not used in non-factive, interrogative clauses. The communicative salience in the examples occurring in the text corpus can in most cases be shown to have a discourse function. The clauses generally mark some kind of semantic boundary in the discourse. In (1) and (2) the copula clauses constitute an explanatory elaboration concerning a referent that has been evoked in the preceding context that breaks the flow of the discourse. Also in (3) the construction is used in a clause that is explanatory of what precedes. The clause in (4) is a summarizing remark, which marks the end of a section. The constructions in (5)–(7) occur at the beginning of a section of discourse that supply important preliminary material. The same applies also to (8), where the construction is used to express a contingent situation. In (9) the copula clause denotes a contingent situation that is circumstantial to the event referred to in the previous clause and does not carry the narrative line forward.

In (10) the past copula is used in a different type of function, namely to introduce a time adverbial at an episodic boundary of discourse. The copula here gives morphological weight to the initial adverbial expression and is not translatable directly into idiomatic English:

- (10) *'iwa sá'at tmánya qédamta xzéli xákma náše θàya<sup>1</sup> mən-<sup>2</sup>Ēn-Nune ta-Dùre.<sup>1</sup>*  
 'At eight o'clock in the morning I saw some people coming from  
 'Ēn-Nune to Dure.' (B1:11)

### 15.3.7. *The Negative Copula*

The present and past negative copula forms refer to states, both permanent (1–3) and contingent (4–6), in the present and past respectively. They correspond, therefore, to both the basic and deictic forms of the positive copula:

- (1) *'áwwa lèle kálba.<sup>1</sup>* 'He is not a dog.' (A11:20)  
 (2) *léwat d-áwwa 'àθra.<sup>1</sup>* 'You are not from this land.' (A25:82)  
 (3) *xu-léwa taxxána brōn-taxxanèθa.<sup>2</sup>* 'Was he not a miller the son of a miller-woman?' (A32:28)

- (4) *dárdi léla d-àyya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘My suffering is not from this.’ (A26:66)  
 (5) *lèwa yómæt šábθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘It was not Saturday.’ (A14:58)  
 (6) *’ina léwa módre gnàyux*.<sup>1</sup> ‘But it was not your fault again.’ (A1:25)

### 15.3.8. *The Existential Particles*

The existential particle *’iθ*, together with its variant forms (§8.20.1.), expresses either a permanent (1–3) or a contingent (4–6) situation:

- (1) *’iθæn xa-ḥura*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There is a mountain.’ (A24:11)  
 (2) *’iθæn biš-gūre mǎnni*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There are better men than me.’ (A26:79)  
 (3) *’iṭli dá bratæt-màma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have a cousin.’ (A7:17)  
 (4) *’iθæn tàma<sup>1</sup> ṭálləθ bnáθa xène*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There are there three other girls.’ (A26:24)  
 (5) *’ána ’iθ šùla qámi*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There is work in front of me (to do).’ (A24:45)  
 (6) *’iṭli xákma xabráne ṭ-amrǎnnæx*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have a few words to say to you.’ (A4:40)

The existential particle is sometimes combined with the deictic copula, e.g.

- (7) *hóla ’iθæn jǎnne gáwa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There are jinn in it!’ (A22:33)  
 (8) *hóle ’iθæn xà<sup>1</sup> kəs-tòto<sup>1</sup> sàwota*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There is somebody at the home of the old woman.’ (A24:44)  
 (9) *gam-’àrya hóle ’iθæn<sup>1</sup> gǎlla*.<sup>1</sup> *’u-gam-’əzza hóle ’iθæn<sup>1</sup> bəsrə*.<sup>1</sup> *šqúl bəsrə<sup>1</sup> m-gam-’əzza<sup>1</sup> drile gam-’àrya*.<sup>1</sup> *’u-gǎlla<sup>1</sup> šqulle m-kəs-’àrya<sup>1</sup> drile<sup>1</sup> qa-’əzza*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Before the lion there is grass and before the she-goat there is meat. Take the meat from before the goat and put it before the lion. Take the grass from the lion and offer it to the she-goat.’ (A24:15)  
 (10) *qàwra<sup>1</sup> ’iθæn xa-káwe gáwa<sup>1</sup> ’u-hóle ’iθæn jawətta<sup>1</sup> jawəttət práma qèse*.<sup>1</sup> *’i-qéma xa-dalíθət xùwwe<sup>1</sup> ’i-xáða l-án tre-xoríyàθa*.<sup>1</sup> *kút ’ásəq qamáya xazéla ’e-dalíθa bríθəll-ani<sup>1</sup> parəm̄la*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There is a hole in the grave. There is a chopper, a chopper to cut wood. A wild vine grows up and winds around those two willow trees. The first to see the vine growing on those (trees) cuts it down.’ (A26:91)  
 (11) *hóle ’iθæn bóya zəra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There is a small hole.’ (A20:5)  
 (12) *hóle ’iθæn lǎxxa<sup>1</sup> stərra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There is here a storeroom.’ (A23:17)

These examples express both contingent (7–9) and permanent (10–12) situations. The crucial conditioning factor for the use of the deictic copula

is not the nature of the situation expressed by the predicate, but rather the discourse prominence that the speaker wishes to give to the referent introduced by the clause. In (7) the force of the deictic copula is to express the unexpectedness of the existence of jinn. In the remaining examples the referent introduced plays a prominent role in the ensuing discourse. In (8) the man at the home of the old woman is the protagonist of the following narrative. In (9) the grass and the meat are in the centre of attention in what follows. In (10) the deictic copula is used with the clause introducing the ‘chopper’ but not in the one introducing the ‘hole’ in the grave. It is the activity associated with the chopper that is the concern of the following discourse, as shown in the cited example, whereas the ‘hole’ is only an incidental referent. In (11) and (12) the referent introduced acts as the spatial setting for the following section of discourse.

The past existential particle (*ʔiθwa*) and the negative existential particle (*liθ*, *liθwa*) are, likewise, used to express a permanent (13–15) or contingent (16–18) situation. They are not, however, combined with the deictic copula:

- (13) *ʔiθwa xa-mālka*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a king.’ (A1:2)  
 (14) *liθm dāràje*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-sāli gu-gòma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There are not steps for them to go down into the basement stable.’ (A22:10)  
 (15) *ʔé-ga liθwa bārqa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘At that time there was not electricity.’ (B10:45)  
 (16) *ʔiθwa bráta dmíxta kásle diye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a girl sleeping with him.’ (A26:6)  
 (17) *liθ ʔáp-xa gu-bèθa*?<sup>1</sup> ‘Is there nobody in the house?’ (A22:32)  
 (18) *liθwale qušàrta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He did not have a cooking-pot.’ (A5:1)

The noun that is introduced by an existential particle may refer to a specific item, as in the majority of the examples above, or to a class (18). Further examples of constructions with class nouns:

- (19) *ʔiθm bātma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There is the terebinth tree.’ (B5:220)  
 (20b) *ʔiθwa ʔāraq*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There was arak.’ (B5:11)  
 (21) *ʔiθwa lāxma y-amrāxwa zedāye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There was bread that we called *zedāye*.’ (B5:15)  
 (22) *ʔiθwa xyáptat xātma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There was the washing of the groom.’ (B5:25)

There is no clear functional distinction between the short and long variants of the existential particles. They appear to be in free variation. In

a series of two parallel clauses containing the particles, however, a short variant is often followed by a long variant, giving the final clause of the pair end-weighting, e.g.

- (23) *xìyēle, púrya liθ, bəŋqa liθən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is dark. There is no light and there is no electricity.’ (A23:29)  
 (24) *čù-qala liθ. čù-qala liθən mənny.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is no sound. There is no sound of them.’ (A18:15)

On many occasions the present existential particles (*ʔiθ, liθ*) occur in the context of past form verbs and have past tense reference, sharing their deictic centre with these verbs.

- (25) *qimela xilela. qimela šqilela xa-ʔamána xànčì zóra. múttəlla kas-réša diya. šáwθa liθən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They ate. Then they took a small container and put it at her head. There was no speech (with this).’ (A21:17–18)  
 (26) *múttəlla gu-ʔatnəbəl ʔu-nùbləlla. ʔáw ʔitle δa-ʔótəx ʔax-d-əyya, zürtəla, qaráwət d-əwəwə ʔu-t-yómme díye, ʔu-ʔal-ʔəra liθ čù-məndi, lá kursiya ʔu-la-čù-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They put her in a car and took her off. He had one room like this one, it was small, his bed and his mother’s, on the floor there was nothing, no chair, nothing.’ (A21:5)

### 15.3.9. *The Verb hwy*

In addition to the various copulas and the existential particles, the verb ‘to be’ may be expressed by the verb *hwy*, which is inflected in all verbal bases. Many of the inflections of this verb supply functions that are not expressed by the copulas or existential particles, though in some cases there is functional overlap.

#### 15.3.9.1. *qatəl*

##### 15.3.9.1.1. *Realis*

The *qatəl* form of *hwy*, without any prefixed particle, is occasionally used in a realis sense, referring imperfectively to a situation in the present, e.g.

- (1) *ʔu-zeðàya ʔila biš-xlìmta. xlìmta hóya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A *zeðaya* bread is thicker. It is thick.’ (B6:49)  
 (2) *ʔu-xàkma dukáne xà-yoma háwe ʔéða.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In some places the festival is for one day.’ (B6:2)



- (3) *hal-ʔašrta ʔáw háwe šuləni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This is our activity until the evening’ (B6:11)
- (4) *yómat ʔsri-w xámša háwe ʔəða.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The twenty-fifth day is the festival’ (B6:13)
- (5) *ʔina ʔáyyət xúmša har-xúmša háwe xwarnàya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But the dish consisting only of *xúmša* is whitish.’ (B10:16)
- (6) *ʔé-ga<sup>1</sup> Rustám ʔo-mtáne mánne y-ámri ʔé-gə daməxwa, ʔlaθà yomáθa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔlaθà leləwáθa háwe dmíxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now, they say of Rostam that when he slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights.’ (A29:2)
- (7) *har-dmáxta diyən<sup>1</sup> biz-zóda gu-bəθwàθa hóya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Our sleeping is mostly in the houses.’ (B15:27)
- (8) *qedámta hál bar-kawùθra<sup>1</sup> šmša y-óya bəθər túra, ʔa-ʔəlla háwe<sup>1</sup> qam-túra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the morning, until after lunch, the sun is behind the mountain and there is shade at the front of the mountain.’ (B3:2)

These examples exhibit differences regarding the referential status of the subject and the nature of the predicate. They may be divided into three categories.

- (i) In (1)–(5) the subject has generic reference and the predicate denotes a permanent situation.
- (ii) In (6) the subject has a specific referent and the predicate refers to a habitual, iterative situation.
- (iii) In (7)–(8) the subject has generic reference and the predicate refers to a habitual, iterative situation.

The functional profile (i) may also be expressed by the basic copula. Indeed, in (1) the independent basic copula is used in a parallel clause. As we shall see, in this profile the predicate may also have the *ʔi-qatəl* form of *hwey*. Clauses with the profiles (ii) and (iii), with habitual iterative predicates, are usually expressed by the *ʔi-qatəl* form of *hwey* rather than the copula. A parallel to (6) with *y-áwe* rather than *háwe* is, in fact, used by the speaker later in the same text (*ʔlaθà yomáθa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔlaθà leləwáθa y-áwe dmíxa* A29:19). Also in (8), the *ʔi-qatəl* form *y-óya* is used in a preceding parallel clause. All the occurrences of the *qatəl* form of *hwey* cited above, therefore, can be regarded as variants of the more usual *ʔi-qatəl* form. They are unlikely to have arisen by the phonetic elision of the *ʔi-* prefix, since the *ʔi-qatəl* form is *y-awe* (< *ʔi-hawe*), in which the prefix is followed by a vowel and so is protected from elision. The *qatəl* form here is more likely to be an extension of the irrealis *qatəl* (§15.3.9.1.2.). The crucial feature

of the example above is that the predications lack specificity either due to the subject being a generic class term or due to the predicate being habitual. A predicate with this lack of specificity and distinctness is closer semantically to an irrealis predicate than a more individuated one that denotes a specific situation relating to a specific referent.

The form occurs more frequently in verbs expressing habitual aspect in subordinate temporal clauses. The subordinating particle *D* of the temporal conjunction is usually prefixed to the verb, e.g.

- (9) *lé-y-maši mṭáli b-ε-dán t-áwe yòma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They cannot play when it is daytime.’ (B11:2)
- (10) *ʔáyya ṭawálta mṭalíwala rába b-sàtwa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔε-gə t-áwe tálga,*<sup>1</sup> *š-garāwàθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They played this game a lot in the winter, when there was snow, on top of the roofs.’ (B11:16)
- (11) *ʔáp-xa la-xazèla,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔa-dána t-áwe tliya yála.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nobody sees it, when the child is asleep.’ (B10:77)
- (12) *ʔu-ʔégət t-áwe xá mənənəni qúrbə d-o-xəna,*<sup>1</sup> *har-maxənnə*<sup>1</sup> *tábálli l-táballe diye,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-mítle,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-priqle,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-xsirre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When one of us is near to the other, I strike my marble against his marble and he dies, he is finished, he has lost.’ (B11:27)
- (13) *ʔε-gət háwi náše rába*<sup>1</sup> *hálbat búš náša b-ráyaš b-gáne diye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When there are many people, of course a person feels himself more.’ (B15:15)

#### 15.3.9.1.2. *Irrealis*

The most usual function of the *qaṭəl* form of *həy* is to express irrealis, which cannot be expressed by any of the copula forms or existential particles. It occurs in the same irrealis contexts as the *qaṭəl* form of other verbs, which have been described in §15.1.1.5–10.

The form may be used in a main clause, where it often expresses deontic modality, e.g.

- (1) *háwət basíma rába.*<sup>1</sup> ‘May you be very well.’ (A5:7)
- (2) *háwət hášyər ʔtlən jənnə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Be careful, we have jinn.’ (A22:26)
- (3) *ya-ʔálaha,*<sup>1</sup> *háwe šáxi hál-ʔε-gət ʔána mátyən ʔille diye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Oh God, let him be well until I reach him.’ (A26:80)
- (4) *hóya mxíθa l-míla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let it be (= let’s say it was) covered in blue.’ (A4:29)

This also applies to the expression *la hoyə* ‘It should not be’, ‘It is not allowed’, ‘It is not possible’, e.g.

- (5) *lá-hoya yóma qamáya xátna t-xazéla k'álo.*<sup>1</sup> 'It is not allowed for the groom to see the bride on the first day.' (A4:36)
- (6) *yámmi la-hòya<sup>1</sup> 'ána<sup>1</sup> xàthi lá-<sup>2</sup>azən xazə́nna.*<sup>1</sup> 'It is impossible for me not to go and find my sister.' (A37:9)
- (7) *sab-lá-hoya biš-pθiθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'It (the space between the beams) should not be wider.' (B5:189)

Questions in the *qaṭəl* forms such as (8) and (9) are deontic expressions whereby the speaker addresses the hearer expecting him to impose an obligation (deontic necessity) or give permission (deontic possibility):

- (8) *de-màto hóya?*<sup>1</sup> 'How can it be/should it be?' (A30:21)
- (9) *mò-hoyali gwárta-w?*<sup>1</sup> 'What can marriage be to me?' (A16:5)

On some occasions the modality is epistemic, in that it expresses a less than complete commitment to the truth of the proposition by the speaker. Examples (10)–(11) fall into this category, in which the speakers express disbelief that the situation could exist:

- (10) *'ána háwən Qára Tēždín,<sup>1</sup> maṭyánət xárje-w bájə́t boṭanàye,<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xa-<sup>2</sup>árxa 'ax-d-áwwa<sup>1</sup> gu-bèθi<sup>1</sup> 'u-pálə́t léðən ləkəle zála,<sup>1</sup> léka lá!<sup>1</sup>* '(How could it be that) I am Qara Teždín, the collector of all taxes of the people of Botan, and a guest comes like this into my house and leaves without me knowing where on earth he was going!' (A26:34)
- (11) *'ána háwən šéx d-áyya hənna<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše lá-<sup>2</sup>aθa l-diwàni,<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá-hawa 'àrxí,<sup>1</sup> yátvi háwa rə́hqa.<sup>1</sup>* '(How could it be that) I am the sheikh of this place and people do not come to my reception and do not become my guest, but sit far away.' (A7:7)

The form is used in the protasis of conditional sentences referring to present or future time, e.g.

- (12) *'ən-háwe t-tərte 'aqláθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-zawənə́nne.<sup>1</sup>* 'If it were two legged, I would buy it.' (A22:5)
- (13) *'ən-hawéli bràta<sup>1</sup> t-yánna qa-bronèxu.<sup>1</sup>* 'If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son.' (A25:8)
- (14) *'ən-hóya rázi šánna díya pǎlála,<sup>1</sup> pálga tla-d-áy 'u-pálga tla-d-àw,<sup>1</sup> maqimə́xle.<sup>1</sup>* 'If she will be happy to share her years, half for her and half for him, we shall resurrect him.' (A4:46)

In (15) it takes the past time reference of the verb of the main clause as its deictic centre:

- (15) *'an-háwe yále ràbe,<sup>1</sup> máre 'éni máxe sar-amòða.<sup>2</sup>* 'If there were many children, he (the priest) said "Who will be the first to be baptized?"'  
(B8:44)

It is used in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions denoting deontic obligation, when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized, e.g.

- (16) *bá'yan t-áwət láxxa b-sá'ət tmànya.<sup>1</sup>* 'I want you to be here at eight o'clock.'  
 (17) *hammáše míya gáræg háwa 'álle dīye.<sup>1</sup>* 'Water must be on it constantly.'  
(B5:78)  
 (18) *kút-dukθa 'áza 'àwra<sup>1</sup> 'áp 'ayya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.<sup>1</sup>* 'Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to be (i.e. to follow) after her.'  
(B12:2)

Contrast (19) in which the expression *lazəm* expresses epistemic necessity, in which the subordinate clause expresses what the speaker believes is a real situation, rather than one that has not yet been realized:

- (19) *lázm 'awwa-ràba ferássele.<sup>1</sup>* 'He must be a heroic warrior.' (A29:43)

In such cases the word *lazəm* is sometimes placed at the end of the clause, e.g.

- (20) *'u-xa-mašmóye-wewa 'álləni lázm.<sup>1</sup>* 'Somebody must have been listening to us.' (A35:19)

The form is used in clauses expressing purpose, e.g.

- (21) *'ána bá'yan 'aláha t-yawəlli kùl-məndi bi-záwda,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-xayúθi hóya spà.<sup>1</sup>* 'I want God to give me more of everything, so that my life will be good.' (A3:3)  
 (22) *'iθwa kočərnáyət qurðàye<sup>1</sup> 'anna 'i-šáli dàšta<sup>1</sup> šaxínta háwi b-sətwə.<sup>1</sup>* 'There were Kurdish nomads, who went down to the plain in order to be warm in Winter.' (B18:1)

- (23) *ʔu-mkasèwala-w<sup>1</sup> mattíwala xa-dúkθa šaxínta<sup>1</sup> t-amráxxa gòma.<sup>1</sup> t-óya šaxínta mkasèwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then they would cover them and place them in a warm place, which we call a basement-stable. In order for it to be warm they would cover them.’ (B5:12)

As can be seen in several of the examples cited above, *qaṭəl* forms may be used in clauses that have past form verbs in the surrounding context and in such cases they have past time reference, with their deictic centre in the tense of the adjacent verbs.

### 15.3.9.1.3. *Generic Relative Clauses*

The *qaṭəl* form of *hwey* is used in a relative clause that has a generic antecedent rather than one referring to a specific referent, e.g.

- (1) *hézuke mòdila.<sup>2</sup> táli xàwla<sup>1</sup> b-xa-ʔilána t-óya góṛta rába ramànta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘What is swinging? They hang a rope on a tree that is large and very high.’ (B6:7)
- (2) *kúl naša t-awéle xa-bròna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Everybody who has a son.’ (B6:35)
- (3) *ʔo-t-awéle ʔrwe<sup>1</sup> y-áwe xzida tàrpa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Anybody who had sheep, would harvest leaves.’ (B5:108)
- (4) *ʔaw máslí xá-dukθa t-óya šaxínta y-amráxxa gòma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They bring them down to a place that is warm, which we called a “basement stable.”’ (B5:211)
- (5) *kút-dukət t-óya bis-senà,<sup>1</sup> sab-ràba-ʔyewwa tálga.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In whatever place was easiest, since there was a lot of snow.’ (B5:195)

### 15.3.9.2. *qaṭəlwa*

The *qaṭəlwa* form of *hwey* is occasionally used as a realis past form, referring imperfectively to a situation in the past, e.g.

- (1) *ʔotáxe gòṛe hawéwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The rooms were big.’ (B10:51)
- (2) *kút-xa hawéwale xà.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Everybody used to have one.’ (B10:11)
- (3) *ʔaxni lá raba-ʔi-mapəlxəwala.<sup>1</sup> ʔina hawèwalən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We did not use it (raisin syrup), but we used to have it.’ (B10:18)
- (4) *mqarbaníwa l-màθa<sup>1</sup> sab-tálga hawéwa,<sup>1</sup> liθwaley ʔixála.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would come near to the village, since there was snow and they did not have food.’ (B15:37)
- (5) *kul-máθət ʔitla ʔimra<sup>1</sup> ʔan-maθwáθa hawéwaley šəra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Every village that had a church—these villages had a saint’s festival.’ (B6:22)

In these examples from the text corpus the subject refers to a class rather than to a specific referent in the class. Examples (1)–(3) refer to a permanent situation, whereas (4)–(5) may be interpreted as having a predicate with habitual/iterative aspect. The verb ‘to be’ in clauses with the profile of (1)–(3) may also be expressed by the past copula (§15.3.5.–6.) or past existential particle (§15.3.8.).

The *qaṭṭwa* form is also attested as a realis past form in the protasis of temporal clauses (generally with the subordinating particle *D* attached to it), e.g.

- (6) ʔé-gə t-awéwa máṭṭalan báwθə Nínwəye<sup>1</sup> yafáxwa ləzəm háwε təlme.<sup>1</sup> ‘When it was, for example, the fast of Nineveh, we had to bake ṭəlme.’ (B10:95)

Elsewhere the *qaṭṭwa* form is used to express irrealis, which cannot be expressed by the past copula or existential particle, e.g.

- (7) xéna ʔn-hawéwa bàsra,<sup>1</sup>... dēraxwa básra.<sup>1</sup> ‘If there was meat, ... we would serve meat.’ (B10:19)
- (8) ʔa-šáβθa qaméθa deréwa gu-məššara<sup>1</sup> qa-t-rázza t-awéwa spəy.<sup>1</sup> ‘During the first week they would put it in the paddy field in order for the rice to be (grow) well.’ (B5:135)
- (9) hátxa y-asrəwa baxtáθa,<sup>1</sup> hátta lá-hawεwa sarkòle.<sup>1</sup> ‘Women tied them (on their head) so that they did not have an uncovered head.’ (B10:42)
- (10) ʔó-bena ʔa-ʔilàna<sup>1</sup> ta-zonəwa náše.<sup>1</sup> ta-zonəwala,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-hawéwa hayàrta<sup>1</sup> ta-xəṭna.<sup>1</sup> ‘This was so that people would buy the tree, so that they would buy it, so that it would be a help for the groom.’ (B8:36)

### 15.3.9.3. ʔi-qaṭṭ

When the ʔi- prefix is added to the *qaṭṭ* form of *hwy*, the initial /h/ is generally elided, e.g. *y-awe* < ʔi-hawe. Occasionally, however, speakers use the forms without the elision of the /h/.

This form is used in place of the copula or existential particle when the proposition expressed by the clause has a generic property. This is conditioned by the generic nature of the subject argument or of the predicate. The ʔi-*qaṭṭ* form is used when the subject argument is a generic class term without a specific referent, e.g. *tálga xwàra y-áwe*<sup>1</sup> ‘Snow is white.’ In this example it is the subject that contributes to the generic nature of

the proposition. The predicate expresses a permanent property. The form is also used when the subject argument has a specific referent and the predicate expresses a habitual, iterative situation, e.g. *kút-yom brónux lāxxa y-áwe* 'Everyday your son is here.' In such cases it is the predicate that contributes to the generic nature of the proposition rather than the subject. In many cases where the form is used both of these factors are operative, in that the subject is a generic class term and the predicate expresses a habitual, iterative situation, e.g. *kut-šéta táłga gu-ṭūra y-áwe* 'Every year there is snow in the mountains.'

Examples from the text corpus with generic class terms as subjects and predicates expressing a permanent property:

- (1) *lāxma priša y-áwe*.<sup>1</sup> 'Bread is different.' (B5:99)
- (2) *lawāše*...<sup>2</sup> *i-maxéla l-tanūra*.<sup>1</sup> *tanūra* *y-áwe xamíma*.<sup>1</sup> 'They put *lawāše* in the oven. The oven is hot.' (B6:48)
- (3) *'áw qəqwána gu-ṭūra y-áwe*.<sup>1</sup> 'The partridge is in the mountains.' (B5:147)
- (4) *'úleni halúke*,<sup>1</sup> *'ap-'áni har-gu-'aqàra y-áwa*.<sup>1</sup> *'ap-'áni rába basíme y-áwa*.<sup>1</sup> *'ap-'áni y-áwa smòqe*<sup>1</sup> *zère*<sup>1</sup> *basíme*.<sup>1</sup> 'Plums, we have plums. These are only in the farmland. These are also very tasty. They are red and yellow, (they are) delicious.' (B5:222)
- (5) *fá-'áw qunjyáthe diyè*<sup>1</sup> *d-áy mandorta*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa bəzye*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe bóya biye*.<sup>1</sup> 'The ends of the roller are bored, there are holes in them' (B5:193)

As is shown by (4), generic class terms may be pronominalized. The subject may be distributive denoting 'each one' of the class concerned, e.g.

- (6) *kút-xa y-áwe gu-bəθe*<sup>1</sup> *'u-heywáne y-áwa mánne diyè*.<sup>1</sup> 'Everybody is in his home and his animals are with him.' (B5:116)

Examples containing a subject with a specific referent and a predicate expressing a habitual, iterative situation:

- (7) *béna Rustámo 'é-gət dāməx*<sup>1</sup> *ṭlathà yomátha*<sup>1</sup> *'u-ṭlathá lelāwátha y-áwe dmíxa lə-ṭəyəs*.<sup>1</sup> 'Now, when Rustam slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake.' (A29:19)
- (8) *b-šəryāwátha šaxínta y-óya dúnye*.<sup>1</sup> 'During the festivals the weather (literally: the world) is hot.' (B6:25)

Examples with both generic subjects and habitual, iterative predicates:

- (9) *sab-ʔaxni xluláne káslən šàbθa y-áwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘since in our community weddings are on a Saturday (i.e. each time there is a wedding it takes place on a Saturday).’ (B5:46)
- (10) *ʔap-ʔrxə b-gàrre y-áwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Also the water-mills are by turns (i.e. each time people use a water-mill they take it in turns).’ (B5:90)

As we have seen, constructions with the basic copula may also be used to express the permanent property of a generic subject. In this profile, therefore, there is free variation between *y-awe* and the copula. This is seen in cases such as (11), where both forms are used in the same context:

- (11) *mandórta ʔíle kəpa<sup>1</sup> gòra y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> yáʔni y-áwe mtúrša xās-d-ó-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A roller is a stone, which is large and is made specially for this thing.’ (B5:193)

#### 15.3.9.4. ʔi-qaṭəlwa

The ʔi-qaṭəlwa form of *həy* is used as a realis past form, referring imperfectively to a situation in the past. It is attested in the text corpus in clauses with a variety of profiles.

(i) Clauses with a subject argument referring to a specific referent and with a predicate expressing a permanent property, e.g.

- (1) *Mar-Sáwa y-awéwa xa-qaddiša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘St. Sawa was a saint.’ (B6:27)
- (2) *ʔúmra qúrbət bəθ-qorayàθa y-awéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The church was near the cemetery.’ (B5:56)

(ii) Clauses with a subject that is a class term and a predicate expressing a permanent property, e.g.

- (3) *qálínka bazákka díya rixa y-awéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The stem of the pipe was long.’ (B7:19)
- (4) *taxníwa y-ođíwa qámxa daqíqa y-awéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would grind it and make it into flour that was fine.’ (B10:88)
- (5) *ʔa-t-la-šaléwa kaws-díya y-awéwa rába xelána-w<sup>1</sup> xlíma,<sup>1</sup> deríwa ʔúpra.* ‘(A woman) whose whose hair would not (comb) down, (since) it was very abundant and thick,—they would apply the (oily) mud.’ (B10:68)



(iii) Clauses with a subject that is a class term and a predicate that can be interpreted as expressing habitual/iterative aspect, e.g.

- (6) *ʔu-réšət púnda ʔùllul y-awéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The top of the wick was upwards (on each of these occasions).’ (B15:83)  
 (7) *qéṭa xəmma y-awéwa rába.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Summer was very hot (each year)’ (B11:34)  
 (8) *rába gáye ráya paləṭwa, ... paləṭwa qəsa y-awéwa b-íde díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘On many occasions the shepherd went out... He went out with a wooden stick in his hand.’ (B15:48)

The verb ‘to be’ in clauses with profiles (i) and (ii) may also be expressed by the past copula.

#### 15.3.9.5. bəd-qəṭəl

When the prefix *bəd-* is attached to *hawə*, the /h/ is elided and the prefix reduced to a voiceless stop resulting in the form *t-awə*. This form is used to denote a situation in the future, which cannot be expressed by the copula forms or the existential particle. The aspect expressed by the form is either perfective, e.g. *təmməl t-áwən láxxa sáʔət tmànya*<sup>1</sup> ‘Tomorrow I shall be here at eight o’clock’, or habitual, e.g. *kút-yom t-áwən láxxa sáʔət tmànya*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everyday I shall be here at eight o’clock’, which can be still interpreted as perfective in that the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation. Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *ʔawwa náša fáqira t-awéle xá bronà.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This poor man will have a son.’ (A8:3)  
 (2) *tla-d-əni t-óya béta?*<sup>21</sup> ‘The egg will be for whom?’ (D1:3)  
 (3) *ʔáyya dāx-t-awya?*<sup>21</sup> ‘How will this be?!’ (A7:7)  
 (4) *mó-t-oya ʔáyya?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What will become of her?’ (A4:38)

With a 1st person subject it is often used to express intention, e.g.

- (5) *ʔaxxa t-óyən hál-o-yoma mēθən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall be here until the day I die.’ (A4:45)  
 (6) *ʔána bt-áwən mənəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall be with you.’ (A8:68)

With 2nd and 3rd person subjects it may have a deontic sense, e.g.

- (7) *ʔina Nozáli ʔu-Gozáli bṯ-áwi m-gēb-brònuṯ gu-d-áwwa bēṯux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But Nozali and Gozali will be in place of your son in this house of yours.’ (A8:95)
- (8) *ʔaxxa ṯ-óyət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You will be here.’ (A30:20)
- (9) *málka ṯ-áwət basíma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘King, you will (I hope) be well.’ (A1:14)

#### 15.3.9.6. qəm-qaṯəl

The *qəm-qaṯəl* form, which functions as a perfective past tense, is used only with pronominal suffixes as an alternative to the *qṯille* form. It may be used with the verb *hwy* when the verb takes an indirect object suffix, e.g.

- (1) *qəm-hawéla xáṯa yaḳánta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘An only sister was born to them (literally: was to them).’ (A18:1)

#### 15.3.9.7. bəd-qaṯəlwa

This is attested in contexts where it is used to express the future in the past, i.e. a perfective action that is in the future from the perspective of some point in the past, e.g.

- (1) *ʔána bíṯənnux θíṯən bəṯrux.*<sup>1</sup> *w-ana-léḏən ṯ-awáṯwa ʔáti xáyən palṯáṯwa mənni.*<sup>1</sup> *júlli mattáṯwala gu-gúda ʔu-bánəṯwa ʔo-gúda b-rəša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I loved you and followed you, while not knowing that you would turn out to be treacherous to me, that you would put my clothes in the wall and build the wall over them.’ (A14:101)

In (2) it is used to express discourse dependency, which is a function exhibited by other verbs in the *bəd-qaṯəlwa* form (cf. §15.1.6.3.). The clause is an elaboration of what is stated in the clause before it:

- (2) *ʔiṯwalən ʔumra ʔMar-Gwərgis ʔax-tré ṯabàqe ʔt-bàte ʔiṯwabe yáʔni xàmšə,*<sup>1</sup> *tmaní mètre ṯ-awéwabe,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔemma mètre ramùṯe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We had the church of Saint George, which had what was similar to two floors of a house, that is it was fifty, it was eighty metres, even a hundred metres in height.’ (B2:3)

#### 15.3.9.8. qṯille

The *qṯille* form of *hwy* denotes the occurrence of a specific event in the past with perfective aspect.

It may refer to a situation as a complete event in the past, having a finite duration with a starting-point and end-point, which may be followed by another event that is sequential to, e.g.

- (1) *tre-ṭlā yománe wéla b-ʔúrxa t-là-xala,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-t-là-štaya.<sup>1</sup> xuláma Bangína móre ṭla-Mămo<sup>1</sup>* ‘For two or three days they were on the road without food and without drink. (Then) the servant Bangina said to Mămo...’ (A26:16)
- (2) *tmánya yománe wéle táma xlùla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The wedding took place there (during a period of) eight days.’ (A32:25)

It is used to report the birth of a child, e.g.

- (3) *Ẓāl wéle ʔille díye bròna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A son was born to Zāl.’ (A28:2)

The form may have a present perfect sense in that it expresses a past event with present relevance. In such cases the endpoint of the event coincides with or is close to the present, e.g.

- (4) *malkúṭi pēša ṭlālax,<sup>1</sup> wélax hawnànta,<sup>1</sup> b-ʔiqarət šáwṭa basìmta,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-màqul.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My kingdom will be for you, since you have been (up until this moment) clever, with the honour of sweet and fine words.’ (A40:16)
- (5) *dáx šaqlítuley yàlən.<sup>2</sup> dáx bárya ʔàyya.<sup>2</sup> mòdi wéle.<sup>2</sup>* ‘How can you take our children away? How can that come about? What has happened?’ (A8:9)

Rather than denoting a complete event bounded by a start and an end, the form is sometimes used ingressively to denote the start of a situation without any definite endpoint. Another event mentioned in the ensuing discourse, therefore, may take place while this situation still holds rather than sequential to its completion, e.g.

- (6) *dí zìlla dána<sup>1</sup> ṭèla dána<sup>1</sup> ʔu-saʔtela<sup>1</sup> wéla ʔašrta.<sup>1</sup> b-áyya dàna,<sup>1</sup> ʔṭhyéle fāqih.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Time passed, the hours passed, and it became evening. At that time (i.e. during the evening) the jurist came.’ (A22:28)
- (7) *wéla hádax xəḏye.<sup>1</sup> qímela músqolla b-dáwola-w zòrna,<sup>1</sup> dréṭət tòpe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hádax wídlá xlùla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They became so happy. (In their happiness) they brought them up (to the palace) with drum and pipe, the firing of rifles, and so held the wedding.’ (A4:56)

- (8) *wéla mátra xelànta<sup>1</sup> mátra màtra.<sup>1</sup> 'áni-ži mòdila wíðe?<sup>1</sup> qimela<sup>1</sup> kúlla wíre gu-xa-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> mára kályà màtra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was heavy rain (i.e. it started raining heavily), a lot of rain. What did they do? They all went into a cave (while it was raining). They said “Let the rain stop.”’ (A14:11)
- (9) *yómət ṭḷàθa<sup>1</sup> kúl-məndi wéle hàzər<sup>1</sup> 'u-Gozáli ṭiwéle tṛàb xaş-súsa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘On the third day everything was (= became) ready. (When this situation held) Gozali sat, thump, on the back of the horse.’ (A8:38–39)
- (10) *wéla dánət ṃhaşòle.<sup>1</sup> 'áy báxta ṃhuşəlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It became the time of giving birth and the woman gave birth.’ (A8:6)
- (11) *şqállux zúze wélux lebána 'àx-zawna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You took the money and became tricky like the time.’ (A1:22)

Conversely it may denote a situation with an endpoint without specifying the onset. In (12) the speaker uses the *qṭille* form to express the fact that his name was still the same at the end of a party during which he had expected it to be changed.

- (12) *táwri xillux.<sup>1</sup> mándi xillux,<sup>1</sup> kúlla xilləxu,<sup>1</sup> şṭèlexu,<sup>1</sup> mubsəmləxu<sup>1</sup> hár şəṃmi wele-Čuxo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You ate my ox. you ate such-and-such. You ate everything. You drank. You enjoyed yourselves. But my name was still Čuxo (at the end of the party).’ (A7:4)

#### 15.4. COMPOUND VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

##### 15.4.1. *The Resultative Participle Combined with the Verb ‘to be’*

###### 15.4.1.1. *General Remarks*

The resultative participle (*qṭila* I, *mquṭla* II, *muqəṭla* III) relates to a situation that results from a past event. It exhibits a semantic profile that includes both dynamicity and stativity. In this respect it shares features with verbs, which typically express dynamic events, and with adjectives, which denote properties with a degree of durability and stability in time. The morphological form should be regarded as indeterminate with regard to dynamism and stativity in that it may have a dynamic (verbal) or stative (adjectival) interpretation according to the context in which it is used.

The resultative participle occurs in the predicate of a clause with the basic copula or the deictic copula. The interpretation of the participle

with regard to dynamicity depends on (i) the actionality of the verb by virtue of its lexical meaning and (ii) the transitivity of the clause.

It is convenient to adopt here the classification of the actionality of verbal events proposed by Vendler (1957, 1967). These include statives, activities, achievements and accomplishments. Verbs with stative actionality denote a durative, homogeneous state, e.g. *to believe*. Activities are durative, homogeneous dynamic events, e.g. *to run*. The homogeneity of states and activities is shown by the fact that any interval during which they take place can be divided into homogeneous sub-intervals. They are said to be ‘atelic’ events, in that they do not have an inherent, internal endpoint. Achievements and accomplishments, by contrast, are ‘telic’ since they have an inherent endpoint by virtue of their meaning. They contain an internal boundary, whereby they are non-homogeneous at two sub-intervals of the action. They include a dynamic component and an endpoint (*telos*) attained by the completion of the event. The difference between achievements and accomplishments lies in the feature of durativity. The dynamic component of achievements is not durative, e.g. *to sit down*, whereas durativity is present in the dynamic interval of accomplishments and can be quantified by a temporal adverbial indicating a period of time, e.g. *to boil* (‘The water boiled in five minutes’). A further type of actionality is that of ‘punctual’ verbs, which denote atelic dynamic events that have only minimal duration. As with other types of atelic events, punctual events are homogeneous and do not result in a clear state that is defined by the event, e.g. *to sneeze*.

This scheme of classification may be summarized in the following table:

	durative	dynamic	homogeneous
stative	+	–	+
activity	+	+	+
achievement	–	+	–
accomplishment	+	+	–
punctual event	–	+	+

The resultative participle may occur in a predicate of an intransitive clause. Such constructions contain only a subject argument, which is the affected participant in the event. The participle in these clauses may have a verbal or adjectival interpretation. The crucial conditioning factor is the actionality of the verb.

If the actionality of the verb is telic, the resultative participle can have both a verbal and an adjectival interpretation. In the verbal interpretation, the predicate expresses the telic event including both its dynamic and final static endpoint, the subject of the clause being either the agent or the experiencer of the event. In the adjectival interpretation, it expresses only the resultant state of the endpoint. Verbs of this nature falling into the category of achievements, according to the classification described above, include, for example, *ʔw* ‘to sit down’, *kly* ‘to stand up’, *ʔlʔ* ‘to go to sleep’, *dmx* ‘to lie down, go to sleep’, *rkw* ‘to mount (an animal)’, *mtʔ* ‘to arrive’, *npl* ‘to fall down’, *pqʔ* ‘to split’, *sps* ‘to rot’, *ʔsy/ʔy* ‘to get stuck’, *gðl* ‘to become frozen’:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>ʔaw hóle ʔwa</i> <sup>1</sup>   | ‘He has sat down’ (verbal)<br>‘He is seated’ (adjectival)       |
| (2) <i>ʔaw hóle ʔliya</i> <sup>1</sup> | ‘He has gone to sleep’ (verbal)<br>‘He is asleep’ (adjectival)  |
| (3) <i>ʔaw hóle npila</i> <sup>1</sup> | ‘He has fallen’ (verbal)<br>‘He is (lying) fallen’ (adjectival) |

The adjectival function of the resultative participle of such verbs is demonstrated by the fact that it can function as an attributive modifier of the participant that is affected by the event, i.e. the subject noun, e.g.

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| (4) <i>ʔaw-náša hóle ʔwa</i> <sup>1</sup>   | ‘The man is seated’           |
| <i>xzáyəmne ʔaw-náša ʔwa</i> <sup>1</sup>   | ‘I see the seated man’        |
| (5) <i>ʔaw-yála hóle ʔliya</i> <sup>1</sup> | ‘The child is asleep’         |
| <i>xzáyəmne ʔaw-yála ʔliya</i> <sup>1</sup> | ‘I see the sleeping child’    |
| (6) <i>ʔaw-yála hóle npila</i> <sup>1</sup> | ‘The child is (lying) fallen’ |
| <i>xzáyəmne ʔaw-yála npila</i> <sup>1</sup> | ‘I see the fallen child’      |

Furthermore the adjectival interpretation of the copula predicate is shown by the fact that it can be combined with the adverbial *heš* ‘still’ in cases where the resulting state is not permanent, e.g. *heš hóle ʔwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is still seated’, *heš hóle ʔliya*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is still asleep’.

The category of telic achievements include various verbs that denote ingressiveness into a state. The subject of these is typically an experiencer rather than an agent, e.g. *pšx* ‘to become merry’, *xðy* ‘to become happy’, *krb* ‘to become angry’, *myθ* ‘to become dead, die’:

- |     |                                   |                                      |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (7) | <i>ʔaw hóle xəðya<sup>1</sup></i> | ‘He has become happy’ (verbal)       |
|     | <i>naša xəðya</i>                 | ‘He is happy’ (adjectival)           |
|     | <i>naša xəðya</i>                 | ‘A happy man’ (adjectival attribute) |
| (8) | <i>ʔaw hóle miθa<sup>1</sup></i>  | ‘He has died’ (verbal)               |
|     | <i>naša miθa</i>                  | ‘He is dead’ (adjectival)            |
|     | <i>naša miθa</i>                  | ‘A dead man’ (adjectival attribute)  |

Various telic intransitive verbs have a dynamic component with some degree of quantifiable durativity and so should be classified as accomplishments, although in some cases the subject is inanimate. These include, for example, *m-qrn* ‘to grow up’, *m-nby* ‘to succeed’, *rθx* ‘to boil’, *čmč* ‘to wither’, *qry* ‘to study (i.e. to apply one’s mind purposefully to the acquisition of knowledge), be educated’:

- |      |                                       |  |
|------|---------------------------------------|--|
| (9)  | <i>bróni hóle mqǔrəna<sup>1</sup></i> | ‘My son has grown up’ (verbal)           |
|      | <i>brona mqǔrəna</i>                  | ‘My son is grown up’ (adjectival)        |
|      | <i>brona mqǔrəna</i>                  | ‘A grown-up son’ (adjectival attribute)  |
| (10) | <i>míya hóla rθixe</i>                | ‘The water has boiled’ (verbal)          |
|      | <i>míya rθixe</i>                     | ‘The water is boiling’ (adjectival)      |
|      | <i>míya rθixe</i>                     | ‘Boiling water’ (adjectival attribute)   |
| (11) | <i>ʔaw hóle qərya<sup>1</sup></i>     | ‘He has studied’ (verbal)                |
|      | <i>naša qərya</i>                     | ‘He is educated’ (adjectival)            |
|      | <i>naša qərya</i>                     | ‘An educated man’ (adjectival attribute) |

If the resultative participle in an intransitive clause is from an atelic verb, which by its nature does not express an event with an inherent resultant state, only a verbal interpretation is possible. The participle does not function as an adjective expressing a state, as shown by the fact that it cannot serve as an attributive adjectival modifier of the affected participant of the event nor can it be combined with the adverbial *heš* ‘still’. Attested atelic intransitive verbs include those classified as activities and statives.

Activity verbs include, for example, *zmr* ‘to sing’, *bxy* ‘to weep’, *spr* ‘to wait’, *plx* ‘to work’:

- |      |  |                               |
|------|--|-------------------------------|
| (12) | <i>ʔaw-náša hóle zmira<sup>1</sup></i> | ‘The man has sung’ (verbal)   |
|      | <i>*náša zmira</i>                     |                               |
| (13) | <i>ʔaw-náša hóle plixa<sup>1</sup></i> | ‘The man has worked’ (verbal) |
|      | <i>*náša plixa</i>                     |                               |

Punctual activities include such verbs as *tpθ* ‘to sneeze’, *m-tnx* ‘to sigh’

- (14) *ʔaw-náša hóle tpiθa*<sup>1</sup>            ‘The man has sneezed’  
       *\*náša tpiθa*
- (15) *ʔaw-náša hóle mtunxa*<sup>1</sup>        ‘The man has sighed’  
       *\*náša mtunxa*

Stative verbs include, for example, *zɖ* ‘to fear, be afraid’:

- (16) *ʔaw-náša hóle zɖiya*<sup>1</sup>        ‘The man has feared’  
       *\*náša zɖiya*

The resultative participle is combined with the copula also in the predicate of transitive clauses, which contain an argument in addition to that of the subject. In such constructions the participle always has a verbal interpretation. The participle and the copula agree with the subject, e.g.

- (17) *ʔaw-náša hóle dwiqa baxta*<sup>1</sup> ‘The man has seized a woman.’ (verbal)

Perfective transitive events are typically telic, in that they result in a state which constitutes an inherent endpoint. The affected participant in the event is generally the goal of the action, in (17) ‘a woman’, rather than the subject referent. A resultative participle can only be used adjectivally when it is a predicative or attributive adjective of the affected participant of a telic event. It follows that the participle can be used adjectivally in a passive construction such as (18), in which the affectee of the event is subject. This is shown by the fact that it can be combined with the adverb *heš* ‘still’, which can only be used in relation to states, e.g.

- (18) *ʔay-baxta hóla dwiqta*<sup>1</sup>        ‘The woman is seized’ (adjectival)  
       *ʔay-baxta heš hóla dwiqta*<sup>1</sup>    ‘The woman is still seized’ (adjectival)  
       *ʔay-baxta dwiqta*                ‘The seized woman’ (attributive adjective)

Such passive constructions can also have a perfective verbal interpretation, e.g.

- (19) *ʔay-baxta hóla dwiqta*<sup>1</sup>        ‘The woman has been seized’



The agent is optionally expressed in a phrase introduced by the preposition *l-* or *mən*. This can be used both when the participle has a verbal interpretation and also when it is adjectival, e.g.

- (20) *ʔaw-qðila hóle mtúrša l-baznàye*! ‘The key has been made by Baz people’ (verbal)  
*ʔaw-qðila hóle mtúrša l-baznàye*! ‘The key is made by Baz people’ (adjectival)  
*qðila mturša l-baznaye* ‘A key made by Baz people’ (adjectival attribute)

In transitive clauses such as (17) the resultative participle and the copula agree grammatically with the subject of the clause, which refers to the agent, rather than the object, which refers to the affectee, so only a verbal interpretation is possible. Furthermore, the grammatical agreement with the subject, which is the agent of the event, forces the participle to be interpreted with an active rather than passive voice. This active interpretation is further demonstrated by the fact that pronominal objects are expressed by attaching L-suffixes, which are used elsewhere to express the pronominal object of active verbs, e.g.

- (21) *ʔaw-náša hóle dwìqalla*! ‘The man has seized her’  
 cf. *ʔaw-náša b-dawəqala*! ‘The man will seize her’

The behaviour of the resultative participle in the various structural configurations discussed above may be summarized in the table below:

	<i>Function</i>	<i>Grammatical agreement</i>
<i>Intransitive telic</i>	Verbal/adjectival	Grammatical subject
<i>Intransitive atelic</i>	Verbal	Grammatical subject
<i>Transitive active</i>	Verbal	Grammatical subject
<i>Transitive passive</i>	Verbal/adjectival	Grammatical subject

The following historical development of the construction may be hypothesized. The resultative participle was originally an adjectival form qualifying the affectee of an event, denoting the resultant state of the affectee in a telic intransitive event or a transitive event. When used predicatively an ambiguity developed between the interpretation of the function of the construction as the expression of the resultant stative property (adjecti-

val) or the verbal event that brought about the state (verbal). The verbal interpretation was extended by analogy to intransitive atelic predicates, which do not result in any state and could not by themselves provide the semantic basis required for the formation of the resultative participle. It was also extended by analogy to transitive active predicates. The feature of agreement with the grammatical subject was extended by analogy from the original intransitive/passive construction to the transitive active construction.

Regarding the copula component of constructions with the resultative participle, this can be either the deictic copula or the basic copula. As has been shown in §15.3.1.–§15.3.2., one of the conditioning factors for selecting one particular type of copula is the nature of the predicate. The enclitic basic copula and the deictic copula are used with predicates expressing either contingent or permanent properties but the independent basic copula is used only with predicates expressing permanent properties that, typically, are intrinsic to the nature of the subject referent and have not been acquired. It follows that it is in principle not appropriate to use the independent copula with the resultative participle, which, whether adjectival or verbal, expresses an acquired property of the subject. There are sporadic exceptions to this principle, such as (22), where the speaker appears to have used the independent copula in order to present the property of being betrothed as a permanent property of the woman in question:

- (22) *lěđeti ʔáyya<sup>1</sup> t-íla mən-háʃ t-la-bràya<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya ʔíla yúwta qa-dỳni.<sup>2</sup> bàxtíla.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘Don’t you know that she has been betrothed to me since before she was born? She is my wife.’ (A25:39)

#### 15.4.1.2. *Function in Non-Narrative Discourse*

We shall now examine in greater detail the function that these resultative constructions have when used verbally.

It is important to make a distinction between its usage in narrative texts and its usage in non-narrative discourse.

In non-narrative discourse the resultative form is used to denote the result of a past verbal event that is in existence in the present. It is generally appropriate to translate it with the English present perfect. The deictic copula is used with the participle to draw particular attention to a current situation. There is a certain amount of subjectivity in the use of the deictic copula, but it is generally employed in assertive clauses to draw attention to a resultant state that has some kind of relevance to the

immediate present moment in time, e.g. *hole ʾəθya* ‘He has come’. In interrogative clauses the enclitic copula is used, e.g. *ʾəθyēle?* ‘Has he come?’ The construction is negated in both assertions and questions by the negative copula, e.g. *lēle ʾəθya* ‘He has not come’, *lēle ʾəθya?* ‘Has he not come?’.

The expression *hole ʾəθya* ‘He has come’ denotes that the subject has the property of ‘having come’, which is the result of a prior event of coming. It asserts the existence in the present of the result of an event without referring directly to any specific event that brought about this result. Therefore, without further specification by a time adverbial in the clause or by the discourse context, the statement *hole ʾəθya* denotes that he has the property of ‘having come’ as a result of some unspecified event of coming that occurred some time in the past. There is no restriction on when the event occurred other than that it was some time before the present. The *q̄tille* form,<sup>6</sup> by contrast, refers directly to a specific event in the past and not to its result. The event has typically occurred in the recent past and this may extend up to the present moment. The expression *dīya θēle* ‘He has come just now’ would be used to assert the occurrence of a specific event that has just taken place. Likewise the *q̄tilwale* form *θewale* denotes the occurrence of a specific event in the more remote past.

It may be the case that the result of the actions of *q̄tille* and *q̄tilwale* have some kind of relevance in the present. This is especially the case with regard to *q̄tille*, which, in conversational discourse, is often translated most appropriately with the English ‘perfect of recent past’.<sup>7</sup> Such resultant present relevance is, however, an implicature of their use rather than a component of their meaning. As remarked, the endpoint of an event expressed by *q̄tille* may be the present moment. The *q̄tille* form *θele* ‘He has come’ would be used by a speaker when he sees a person walking through the door of his home and the greeting said to the visitor on his arrival would be *b-šēna θēlux!* ‘You have come in peace!’ The resultative form refers to a resultant state that holds at a period that is not adjacent temporally with the endpoint of the event. The resultant state is disconnected from the event temporally in that the resultative form is typically used after some time has elapsed after the event, crucially when none of the event can be witnessed directly. The resultative form *hole ʾəθya* ‘He has come’, for example, would be used when a guest is sitting in the house

<sup>6</sup> For the sake of conciseness we shall dispense with noting in all cases the fact that the *q̄m-qatəl* and *q̄m-qatəwə* forms are suppletive variants of transitive perfective *q̄tille* and *q̄tilwale* forms when pronominal suffixes are added.

<sup>7</sup> For this type of English perfect see Comrie (1976: 60).

and nothing of the event of his coming is to be seen. The form *θele* would be used if any phase of the event of coming can be seen directly by the speaker, even if this is only the static endpoint of his standing at the door. One says *dīya θéle* 'He has come just now' referring explicitly to the fact that the endpoint of the event coincides with the present moment, but the expression *\*dīya hole ʔθya* would not be felicitous. The resultative form is disconnected from the event also referentially in that it does not make any direct reference to the specific event that caused the result in question.

The result expressed by the resultative form may be an actual perceptible situation or an experiential property of the subject referent, e.g.

- (1) *hón xīla gərðo.*<sup>1</sup> 'I have eaten stew.'  
 (2) *xīlli gərðo.*<sup>1</sup> 'I have eaten the stew.'

Example (1) may be interpreted as asserting that at the present moment there is a perceptible result of my having eaten stew at some unspecified time in the past, e.g. I had a large stew for lunch and cannot eat much dinner. This construction could also be interpreted as asserting that I have the permanent property of being in the state of having eaten stew, i.e. it has been part of my life experience. In this interpretation it denotes that on some occasion, possibly on more than one occasion, I have eaten stew, though not necessarily recently. The purpose of the deictic copula in both interpretations would be to draw attention to the relevance of the past event to the present moment in time. In both cases there is a degree of indeterminateness concerning the event. The verbal form implies the existence of at least one unspecified member of the set of past events of eating. In the first interpretation the implication from the discourse context in which it is used (e.g. in response to the question 'Why do you not want to eat your dinner?') is that there was only one unspecified event. In the experiential interpretation the possibility remains open that there were more than one. In example (2) the *q̄ille* form, by contrast, refers to the occurrence of one specific event that occurred at a specific point in time in the recent past. In such a construction the noun *gərðo* would, therefore, normally be definite with a specific identifiable referent.

The context may force a definite interpretation of an object nominal of a resultative construction, e.g.

- (3) A: *ʔékəle gərðo?*<sup>2</sup> B: *hón xīlalle gərðo.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "Where is the stew?" B: "I have eaten the stew."'

- (4) A: *ʔékele gərðo.*<sup>1</sup> B: *xilli gərðo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A: “Where is the stew?” B: “I have eaten the stew.”’

The difference between these is as follows. The resultative construction in (3) asserts a present state that is disconnected temporally from the event that caused it, so the event must have happened at some time in the past that is not adjacent to the present moment, e.g. several hours ago or yesterday. The *qille* form would be used as in (4) when the endpoint of the past event is adjacent to the present, i.e. I have just now eaten it, where a translation with the English perfect of recent past would be appropriate.

The indeterminateness of the event signified by the resultative form means that the individual referents of plural nouns or nouns of mass in the clause can be interpreted as being distributed over more than one event during a particular duration of time, e.g.

- (5) *ʔdyo hón xila rába xabùše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Today I have eaten many apples.’  
 (6) *ʔdyo hóla ʔθye rába nàše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Today many people have come.’  
 (7) *ʔdyo hón xila ləxma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Today I have eaten bread.’

Example (5), with a plural patient argument ‘apples’, can be interpreted as meaning that during the course of today up to the present moment there have been various occasions on which I have eaten apples. The consumption of ‘many apples’ may have been distributed over various events, with a few apples being eaten on each occasion. It could also be interpreted as denoting the result of a single event of apple eating. Likewise example (6), which has a plural subject argument, can be interpreted as meaning either that the ‘many people’ came separately in a series of discrete events or that they arrived together. The construction reports only that ‘many people’ are in the resultant state of ‘having come’, without denoting that this was the result of one or of a series of events. The interpretation of (7), which has a noun of mass ‘bread’ as an object argument, could be that I have eaten some bread on various occasions today or on only one occasion. Contrast this with the equivalent clauses with *qille* forms:

- (8) *ʔdyo xilli rába xabùše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Today I ate many apples.’  
 (9) *ʔdyo θéla rába nàše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Today many people came.’  
 (10) *ʔdyo xilli ləxma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Today I ate bread.’

The *qille* form denotes a specific event and (8)–(10) must be interpreted as referring to single events. The adverbial *ʔdyo* ‘today’ would normally

force the interpretation that the endpoint of these events occurred before the present moment and so they must be translated with the English preterite.

In some circumstances the context indicates the specific event that caused the present result. If, for example, the clause contains a punctual time adverbial binding the event to a particular point in time with no duration, the event is fully specified. Clauses containing the resultative form combined with such time adverbials, therefore, assert the existence of a present state and the context signals that it has been caused by this specific event. These would still differ from corresponding clauses with the *q̄ille* form, which assert the occurrence of the event but the existence of a present state is only a possible implicature, which may be cancelled. Note that in English the present perfect is not used when the clause contains such time adverbials, e.g.

- (11) *xóni hóle ʔθya ʔdyo b-sáʔat ʔçça-w pâlge.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My brother came today at half past nine.’  
 (12) *xóni théle ʔdyo b-sáʔat ʔçça-w pâlge.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My brother came today at half past nine.’

The construction (11) with the resultative form asserts that my brother is currently in the state of ‘having come’ and so would be the natural construction to use if he is still here. Construction (12) could be interpreted as implying that he is still here, but this implicature could be cancelled and the form would still be felicitous (13). Any corresponding denial of the existence of the present result with the resultative construction would not be felicitous (14), e.g.

- (13) *xóni théle ʔdyo b-sáʔat ʔçça,*<sup>1</sup> *bás plítle báθər pãlgət-saʔat.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My brother came today at nine o’clock, but left after half an hour.’  
 (14) ?? *xóni hóle ʔθya ʔdyo b-sáʔat ʔçça,*<sup>1</sup> *bás hóle plíta báθər pãlgət-saʔat.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My brother came today at nine o’clock, but left after half an hour.’

The functional features of the resultative that have been described above are also discernible in its negated form *lele q̄ila*. The negative form *lele ʔθya* ‘He has not come’ can be analysed as meaning that he is currently not in a state of ‘having come’. Thus no specific event is negated. The implication is that no event of coming has occurred at any time. The negative *la q̄ille* form, on the other hand, negates the occurrence of a specific event in the recent past. The event has its specificity and definiteness

by being bound to a particular point in time in the discourse context. Consider (15):

- (15) *lat-nxāpa!ʔ<sup>1</sup> xá ʔaxwáθi mīra<sup>1</sup> dráya ślámi ʔállux<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáti tíwa l-tīzux!<sup>1</sup> lāmo la-qīm̄lux.<sup>ʔ1</sup>* ‘Are you not ashamed!ʔ A prince like me greets you and you sit on your bum. Why did you not get up?’ (A26:48)

Here the question with the negated *qtille* form *la-qīm̄lux* is intended to ask why the addressee did not get up specifically at the time that the speaker greeted him. The translation of such negated *qtille* forms by the English perfect of recent past is appropriate in a context where an event was expected to occur and the endpoint of its occurrence was expected to be adjacent with the present. If somebody is expected to arrive at a house at a particular time, somebody in the house may say *θèle?* ‘Has he come?’ The response to this could be *là θèle* ‘He has not come’, which would deny that he has come at this expected specific point in time in the recent past, with no necessary implication that he will come in the future. After uttering this, it would be appropriate to assert an action that is sequential to this specific point in time, e.g. *là θèle.<sup>1</sup> ʔāzax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He has not come. Let’s go’. The negated *qtille* form *là-θela* in (16) from the text corpus should be interpreted in this way:

- (16) *xéna ʔána qém̄an ʔāz̄an ʔūmra,<sup>1</sup> ʔánna xonāwáθa là-θela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Well, I shall go to church. These brothers have not come back (now when I expected them to come).’ (A37:2)

Note also (17), in which the absence of expectation that the man will come in the future is made explicit:

- (17) *xóni zīlle ʔu-lá θèle.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-díya ʔána hon-xšáwa leš-ʔàθe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My brother has gone and has not come back, and now I think he will no longer come back.’ (A8:60)

The negated *qtille* form can be combined with the temporal adverbial particles referring to the present moment, such as *heš* ‘still’ and *hal-díya* ‘until now’. These underscore that the action that is negated was expected to happen at a point in the immediate past adjacent to the present moment, e.g. *heš-lá θèle,<sup>1</sup> ʔāzax!<sup>1</sup>; hal-díya là θèle,<sup>1</sup> ʔāzax!<sup>1</sup>* These could be paraphrased: We have waited for him until the present moment, when he was expected to come, but he has not come at the expected time, so now let’s go.

It would not be appropriate to use the negated *q̄ille* form *là théle* if there is still an expectation that the person will come. If there is such an expectation the negated resultative form *léle ʾəθya* would be used. The latter form asserts that he is currently not in a state of ‘having come’ but it does not assert that this state is permanent. This is because, as remarked in §15.3.7., the negative copula does not specify the permanency of the state. It may denote either a permanent or a contingent state. The form *léle ʾəθya*, therefore, could be used if the speaker expects this state to be temporary and assumes he will come at some point in the future. If the construction is combined with the particle *heš* ‘still, yet’ (e.g. *heš léle ʾəθya* ‘He has not yet come’), the scope of the assertion is narrowed to the present moment, i.e. at the present moment he is not in a state of ‘having come’, which implies that he may come at some point in the future.

Since a negative resultative such as *léle ʾəθya* ‘He has not come’ has generic temporal reference (‘at no time in the past’), it is normal to use this construction with negative generic time adverbials such as *čú-ga* ‘never’, e.g.

- (18) *čú-ga léle ʾəθya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has never come.’  
 (19) *čú-ga lát xəzyalle?*<sup>2</sup> ‘Have you not ever seen him?’

In what follows we shall present various examples from direct speech in the text corpus that contain resultative forms and *q̄ille/q̄am-qatəl* forms that should be translated by the English present perfect. The reasons that led the speaker to choose one form rather than the other will be examined in the light of the foregoing discussion.

- (20) *sígan ʾáti béθi muxrùlux!*<sup>1</sup> ... *mára hāt̄xət wíða?*<sup>2</sup> *mára hot-š̄imalle béθət xálux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go away! You have destroyed my house! [*This is said to the culprit when still on the scene of the event. The endpoint of the event is the present moment*]’ (A23:32)... ‘She said “Have you done this?” She said “You have ruined the house of your uncle. [*Said by the mother of the culprit after an interval of time has passed since the endpoint of the event and the culprit has moved away spatially from the scene of the event*]”’ (A23:39)
- (21) *mára málka t̄-áwət basìma,*<sup>1</sup> *brátux hóla čittəllux t̄-ázət kəsləni.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾáxni maxzəxxe béθa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾáti t̄-áθət mən̄nəni.*<sup>1</sup> *máre ʾáy bráti híwənnə ta-xánaša špila.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-tanúra q̄əm-čədāli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They said “King, may you be healthy, your daughter has invited you to come to us. [*The event of the daughter’s issuing the invitation is temporally and spatially detached from the present speech situation*] We shall show you the house. You



- will come with us.” He said “I have given this daughter of mine to a paralysed man. [*This event took place some time ago, at a temporal and spatial distance from the speech situation*] She has invited me to an oven (house) [*i.e. she has just invited me, I have just received the invitation now, here in temporal and spatial proximity to the speech situation*]” (A40:9–10)
- (22) <sup>o</sup>-qamàya<sup>1</sup> <sup>ámər</sup> <sup>’òh</sup> zúzi **munšili**.<sup>1</sup> qémən dèrən<sup>1</sup> <sup>’ázən</sup> šáqlən zúzi<sup>1</sup> m-rəš-’əna.<sup>1</sup> . . . . <sup>ámər</sup> <sup>mpálətla</sup> zúzi!<sup>1</sup> <sup>’amma</sup> dináre <sup>’ána</sup> **hon-mùnšəlla** láxxa.<sup>1</sup> <sup>lázəm</sup> yawətla.<sup>1</sup> ‘The other said “Oh, I have forgotten my money. [*i.e. I have just now forgotten, said while he is still on the road leading away from the place where the money was left, so the event is temporally and spatially close to the speech situation*] I’ll return and go to take my money from on top of the spring.” . . . He said “Bring out my money! I have forgotten one hundred dinars here. [*This is said after a longer interval of time has intervened between the present moment and the occurrence of the event*] You must give it (to me).” (A15:2–3)
- (23) <sup>máre</sup> xàli<sup>1</sup> <sup>xmáre</sup>,<sup>1</sup> <sup>šáwəwaθna</sup> **hóla xile** l-dəwa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>máre</sup> **qəm-məθənnə** qurṭanəy.<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “Uncle, the asses, the seven of them have been eaten by wolves.” [*The event happened some time ago, temporally and spatially remote from the speech situation*]. He said “I have brought their blankets. [*i.e. just now, referring to an event that is temporally and spatially adjacent to the speech situation*]” (A23:15)
- (24) <sup>Žine</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> qà-mo **widlux** hátxa.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ámər</sup> <sup>’ána</sup> <sup>čú-məndi</sup> **lan-wida**.<sup>1</sup> ‘Zine said “Why have you done this? [*referring to a specific event that has just taken place in the recent past*]” He said “I have done nothing. [*since the resultative form does not have a specific time reference, the implication here is that I have not done anything untoward at any time. No doubt this lack of specific temporal reference is exploited by the speaker to make a more emphatic denial*]” (A26:86)
- (25) <sup>θéla</sup> baxt-xále <sup>dīye</sup> <sup>mára</sup> ha-<sup>’Ummo</sup> **mūt wida**.<sup>1</sup> ‘The wife of his uncle came and said “Ummo, what have you done?” [*an interval of time has intervened between the event and the speech situation. The arrival of the woman does not coincide with the endpoint of the event*]” (A23:22)
- (26) <sup>míya</sup> <sup>šlyela</sup> b-rešəy.<sup>1</sup> <sup>máre</sup> há xàzəx<sup>1</sup> mù **widlux** rábbən.<sup>1</sup> ‘The water came down onto their heads. He said “Oh look, what have you done, monk? [*i.e. what have you just done? The endpoint of the event is close to the speech situation*]” (A16:11)
- (27) <sup>ga’at-tré</sup> <sup>mádre</sup> y-azúwa<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa mù **widləxu**.<sup>1</sup> <sup>hal-ləka</sup> yá’ni<sup>1</sup> <sup>xəyáləxu</sup> mù-**qtila**.<sup>1</sup> ‘Again they (the family of the boy) would go and say “What have you done? [*i.e. what have you done up to this point in time?*”

- What is your latest news?*] How far (have you got with your thoughts)?” That is “What decision have you made? [*i.e. What are your most recent thoughts on this matter. What is the latest news?*]”’ (B5:2)
- (28) *šláma llëxu.<sup>1</sup> b-šéna b-ṭawàṭa.<sup>1</sup> móre páqəḏ tù.<sup>1</sup> ṭəwle.<sup>1</sup> móre há xèr.<sup>1</sup> mòdi báýəṭ.<sup>1</sup> móre b-álaha **hon-ʔəṭya**<sup>1</sup> ʔána báýən ʔitli xáčča šúla mánnox.<sup>1</sup>* “‘Greetings to you!’ “You are welcome!’ He said “Please sit down!’ He sat down. He said “Now, what do you want?’ He said “By God, I have come [*time has elapsed since the endpoint of the event of his coming He is now seated*], since I have some business I’d like to do with you.”’ (A16:4)
- (29) *mára ha-ʔÚmmo **dírux**.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She said “Hey, Ummo, you have returned! [*This is said as Ummo comes into the house immediately after the endpoint of the event*]”’ (A23:33)
- (30) *wáý b-šéna,<sup>1</sup> š-rəši,<sup>1</sup> **qəm-paqḏəṭli**.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Goodbye, I’m grateful, you have instructed me (well). [*i.e. the event of your instructing me extended up to the end of the speaker’s visit, which is the speech situation*]’ (A8:50)

In the assertive clauses in the foregoing examples the resultative compound forms all have the deictic copula, which draws the hearer’s attention to a resultant state. In some cases, however, the enclitic copula is used in assertions. This generally occurs in contexts where the assertion is for some reason less informative. In many cases the enclitic copula is used when the speaker wishes to give greater relative prominence to the contents of an adjacent clause and so reduces the attention drawn to the clause with the resultative construction. In (31) the speaker wishes to draw attention to the purpose of her coming, expressed in the following dependent clause, more than the fact that she has come. This applies also to the reply of her interlocutor, in which the resultative also has an enclitic copula. Example (32) exhibits a similar construction, in which the purpose clause is more informative than the main verb:

- (31) *ʔáy jal-jálde wírra ʔalle diye<sup>1</sup> mára lá-dri xéləṭ gənox.<sup>1</sup> ʔána **θiṭən** mpalánnux m-gu-šəján.<sup>1</sup> móre lát-θiṭa ʔána mpaləṭəlli m-gu-šəján.<sup>1</sup> **θiṭəṭ** šqála ʔáyya róxi mən-gu-gəni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She quickly entered (and found) him. She said “Do not struggle. I have come to bring you out of the prison.” He said “You have not come to bring me out of the prison. You have come to take my spirit from me.”’ (A26:82)
- (32) *ámra mòt ʔəṭya Qaṭína.<sup>1</sup> móre ʔəṭyan báýən sisisəmbər.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said “Why have you come Qaṭína?” He said “I have come to seek the sisisəmbər.”’ (A50:11)

In (33) and (34), likewise, the speaker wishes to give less prominence to the main verbs than to the content of their complement clauses:

- (33) *mára xzíθan b-xəlmi'* xóni dàwəqlux<sup>1</sup> darélux gu-səndàna,<sup>1</sup> gu-hàbsa.<sup>1</sup>  
 'She said "I have seen in my dream that my brother will seize you and put you into a cell, in jail.'" (A26:43)
- (34) <sup>1</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>ána *mùθewən* <sup>1</sup>yáni *muméθewən* b-<sup>2</sup>alàha,<sup>1</sup> *mumèθewən*,<sup>1</sup> kámət  
<sup>1</sup>úrət dúnye <sup>2</sup>áθa báθri le-y-azàna<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ila-hič-<sup>2</sup>urza.<sup>1</sup> *bas-<sup>2</sup>án <sup>2</sup>áθya xá-baxta*  
*nabláli qa-kut-t-bāya,<sup>1</sup> yən-qa-xóna diya,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ána b<sup>1</sup>-azàna.<sup>1</sup>* 'I have sworn,  
 that is taken an oath by God, I have taken an oath that however  
 many men in the world may come after me I shall not go to any  
 man. But, if a woman comes to take me to anyone she wants, or  
 to her brother, I shall go.' (A8:78)

In (35) the main prominence is put on the circumstantial clause, which expresses a new tragic realization, rather than on the resultative verbs 'I have fallen in love with you' and 'I have followed you', which are presupposed facts:

- (35) *mára <sup>2</sup>ána bíθənnux θíθən* bàθrux<sup>1</sup> w-ana-léðən t-awátwa <sup>2</sup>áti xáyən  
*palístwa mámi.<sup>1</sup>* 'She said "I have fallen in love with you and followed  
 you, while not knowing that you would turn out to be treacherous  
 to me.'" (A14:101)

In (36) and (37) the lack of a deictic copula in the second clause reflects the fact that these function as elaborations of the previous clause, rather than prominent pieces of independent information:

- (36) <sup>2</sup>ána<sup>1</sup> hon-<sup>2</sup>əθya,<sup>1</sup> *ríqən qam-màmi.<sup>1</sup>* 'I have come, running away from  
 my paternal uncle.' (A25:42)
- (37) *b-óma xéna <sup>2</sup>áθeti tla-kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>čídət kəsłèni.<sup>1</sup>* 'The day after tomorrow  
 come to lunch, you are invited to our home.' (A22:14)

A different reason for a reduced level of informativeness of the resultative construction is illustrated by (38). Here the clause 'I have put the house in order' refers to an activity that the speaker performs every day and so would be expected to perform:

- (38) *ámər hà yámmi<sup>1</sup> mùt mára.<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>ènile plíxa <sup>2</sup>dyo.<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>mára bábí har-<sup>2</sup>átit plíxa,<sup>1</sup>*  
<sup>2</sup>u-xmára-w tawera,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>ána *mquzqáztən bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* 'He said "So, mother,  
 what do you say? Who has worked today?" She said "My dear,

only you have worked, the ass and ox, and I have put the house in order.”’ (A21:15)

#### 15.4.1.3. *Function in Narrative*

In the narrative sections of folktales in the text corpus the resultative form is frequently used with the function of a preterite to relate a specific punctual event in the past without any assertion of the existence of a resultant state in the present. When it has this function, it is normally used with the enclitic copula rather than the deictic copula. Since in narrative it denotes a punctual event rather than a durable resultant state, it may be used to express a chain of sequential events, e.g.

- (1) *qimela<sup>1</sup> b-lèle<sup>1</sup> tripalla žine<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mùθyalla,<sup>1</sup> núblalla kəs-Mămo.<sup>1</sup> núblalla kəs-Mămo.<sup>1</sup> dmixela.<sup>1</sup> řištela,<sup>1</sup> žiptallela<sup>1</sup> tla-Mămo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘At night they went and seized Zine and brought her, they took her to Mămo. They took her to Mămo. They slept. She woke up and pushed Mămo (out of bed). (A26:3)
- (2) *núblalle<sup>1</sup> súsət Qára Teždin,<sup>1</sup> gríšalle m-rəš-gàlla<sup>1</sup> m-xàla,<sup>1</sup> sířalle ʔo-d-áw šópe diye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-siqele.<sup>1</sup> siqele məxyele l-tàra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He took the horse of Qara Teždin. He pulled it from the grass he was eating and tied his own in its place, then went up. He went up and knocked on the door.’ (A26:29)
- (3) *šqilalla tása b-lèle<sup>1</sup> ʔu-núblalla zádya<sup>1</sup> gu-đa-dèrta.<sup>1</sup> šqilalla mən-d-ε-dèrta,<sup>1</sup> núblalla zádya<sup>1</sup> gu-đa-xèta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They took the bowl in the night, took it away and threw it into a house enclosure. They took it from that enclosure, took it away and threw it into another one.’ (A15:12)
- (4) *ʔáp-ʔawwa siqele gu-túra,<sup>1</sup> mən-xuráne diye pišele gu-túra xá-yoma yóme trè.<sup>1</sup> dmixela<sup>1</sup> b-lèle xá-ga<sup>1</sup> ʔθyela tré malaxe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘So, he went up into the mountains with his friends and remained in the mountains one or two days. One night they went to sleep and two angels came.’ (A4:2)

The copula is sometimes omitted from the participle when it has this narrative preterite function. This typically occurs in a series of clauses that open with a verb with the copula. The clause or clauses without the copula express events that are closely sequential to that of the opening clause. The purpose of the speaker is to present these as components of one overall event rather than as a series of discrete events. The initial verb in the chain is often a verb of movement or the verb *qym* ‘to arise’, which in narrative frequently loses its original meaning and is used simply to mark the onset of a new event, e.g.

- (5) *ʔəyela jmiye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They came and gathered together.’ (A22:2)  
 (6) *ʔəyele wira.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He came and entered.’ (A26:47)  
 (7) *qimele ʔəya siqa l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He got up, came and went up onto the roof.’ (A26:40)  
 (8) *qimele múθya ture.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He got up and fetched twigs.’ (A20:3)  
 (9) *ʔay-qimtele, wíðta qàwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She got up and made coffee.’ (A26:31)

Normally in such chains of events the clause with the participle without the copula has the same subject as the preceding clause, as is the case in the examples above. When there is a change in subject a copula is generally used, e.g.

- (10) *siqele máxya l-tàra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-plittela Səttiye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went up and knocked on the door and Səttiye came out.’ (A26:29)  
 (11) *ʔəyele tíwa b-diwən*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-náše kúlla tūwela*<sup>1</sup> *gu-diwən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He came and sat down in the reception room, and everybody else sat down in the reception room.’ (A26:63)

These are not, however, absolute rules. The copula is occasionally omitted when there is a change of subject in a chain of events (12) and even in the first clause in a narrative sequence after direct speech (13)–(14):

- (12) *ʔu-siqele*<sup>1</sup> *súse kálya tàma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went up and his horse stopped there.’ (A26:28)  
 (13) *mára məθítule kəsli!*<sup>1</sup> *múθye Bakúrko kásla dýa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She said “Bring him to me”. They brought Bakurko to her.’ (A26:84)  
 (14) *ʔo-náša sàwa*<sup>1</sup> *máre tla-d-ó-yala zòra,*<sup>1</sup> *màre*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəka t-ázat?*<sup>2</sup> *ʔána cú-dukθa litli.*<sup>1</sup> *t-ázən gu-jàma.*<sup>1</sup> *xámən gu-jàma.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔawwa qíma zúla l-bèθe dýe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-náša gòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The old man said to the youth, he said “Where will you go?” “I have nowhere to go. I’ll go to the mosque. I’ll stay in the mosque.” The elderly man got up and went to his house.’ (A17:5–6)

In the case of a sequence of two verbs that are closely related and presented as a tightly knit unit in the same intonation group, the copula is sometimes put only on the second participle of the sequence. This is most often found where the first verb of the sequence expresses movement, e.g.

- (15) *ʔawwa gáwra díya siqele l-Ninwe,*<sup>1</sup> *díra ʔəyele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Her husband went up to Nineveh, then returned and came back.’ (A13:2)

- (16) *ʔaw-ʔəθya wɪrɛle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He came and entered.’ (A34:14)  
 (17) *ʔəp ʔo-lɛle ʔəθye šəkyela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Also that night they came and complained.’  
 (A18:7)  
 (18) *qlɪba šəlyele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went back down.’ (A30:32)  
 (19) *dmixe-u tɪlyela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They lay down and slept.’ (A4:50)

In narratives the preterite *qtilele* form is used interchangeably with the *qtille/qəm-qatəl* form, which is the other main narrative verb form. The narrator constantly shifts from one form to the other. These shifts often coincide with some kind of reorientation in the narrative, especially where there is a change in subject and the narrator directs attention to another character, e.g.

- (20) *qimɛle lɛle šəθya qawa.*<sup>1</sup> *tuwɛle l-xašə suse diye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-dɪrɛle šəlyele rəš-d-ɛ-ʔəna.*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔə-ʔəna t-ɪle ʔəθya qamaye rəša.*<sup>1</sup> *Qara Teždin dɪrɪe*<sup>1</sup> *θɛle bəθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəmər hə*<sup>1</sup>  
*báxta kéle ʔərxə.*<sup>21</sup> ‘He got up and did not drink the coffee. He sat  
 on the back of his horse and went back down to the spring, the  
 spring to which he had come previously. Qara Teždin returned  
 home and said “Ah, wife, where is the guest?”’ (A26:32–33)  
 (21) *sɪqɛle l-gàre*<sup>1</sup> *maxzəyalle Jazira Bota.*<sup>1</sup> *Žine*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔán-xaddamyáθa diya šləla*<sup>1</sup>  
*rəš-ʔəna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went up onto the roof to show him Jazira Bota. Zine  
 and her maid-servants went down to the spring.’ (A26:40)  
 (22) *ʔəθyɛle,*<sup>1</sup> *qam-tǔrət bəθa tuwɛle hədax.*<sup>1</sup> *bábe diye θɛle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He came and  
 sat down in front of the door of the house. His father came.’  
 (A26:10)  
 (23) *Qara Teždin zɪlɛle,*<sup>1</sup> *yúwəlla ʔide gu-ʔidət Məmo.*<sup>1</sup> *Məmo qəm-šaqašlla šəsiyáθət*<sup>1</sup>  
*Žine*<sup>1</sup> *mattúla gu-ʔidət Qara Teždin.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Qara Teždin went and put his  
 hand in the hand of Məmo. Məmo took the locks of Zine and  
 put them in the hand of Qara Teždin.’ (A26:50)

On some occasions there is no change in subject across the transition from one verbal form to the other. In such cases some kind of reorientation on another dimension of the discourse can usually be discerned. In (24), for example, the shift from *qtilele* for *qtille* coincides with the start of a chain of clauses that narrate a new event, i.e. the eating of the third fox cub. In (25) the clause ‘In this way they held the wedding’ containing the *qtille* form *wídla* is not presented as an event that is sequential to the previously mentioned events of ‘bringing them up with drum and pipe’ and ‘firing rifles’ but rather it recapitulates these preceding specific

events by a general statement. In (26) the section beginning ‘They played three times and Mir-Zandin lost’, which contains *qtille* forms, may also be regarded as constituting a break in the tight chain of events of the previous clauses. Its function is to elaborate on the event of playing chess rather than to carry the discourse forward with new events. In a similar manner the clause with the resultative form in (27) elaborates on the preceding clause with the *qtille* form:

- (24) *qimela 'ap-ʔo-tré primalle, xilalle, 'imat xilla 'ap-ʔo-tré, písła xà-šabθa, tré šabbàθa, kpinna. 'ap-ʔo-ṭlaθa qəm-pərmile.* ‘They slaughtered also the second one and ate him. After they ate the second one, a week, two weeks went by, they became hungry and slaughtered also the third one.’ (A20:9)
- (25) *qimela músqalla b-dáwla-w zòrna, dréθat tòpe. 'u-hádax wídla xlùla.* ‘They brought them up (to the palace) with drum and pipe and the firing of rifles. In this way they held the wedding.’ (A4:56)
- (26) *qiméle qəryele qa-Mămo, 'əθyele tíwa b-düwən 'u-náše kúlla tíwela gu-düwən. 'šuryela m̄tawóle b-šətrənjàne. ṭlá-gaye m̄tuwəlla, riqlə Mir-Zəndin. lá-msele b-Mămo.* ‘Now, he called for Mămo and he came and sat in the reception room, and everybody else sat down in the reception room. They began playing chess. They played three times and Mir-Zandin lost (literally: ran away) and was unable to beat Mămo.’ (A26:63)
- (27) *wirre gu-bòye. gu-bòye diye m̄túšyalla gáne diye.* ‘He went into his hole. He hid himself in his hole’ (A1:15)

The transition in the narrative between the two verbal forms is also attested where the narrator repeats the mention of an event of particular importance in the story. The shift of verbal form is no doubt exploited in such circumstances to mark off the repeated clause more sharply from what precedes in order to give it prominence, e.g.

- (28) *'ó-yomə ṭ-ile plíta málka m-bèθa, 'ó-yoma bróne diye m̄ðele. 'ó-yoma m̄tle bróne diye.* ‘On the day that the king left home, on that day his son died. On that day his son died.’ (A4:10)
- (29) *'áyya 'aqərwə θiθa gu-résə d-o-bòya qtiltalle. qəm-qaṭlále 'o-xùwwe.* ‘The scorpion came to the opening of the hole and killed it. It killed the snake.’ (A9:6)
- (30) *'áwəwa zdilele. zdille, móre...* ‘He became afraid. He became afraid and said...’ (A21:33)

Certain verbs exhibit a clear tendency to have the preterite expressed by *qtille* rather than the resultative in narrative. A common feature of this set of verbs is that they are typically matrix verbs that have a clause as their complement. The most conspicuous of these verbs is *'mr* 'to say'. When this introduces direct speech, which may be considered to be its complement, the verb is regularly in the *qtille* form: *móre* 'He said', *móra* 'She said', etc. Other matrix verbs that are generally put in the *qtille* form when preterite in narratives include:

*m-šry* 'to begin':

(31) *mšuréla bxàya*.<sup>1</sup> 'She began to weep.' (A4:42)

(32) *šuréla šràxa*.<sup>1</sup> 'She began to shout.' (A25:82)

*šbr* 'to dare':

(33) *lá šbirra mšuwə̀tla*.<sup>1</sup> 'She did not dare to speak.' (A24:40)

(34) *'áp-xa mánna lá-šbirre rhíwle gu-dìwən*.<sup>1</sup> 'Nobody dared speak to him in the reception room.' (A26:70)

*mšy* 'to be able':

(35) *lá-mšela mšuwə̀tla*.<sup>1</sup> 'She could not speak.' (A21:26)

(36) *'áyya bàxta' lá-mšela mxumə̀la 'šrwe*.<sup>1</sup> 'The woman could not keep the sheep.' (A10:6)

*kaze* 'to attempt without success':

(37) *kízle mxàya' goyáθət sùsa, sùsa la-jwíjle*.<sup>1</sup> 'He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move.' (A28:33)

(38) *kízle mparpóle bìye: nàša, 'ánna xonə̀wə̀θila*.<sup>1</sup> 'He tried (to dissuade him) by begging him "Man, these are my brothers."' (A12:10)

(39) *kízla bróni lá-wuð hátxa mə̀ndi*.<sup>1</sup> 'She tried (to stop him by saying) "Son, don't do such a thing."' (A14:6)

(40) *kízle də-mxíli xa-xə̀na!*<sup>1</sup> 'He tried (to persuade him by saying) "Strike me again!"' (A52:24)

The deictic copula is sometimes used with the resultative participle in narratives. In such cases the form has its usual non-narrative function of denoting a resultant state. It is generally used to present the background



to the main narrative line against which the punctual narrative events occurred. The deictic copula here takes the past time reference of the surrounding context. It is often appropriate to translate such background clauses with the English pluperfect. Examples:

- (41) *ʔu-dəryále gáne<sup>1</sup> gu-bərke<sup>1</sup> sxàyele<sup>1</sup> sùse díye hóle mrúpyalle gu-màrga<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘He immersed himself in the pool and swam. He had released his horse in the meadow.’ (A25:56)
- (42) *ʔina ʔáw kéfé basìmta<sup>1</sup> hóle daryalle gáne gu-miya<sup>1</sup> ʔrixteła m-gu-bar-bəhn<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘He was enjoying himself. He had immersed himself in the water. She shouted from the casement.’ (A25:59)
- (43) *dwíqele qa-ʔarya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mùthyalle<sup>1</sup> daryalle gu-bèθa<sup>1</sup> ʔúle qàsra<sup>1</sup> hóle mubán-yalle qàsra góra trè tabáqe<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘He caught the lion and brought it back. He put it in the house. He had a villa. He had built a large villa with two storeys.’ (A27:3)
- (44) *zília bára diyá<sup>1</sup> ta-t-xazèla<sup>1</sup> ʔina la-har-čú-dúkθa liθwa<sup>1</sup> hóla príxta zília<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘They went after her to find her, but she was nowhere. She had flown and gone away.’ (A27:26)
- (45) *xa-náša sàwa<sup>1</sup> ... hóle ʔina kértət qèse<sup>1</sup> l-xàše<sup>1</sup> hóle tíwa l-kèpa<sup>1</sup> hətxa<sup>1</sup>*  
*ʔanna piðalla mánne díye<sup>1</sup> ʔap-šlāma léla daryalle<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘An old man ... was carrying a load of wood on his back. He was sitting on a stone, like this. They passed by him, but did not even greet him.’ (A15:13)
- (46) *hóle tíwa gu-xa-gəppiθa<sup>1</sup> ʔarbì-šanne<sup>1</sup> qiméle<sup>1</sup> móre mádam hətxeła<sup>1</sup> t-ázən ʔáyən báθər haqqùθa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-na-haqqùθa<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘He had been dwelling in a cave for forty years. He arose and said “If (the world) is like that, I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful.”’ (A15:4–5)
- (47) *hadíya<sup>1</sup> ʔó-lelət mèθi<sup>1</sup> holá-ʔəθye tíwe<sup>1</sup> báxta tíwta l-àyya-gotət méš<sup>1</sup>*  
*ʔu-gáwra tíwa l-àyy-gota<sup>1</sup> ʔo-yála zóra hóla múttalle be-pálga<sup>1</sup> ... maláxe holá-ʔəθye tíwe l-kàwe<sup>1</sup> ... ʔu-hádəx ʔiθwa ʔán-xa sobáθət kəslən<sup>1</sup> bux-eriyewa<sup>1</sup>*  
*síqele xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra<sup>1</sup> wíwéle gu-naxírət xa-m-maláxe<sup>1</sup>*  
*ʔu-wíðele pəθyo!<sup>1</sup> tpiðele<sup>1</sup> ʔó-yala zóra móre b-ràxme!<sup>1</sup> ʔax-t-úle míra ʔo-zóra b-ràxme<sup>1</sup>*  
*ʔámər b-ráxme l-bàbux<sup>1</sup> l-yəmmux<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mánna xámšì šanne xéne xáyəla<sup>1</sup>*  
*qimela maláxe díye<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘Now, the night they were to die, they had come and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side. They had put the small child in the middle. ... The angels had come and sat by the window. ... There were those stoves in our community that were smoke ducts. Some of the soot went up and entered the nose of

one of the angels. He went “achoo!” He sneezed. The little boy said “Bless you!” When the little one said “Bless you”, he (the angel) said “Bless your father and mother. May each live another fifty years.” The angels got up and returned.’ (A4:57–60)

Occasionally the deictic copula is used when the construction expresses a punctual event that is sequential to what precedes. The effect of this is to draw particular attention to the event and mark it off distinctly from what precedes. In (48) the main motivation appears to be to give particular attention to the event due to its unexpectedness. It is not usual for a barber to have to bring a ladder to cut a person’s hair. In (49) the deictic copula is used to mark the onset of a section narrating a battle between the hero and his enemy. The section begins with the narrative formula *mara* ‘(The story) says’, which is generally used as a device to mark boundaries in the discourse (§15.4.2.3 examples 19–23).

- (48) *tíwεle* *Žálo*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-tárət qásre diye*<sup>1</sup> *’o-ħallàqa*<sup>1</sup> *hóle múθyalla xa-semálta*<sup>1</sup> *múttalla baθrət rušáne diye*<sup>1</sup> ‘Zāl sat before his palace. The barber brought a ladder and placed it behind his shoulders.’ (A29:2)
- (49) *pišele*<sup>1</sup> *kízle mparpóle biye*<sup>1</sup> *nàša*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna xonáwàθila*<sup>1</sup> *’áxxa l-tàmma*<sup>1</sup> *mára mārannux*<sup>1</sup> *’áti grúš gánux*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna diya*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla parqàmma*<sup>1</sup> *mára ’áp-’aw hóle pláša*<sup>1</sup> *’áw-w ’ó-naša pláša*<sup>1</sup> *pláša*<sup>1</sup> *pláša*<sup>1</sup> *hál gu-mbadláθa*<sup>1</sup> *gu-mbadláθa mxéθət yóma ’ó-naša tliqele*<sup>1</sup> ‘He tried to dissuade him by begging him “Man, these are my brothers” and so forth. “I’m telling you, go away. I shall finish off all of these people here.” Now, he fought also him. He and that man fought. They continued fighting until dawn. At dawn, the break of day, he disappeared.’ (A12:10)

The use of the *qtiléle* construction in narratives to express sequential events in the past seems *prima facie* to be unusual. It is unlikely that the normal function of *qtiléle* to express present resultant states has been here exploited to give vividness to past events. More effective means of expressing such vividness are available to the narrator in the *qtille* form, which expresses events in the immediate past, or the perfective *qatəl*, which expresses punctual events taking place in the present moment. The resultant states expressed by the present perfect *qtiléle*, moreover, are temporally unbounded and would more naturally be used to express temporally overlapping states rather than be concatenated to express sequential situations.

A more satisfactory explanation is to regard this function of the *q̄t̄ilele* form in narratives to have originated in the use of the present perfect as an evidential verbal form. In many languages present perfect verb forms have developed the function of expressing past events for which the speaker has no direct evidence. Such forms are used when the speaker has not witnessed the event first hand, but has acquired knowledge of the event only by hearsay report or by inference from indirect evidence. The propensity of the present perfect to develop this function in languages is due to the fact that it does not present an event directly but only through its results (Comrie 1976: 108–110; Aikhenvald 2004: 112–115). The stimulus for the C. Barwar NENA present perfect to have its function extended in this way was probably given by language contact. A likely candidate for the source of this influence is Turkish. This language has an evidential verbal form (distinguished by the affix *-miş*), which is associated morphologically and functionally with the perfect. A relevant feature of the Turkish evidential form is that it is used in fictional narratives with no basis in reality, such as myths and folktales (Slobin and Aksu 1982; Aksu and Slobin 1986; Aksu-Koç 1988: 25), which are the type of narrative text where the *q̄t̄ilele* preterite is most often encountered in the C. Barwar dialect. A perfect verb form extended to express the evidential denotes perfective events rather than present states and so can be used felicitously to express sequential narrative events.

It should be noted, however, that in the C. Barwar NENA dialect, it appears that the *q̄t̄ilele* perfect form is not used with an evidential function outside of narrative contexts. In contexts that would typically trigger an evidential form, informants use both *q̄t̄ille* and *q̄t̄ilele* with their usual distinction in temporal-aspectual function, e.g.

- (50) *márele xóni 'áθyele qedàmta.*<sup>1</sup> 'He says that my brother came this morning.'  
 (51) *mabyónela xóni 'áθyele qedàmta.*<sup>1</sup> 'It seems that my brother came this morning.'  
 (52) *márele xóni d̄iya θéle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He says that my brother has just come.'  
 (53) *mabyónela xóni d̄iya θéle.*<sup>1</sup> 'It seems that my brother has just come.'

Furthermore speakers use 1st person *q̄t̄ilele* forms in narratives. This is difficult to reconcile with an evidential function, which is characteristically used when a speaker has indirect evidence of an event in which he/she has not participated, e.g.

- (54) *mára zílən l-tárət pərdəsa<sup>1</sup>... xilən<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šətyən.<sup>1</sup>... ʔu-ʔəmər qáša ʔu-ʔána.<sup>2</sup>*  
*ʔəmər də-kli.<sup>1</sup> ʔəmər hádax ʔáp-ʔati ʔətyət.<sup>1</sup> ʔəmər ʔətyet.<sup>1</sup> mátyət kəslyə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He  
 says “I went to the door of Paradise...I ate and drank.” ...The  
 priest says “And me?” He says “Wait!” He says “Meanwhile you  
 also came.” He says “You came and went up to them.” (A2:7–9)
- (55) *ʔána-ži m-kérbi ʔətyən ʔá-kəθəθa múttənnə rəs-núra ʔu-xilənnə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I, out of my  
 anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it.’ (A2:11)
- (56) *šríxən hátxa biya-diya.<sup>1</sup> ʔýya qəm-patlála gʷān-diya<sup>1</sup> ʔána xšúwən là maxyáli.<sup>1</sup>*  
*qəm-patlála gʷān-diya<sup>1</sup>... qəm-maxyála də-βəna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shouted at it like this.  
 It turned itself round. I thought it would not strike me. It turned  
 itself round... It gave me a kick.’ (B5:131–132)

In the light of the foregoing, it is easiest to regard the *qīlele* preterite as a narrative verbal form, characteristic of fictitious discourse, which originally developed in imitation of the use of the Turkish evidential verbal forms with *-miş* in fictitious narrative. It did not, however, come to be used as a fully functional evidential form that could be used outside of narrative.

#### 15.4.1.4. *Movement of the Enclitic Copula*

As remarked, positive assertive resultative constructions can have the enclitic or the deictic copula. If special prominence is given to a particular constituent of the clause, however, only the enclitic copula is used. In such circumstances this is moved from the participle and attached to the prominent constituent in question. In most cases the constituent that is given prominence in this way is placed before the participle, whatever its grammatical function in the clause, and so the movement of the enclitic is leftwards. In some constructions in narrative the enclitic moves rightwards and is attached to a constituent that occurs after the participle in the clause.

##### 15.4.1.4.1. *Leftward Movement of the Enclitic*

In constructions where the enclitic copula is moved leftwards it is important to distinguish cases where the constituent that is given prominence bears the nuclear stress and cases where the nuclear stress is placed elsewhere in the clause. As a general rule, prominent items bearing the nuclear stress are clausal arguments expressing some kind of information focus, by which the speaker wishes to draw the hearer’s attention to important new information. This may be termed ‘narrow’ focus, in that attention is drawn to one particular argument in the clause and not to the predicate or overall proposition as a whole. The normal default position for the

nuclear stress is at the end of the intonation group. Since the focused item is placed at the beginning of the clause the nuclear stress is in a marked position. Items given prominence that do not bear the nuclear stress, on the other hand, are generally not a focus of new information.

(i) *Narrow New Information Focus*

One type of narrow new information focus that is expressed by the attachment of the enclitic copula is contrastive focus. This is used when the speaker wishes to correct a misunderstanding by strongly asserting that one particular item should be selected for the role in question rather than the one currently entertained by the hearer, e.g.

- (1) A: *xónux hóle xíla xabùša*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *brònux-ile xíla xabùša.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "Your brother has eaten an apple." B: "No, *your son* has eaten an apple.'"
- (2) A: *xónux hóle xíla xabùša*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *xàwxele xíla xóni.*<sup>1</sup> *léle xabùša xíla.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "Your brother has eaten an apple." B: "No, *my brother* has eaten a peach. He has not eaten an apple.'"
- (3) A: *xóni hóle xázya bratéxu qedàmta*<sup>1</sup> B: *léle qedàmta xázya brátan,*<sup>1</sup> *tàmmal-ile xázya*<sup>1</sup> *alla.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "My brother saw your daughter this morning." B: "He did not see our daughter *this morning*, he saw her *yesterday*.'"

Examples from the text corpus:

- (4) *léwən θíθa b-xabrə dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya xáθe dīyela.*<sup>1</sup> *b-xábrət xáθə dīyən θíθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'I did not come at his word. She is his sister. I came at the word of his sister.' (A8:85)
- (5) *'ànən múθyǎlle.*<sup>1</sup> 'I (and not my brother) have brought it back.' (A24:31)
- (6) *yába 'ànən mšúdrəlla!*<sup>1</sup> 'I (not God) have sent them!' (A6:4)
- (7) *'ànən xázya*<sup>1</sup> *alle,*<sup>1</sup> *dīyile.*<sup>1</sup> 'I (and nobody else) have found it. It is mine.' (A14:15)
- (8) *'anna!*<sup>1</sup> *Səttiye*<sup>1</sup> *muttəθəlla lāxxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Səttiye (not anybody else) put these here.' (A25:36)

In principle when the speaker expresses a narrow focus on one particular argument of the clause, the proposition of the clause is presupposed to be known to the hearer and activated in his mind with the exception of the identity of the argument in question. In (1), for example, the clause *brònux-ile xíla xabùša*<sup>1</sup> is used by the speaker when he presupposes that the hearer knows that somebody has eaten an apple, i.e. the presuppositional

background is ‘*x* has eaten an apple’. What the speaker is asserting, i.e. the new information that he is conveying, is that *x* is to be identified as ‘your son’.<sup>8</sup> In many languages this type of argument focus can be expressed by a cleft sentence, e.g. ‘It is your son who has eaten an apple’, in which the assertion of the identity of the argument in focus is expressed by an identificatory predicate and the presupposition is placed in a subordinate relative clause. The constructions with copula movement such as *brònu-x-ile xíla xabúšá*<sup>1</sup> are not cleft sentences since the presupposition is not in a relative clause and, moreover, the copula agrees with the subject, even if this is the asserted argument, e.g. *ʔànən múθyǎlle*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have brought it’ (= It was *me* who has brought it). The attachment of the copula to the focused argument and the placement of the nuclear stress on this argument are, nevertheless, properties of the predicate of a copula clause. It may be said, therefore, that the construction possesses some properties of a cleft sentence but does not have all the components of its structure.

Clauses exhibiting leftward movement of the copula may have two foci of contrast, in which case the subject is given preference for the attachment of the enclitic, e.g.

- (9) *ʔàtit θíθa kàslí.<sup>1</sup> lán ʔàna-ʔəθya kàslax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You came to me. I did not come to you.’ (A4:4)
- (10) *yà-baxta<sup>1</sup> lan-ʔàna ʔəθya dmíxa gu-šwìθəx.<sup>1</sup> ʔàtit θíθa dmíxta gu-šwìθi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Woman, I have not come to sleep in your bed. You have come to sleep in my bed.’ (A26:4)

The presuppositional background of these constructions would have two unknown variables, e.g. ‘*x* came to *y*’ and the speaker is asserting the identity of both of these.

The intention of the new information focus may be to express exclusivity, e.g.

- (11) *har-ʔàtit plíxa<sup>1</sup>* ‘Only you have worked.’ (A21:15)
- (12) *kúlla hóla q̄tíle.<sup>1</sup> bas-ànən šríta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They have all been killed. Only I have escaped.’ (B19:8)

The presuppositional background of these examples would be ‘*x* has worked’ and ‘*x* has escaped’ respectively.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lambrecht (1994: 228–233).

The leftward movement of the copula to express focus on one argument of a clause may be used in responses to questions concerning a particular argument, e.g.

- (13) A: *ʔénile ʔθya qedámta.*<sup>21</sup> B: *xònilē ʔθya qedámta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A: “Who has come this morning?” B: “My brother has come this morning.”’
- (14) A: *módít xázya gu-bèθa.*<sup>21</sup> B: *kθàwux-in xázya gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A: “What have you seen in the house?” B: “I have seen your book in the house.”’

Example from the text corpus:

- (15) *ʔánna zmaryáθa m-èkət líptalla.*<sup>21</sup> *biš-basímela m-ànàha.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána gu-Hàlmun-in líptalla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘“Where did you learn these songs from? They are more beautiful than the others.” “I learnt them in Halmun.”’ (A35:9)

The presuppositional background of the questions in (13) and (14) is ‘*x* has come this morning’ and ‘You have seen *x* in the house’ respectively. The response to such questions concerning a particular argument, however, may also be expressed without fronting of the item in focus and leftward movement of the copula. An alternative type of response would put the item in focus at the end of the clause with the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (16) A: *ʔénile ʔθya qedámta.*<sup>21</sup> B: *ʔθyēle qedámta xòni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A: “Who has come this morning?” B: “My brother has come this morning.”’
- (17) A: *módít xázya gu-bèθa.*<sup>21</sup> B: *xázyeθm gu-béθa kθàwux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A: “What have you seen in the house?” B: “I have seen your book in the house.”’

This shows that narrow focus of new information alone does not necessarily bring about a construction with leftward copula movement. Rather it is used subjectively by the speaker to communicate information that is not only new but that he wishes to present as worthy of particular attention. It is more regularly used in contrastive constructions such as (1)–(8), where the speaker wishes to correct a misapprehension, than in responses to constituent questions.

It should also be noted that the leftward copula movement only occurs when the focus is exhaustive, i.e. when the item in focus is unique for the role in question. It is not used when the focused item constitutes one of a list of items that perform the role, e.g.

- (18) *máre yámmi 'énile plíxa.<sup>21</sup> mára bábi plíxet 'àti,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xmára-w tàwra<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána mtugbártan bèða.<sup>1</sup>* 'He said "Mother, who has worked?" She said "My dear, you have worked, (also) the ass and the ox, and I have attended to the house."' (A21:13)

Observe that in the responses of (16) and (17) the copula that occurs with the resultative participle is an enclitic rather than a deictic copula. This reflects a tendency to use the enclitic copula in conversational discourse when the verbal form is in the presupposition of the clause and is not asserted. This is typically the case in responses to constituent questions when the verb is repeated.

The construction is sometimes used elsewhere in a more subjective fashion, in places where the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to an item, due to its unexpectedness or its importance in the context, e.g.

- (19) *b-àyyət mšúdrállí.<sup>21</sup>* 'Have you sent for me *for this reason?*' (A21:35)  
 (20) *'abàyele dorya b-réša.<sup>1</sup>* 'He put *his cloak* over her.' (A26:50)  
 (21) *'ámər<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa tārəxu pčlələ.<sup>1</sup> bábət bráta mərə<sup>1</sup> m-əkəle pčlila.<sup>21</sup> har-gubbān-ix wíðalle.<sup>1</sup>* 'He said "This door of yours is crooked." The father of the girl said "How can it be crooked? We made it *exactly according to a spirit-level.*"' (A17:20)  
 (22) *mára málka t-áwət basíma.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa náša hətəle wáða.<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> mú t-áwəð.<sup>21</sup> xa-dúkəθət gáldət tawəran hūwəlle báne béða.<sup>1</sup>* 'They said "King, may you be well. That man is doing such-and-such (i.e. building the fortress of Dəmdəma)." He said "What could he do? I have given him *the space of an ox skin* to build a house."' (A11:15)  
 (23) *Qára Təždin 'ile xətne díye.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xáθət Mír-Žəndin-ile šqila Qára Təždin.<sup>1</sup>* 'Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law, that is Qara Teždin has married *the sister of Mír-Žəndin.*' (A26:55)  
 (24) *'u-suráye ləla jráta<sup>1</sup> sab-zargúlela lwíše.<sup>1</sup>* 'The Christians were not slipping since they were wearing *sheepskin shoes.*' (B19:7)  
 (25) *xəš-zuzax wíde.<sup>1</sup>* 'We have made *good money.*' (A14:18)

Constructions such as those in (19)–(25) are not making contrastive assertions to correct a misapprehension nor are they responses to an explicit constituent question. The section of the clause that is not in focus is not strictly a presupposition, i.e. it is not necessarily assumed to be a proposition that is active in the mind of the hearer. It is part of the assertion of the clause but with a lesser degree of prominence than the focused item. Its lack of communicative pronominence relative to the focused item is a



property that it shares with presuppositional material. The basic function of the leftward focus movement can, therefore, be identified as a means of marking an enhancement of prominence on the item in question without necessarily implying that the remainder of the clause is presuppositional. In (19)–(22) the motivation for the construction is that the argument in the clause is deemed by the speaker to be unexpected in the general situation described. In (23) it draws particular attention to the identity of the person whom Qara Teždin married, since this is the crucial point that defines the term *xətna* ‘brother-in-law’. Likewise in (24) the speaker gives enhanced prominence to the ‘sheepskin shoes’ since these were the crucial reason why the Christians did not slip and so were the key to their success. In (25) prominence is given to an evaluative expression ‘good money’ in order to enhance the degree of evaluation.

Temporal adverbial expressions may be put into focus with the construction in order to convey immediacy, e.g.

- (26) *bálki qam-xa-šəbθəle ʔəθya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has come perhaps just a week ago.’  
(A8:56)

The focusing of a gradable quantifier or intensifier with the leftward copula movement conveys an enhanced degree, e.g.

- (27) *ʔána rəbɛwən plíxa gu-kérma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have worked very much in the orchard.’  
(28) *ʔəw hədele bərya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has just been born.’

In constructions such as (27) and (28) the elements that come after the focus are not necessarily presuppositional, but may be part of the assertion of the clause with a lesser degree of prominence than the focused item. In such constructions with quantifiers and intensifiers the nuclear stress is sometimes placed at the end of the intonation group rather than on the item bearing the copula, e.g.

- (29) *ʔána rəbɛwən plíxa gu-kèrma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have worked very much in the orchard.’  
(30) *yóma hədele zɪ̀qə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The sun has just now risen.’ (A26:37)  
(31) *xúwwe ʔəxčile múdwa rìqə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The snake just managed to escape.’  
(A1:15)

In constructions such as (29)–(31) the material after the item bearing the copula is part of the assertion. These examples show that the copula and

the nuclear stress placement may operate independently in the marking of prominence. The nuclear stress is in the default position at the end of the intonation group and signals that the predicate as a whole is asserted new information. The copula is used to give particular prominence to one item in this assertion. In such constructions the copula marks a weaker level of prominence than when it is combined with the nuclear stress. The item with the copula is, nevertheless, given more prominence than when there is no leftward copula movement at all, as in (32).

- (32) *'ána rába plíxewən gu-kèrma.*<sup>1</sup> 'I have worked very much in the orchard.'

Conversely the nuclear stress is occasionally moved forward to give particular prominence within the intonation group without the copula moving from its default position, e.g.

- (33) *xzáyət-əlle 'áwəwa qàsra.*<sup>21</sup> *külle b-qarqurpəyàθa bənyele.*<sup>1</sup> 'Do you see this palace? It is all built of skulls.' (A24:51)

(ii) *Topically Prominent Constituent*

A leftward moving copula may also be attached to a topically prominent constituent. A constituent with topical prominence has a referent that has been mentioned in the immediately prior discourse, with the result that it is not only assumed to be familiar to the hearer but also activated in his consciousness. It serves as the topic of the clause. Unlike an item in focus, the topic is not part of the assertion of the clause, rather it is the remainder of the clause that is asserted and that conveys new information about this topic.

Topical items with a leftward moving copula do not bear the nuclear stress. They are, therefore, given a weaker level of prominence than focused items that have both the copula and the nuclear stress.

Not all items that serve as a clause topic have the leftward moving copula attached to them. This construction is restricted to topics that the speaker wishes to give particular prominence. One context in which the construction is attested is where the item has been activated in the immediately preceding discourse and is repeated in consecutive clauses. This is the case in (1) and (2), in which the second occurrence of the item in question has a copula attached to it:

- (1) *'áti rába wíðət spayùθa' 'u-'átit pqiðəllən.*<sup>1</sup> 'You did a lot of good and you instructed us.' (A8:87)

- (2) *mátti táxta hàtxa<sup>1</sup> ta-t-<sup>2</sup>àzi,<sup>1</sup> líθan dǎràje,<sup>1</sup> ta-sáli gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup> táxtela mútte hàtxa<sup>1</sup> ta-sáli tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They placed a board like this, so that they could go (there)—there are no steps—so that they can go down to the basement. They placed a board like this, so that they could go down there.’ (A22:10)

These constituents are anaphorically bound to the immediately preceding discourse and function as the informational starting point, i.e. topic, of the ensuing propositions. These can be regarded as two aspects of a broader notion of topic as a current item of concern in the discourse. The constituents would have this status even if they did not have the copula enclitic. The copula gives added coding, which enhances the prominence of this status. This ‘heavy’ coding of the clause initial topic is often used as a strategy to signal a boundary in the discourse. The purpose of signalling the boundary may be to mark the clause off distinctly from what precedes in order to give prominence to the content of the clause, which appears to be the motivation in (1) and (2). In (3) the strategy of boundary marking is used to mark a clear opposition between the actions of the subject referents in two adjacent clauses:

- (3) *mbàdla,<sup>1</sup> qyàmzla,<sup>1</sup> kúlla báyi t-àzi,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áwwele dmixa Barzókko.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In the morning they got up and all wanted to go, but he, Barzókko, was asleep.’ (A12:8)

The construction may also be used to give topical prominence to the anaphoric element *hatxa* ‘thus’, which refers back to a situation in the preceding discourse. In (4) the purpose is to set the two clauses apart and present them as expressing separate events:

- (4) *hátxan wíða be-xàli,<sup>1</sup> hátxan wíða be-<sup>2</sup>àmti<sup>1</sup>* ‘I did such-and-such in the house of my uncle, I did such-and-such in the house of my aunt.’ (A23:40)

(iii) *Other cases of leftward movement*

It is necessary to distinguish some other categories of construction which exhibit leftward movement of the copula enclitic. These include interrogative constituents, adverbials and certain subordinating particles.

(a) *Interrogative constituents*

The copula element of the resultative is generally attached to interrogative constituents. In some cases the interrogative constituent bears

the nuclear stress and it can be classified as the expression of a type of narrow focus. The remainder of the clause is presuppositional and the focus is put on the interrogative item. Unlike assertive clauses, however, the identity of the interrogative item is not being asserted but rather questioned. Examples:

- (1) *ʔɛnile plixa ʔdyo.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who has worked today?’ (A21:15)
- (2) *ʔɛnile qtílalle.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who has killed him?’ (A28:7)
- (3) *mòdit wíða.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What have you done?’ (A23:34)
- (4) *yómə tré ʔɛketu dmíxe.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Where did you sleep on the second day?’ (A12:19)
- (5) *m-ékət ʔθya láxxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-dàx-it ʔθya.*<sup>21</sup> ‘From where have you come here and how have you come?’ (A14:33)
- (6) *dàx-it xíla kúlla.*<sup>21</sup> ‘How have you eaten all of it?’ (A2:11)

Such constructions are analogous to interrogative clauses such as (7) and (8) in which the question concerns one constituent:

- (7) *ʔàtit qtílalle xíwwe.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Was it you who killed the snake?’ (A24:45)
- (8) *ʔàtit múθyalle téri.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Was it you who brought back my bird?’ (A24:32)

In many cases, however, the nuclear stress is placed on the final word of the intonation group rather than on the interrogative constituent, e.g.

- (9) *ʔɛnile plixa.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who has worked?’ (A21:13)
- (10) *ʔɛnile qtílalle.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who has killed him?’ (A15:16)
- (11) *máñile másyə zədyálléy laxxàne.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who could have thrown them here?’ (A8:15)
- (12) *módit xázya gam-ɛnux.*<sup>21</sup> *módit xəzya.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What have you seen before your eyes? What have you seen?’ (A24:31)
- (13) *módin xázya b-xəlmí.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What have I seen in my dream?’ (A1:14)
- (14) *ʔɛni baxtəla mubrəθa.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Which woman has given birth?’ (A25:6)
- (15) *tla-módit ʔθya dmíxa*<sup>1</sup> *gu-šwíθi.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Why have you come to sleep in my bed?’ (A26:3)
- (16) *ʔu-lé-y-γăðm m-ékət ʔθya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘And I do not know from where you have come.’ (A14:76)
- (17) *yăðət ʔékən dəryalle.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Do you know where I have put him?’ (A22:44)

Such constructions, in which the nuclear stress is not on the interrogative constituent, have a different information structure, in that the question

is not focused exclusively on the interrogative constituent but rather on the proposition as a whole. The attachment of the copula enclitic to the interrogative constituent, therefore, cannot be motivated by its being in narrow focus. The interrogative constituent, nevertheless, is what the question primarily requests information about and so is given prominence by the copula, but this is a weaker level of relative prominence than constructions in which the constituent is marked both by the copula and by the nuclear stress.

(b) *Adverbials*

Narrow focus is sometimes given to an anaphoric adverbial by attaching the copula to it and giving it the nuclear stress. As in some of the examples of narrow focus on nominals cited above, the remainder of the clause is not always necessarily a presupposition. The purpose of giving the adverbial a high degree of prominence is to enhance its anaphoric function and bind it closely with what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *muttéthalle púmma gu-púmmat<sup>1</sup> Fàrxo,<sup>1</sup> šuréla myàša<sup>1</sup> ’é-danəla kálye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She put her mouth on the mouth of Farxo and began sucking. At that time they stopped (crying).’ (A25:5)
- (2) *talána yá’ni talána,<sup>1</sup> sab-šmša<sup>1</sup> ’é-gət maxyàwa<sup>1</sup> turáne ’àtxəna wíye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(The word) *talána* means “shady”, since when the sun rose, the mountains became like that (i.e. became shady).’ (B3:2)
- (3) *bábi muttúle táma bəθa.<sup>1</sup> zilleni,<sup>1</sup> təxrúθa dīyi<sup>1</sup> ’u-t-xóni d-o-gòra.<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa xóni táməle barya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My father set up home there. We went, as far as I remember, together with my older brother. This brother of mine was born there’. (B8:10)

In (4) this device of enhancing the force of the anaphoric binding of the adverbial is used in a clause that has the status of a relative clause. The effect is to bind the clause clearly to the preceding head noun:

- (4) *’é-dúkəθət məməðiwəlan,<sup>1</sup> ’ax-xa-bányo zòra,<sup>1</sup> ’átxa gu-’úpra nqira,<sup>1</sup> kállən táməwəx mūməðe t-’əwəx barye<sup>1</sup>—’áwən pišəwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The place in which they used to baptize us, like a small bath, dug into the earth, where all of us who were born were baptized—that has survived.’ (B3:20)

An adverbial that does not bear the nuclear stress may have the copula attached to it, as in (5), where the copula is moved leftwards onto the tem-

poral adverbial in the clause *'é-gēla hū́dúde mùrme'*. This may be regarded as a type of topical prominence, which is a weaker level of prominence than the prominence expressed by both the copula and the nuclear stress. The effect, as is generally the case with clauses with initial topically prominent items, is to signal a boundary in the discourse. Although the initial item is anaphorically bound to what precedes, its status as a communicative starting point is enhanced. This is the case here, in which the clause in question offers a piece of incidental information about the general historical situation, which is not directly connected to the event of the wedding discussed in what precedes. This should be contrasted with the function of the construction occurring earlier in the passage *'è-ga-wewa gwíra xóni Šəmmo'*, in which the adverbial is given a stronger degree of prominence by both copula movement (in this case a past copula) and by nuclear stress. The speaker intends this clause to be bound closely with what precedes, since it relates directly to the wedding.

- (5) *taxránne tla-xlúlát xóni Šəmmo' 'é-gə t-wéwa ríqe nàše' šálye Baderəške, 'áskar t-léwi síqta gu-'Ēn-Nūne, 'è-ga-wewa gwíra xóni Šəmmo. 'əngləznàye' 'áskar-t léwi tàxrən. 'é-gēla hū́dúde mùrme, 'gu-Türki músqe.* 'I remember the wedding of my brother Šəmmo, when people had fled and come down to Baderəške. The Levy army went up to 'Ēn-Nune. It was then that Šəmmo married. I remember the English, the Levy army. At that time the borders were moved, they were moved up to Turkey.' (B9:21)

A similar strategy is exhibited by (6)–(8). Here the adverbs with an enclitic copula but without the nuclear stress are linked correlatively to the following clause rather than being bound to what precedes. In (6) the following clause specifies the content of the adverb. Examples (7) and (8) are adversative constructions. The initial adverbials set up an expectation that is reversed in the second clause:

- (6) *bróni hátxela qadīya' málka hóle múthyalla bráte diyē.* 'My son, the situation is like this. The king has brought his daughter.' (A21:8)  
 (7) *zilele tǎya brátux. 'háðax-ile wiða, 'bás lèle xázyalla.* 'He went to look for your daughter. He acted thus, but did not find her.'  
 (8) *kamá-gayəx tíwe m-ğdàðe, 'har-lán məšya 'axwáðe diyē.* 'However many times we have sat together, I still cannot be like him.' (A25:44)

(c) *Subordinating Conjunctions*

In subordinate clauses opening with the general subordinating conjunction *D* or the conditional particle *ʔn* the copula is attached to the conjunction at the front of the clause.

The subordinating conjunction *D* may serve as the head of a relative clause (1–3) or the subordinative operator of other types of clause, e.g.

- (1) *mqaʷələwən*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔan-zúze kúlla t-in šqiləlla<sup>1</sup> pǎlǎnna pǎlge*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I promise, I’ll divide into halves also all the money that I took.’ (A1:17)
- (2) *la-báʔən ʔayya bráta t-in-múθyəlla t-yáða qá-t tliba díya hóle mǐða*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died.’ (A4:33)
- (3) *t-lá marāwəθəle ʔo-márga<sup>1</sup> t-ít-súsux dǎryəlle tǎma*?<sup>1</sup> ‘Is the meadow in which you have put your horse without owners?’ (A25:60)
- (4) *ʔáx-t-ít-ʔáti šǎtya*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp-ʔaw hədǎx*.<sup>1</sup> ‘As you have drunk, he also (has been treated) in the same way.’ (A26:33)
- (5) *dǎx t-in-muθéθəlla ʔa-béna xəta*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔay-béna ʔána maθyánna*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Just as I brought her before, so this time I shall bring her.’ (A27:30)
- (6) *ʔimə t-íla múθyəlla ʔa-bráta ʔille díye*,<sup>1</sup> *mbǔrxəlla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When they brought that girl to him, they wedded her (to him).’ (A16:6)
- (7) *xá-xəta qímela zǐlela*,<sup>1</sup> *ha-t-íla zǐle ǔmyele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They went (to help) once again, but by the time they had gone, it was put out.’ (A48:4)
- (8) *let-xzáya bíye díye t-íle mǐða*?<sup>1</sup> ‘Don’t you see that he is dead?’ (A17:2)

On many occasions the copula bears the nuclear stress of the intonation group, e.g.

- (9) *ʔu-dǐrele šǎlyele rǎš-d-è-ʔəna*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔə-ʔəna t-íle ʔəθya qamáye rǐša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He went back down to the spring, the spring to which he had come previously.’ (A26:32)
- (10) *ʔó-yōm t-íle plǐta<sup>1</sup> bróne díye mǐθele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The day that he went out, his son died.’ (A4:32)
- (11) *ʔánna dax-t-íla zǐle*,<sup>1</sup> *Mǎmo dǎryəlle gu-zəndána*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When they had gone, they put Mǎmo in jail.’ (A26:74)
- (12) *ʔax-t-íle wǐra*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔíθwa dúkθa ta-t-kaləwa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When he entered, there was space for him to stand.’ (A22:30)

The placement of the copula on the subordinate particle in relative clauses can be related to the use of leftward copula movement to mark topically

prominent items. The referent represented by the *D* particle, which is that of the antecedent noun in the adjacent main clause, is clearly the main topical concern of the relative clause. Although such copula movement to mark topical prominence is an optional strategy in main clauses, it has been formalized as a fixed rule in subordinate relative clauses. It would appear that this was further generalized to other types of subordinate clause opening with the particle *D*.

Examples of leftward movement of the copula in protasis clauses opening with *'ən*:

- (13) *'ən-in 'àna 'əθya gu-šwiθəx,<sup>1</sup> qrégən xaddàməx.* 'If I have come to sleep in you bed, call your servants.' (A26:4)
- (14) *'ən-it 'əθya šúlət qəhbùθə,<sup>1</sup> kəs-bábən Bǎku.* 'If you have come to fornicate, then (lodge) with our father Bǎku.' (A26:26)

The movement of the copula onto the conditional particle *'ən* is likely to have arisen from the fact that the particle was originally followed by *D*, as is still the case in some NENA dialects.

#### 15.4.1.4.2. *Rightward Movement of the Enclitic*

The default position for the nuclear stress of an intonation group is on the last item in the group. When the nuclear stress occurs in this position, therefore, it does not necessarily express 'narrow focus' on this one item but frequently expresses a 'broad focus' which includes the whole predicate of the clause.<sup>9</sup> The copula element may be shifted rightwards onto this word with nuclear stress at the end of the intonation group. This is done, however, only when the nuclear stress is expressing broad focus. The purpose of the construction, therefore, is not to express narrow information focus on the word, with the remainder of the clause presupposed. Rather, the clitic gives the item in question an enhanced prominence within the broad focus of the predicate, due to its importance or unexpectedness. In example (1) a group of men are transformed into sheep, which is presented as a surprising and pivotal development by the placement of the copula on the nouns at the end of the intonation groups. In (2) the rightward shift of the copula highlights the royal clothes, by which the king's son identifies himself, and this is an important turning point in the narrative.

<sup>9</sup> For the distinction between 'narrow focus' and 'broad focus' see Lambrecht (1994: 222).



As in (1), the importance of the event is expressed also by repetition. Similarly (3) puts prominence on the item *jānaza* ‘funeral, death’, which denotes an unexpected and portentous situation:

- (1) *kúlla píše pàřela,<sup>1</sup> ʔrwe.<sup>1</sup> kúlla píše ʔrwele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They all became lambs, sheep. They all became sheep.’ (A34:19)
- (2) *ʔu-qímele lwíša júlla brónat málkele.<sup>1</sup> lwíšele júlle.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-siqele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then he put on the clothes of the son of a king. He put on his clothes and went up.’ (A24:35)
- (3) *hadíya gáwřax píša jānàzele.<sup>1</sup> mára yá mút jānàza?<sup>1</sup>* ‘“Your husband is now dead.” She said “Why is he dead?”’ (A10:13)

A subject argument that is not within the broad focus of the predicate is in some circumstances postposed at the end of the clause after the nuclear stress in the intonation group. This is the case in (4), which highlights the surprising achievement of financial success, but does not draw particular attention to the fact that it was the old woman rather than somebody else who was the agent of this action:

- (4) *wíđta šúlela tóto.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The old woman made (good) business.’ (A4:22)

In some cases the construction appears to be primarily intended to give prominence to the clause as a whole in order to act as a discourse boundary marker rather than to only the item bearing the clitic. Such clauses with enhanced prominence are often used to mark the boundary of a section of discourse. The boundary may be at the beginning or the closure of a section. In (5), for example, the construction opens a section of the narrative that is set in the cave of Leliθa. In (6) the construction occurs at the end of a series of clauses that is presented as a closely-knit sequence of events. This is followed by a section of direct speech, which is introduced by repeating the clause that closed the preceding section. In (7) the construction likewise marks the end of a chain of clauses that culminates in the arrival of the protagonist at a new spatial location:

- (5) *qəm-maqəđlla<sup>1</sup> ʔawóđla tǎřəkkə,<sup>1</sup> qtilàle.<sup>1</sup> wíra gu-gǎppət Leliθele.<sup>1</sup> háтта čámče t-dàwa!<sup>1</sup> čngále t-dàwa!<sup>1</sup> kúbə čáy t-dàwa!<sup>1</sup>* ‘He burnt her (Leliθa), made her a corpse, killed her. He went into the cave of Leliθa. There were even spoons of gold, forks of gold, tea cups of gold!’ (A32:23–24)
- (6) *qímtela<sup>1</sup> šřyalla ʔáqle w-íđe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šálya l-bèθele.<sup>1</sup> šálya bèθele,<sup>1</sup> da-súq sùq<sup>1</sup>...* ‘She got up. He released her feet and hands and he went down to

his home. He went down to his home (and he said) “Go up...”  
(A10:13)

- (7) *bronat-málka šrítele l-a-gōt-hòdax<sup>1</sup> nèra.<sup>1</sup> zíla níxa níxa wíra gu-d-a-màθele.<sup>1</sup>*  
‘The son of the king escaped to the other side of the river. He went  
along slowly and entered the village.’ (A14:58)

Two events that are set up in opposition to each other may be given enhanced distinctness by rightward movement of the copula onto the nuclear stress bearing item. In (8) a mother lion stands back while her cubs go down to a pool to drink water. These are presented as two opposing events that occurred simultaneously. The prominence expressed by the copula on the noun *mìyele* (< *míya-ila*) is not intended to put particular informational prominence specifically on this item of the clause but rather is intended to give an enhanced prominence and so distinctness to the clause as a whole. This distinctness expressed in the syntax is motivated by the desire of the speaker to present the two events in a clear opposition. The same applies to (9), in which the attack on the horse is set up in opposition to the attack on the ox:

- (8) *kliθela-<sup>2</sup>ay.<sup>1</sup> bnóna díya šálye šátye mìyele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She stood. Her young went down and drank water.’ (A33:10)
- (9) *xazéle xa-tàwera,<sup>1</sup> ’Úmmo<sup>1</sup> xazéle tàwera<sup>1</sup> ’u-paràmle réšə táwera.<sup>1</sup>... zíla mátya l-sùsele,<sup>1</sup> ’ap-súsa primalle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He saw an ox. Ummo saw an ox and cut off the head of the ox.... He went and came to the horse. He slaughtered also the horse.’ (A23:30)

#### 15.4.1.5. Resultative Participle Combined with the Past Copula

The resultative participle may be combined with the past copula (for the morphology of this compound form see §8.8.3. and §8.19.4.2.). This construction, which may be designated as the past resultative, denotes a state that existed in the past as the result of a prior event. It is typically used to express the background against which a past event took place, e.g.

- (1) *xa-<sup>2</sup>àgá,<sup>1</sup> ’Úsman šəmme díye,<sup>1</sup> θèle,<sup>1</sup> ’árxa píšle kas-Xošəba margáya.<sup>1</sup> ’áwewa šámýewa bud-díye<sup>1</sup> ’iθwale ’árwe ràbe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘An agha, whose name was Usman, came and became the guest of Khoshaba from Marga. He had heard concerning him that he had many small cattle.’ (C7:1)
- (2) *baxt-xáli šítəwalle bəθa.<sup>1</sup> ’u-θéla qátu wírra tàma.<sup>1</sup> ’u-dəryáli šəndüxta,<sup>1</sup> qítla gu-nepùxta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The wife of my uncle had plastered a room. A

cat came and entered. I threw a stone, but it hit some date syrup.’  
(A23:36)

- (3) *máre ha-bròni,<sup>1</sup> Mămo,<sup>1</sup> mà-lux<sup>1</sup> tíwət xaššána?<sup>2</sup> máre bábi hál<sup>1</sup> ’u-qəššət hətʃəla.<sup>1</sup>*  
*máre ʔdlələ<sup>1</sup> xa-bráta θíθəwa dmíxta kəslí.<sup>1</sup> ’u-qímli qedámta,<sup>1</sup> la-xəzyáli.<sup>1</sup>*  
‘He said “Ah, my son, Mămo, why are you sitting (looking so) sad?”  
He said “Father, the situation is like this”. He said “Last night a  
girl came and slept with me. I got up in the morning and did not  
find her.”’ (A26:10–11)
- (4) *xá-yoma plítəwa šəda.<sup>1</sup> zíle xa-dúkθa,<sup>1</sup> málka dmíxəle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘One day they  
had gone out hunting. They went to a place and the king fell asleep.’  
(A11:4)

Like the present resultative construction, the past resultative does not denote a specific event, but rather the existence of a state resulting from some event that took place at some unspecified time in the past. This may have been one single event taking place at one particular time or a series of iterative events. If it is one specific event, in principle it could have been presented as an event in a narrative sequence in a narrative verbal form such as *qtílle* or *qəm-qatəl*. The speaker, however, chooses to disjoin the events and background the first event by presenting its resultant state rather than the event itself, and thereby give more prominence to the temporally sequential foregrounded event that is expressed by the narrative verbal form. In (2) the speaker is explaining why his uncle had thrown him out of the house. This was because of an incident in which a cat entered a newly plastered room. The plastering of the room was not in itself the crucial event that brought about his expulsion. In (3) the reason Mămo is sad is not because a girl came to him in the night, but rather because he could not find her in the morning. As can be seen, in most cases it is appropriate to translate the past resultative with the English pluperfect, which expresses backgrounding. In some cases, however, this is not the case, as in (3), where it is not idiomatic due to the presence of a temporal adverbial.

When the verb has telic actionality, the resultative participle in the construction normally has an adjectival sense, e.g.

- (5) *ʔíθwa<sup>1</sup> xa-rəbbən.<sup>1</sup> tíwəwa gu-xa-gəppíθa.<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-náša swaríyya,<sup>1</sup> rakáwa.<sup>1</sup>*  
‘There was once a monk. He was dwelling in a small cave. A horse-  
man, a rider came.’ (A15:1)

The disjunction between the past resultative form and the foreground verb may be adversative in nature, especially when the past resultative form is negated, e.g.

- (6) *xu-lanwa-mírállux maxzótli xǎžina.<sup>1</sup> muxzélux ʔáwwa xǎžina-állí.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Indeed I had not asked you to show me a treasure, but you showed this treasure to me.’ (A14:23)

Since the construction expresses a background state rather than an event in a sequence, it may be placed after the clause expressing the event that is temporally posterior to it, e.g.

- (7) *ʔup-ʔáyya šéta xzéli šòpa.<sup>1</sup> ʔanna xamšassór-šonne šòpa lánwa xəžya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Also this year I saw a stove. I had not seen a stove for fifteen years.’ (B15:23)

In the foregoing examples, the past tense verbal forms in the foreground clause(s) are either *qtille* or *qəm-qatəl*. These may express a recent event with an endpoint that coincides with the present moment, which are translated idiomatically with an English perfect of recent past, e.g.

- (8) *gáwri θèle.<sup>1</sup> zílewa be-šwàwe.<sup>1</sup> xzi-θèle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My husband has come back. He had gone to our neighbours’ house. Look he has come back.’ (A22:32)

In narratives the foreground event may be expressed by the compound *qtilele* form, which in such contexts is used with the same function as *qtille* and *qəm-qatəl* to denote an event rather than a resultant state (§15.4.1.3.), e.g.

- (9) *ʔáwwa síqa-wewa l-ṭura<sup>1</sup> l-šèda.<sup>1</sup> ʔθyele Tǎtar-i Slemán-i Səndi<sup>1</sup> mən-ʔĪrn.<sup>1</sup>* *ʔθyele gu-ṭura<sup>1</sup> xəžyele<sup>1</sup> plíšela m-gǎðe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He had gone up into the mountains to hunt. Tǎtar-i Sleman-i Səndi came from Iran. He came into the mountains, found him and they fought together.’ (A28:1)
- (10) *qímela,<sup>1</sup> ʔàw zílewa l-pəlxàna,<sup>1</sup> zrəya.<sup>1</sup> qímela múttəlla gu-ʔatnàbəl.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-wajj-úwa díya kúlla,<sup>1</sup> ʔe-ʔótəx díya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They set off, he had gone to work, to cultivate (his field). They put her in a car, with all her effects, (the contents) of her room.’ (A21:5)

- (11) *gu-d-é šlεθèy<sup>1</sup> qátu wirtela<sup>1</sup> ’áy šwíqtəlwə májma tàma.<sup>1</sup> qátu wirtela<sup>1</sup> npí-  
lta gu-d-án panjàne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘While they were going down, a cat came in. She (the servant) had left a tray there. A cat came in, fell into the glasses.’ (A4:53)

The construction is sometimes used in narratives in combination with a *qaʔəl* form that expresses a perfective historical present, e.g.

- (12) *’u-’áwowa jáket d-o-Kārim-addin<sup>1</sup> píštəwə wáðar;<sup>1</sup> ’áp-’ay tɛšila dəmma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The jacket of Karimaddin had remained outside. They daubed it in blood.’ (A14:20)

The past resultative may also be used in combination with a compound *qtələle* form that functions as a present resultative (present perfect). In such cases the past resultative expresses the background state against which the event of the present resultative took place. As discussed in §15.4.1.2., the present resultative does not primarily assert this event, but rather asserts the resultant state with the event itself being an implicature. In these contexts it is not appropriate to translate the past resultative into English by a past perfect, e.g.

- (13) *’ána muttəθənwa yománə šəbθa<sup>1</sup> ’u-muttəθənwa yománət yàrxə.<sup>1</sup> ’áti xa-béta  
hot-šqíləlla mən-šəbθa<sup>1</sup> píše ’əštə-yome.<sup>1</sup> ’u-xa-ləxma hot-šqíləlle mən-yàrxə,<sup>1</sup>  
hóla píše ’əsri-w-’əččə-yome.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I put (in the basket the number of) the days of the week and I put (the number of) the days of the month. You have taken an egg from the week and they have become six days. You have taken a loaf of bread from the month, and they have become twenty-nine days.’ (A17:15)

The construction may be used in combination with a form expressing habitual action in the past. Here it must be interpreted as having a distributive sense, denoting the background state of each of the set of actions denoted by the habitual verb, e.g.

- (14) *’áni bədráθa tàma náše ’i-raqðíwa.<sup>1</sup> sab-wíðəlkwəla ’ára dāšta<sup>1</sup> ’u-mašíwa  
náše doqíwa t!à<sup>1</sup> ’arbà-reze xá-xə-gaye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The people would dance on those threshing floors. This was because they had made the ground level and the people could form three or four rows at once.’ (B15:78–79)

As is the case with the present copula in the present resultative construction, the past copula is moved in certain circumstances.

In the text corpus examples are found of the leftward movement of the past copula to a gradable quantifier in (15), and to an interrogative constituent (16):

- (15) *ʔiθwale xa-kàrma.<sup>1</sup> zríyənwale b-iθàθi<sup>1</sup> ʔu-rábənwə kǎxa bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> ha-t-qa-mamṭánna túnte díye.<sup>1</sup> ʔimət mǐéla túnte díye,<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-nàša,<sup>1</sup> qəm-šaqaḷla ʔε-túnte díye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He had an orchard. (He said) “I had cultivated it with my hands and had very greatly toiled in it in order to make it produce its fruit. When its fruit became ripe, a man came and took its fruit.”’ (A17:32–33)
- (16) *ʔina ʔána l-mòdinwa ʔálya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Why had I gone down?’ (A26:35)

Note that in (15) the nuclear stress remains at the end of the intonation group, marking a broad focus of the whole predicate. The effect of the copula movement onto the quantifier (*rábənwə*) is to give this quantifier particular prominence within this broad focus for the sake of intensifying it.

In (17) the copula is attached to the object *xəṭṭa* ‘plan’ also without the nuclear stress. In this case the function of the copula is to express topical rather than focal prominence. The item has forward pointing topical prominence in that it is linked to the following complement clause:

- (17) *xəṭṭa-wewa mūtta<sup>1</sup> yáni tré qəqwáne b-xà-kepa maxéwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He had set a plan to kill two birds with one stone.’ (A8:35)

The leftward movement of the copula is also attested in relative and other subordinate clauses introduced by the particle *D*, e.g.

- (18) *xá-bena ʔan-tre-maláxe t-wéwa ʔəθye bíya,<sup>1</sup> t-wéwa mutəpqaḷla b-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> θéla pyáða táma tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then, those two angels who had brought her, who had caused them to meet each other, came passing by there.’ (A4:44)
- (19) *hat-šmǐtle ʔε-sála t-wéwa zqivəlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Until the basket that he had woven shattered.’ (A20:4)
- (20) *ʔəθyεle ʔo-gàwra díya,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-wéwa mùθyalla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Her husband, who had brought her, came back.’ (A12:53)

- (21) *ḡṡyεle<sup>1</sup> wíðεle ḡa-dúkθa nišànqa,<sup>1</sup> ḡa-dúkθa t-wéwa ḡo-dídwa wíra tàma.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘He came and made a sign in that place, the place where the fly had entered.’ (A11:10)
- (22) *déri míya rēše<sup>1</sup> ḡax-t-wéwa Mar-Yuhánna dórya miya<sup>1</sup> b-réšə Mšixa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘They put water over him, as Saint John had put water on the head of Christ.’ (B6:9)
- (23) *móre béθi štimla dábba.<sup>1</sup> ṡlá-bnone xilili,<sup>1</sup> báxta xiláli,<sup>1</sup> xátər t-ínwa mkoná-dralla.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘The bear has ruined my house. I have eaten the three children, I have eaten the wife, all because I had rolled him (down the hill).’ (A20:12)

Rightward movement of the past copula is attested in (24). The purpose of this construction is to give particular prominence to the predicate as a whole. The action of the hound is pivotal, in that it prevents the man performing his day’s work:

- (24) *tullákθa síqta š-xà-ḡisarəwa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘The hound had gone up onto a rock.’ (A30:8)

#### 15.4.1.6. Resultative Participle Combined with the Verb *hwy*

##### 15.4.1.6.1. *y-awe* *qṡila*

This construction is used to express a state resulting from a prior action that is of habitual occurrence. It is frequently found in the descriptive text B5. In this text the speaker generally uses it to elaborate on a habitual situation that has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse, e.g.

- (1) *y-asqíwa malwəšiwale jull-díye<sup>1</sup> ḡu-y-atwíwa.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa wíðe xa-rámša yòma.<sup>1</sup>*  
*y-áwa wíðe dúxwa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘They would come up (from the river) and dress him in his clothes. Then they would sit down. They would have made the evening meal during the day. They would have made *dúxwa*’. (B5:26–27)
- (2) *bína qémi qedámta nàše<sup>1</sup> ḡu-jə̀mi.<sup>1</sup> ... m-maθwáθa y-áwa ḡəṡye<sup>1</sup> maθwáθa kúlla*  
*y-áwa lwíše júlle šállá,<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mxúmlə,<sup>1</sup> kusyáθa,<sup>1</sup> ḡu-mútte párrə gu-rə̀ša.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘The people get up the next morning and gather together. ... They have come from the villages, from the villages. All have put on the *šalla*. They have dressed up, with hats, in which they have put feathers.’ (B5:46–47)

In (1) the *ḡi-qatəlwa/qatəlwa* verbs in the first half of the passage express habitual actions in the past that occurred in temporal sequence. In (2) *qatəl*

forms are used to express sequential habitual actions in the present. In the second half of the passages the *y-awe qtila* forms express states resulting from previous events that habitually exist when the aforementioned habitual actions take place. They are used to elaborate on the scene that has been evoked. By virtue of being states they must be interpreted as attendant circumstances rather than dynamic events that are temporally sequential to what precedes. It should be noted that the speaker uses the present auxiliary *y-awe* even when the preceding verbs are past tense forms, as in (1). In such cases it takes the past tense reference of the preceding verbal forms as its deictic centre. This reflects the dependency of the construction on the preceding discourse. Further examples:

- (3) *béna məθéwa məxòlta.*<sup>1</sup> *məxòlta y-áwa mbúšle qawúrma-w rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-kəftàne.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Then they would bring the food. As for the food, they would have cooked *qawurma*, rice, meat-balls.’ (B5:14–15)
- (4) *ʔu-deříwa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-óriwa mádre gu-ʔúmra,*<sup>1</sup> *šeríwa rázət qurbàna.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-hál qedàmta*<sup>1</sup>—*béna gu-d-ε-dàna*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa y-áwe múθya bèta mánne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then they returned, went back into the church and began the communion mass. The next day—at that time everybody would have brought an egg with him.’ (B5:58)
- (5) *ʔé-ga qèse*<sup>1</sup> *mattíwa qésa y-atwíwa réše diye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-xoríyáθa y-amrǎxxa qèse,*<sup>1</sup> *y-atwíwa rēš-diye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-áwa mríze kúlla məxòlta,*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa mútta gotə-gđàðe.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘On this occasion they would put out wood and sit down on it. They would sit down on wood of poplar trees, as we called them. They would have lined up all the food, each (item) placed beside the other.’ (B5:67)
- (6) *yá’ni maxəðríla ʔa-k’ə̀lò*<sup>1</sup> *qurbət bèθa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áθi máti l-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *m-bár máti l-bèθa*<sup>1</sup>—*qam-dàna*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mrúzge xá ʔilàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘That is, they take the bride around towards her house and come to her house. After they arrive at the house—beforehand they have prepared a tree.’ (B5:38)

The resultative participle of telic intransitive verbs may have a verbal or adjectival interpretation, as is the case with *tíwe* in (7) and *dmíxa* in (8):

- (7) *fa-kul-náše kút-xa məθéwa xəđáye diye ʔu-mattíwa tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-áwa tíwe náše*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mrúzge dūka.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody used to bring his own lunch and set it out there. People would have sat down / would be sitting there and would have prepared space (for the food).’ (B5:66)
- (8) *béna Rustámo ʔé-gət dàməx*<sup>1</sup> *ʔlaθà yomáθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔlaθá leləwáθa y-áwe dmíxa le-ràyyəš.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now, when Rustam slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake.’ (A29:19)



The resultative participle of a transitive verb in the *y-awe qtila* form may be used as a passive predicative adjective, e.g.

- (9) *ʔiθwa tanūra,<sup>1</sup> ʔax t-y-àmṛax,<sup>1</sup> hár t-lá d-ò-mændi y-áwe mtúrṣa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was an oven, as we say, which used to be made specially for this.’ (B5:17)
- (10) *fa-ʔaw qunjyáθe diye<sup>1</sup> d-áy mandòrta<sup>1</sup> y-áwa bəzye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The corners of the roller are bored (with holes).’ (B5:193)

#### 15.4.1.6.2. *y-awewa qtila*

The examples of this construction that are attested in the text corpus mostly contain a resultative participle that functions as a predicative adjective. The construction expresses a state that habitually existed in the past. It often presents the attendant circumstances or background of a habitual event that is expressed by a *ʔi-qatəl/qatəl* form, e.g.

- (1) *ʔi-bašálwa y-awéxwa tíwe mbarxòše,<sup>1</sup> ʔúmna šanne!<sup>1</sup>* ‘It would cook (while) we would be sitting stirring it, for a hundred years!’ (B10:12)
- (2) *qayəmwa<sup>1</sup> qáša y-awéwa zína qamàye.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔó-t šamáše báθre bəθre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(When) the resurrection was celebrated (literally: He arose), the priest would be standing at the front and the deacons behind him.’ (B5:55)
- (3) *képa meθéwa m-gu-ṭura.<sup>1</sup> y-ažíwa l-ṭura<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa tšya ʔaw-képa<sup>1</sup> mattíwa darmàna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would bring the stone from the mountains. They would go to the mountains. The stone used to be hidden, so they would plant gunpowder.’ (B5:179)

It expresses a habitual property of the subject referent rather than an event and so does not express sequentiality. This is shown in (4), where the form *y-oyáwa dmixta* expresses a habitual property that is not presented as sequential to that of eating, whereas the series of *qatəlwa* forms *y-axlàwa-w<sup>1</sup> damxàwa<sup>1</sup>* may be interpreted as denoting sequential events:

- (4) *ʔiθwale xa-bràta.<sup>1</sup> gu-béθa har-y-oyáwa dmixta<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xàla,<sup>1</sup> dmixta-w xàla.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwala xa-qaràwət gòrta.<sup>1</sup> meθíwala xadamyáθa díya ʔixàla,<sup>1</sup> y-axlàwa-w<sup>1</sup> damxàwa<sup>1</sup>* ‘He had a daughter. She would always be asleep and be eating in the house, asleep and eating. She had a big bed. Her servants would bring her food, she would eat then go to sleep.’ (A21:1)

## 15.4.1.6.3. hawe q̄t̄ila

This form is attested only sporadically in the text corpus. In (1) it is found in a construction with the word *balki* ‘perhaps’, in (2) it occurs in a relative clause with a generic antecedent and in (3) in a purpose clause:

- (1) *bálki háwe ʔáθya l-bεθ-q̄ðra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps he has gone to the cemetery.’ (A25:91)
- (2) *mrázgi kúlla mexòlta,<sup>1</sup> máθálan xètte,<sup>1</sup> rəzza,<sup>1</sup> pràge,<sup>1</sup> ššme,<sup>1</sup> kúlla ʔan-t-áwa zəryàlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the same way they prepare all the food, for example wheat, rice, millet, sesame, everything that they have sown.’ (B5:114)
- (3) *bar-hàdax,<sup>1</sup> ɣ-aθéwa mdarèwale<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-hawa píše šəxte.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain.’ (B5:86)

## 15.4.1.6.4. hawewa q̄t̄ila

This construction is attested mainly in conditional sentences. It may denote a state resulting from a single perfective event, in which case it has a counterfactual sense (1–2). It is also used in factual conditions to denote a habitual state resulting from habitual, iterative events (3):

- (1) *ʔan-ʔána hawéwə q̄t̄iləlla ʔáyaħa ʔaqəwə,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwə xúwwe t-awéwə q̄t̄ila t̄la-bròni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son.’ (A9:6)
- (2) *ʔan-hawéwəwə dəryàlli xáčča xéna biš-hódax biš-ʔamòqta,<sup>1</sup> táma mpul̄t̄əlléxu mən-d-àнна<sup>1</sup> pazəsór b-ʔlyàθa,<sup>1</sup> hátxa b-qanəne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you had thrown me a little further along, (where it is) deeper, I would have brought out for you from there some of those big sheep with fat tails and horns (big) like this.’ (A7:22)
- (3) *xéna ʔan-hawéwə bəsrə,<sup>1</sup> ʔan-háwəwəwə prime ʔəwə,<sup>1</sup> dərəwəwə básra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If there was meat, if we had slaughtered sheep, we would serve meat.’ (B10:19)

It is also used in counterfactual contexts outside of conditional constructions, e.g.

- (4) *ʔána gǎrəg hawéwəwə spəy zúze šq̄ila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I should have got a good sum of money.’ (B1:19)
- (5) *t-lá-hawəwəwə mbúqrəlləxu biš-spəy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It would have been better for me not to have asked you.’ (A26:27)

It is attested in deontic constructions expressing an unfulfilled wish, which is related to its function in counterfactual conditions, e.g.

- (6) *káwa xoš-t-awéwa piša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He should have remained alive.’ (A7:20)

#### 15.4.1.6.5. *t-awe qtila* (*future*)

In the text corpus there are some examples of the future form of *t-awe* (< *bəd-hawe*) combined with the resultative participle of intransitive telic verbs. The function of such constructions is to express an imperfective future, denoting a continuous state, e.g.

- (1) *hát ’álaha yállu rásqi b-áyya kàwe,*<sup>1</sup> *’àxxa t-áwən dmíxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Until God gives me my sustenance through this window, I shall sleep here.’ (A10:5)
- (2) *’aští-šənne xéne t-óya rəs-d-é-qora tūwa bxàya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She will sit for another sixty years weeping over that grave.’ (A4:45)

#### 15.4.1.6.6. *t-awewa qtila*

This is attested in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals denoting a hypothetical perfective event in the past, e.g.

- (1) *’o-šəndóxa ’ən-hawewa qíða býyi t-awəšwa qtiləlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If that rock had hit me, you would have killed me.’ (A1:25)

#### 15.4.1.6.7. *wele qtila*

The combination of the resultative participle with the *qtille* form of *hwy* is found only sporadically. It is attested in (1), where the speaker appears to be using it to give some degree of temporal limitation to the resultant state of a past action, i.e. it was the case that they made a fence, but now they want to make something else:

- (1) *hadiya ’ε-dükθa wéla wíðalla xa-šúra,*<sup>1</sup> *’áxčǝ býyi ’odila xa-šúra biš-gora.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now as for that place, they made a fence for it, but they want to make a bigger fence for it.’ (B3:22)

#### 15.4.1.7. *The Resultative Participle of the Verb hwy*

The resultative construction may contain the resultative participle of the verb *hwy*. Various functions of this can be distinguished.

## (i) 'to become'

When used with an ascriptive or identificatory predicate, it has an ingressive sense of 'becoming', expressing a present resultative state, e.g.

- (1) *let-ʔáti wíya xoš-náša t-it-múθyalla ʔánná zùze.<sup>1</sup> záwna wíyele t-slàma.<sup>1</sup>* 'You have not become a good man and brought these coins. The time has become one of peace.' (A1:26)
- (2) *bálki qam-dána háwa wíye xázme m-gǝǝðe.<sup>1</sup>* 'Perhaps beforehand they have become relatives of one another.' (B5:5)
- (3) *ʔalána yáʔni ʔalána,<sup>1</sup> sab-šámša ʔé-gət maxyàwa<sup>1</sup> ʔuráne ʔàtxena wíye.<sup>1</sup>* '(The word) *ʔalána* means 'shady', since when the sun would strike the mountains, they became like that.' (B3:2)

Note that in (3) the resultative form is used in an apodosis of a temporal sentence that contains a habitual verb in the first clause (*maxyàwa*). The resultative must have a distributive sense, i.e. on each occasion when the sun struck the mountains, they became like that. Furthermore, since the resultative expresses a state, it cannot be interpreted as a sequential event but rather as an temporally overlapping situation (literally: 'At the time when the sun struck the mountains, they have become like that').

(ii) *Existential Function*

The form may be used to express the coming into existence of the subject. When the subject is inanimate, the verb has the sense of 'happening', e.g.

- (1) *ʔáp-ʔayya p-aqánna ʔəllux,<sup>1</sup> sab-wítəla b-réši ʔup-àyya.<sup>1</sup>* 'I shall tell you also about this, since this also happened to me.' (B15:85)
- (2) *rába gáye wítəla ʔánná məndiyáne.<sup>1</sup>* 'Many times such things happened.' (B5:163)
- (3) *hadíya mtánəx xa-qəšəšət<sup>1</sup> t-ila wíta gu-Ṭiyàre<sup>1</sup> qám-plaša qamàyya.<sup>1</sup>* 'Now we'll tell a story that happened in Ṭiyare before the First World War.' (B17:1)
- (4) *ʔé-ga<sup>1</sup> ʔánná məndiyáne wiyela.<sup>1</sup>* 'Those things happened at that time.' (A19:9)

In (1) and (2) the events in question took place at a time that is remote from the present, but they are presented from the perspective of the speaker at the present moment. They can be interpreted as 'experiential perfects', i.e. events that are part of the speaker's life experience or at

least events that he has heard about in his life. Examples (3) and (4) are narrative uses of the resultative construction that are equivalent in function to the *qtille* form (§15.4.1.3.).

When the subject of the verb is animate, it has the sense of ‘to be born’, e.g.

- (5) *šetā-tálləθ wítela<sup>1</sup> Səttiye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In the third year Səttiye was born.’ (A25:25)
- (6) *ʾimə t-íla wíta Səttiye,<sup>1</sup> ʾáy biš-xámθəla m-kùlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘When Səttiye was born, she was the most beautiful of all.’ (A25:26)
- (7) *b-ay-dána lànwa wíða.<sup>1</sup>* ‘At that time I was not born.’ (B10:45)

(iii) *Temporal Expressions*

In narratives, the construction sometimes takes a nominal denoting a period of time as its subject in clauses that set the temporal frame for what follows. The subject nominals are placed after the verbal form, e.g.

- (1) *wíyele yómət tlləθa<sup>1</sup> ʾáwwa fñrele<sup>1</sup> ʾu-plìtele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(When) the third day came, he had breakfast and went out.’ (A22:24)
- (2) *wítela qədámta,<sup>1</sup> jánne ʾəθyela,<sup>1</sup> šqiləlla Žíne<sup>1</sup> nùbləlla Jazíra Bóta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In the morning, the jinn came and took Zine, took her away to Jazira Bota.’ (A26:8)
- (3) *wítela qədámta sáʾət ʾárpa b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> rìšele<sup>1</sup> málka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(When) the morning came, four o’clock in the morning, the king woke up.’ (A17:27)
- (4) *wítela dánət mabròye,<sup>1</sup> tərweθna mubrèla<sup>1</sup> hàr ʾo-yóma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(When) the time of giving birth came, they both gave birth on the same day.’ (A25:4)
- (5) *wítela dána,<sup>1</sup> mišela ʾárbe,<sup>1</sup> páre mən-yammaθèy,<sup>1</sup> máre...<sup>1</sup>* ‘(When) the season came and the sheep sucked, the lambs sucked from their mothers, he said...’ (A25:26)

As has been discussed in §15.4.1.3., the resultative form can be used in narrative with the function of a preterite rather than a present perfect. Judging by cases such as (4) above, however, where the following clause is in the *qtille* form, it would appear that the resultative forms *wíyele* and *wítela* here have their basic function of expressing a resultant state rather than an event, i.e. the state against the background of which the event described in what follows took place. In (1)–(5) the verbs can be interpreted as existential forms of *hwy*, corresponding to the previous category (‘the third day happened’). The gender agreement between the initial verb

form and the following temporal noun demonstrates that the noun is the grammatical subject.

Various examples are attested that exhibit a development of the aforementioned construction, whereby the resultative of the verb *hwey* is used before an adverbial prepositional phrase or an adverbial clause, which cannot function as the grammatical subject. In such cases the verb has a 3fs. form, which must be an impersonal subject, with the adverbial functioning as the predicate, e.g.

- (6) *wítela b-lèle<sup>1</sup> maláxa mǔṛásle qa-ràbbən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the night the angel woke the monk.’ (A15:11)
- (7) *wítela b-lèle<sup>1</sup> xúwwe θèle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the night the snake came.’ (A24:40)
- (8) *xa-béna wítela hádax b-lèle<sup>1</sup> máxyele taq-taq-táq l-tàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then, at night, there was a knock at the door.’ (A23:26)
- (9) *wítela bar-<sup>2</sup>o-náša sáwa šályele mtámòzəlla çənnəkéra diya,*<sup>1</sup> *’áp-<sup>2</sup>aw šályele mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After that old man went down to clean around it, he also went down to help the old man.’ (A14:77)

In (10) the two constructions are combined, in that it contains both a prepositional phrase and a nominal without a preposition:

- (10) *wítela b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> dána t-dmàxa,<sup>1</sup> xilela m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> wítela dána t-dmàxa,<sup>1</sup> xəmmərθa,<sup>1</sup> xəmmərθə šənθa<sup>1</sup> šqiltəlla,<sup>1</sup> muttétəlla rəš-šádrət xmáθa diya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘At night, the time of sleep, they ate something. At the time of sleep, she (Leliθa) took a bead, a bead of sleep, and put it on the chest of her mother-in-law.’ (A19:3)

In the discourse structure of narratives, constructions with initial adverbials discussed in this section are disjunctive in function and mark the onset of new episode.

(iv) *Combined with the Existential Particle*

When the verb has an existential function, the copula is sometimes replaced by the existential particle (*?iθ, liθ*), e.g.

- (1) *liθ wíya çù-m̀ndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nothing has happened.’ (A29:22)
- (2) *liθ hátxa m̀ndi wíya gu-m̀đita.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nothing like that has happened in the town.’ (A22:2)

Such constructions may refer to a situation that arises through a series of recurrent events, e.g.

- (3) *ʔiθwa rába xlulàneʔ wíye gu-màθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Many weddings took place in the village.’ (B15:73)

#### 15.4.2. *The Infinitive Combined with the Verb ‘to be’*

##### 15.4.2.1. *General Remarks*

The infinitive may be combined with the various copulas and inflections of the verb *hwey* to form a compound verbal form.

This construction originated historically as a locative predication, with the locative preposition *b-* ‘in’ attached to the infinitive. In some NENA dialects this preposition is still regularly used with the infinitive in the construction, e.g. C. Urmi *b-graşələ* ‘he is pulling’, but in C. Barwar the preposition is normally elided and is only heard sporadically. Examples attested in the text corpus include:

- (1) *hóle b-θáya ʔaxəlləxu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is coming to eat you.’ (A13:14)  
 (2) *ʔèreʔ hóla b-θáya l-qàle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The birds are coming at (the sound of) his voice.’ (A25:43)  
 (3) *ʔu-ʔárpəʔ derúbəʔ hóla b-nθàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The leaves of the wood are falling.’ (A25:46)  
 (4) *b-xyára b-zeðàye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He looks at the pitta breads.’ (A30:11)  
 (5) *b-txárm* ‘I remember’ (B15:84)

The *b-* is regularly used only in the fixed phrase *b-xšawən* ‘I think’.

##### 15.4.2.2. *Progressive Function*

The infinitive may be combined with the deictic copula, the basic copula or the negative copula. When the basic copula is used, this is in its enclitic form. As has been shown in §15.3.1–§15.3.2., the enclitic basic copula and the deictic copula are used with predicates expressing either contingent or permanent properties but the independent basic copula is used only with predicates expressing permanent properties that, typically, are intrinsic to the nature of the subject referent and have not been acquired. As will be shown below, the infinitive compound construction expresses a transient activity that is not a permanent property of the subject and so it is in principle not appropriate to use the independent copula in the construction.

The basic function of the infinitive compound construction is to express progressive aspect, i.e. it denotes an activity that is taking place at the present moment but is not necessarily a permanent, habitual property of the subject of the verb.

In positive clauses the deictic or enclitic copula may be used with the infinitive. The copula may also be omitted altogether. In principle these three different constructions are used by the speaker to endow the clause with varying degrees of communicative salience. This salience scale may be represented as follows, in which the construction with the deictic copula is highest in salience and the form with no copula is lowest:

*hole q̄tala* > *qtalele* > *qtala*

In negative clauses only two degrees of communicative salience are expressed, one with the negative copula and one with the negative particle *la* alone:

*lele q̄tala* > *la q̄tala*

The degree of salience depends on various factors. One consideration is the factivity of the proposition. Clauses expressing assertive, factive propositions are high in communicative salience in that the speaker is committed to its factuality. Non-factive propositions do not involve such commitment and are low in communicative salience. This is reflected by the fact that the deictic copula is normally used with the infinitive in conversation when the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to an activity that exists in the current speech situation, e.g. *hole θaya* 'He is coming'. In interrogative clauses, on the other hand, the enclitic copula is used, e.g. *θayele?* 'Is he coming?' In negative main clauses there is no formal distinction between assertive and interrogative propositions: *lele θaya* 'He is not coming', *lele θaya?* 'Is he not coming?' Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *hóla šláya rāš-ʔəna.*<sup>1</sup> 'She is going down to the spring.' (A26:40)
- (2) *hon-wáða ʔixàla.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am making food.' (A21:27)
- (3) *hóla d̄wáqa nàše.*<sup>1</sup> 'They are seizing people.' (A25:80)
- (4) *ʔáti hot-wáða xákma šuláne<sup>1</sup> báxta mən-gáwra hot-šqàlalla<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hot-baróxalla l-gànux.*<sup>1</sup> 'You are doing (bad) things, you are taking a woman from her husband and wedding her to yourself.' (A25:81)
- (5) *dúnye hóla ràya.*<sup>1</sup> 'It is raining.' (A26:46)
- (6) *táyyat xônax.*<sup>21</sup> 'Are you searching for your brother?' (A8:64)
- (7) *hár-dwaqat rəqqi.*<sup>21</sup> 'Are you still insisting?' (A40:4)



- (8) *ʔu-ʔdyo ʔati lat-wáða b-xàbri.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Today you are not doing as I said (you should).’ (A22:43)
- (9) *lat-mtaxmóne mən-nàše?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Are you not thinking of the people?’ (A25:60)

Another factor that contributes to communicative salience is the actionality of the verb. Verbs that have a non-dynamic actionality, which express mental processes rather than perceptible activities, exhibit a greater tendency to have the enclitic copula when being used with progressive aspect than do verbs with a dynamic actionality, with which the deictic copula is used to a greater degree, e.g.

- (10) *b-xšáwən gáwri θèle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I think my husband has returned.’ (A39:18)
- (11) *ʔana-txárən y-aθéwa xo-túθa çüwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I remember they would come (and sit) under the smooth mulberry tree.’ (B5:203)
- (12) *ʔana xzáyən ʔan-maymúne...hóla xáləlla q̄tələlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I see that they are eating and killing the monkeys.’ (A14:52)
- (13) *zđələx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We are afraid.’ (A14:40)
- (14) *pšámən rába.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am very sorry.’ (A1:11)
- (15) *ʔana mštawhórən m-bnòni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am proud of my children.’

The degree of communicative salience also depends on the nature of the grammatical subject. In some expressions with impersonal subjects the infinitive is used without a copula. This applies to the verb *m-byñ* ‘to appear’, e.g.

- (16) *mabyóne ʔúra gu-čöl ramànele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It seems it is a high mountain in the countryside.’ (A8:70)
- (17) *mabyóne ʔiθ-xa-məndi gu-qššət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It appears that there is something in the story.’ (A4:18)

Note also the regular omission of the copula on the infinitive in meteorological expressions such as *dunye raya* ‘It is raining’ or *raya talga* ‘It is snowing. The grammatical subject *dunye* (literally: ‘the world’) refers to the general situation.

For some of the verbs expressing mental processes the *qatəl* form is often used to express the progressive aspect rather than the infinitive construction. This applies to the verbs *by* ‘to want’, *yð* ‘to know’, *zđ/zdl* ‘to fear’, *šbr* ‘to dare’, *mšy / ʔmš* ‘to be able’ and *xzy* ‘to see’ (§15.1.1.4.). The infinitive construction is used in some circumstances to express the

progressive, but its distribution differs with each verb. It is rarely used at all with *by* ‘to want, to like’. With *zāp* ‘to fear’ and *xzy* ‘to see’ it is used interchangeably with the *qatəl* form. With the verbs *yḏ*, and *mšy* there is a tendency to use it with negated forms of the verb rather than positive forms. Examples from the text corpus:

- (18) *hon-bāyallux, t-amrānnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I like you so I shall tell you.’ (A14:78)  
 (19) *lēla bāyalle.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Doesn’t she want it?’ (A30:32)  
 (20) *’āna ’allux-in zdā’a.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am afraid for you.’ (B9:27)  
 (21) *len-zdā’a ’ap-dāndākkθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am not afraid, even a little.’ (B9:17)  
 (22) *xzāyət ’ānāha naše-t-ila rāqa bāθri.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Do you see those people who are running after me?’ (A7:17)  
 (23) *lēt-xzāya biye diye t-ile miθa.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Don’t you see that he is dead?’ (A17:2)  
 (24) *lān-ḏa’a lēkela zīlta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not know where she has gone.’ (A26:11)  
 (25) *lāt-ḏa’a ’o-’ēnile.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Do you not know who that is?’ (B15:81)  
 (26) *lān-mšaya jwāja.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I cannot move.’ (A24:2)  
 (27) *lān-mšaya mattānna b-’iḏi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I cannot put it on my hand.’ (A26:21)

A further factor that affects the communicative salience of the infinitive construction is its information status. This is reflected in the tendency for the enclitic copula rather than the deictic copula to be used when the verbal form is low in information value and the main information focus is on its complement. This is seen in (28) in which the verb *xḏārən* ‘I am going around, I am searching’ in the answer to the question is presupposed to be known to the hearer, the main point of the utterance being the complement ‘after my sustenance’, which indicates the purpose of the bear’s action:

- (28) *’o-tēla mōre hā lēkət zāla, ya-gāni dābba.*<sup>21</sup> *b-ālaha xḏārən bāθar rāsqi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The fox said “Hey, where are you going, my dear bear?” “By God, I’m going around (searching) after my sustenance.” (A20:1)

The compound infinitive is used to express a continuing situation that has been in existence for a specified period of time. Such constructions are translated by the English present perfect, e.g.

- (29) *’u-’āna ’anna-šawwā-šanne hon-θāya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have been travelling (literally: coming) for these (last) seven years.’ (A37:17)

15.4.2.3. *Function in Narrative*

The infinitive construction is used in narrative discourse. In such contexts the infinitive has either the deictic, the enclitic copula or the copula is omitted altogether.

When the deictic copula is used with the infinitive in narrative contexts, the construction generally has its usual progressive sense. Its function is to express an event that is in progress and overlaps temporally with an adjacent punctual event. It is negated in the usual way by the negative copula. The copula takes the past time reference of the adjacent narrative as its deictic centre. The construction may be placed after the verb(s) with which it overlaps temporally. It may have the same subject referent as the preceding verb (1–2) or a different subject referent (3–5), e.g.

- (1) *pl̥t̥ele z̥l̥ele hóle gašòqe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went out, went off, watching.’ (A22:24)
- (2) *z̥lle kl̥ele xòde támaha.*<sup>1</sup> *har-hóle xyára b-ó-ḏabat ’ngl̥aznàya.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle zdà’a.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went to stand alone far away. He kept looking at that English officer. He was afraid.’ (B17:13)
- (3) *s̥qt̥ela,*<sup>1</sup> *’o-pàra*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mbarbòre,*<sup>1</sup> *har-mbarbòre,*<sup>1</sup> *léle kl̥àya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She went up, while the lamb bleated and bleated, incessantly.’ (A34:28)
- (4) *’ḏy̥ele xá-naša xèna,*<sup>1</sup> *lwiša lwiša smòqta,*<sup>1</sup> *súsa smòqa,*<sup>1</sup> *rúmxa smòqta.*<sup>1</sup> *b-léle rúmxe díye hóla mxáya kiz̥ḏkke,*<sup>1</sup> *ma-t̥-ile ’o-náša ràba xelàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Another man came, dressed in red clothing, with a red horse, a red spear. In the night his spear was giving off sparks, so powerful was that man.’ (A12:9)
- (5) *’u-murízela mbádla jàlde*<sup>1</sup> *s̥q̥ela ’ast̥aqbál t-málka,*<sup>1</sup> *xèna ’ax-t-óḏi ’ast̥aqbál t-málke,*<sup>1</sup> *b-iqàra-w*<sup>1</sup> *’áyya hóla mparòje,*<sup>1</sup> *káza xyára hàtxa ta-t-xazyále ḥl̥iba díye,*<sup>1</sup> *l̥èla xzayalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They lined up in the early morning and went up to receive the king, as they (customarily) receive kings, with honour, while she was watching, peering like this to see her betrothed, but she does not see him.’ (A4:35)

The construction with the deictic copula is used to express an event that is discovered to be in progress on the arrival on the scene of a character in the narrative, e.g.

- (6) *ṣ̥ly̥ele’*<sup>1</sup> *’ina Mámò-w Ḑ̥ine*<sup>1</sup> *hóla nšáqa ḡḏàḏe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He came down and (found) Mámò and Zine kissing each other.’ (A26:46)
- (7) *’ina xazèla*<sup>1</sup> *Ḑ̥ine-w Mámò*<sup>1</sup> *hóla m̥-ḡḏàḏe m̥sawóḏe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He sees Zine and Mámò while they were speaking with one another.’ (A26:57)

The activities may be a sequential series of events that are not all existing simultaneously, but rather the overall event expressed by the series of individual events is presented as temporally overlapping with the main narrative, e.g.

- (8) *'itwale xa-xurzàya, 'béthe díye šittət mǝθa-wewa. 'šomme díye Bèžəm-wewa. 'qəm-xazéle xále díye Rustámo zála. 'móre xáli lǝket zála. 'móre 'áw lǝle šúlux. 'Bèžəm módile wǝða. 'hóle dǝwáqalle réšət xórta makyòpalle, 'yalúnke zóre hola-θáya 'u-sáqa b-à-xorta, 'marpòyalle réšət xórta, 'xórta hóla zyàna, 'an-yalúnke zóre kùt-xa hóle zdáyalle bar-ðá-gotət dúnye. 'Rustámo mǝre' xwàrza, 'lá-wuð hǝtxa. 'He had a nephew, whose house was at the bottom of the village. His name was Bežəm. He saw his uncle Rustam going off. He said "Uncle, where are you going?" He said "That is not your business." What was Bežəm doing? He was holding the top of a poplar tree and bending it down, young children were coming and going up the poplar, he was letting the top of the poplar go, the poplar was springing up and he was flinging the young children in all directions. Rustam said "Nephew, don't do that."*
- (A29:15–17)

The infinitive construction with a deictic copula may denote an ongoing event that overlaps temporally with a resultant state expressed by a resultative participle, e.g.

- (9) *'ánna šàli' 'ína mò šáli! 'hóla susǝwàθa' jǝmye b-réše díye' wáða hǝlma' b-réše díye. 'They went down but what (a surprise when) they went down. The horses were gathered over him, blowing onto him.'*
- (A25:13)
- (10) *'hóle l-ε-gòt-hòdǝx, 'dórya ða-kùlla, 'dmíxa tàma, 'mutǝlya-g'áne díye. 'áni hóla wáða tàgbir. 'He was on the other side. He had put up a mosquito net and was lying there, pretending to be asleep, while they were making a plan.'*
- (A30:42)

The construction with the deictic copula is used in a section of discourse that presents a preliminary section that provides the background against which a following series of punctual events in the foreground of the narrative take place. In (11), for example, the forms *hóla nšàqalle* and *hóla spára* occur in a section of discourse that sets the scene for the main foreground

event of the passage, namely that one of the angels sneezed because of the soot. It is noteworthy that the resultative participles in this preliminary background section also have the deictic copula (§15.4.1.3.):

- (11) *ʔo-yála zóra hóla múttalle be-pàlga. ʔáy hóla nšàqalle, nšàqalle, nšàqalle, xpáqalle gu-šádra diya. ʔu-yáwalle tla-bábe diye. ʔáp-aw nšàqalle, nšàqalle, nšàqalle. maláxe holá-ʔəθye tíwe l-kàwe. hóla spára l-kàwe, tá-t ʔímət párqə dána, tá-t mattíle ʔo-yála tá-t šaqílile nšəmè. ʔu-hádax ʔiθwa ʔán-xa sobáθət kəslən, buxeriyewa. síqele xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra, wírele gu-naxírət xa-m-maláxe. ʔu-wíðele pəθyo! tpiθele.* ‘They put the small child in the middle. She is kissing and kissing and kissing him and hugging him to her breast. Then she gives him to his father. He also kisses and kisses and kisses him. The angels have come and have sat by the window. They are waiting by the window for the time to finish, for them to put down the child so that they could take away their soul. There were stoves in our community that were smoke ducts. Some of the soot went up and entered the nose of one of the angels. He went “achoo!” He sneezed.’ (A4:58–60)

The infinitive construction is often used in narrative with a perfective aspect to express an event that is sequential to what precedes. In such cases the infinitive generally has the enclitic copula or the copula is omitted altogether. Aspect, therefore, is a further factor that conditions the type of copula marking on the construction.

The copula is typically omitted in a chain of clauses expressing closely knit events after the subject of the verb chain has been identified by the copula in the first clause. The copula is used when there is a change in subject referent. This can be seen in examples (12)–(14) below. It should be noted that the infinitive with a 3rd person enclitic copula followed by a 3rd person pronominal suffix is identical in form to the equivalent construction without the copula (e.g. *q̄taləlle* < *q̄taləle* + *-alle* or *q̄tala* + *-alle*). The presence of the copula cannot, therefore, be discerned in these forms.

- (12) *yómə t̄l̄əθa mərəle xone diye xá-ga xéta ʔo-t-Bàbəl yáwalle xábra tla-náše diye mára t-ázəx šəda. ʔánna pl̄ətəla, kúlla zála šəda, m-a-góta xéta málka gnàwəlla gān-diye.* ‘On the third day his brother, the one from Babylon, says, again he makes an announcement to the people, he says “Let’s go hunting.” They go out, they all go hunting, but the king hides somewhere else.’ (A13:7)

- (13) *muθéθela tré glàse.<sup>1</sup> tla-d-áy dráyela xàčča<sup>1</sup> tla-d-áw ràba.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>a-d-áy mláyalla kùlle míya<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>a-d-áw har-màlye.<sup>1</sup> štáyela-w práqela bíya díya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She brought two glasses. Into hers she pours a little and into his a lot. She fills hers all with water. His was continuously full. They drink and finish it.’ (A17:25)
- (14) *yámma d-an-hambišàye<sup>1</sup> máreła tla-brôn d-o-zòra<sup>1</sup>... plàtèle,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áp-<sup>2</sup>aw qtàlalle.<sup>1</sup> wárele Barzəkko táləb d-à,<sup>1</sup> yámmət hambišàye.<sup>1</sup>... <sup>2</sup>áp-<sup>2</sup>ay qtàlalla.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>o-šlàyəle.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>itvale xolàma.<sup>1</sup> sùse díye mtaslómalle tla-xolàma.<sup>1</sup> wára gu-čádre díye,<sup>1</sup> dmáxa hal-mbàdla.<sup>1</sup> mbàdla,<sup>1</sup> qyàmela,<sup>1</sup>... mára də-mārusúle Barzəkko!<sup>1</sup> hal-<sup>2</sup>imə dāməx.<sup>2</sup>! mārósəlle... qyáma zàla.<sup>1</sup> zála, zàla,<sup>1</sup> mṭáya,<sup>1</sup> mṭáya kàrma.<sup>1</sup>... mṭáyəle xa-náša xəna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The mother of the giants said to the youngest son... He went out and he (Barzəkko) killed also him. Barzəkko went in attacking her, the mother of the giants... He killed also her. He went down. He had a servant. He handed over his horse to the servant. He entered his tent and slept until morning. In the morning they got up... They said “Wake Barzəkko! For how long will he sleep?” They woke him... and went on their way. They went a long way and arrived at an orchard... Another man arrived.’ (A12:6–9)

On some occasions a chain of clauses opens with an infinitive without the copula when the subject is identifiable from the context and the opening clause is closely connected semantically with what precedes. This is the case, for example, in (15), in which the infinitive chain begins after direct speech:

- (15) *hállule xa-susa.<sup>1</sup> təmməl mbàdla <sup>2</sup>àzəl.<sup>1</sup> šqála dārt-yoma xà-susa<sup>1</sup> táwa xáše díye zàla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘“Give him a horse. Let him go tomorrow morning.”’  
The next day he took a horse, sat on its back and went off.’  
(A12:59–60)

In some tightly knit verb sequences two infinitives are juxtaposed with the copula on the second one, reflecting the fact that they are treated as a single unit. This is attested where the first verb is *qym* (16) or a verb of movement (17), or where two verbs of similar meaning are juxtaposed (18):

- (16) *qyáma sàqela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They rise and go up.’ (A13:1)  
(17) *ráqa θàyəle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He runs and comes back.’ (A29:50)

- (18) *čarčóre ʔu-srǎxela čǎnnək̀èra*<sup>1</sup> ‘She screams and cries all around.’  
(A51:15)

We should include here the use by narrators of the infinitive form *màra* without a copula at various points in the text. The literal meaning of this is ‘It says’, the subject being the story itself. It is sequential to what precedes, in that it marks an advance of the narrative. The narrator typically inserts this formula at the beginning of new episodic sections, especially where there is a change in spatio-temporal location. It is more idiomatically translated into English by a discourse connective such as ‘now’, e.g.

- (19) *màra yómət trè*<sup>1</sup> *ʔay-là xilla*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now the next day she did not eat.’  
(A21:14)
- (20) *màra qimèle*<sup>1</sup> *qédamta híwèle xàbra*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now, the next day he gave word.’  
(A26:45)
- (21) *màra šǎlyele rǎš-ʔèna*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáw ʔu-súse díye šǎlyela rǎš-ʔèna*<sup>1</sup> *xǎzyalla xákma baxtátha tàma*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now, he went down to the spring. He and his horse went down to the spring. He saw some girls there.’ (A26:23)
- (22) *màra qimèle ʔóya síqa t-gàre*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now, he came and he went up onto the roof.’ (A26:40)
- (23) *màra Qàra Téždin zǎlele*<sup>1</sup> *yíwəlla ʔide gu-ʔidət Mǎmo*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now, Qara Teždin went and put his hand in the hand of Mǎmo.’ (A26:50)

On some occasions an infinitive construction that functions as a narrative present with a perfective aspect has a deictic copula. In such cases the intention of the speaker is to draw particular attention to the event in question for some reason. The construction sometimes expresses an event that was unexpected as a sequel to the preceding event. In (24) and (25), for example, the speaker is astounded by what another character in the narrative said after the event that is reported in the preceding clause. The event of the horse bolting in (26) is also a sudden, unanticipated event. In (27) the deictic copula signals the extraordinary action of the hero, which ordinary men would not have been expected to carry out.

- (24) *ʔóyax xa-néra benàθan*<sup>1</sup> ***hóle mǎra***<sup>1</sup> *bábi t-óðaxle gǎšra*<sup>1</sup> *móri m-éka meθánne qèse*<sup>1</sup> *m-éka meθánne bəzmàre*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-nasàrta*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-odánne gǎšra*<sup>1</sup> *šǎwəx réše réše*<sup>1</sup> ‘We came to a river between us (and the continuation of our journey). He says “My friend, let’s make a bridge for it.” I asked from where I should bring him wood, from where I should

bring him nails and a saw so that I could make a bridge for him to cross over!’ (A17:9)

- (25) *nublili<sup>1</sup> hóle mára tlàli<sup>1</sup> lè y-axláanna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I took them, but he says to me “I shall not eat them.”’ (A17:14)
- (26) *mbádla tíwa xáse díye ’u-plìtèle.<sup>1</sup> ’é-ga súsá kámá-dana léle-xəzya šmša,<sup>1</sup> hóle práxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In the morning he sat on its back and went out. Since the horse had not seen the sun for so long, it bolted (literally: flew off).’ (A12:66)
- (27) *kú-t-íle šláya tàma<sup>1</sup> lèla mšáya bíye díye<sup>1</sup> hóle qṭàlalla.<sup>1</sup>* *Rustámo feràssele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘All those who went down there could not defeat him and he killed them. Rustam was a mighty warrior.’ (A29:60)

The deictic copula is also found where the narrator wishes to express some kind of boundary in the narrative. This may coincide with a shift in scene and subject referent. In (28), for example, the narrator shifts attention to the character Bežəm at a different location in the village. The chain of sequential clauses recounting his activities opens with an infinitive with a deictic copula. Subsequent events in the scene that are expressed by the infinitive construction have the enclitic copula or zero copula. In (29) the attention shifts to the character Zine in a different location from that of the preceding narrative. The adverbial *’axxa* ‘over here’ is used by the narrator to indicate a shift in scene. The clause expressing the opening event of this scene has a deictic copula (*hola ṭlaba*). The following clause, which can be considered to be an elaboration of the first, also has the deictic copula (*hola mara*). In (30) the clause with the deictic copula coincides with a change in subject. This clause may also be interpreted as the resumption of the main narrative foreground, the two preceding clauses being a preliminary background section. In (31) the speaker narrates the events of a dream. The deictic copula is used to mark the crossing of the bridge as a boundary in the discourse, presenting it as the onset of a chain of clauses that constitute a distinct overall event from what precedes. The clause is also presented as a new section of direct speech. Similarly in (32) the speaker uses the deictic copula to present the series of clauses narrating the second attempt to fire the bullets as a separate overall event from what precedes.

- (28) *Béžəm hóle šáttət máṭa mòdile wáḏa.<sup>2</sup> hóle zàla<sup>1</sup> ḏa-gótət màṭa<sup>1</sup> mxáyalla<sup>1</sup> ’é-xòrta<sup>1</sup> gu-d-an-bàte,<sup>1</sup> kúlla tlàxalla,<sup>1</sup> b-lèle<sup>1</sup> b-rəš-nàšə,<sup>1</sup> ’u-ráqa ṭàyele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Bežəm was at the bottom of the village. What does he do? He



goes to one side of the village and batters the houses with the poplar tree and destroys them all, at night, on the heads of the people, then he runs back.’ (A29:50)

- (29) *’é-bena’ ’àxxa’ Žine hóla tlába mən-’alàha, ’ hóla mára’ ya-’alàha, ’ háwe xáxi hál-’ε-gət ’ána mátyən ’ille diyē. ’ šlàyela Žine’ m-qúrbət hàbsa’ ’u-’áw xzàyyalla’ ’árbi bnáθa mánna díya. ’* ‘Then, over here, Zine pleads to God and says “Oh God, let him be well until I reach him.” Zine comes down near to the prison and he sees her and forty girls with her.’ (A26:80)
- (30) *xá-yoma mumiθále gáne b-dùgle, ’ Hásan ’Ága. ’ léla šbára jáwji m-qáme diyē. ’ ’arya hóle mára tla-dəbba’ de-’áti tabbàxtət. ’ sa-wuð-’ixàla. ’* ‘One day Ḥasan Ága pretended to be dead. They dare not leave him. The lion says to the bear “You are the cook. Go and make food.”’ (A27:40)
- (31) *mére b-xáلمي zála reša-réša ḏa-yáma rába gòrta, ’ yáma xwàrta. ’ ’iθwa tre-xoriyàθa, ’ gəšra. ’ mára hon-zála réšə d-ò gəšra, ’ ’ina rába zdá’a’ t-là-naplən gu-d-a-yáma. ’ m-láma zálən wáwən gu-xa-gəppa, ’ xa-ṭura. ’* ‘He said “In my dream I went across a great sea, a white sea. There were two poplars (forming) a bridge.” He said “I went over the bridge, in great fear that I would fall into the sea. From there I went into a cave, a mountain.”’ (A11:7)
- (32) *kú pušánga t-ix mattóyalle gu-d-ay-tòpe’ čùruk-ile pláta. ’ ’áw hox-šqálalle zdáyalle mattóye xa-xèna, ’ ’ap-áwwoa čùruk-ile pláta. ’ har-mattóyaxalle l-xáša qatləxxa’ har-pušánga čùruk-ile pláta. ’* ‘Every bullet that we put in this gun comes out (as a blank) with a bang. We take it out and throw it away, then put in another one, but also that one comes out (as a blank) with a bang. We point it at her back to kill her, but the bullet comes out (as a blank) with a bang.’ (B9:21)

It is relevant to note here that the narrative formula ‘it (the story) says’ is sometimes used with the deictic copula at the beginning of the story, whereas in the body of the narrative it is used without a copula (*mara*), e.g.

- (33) *hóla mára. ’ ’iθwa xa-málka. ’* ‘It says: There was a king...’ (A1:1–2)

Another context in which the deictic copula is used when the infinitive construction has perfective aspect is where the construction expresses an event that is off the main narrative line and provides background information. This event is not necessarily sequential to what precedes. In (34)

and (35), for example, the construction with the deictic copula clarifies the identity of the speaker:

- (34) *zille màre*<sup>1</sup>—*’áwwa Ćixàlo hóle mára*<sup>1</sup>—*zille màre*<sup>1</sup> *málka ’áti har-t-yàtli brátux*?<sup>1</sup> ‘He went and said—it is Ćixalo who says this—he went and said “King, will you still give me your daughter?”’ (A25:24)
- (35) *màre ’ána mò*,<sup>1</sup> *xo-là péšən šávána-llux*.<sup>1</sup> *Fàrxo hóle mára*.<sup>1</sup> *màre ’ána b̄t-àzəna*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He (Farxo) said “What am I? I shall not become a shepherd for you”—Farxo says (this). He said “I shall go.”’ (A25:32)

#### 15.4.2.4. *Habitual Function*

On some occasions the infinitive construction expresses an activity that is of habitual recurrence but may not necessarily be taking place at the time of speech. It is used to express an iterative rather than a permanent durative situation. This differs from the (*i*-)qatəl(*wa*) form, which may express either an iterative or a permanent situation. The iterative function can be considered to be an extension of the perfective narrative present function described above, which would be appropriate to describe each individual occurrence of the iterated situation.<sup>10</sup> It is relevant to note that when the construction has this function, the infinitive is occasionally replaced by the verbal noun, which expresses a single occurrence of an action (§15.6.3.).

The iterative events may be presented as sequential to one another. In such cases the copula, if it is not attached to some other item in the clause, is usually cliticized to the infinitive or omitted altogether, as is the case with the perfective narrative present usage, e.g.

- (40) *bár hādəx*,<sup>1</sup> *bár t-ila-báxta pyáša rásmi tàma*<sup>1</sup> *yáni wára gu-l-bèθa*,<sup>1</sup> *θáyəle qàša*<sup>1</sup> *’u-sára gnùnele*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After the woman becomes official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band.’ (B5:44)
- (41) *’iman-t-ile náša mqāròne*<sup>1</sup> *njaròbele*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-xáze xayúθa biš-spà*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When somebody grows up, he tries to find a better life.’

This iterative function of the infinitive construction expressing the perfective present is indeed found in narrative discourse itself, e.g.

<sup>10</sup> For perfective iterative forms in other languages see Comrie (1976: 31).

- (42) *qímtela dóbba zílta,¹ muθéθa ða-qánnat dabbóre.¹ muθéθalla muttèθalla¹ qam-tárrat¹ d-ó-boyat tèle.¹ har-dabbóre zúlela-w θáya dúrr dúrr dùrr.¹* ‘The bear went off and brought back a hornets’ nest. She brought it and put it before the door of the fox’s hole. The hornets went constantly back and forth (literally: went and came back), durrr, durrr, durrr.’ (A20:6)

Further examples from non-narrative discourse in the text corpus are presented in (43)–(48), in most of which the copula is negative or is a clitic attached to a subordinating particle. Note that in (45)–(47) the construction is used in combination with the *qatálwa* form and in (48) with the resultative form.

- (43) *ʔan-la-šemáxla mārax.¹ ʔáxni gòre,¹ bas-ʔánna bnóne zòre¹ hadíya lèla syámalla ʔáni.¹* ‘If we do not fast, we shall become ill. We older ones (still fast), but these young children now do not fast.’ (B16:12)
- (44) *háyyo lāxxa,¹ b-áyya dúkθa t-in táwa¹ gu-d-áyya tārma.¹* ‘Come here, in the place where I sit, in the porch.’ (A13:6)
- (45) *ʔíman t-ix nabóle ʔan-tàwre,¹ šalwə̀xwala.¹* ‘When we took the oxen, we would tether them.’ (B5:83)
- (46) *ʔíman t-ila-nabólle bə̀dra¹ m-gu-ʔāra,¹ mattíwa xá y-amráxle... xa-jùlla¹ ʔabāya y-amráxwale.¹* ‘When they took it to the threshing floor from that ground, they would lay down what we called a “cloth”—we called it a “cloak.”’ (B5:80)
- (47) *kú-mđit láyə̀p náša yála zòra¹ ʔáyya pyāša gu-réšət náša.¹* ‘Anything a person learns as a young child, this remains in the mind of somebody.’ (B8:22)
- (48) *ʔə̀dyo kú-mə̀ndi t-íwə̀n śmáʔa ʔāxxa,¹ yámmi mtunèθalle t̄lálí,¹ yằðanne.¹* ‘Today, everything that I hear here, my mother has told me and I know it.’ (B8:15)

On some occasions the deictic copula is used with the infinitive when it has an iterative usage. As with the narrative usage, the motivation for the deictic copula is generally to direct particular attention to a clause that occurs at some kind of boundary in the discourse. In (49)–(51) the deictic copula occurs at the onset of a segment of discourse. Example (49) is the opening of a section of direct speech and (50) coincides with a shift in subject referent and also a temporal shift marked by the adverb ‘now’. In (51) the deictic copula occurs at the onset of a chain of clauses in which there is a shift in subject referent. The situation described in this chain

of clauses also has prominence in the overall narrative, and this may be an additional motivation for drawing attention to it by the deictic copula. In (52) the deictic copula gives weight to the closing clause in a section describing the iterative situation in which a certain character in the narrative sings. The infinitive here has the *b-* preposition, the motivation for which here may also be to give the clause additional morphological end weighting.

- (49) *kúlla náša hóle zála l-šúla.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔana bt-ázən šúla<sup>1</sup> pàlxən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody goes to work. I also shall go to work and work.’ (A23:1)
- (50) *hadíya hon-nšâyəlla<sup>1</sup> ʔina d-é-ga taxrànna rába.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now I forget things, but I remember well what (I learnt) then.’ (B8:20)
- (51) *mo-čára t-óðax tla-d-áyya qátu t-la ʔaxlələni.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaxni pláta gu-bèθa,*<sup>1</sup> *báyax táyax xá-məndi t-àxləx,*<sup>1</sup> *hóla xzáyəllən qátu ráqa báθrən xələlleni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us? When we go out into the house searching for something to eat, the cat sees us, runs after us and eats us.’ (A44:1)
- (52) *ʔimə t-íle zmàra,*<sup>1</sup> *bulbúle jmáʔela l-qàle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-tárpət derúbər hóla b-nθàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When he sings, nightingales gather at his voice and the leaves of the wood fall.’ (A25:46)

#### 15.4.2.5. *Performative Function*

The infinitive construction is used in some performative verbs, which perform an action by their utterance rather than make a truth-evaluable description of a situation. In this function the construction has a perfective aspect, as in the narrative present and iterative functions. Characteristically of its perfective use elsewhere, there is a greater tendency to use the enclitic copula than when it expresses progressive aspect. Performative usage is attested in the verb *mqawole* ‘to promise’, e.g.

- (1) *mqawələwən,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔan-zúze kúlla t-in šqiləlla<sup>1</sup> pəlánna pəlge.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I promise, I’ll divide into halves also all the money that I took.’ (A1:17)

The expression ‘I say to you’ in contexts such (2)–(4) also has a performative function, which no doubt explains why it is used with an enclitic copula:

- (2) *márənmux plút m-àxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I say to you: Leave here!’ (A12:5)
- (3) *màrənmux<sup>1</sup> ʔáti grùš gánux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I say to you: Go away!’ (A12:10)

- (4) *w-áti mò t-amrátli?*<sup>1</sup> *máre 'ána marən-əllux<sup>1</sup> hé dūs,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwalux 'o-kārma.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘“What will you say to me?” He said “I say to you: Yes, it’s true, you had that orchard.”’ (A17:33–34)

#### 15.4.2.6. *Movement of the Enclitic Copula*

The positive clitic copula of the construction may be moved to a constituent that occurs before or after the infinitive in the same types of environment that condition the movement of the copula in the resultative construction described in §15.4.1.4. This can be seen in several of the examples cited already above. Further examples classified into their various functional types are:

##### 15.4.2.6.1. *Leftward Movement of the Enclitic*

###### (i) *Narrow Information Focus*

- (1) *'ātīt wáða 'ixála?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Are you making food (not somebody else)?’ (A21:27)  
 (2) *'ána spayùθən wáða.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I am doing *good* (not bad).’ (A14:34)  
 (3) *'áv xšúwa mäsxele šláya mən-káde.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He thought that *oil* (not urine) was running down from the *kade* cakes.’ (A30:47)  
 (4) *m-əkət θáya?*<sup>1</sup> *b-álaha m-bèθən θáya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Where are you coming from? By God, I am coming from home.’ (A23:2)  
 (5) *'ána míya m-'èwən štáya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I drink water (even) from the clouds.’ (A26:34)  
 (6) *díya biš-ila maθóyalla,<sup>1</sup> biš-ila hawálla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now they bring them more, they give them more.’ (B10:40)  
 (7) *'ána hāden pláta<sup>1</sup>* ‘I am just now going out (to work)’. (A23:11)

###### (ii) *Topically Prominent Constituent*

- (1) *lat-mtaxmóne 'ávwa qàšra<sup>1</sup> t-íle külle qarqurpyàθa?*<sup>1</sup> *xa-qarqúrθela pyása qar-rèšux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Don’t you think about this palace, which is all skulls. One (space for) a skull is remaining for your head.’ (A25:60)  
 (2) *'áxnix pyása xəzme.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We are becoming relatives.’ (B5:9)

###### (iii) *Interrogative Constituents*

- (1) *lèkəx zála?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Where are we going?’ (A26:16)  
 (2) *lékewət b-zála?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Where are you going?’ (A8:64)

- (3) *ʔáti mòt wáða táma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘What are you doing there?’ (A25:60)  
 (4) *ʔáyya mǎnile mtanóyalla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Who is telling this?’ (A14:53)  
 (5) *ta-mòt mára hátxa.*<sup>2</sup> ‘Why are you saying that?’ (A40:2)

(iv) *Subordinating Conjunctions*

- (1) *ʔána ʔap-diya<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya ʔúrxa t-ín ʔána zála bíya diya<sup>1</sup> lè-γ mansǎnna hál yomət-màwθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not abandon until the day I die the way that I am following now.’ (A21:35)  
 (2) *ʔo-kǎlsa deréwale gu-juwàle,<sup>1</sup> məθéwale l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> xzi ʔékəle béθux t-it-bnáyalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They put the gypsum in sacks and brought it to the village, wherever (literally: see where) your house that you were building was situated.’ (B5:184)  
 (3) *ʔu-béna ʔiman t-ila-pyása gòrə<sup>1</sup> xáčča šúla biš-zàmət-ile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When they become big, the work is a little more difficult.’ (B5:105)

15.4.2.6.2. *Rightward Movement of the Enclitic*

This is found only where the construction is used with a perfective aspect, either to express a narrative present or an iterative event, i.e. where it is common to have an enclitic rather than a deictic copula. As in the resultative construction, the purpose of the rightward movement onto the final item of the predicate is to give prominence, but not narrow information focus, either to the item to which it is attached or to the clause as a whole. In the examples attested in the text corpus, the construction is used to give added prominence to the clause in order to signal some kind of boundary in the discourse, marking off the clause from what precedes or follows. In (1) the clause describing the tying of the bands marks the closure of the chain of events in the marriage ceremony. In (2) the construction occurs at the beginning of a segment of discourse that presents elaborative information on what precedes. In (3) the construction separates the second clause distinctly from the first to express a contrastive opposition between the action of Barzəkko and that of his companions.

- (1) *bár t-ila-báxta pyása rásmi tàma<sup>1</sup> yǎni wára gu-l-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> θáyəle qàša<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sára gnùnele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After the woman becomes official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band.’ (B5:44)  
 (2) *ʔu-béna ʔiman t-ila-pyása gòrə<sup>1</sup> xáčča šúla biš-zàmət-ile.<sup>1</sup> lʔánnahu pyása gòrtela<sup>1</sup> mtagbárta diya biš-ràbela,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-gǎrəg rába ʔáxlət xàm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When they become big, the work is a little more difficult. This is because, when

they become big, the job to maintain them is bigger, and you must be very careful.’ (B5:105)

- (3) *’anna kùlla dmàxela.*<sup>1</sup> *Barzəkkko pyáša hərəs-ile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They all went to sleep. Barzəkkko became the guard.’ (A12:9)

#### 15.4.2.7. *Infinitive Combined with the Past Copula*

The infinitive may be combined with the past copula (for the morphology of this compound form see §8.19.4.5.). This expresses the past progressive. It is typically used in narrative to denote an action or situation that was in progress in the past and overlapped temporally with the occurrence of a punctual event, e.g.

- (1) *zàlexwa,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena xzéle m-ráḥqa xá-máí xwàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘As he was going along, he suddenly saw from afar something white.’ (A14:28)
- (2) *xà-yoma*<sup>1</sup> *dábba xḏára-wawa gu-turàne.*<sup>1</sup> *tḥiqla b-xa-tèla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘One day a bear was wandering around the mountains. She met a fox.’ (A20:1)
- (3) *xḏàrənwa l-ày-goti,*<sup>1</sup> *’áqli tíwla š-’áqlət bəxta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I was turning over to my (other) side and my leg settled on the leg of the woman.’ (A16:11)
- (4) *márx ’alla mtanila*<sup>1</sup> *’u-xa-mašmóye-wewa ’allèni lázəm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You said “You must tell it” and somebody must have been listening to us.’ (A35:19)
- (5) *māyōyanwala,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-ḏà-’ára.*<sup>1</sup> *... qəm-maxyále púmma díya l-rəzza*<sup>1</sup> ‘I was grazing it in a certain piece of land. ... It put its mouth in the rice.’ (B5:131)

Note the preposing of the copula before the infinitive when the construction is combined with the particle *har* ‘still’ in (6). This can be compared to the leftward movement of the copula onto initial adverbials in other types of compound verbal constructions (e.g. *yóma hádele zriqa*<sup>1</sup> ‘The sun has just now risen’ §15.4.1.4.1. example 30):

- (6) *píšle yóma*<sup>1</sup> *hár-wewa xḏàra,*<sup>1</sup> *xzéle xa-bəšlīša zòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Day came and he was still searching about, when he saw a small ray of light.’ (A14:24)

If two or more infinitives are concatenated, the copula may be omitted after its use on the first one of the series, e.g.

- (7) *zília xákma šnne,*<sup>1</sup> *málka hár xzàya-wewa,*<sup>1</sup> *b-xzàya mbaqóre l-d-ò-naša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Several years went by (during which) the king was investigating and inquiring concerning the man.’ (A8:5)

- (8) *xéna 'ánna kúlley,<sup>1</sup> lá baxtátha pyáša-wewwa yaqùre,<sup>1</sup> lá bnòne<sup>1</sup> 'ázze maθòye,<sup>1</sup> lá 'arxàtha.<sup>1</sup>* 'But all of these—the women were not becoming pregnant, the goats were not producing young, the mills were not (producing).<sup>2</sup> (A38:1)

The temporal overlap function of the form is used in (9) to present an explanation of a previous statement of a character in the narrative:

- (9) *màrewwa<sup>1</sup> har-'àwewele<sup>1</sup> 'an-'ítte nawàge.<sup>1</sup>* 'He was saying (he meant by this) "Is he just him (alone) or does he have grandchildren?"' (A17:16)

The construction is used in non-narrative discourse to express the temporal overlap of an action with iterative events in the past. In the cases where this is attested in the text corpus the copula is placed before the infinitive. In §15.3.6. it has been shown that clauses in which the past copula is placed before the predicate express in principle some kind of communicative salience. This is likely to be the case here, since in both examples two clauses with the infinitive construction are set up in opposition. The preposing of the copula is used to mark off the two clauses distinctly from one another. Another factor for the preposing of the copula in the phrase *har-iwa-práma* of (10) may be the particle *har*, as is the case in (6) above:

- (10) *'áy mòdi qtá'a tárpa?<sup>2</sup> qātìwale,<sup>1</sup> xá har-iwa-práma zdáya l-àra-w<sup>1</sup> 'an-xéne 'yáwa báθre báθre wáða taxe<sup>1</sup>* 'What is the cutting down of leaves? They cut them down, one person cutting and throwing them on the ground, while others were behind him making small piles.' (B5:118)
- (11) *m-bar-hàdax<sup>1</sup> qemìwa<sup>1</sup> mزابóne 'ilána.<sup>1</sup> náše 'íwa kòpa<sup>1</sup> kùlla,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áwwa gárewa ràma.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa náše 'yéwa kùlla spára kòpa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-'ilána mزابnìwala y-amr'axxa.<sup>1</sup>* 'After that they would sell the tree. The people were all below and he (the groom) was high up on the roof, all the people were waiting below. They sold the tree, as we say.' (B5:42)

Note also (12), in which the temporal overlap function with an ongoing situation is used to express a concessive sense. The ongoing negated situation can be considered to be iterative ('on no occasion have they asked for you'):

- (12) *hadíya xonāwàθux,<sup>1</sup> mārētwa xonāwàθi,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqoròllux.<sup>1</sup>* 'Now your brothers—(although) you called (them)



“my brothers”, it has been a year that they have been here but have not (even once) asked for you.’ (A26:78)

As is the case with the present copula, the motivation for the preposing of the past copula is sometimes to cliticize it to constituents of the clause that stand before the infinitive. In (13) and (14), for example, it is cliticized to the subordinating particle *D*:

- (13) *ʔán-zuzəʔt ʔaθíwa mən-mzabántət ʔilàna<sup>1</sup> ʔíwa hayàrta<sup>1</sup> qa-kʔálo-w xàtna<sup>1</sup> t-íwa gwàra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The money that was received from the sale of the house was assistance for the bride and groom who were getting married.’ (B15:67)
- (14) *madàm t-íwəʔtwa pláxa ʔátxa mənɗiyáne<sup>1</sup> t-amrənnux mò-ʔoðət.<sup>ʔ1</sup>* ‘Since you have been doing such things, should I tell you what to do?’ (A14:79)

#### 15.4.2.8. *Infinitive Combined with the Verb hwy*

The copula in the infinitive construction may be replaced by various inflections of the verb *hwy* in certain contexts. The following forms are attested in the text corpus.

##### 15.4.2.8.1. *hawe qʔala*

This form is found in the protasis of conditional constructions referring to a progressive action that overlaps temporally with that of the apodosis, e.g.

- (1) *ʔən-háwe pláʔa mən-ʔərxə ʔíša qəmxa,<sup>1</sup> lá hǎmənət ʔlle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If he is coming out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him.’ (D2:61)

##### 15.4.2.8.2. *y-awe qʔala*

This is found in (1), where it expresses a habitual progressive, denoting an activity that was habitually in progress and overlapping temporally with another activity or situation. The construction here has past time reference by taking the past reference of the verbs in the preceding context as its deictic centre:

- (1) *sab-xa-xa-gáye ʔi-maxéwa tmanyà saʔtte<sup>1</sup> bar-góðáde t-là-kləθa.<sup>1</sup> tmanyá saʔtte y-áwa mxáya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-náše dwìqe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘For, sometimes, they played for eight hours continuously without stopping. They would be playing for eight hours while the people held (each other).’ (B15:77)

15.4.2.8.3. *y-awewa q̄tala*

This form expresses a habitual progressive in the past. In (1)–(3) it is used to denote an activity that habitually overlapped with another activity or situation:

- (1) *šalónwa y-awéwa rxàθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I would go down while it was fermenting.’ (B5:212)
- (2) *ʔiθwa ʔawalyáθa rábe rábe<sup>1</sup> m̄ʔalìwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔò yóma<sup>1</sup> kùlle yòma<sup>1</sup> y-awáwa m̄ʔawòle<sup>1</sup> ʔu-nášat máθa kùlla<sup>1</sup> síqe m̄paróje biyèy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There were many games that they played. They would be playing all that day and (while they were doing so) all the people of the village would go up to look at them.’ (B7:4)
- (3) *béna bálki ʔo-náša,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-xàtna ʔ-ámrx,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-ʔúrza,<sup>1</sup> lèwe táma.<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa pláxa gu-m̄ðinàθa máθálan.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Perhaps the person, that is the groom, the man, was not there. He was working (at that time) in the towns, for example.’ (B5:18)

In (4) and (5) it is used to express a habitual activity that was temporally delimited. The end of this activity is mentioned in the context. In (4) the people in question ceased to worship God when they had a son. In (5) the habitual bad behaviour of the child at school was short-lived since we are told in the following context that he was expelled:

- (4) *hál xámšì-w xámša šanne<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa sxáða ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> y-ámər ya-ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> yawátlan xa-bróna.<sup>1</sup> ʔimət ʔalàha yúwle ʔálléy bróna<sup>1</sup> šuréla manšóyalle ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> là txára ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-là-m̄šaléwa qa-ʔalàha.<sup>1</sup>* ‘For fifty-five years they were worshipping God, he (the man) would say “Oh God, give us a son.” When God gave them a son, they began to forget God, they did not remember God and did not pray to God.’ (A15:17)
- (5) *qím̄la m̄šodár̄ra brōn-díya m̄adrása.<sup>1</sup> bróna díya gu-m̄adrása kút-yum y-awéwa mxáya l-aw-yála,<sup>1</sup> šqála čánta d-àwowa,<sup>1</sup> šr̄ata m̄andiyáne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She sent her son to school. Her son everyday in school would beat one child, take the bag of another, tear things.’ (A14:5)

15.4.2.8.4. *ʔ-awe q̄tala*

This construction is formed by combining the future *bəd-qaʔəl* form of *hwey* with the infinitive. In most cases it expresses a future progressive. It may be used to denote an activity that will be in progress when a perfective future action takes place, e.g.

- (1) *ʔiman máʔən tamməl*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔáw t-áwe pláxa gu-bèθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When I arrive tomorrow, he will be working in the house.’
- (2) *qa-d-áwewa ʔáwəð xa-č̣èra*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-t-áwe ràqa*,<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-ʔáwəð xa-č̣èra qa-gáne*.<sup>1</sup> ‘so that he could find a solution, so that, if he had to flee, he could find for himself a solution.’ (A18:17)

It may denote a perfective future action that has a quantifiable duration. This differs from the *bəd-qaʔəl* form, which is unmarked with regard to the durability of the action, e.g.

- (3) *tre-tḷá yománe xéne ḅt-áwət matróye xās-súsa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘You shall ride on horse back two or three more days.’ (A8:46)

The *t-áwe q̣tala* form may also be used to express a temporally delimited habitual activity in the future. In (4) the existence of an endpoint is implied by the question ‘until when?’ In (5) the sense is that the horse will be screeching during each interval of time in which the salt strikes his legs:

- (4) *hal-ʔiman t-áwət hátxa mdagóle*?<sup>1</sup> ‘For how long will you be telling lies?’ (A26:56)
- (5) *málxa maxéla ʔaqláθe diye*,<sup>1</sup> *t-áwe súsa ṃsaršore*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Salt will strike his legs and the horse will screech.’ (A24:12)

In (6) it is used as a modal progressive, expressing deontic possibility in a question, which is one of the functions of the *bəd-qaʔəl* form (§15.1.5.2. examples 16–18):

- (6) *ʔéka t-áwe mašmóye*?<sup>1</sup> ‘Where could he be listening?’ (A35:20)

In (7) the form is used to express an iterative activity in the past that is temporally limited, which, as we have seen (§15.4.2.7.3.), is expressed elsewhere with the *y-awewa q̣tala* form. The purpose of using the *t-áwe* form of *hwy* is to express sequentiality to what precedes, which is one of the functions of the *bəd-qaʔəl* form (§15.1.5.4.):

- (7) *wírra šəkwánta qaméθa šqilála ḏa-hábba ʔu-pḷitla*.<sup>1</sup> *wírra t-tárte šqilála ḏa-hábba-w pḷitla*.<sup>1</sup> *wírra t-tálləθ ḏa-hábba-w pḷitla*.<sup>1</sup> ... *ha-t-xášli ʔan-xətte*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-šəkwáne t-áwe ḏà-ḏa wára*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The first ant went in and took one grain, then went out. The second went in and took a grain and went out. The third went in (and took) a grain and went out...and the ants were going in one by one until the wheat finished.’ (A36:5)

15.4.2.8.5. *wele q̄tala*

The perfective *q̄tille* form of *hwy* is combined with the infinitive to express a complete event in the past that has a finite duration with a starting-point and end-point. The distinction between *wele q̄tala* and other narrative verbal forms such as *q̄tille* and *q̄tilele* is that this infinitive form explicitly expresses duration in the past whereas the others do not specify this. Since the event expressed by this form has an endpoint, it can be followed by sequential actions, as is the case in (3) and (4):

- (1) *mən-d-é-danət brēla<sup>1</sup> hál d-ε-dánət m̄tēla l-yàla,<sup>1</sup> wēla bxàya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘From the time she was born until the time that she came to the boy she wept.’ (A25:4)
- (2) *ʔána kəmà dána t-in-m̄ṣalóye t̄la-márya ʔàlaha<sup>1</sup> ta-t-yawólli ʔemma dáwe.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáwwa huḏáya wēle maṣyóthe ntára ʔállì t-gàre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins. This Jew was listening and watching me on the roof (during this time period).’ (A6:10)
- (3) *har-wēla taq-tàq mxàya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-taq-tàq,<sup>1</sup> xá-bena-w trè,<sup>1</sup> w-áwwa sq̄idle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They made a taq-taq knocking noise, taq-taq, once, then twice, then he became fed up.’ (A14:68)
- (4) *ʔáwwa<sup>1</sup> Xáno xzēle ʔo-dídwa pl̄t̄le mən-naxírət málka muj̄able.<sup>1</sup> wēle sp̄ara,<sup>1</sup> xár̄ḥa xá-ga xéta xzēle<sup>1</sup> ʔo-dídwa<sup>1</sup> pl̄t̄le mən-d-ó bórət k̄pe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Xano saw the fly come out of the nose of the king and was astonished. He waited (for some time) and then he saw the fly come back out of the pile of stones.’ (A11:5)

Rather than denoting a complete event bounded by a start and an end, the form is sometimes used ingressively to denote the start of a situation without any definite endpoint. Another event mentioned in the ensuing discourse, therefore, may take place while this situation still holds rather than being sequential to its completion, e.g.

- (5) *ʔána síqa l-ṣèda,<sup>1</sup> dúnye wēla ràya,<sup>1</sup> ʔána wírri gu-xa-ḡppa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I went up hunting, it started raining and so I went into a cave.’ (A28:6)
- (6) *xá-ga xéta t̄libla mən-márya ʔàlaha,<sup>1</sup> kúlla wēla bráka t̄libla,<sup>1</sup> ṣl̄éla m̄t̄ra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then they made a request from the Lord God, they all started kneeling and made a request, and (as a consequence) rain fell.’ (A11:18)
- (7) *ʔa-polise wēla pyáša b-xamm̄ȳ.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The policemen began to become worried.’ (A8:10)

15.4.2.8.6. *wiyēle q̄tala*

This form is attested in (1), where it is used to express an enduring but complete event in the past that has a finite duration with a starting-point and end-point. As we have seen, the same function is performed by *wēle q̄tala*. This arises from the fact that the *q̄tille* and *q̄tīlele* forms are used interchangeably in narrative.

- (1) *ʾəθyēle xa-nāša<sup>1</sup> xa-sūsa smòqa,<sup>1</sup> kulle kwīša smòqa,<sup>1</sup> wiyəx plāša m-<sup>2</sup>ašarta hal-gu-mbadlātha.<sup>1</sup> lan-māsya biye diye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A man came, on a red horse, all dressed in red. We fought from evening until morning. I could not prevail against him.’ (A12:19)

15.4.2.9. *Combined with Existential Particle*

The infinitive form *pyāša* is sometimes combined with the existential particle when the verb has the sense of ‘to remain’. All the attested examples have the negative particle:

- (1) *čú mändí lítla pyāša.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She no longer had anything.’ (A26:59)  
 (2) *lítlux pyāša p̄ər̄əṯ,<sup>1</sup> diya qaṭl̄xlux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You no longer have any opportunity (for escape), we shall kill you right now.’ (A26:76)  
 (3) *liθ-pyāša ʾanna t̄-amr̄axxa bōla diye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘No more of its heads, as we call them, remain.’ (B5:97)

## 15.5. OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE INFINITIVE

15.5.1. *General Remarks*

In some sections of the foregoing treatment of the compound infinitive construction with the verb ‘to be’ mention has been made of some contexts in which the auxiliary verb is omitted. Most examples of this omission cited above are infinitive constructions in narrative occurring after a preceding infinitive bearing the copula, or occasionally before a following infinitive bearing the copula. In such cases the infinitive without the copula expresses an event that is closely connected with that of the preceding or following clause respectively, in that they are presented as being components of the same overall event. In this section we shall examine further contexts in which an infinitive lacking a copula or form of the verb *hwy* is used.

With regard to the subject referent of an infinitive, this is in principle either explicitly expressed together with the infinitive or, if not expressed, it is the continuation of the subject referent of the preceding clause. An exception to this is where the infinitive has an impersonal subject. This is seen, for example, in (1), in which the infinitive *t̃áya* has an impersonal, unspecified 3pl. subject, which is not the subject of the preceding clause. This infinitive, moreover, is the first of a sequence of two infinitives, the preceding clauses having *q̃ille* form verbs. The plural resultative participles in the following clauses demonstrate that the subject of the infinitive is 3pl.:

- (1) *pille šnèle.<sup>1</sup> t̃áya báθre díye la-xzàýalle.<sup>1</sup> xárθa t̃fiqe bíye xázyalle ʔína š̃nyá,<sup>1</sup> npíla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He fell and fainted. They searched for him but did not find him. Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen.’ (A14:87)

In addition to narrative sequence, the infinitive is used in the contexts described below. When the infinitive lacks the verb ‘to be’ in these contexts, it is still treated as a verb with regard to its syntactic relation to the participants in the clause. The subject and direct object are combined with the infinitive as they are with verbs, the infinitive never being linked to these clausal participants by nominal annexation with the particle *D*.

### 15.5.2. *Temporally Overlapping Activity*

The infinitive may be used to express an activity that was being performed at the same time as that of the preceding verb. If the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the preceding verb, the infinitive is normally used without any pronominal subject, e.g.

- (1) *xa-núra ʔθyεle b-l̃èle<sup>1</sup> ʔax-ʔáxxa sàqa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A light came in the night, coming up right here.’ (A29:23)
- (2) *ʔáw<sup>1</sup> šaq̃ílla gána Bakúrko ràqa,<sup>1</sup> šàle<sup>1</sup> kəs-Mămo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He, Bakurko, took himself off running and went down to Mămo.’ (A26:78)
- (3) *xzég̃ən xònəx<sup>1</sup> ʔu-Mămo t-íla tíwe m̃tawóle b-sətrənjàne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘See your brother and Mămo who are sitting playing chess.’ (A26:64)
- (4) *síqle l-b̃èθa<sup>1</sup> p̃š̃ma-w<sup>1</sup> bxáya mxáya l-gáne díye<sup>1</sup> bnóne díye t-la-ʔixàlela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He went up to the house, sad, weeping, beating himself (thinking that his children would be without food.’ (A22:7)

- (5) *xa-béna 'áθyele xa-<sup>2</sup>aqúbra xās-súsa,<sup>1</sup> maṭròye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-lwíša júllat xumàla,<sup>1</sup> 'u-maṭròye xās-súse dīye,<sup>1</sup> pyáða táma tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then a mouse came on the back of a horse, riding, dressed in fine clothes, riding on the back of his horse, passing by.’ (A35:4)

In such contexts the infinitive is generally negated by the particle *t-la* ‘without’, e.g.

- (6) *máxe zórna xa-salíqa xèna,<sup>1</sup> 'órbe b-dèri,<sup>1</sup> b-g<sup>2</sup>anè),<sup>1</sup> t-la-măđóre la-šávàna<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-<sup>2</sup>àp-xa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He played another tune on the pipe and the sheep returned, by themselves, without a shepherd driving them back or anybody.’ (A25:27)
- (7) *zeđàye<sup>1</sup> 'áxlət mánna t-là-qšaya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You should eat the pittas without breaking them.’ (A30:5)
- (8) *'áni xáṭte huwèdi sáma zóda<sup>1</sup> 'i-zǎrila t-là maštóye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The *huwedi* wheat they generally sow without irrigating.’ (B5:94)
- (9) *qəm-dárla 'an-dáwwe heš-t-là bráza,<sup>1</sup> xánčī t-la-bráza meθíwa xa-gállá y-amrile sərmo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(When) they have poured out the *dawwe* while it is not yet dry, shortly before it becomes dry, they would fetch a herb called *sərmo*.’ (B14:1)

In (10), from a poetic passage, a finite verb rather than an infinitive is used after *t-la*, in order to rhyme with the end of the preceding clause:

- (10) *xámšī yóme šimúla<sup>1</sup> qurbáne t-la qriwíla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She fasted for fifty days without taking communion.’ (A37:4)

The infinitive construction is also used when it has a different subject from that of the preceding verb. In such cases the subject is expressed by a nominal or independent pronoun, e.g.

- (11) *xázyalla náše jəmye<sup>1</sup> qúrbat qásrət málka,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa məwóθe xà-məndi,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mára xà-məndi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He saw the people gathered near the palace of the king, each one saying something, each one telling something.’ (A4:11)
- (12) *siqtela.<sup>1</sup> 'áy hár mšeyðòne<sup>1</sup> šwára ndáya gu-d-án 'otáxe šluxèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She (the old woman) went up (to see her). She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around naked in the rooms.’ (A4:17)

- (13) *w-ána qəm-maxèli<sup>1</sup> w-áti xyára biyi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They beat me while you were looking at me.’ (A2:10)

Again, the infinitive is generally negated by the particle *t-la* ‘without’, e.g.

- (14) *qíméle jáldé madónxa t-la-mxàya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He rose early while the dawn was not breaking (= before dawn broke).’ (A8:51)

We have seen that also the infinitive with the deictic copula can be used to express an event that overlaps temporally with that of an adjacent clause (§15.4.2.3.). In principle this expresses a greater degree of independent duration. The infinitives in the foregoing examples, by contrast, are typically more closely knit with the activities expressed by the adjacent verbs with a lesser degree of independent duration.

In the foregoing examples the infinitive supplies a further description of the event. In some cases the infinitive may have an exegetical relationship to a preceding clause, in that it supplies further explanatory information that is necessary for its interpretation. This applies to the following:

- (15) *’ána wídlí spayùða,<sup>1</sup> maxzòyállux dàwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I did a kindness by showing you the gold.’ (A10:12)
- (16) *’áwowa mò-tàhər nášele?<sup>1</sup> là-’amrətti?<sup>1</sup> zála škàya ’əlli?<sup>1</sup>* ‘What kind of person is he (Čixalo)—won’t you tell me?—going complaining about me?’ (A25:31)
- (17) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða biyi,<sup>1</sup> məθóye dwáqəlla ’ùxi?<sup>1</sup>* ‘Why have you done this to me, bringing (snow) and blocking my road?’ (A25:42)

An infinitive may be used in a clause preceding the main clause, expressing an activity or situation that was in existence when the event of the main clause took place, e.g.

- (18) *’ánna kút-danət jràta,<sup>1</sup> suráye dwáqəlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Each time they slip, the Christians grab them.’ (B19:7)
- (19) *’áni xyàpa,<sup>1</sup> zúlele yàwona<sup>1</sup> zdíθəlle leka-Səttiye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘While they were bathing, the dove went and threw it by Səttiye.’ (A25:72)
- (20) *’áxni pláta gu-bèða,<sup>1</sup> báýəx táýəx xá-məndi t-àxləx,<sup>1</sup> hóla xzáyəllən qátu ráqa báθrən xəlłeni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(When) we go out into the house and search for something to eat, the cat sees us, runs after us and eats us.’ (A44:1)



- (21) *š-lá-praqa ʔo-pék diye<sup>1</sup> ʔo-xáwri hádax gabbàra,<sup>1</sup> xázax wírre gawàye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(While) my friend, who was a huge man, had not yet finished his measure (of whiskey), we saw him go inside.’ (B15:58)

Also in these contexts an infinitive with a deictic copula may be used. The difference again is that the copula makes the clause less tightly knit with the adjacent clause and presents it as having a greater degree of independent duration.

### 15.5.3. *Cognate Infinitive*

On some occasions a finite verb is combined with an infinitive from the same root and stem. Such infinitives are placed either before or after the verb. The general purpose of this construction is to give prominence to the verbal predicate. It is found in a variety of different contexts.

The verbal predicate is sometimes given prominence in order to set it in contrastive opposition to a situation mentioned in the adjacent context, e.g.

- (1) *ʔáwwa béθa xálála-wewa<sup>1</sup> bás ʔáyya ʔása dàwa<sup>1</sup> gnàwa-wawa gnúta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘That house was pure, but the bowl had been stolen.’ (A15:18)
- (2) *kusiθa,<sup>1</sup> har-ʔámra-wewa,<sup>1</sup> gamrúwa gmàra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A hat was only wool. They pressed it (they did not knit it).’ (B10:50)
- (3) *ʔína bróna lèla xíltàlle.<sup>1</sup> har-nobáltàlle muttétàlle mattòye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But she did not eat the boy. She had just taken him and put him down.’ (A19:7)
- (4) *b-qétà lá-mšax doqàxle,<sup>1</sup> ʔalla-qtála qaṭlúwa náše.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In summer we could not catch them, but rather people would kill them.’ (B5:147)

The construction is used when the situation described is deemed by the speaker to be unexpected in the context, e.g.

- (5) *ʔap-qtála báyánwa qaṭlèmwale.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I even wanted to to kill him.’ (A1:17)
- (6) *ʔé-ga lánwa brìθa ʔána bráya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘At that time I was not even born.’ (B8:5)
- (7) *práxa prìxle?<sup>1</sup>* ‘Has he flown away?’ (B9:6)

In many cases the cognate infinitive is used with a verb denoting an action that has particular importance. This is often reflected also by the repetition of the verb within the section of discourse in question, e.g.

- (8) *ʔáyya y-amríla mandôrta, ʔáʕni mandrále gâre... qa-t-lá-şala dalôpe. ʔu-b-şàtwa ʔíθena ʔíma t-y-áθe ʔryàna ʔáy mandôre mándari.* 'They call this a roller, that is it rolls the roof... so that leaking water does seep down (into the house). In the winter, when it rains, they would roll it.' (B5:193–194)
- (9) *qayámwa bábət xàtna, dawáqwa ʔíðə bábə k'álo. ʔáʕni dŵáqa dawáqwa ʔíðə-díye qá-t ʔó-māndi wèle.* 'The father of the groom would rise and shake the hand of the father of the bride. He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.' (B5:10)
- (10) *tre-şabbáθa qam-dána ċēdi. y-ázi maθwàθa, ċyàda ċēdŵa.* 'Two weeks beforehand they would invite (people). They would go to the villages and make invitations.' (B5:20)
- (11) *har-t-órən lāxxa. qíála har-qaṭlīli. t-árqən b-o-kandála hár qaṭlīli.* 'I shall go in here. They will kill me. If I run down the slope, they will kill me.' (B9:4)

The construction is used as an intensifier to express the extensive or far-reaching nature of the action, e.g.

- (12) *ʔána zála har-zílən biya* 'I have absolutely gone with it! (i.e. I am finished!)' (A14:25)
- (13) *maṭréwa maṭróye xelàna.* 'He was riding hard.' (A8:39)

In (14) it is used to express the slow drawing out of the action:

- (14) *şqílta réşe mattóye mtútalle l-àra.* 'She took his head and slowly put it on the ground.' (A13:12)

In (15) and (16) the cognate infinitive is used to give prominence to the descriptive content of the action of the verb:

- (15) *kút-xa y-amráxxe ʔáʕni ʔən-íle náşa şpà, ʔó-yoma basímta t-óya şəmşá. xàðexi. ʔó-yoma hâtxa ʔáʕni y-amráxla màra.* 'We would say to each person, if he was a good man, that on that day the sun will shine. We were having fun. It was like that on that day, we would just say such things (but not really mean it).' (B5:150–151)
- (16) *ʔáy lèwa zŵána zŵánalla.* 'They were not really buying it.' (B15:68)

In (17) the construction is used to make a forceful assertion to dispel the doubt of a question posed by the interlocutor:

- (17) *zagrítuwa? zqára 'i-zagróxwa 'àxni, 'hè.*<sup>1</sup> 'Did you knit? We indeed used to knit, yes.' (B10:46)

In the foregoing examples the cognate infinitive is the same stem as the finite verb. In (18), by contrast, a stem I infinitive is combined with a stem II verb. The stem II verb (*m-brz* 'to dry') is transitive whereas the stem I form (*brz* I 'to become dry') is intransitive. The infinitive, therefore, does not simply intensify the verb but expresses a telic outcome 'they dry the rice so that it becomes dry', i.e. 'they dried the rice out':

- (18) *bar-hádax rózza mbárzi bràza.*<sup>1</sup> *masqúwale gère,*<sup>1</sup> *masqúwa gár-t bèða.*<sup>1</sup> *mπαθέwale.*<sup>1</sup> *barózza tàza.*<sup>1</sup> 'After that they dry the rice out. They would take it up to the roof, take it up to the roof of the house. They spread it out. It became thoroughly dry.' (B5:88)

#### 15.5.4. Purpose

On some occasions an infinitive is used to extend the description of an action in a preceding clause by denoting the purpose of the action rather than an action that actually takes place during its time interval. This is particularly common after verbs expressing movement, taking and fetching, e.g.

- (1) *Žine zílla dwáqalla prìxla.*<sup>1</sup> 'Zine went to grab it, (but) it flew off.' (A25:72)
- (2) *y-azúwa baxtátha yáda.*<sup>1</sup> 'The women would go to weed.' (B5:78)
- (3) *kút-yum' šaléwa gáwra' l-šùqa' msawòqe.*<sup>1</sup> 'Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping.' (A22:1)
- (4) *'áp-'aw qíméle šqílalle tàwra' šəlyele' mزابònalle.*<sup>1</sup> 'So, he took the ox and went down to sell it.' (A22:2)
- (5) *mára lá-dri xélət gànux.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána θiθən mpaltánnux m-gu-səjən.*<sup>1</sup> *móre lát-θiθa 'ána mpalótəlli m-gu-səjən.*<sup>1</sup> *θiθət šqála 'áyya róxi mən-gu-gəni.*<sup>1</sup> 'She said "Do not struggle. I have come to bring you out of the prison." He said "You have not come to bring me out of the prison. You have come to take my spirit from me."' (A26:82)
- (6) *'áy kút-yom mpaltáwala mārəyalla.*<sup>1</sup> 'She took them out every day to pasture them.' (A34:20)

- (7) *'ána šqilanne<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa qatíya mxáya 'álle diyē.<sup>1</sup>* 'I took this stick to strike at it.' (A29:23)

#### 15.5.5. Complement of Verbs

The infinitive is used in the complement of verbs of perception, in which it expresses the action of the referent that is perceived. The perceived referent may be placed directly after the verb or is introduced by the presentative particle *'ina*, e.g.

- (1) *xzélux xa-náša θàya.<sup>1</sup>* 'You saw a man coming.' (A22:22)  
 (2) *wírre kaslèy<sup>1</sup> xírre mtúle bàla<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mǎnnèy<sup>1</sup> réše mtáya l-túra.<sup>1</sup>* 'When he went in to meet them, he looked and noticed that the head of each of them reached the (top of) the mountain.' (A39:5)  
 (3) *qímèle plíta<sup>1</sup> xázya 'ina béθat Qára Téždin qàða.<sup>1</sup>* 'He went out and saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning.' (A26:53)

Object agreement pronouns on the verb, as in (4), indicate that the perceived item is raised into the matrix clause when there is no *'ina* particle:

- (4) *là hummánne.<sup>1</sup> ha-t-xazèla<sup>1</sup> bráta θàya.<sup>1</sup>* 'He did not believe it, until he saw the girl coming.' (A26:79)

The verb of perception may be omitted with only the presentative particle being used, e.g.

- (5) *mátti bála gu-yàma,<sup>1</sup> 'ina<sup>1</sup> 'a-sústət yamàθa<sup>1</sup> nabòlalla<sup>1</sup> Čalkáže.<sup>1</sup>* 'They looked at the sea and saw the mare of the seas taking away Čalkáže.' (A12:34)

The infinitive is also used as the complement of various other verbs including those having the sense of 'beginning', 'learning', 'being busy' and the irregular verb *kyaza* 'to try', e.g.

- (6) *šúryela mławóle b-šətrənjàne.<sup>1</sup>* 'They started to play chess.' (A26:63)  
 (7) *šurèla<sup>1</sup> jnàna<sup>1</sup> 'u-bxàya<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšawóre tla-xóna-w Bakùrko.<sup>1</sup>* 'She began to lament, weep and curse her brother and Bakurko.' (A26:83)  
 (8) *šurèle là-draya bála l-sətrənjàne.<sup>1</sup> šurèle gašòqe<sup>1</sup> b-žine.<sup>1</sup>* 'He began not to pay attention to the chess. He began to look at Zine.' (A26:66)

- (9) *ʔu-táwra píšle mangóle ʔáxxa l-tàmma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The ox began to limp back and forth.’ (A22:3)
- (10) *píštela mtanóye ḏa-qəṣṣət ʔla-qətu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She started to tell a story to the cat.’ (A14:2)
- (11) *qím̄la zr̄áʔa xabùše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They began to cultivate apples.’ (B5:75)
- (12) *ʔy hár-lípla dm̄axa ʔu-xàla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She learnt only how to sleep and to eat.’ (A21:1)
- (13) *m-táma hòdax ʔkúlla ʔan-ʔárba yàrx̄e, ʔxámša yàrx̄e, ʔy-áwε náše blíge mj̄ámòye, ʔmj̄ámòye qa-sətw̄a.*<sup>1</sup> ‘From this time onwards, throughout four or five months, people are busy gathering, gathering for winter.’ (B5:107)
- (14) *kízle qr̄àya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He tried calling.’ (A48:5)
- (15) *kízle mx̄àya ʔgoyáθət s̄usa, ʔs̄usa la-jw̄ijle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move.’ (A28:33)
- (16) *kaz̄íwa prám̄alla har-palt̄íwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up.’ (A38:15)

Past forms of the verb *šry* II ‘to begin’ may also be followed by a finite verb rather than an infinitive, e.g.

- (17) *šur̄ele zm̄irre b-s̄usa sm̄òqa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He started singing to a brown horse.’ (A25:11)
- (18) *šur̄ela xr̄it̄la.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She started to gouge it out.’ (A19:6)
- (19) *šuryela x̄ilela m-ḡḏàḏe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They began to eat together.’ (A21:21)
- (20) *šur̄ele ta-t-ʔàx̄al.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He began to eat’ (A21:12)

#### 15.5.6. *Complement of a Noun*

On some occasions the infinitive is the complement of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *ʔíθwa rába ʔurx̄áθa m̄tawòle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were many ways to play.’ (B15:5)

#### 15.5.7. *Complement of an Adjective*

- (1) *ʔáti mùdit har-blíga ʔl̄ába m-aláha ta-t-yaẁəllux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why are always busy asking God to give (things) to you.’ (A3:3)
- (2) *léla senáyí xz̄àyalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is not easy to see him.’
- (3) *z̄ám̄atila w̄àḏalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is difficult to do it.’

15.5.8. *Syntactic Position of a Nominal*

The infinitive is attested in various syntactic positions that are normally occupied by nominals. These include:

(i) *The Subject of a Clause*

- (1) *qráya zàmət-ila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Reading is difficult.’
- (2) *mdaróye modíla.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What is winnowing?’ (B5:97)
- (3) *’áθela myáθa ’up-’áy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Death comes upon also her.’ (A26:89)

(ii) *The Complement of a Naming Expression, e.g*

- (1) *’áwewa y-amráxxe wáða hērike.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We call this “making soft mud beds.”’ (B5:76)
- (2) *y-amráxxe mxáya bē’e.*<sup>1</sup> *yá’ni šmáta bē’e xa-d-o-xèna,*<sup>1</sup> *twàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We call this “striking eggs,” that is knocking eggs together and breaking them.’ (B5:58)

(iii) *The Complement of a Preposition*

- (1) *pláxa biš-spáyila mən-dmàxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Working is better than sleeping.’
- (2) *xa-béna xázya ’θyēle xa-xùwwe*<sup>1</sup> *’ax-pràxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then he saw a snake come, as if flying.’ (A14:31)
- (3) *máme díye t-wéwa max-qtálalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His uncle who had almost killed him.’ (A25:70)
- (4) *’ána mjámóye qèse,*<sup>1</sup> *déwe blíge b-xmáre xàla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘While I was collecting wood, wolves were busy eating the asses.’ (A23:35)

(iv) *The Complement of a Nominal in Annexation*

- (1) *jawáttat práma qèse*<sup>1</sup> ‘a chopper for cutting wood’ (A26:91)

(v) *The Complement of the Existential Particle*

- (1) *’ína gu-d-ε-dàna*<sup>1</sup> *har-’iθ rqàða-w*<sup>1</sup> *zmàra-w*<sup>1</sup> *mεθóye štèθa,*<sup>1</sup> *’araq-u*<sup>1</sup> *xumlàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘At that time there is constantly dancing, singing, serving of drinks, arak, and jollity.’ (B5:71)

Although the infinitive in these constructions is in a syntactic slot appropriate for a nominal, the infinitive is still treated like a verb with regard to its own internal complementation. This is seen in (ii1), (ii2) and (iv1), where the objects of the infinitives are juxtaposed (*wáða herike* ‘making soft mud beds’, *mxáya bɛɛ* ‘striking eggs’, *šmáta bɛɛ* ‘knocking eggs’, *práma qèse* ‘cutting wood’) rather than the infinitive being connected to it by a nominal annexation with the particle *D*. In (iii4), furthermore, the object is fronted before the infinitive (*b-xmáre xàla*). Note also that when the infinitive functions as the subject of a clause, it is often construed as feminine in gender (i1–2).

### 15.6. THE VERBAL NOUN

The verbal noun, which is formed by adding the feminine ending to the infinitive, in principle denotes a single occurrence of an activity (§10.5.2.2.) and so is inherently perfective in aspect. It may also be used to refer to an iterative activity by denoting a single representative occurrence of this iterated situation.

#### 15.6.1. *The Nominal Nature of the Verbal Noun*

The verbal noun is treated syntactically in most respects like other nouns. It may be used in a clause in positions that are appropriate for nouns, such as subject position (1–2) or the complement of a preposition (3–5):

- (1) *dánət plíʔla qyàmta.*<sup>1</sup> *šháarta qa-t-qyàmta páʔta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The time when the resurrection has come. They keep vigil until the resurrection comes out.’ (B5:54)
- (2) *bár parqáwa qyàmta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After the resurrection (ceremony) had finished...’ (B5:56)
- (3) *ʔu-ʔáyya gu-dyàrta<sup>1</sup> mòdi wíʔla.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What did she do on her return?’ (A19:4)
- (4) *ʔm-bǎyǎxwa tuma,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔla-mbašàlta,*<sup>1</sup> *kəfəmile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us.’ (B10:24)
- (5) *mhàyyərri<sup>1</sup> bəd-taxmàntux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Help me with your thought (on this matter).’ (A21:2)

A nominal denoting the subject or object participant of the activity expressed by the verbal noun must be combined with the verbal noun

by nominal annexation. This differs from infinitives, which are treated as verbs in this respect and have their participants juxtaposed. Examples:

(i) *Subject*

- (1) *qyámtət m̀àran*<sup>1</sup> ‘the resurrection of our Lord’ (B5:55)
- (2) *gu-práqtət ’aš̀rta,*<sup>1</sup> *bar-prìqla,*<sup>1</sup> *mεθέwa juwàla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘At the end of the evening, after they finished, they would bring a sack.’ (B5:86)
- (3) *b-zòr-male*<sup>1</sup> *tla-mapláxtət bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is scarcely enough for the household to use.’ (B5:215)

(ii) *Object*

- (1) *xyáptət x̀ətna*<sup>1</sup> ‘the washing of the groom’ (B15:74)
- (2) *zrétət r̀əzza*<sup>1</sup> ‘the cultivating of rice’ (B5:76)
- (3) *paláttət ’araq*<sup>1</sup> ‘the production of arak’ (B5:12)
- (4) *mtarástət x̀əlyá* ‘the preparation of milk’ (B5:173)
- (5) *’u-qáð̀əxwa yóma qamáyət ’èða,*<sup>1</sup> *baráxtət ’éða xa-d-o-xèna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would spend the first day of the festival offering festival blessings to one another.’ (B15:8)

### 15.6.2. *Cognate Verbal Nouns*

Verbal nouns are used with their cognate verbs in various contexts. It is found in anaphoric expressions such as those in (1) and (2), which express a perfective and iterative activity respectively:

- (1) *’u-píšele gu-d-ε-pyàšta*<sup>1</sup> *há-t-ila θiθa ’ámte d̀iye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He remained in that situation until his aunt came.’ (A23:7)
- (2) *’u-’an-baxtáθa*<sup>1</sup> *kaps̀iwale,*<sup>1</sup> *nap̀s̀iwale gu-d-a-np̀àšta*<sup>1</sup> *’u-matt̀iwale l-qóma b́áθər x̀əšey.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The women would gather it and shake it with the shaking (just mentioned) and put it into a pile behind their back.’ (B5:85)

Similar anaphoric constructions are used in which the finite verb occurs in a preceding clause, e.g.

- (3) *m̀ara qú š̀li-xzi!*<sup>1</sup> ... *gu-d-é š̀leθèy*<sup>1</sup> *qátu wirtela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She said “Go down and see!” While they were coming down (like this), a cat came in.’ (A4:52–53)



A verbal noun is used with a cognate finite verb to express the intensity of a single perfective action, e.g.

- (4) *θέλε τάλγα xa-θέθα.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Snow came with a (great) coming’ (i.e. it snowed heavily).’ (A25:41)

The use of a cognate verbal noun can be used to give additional morphological coding to a perfective event to mark a boundary in the discourse. This is the case with (5), in which the clause in question marks an episodic boundary:

- (5) *qláhta díya qlíbla<sup>1</sup> ’u-kúlle bàrya<sup>1</sup> y-amráxxe xa-kerábsa* ‘She returned her return (= When she returned) and it had all grown into (the plant) we call *kerabsa*.’ (A34:17)

### 15.6.3. *The Verbal Noun Combined with the Verb ‘to be’*

On some occasions the verbal noun is combined with the verb ‘to be’ following the model of compound verbal forms with the infinitive. This construction expresses an iterative action, by presenting one representative occurrence of the action. The compound infinitive construction can express the same iterative sense (§15.4.2.4.). Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *hár mkapáštát kisyáθat dāwela tóto.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The old woman is all the time collecting bags of gold.’ (A4:22)
- (2) *rqàðtela-w<sup>1</sup> xálta-w štèθela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They are dancing, eating and drinking.’ (A14:46)
- (3) *warwàrtela-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘It (the bear) roars.’ (A27:29)
- (4) *maplàštewálley<sup>1</sup> yán mattáxwaley gu-šàwle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would knock them together or we would put them in shoes.’ (B15:5)
- (5) *’m-t-áwe jwájta,<sup>1</sup> b-šàxəm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If he moves (on one occasion), he warms up.’ (B11:16)

Note that the verbal noun in (4) *maplàštewálley* expresses the pronominal object with an *’all-* phrase.

In (6) a verbal noun construction is juxtaposed with an infinitive construction. The former can be interpreted as expressing the iterated single events of the animal’s roaring and the latter as denoting a continuous activity of singing:

- (6) *'ay-wàðtela<sup>1</sup> nāra-nāra diya<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áw zmàrele bíya.<sup>1</sup>* 'She is giving off her roar and he is singing along with her.' (A27:14)

In (7), where the subject in the English translation is non-volitional, the copula takes the verbal noun as its grammatical subject:

- (7) *qarqárite diyela<sup>1</sup>* 'He made a squeaking noise (literally: there is his squeaking).' (A30:9)

In (8) the form *jnanyaθa* can be interpreted as the plural of the verbal noun *jnanta* and, therefore, expresses a plurality of individual actions:

- (8) *qímela 'àθye.<sup>1</sup> 'é-bena 'áxxa kúlla jnanyàθela.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga zmárele b-tábut diye.<sup>1</sup>* 'They came and there they all lamented and sang (dirges) over his coffin.' (A26:83)

### 15.7. THE IMPERATIVE FORM

In most cases the imperative form is used perfectly to command the performance of a single delimited action with a clear start and endpoint, e.g.

- (1) *prímu rěše!<sup>1</sup>* 'Cut off his head!' (A24:31)  
 (2) *hallúle 'álpa dāwe!<sup>1</sup>* 'Give him a thousand gold pieces!' (A1:14)  
 (3) *šqúlla yalāxθa!<sup>1</sup>* 'Take the scarf!' (A4:18)  
 (4) *diya-méθu júlli malušúla!<sup>1</sup>* 'Now bring my clothes and put them on (me)!' (A4:20)  
 (5) *wúð 'da-spayúθa mənni!<sup>1</sup>* 'Do me a favour!' (A7:17)  
 (6) *háyyo šlí Kārím 'áti gu-d-áwewa balí'a.<sup>1</sup>* 'Come Karim, go down into this conduit!' (A14:16)

Prohibitions may be expressed by negating an imperative form by the negative particle *la*. If this particle is combined with the verb in a stress group it typically takes the stress, e.g.

- (7) *lá-wuð qàla!<sup>1</sup>* 'Do not make a noise!' (A30:44)  
 (8) *lá-mur hātxa!<sup>1</sup>* 'Do not say that!' (A26:52)  
 (9) *bróni là qatlúle!<sup>1</sup>* 'Do not kill my son!' (A33:6)  
 (10) *là maštóla míya!<sup>1</sup>* 'Do not give them water to drink!' (A25:9)

On some occasions the imperative is used to command or prohibit a less clearly delimited action. In (11) and (12), for example, the imperatives ‘work!’ and ‘search!’ respectively clearly command the inception of the action but do not necessarily imply an endpoint. In (13) the actions commanded by the imperatives are most easily interpreted as iterative. The speaker is referring to the annual custom of Kurds to bring sheep into the village during transhumance and intends his command to apply to all future years.

- (11) *xuš-plûxən!<sup>1</sup> ta-mú-t bařıla táwa gu-bèða?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Go and work! Why are you sitting idly in the house?’ (A39:1)
- (12) *tó-lexu xa-řúla ta-t-xáyitu biye!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Search for a job for yourselves by which you may make a living!’ (A30:1)
- (13) *lá-masqu l-gárət ’úmra!<sup>1</sup> m-gu-gárət ’úmra hóla náblula tāmáha rəhqa!<sup>1</sup> řla-mótu meřóyalla gárət ’úmra?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Don’t take them onto the roof. Take them far away from the roof of the church. Why do you bring them on the roof of the church?’ (B18:7)

In (14) and (15) the imperatives are negated by the particle *bassa* ‘enough!’ and command the end of an activity that is already in progress without any implied starting point:

- (14) *bássa bxègən!<sup>1</sup> bássa wuđ-tàzi!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Do not weep any more! Do not mourn any more!’ (A26:88)
- (15) *bássa řti ’u-rwi!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Don’t drink any more and get any more drunk!’

On numerous occasions the imperative is preceded by the particle of immediacy *də-/de-*. Most attested examples are positive commands, e.g.

- (16) *də-řqúl ’anna-zùze!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Take these coins!’ (A1:27)
- (17) *də-řúqla!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Leave it!’ (A5:7)
- (18) *de-mürri!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Tell me!’ (A4:26)
- (19) *de-wúr gu-d-áwewa gürba!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Go into this torso!’ (A14:67)

The particle may be placed before an adverb of immediate time reference, such as ‘today’ in (20):

- (20) *de-’ədyo,<sup>1</sup> qu-pégən kàde!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Today, get up and bake *kade* cakes!’ (A30:41)

In (21) the particle is placed before a 2nd person pronoun:

- (21) *də-ʔati xùšʹ* 'You go!' (A39:1)

As has been discussed in §15.1.1.5., also the 2nd person of the *qaṭəl* form can be used deontically to express commands or prohibitions. This may be used perfectly to express single delimited actions, e.g.

- (22) *súsux báyē t-kàle.¹ là-šoqt t-kàle.¹ máxat ʹlle diye ta-t-ʹásəq pàyədle ʹo-túra.¹*  
 'Your horse will want to stop. Do not let him stop. Strike him so that he will go up and cross over that mountain.' (A24:11)
- (23) *xazátla tartē bnáθa¹ t-áθi méθi qáhwa.¹ là-šaqlətle qáhwa mámma.¹ maxátle sépux ʹəl-qðaləy¹ pərmətle rešéy.¹* 'You will see two girls, who will come and bring coffee. Do not accept the coffee from them. You should strike your sword into their neck and cut off their head.' (A24:13)
- (24) *ʹázət táwrux pərmətle.¹* 'You should go and slaughter your ox.' (A7:2)

It may also be used imperfectively to express general commands or prohibitions that are not delimited to a single action, e.g.

- (25) *hàtxa ʹodéti b-náše.¹* 'This is what you should do to people!' (A22:47)
- (26) *là-qablə¹ là bəṛ-náša t-áwəṛ gáwa¹ ʹu-là héwən.¹* 'Don't allow any person or animal to enter it.' (A23:18)
- (27) *là mašíθə¹ ʹani¹ satanyàθela¹* 'Don't listen (to such things), they are little demons.' (A26:11)

The distinction between the imperative form and the deontic *qaṭəl* form, therefore, is not primarily one of aspect, although this may have some bearing on the choice between the two. The main factor is rather the communicative profile of the command. In principle a speaker uses the imperative when he wishes to give the command a high degree of salience. The deontic *qaṭəl* form is used when it has a lesser degree of salience. Various features contribute to this salience. One feature is immediacy. All other things being equal, an imperative expresses the will of the speaker for an action to be performed closer to the present moment than the *qaṭəl* form. Consider, for example, the pair of constructions (28) and (29), both of which are perfective in aspect. In (28) the speaker invites the addressee

to come immediately and join him swimming. In (29) the request relates to an action of coming at a point further in the future:

- (28) *'ána hon-sxáya gáwa.<sup>1</sup> báyyat t-áθyat sáxyat.<sup>2</sup> dā-háyyo sxà.<sup>1</sup>* 'I am swimming in it. Do you want to swim? Come and swim!' (A25:61)
- (29) *yómæt t-làθa,<sup>1</sup> 'áθæt káslèni.<sup>1</sup>* 'In three days time come to us.' (A22:17)

It is relevant to note that the particle of immediacy *dā-/de-*, which is commonly used with imperatives but only sporadically with deontic *qatəl*, is likely to be related etymologically to the adverbial *díya* 'now'. In some NENA dialects it is used in progressive constructions that express actions that are taking place at the present moment (e.g. C. Ankawa *dā-k-šatən* 'I am drinking').

As we have seen in (11) and (12), the action commanded by an imperative may extend indefinitely into the future. In (14) the action has no definite starting point. The relevant feature in all these cases is that the speaker commands the action to begin or end immediately.

The use of the imperative to express the command of iterative actions cannot be motivated by temporal immediacy. The salience of the command arises from its high degree of force, which is greater than in corresponding iterative deontic expressions with *qatəl* forms such as (30):

- (30) *kút-yom páltət 'u-xàðrət,<sup>1</sup> 'ášarta 'áθæt bēθa.<sup>1</sup>* 'Every day go out and wander about and then in the evening come back home.' (A14:62)

Another feature that contributes to salience appears to be the positiveness of the command. All other things being equal, there is a greater tendency to use the deontic *qatəl* form with a negative command than with a positive one, as reflected in (31) and (32), in which positive commands and prohibitions with perfective aspect referring to immediate actions are used side by side:

- (31) *mára háyyo,<sup>1</sup> háyyo.<sup>1</sup> madam-t-úwət 'áti,<sup>1</sup> háyyo!<sup>1</sup> là-'azət.<sup>1</sup>* 'Come, come. Since it is you, come, don't go!' (A24:36)
- (32) *'áti là pálxət.<sup>1</sup> 'áti tū.<sup>1</sup> 'ána pálxən.<sup>1</sup>* 'Don't you work. You sit down. I shall work.' (A21:23)

Indeed, in some NENA dialects, such as C. Qaraqosh, negative commands can only be expressed by negating the *qatəl* form (cf. Khan 2002: 351). In C. Barwar, as in many other NENA dialects, negation has been

extended to imperative forms, but the distribution of negated commands is still less than that of positive commands on account of the inherently lower degree of salience of a negated command. The fact that the particle *də-/de-*, which gives added salience to a command, is largely restricted to positive commands may also be a reflection of this inherently lower salience of negated commands.

All the uses of the imperative described above can be reconciled with the claim that the form is perfective. As already remarked, cases such as (11), (12) and (14) can be regarded as having an ingressive or terminative sense, which are features exhibited by other perfective forms. The occurrence of the imperative in iterative expressions can be explained as being the use of a perfective form appropriate to command an individual occurrence of the iterated action to command, by implication, the iterated action as a whole. It is relevant to note that in (13) the speaker uses in an adjacent clause the compound infinitive construction to refer to an iterative action (*tla-mótu məθóyalla gárat 'úmra?*<sup>91</sup> 'Why do you bring them on the roof of the church?'). As we have seen (§15.4.2.4.), the use of the infinitive construction to express an iterative action is an extension of its use to express a perfective narrative present. It can be said that the basic perfectivity of the form, which gives the commanded action delimited boundaries, results in its salience and it is this perfectivity that gives the sense of greater force in the command. The deontic *qatəl* form, on the other hand, may express either perfective or imperfective aspect. We may summarize the features contributing to the salience in imperative forms in the scales below, in which the symbol > should be read as 'more salient than'. All other things being equal, a command with the features on the lefthand side of the scales would be more likely to be expressed by an imperative than those with the features on the righthand side:

Perfective	>	Imperfective
Positive	>	Negative
Immediate	>	Non-immediate

The imperative may be extended by a variety of suffixes (§8.6.5.). Informants feel that these add additional force to the command like the prefixed particle *də-/de-*. In the text corpus they are attested only with positive commands, which is likely to be a reflection of the inherently lower salience of the negative commands. Another factor that determines the distribution of the imperative forms with added suffixes is their position within a section of discourse. When there are two or more imperatives in a sequence,

forms with added suffixes tend to be placed at the end of the sequence. The heavy morphological coding of the forms is used in such contexts to mark a final boundary of a discourse unit. The sequence may consist of two or more different imperatives in a closely knit unit as in (33–35) or the repetition of the same imperative as in (36) and (37), e.g.

- (33) *dúru sógena kəs-babàxu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Return, go to your father.’ (A14:85)  
 (34) *xuš-plùxm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go and work!’ (A39:1)  
 (35) *qu-pégəm kàde.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Get up and bake *kade* cakes.’ (A30:41)  
 (36) *sí-mur ta-pállən wazər*<sup>1</sup> *múrgena málka ðèle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go and say to the minister so-and-so, say the king has come back.’ (A4:33)  
 (37) *xù!*<sup>1</sup> *dànela.*<sup>1</sup> *qìrra.*<sup>1</sup> *xùlena!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Eat! It is time. It has got cold. Eat!’ (B5:34)

In a few cases the imperative is used in narrative as a substitute for a perfective narrative verbal form. These are addressed to the person performing the action and are typically used when there is a transition between spatial locations that involves a verb of movement. The clause containing the imperative may open with a 3rd person subject pronoun as in (38) and (39):

- (38) *qímtela zìlta,*<sup>1</sup> *muθéðəlla quşàrta dīya.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔa-zórta muttáðəlla gu-d-é quşártət šwàwe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-nubáltəlla.*<sup>1</sup> *hadīya,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáw qu-šqúlla quşàrta-w*<sup>1</sup> *sí be-šwàwux.*<sup>1</sup> *šláma-llexu šwàwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She went and brought her cooking pot. She put the small one in the cooking pot of the neighbours and took it (to her husband). Now, he—get up and take the cooking pot and go to the house of your neighbour! “Greetings to you neighbours.”’ (A5:4)  
 (39) *qáyəm yawólle ʔálpa dáwe xène.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáw xá-reša m-táma qu-si l-bèða.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp ʔan-tre-ʔálpe dáwe xéne mèðila.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-háygo šláma-llux xóni xùwwe!*<sup>1</sup> ‘He gives him another thousand gold pieces. He—directly from there get up and go home. Bring back also those two thousand pieces of gold and come back “Greetings my brother snake! Peace and blessings!”’ (A1:19–20)

Example (40) illustrates the use of an imperative for another type of narrative strategy. The negated imperative of the verb to say *lá-mur* ‘Do not say!’, which is presumably addressed to the hearer of the narrative, has the function of drawing special attention to what follows.

- (40) *ʔu-lá-mur qáyəθ b-o-t-ile dəpne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Guess what, (literally: Don’t say) he knocked into the one next to him.’ (A22:34)

The imperatives of the verbs *qym* ‘to get up’ and *ʔw* ‘to sit down’ are often combined with the resultative participle: *qu-qíma!* ‘Get up (ms.)!’; *qu-qímta!* (fs.), *tu-tíwa!* ‘Sit down (ms.)!’; *tu-tíwta!* ‘Sit down (fs.)!’ In the plural, the plural inflection is used only on the participle: *qu-qíme!* ‘Get up (pl.)!’; *tu-tíwe!* ‘Sit down (pl.)’. In some cases in the plural the imperative element *qu-* or *tu-* is dispensed with altogether and the plural participle is used alone with imperative function, e.g.

- (41) *páqðu tìwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Please, sit down.’ (A15:8)  
 (42) *máru de-tíwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She said “Sit down.”’ (A21:28)  
 (43) *qíme so-mèθole ʔalli-díyi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Get up and go and bring him to me.’ (A7:7)

### 15.8. THE VERB *prš*

This verb is used either with the sense of continuity (‘to remain’) or with an ingressive sense (‘to become’).

#### 15.8.1. *Continuity*

(i) When it has the sense of ‘remaining’, it can be used absolutely, without any complement except for an optional adverbial, e.g.

- (1) *péši xátna-w k’álo tàma! hal-xušèba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The groom and bride stay there until Sunday.’ (B5:51)  
 (2) *ʔáwwa y-asáqwa mən-léle hal-ʔašərtá ʔu-ʔrwe pəšúwa gu-túra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He (the shepherd) would go up in the morning (and work) until evening. The small cattle would remain in the mountains.’ (B5:158)  
 (3) *ʔu-napšəwale,* *qá-t ʔan-rəzza la-páyəš gəwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They shook it so that the rice did not remain in it.’ (B5:84)  
 (4) *báya pəša,* *pəša ʔáy ʔaxxa,* *b-šəpət brənən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If she wants to stay, let her stay here, in place of our son.’ (A4:39)

A perfective past form in narrative may express a situation enduring for a delimited period of time, e.g.



- (5) *píšla tla-yàrxē.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They stayed three months.’ (A14:84)  
 (6) *píšele gu-túra xá-yoma yóme trè.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He remained in the mountains one or two days.’ (A4:2)

In narrative the verb is sometimes used with the anaphoric adverbial *hàdax* ‘like this, thus’ to express a passage of time and a transition between episodes, e.g.

- (7) *šaryela gu-d-é ’otél ’o-yòma-w<sup>1</sup> píšela hàdax.*<sup>1</sup> *’aşrta θiθela<sup>1</sup> báyi t-áxli xa-ràmša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They put up in the hotel that day and remained like that. The evening came and they wanted to eat dinner.’ (A2:2)  
 (8) *’u-xílela ’áni mândi-w<sup>1</sup> susāwaθéy daryalla mândi ’ixála.*<sup>1</sup> *píšela hàdax.*<sup>1</sup> *’àmər...<sup>1</sup> xuláma ’ámər tla-mìra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They ate something and gave their horses some food. They remained like that. The servant said to the master...’ (A26:17–18)

The verb in the *qtille* form may express the onset of a situation with no definite endpoint, which is sequential to a preceding situation, e.g.

- (9) *đá-kθεθα xilála,*<sup>1</sup> *đá píšla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He ate one chicken and one remained.’ (A2:3)  
 (10) *hár šamme píšle Čuxo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His name still remained Čuxo (after the preceding event).’ (A7:4)

When the subject is human, the verb can have the sense of ‘remaining alive’, e.g.

- (11) *’u-xaráye tliba díya qəm-šaqləxle.*<sup>1</sup> *’áy píšla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the end we took her betrothed but she remained alive.’ (A4:45)  
 (12) *káwa xoš-t-awéwa píša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He should have remained alive.’ (A7:20)

(ii) Finite inflections of *pyš* can be combined with an infinitive to express the uninterrupted continuity of an event or situation over a period of time, e.g.

- (1) *’o-bróna t-íle zíla đa-bázər xèta,*<sup>1</sup> *yá’ni đa-mđita,*<sup>1</sup> *đa-màθa,*<sup>1</sup> *píšle rába mparòje,*<sup>1</sup> *mašyóθe l-béthət bábe díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The son who had gone to another town, that is a town, a village, remained watching intently, listening (for news) about his father’s family.’ (A18:12)

- (2) *ʔu-pištela bxàya.<sup>1</sup> pištela bxàya,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bxàya,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bxàya,<sup>1</sup> xà-yoma-w<sup>1</sup> trè-u<sup>1</sup> xa-yàrx-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘She continued weeping. She continued weeping and weeping and weeping, one day, two, one month.’ (A4:44)
- (3) *ʔo-pištela ʔan-dəbbòrè<sup>1</sup> har-zàla-w θàya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The bees continued to go back and forth.’ (A20:8)
- (4) *pišla béna gráša kúllət yóma mən-d-o-dùša<sup>1</sup> hál ʔašrta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘All day they continued to draw out that honey, until evening.’ (A14:15)

In (5) the infinitive coming after the verb *pyš* is negated by the negative copula:

- (5) *pišla bábe-u yómme-u xonǎwáθa lèla hǎmóne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘His father and mother and her brothers continued not to believe it.’ (A18:11)

It may also be combined with a resultative participle of a stative verb to express a similar sense, e.g.

- (6) *ʔu-xilela ʔixàla<sup>1</sup> ʔu-piše dmixe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They ate food and remained there asleep (i.e. they stayed the night there).’ (A15:8)

### 15.8.2. *Ingressive*

(i) When it has the sense of ‘to become’, it is combined with a complement expressing an identity or property that is acquired by the subject, e.g.

- (1) *m-bár taxnile,<sup>1</sup> páyaš qàmxa<sup>1</sup> masqile bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house.’ (B5:99)
- (2) *maštəwala<sup>1</sup> qá-t xáčča pészawa rakixta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would irrigate it so that it would become rather soft.’ (B5:76)
- (3) *ʔána pišli bəxtux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I have become your wife.’ (A25:65)
- (4) *mállu pišla qušárta ta-mállu.<sup>1</sup>* ‘As for the mullah, the pot became the mullah’s.’ (A5:10)
- (5) *Bárwar pištela kúlla m-Záwa l-Xawóra t-là-maθwaθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘All of Barwar, from the Zab to the Khabur became (a land) without villages.’ (B1:10)

When an ingressive *pyš* is combined with a resultative participle from a transitive verb, the construction expresses a passive action. This will be discussed in greater detail in §15.9.3. below, e.g.

- (6) *b-é-šeta píšla Dúre muqyàmta-w*<sup>1</sup> ‘In that year Dure was evacuated.’  
(B1:8)

(ii) The verb *pyš* with an ingressive function can be combined with an infinitive and have the sense of beginning the action in question, e.g.

- (1) *’u-táwra píšle mangóle ’áxxa l-tàmma*<sup>1</sup> ‘The ox began to limp back and forth.’ (A22:3)  
 (2) *píštela mtanóye ḏa-qəṣṣət tla-qàtu*<sup>1</sup> ‘She started telling a story to the cat.’ (A14:2)  
 (3) *píšela mnáyəlla l-xà-xa*<sup>1</sup> ‘They began to count them, one by one.’ (A6:3)  
 (4) *’áyya maškánta píštela mxàya dráya qátma gu-réša dýa*<sup>1</sup> ‘The poor woman began to beat (herself) and put ash on her head.’ (A14:22)

(iii) Ingressive *pyš* is occasionally combined with a perfective verbal form to convey the sense that the event in question is the final outcome of a chain of events. This is the case in (1), where it is combined with a perfective future *qaṭəl* form:

- (1) *bas-tàma qəṣṣət dýax ’u-t-xònx péša mātýa l-xarayúṭa dýa*<sup>1</sup> ‘There your story and that of your brother will (finally) reach its end.’ (A8:88)

A similar function is sometimes performed by a construction in which *pyš* is combined with the resultative participle of a telic intransitive verb, e.g.

- (2) *túwela tàma ’u-xílela ’ixàla ’u-píše dmixe*<sup>1</sup> ‘They sat there, ate food, then (in the end) went to sleep.’ (A15:8)

(iv) Ingressive *pyš* is sometimes used in narrative before expressions of time to mark the beginning of a new episodic section. It may be used to denote the onset of a point in time, e.g.

- (1) *píšle yòma hár wewa-xḏàra*<sup>1</sup> ‘Day came and he was still searching about.’ (A14:24)  
 (2) *píštela ’ašərtá gu-sá’ət ’áštá ’ašərtá šáuwwa gu-gnəṭət yòma, hóle théle Čuxo, xa-bárra ’arwe bàṭre*<sup>1</sup> ‘The evening came. At six or seven o’clock in the evening, at dusk, Čuxo came, with a flock of sheep following him.’ (A7:21)  
 (3) *píšta mbádla mbádla qiméle*<sup>1</sup> ‘Morning came. In the morning he got up.’ (A14:66)

In (1)–(3) above the expression of time can be construed as the grammatical subject of the verb. The expression of time may also be a prepositional phrase, as in (4). Here the grammatical subject of the verb, which is 3fs., must be impersonal:

- (4) *píšla b-lèle,¹ siqele¹ l-gàre.¹* ‘At night he went up onto the roof.’  
(A25:52)

The verb *pyš* may also be used to denote the passage of an interval of time. In such contexts it has 3ms or 3fs inflection. The time expression appears not to be construed as the grammatical subject, judging by constructions such as (7), in which a 3ms. verb is followed by a feminine nominal phrase, and (8), where a 3fs. verb is followed by a masculine nominal phrase:

- (5) *píšele xà-yarxa¹ málka xzèle xa-xólma xèna.¹* ‘A month later the king had another dream.’ (A1:9)  
 (6) *píšle šónne rábe ʿárbe xámmaš ʿáššət šónne la-zille.¹* ‘For many years, four, five six years, he did not go there.’ (A18:12)  
 (7) *píšele ḏa-šábḏa xèta,¹ ʿámər ṭla-báxta...* ‘A week later, he said to his wife...’ (A5:8)  
 (8) *péšáwa xa-yóma trè,¹ hál barəzwa.¹* ‘One or two days would go by until it became dry.’ (B5:167)

### 15.9. THE EXPRESSION OF THE PASSIVE

Various constructions are used to express the passive of a transitive verb.

#### 15.9.1. *qtil*

The dialect exhibits a vestigial use of the past base stem *qtil* to express a passive action. This is only used sporadically and is restricted to the 3rd person. As is the case with the *qtille* form, the *qtil* form expresses a specific event occurring in the past at a particular point in time, e.g.

- (1) *mára prúmu rēše.¹ ʿáwəwa prím rēše.¹* ‘She said “Cut off his head!” He—his head was cut off.’ (A24:31)  
 (2) *báḏər t-gníw Mar-Qayóma,¹ qəm-dawrile tāra.¹* ‘After (the church of) St. Qayoma was plundered, they closed the door.’ (D2:66)

- (3) *móθi júlla diya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Her clothes were brought.’ (A4:20)  
 (4) *brátux mùθya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Your daughter has been brought back.’ (A29:42)  
 (5) *’áy wela-’á-bráta xaréthot m’úmra gu-Dùre*.<sup>1</sup> ‘That was the last girl who was buried in Dure.’ (B1:12)  
 (6) *’ína ’an-tre-xéne píšela hál-danot t-íxwa ’áxni tàma, hál-sēt ’álpa ’əččá-mma-w šáwawi tmànya, ’iman t-moqíma Dùre*.<sup>1</sup> ‘But the other two remained until the time that we were there, until the year 1978, when Dure was evacuated.’ (B1:5)

There are other signs of the fossilization of this construction in addition to the extreme infrequency of its use. The 3ms. form *q̄til* can be used also with 3fs. and 3pl. nominal subjects:

<i>gawra q̄til</i>	‘The man was killed’
<i>baxta q̄tila ~ q̄til</i>	‘The woman was killed’
<i>naše q̄tili ~ q̄til</i>	‘The people were killed’

Example from the text corpus:

- (7) *prim-’ərwə*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Sheep were slaughtered.’ (B10:40)

If the agent of the action is expressed in the clause by a nominal phrase, this is not necessarily introduced by any preposition, e.g.

- (8) *múθyalla qaráwot diya mütəlla, bəθa dwìq qaráwot diya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They brought her bed and laid it down. The house was filled by her bed.’ (A21:7)

Both these features reflect a certain degree of opacity regarding the status of the patient argument as the grammatical subject of the verb. Lack of agreement of a verb with its grammatical subject would not in principle be possible elsewhere in the verbal system, but lack of agreement with a grammatical object would be permissible, especially with indefinite nominals as in (7). The lack of the preposition on the agent nominal in examples such as (8) is a property of a grammatical subject, suggesting that it is competing for this status with the patient nominal.

15.9.2. *Resultative Participle Combined with the Verb ‘to be’*

As has been discussed in §15.4.1.1., the resultative participle of a transitive verb combined with the copula, or with the suppletive verb *hwey*, can express the passive. It denotes the result of a past verbal event without referring directly to any specific event that brought about this result. The construction has an inherent ambiguity in that in many contexts the participle may have a dynamic verbal interpretation or a stative adjectival interpretation, e.g.

- (1) *xuwwə q̄t̄ilele!* ‘The snake has been killed / the snake is killed!’ (A24:42)
- (2) *ʾán baxtáθa barzanáye m̀ra¹ k̀èla ʾan-gúre xéne?¹ máre kúlla hóla q̄t̄ile.* ‘The Barzan women said “Where are the other men?” He said “They have all been killed / They are all killed.”’ (B19:8)
- (3) *bróni hóle x̄ila ʾadl̄ile.* ‘My son has been eaten tonight.’ (A18:2)
- (4) *yába č̄detu xl̄úl̄a br̄on-f̄áll̄an b-fl̄an-yoma.* ‘You have been invited / you are invited to the wedding of the son of so-and-so on such-and-such a day.’ (B5:21)
- (5) *kúl máθa t̄-íla tl̄ixta ʾiθ ʾumra gáwa.* ‘Every village that has been / is destroyed and has a church in it’ (B6:34)
- (6) *párša t-wéwa mútta b-r̄əš-Xuld̄akka.* ‘A flat stone that had been placed / was placed on top of Xuld̄akko’ (A51:20)

The agent may be expressed in such passive resultative constructions. This is usually marked by the preposition *l-*, e.g.

- (7) *ʾən-rés̄ət bábe díye ʾax-ṭ̄ura,¹ ʾu-hóle q̄t̄ila l-T̄átar-i Slemán-i S̄andi,¹ l̄eka b̄t̄-áz̄al?¹* ‘If the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by T̄átar-i Slemán-i S̄andi, where will he go?’ (A28:8)
- (8) *š̄áw̄waθna hóla x̄ile l-d̄ewa.* ‘The seven of them have been eaten by wolves.’ (A23:15)
- (9) *xabúša smóqa l-d̄abb̄zele x̄ila.* ‘The red apple has been eaten by the bear.’ (D2:65)
- (10) *n̄isa l-xúw̄we m-x̄aw̄la š̄ádle.* ‘He who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a rope.’ (D2:39)
- (11) *č̄d̄ət l-br̄átux.* ‘You have been invited by your daughter.’ (A40:12)
- (12) *x̄átux Nasímo jl̄úwt̄ela l-ʾarab̄aye.* ‘Your sister Nasimo has been kidnapped by Arabs.’ (A37:5)

- (13) *mxuzdewm l-Tomān xali*. ‘I have been shamed by Toman my uncle.’  
(A52:4)

On fronted agents in focus bearing the nuclear stress the preposition is sometimes omitted, which results in an opacity of coding, in that both the patient nominal and the agent nominal have the coding appropriate for the grammatical subject, e.g.

- (14) *’ayya yalāxta<sup>1</sup> bābila zqirta<sup>1</sup> ’u-xāthi Nasimola mnuqāšta<sup>1</sup>*. ‘This handkerchief was woven by my father and embroidered by my sister Nasimo.’ (A37:12)

### 15.9.3. Resultative Participle Combined with *pyš*

The most productive means of forming the passive of a transitive verb is by combining a form of the verb *pyš* with the resultative participle. The tense and aspect of the construction are determined by the form of *pyš*. It is frequently used in historical narratives with a perfective aspect to refer to a specific event in the past. In such cases the verb *pyš* is in the *qtille* form or the *qtilele* form, which here is used in its narrative sense of a preterite equivalent to *qtille*, e.g.

- (1) *rāba mēn-d-ānna maθwātha<sup>1</sup> pišla prime<sup>1</sup>... pišla qtile<sup>1</sup> ’u-pišla mšuxālpē maθwāθat qurđāye mušālmāne<sup>1</sup>*. ‘Many (of the inhabitants of) these villages were slaughtered. ... They were killed. They (the villages) were then changed into Muslim Kurdish villages.’ (B1:2)
- (2) *b-ē-šeta pišla Dūre muqyāmta-w<sup>1</sup> kulla māθwaθat Bērwar<sup>1</sup>, sāma zōda t-maθwātha<sup>1</sup>, pišla moqime<sup>1</sup> ’u-tlixē<sup>1</sup> ’umrāne tlixē<sup>1</sup> ’u-bustānāne mūqde<sup>1</sup> ’u-mātha šwiqta xārāba-w<sup>1</sup> nāše tride<sup>1</sup>*. ‘In that year Dure was evacuated. All the villages of Barwar, or most of the villages, were evacuated and destroyed. The churches were destroyed, the orchards were burnt, the village was left a ruin and the people were driven away.’ (B1:8)
- (3) *’iθwalēn šawwā ’abōne<sup>1</sup> gu-mātha diyēn<sup>1</sup> pišela mütte gu-Mar-Qayyōma kulla gu-ḏā qāwra<sup>1</sup>*. ‘We had seven bishops in our village. They were all laid in one grave in (the church of) Saint Qayyoma.’ (B2:6)

If a nominal expressing the agent is mentioned in the clause it is introduced by the preposition *l-*, e.g.

- (4) *'u-Dùre<sup>1</sup> pištela muqàmta<sup>1</sup> muxràwta<sup>1</sup> šawwà gáye<sup>1</sup> l-xànpè<sup>1</sup> qaṭòle<sup>1</sup> t-mušəlmàne.<sup>1</sup>* 'Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murderers of Muslims.' (B2:2)

Constructions with a past perfective of *pyš* such as *piše qṭila* or its equivalent in narrative *pišele qṭila* correspond in function to the obsolescent *qṭil* form.

In (5) the resultative participle of *pyš* is combined with the past copula:

- (5) *'əda góra 'ile xa-tùxsa<sup>1</sup> qyámtət Mšixa báθər t-wéwa piša qṭila.<sup>1</sup>* 'The Great Festival is a ceremony (commemorating) the resurrection of Christ after he had been killed.' (B6:1)

In (6) a future form of *pyš* is used, in (7)–(8) an irrealis form and in (9) a past habitual form:

- (6) *kú nəšma<sup>1</sup> t-màtya<sup>1</sup> rəš-gəšrət Dalàle<sup>1</sup> 'e-nášma bəd-pəša<sup>1</sup> pṛimta,<sup>1</sup> qṭilta.<sup>1</sup>* 'Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed.' (C8:5)
- (7) *yába 'ána t-àθn,<sup>1</sup> 'axci 'ən-yáwul ḡámàn<sup>1</sup> šəx<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa tēni páyəs nṭira<sup>1</sup> ta-t-čú-mdi lā-<sup>2</sup>aθe bíye diye.<sup>1</sup>* 'Well, I'll come, only if the sheikh gives a guarantee that this saddle bag will be guarded so that nothing will happen to it.' (A7:9)
- (8) *kúl-xa náša...yalúnka zórat bàre<sup>1</sup> gárag páyəs müməðða gu-ùmra.<sup>1</sup>* 'Everybody...when a young child is born, he must be baptized in the church.' (B6:9)
- (9) *hadíya mtánexi xa-tuníθa 'atìqta<sup>1</sup> pəšáwa mtunéθa gu-maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup>* 'Now we shall tell an old story, which used to be told in the villages.'

Constructions with the resultative forms of *pyš* such as *hole piša qṭila* / *pišele qṭila* 'He has been killed / He is killed' and *pišewa qṭila* 'He had been killed / He was killed' are equivalent in function to the passive resultative forms *hole qṭila* / *qṭilele* and *qṭilewa*. The difference is that forms with *pyš* can only function as passives whereas the forms with the copula could in principle have a passive or active interpretation according to context. Speakers use the constructions with *pyš* to eliminate this opacity of diathesis. In (10) the motivation for using the unambiguously passive form *pišewa čide* may have been to distinguish it clearly from the active form *čediwaley* in the immediately preceding discourse:



- (10) *kúlla maθwáθa čediwaley.<sup>1</sup> mən-kúlla maθwáθa t-íla marzabánat ʾĒn-Nūne,<sup>1</sup> xa-tmányā ʾəsrà-maθwaθa<sup>1</sup> náše píšewa čide.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They invited all the villages. From all the villages that were adjacent to ʾĒn-Nūne, eight or ten villages, the people were invited.’ (B15:61)

Occasionally *pyš* is used with the resultative participle of intransitive verbs. Such constructions are used to convey the sense that the subject referent is non-volitional and the event is caused to take place by an external agent. This is in conformity with the *pyš qtila* passive construction, which in principle has a non-volitional subject who is the undergoer of the action. In (11), for example, the construction *píšla riqe* is used to express the fact that the inhabitants of the villages were forced to flee against their will. The ‘active’ form *riqla* ‘they fled’, by contrast, would in principle be interpreted as having a volitional subject.

- (11) *rāba mən-d-ánna maθwàθa<sup>1</sup> píšla prime<sup>1</sup> ʾu-xákma píšla riqe-u<sup>1</sup> píšla qtile.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Many (of the inhabitants of) these villages were slaughtered. Some (were forced to) flee and were killed.’ (B1:2)

#### 15.9.4. Resultative Participle Combined with ʾθy

On some sporadic occasions the passive is expressed by a construction consisting of a finite form of the verb ʾθy ‘to come’ with the undergoer as subject and a resultative participle, e.g.

- (1) *b-raš-d-áyya bráta<sup>1</sup> réšat bábe díye t-žálo<sup>1</sup> θéle twíra rābe gáye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘On account of this girl, the head of his father Zāl was broken many times.’ (A29:39)

#### 15.9.5. Infinitive Combined with ʾθy

In another type of periphrastic construction the verb ʾθy ‘to come’ is combined with the infinitive of the verbal stem that expresses the action. This construction is of more restricted use than that the *pyš* + resultative participle construction. In most of the recorded examples the verb is negated. The infinitive may be preceded by the preposition *t-*, e.g.

- (1) *har-Dúre lè-ʾaθya l-manšóye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Dure will never be forgotten.’ (B2:7)  
 (2) *ʾu-hál hadíya ʾáwewa mändiyáne píšela l-bálan<sup>1</sup> ʾu-lè-ʾaθi l-manšóye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Until now these things remain in my mind and will not be forgotten.’ (B15:1)

The *l-* preposition is sometimes omitted, e.g.

- (3) *lagne lé-y-aθe xzàda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Lagne are not harvested.’  
 (4) *lá-kulla danáne kúlla tawalyáθa t-aθíwa m̄tawòle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Not all games would be played at all times.’ (B11:1)  
 (5) *’áθe maxrópe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is sharpened.’ (B11:17)

In (6) the instrument of the action is introduced by the preposition *b-*:

- (6) *’ána hon-màra<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa rèšì<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xá-yoma pràma<sup>1</sup> bəd-’íθáθa dīyux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I say that this head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands.’ (A14:35)

The construction may be used deontically to express deontic possibility or obligation, e.g.

- (7) *’áy qəššáttá rixtela.*<sup>1</sup> *la-’áθya l-mtanòye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is a long story. It cannot be told.’ (A25:52)  
 (8) *mára mòdì qəššat<sup>2</sup> tànileni!<sup>1</sup> máre là<sup>1</sup> lə-’áθya mtanòye<sup>1</sup> xāf náše šmà’əlleni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They said “What is the story? Tell us!” He said “No. It cannot/must not be told, lest people are listening.”’ (A35:10–11)

#### 15.9.6. *Unaccusative Intransitive Verbs*

Numerous verbal forms exhibit an alternation of transitive and unaccusative intransitive usage. These can be used transitively with a volitional subject and an object complement that is the undergoer of the action or alternatively can be used intransitively with the non-volitional undergoer being made the grammatical subject. They are found in all verb stems (for a set of such verbs in stem III see §8.17.2.).

The translation equivalent in English may be a verb that exhibits a similar alternation, e.g.

*’áw šmítle kupàle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He broke his stick.’

*’o-kupála šmítle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The stick broke.’

*’áw šlìxle qèsa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He split the wood.’

*’o-qèsa šlìxle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The wood split.’

*núra qəm-qamèla šùdri.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The fire scorched my shirt.’

*šùdri qmèla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My shirt scorched.’

*'áni qəm-xanqile.*<sup>1</sup> 'They drowned him.'

*'áw xniqle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He drowned.'

*'áw mkuwərre 'áraq*<sup>1</sup> 'He distilled arak'

*'áraq mkuwərre.*<sup>1</sup> 'The arak distilled.'

*'áw mukíšle gùða.*<sup>1</sup> 'He deflated the skin.'

*gùða mukíšle.*<sup>1</sup> 'The skin deflated.'

In some cases the transitive alternative must be translated by supplying the matrix verb 'to cause' or a different lexical item, e.g.

*'áw mujrət̄le yàla.*<sup>1</sup> 'He caused the child to slip.'

*'o-yàla mujrət̄le.*<sup>1</sup> 'The child slipped.'

*'áw trixle nàša.*<sup>1</sup> 'He caused the man to lie flat.'

*'o-nàša trixle.*<sup>1</sup> 'The man lay down flat.'

*'áw tlíxle bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'He destroyed the house.'

*'o-bèθa tlíxle.*<sup>1</sup> 'The house collapsed.'

In many cases an unaccusative intransitive alternative of a transitive verb is rendered idiomatically by an English passive. This applies, for example, to the verbs *qta'a* 'to cut', *šqala* 'to take', which are normally used transitively:

- (1) *mən-ədyo*<sup>1</sup> *malkùθa*<sup>1</sup> *m-bnónux qāṭa.*<sup>1</sup> 'From today the kingship will be cut off from your sons.' (A8:96)
- (2) *mđíta bāyánna mbádla jálde kúlla 'ax-qamàye,*<sup>1</sup> *muxwàrta.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa kóma šàqəl.*<sup>1</sup> '(By) early morning I want all the town as (it was) before, made white. Let the black be taken away.' (A4:34)

Numerous other verbs exhibit this alternation, e.g.

*gəlyále duzùθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'He revealed the truth.'

*duzùθa glèla.*<sup>1</sup> 'The truth was revealed.'

*pàwxa qəm-mbalbálle kàwse.*<sup>1</sup> 'The wind ruffled his hair.'

*kàwse mbalbálle qam-pàwxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'His hair was ruffled by the wind.'

*máwθət mámi qəm-mzarzèli.*<sup>1</sup> 'The death of my uncle shook me.'

*mzarzèli.*<sup>1</sup> 'I was shaken.'

*qəm-qatárre gəšra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He complete the arch of the bridge.’  
*gəšra qtàrrre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The arch of the bridge was completed.’

*štimlux bəθi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You have devastated my house.’  
*ʔána štimli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am devastated.’

*burbəzili zùze.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I scattered the money.’  
*zùze burbəzla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The money was scattered.’

*qəm-mxaθxáθla xəzmayúθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He renewed the family relationship.’  
*xəzmayúθa mxuθxàtla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The family relationship was renewed.’

The alternations described above are not restricted to past perfective forms, as in the examples above, but apply also to forms with present or future time reference and imperfective aspect.

Even when an unaccusative intransitive usage is available, a transitive verb is sometimes made intransitive by the *pyš qtila* construction, e.g.

- (3) *ʔina kupáli pišla šmìtta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-piláwe pišla šmìte.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But my staff has broken and my shoes have broken.’ (A37:17)

#### 15.9.7. Diathesis of Causative Verbs

Causative forms of transitive verbs exhibit alternating diathesis. These may either take as their grammatical object the agent of the action that is being caused with the undergoer expressed as a second object or alternatively may take the undergoer of the action as the only grammatical object, e.g.

*qtala* ‘to kill’:            *maqtole* ‘to cause to kill’

- (1) *qəm-maqtállli xàwri.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He [AGENT<sub>1</sub>] caused me [AGENT<sub>2</sub>] to kill my friend [UNDERGOER].’  
 (2) *qəm-maqtállle xàwri.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He [AGENT<sub>1</sub>] caused my friend [UNDERGOER] to be killed.’

When the grammatical object is the undergoer, as in (2), the caused action is presented with passive diathesis. The agent who is caused to perform the action need not be specified. If it is specified, it must be expressed in a prepositional phrase, as is the case in (4), unless it is a reflexive construction (5):

- (3) *bàxta<sup>1</sup> be-bàxət-ila.<sup>1</sup> maqətlāle gáwra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A woman is treacherous. She will cause her husband to be killed.’ (A26:2)
- (4) *ʔawwa náša sáwa f̄la-mó qəm-maqətlāle biyi.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Why did you cause that old man to be killed by me?’ (A15:18)
- (5) *tre-ḥlā-gaye mamxəxxwala gánən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We used to cause ourselves to be struck two or three times.’ (B5:84)

#### 15.9.8. *Diathesis of Infinitives*

An infinitive of a transitive verb that is subordinate to a matrix verb can have active or passive diathesis. Examples of infinitives presented with passive diathesis are (1)–(4), in which the agents of the action denoted by the infinitive are not specified:

- (1) *θiθela xa-bràta<sup>1</sup> mxáya sáwla díya darmàna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A girl came in order for her shoes to be rubbed with polish.’ (A16:2)
- (2) *muttúla ʔixála xāla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They served food to be eaten.’ (A15:11)
- (3) *ʔáni kúlla bǎyíwa maxóle ʔu-maštòye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They all needed to be fed and given drink.’ (B16:62)
- (4) *ʔu-ləwəx naše t-manxope.* ‘We are not people to be shamed.’ (C1:14)

#### 15.9.9. *Impersonal 3pl. Subject*

When the agent of a transitive action is not specified, an active verb may be given a 3pl. impersonal subject. Such constructions are often translated idiomatically into English as passives, e.g.

- (1) *qəm-tarðíli mən-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They drove me from the house = I was driven from the house.’
- (2) *gu-Žàxo<sup>1</sup> bnáya wéwa xa-gəšra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In Zakho they were building a bridge (= a bridge was being built).’ (C8:1–2)
- (3) *ʔu-har-bənyàla xá-gaya xéta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They have already built it (the village of Dure) again (= It has already been built again).’ (B2:7)
- (4) *Qaṭina xətnəle t-la-mbarxile.* ‘Qaṭina is a groom without them wedding him (= without being wed).’ (A50:15)
- (5) *be-palge sarxi dəmma.* ‘They defile its middle with blood (= Its middle is defiled by blood).’ (A52:22)

This use of an impersonal 3pl. subject is common in naming expressions with the verb *ʔmr* ‘to say’, e.g.

- (6) *ʔáxni y-amrîlân be-Hêdo ʔáxni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We—they call us (= we are called) the house of Hêdo.’ (B4:7)

#### 15.10. VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE PARTICLE *HEŠ*

##### 15.10.1. *heš* in *Positive Clauses*

The particle *heš*, which is of Kurdish origin, is used to modify the verbal predicate in various ways. In positive clauses *heš* is used with the sense of ‘still’, expressing the persistence of an enduring situation. The form of the verb is one that can express such a situation, e.g.

- (1) *ʔáy heš-hóla gu-gòma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She is still in the basement stable.’ (A18:22)  
 (2) *heš xúya xüyele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is still very dark.’ (A30:36)  
 (3) *heš-hóle plâxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is still working.’  
 (4) *heš-hóle dmîxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is still asleep.’  
 (5) *heš-máse jâwzj.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He can still move.’

It may also be used with a verb expressing the persistence of an iterative situation, e.g.

- (6) *ʔáw náša sâwæle,*<sup>1</sup> *bás heš-y-ázal šúla kût-yum.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is an old man, but he still goes to work every day’.

##### 15.10.2. *heš* + *Negator*

When the particle *heš* precedes a negator, the construction denotes the persistence of a negated situation and the sense of ‘not yet’. This is in principle used with the negative copula or with a negated form of a verb that expresses an enduring or iterative situation. These are most commonly compound constructions with the resultative participle or infinitive, all of which express an enduring negated situation. It is generally cliticized to the negator and is often contracted to the form *š-*, e.g.

- (1) *heš-léle lâxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is not here yet.’  
 (2) *heš-léle ʔòya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has not come yet.’  
 (3) *xakwála-w ʔap-xáčča xéna šóqa tla-môja.*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t ʔap-ʔáw zòrele,*<sup>1</sup> *sab-qá-t š-léwa mšúrya xála gèlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then she milks it and leaves a little more for the calf. This is because it is small and had not yet started to eat grass.’ (B5:175)

- (4) *ʔəθyela ʔərye.<sup>1</sup> ʔəθye,<sup>1</sup> ʔəθye,<sup>1</sup> š-léwa mátye ʔalle-díye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The lions came. They came, but they had not yet reached him.’ (A18:26)

It may be used with infinitive constructions in subordinate clauses that lack the copula. In such cases the infinitive is often negated by the particle *t-la* ‘without’, e.g.

- (5) *qam-dári ʔan-dáwwe heš-t-là bráza.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They have poured out the *dáwwe* while it is not yet dry.’ (B14:1)
- (6) *léðeti ʔáyya<sup>1</sup> t-íla mən-háš t-la-bráya<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya ʔíla yáwta qa-díyi.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Don’t you know that she has been betrothed to me since before she was born?’ (A25:39)
- (7) *š-lá-praqa ʔo-pék díye<sup>1</sup> ʔo-xáwri háðəx gabbàra,<sup>1</sup> xázəx wírre gawəye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before my friend, a huge man, had finished his measure (of whiskey), we saw him go inside.’ (B15:58)

### 15.10.3. *Negator* + *heš*

When the negator precedes the particle, it has the sense of ‘no longer’, in that it expresses the end of an enduring or iterative situation that was previously in existence. It is attested with *qaṭal* base forms expressing the end of an iterative situation in the future. The sequence *la-heš* generally contracts to *leš*, *leš*, *laš* or *ləš*, e.g.

- (1) *leš-ʔaθəx hayorəxlux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We shall no longer come to help you.’ (A48:6)
- (2) *qiməle,<sup>1</sup> məðya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-wíða tawqíʔ ʔu-kúl mənđi,<sup>1</sup> qá-t ʔáyya leš-dáre bas-díya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He signed and authorized it, and so forth, (pledging) that he would never again talk about it.’ (A8:97)
- (3) *leš-faydáləx qáṭlət gənəx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It will no longer be of any use to you to kill yourself.’ (A38:16)

It is found with the *qaṭal* form of the verb *məy* ‘to be able’, used with habitual aspect and with future reference, e.g.

- (4) *sab-ʔən-wèle šxánta rəba,<sup>1</sup> leš-mašət ʔatwət tlaθà-metre<sup>1</sup> rəḥqa mən-sùpa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘For if it has become very hot, you can no longer sit three metres from the stove.’ (B15:25)
- (5) *leš-maše-náša paláṭle qále díye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A person can no longer utter his voice.’ (B15:39)
- (6) *ʔáqlət suséxu ʔən-píšla kəpa,<sup>1</sup> leš mašitu jawəjtu.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If the legs of your horses have become stone, you will no longer be able to move.’ (A8:28)

When the construction is used with the negative copula, the particle *heš* is inserted between the negator *la* and the copula, viz. *la-heš-ile*, e.g.

- (7) *léš-ile gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is no longer in the house.’

In the text corpus this is attested in compound verbal forms consisting of the copula and the resultative participle or infinitive, e.g.

- (8) *mo-t-àwəð.*<sup>21</sup> *léš-ile məšya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘What can he do? He can no longer do anything.’ (A8:96)  
 (9) *léš-in xzàya,*<sup>1</sup> *lán-mšaya jwàja.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I can no longer see and I cannot walk.’ (A24:2)  
 (10) *lás-it ðàʔlli.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Don’t you know me any more?’ (A12:65)  
 (11) *lás-iyewa məšaya xàyewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He could no longer make a living.’ (A30:1)

In (12) the particle is used in a compound infinitive construction in which the copula has been omitted:

- (12) *léš-awwa məšaya mâte çù-dukθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He can no longer reach any place.’ (A37:14)

#### 15.11. VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE PARTICLE *HAR*

The particle *har* is combined with verbs to perform numerous functions. These functions can be classified broadly into two opposing semantic domains, viz. extension and narrowing.

##### 15.11.1. *Extension*

Under this head can be included various uses of the particle to express the extension and continuity of a situation.

The particle can be used as an intensifier to underscore the enduring nature of a situation, e.g.

- (1) *har-dəbbóre zàlela-w θàya durr durr durr.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The hornets constantly flew back and forth.’ (A20:6)  
 (2) *har-bxàya-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They were constantly crying.’ (A25:5)



- (3) *har-ʔúrxat ʔálaha dóqən b-ǐdi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall constantly keep to God’s way.’ (A15:21)
- (4) *ʔu-ʔáti har-háwət baràye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-sáprət ku-t-áθe lāxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You be outside all the time and wait for whoever comes here.’ (A22:23)
- (5) *har-blígət b-kàsux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You are always busy with your stomach.’ (A23:10)
- (6) *har-xwàrta wáwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It was always white.’ (A4:36)

It occurs in this sense in clauses in which the copula is omitted, e.g.

- (7) *ʔu-là-mšaləwa qa-ʔálaha.*<sup>1</sup> *har-dbiše b-bronəy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They did not pray to God. They were constantly attached to their son.’ (A15:17)
- (8) *ʔa-d-áy młáyalla külle míya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔa-d-áw har-məlyə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She fills hers all with water. His was constantly full.’ (A17:25)

It may be combined with verbs denoting habitual or iterative activities to express an intensified frequency. The verb is either in the (*ʔi-*)*qatəl* or *wele qatala* form, e.g.

- (9) *ʔanna-t ʔarxe har-y-ođíwa nura gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘People who had mills would always make a fire in the house.’ (A19:4)
- (10) *xəlma náša hár ʔi-xàze.*<sup>1</sup> ‘People always dream.’ (A4:7)
- (11) *ʔu-ʔýya har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šše*<sup>1</sup> *mattáwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔilla dīya*<sup>1</sup> *hál ʔé-gət qəm-qatlála.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her.’ (A19:6)
- (12) *kazíwa práməlla har-palṭíwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up.’ (A38:15)
- (13) *har-wéla taq-táq mxàya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-taq-tàq,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena-w trè,*<sup>1</sup> *w-áwəwa sqidle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They continually made a taq-taq knocking noise, taq-taq, once, then twice, then he became fed up.’ (A14:68)

When used with a verb expressing a non-iterative perfective action, it expresses the sense of repetition of the action and can usually be translated ‘again’, e.g.

- (14) *yómət tḷàθa*<sup>1</sup> *har-šlèla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘On the third day she went down again.’ (A22:18)
- (15) *ʔn-līθ biš-zlíme mánən,*<sup>1</sup> *har-t-àzəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If there are none more wronged than us, we shall again go (on our way).’ (A13:9)

The particle may have the sense of ‘still’, expressing the temporal persistence of a situation in contexts where there is typically some expectation that the situation would not persist. The clause either contains a copula or a compound infinitive verbal form, which expresses action in progress, e.g.

- (16) *har-xàθila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She is still my sister.’ (A18:27)  
 (17) *ʔu-dəbbóre hár-hola qam-tárat bóya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The hornets were still before the door of the hole.’ (A20:9)  
 (18) *hár-dwaqat rəqqi?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Do you still insist (on what you said)?’ (A40:4)

When, however, the clause contains one of the set of verbs denoting mental processes which express the progressive by the *qatəl* form rather than the compound infinitive form (§15.1.1.4.), the verb is generally put in the *ʔi-qatəl* form, e.g.

- (19) *har-xáθe ʔi-báyela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He still loves his sister.’ (A18:16)

In this sense the particle may be used together with a verb negated by *la* or the negative copula. The final /r/ sometimes shifts to /l/ by assimilation to the initial /l/ of the negator, e.g. *hal-la* (< *har-la*), *hal-ləle* (< *har-ləle*), e.g.

- (20) *ʔáy har-là-yawəlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It still does not give it back.’ (A34:4)  
 (21) *hal-ləla gláya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She (the mother) still does not reveal (the truth).’ (A38:6)

It occurs with this sense in clauses from which the copula has been elided, e.g.

- (22) *har-m-rəš-gàre,*<sup>1</sup> *məra*<sup>1</sup> ‘While still on the roof, she said...’ (A26:75)  
 (23) *bənə ʔəlləθ mòdi widdle?*<sup>21</sup> *hár mdagòle gu-máθa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwəwa hətəle wíða-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwəwa hətəle míra-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwəwa hətəle,*<sup>1</sup> *dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xèna*<sup>1</sup> ‘What did he do the third time? He continued to tell lies in the village “He did such-and-such. He said such-and-such,” slandering this one and that one.’ (A48:5)

The particle is used with a perfective verb as an intensifier to underscore sequentiality. It expresses the occurrence of an action that may not be expected to occur in sequence to what precedes. In most cases it is

appropriate to translate the particle in such contexts by ‘still’ (in a logical sense) or ‘nevertheless’, e.g.

- (24) *kəmàt t-árqena<sup>1</sup> tópe har-tapyàli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘However much I run, a gun will still reach me.’ (B9:3)
- (25) *mqáwlat goràtle,<sup>1</sup> t-yàlla jùlla.<sup>1</sup> ’m-là,<sup>1</sup> har-t-yàlla jùlləx b-kəfəx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them.’ (A14:83)
- (26) *málka ’áti har-t-yàtli brátux.<sup>2</sup>* ‘King, will you still give me your daughter?’ (A25:24)
- (27) *móre hár t-azəna.<sup>1</sup> móre hár t-azət.<sup>2</sup> móre hè!<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “I’ll still go.” He said “Will you still go?” He said “Yes!”’ (A8:45)
- (28) *’áwowa qtílle xmàre,<sup>1</sup> ’u-qtílle sùsa,<sup>1</sup> qtílle tàwera,<sup>1</sup> ’ánna kúlla qtíllə,<sup>1</sup> har-móre ma-γxàləf.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He had killed the asses, killed the horse, killed the ox. He had killed them all. He (the uncle) still said “That is all right.”’ (A23:31)

It may be used with a negated verb with a similar function, e.g.

- (29) *har-là-wela rázi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She was still not satisfied.’ (A30:34)
- (30) *kámá-gayəx tíwe m-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> har-lán məšya ’axwáðe diyə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘However many times we have sat together, I still have not been able to be like him.’ (A25:44)
- (31) *hal-la xzeli ’u-hal-la swili.* ‘I, nevertheless, have not found (anybody) and I, nevertheless, have not been satisfied.’ (C3:8)

On some occasions *har* is replaced by the particle *hala*, which is attested in a few cases in the text corpus before a negative copula or negative existential particle, e.g.

- (32) *síqele gu-réšət ’Amediya,<sup>1</sup> ’ina<sup>1</sup> núrət xàle<sup>1</sup> t-úwa síqa l-tàma<sup>1</sup> gu-zòma<sup>1</sup> hála l’ele čmya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He went up to the top of Amedia and saw that the fire in the summer house of his maternal uncle, where he was making for, had still not gone out.’ (A25:40)
- (33) *’áwowa nàša<sup>1</sup> hála litwale.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This man still did not yet have (a son).’ (A8:5)

15.11.2. *Narrowing*

Under this head can be included the use of *har* to express temporal immediacy of sequence, as in (1)–(4), in which it is combined with a perfective verb with the sense of ‘as soon as’, e.g.

- (1) *har-ðilexu þriqløn mæn-túra,<sup>1</sup> déræn tðpe,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa maxèla<sup>1</sup> xánjær ðiye,<sup>1</sup> ’o-t-íle qáme ðiye qatðlle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘As soon as you know that we have finished (coming over) the mountain, I shall fire a gun and everyone will strike with his dagger and kill the man in front of him.’ (B19:6)
- (2) *har-wéla dánat kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> xzélux xa-náša θàya,<sup>1</sup> málla bḡ-àθe,<sup>1</sup> t-áwær gu-bèθa<sup>1</sup> yá’ni xamšá daqíqela hal-’ðsra<sup>1</sup> ’áti ’àθeti.<sup>1</sup>* ‘As soon as lunchtime has come and you have seen a man coming—the mullah will come and enter the house—after five or ten minutes you come back.’ (A22:22)
- (3) *har-qítla biyux,<sup>1</sup> qatlílux t-axlílux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘As soon as they hit you, they will kill you and eat you.’ (A22:39)
- (4) *’u-hadíya brátat málla<sup>1</sup> har-xázya ’áxni zmára-w rqaððá<sup>1</sup> ’áy jal-jálde t-ásqa l-gàre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now, as soon as the daughter of the king sees that we are singing and dancing, she will quickly come up to the roof.’ (A27:28)

Another form of temporal immediacy is illustrated in (5), in which the particle has the sense of ‘directly’:

- (5) *har-’áθyele mæn-túra réša-reša d-o-gàre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He came directly from the mountain onto the roof.’ (A23:14)

The particle may be used to express some kind of narrowing of the extent of action. In such cases it is usually appropriate to translate it ‘just’, e.g.

- (6) *’ina bróna lèla xiltðlle.<sup>1</sup> har-nobáltðlle muttéθðlle mattðye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She did not eat the boy. She just took him and put him down.’ (A19:7)
- (7) *’ána har-šáløn mðita<sup>1</sup> méθøn ’ixála<sup>1</sup> ’u-’àθena.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I’ll just go down to the town to bring food and come back.’ (A26:30)
- (8) *har-’ásqøn gu-qásræt bàbi,<sup>1</sup> har-šáqløn rixa mánne.<sup>1</sup> bálki xa-xóni, xáθi xázøn,<sup>1</sup> xa-nàš.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall just go up to my father’s palace, I’ll just have a quick look (literally: take a smell of it), perhaps I shall find a brother of mine, my sister, a relative or mine.’ (A18:16)
- (9) *har-sa-xúpla ’áti b-gánæx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Just go and wash her yourself!’ (A27:25)
- (10) *har-šúqla tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Just leave alone over there.’ (A25:53)

Also under the head of ‘narrowing’ can be included the function of *har* to act as an intensifier of an assertion, e.g.

- (11) *xà-yoma*,<sup>1</sup> *har-mítte bə-duzùða*.<sup>1</sup> ‘One day he indeed really died.’ (A27:42)
- (12) *b-álaha hóle xa-púrya láxxa zòra*<sup>1</sup> *’áw har-xá-mdi ’ile*.<sup>1</sup> ‘By God, there is a small chink of light here. It is surely something.’ (A14:25)
- (13) *har-xá-məndi ’ìθ b-áyya dúkθa t-’ile wira*.<sup>1</sup> ‘There must surely be something in this place where it entered.’ (A11:9)
- (14) *’áxni har-xònən-it*.<sup>1</sup> ‘You are indeed our brother.’ (A39:12)
- (15) *gárag ’ámrx*.<sup>1</sup> *’ay-xá-yoma har-t-yáða*<sup>1</sup> *t-’ile míθa brònən*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We must tell (her). She will surely know one day that our son is dead.’ (A4:38–39)
- (16) *ya-’álahi*.<sup>1</sup> *xúya har-xùyele*.<sup>1</sup> *har-déwe t-axlili*.<sup>1</sup> *har-t-ázən gu-d-àнна hambišáye*<sup>1</sup> *har-hambišáye-ži t-axlili*.<sup>1</sup> ‘My God, it is very dark, either wolves are sure to eat me or I shall go to these giants and the giants are sure to eat me.’ (A39:4)
- (17) *máre ’ána zála har-zílən biya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I’m indeed finished!’ (A14:25)

It is used also to intensify a negated assertion (18) and a prohibition (19), e.g.

- (18) *har-là-mšən t-amrənnux*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I cannot tell you.’ (A11:2)
- (19) *har-la-šqúlla biš-spày*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not take it off, it is better.’ (A39:14)

#### 15.12. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LONG ENDINGS OF VERBS

Various long endings of verbs are optionally used for the first person singular and plural and second person singular inflections of *qaṭal* base forms that do not have further suffixes attached (§8.2.1.). An examination of their distribution in the text corpus shows that these long verbal inflections are conditioned by the position of their occurrence in the intonation group. In the vast majority of cases they occur at the end of the intonation group, immediately before the group boundary. They should, therefore, be considered to be a type of prosodic pausal form. They, moreover, normally take the nuclear stress. Examples:

- (1) *báyan t-yáðən ’ána ’iman məθəna*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I want to know when I shall die.’ (A16:1)

- (2) *ʔu-xátna l-béθa pèšena.*<sup>1</sup> ‘And I shall become a son-in-law in the house.’ (A17:35)
- (3) *ʔána bt-àzena.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall go.’ (A25:32)
- (4) *mó ʔamràna.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What should I say?’ (A26:33)
- (5) *dánela jàwjejxi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is time for us to move.’ (A30:44)
- (6) *t-ázət ʔaskariya, lázəm ʔàzeti.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You have to go to the army, you must go.’ (A17:22)
- (7) *xàrθa, ʔpāljeti*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔašrta hàdax.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔati har-háwət baràye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-sáprət ku-t-áθe làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *m-báθər xámša daqiqe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati ʔàwreti.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then, you go out, and in the evening (do) the same. You be outside all the time and wait for whoever comes here. After five minutes you should come in.’ (A22:23)
- (8) *xzi gàwra,*<sup>1</sup> *xzi-mašìθeti.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Look husband, look listen!’ (A22:15)
- (9) *ʔáp-ʔati si ʔpāljeti.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You also go and work.’ (A23:2)

Another factor that conditions the use of a long inflectional form is discourse structure, in that the heavy morphology of a long form is sometimes used to mark a boundary of a discourse section. This is seen in (10), where the narrator repeats a key statement of the protagonist. The second version of the statement differs from the first in the use of the long form *mèθena* in place of the short form *méθən*. Both occur at the end of the intonation group. The motivation to use the long form appears to be to mark the end of the section of speech:

- (10) *máre báyan t-yáðən ʔána ʔìman méθən.*<sup>1</sup> *máre báyan t-yáðən ʔána ʔìman mèθena.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “I want to know when I shall die.” He said “I want to know when I shall die.”’ (A16:1)

This can be seen also in (11), in which the verbal phrase ‘you obey me’ occurs three times, in two instances of which at an intonation group boundary. The long form, however, is used in only one of these instances. This coincides with a discourse boundary in that it occurs at the end of a conditional construction. The short form before an intonation group boundary, however, does not coincide with such a discourse boundary, but rather at the end of a protasis, which requires completion by the following clause:

- (11) *ʔən-ʔati mášmat ʔəlli mašəmyati.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-là mašəmyət,*<sup>1</sup> *sá méθele xònax*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xza-ʔəkele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you (want to) obey me, obey me. If you do not obey me, go and bring your brother and find where he is (yourself).’ (A8:64)

In the exceptional cases where the long inflection does not occur at the intonation group boundary, discourse structure appears to be the primary motivation for the use of the long form, in that it occurs in a clause that closes a section of discourse. This is the case in (12), in which the clause in question occurs at the end of a section of speech:

- (12) *šurēla mjawóde m-ǵǵàðe<sup>1</sup> 'éni náblax kas-d-èni.<sup>1</sup> Žine náblax kas-Mămo<sup>1</sup> lo-Mămo náblax kas-Žine.<sup>1</sup> móra là,<sup>1</sup> baxta<sup>1</sup> be-băxət-ila.<sup>1</sup> maqətlàle gáwəra<sup>1</sup> **nabléxi** Žine kas-Mămo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They started arguing with one another regarding whom to take to whom. “Should we take Zine to Mămo or Mămo to Zine?” They said “No, a woman is treacherous. She will have her husband killed. Let us take Zine to Mămo.”’ (A26:2)

The long inflection is virtually without exception avoided in the first of a series of two or more verbs in a single intonation group. This applies both to cases where a verb is followed by a complement clause and also to sequential series of verbs, e.g.

- (13) *'ána 'axxa **băyən** zăréna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I want to plough here.’ (A30:8)  
 (14) *'axni tla-mò **šálax** 'axni mpal'áxle?<sup>1</sup>* ‘Why should we go down and release him?’ (A26:77)  
 (15) ***qémən** torənnə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I’ll get up and break them up.’ (A30:22)

The optional long form of the 1pl. L-suffix *-leni*, which marks the pronominal subject of the *qtille* form, or a pronominal object, exhibits a similar pattern of distribution. It is predominantly used at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

- (16) *kúlla xarəye,<sup>1</sup> taxrùθi,<sup>1</sup> **plileni.**<sup>1</sup>* ‘In the end, I remember, we separated.’ (B8:9)  
 (17) *'awəwa b-**tayəmleni.**<sup>1</sup>* ‘He will finish us off.’ (A30:41)  
 (18) *hóla xzáyəllən qátu rāqa bāθrən **xələlleni.**<sup>1</sup>* ‘The cat sees us, runs after us and eats us.’ (A44:1)  
 (19) *sparəgle 'itleni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We have quinces.’ (B5:218)  
 (20) *šlăwáθa kúlla **maləpwaləni.**<sup>1</sup>* ‘He taught us all the prayers.’ (B8:16)

The exceptional occurrences of the long form before the end of the intonation group often occur in clauses that mark the boundary of a section

of discourse. In (21), for example, the long form occurs in a clause that constitutes the opening of a section of discourse concerning Christmas:

- (21) *xàrθa<sup>1</sup> y-aθéleni<sup>1</sup> 'èða<sup>1</sup> 'èðat be-yàlda.<sup>1</sup> ‘Then we have (another) festival, the festival of Christmas.’ (B6:12)*

The 3pl. L-suffix has short forms with monophthong (*-la*, *-le*) and long forms with a diphthong (*-ley*, *-lay*). The long forms with a diphthong exhibit a similar pattern of distribution to that of other long suffixes and can be considered to be prosodic pausal forms. They are attested predominantly at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

- (22) *npilela-w néra nùbálley.<sup>1</sup> ‘They fell and the river carried them away.’ (B3:9)*
- (23) *'é-gə θèley,<sup>1</sup> *zilla l-d-é-maθə qurðàye.<sup>1</sup> ‘When they came back, they went to that village of Kurds.’ (B3:14)**
- (24) *'u-polise xzéla 'an-yále jwànqe,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-mattíla b-sandùqe,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-hawíla xáčča 'ixàla-w<sup>1</sup> qəm-xáðíla hátxa t-la-qeralèy<sup>1</sup> 'u-qəm-deréla gu-míya.<sup>1</sup> ‘The policemen found the two beautiful children, put them in a chest, gave them some food, wrapped them up, like this, so that they would not be cold, and put them in the water.’ (A8:12)***

Exceptional cases often occur in clauses that mark the boundary of a section of discourse. In (25), for example, it occurs at the end of an episodic section in a narrative:

- (25) *fa-qímla šqílla ganèy.<sup>1</sup> *dawéra diyèy<sup>1</sup> nálət 'áqlə dawèra<sup>1</sup> prízlele.<sup>1</sup> *qəm-mattíla bə-l-ə'ákəs.<sup>1</sup> *qəm-<sup>2</sup>asrila.<sup>1</sup> *'u-plítley mən-tàma.<sup>1</sup> ‘So, they took themselves off. Their mules—the shoe of their mules’ feet was made of iron. They put it on backwards. They tied them (the shoes) on and set off from there.’ (B3:15–16)*****

It should be noted that this distribution of the long form of the 3pl. L-suffix differs from that of the long, diphthongal variants of the 3pl. suffix that is attached to nouns, which are used more regularly. One reason may be that the short form of the latter *-a* is identical with the singular nominal ending *-a*. It tends to be used mainly in contexts where the attribution of the noun to the 3pl. referent is highly predictable, such as inalienable possessions of the subject (see §14.5.1.).



## 15.13. THE EXPRESSION OF THE DIRECT OBJECT OF VERBAL FORMS

15.13.1. *Pronominal Direct Object*

The expression of the pronominal object on the various verb forms has been described in §8.19. We may recap here as follows. The direct pronominal object on verb forms derived from the present and imperative bases is expressed by L-series suffixes. These suffixes derive historically from phrases consisting of the preposition *l-*, used in this context as an object marker, and the pronominal suffix, e.g.

<i>qaṭlále</i>	‘She kills him’
<i>qaṭláli</i>	‘She kills me’
<i>qtúlle</i>	‘Kill (sing.) him!’
<i>qtúlule</i>	‘Kill (pl.) him!’

When the pronominal object is 3rd person, it may be expressed by the inflection of the past base: *qtíl-* (ms.), *qtíla-* (fs.), *qtíli-* (pl.), e.g.

<i>qtílle</i>	‘He killed him’
<i>qtílé</i>	‘He killed her’
<i>qtílile</i>	‘He killed them’

In practice, the form *qtílle* with the incorporated 3ms. object, tends to be avoided. Most examples in the text corpus of pronominal objects incorporated into the past base are 3fs. and 3pl. objects, e.g.

- (1) *muttále xāṣ-súsa báṭre dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He put her on the back of the horse behind him.’ (A29:37)
- (2) *la-xəzyàli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I did not see her.’ (A26:11)
- (3) *qímle šqílile.*<sup>1</sup> *muttíle*<sup>1</sup> *rəš-d-ε-ʔəna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He took them and put them on top of the spring.’ (A15:1)
- (4) *mūdərīlux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You have brought them back.’ (A17:14)

When the pronominal object is 3ms, the functionally equivalent *qəm-qaṭəl* form with an object L-suffix tends to be used, e.g.

- (5) *qəm-dawqále.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She took hold of him.’ (A22:19)
- (6) *qəm-ṭarádle θéle zílle*<sup>1</sup> *be-ʔámte dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He drove him away and he went back to his aunt’s house.’ (A23:33)

The *q̄ille* form with an incorporated 3ms. object tends to be used in clauses that are closely connected to the preceding clause. In such contexts pronominal objects sometimes have zero realization in other verbal forms (see examples 8–17 below), so this may also be the case here. In (7), for example, the clause in question is an elaboration of the previous clause and does not advance the discourse:

- (7) *nìxlàn m-Āuxo,¹ drélàn l-Žàwa.¹* ‘We have got rid of Āuxo. We’ve put him in the Zab.’ (A7:19)

The *q̄m-q̄atəl* form with an L-suffix is also used as an optional alternative to *q̄ille* to express a 3fs. and 3pl. pronominal object and as an obligatory suppletive form of *q̄ille* to express 1st or 2nd person pronominal objects.

Compound verbal forms consisting of a resultative participle or an infinitive express a pronominal object either by L-suffixes or by a pronominal suffix attached to the preposition *ʔall-*. The latter is obligatory when the participle or infinitive does not have a copula enclitic, e.g.

*hóle q̄iləlle*  
*y-áwe q̄iləlle*

If there is a copula enclitic, the most common means of expressing the pronominal object is by L-suffixes. The use of the longer *ʔall-* phrase produces a heavier morphological form with a greater number of syllables. When the copula enclitic is 3rd person, the *ʔall-* phrase is generally placed before the copula, e.g.

Default form with L-suffix	Heavy form with <i>ʔall-</i>
<i>q̄iləlle (q̄iləle-le)</i>	<i>q̄iləllele (q̄ila-əlle-ile)</i>
<i>q̄ilətle (q̄ilət-le)</i>	<i>q̄ilət-əlle</i>
<i>q̄ilənne (q̄ilən-le)</i>	<i>q̄ilən-əlle</i>

On some occasions a pronominal direct object is not marked on a transitive verb, but it is appropriate to supply them in an English translation. Such zero object anaphora tends to be used when the speaker presents the clause as denoting an action that is closely related to what precedes, belonging together with it as part of the same overall event, e.g.

- (8) *ʔa-másta marèla.<sup>1</sup> mátti š-nùra-w<sup>1</sup> šáxna-w dére marèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They congeal the yoghurt, they put it on the fire, it warms up and they add a congealing agent (rennet).’ (B5:65)
- (9) *ʔu-ʔyya har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn ššē<sup>1</sup> mattàwa<sup>1</sup> ʔlla dīya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her.’ (A19:6)
- (10) *yáwəxley xáčča kèke<sup>1</sup> madúqəx b-iðèy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We shall give them some cakes, making them hold them in their hands.’ (A8:11)
- (11) *ta-t-kút-yom xà-maşla kásla dīya,<sup>1</sup> madəmxa kásla<sup>1</sup>* ‘in order that she could bring somebody to her every day and cause him to lie with her.’ (A4:51)
- (12) *y-áwəð xà-tena,<sup>1</sup> trè-tenə qése,<sup>1</sup> y-áθe mزابنwa tla-d-àw-u yəmme dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He made one or two loads of wood, and would come back and sell them for himself and his mother.’ (A14:10)

A pronominal direct object is often omitted on the verb ‘to give’ (*yawa*) when its referent is understood from the context, e.g.

- (13) *bábi nábəlla gu-jəma<sup>1</sup> hàlle!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him!’ (A17:11)
- (14) *máre xa-sùsa<sup>1</sup> ʔanna xamšà šanne<sup>1</sup> ʔəp-xa léle másyə mətya ʔalle dīye.<sup>1</sup> ... də-hállī ʔana t-ásqən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “There is a horse that for these five years nobody has been able to get near.” ... He said “King, may you be in good health, give it to me, I shall go up (and ride it).”’ (A12:62–63)
- (15) *ʔana lé-yawəanne ʔəp-xa-fəlsa<sup>1</sup> ... xíšele l-bèθa<sup>1</sup> léle-hūwa ʔətxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘“I shall not give him a penny” ... He went to the house and did not give (any of the money) and that was that.’ (A1:8–9)
- (16) *qimtəla baxta zílta tlibtəlla.<sup>1</sup> hal-jálde jálde mərə<sup>1</sup>* ‘The wife went and requested it. “Give it quickly,” she said.’ (A5:8)

A pronominal object is generally omitted on the imperative of *šqala* ‘to take’ when the referent is perceptible in the speech situation, e.g.

- (17) *ha-šqùl,<sup>1</sup> máttula tāmàha.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Here, take them, put them over there.’ (A6:3)

15.13.2. *Direct Object Nominal*

When the object is a nominal, it is not usually combined with any object marker, but the verb frequently has a pronominal object that is co-referential with it. The occurrence of this pronominal object agreement is conditioned primarily by the status of the object nominal, the usual situation being that a definite object nominal has object agreement whereas an indefinite one lacks it. The distribution of the object agreement is also affected by the pragmatic relation of the nominal to the other elements in the clause and the status of the clause within the surrounding discourse.

15.13.2.1. *Definite Direct Object Nominals*

When the object nominal is definite, the verb normally has a pronominal object that agrees with it. This applies both to object nominals placed after the verb and those placed before the verb. Examples from the text corpus:

## Present base verbs

- (1) *mattúla kàrte.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He lays down his load.’ (A15:3)
- (2) *ʔina xazyála Leliða.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She sees Leliða.’ (A19:8)
- (3) *màre šaqlólxe bronéy ta-t-taxrúle ʔálaha xá-ga xèta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He told us to take their son so that they remember God again.’ (A15:17)
- (4) *t-axlânne lóxmi hál ʔo-yómæt mèθæn.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall eat my bread until the day I die.’ (A15:21)
- (5) *θéle xa-náša qəm-šaqálle ʔo-kàrmi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A man came and took away my orchard.’ (A17:30)
- (6) *bás təppəryáða qəm-xazyála kálða.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But the daughter-in-law saw her finger-nails.’ (A19:2)
- (7) *ʔərbət xwáre pərmìwale-u*<sup>1</sup> ‘They used to slaughter the sheep.’ (B5:7)
- (8) *ʔæn-lá-ʔawðət b-xábra diyi gánux šaqlànna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life.’ (A15:20)

## Imperatives

- (9) *qu-šqúlla ʔáyya skìnta.*<sup>1</sup> *si-prímle ʔáwwa yála zòra*<sup>1</sup> *t-íle gu-dudíya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Get up and take this knife. Go and slaughter this baby boy who is in the cradle.’ (A15:8)

- (10) *wír gu-d-áwwoa bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *žúmle tára bàrux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go into this room. Close the door behind you.’ (A22:26)  
 (11) *mpáləṭla zùzi!*<sup>n</sup> ‘Bring out my money!’ (A15:3)

#### Past base forms

- (12) *’áwwoa*<sup>1</sup> *munšile zúze díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He forgot his money.’ (A15:1)  
 (13) *mpulṭíla táwra-w xmàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She got out the ox and the ass.’ (A21:23)  
 (14) *ṭlá-bnone xilíli.*<sup>1</sup> *báxta xiláli*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have eaten the three sons. I have eaten the wife.’ (A20:12)  
 (15) *’áp-ay ’áqla primáli*<sup>1</sup> ‘I cut off also that leg.’ (A22:9)

#### Compound verbal forms

- (16) *šqíləlla tása b-lèle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They took the bowl in the night.’ (A15:12)  
 (17) *mxúláltəlla ’ay-dəkθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She cleaned that place.’ (A17:27)  
 (18) *’ína bróna lèla xiltəlle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But she did not eat the boy.’ (A19:7)  
 (19) *šuréla mansóyəlle ’alàha.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They began to forget God.’ (A15:17)  
 (20) *súse díye mtašlóməlle ṭla-xolàma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He handed over his horse to the servant.’ (A12:8)

The pronominal agreement with a definite nominal object does not occur in certain situations, which may be classified as follows.

##### (i) *Inalienable Possession*

The agreement on the verb is occasionally omitted when the referent of the object nominal lacks distinctness from the subject referent due to its being an inalienable appurtenance or possession of the subject, usually a body part or the reflexive expression *gan-* ‘self’, e.g.

- (21) *šáməṭ qðále díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let him break his neck.’ (A15:13)  
 (22) *si-mxi-’áqlux gu-xáse díye.* ‘Go and kick his back.’ (A15:13)  
 (23) *mtási gənux!*<sup>n</sup> ‘Hide yourself!’ (A22:29)  
 (24) *’ána majbúr-íwəñ ṭ-ázəñ qátłəñ gáni pálxəñ w-áy dmíxta maxlənna.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Was I obliged to kill myself working to feed her while she slept?’ (A21:38)

This, however, is only a tendency and on several occasions the agreement pronoun occurs on the verb with such objects, e.g.

- (25) *qəm-pǎréla ʔəne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He burst his eye’ (A16:2)  
 (26) *ʔo-rábbən múttalla ʔáqlə díye rš-áqəl bǎxta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman.’ (A16:11)  
 (27) *ʔu-ʔáti də-ráqðət šəšátla gǎnax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should dance and shake yourself.’ (A27:11)

(ii) *Objects Lacking Distinctness from the Activity*

In some cases the explanation for the lack of agreement with a definite object nominal is that the nominal does not play a prominent role in the discourse but rather is presented as an incidental component of the activity. This applies to constructions such as those in (28)–(30) which have the word *bəθa* ‘the house’ as the object complement of the verb:

- (28) *ʔána mtugbártən bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have looked after the house (I have done housekeeping).’ (A21:13)  
 (29) *ʔána mquzqázətən bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have arranged the house (I have done housework).’ (A21:15)  
 (30) *qimtela,*<sup>1</sup> *mxulálla ʔamàne*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-kníšta bəθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mtugbàrta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She got up and washed the dishes, swept the house (did house-sweeping) and tidied it.’ (A21:20)

(iii) *Clauses with Reduced Discourse Prominence*

The omission of the agreement pronoun is conditioned in some cases by the reduced prominence of the clause as a whole due to its occurrence in a section of the discourse supplying background material rather than in the prominent foreground. This applies to (31) and (32), which are extracts from narratives. In (31) the clauses referring to the cutting of Zāl’s hair without the object agreement are in a section that gives the preliminary background to the following foreground narrative section, in which the clause that recounts one specific event of the cutting of his hair has object agreement. In (32) the clause without object agreement ‘They did not know God’ supplies general information about the nature of idol worshippers, which supplies the background for the following foreground events. The foreground contains a key clause in direct speech with object agreement ‘I shall kill my son’:

- (31) *bábe díye,*<sup>1</sup> *žǎl,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiθwale xà-naša*<sup>1</sup> ***maqrátwa káwse díye***<sup>1</sup> [background] *y-amrile hallāqa.*<sup>1</sup> ... *mattúwa semálta gu-xáše díye ʔu-y-asəqwa*<sup>1</sup> *gu-réšə semálta*<sup>1</sup> ***maqrátwa káwsət Zǎlo.***<sup>1</sup> [background] ***qəm-qa-yǎšle káwse díye***<sup>1</sup> [foreground] *xírre gu-réšət žǎlo*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiθwa šaḡyàθa*<sup>1</sup>

*brinàne*,<sup>1</sup> *gòre rába*.<sup>1</sup> ‘His father Zāl had a person who used to cut his hair, called a barber. . . . He would place a ladder on his back and climb up the ladder and cut the hair of Zāl. He cut his hair and looked at the head of Zāl. (He saw) that there were scars of enormous wounds.’ (A29:2–3)

- (32) *málka*<sup>1</sup> *sağđánat sǎnǎme-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> *málkət ʾÍrǎn-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> *ʾáni sağđíwa sǎnǎme*.<sup>1</sup> ***lê yǎđíwa ʾálaha***.<sup>1</sup> [background] *lé yǎđíwa diyánat krastyáne mòdile*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-sağđíwa sǎnǎme*.<sup>1</sup> *béna qímle bábe málka ʾmáre qaṭlǎnne bròni*.<sup>1</sup> [foreground] *bróne díye riqlé*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The king was a worshipper of idols. He was king of Iran. They used to worship idols. They did not know God. They did not know what the religion of Christians was. They used to worship idols. (29) His father the king said “I shall kill my son”. His son fled.’ (B6:28–29)

In some cases of the omission of the object agreement the clause in question is of reduced discourse prominence due to the fact that it repeats information that has been given previously rather than advancing the discourse, e.g.

- (33) *qayámwa bábət xǎtna*,<sup>1</sup> *dawǎqwala ʾíðə bábə kʾǎlo*.<sup>1</sup> *yaʿni dǔwáqa dawǎqwa ʾíðə-díye*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t ʾó-mǎndi wèle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The father of the groom would rise and shake the hand of the father of the bride. He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.’ (B5:10)
- (34) *qamáye y-azǎxwa l-ʾéðət qǎša*.<sup>1</sup> ***barxǎxwa ʾéðe díye***.<sup>1</sup> *xáṛṛa y-azǎxwa l-béṛət mùxtǎr*,<sup>1</sup> *ʾáp-ʾaw barxǎxwale ʾéðe díye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘First we would go and offer a festival blessing to the priest. We would offer him a festival blessing. Then we would go to the house of the village head and would offer also him a festival blessing.’ (B6:14)
- (35) *derǎxwale kǎsa*,<sup>1</sup> *kǎsa gòra*,<sup>1</sup> *xǎṭǎxwa xǎš*<sup>1</sup> *qa-dǎwwe*.<sup>1</sup> ***derǎxwa dǎwwe***,<sup>1</sup> *xǎncǐ soqǎxwale gu-margǎlta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We would put it (the *dawwe*) in a bag, a large bag, which we sewed specially for *dawwe*. We put in the *dawwe* and left a little in the pan.’ (B10:10)
- (36) *ṭǎšǎxle qurtánat xmára dǎmma*.<sup>1</sup> *ṭ-ǎmrǎx*<sup>1</sup> *Kǎrǐm zille bar-xmáre díye*<sup>1</sup> ***ṭla-mǎṭéwa xmáre díye***,<sup>1</sup> *ʾóṭyela déwe gu-ḏa-lawùrta*<sup>1</sup> *xilǎlle ʾǎw-u xmáre díye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall daub the donkey blanket with blood and say “Karim went after his donkey, in order to fetch his donkey, and wolves came into a valley and ate him and his donkey.”’ (A14:17)

In a stretch of foregrounded discourse the end of the section is sometimes given greater prominence than the body of the section to mark a clear boundary. This may be reflected in the distribution of object agreement. In (37), for example, the execution of two brothers is presented in a discourse section that may be interpreted as expressing a single overall event. The princess Parizada gives a command for the execution of each of the brothers. The command for the second execution, which closes the section, has the agreement but the first command lacks it:

- (37) *sìqele xóna ʔo-gòra,<sup>1</sup>...mára **prúmu rěše!** ʔáwowa prím rěše.<sup>1</sup> qíméle ʔo-trè.<sup>1</sup> qíméle ʔo-trè,<sup>1</sup> sìqele!<sup>1</sup>...mára **prúmle rěše díye!** ʔáp-aw rěše díye príma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The oldest brother came up...she said “Cut off his head!” His head was cut off. The second one got up. The second one got up and came up...she said “Cut off his head!” Also his head was cut off.’ (A24:31)

(iv) *Pragmatic Relation of the Object to the Rest of the Clause*

Another factor relevant to object agreement is the pragmatic relation that the object has to the other components of the clause. Agreement with a definite direct object is generally omitted on the verb if the object constitutes a narrow focus which does not include the verb. The focus may be a new information focus, in which case the verb is in the presupposition of the clause, or the focus may be one of prominence, in which case the verb may be new information but is of reduced prominence. In (38), for example, the clauses marked in bold that have the proper names Zine and Mămo as direct objects, have the presupposition ‘We shall take X to Y’, the object slot X, therefore, is a narrow information focus whereas the verb is in the presupposition:

- (38) *šuréla mjawóde m-gòdàde<sup>1</sup> ʔéni nábləx kəs-d-èni.<sup>1</sup> **Zine nábləx kəs-Mămo<sup>1</sup> lo-Mămo nábləx kəs-Zine.** ʔmára là,<sup>1</sup> bəxta<sup>1</sup> be-bəxtət-ila.<sup>1</sup> maqətləle gáwra<sup>1</sup> **nabléxi Zine kəs-Mămo.*** ‘They started arguing with one another regarding whom to take to whom. “Should we take Zine to Mămo or Mămo to Zine?” They said “No, a woman is treacherous. She will have her husband killed. Let us take Zine to Mămo.”’ (A26:2)

As we have seen in §15.4.1.4.1. and §15.4.2.6.1., when the verb is a compound form with a copula clitic, the copula element is often moved leftwards onto the item in narrow focus. When the clitic is attached by



this process to a definite nominal object, there is no pronominal agreement on the verb, e.g.

- (39) A: *módit xázya gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> B: *kθàwux-in xázya gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A: “What have you seen in the house?” B: “I have seen *your book* in the house.”’
- (40) *Qára Teždin ’ile xàtne díye.*<sup>1</sup> *yá’ni xáθət Mir-Zàndin-ile šqila Qára Teždin.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law, that is Qara Teždin has married the sister of Mir-Zandin.’ (A26:55)
- (41) *’àyyən ’ána wíða bíya díya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I did this with her.’ (A21:40)

When a narrow focus is put on some element of the clause other than the direct object, the agreement pronoun is used with a definite object, e.g.

- (42) *’àit múθyalle téri.*<sup>2</sup> *máre hē’ ’ənən múθyalle tērax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘“Did *you* bring my bird?” He said “Yes, *I* brought your bird.”’ (A24:32)
- (43) *’àit qtílalle xúwwe.*<sup>2</sup> ‘Did *you* kill the snake?’ (A24:45)

If, on the other hand, the object nominal is set up as a topic referent at the front of the clause rather than as a narrow focus, there is an increased tendency for object agreement to occur. This can be seen when this construction occurs in the contexts which have been identified above as reducing the tendency for the occurrence of object agreement. The passage in (44), for example, constitutes a preliminary background section to the narrative, which explains why the object agreement has been omitted in the clauses *masqíwa ’arwèy*<sup>1</sup> (‘They would bring up their sheep’) and *məθe-’arwèy*<sup>1</sup> (‘They bring their sheep’). By contrast, in the clause *’arwéy masqíla l-gárat ’umra*<sup>1</sup> (‘They would take their sheep onto the roof of the church’), in which the object is placed at the front as a topic, there is object agreement, despite the fact that this is in the same background section of the discourse.

- (44) *’u-’imə t-áwe qèta,*<sup>1</sup> *bəhèr,*<sup>1</sup> ***masqíwa ’arwèy***<sup>1</sup> *mašàyyaf’ gu-turàne,*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríla zawzàne.*<sup>1</sup> *béna y-àθi’ góta góta d-è-maθa,*<sup>1</sup> *’i-péš’i ’árxe d-è-maθa.*<sup>1</sup> ***’arwéy masqíla*** *l-gárat ’umra.*<sup>1</sup> *sab-gárat ’umra l-báθre díye m’ítθela l-túra,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa ramàne túra.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-gárat ’umra hàtxele.*<sup>1</sup> *y-àθi šàli,*<sup>1</sup> —*yá’ni máše náša t-ásəq l-gáre b-sǎnày*<sup>1</sup> ***məθe-’arwèy***<sup>1</sup> *masqíla l-gáre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When it was Summer and Spring, they would bring their sheep up to the summer pastures in the mountains, which are called *zawzane*. So, they would come alongside that village and become guests of the village. They would take their sheep onto the roof of the church.

This was because the roof of the church at its back extended to the mountain, so high was the mountain. The roof of the church was like that. They would come and go down (the mountain),—a person could easily go onto the roof—bring their sheep and take them onto the roof.’ (B18:1–2)

### 15.13.2.2. *Indefinite Direct Object Nominals*

As a general rule there is no pronominal agreement on the verb when the direct object is indefinite, e.g.

- (1) *màre là<sup>1</sup> ta-t-òðan qápax ’àp ðla-réšax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘No, not until I make a lid also for your head.’ (A20:3)
- (2) *ya-’alàha,<sup>1</sup> yawállan xa-bròna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Oh God, give us a son.’ (A15:17)
- (3) *xáðrax xázexi xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> t-ile palàxa<sup>1</sup> ’u-t-yáxla ’alle dýe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s look for a man who is a hard worker and give her to him.’ (A21:3)
- (4) *mšádràn mexòlta ’alle dýe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall send food to him.’ (A17:11)
- (5) *’ána m-éka meðánnux qèse.<sup>2</sup> m-éka meðánnux bázmare.<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> ‘From where should I bring you wood? From where should I bring you nails?’ (A17:3)
- (6) *xàzyéla nèra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They saw a river.’ (A17:3)
- (7) *qímtela šqíltela xa-bròna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She got up and took a son (of hers).’ (A19:3)
- (8) *wúð ða-spayúða mànni!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do me a favour!’ (A7:17)

In certain circumstances, however, there is pronominal agreement with indefinite direct objects. In general this is found where the object has some kind of topical prominence in that it plays a central role in the immediately ensuing discourse, in which it is referred to pronominally. This is attested both where the indefinite object has a specific referent and also where it has a non-specific referent. Objects with non-specific referents are typically found with verbs expressing habitual activities. These typically do not have the same referent on each occurrence of the activity. What is important, however, is that within one particular sequence of events involving one occasion of this activity, one specific referent is durable across all events:

- (9) *xazéla xá parizàda,<sup>1</sup> xá šapírta,<sup>1</sup> brátət málka t-Màgrəb,<sup>1</sup> hóle šqílalla Déwa Žàr,<sup>1</sup> hóle múðyalla gu-d-è gəppíða.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He finds a princess, a beautiful woman, the daughter of the king of Morocco, whom Dewa Zar had taken and brought to the cave.’ (A28:17)

- (10) *b-lələla*,<sup>1</sup> *plittela ziltela xziθalle xa-nāša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘At night she went out and found a man (this referent plays a central role in what follows).’ (A22:36)
- (11) *qāša šaqalle xa-qésa rixa*.<sup>1</sup> *b-’ide diye dawuqle’ i-rášəm hátxa gu-réšət nāše*<sup>1</sup> *maxéle gu-réšət nāše*,<sup>1</sup> *’ax burkàθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The priest would take a long stick. He would take it in his hand and make a sign like this on the heads of the people, he would tap it on the heads of the people, as blessings.’ (B6:3)
- (12) *małéla xa-šiniye gòrta*.<sup>1</sup> *mašléla mattúla xà-dukθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘(Each) fills a large tray and brings it down and places it in a certain place.’ (B6:23)
- (13) *xirre’ xazyále ðà xúrta*.<sup>1</sup> *xúrta ’ila ’ilána rixta*.<sup>1</sup> *daliθa xđita-’əlla síqta mlíθa ’ənwe*.<sup>1</sup> *ða-xúrta ramàntela*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He looked and saw a poplar tree. A poplar is a tall tree. A vine full of grapes had grown up around it. It was a high poplar.’ (A43:1–2)

Such indefinite nominals with topically prominent referents are sometimes placed before the verb, e.g.

- (14) *xályə marəxθile*<sup>1</sup> *’u-šoqile pésə dárəj hărăra diye taqriban ’arbi*.<sup>1</sup> *dəri marəθa býa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They boil milk and let its heat become about forty degrees. They put rennet in it.’ (B6:37)
- (15) *sáre xašləxwala* *b-xašúlta*.<sup>1</sup> *’u-mpartənəxwala*<sup>1</sup> *’u-qašrəxwala*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We would crush barley in a mortar. We winnowed it and removed the peel.’ (B10:12)

The very process of fronting the indefinite nominal before the verb to present it as the topic of the clause endows it with topical prominence and this alone can condition verb agreement, even if the referent does not play a central role in the immediately following discourse. This applies to the referents of the nominals qualified with the universal quantifier in (16) and (17), e.g.

- (16) *kút-xa qəm-xašlle ða-gòta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He threw each one down to one side.’ (A29:56)
- (17) *’u-kúl-xa téra mətaliwala*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They played every type (of game).’ (B7:6)

When a fronted object nominal is a narrow focus, however, the verb does not have an agreement pronoun, e.g.

- (18) A: *xónux hóle xíla xabùša*<sup>1</sup> B: *là*<sup>1</sup> *xàwxele xíla xóni*<sup>1</sup> *léle xabùša xíla*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "Your brother has eaten an apple." B: "No, my brother has eaten a peach. He has not eaten an apple."' "
- (19) *'u-suráye lèla jráta*<sup>1</sup> *sab-zargùlela lwíše*<sup>1</sup> 'The Christians were not slipping since they were wearing sheepskin shoes.' (B19:7)

### 15.13.3. *Independent Pronouns*

Independent personal or demonstrative pronouns are occasionally used in the direct object position. In such cases there is generally agreement on the verb in the form of a coreferential pronominal element, except in the aforementioned circumstances where agreement tends to be omitted, e.g.

- (1) *dáx permánne 'àwwa*<sup>2</sup> 'How can I slaughter him?' (A15:9)
- (2) *'áwwa xá-ga xéta dèréle gu-míya*<sup>1</sup> 'They put it again in water.' (B6:44)
- (3) *lát-θiθa 'ána mpalótállì m-gu-sàjn*<sup>1</sup> 'You did not come to take me out of jail.' (A26:82)

In (4)–(6) the independent object pronoun is in narrow focus and the agreement is omitted:

- (4) *'ána 'àti báym*<sup>1</sup> 'I want you.' (A25:31)
- (5) *'àyya báym*<sup>1</sup> 'I want her.' (A8:91)
- (6) *méθax 'ày kasle-díye*<sup>1</sup> 'Let's take her to him.' (A4:3)

It should be noted, however, that there is a greater tendency for the agreement element to be omitted when the object is a 3pl. demonstrative pronoun than there is with other types of independent pronominal object, e.g.

- (7) *pálsax 'áni*. 'Let's fight them.' (A14:52)
- (8) *bár d-à*<sup>1</sup> *xá-tre yomàθa*<sup>1</sup> *γ-aθèwa*<sup>1</sup> *maléwa 'áni míya*<sup>1</sup> 'One or two days after that they would come and fill them with water.' (B5:77)
- (9) *qíméle šqíla-ani*<sup>1</sup> 'He took them.' (A17:13)

#### 15.13.4. *General Remarks Concerning Object Agreement*

Taking into account all the various factors discussed above, it appears that the basic motivation for object agreement is the existence of some kind of prominence of the verbal predicate. The tendency for the agreement to occur with definite direct objects rather than indefinite ones can be correlated with a high degree of transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson's scale of transitivity (1980), in which 'individuation' of the object is a factor bringing about high transitivity. This would also apply to the exceptions to this rule with regard to definite objects that are inalienable possessions of the subject and indefinite objects that play a prominent discourse role, which may be interpreted as having a reduced or enhanced degree of individuation respectively. This high transitivity can be said to give the verbal predicate a higher degree of prominence. The reduced likelihood of object agreement in verbal predicates that occur in background clauses is due to the reduced prominence of the clause as a whole due to its status in the discourse rather than the properties of its components. Similarly, the lack of agreement with objects that constitute a narrow focus arises from the consequential reduction in the prominence of the verb relative to that of the object due to the pragmatic relation between the object and the clause rather than the pragmatic property, i.e. definiteness, of the object. The explanation for the increased tendency for agreement to occur when the object is topicalized at the front of the clause is likely to be that constructions with fronted topical constituents are typically used as a strategy for disjoining in some way the clause from what precedes in order to mark a boundary in the discourse (§17.7.2.3., §17.7.5.2.). The function of boundary marker gives the clause, including the verb, an enhanced degree of prominence.

#### 15.13.5. *The Distribution of Compound Verbal Forms with 'Heavy' Pronominal Objects*

As remarked above (§15.13.1.), compound verbal forms express the pronominal object by L-suffixes or by pronominal suffixes attached to the longer preposition *'all-*. This is obligatory when the form does not have a copula enclitic but optional when there is a copula enclitic. When an *'all-* phrase is used with a form that has a copula enclitic, the form is longer than one with an L-suffix. Most examples of such *'all-* phrases combined with copula enclitics that are attested in the text corpus occur with 3rd person copula elements and their position is before the copula.

The *ʔall-* + enclitic copula construction does not appear to be used totally randomly. An examination of the contexts in which it occurs shows that there is a clear tendency for it to be used at the end of a chain of clauses. It marks the boundary of a closely knit series of actions that are presented as a single overall event. This use of the construction to mark an end boundary in a span of discourse probably arises from the fact that it has a heavier morphological weight than the corresponding construction consisting of the enclitic copula + L-suffix.

The following examples are from narrative texts:

- (1) *màxyallux*, [Cop.—L-suffix]<sup>1</sup> *màxyállux*, [Cop.—L-suffix]<sup>1</sup> *màxyállux* [Cop.—L-suffix]<sup>1</sup> *há-t-ila múbyalle* [Cop.—L-suffix] *gòldux*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-müðṛṛal-luxila*.<sup>1</sup> [*ʔall*-phrase—Cop.] ‘They beat you, they beat you, they beat you, until they made your skin swell, then they returned you.’ (A2:10)
- (2) *dábba ziltela*.<sup>1</sup> *dábba ziltela*,<sup>1</sup> *zilta zilta*,<sup>1</sup> *xzíṭela xa-ṛba-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-muṭṭəlləla*.<sup>1</sup> [*ʔall*-phrase—Cop.] ‘The bear went off. The bear went, went, went, saw a sheep and brought it back’. (A27:9)
- (3) *hóla màra*<sup>1</sup> *xzíṭalle* [Cop.—L-suffix] *xa-bronət-xà-malka*,<sup>1</sup> *lax-ḍaʔa ʔəka*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-biṭəlləla*.<sup>1</sup> [*ʔall*-phrase—Cop.] ‘She says that she saw the son of a king—we do not know where—and fell in love with him.’ (A4:12)
- (4) *qimṭela*,<sup>1</sup> *šqilta xa-neriya*,<sup>1</sup> *neriya gòṛa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-primṭəlləla*.<sup>1</sup> [*ʔall*-phrase—Cop.] ‘She got up, took a male goat, a large goat, and slaughtered it.’ (A28:26)
- (5) *máre mo-t-òḍax*.<sup>21</sup> *ḫermáxle ʔo-zòra*<sup>1</sup> *t-axləxle*,<sup>1</sup> *hal-ʔé-gət t-áza dábba m-tàma*.<sup>1</sup> *qimela ʔo-zòra priməlləla*<sup>1</sup> [*ʔall*-phrase—Cop.] *ʔu-xiləlləla*.<sup>1</sup> [*ʔall*-phrase—Cop.] ‘He said “What shall we do? Let’s slaughter the young one and eat him, (and wait) until the bear goes away from there.”’ They got up and slaughtered the young one and ate it.’ (A20:7–8)
- (6) *ʔámər ʔána* ‘*Abda-Raḥmān-iwən*,<sup>1</sup> *ḫóux tǎra*.<sup>1</sup> *ḫóixəlləle* [*ʔall*-phrase—Cop.] *tǎra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “I am ‘Abda-Raḥmān, open the door!” and he opened the door.’ (A23:26)

In (7) below, the *ʔall*-phrase—Cop. construction *ḫóixəlləla tǎra* ‘She opened the door’ is in close sequence to the preceding clause *máxe l-tǎra* ‘They knock on the door’. There then follows a chain of clauses beginning with a Cop.—L-suffix construction repeating a reference to the opening of the door: *ḫóixəllə tǎra*. The objective meaning of the two references to the opening of the door is clearly the same. The use of the different constructions arises from the choice of the speaker as to how to present

the relationship between events. The first sequence ends with the opening of the door. The second sequence begins with the opening of the door.

- (7) *ʔáy hólá wáða kùbbe.<sup>1</sup> hólá ʔíθáθa gu-lèša,<sup>1</sup> lyáša kùbbe,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔθyεle<sup>1</sup> bába díya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-wázír,<sup>1</sup> ʔθyεla tər̀wə̀θna,<sup>1</sup> máxe l-tára.<sup>1</sup> máxe l-tára,<sup>1</sup> ʔíθáθa qámxele,<sup>1</sup> pθíxtallela [ʔall-phrase—Cop.] tára.<sup>1</sup> pθíxtalle [Cop.—L-suffix] tára,<sup>1</sup> xzíθalle bába díya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔup-wázír mənne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She was making meat-balls. Her hands were in dough, while kneading the meat-balls. Her father and the vizier came, the two of them came and knocked on the door. They knocked on the door and, while her hands were (covered in) flour, she opened the door. She opened the door and saw her father and also the vizier who was with him.’ (A21:26)

Forms with an *ʔall-* phrase placed after a 1st or 2nd person copula clitic are less frequently attested in the text corpus. They are generally used with the same function as ‘heavy’ boundary markers. In (8) the form occurs at the end of each of the series of discrete events that are described by the speaker. In (9) the form, likewise, is used at the end of a series of clauses that the speaker presents as closely-knit aspects of one overall event:

- (8) *ʔíθwa xa-túrət skinyàθa.<sup>1</sup> muttéthətwá qámi xa-túrət skinyàθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔáw pīðən-alle.<sup>1</sup> xa-túra xéna t-mə̀lxa,<sup>1</sup> ʔáw pīðən-alle.<sup>1</sup> tər̀te xamáθa ʔaxwáθəx ʔθyεla,<sup>1</sup> **přimən-alle réša.**<sup>1</sup> ʔíθwa nàra,<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-ʔaw múklən-alle šwírən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was a mountain of knives. You had placed before me a mountain of knives. I crossed it. There was another mountain of salt and I crossed that. Two young women like you came and I cut off their head. There was a river, I stopped it and jumped over.’ (A24:33)
- (9) *θéle báre díye<sup>1</sup> θéle muʔálləm.<sup>1</sup> máre ʔána b-zawənənnə ʔn-háwe b-tər̀te ʔaqlàθa.<sup>1</sup> qímən ða-xéta **přimən-əlla.**<sup>1</sup>* ‘After him a teacher came. He said “I shall buy it if it has two legs.” I cut off another one.’ (A22:9)

#### 15.13.6. *Object Marker on the Direct Object Nominal*

On some sporadic occasions the direct object nominal has prefixed to it the preposition *qa-*, *ʔla-* or *l-*, which are normally used before nouns to express a dative relation. In the available examples, the preposition *qa-* is used before definite objects without an agreement pronoun on the verb, e.g.

- (1) *šlithela baxta<sup>1</sup> xziθa qa-mälla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The woman went down and saw the mullah.’ (A22:11)
- (2) *Tätär-i Slemán-i Səndi qtiləle qa-žâl.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Tätär-i Slemán-i Səndi killed Zäl.’ (A28:1)
- (3) *’ána qa-Sittiye báyəm.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I love Səttiye.’ (A25:22)
- (4) *báyéwa qa-’aláha.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He loved God.’ (A16:10)
- (5) *dwiqele qa-’arya<sup>1</sup> ’u-mùθyalle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He caught the lion and brought it back.’ (A27:3)
- (6) *maláxa müřsle qa-rəbbən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The angel woke the monk.’ (A15:11)
- (7) *dáx bárya b-sèrəwən<sup>1</sup> qa-xálwa xwàra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘How could it happen that I reject the white milk (of my mother)?’
- (8) *máxəb qa-bábux ’u-γəmmux!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Love your father and mother!’

The preposition *ḡla-/ta-* is attested before definite direct objects and is in some cases accompanied by an agreement pronoun on the verb, e.g.

- (9) *taxránne ḡla-xlúlet xóni Šəmmo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I remember the wedding of Šəmmo my brother.’ (B8:21)
- (10) *’ən-’ána hawánwa qtiləlla ’áyáha ’aqərwa,<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa xúwwe ḡ-awéwa qtila ḡla-bròni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son.’ (A9:6)
- (11) *’áwwa qtille ḡla-’arya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He killed the lion.’ (A11:1)
- (12) *žiptəllela<sup>1</sup> ḡla-Məmo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She pushed Məmo.’ (A26:3)
- (13) *díya ’áwwa báyə ta-d-áyya bráta zúrta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now he loves this young girl.’ (A14:83)
- (14) *zarqáxwa ḡla-mázze max-šošəθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We used to weave the hairs like a plait.’

The preposition *l-* is rarely used as a direct object marker on a nominal. An isolated example in the text corpus is (15):

- (15) *ḡátta l-’umrəne-žigən<sup>1</sup> tləxəlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He destroyed even the churches.’ (B2:2)

### 15.13.7. Double Objects

The verbs *’wəð* ‘to do, to make’, *ḡly* ‘to fill’, *dwiq* ‘to fill, pack’ and certain causative verbs may take two direct objects, e.g.



- (1) *y-oðúwale pùwus<sup>1</sup>. jámúwale y-oðúwale qàpla<sup>1</sup>* ‘They made it into hay. They gathered it and made it into an armful.’ (B5:84)
- (2) *y-oðále zeðàye<sup>1</sup>. . . y-oðále guttáθa qamàye<sup>1</sup>* ‘She makes it into pitta breads. . . First she makes into balls.’ (B5:101)
- (3) *y-oðáxwale qəttáte qəttáte<sup>1</sup>* ‘We made it into pieces.’ (B5:139)
- (4) *’u-máləxxa čántux zùze<sup>1</sup>* ‘We shall fill your bag with money.’ (A39:14)
- (5) *čánte díye dwíqla zwàðe<sup>1</sup>* ‘She packed his bag with provisions.’ (A21:22)
- (6) *malwəšúwale jull-díye<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would dress him in his clothes.’ (B5:26)
- (7) *maxəðríla ’a-k’álo<sup>1</sup>* ‘They caused the bride to go around (the village).’ (B5:38)
- (8) *madoqíla xátna-w k’álo gota-gəðàðe<sup>1</sup>* ‘They make the groom and bride hold each other’s side.’ (B5:50)
- (9) *’ádyo maštənnəxu štéθa diyən<sup>1</sup> t-in-wíðəlla ’ána<sup>1</sup>* ‘Today I shall give you our drink to drink, which I have made.’ (B15:57)
- (10) *hátxa máləpátli haqqúθa ’u-na-haqqúθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘You should teach me what is lawful and what is unlawful.’ (A15:10)

#### 15.14. INDIRECT OBJECTS

A nominal that has the function of the indirect object of an action, i.e. one that refers to a participant who is a recipient or beneficiary in the action, is expressed by attaching the preposition *!la-/ta-* or *qa-*. Unlike direct object nominals, indirect object nominals normally do not have any agreement element in the form of a pronominal copy on the verb, even when the noun is definite, e.g.

- (1) *ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl tərte tawriyáθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘He will give to your neighbour two cows.’ (A3:4)
- (2) *təmməl t-ámərən ta-bàbi<sup>1</sup>* ‘Tomorrow I shall tell my father.’ (A18:7)
- (3) *mártela !la-d-áw-naša sáwa puš-b-šəna<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said to that old man “Remain in peace!”’ (A8:69)

On some rare occasions an agreement L-suffix is attested on the verb, e.g.

- (4) *’ána t-àzən<sup>1</sup> tanyánne ða-tuníθa !la-málka<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall go and tell a story to the king.’ (A36:2)

As already described in §8.19.5., a pronominal indirect object of a verb may be expressed by an L-suffix or by an independent prepositional phrase consisting of the prepositions *ʔall-*, *ʔla-* or *qa-* and a pronominal suffix. With past base verbs the pronominal indirect object may also be expressed by the inflection of the past base, e.g. *mirále* ‘He said to her’. Here we shall examine in greater detail the distribution of these alternative devices in the text corpus.

When there is no direct object, the pronominal indirect object may usually be expressed either by an L-suffix or by an independent prepositional phrase. In such cases the ‘heavier’ prepositional phrase tends to be used at the end of an intonation group (7–9) and avoided in the middle of an intonation group following the verb (5–6). Included here are verbs of saying followed by direct or indirect speech:

- (5) *ʔalaha yállux b-àyya dúnye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-b-ε-xèta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘May God grant you (bounty) in this world and the next.’ (A21:44)
- (6) *xáli lá ʔamrátli qáṣṣət d-áwewa qáṣra mòdila*?<sup>2</sup> ‘Uncle, will you not tell me what the story of this palace is?’ (A25:67)
- (7) *ʔámər ʔalle dýe*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He says to him.’ (A21:2)
- (8) *ʔ-ámreti ʔláli*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Tell me.’ (A21:43)
- (9) *ʔána marən-əllux*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I say to you.’ (A17:34)

A compound verbal form consisting of a resultative participle or an infinitive without a clitic copula never takes L-suffixes. It usually takes a cliticized *ʔall-* phrase, e.g. *hon híwəlle* ‘I have given to him’, *hon yawəlle* ‘I am giving to him’. At the end of an intonation group this may be replaced by an independent prepositional phrase with its own stress, e.g.

- (10) *hóle mára ʔláli*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He says to me.’ (A17:10)
- (11) *ʔáyya ʔíla yúwta qa-dýi*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She has been given to me.’ (A25:39)

When the verb has both a pronominal direct object and a pronominal indirect object, the direct object is normally the primary object affix on the verb and the indirect object is expressed by a prepositional adjunct phrase, which in most cases follows the direct object affix, e.g.

- (12) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàṣa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔ-íle palàxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-t-yáxla ʔille dýe*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s look for a man who is a hard worker and give her to him.’ (A21:3)
- (13) *ʔána t-yàṅna-llux*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall give them to you.’ (A12:2)

- (14) *młóla sámma-w hallùle-llé.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Fill it with poison and give it to him.’ (A26:86)
- (15) *b-zabnátle ’állí ’an-háwe b-ðà-’aqla.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Will you sell it to me if it has one leg?’ (A22:5)
- (16) *xúwwe mà t-áwəð b-an-álpa dáwe,*<sup>1</sup> *t-ázən hawónna ’alle-diye.*<sup>21</sup> ‘What will the snake do with the thousand gold coins that I should go and give them to him?’ (A1:8)
- (17) *xàθi,*<sup>1</sup> *Žine,*<sup>1</sup> *hiwála ’állí.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My sister, Zine gave it to me.’ (A26:38)
- (18) *’ána t-amrənna-llux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall tell it to you.’ (A21:35)

When the verb has a definite direct object nominal, this generally takes an agreement in the form of a direct object pronominal affix and a pronominal indirect object must be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase, which generally follows, e.g.

- (19) *bas-yátla Náze ’állí.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But you must give Naze to me.’ (A25:23)
- (20) *qá-mo le-yátla xáθux ’állé.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Why won’t you give your sister to him?’ (A26:72)
- (21) *’ána sámi t-yánne ilalèxu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall give my portion to you.’ (A21:29)
- (22) *tára la-paθxátle ’állé diye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do not open the door to him.’ (A23:25)
- (23) *’áwəwa yála yáwalle ’álaha ’állá díya ’əštà yárxe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘God gave them this child six months ago.’ (A15:9)

In (24) there is a deviation from this usual rule, in that the indirect pronominal object is expressed by an L-suffix on the verb before the L-suffix that agrees with the direct object nominal:

- (24) *hállila masrəqθònti*<sup>1</sup> ‘Give me my little comb’ (A34:3)

Occasionally a textually prominent indefinite direct object nominal takes an agreement pronoun, e.g.

- (25) *’áp-’awəwa šaq’alla ðá-kəsta qa-d-ày,*<sup>1</sup> *yaw’alla qa-d-ày.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He also takes a purse for her and gives it to her.’ (A4:22)

When a direct object nominal has no object agreement on the verb, the pronominal indirect object is the primary affix on the verb, which is an L-suffix in verb forms that take L-suffixes. The main circumstances in which the direct object agreement element is omitted include the following:

## (i) An indefinite direct object nominal

- (26) *ya-ʔalàha*,<sup>1</sup> *yawótlan xa-bròna*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Oh God, give us a son.’ (A15:17)  
 (27) *hállule xa-sùsa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Give him a horse.’ (A12:59)  
 (28) *mattúli xá-šemma xèna*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Give me another name.’ (A7:2)  
 (29) *qémən šaqlónni xákma mándi mónni b-ʔidi*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall get up and take for myself a few things, with me in my hand.’ (A23:5)  
 (30) *bǎyánni ʔemma bnàθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I want for myself a hundred girls.’ (A25:74)

## (ii) A definite direct object that is an inalienable possession or closely associated appurtenance of the referent of the indirect object

- (31) *híwəlla jùlla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He gave her clothes to her.’ (A14:84)  
 (32) *hot-yàwəlle rásqe díye*<sup>1</sup> *hóle xàla*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp-ʔana šalən dámxən bèθa*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔati májbur t-yàtli rásqi*.<sup>1</sup> ‘You are giving to it its sustenance and it is eating it. I also shall go down and sleep at home. You will be obliged to give me my sustenance.’ (A10:3)

## (iii) A definite nominal that is a narrow focus

Agreement with a definite direct object is omitted on the verb if the object constitutes a narrow focus which does not include the verb. The focus may be a new information focus, in which case the verb is in the presupposition of the clause, or the focus may be one of prominence, in which case the verb may be new information but is of reduced prominence, e.g.

- (33) *har-t-yàtli ða-bráta*,<sup>1</sup> *là?*<sup>1</sup> *máre hè*.<sup>1</sup> *máre yátli Səttiye*.<sup>1</sup> *máre ma-yxələf*,<sup>1</sup> *t-yán-nux Səttiye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘“You will still give me a daughter, is that not so?” He said “Yes.” He said “You should give me *Səttiye* (rather than one of the others).” He said “Fine. I’ll give you *Səttiye*.”’ (A25:25)  
 (34) *ʔaláha hóle yíwəlli ʔáyya ʔúrxa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘God has given me *this way*.’ (A21:42)

Even when there is no direct object agreement suffix on the verb, the indirect object can be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase. This is found at the close of an intonation group to act as end-weighting, e.g.

- (35) *hátta mexólta b-kàwe dárax ʔalle-díye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We even give food to it through the window.’ (A12:62)

It is also found where the speaker fronts the phrase to give the indirect object prominence in order to set it in contrastive opposition to an indirect object in an adjacent clause, e.g.

- (36) *ʔm-ʔlálux yáwəl xà xmára<sup>1</sup> ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè xmáre.<sup>1</sup> ‘If he gives to you one ass, he will give to your neighbour two asses.’ (A3:4)*
- (37) *ʔu-ʔlálux lan-šwíqa čũ-māndi.<sup>1</sup> ‘I have left nothing for you (whereas I have taken everything for myself).’ (A2:11)*

At the end of a discourse unit the long alternative type of suffix construction for the expression of an indirect object is occasionally used on compound verbal forms, whereby the copula element is placed after the pronominal suffix. For the use of this construction with direct object suffixes for end-weighting see §15.13.5.:

- (38) *ʔm-mjuwəbla,<sup>1</sup> xo-ʔānən ʔəθya kəsləx.<sup>1</sup> ʔm-là mjuwəbla,<sup>1</sup> ʔātít θíθa kəslí.<sup>1</sup>*  
*qríθela qála b-Šáləm ʔu-Sürma,<sup>1</sup> čũ-jwába la-yiwəlləla.<sup>1</sup> [*< yíwa + əlla*  
 (3fs. indirect object) + *ila* (3pl. copula)] ‘“If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me.” She called Šalem and Surma, but they did not give her any reply.’ (A26:4–5)*

If a past base verb is used in the clause, an indirect pronominal object tends to be expressed by an independent prepositional phrase in all circumstances, e.g.

- (39) *yíwla xa-qésa xéna ʔəlle díye.<sup>1</sup> ‘She gave another stick to him.’ (A22:29)*
- (40) *ʔimat ʔaláha yíwle ʔəlléy bróna<sup>1</sup>* ‘When God gave them a son...’ (A15:17)
- (41) *mère ʔəlle díye<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said to him’ (A17:4)
- (42) *mère ʔláli<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said to me’ (A22:8)
- (43) *hátxa mjuwəble ʔəlli málka.<sup>1</sup> ‘The king replied to me thus.’ (A17:34)*
- (44) *wídla ʔtárta ʔəlli.<sup>1</sup> ‘She made breakfast for me.’ (A21:35)*

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

### THE SYNTAX OF PREPOSITIONS

The morphology and basic uses of the prepositions have been described in §13.3. In this chapter we shall take a closer look at the syntax and semantic range of the main prepositions, particularly those that have multiple functions.

#### 16.1. *b-*

The preposition *b-* has a variety of uses. When it takes pronominal suffixes, these are attached to a longer base with the form *bîy-*.

##### 16.1.1. *Spatial and Temporal Location*

It may express location in a perceptible space in contexts such as the following:

- (1) *šqilele qésa b-’ide diye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He took the stick in his hand.’ (A22:30)
- (2) *’o-’ála zóra hóla múttalle be-pàlga.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They put the small child in the middle.’ (A4:58)
- (3) *w-ána b-ánna dašdàše-w<sup>1</sup> b-ánna čakàlle-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘while I am in these plain clothes and slippers’ (A6:7)
- (4) *šwíqalla xáye bîyax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has left his life (which remained to him) in you.’ (A4:42)

The preposition *gu-* is far more commonly used to express location within an enclosed physical space, e.g. *gu-xa-gəppìθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘in a cave’ (A15:1), *gu-jèbe<sup>1</sup>* ‘in his pocket’ (A15:2), *gu-Kàrkuk<sup>1</sup>* ‘in Kirkuk’ (A16:1), *gu-ða-màθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘in a village’ (A48:1), *gu-dudîya* ‘in the cradle’ (A15:8). When the preposition *b-* is used to refer to location in a physical space, this is generally less physically enclosed, as in (1)–(4). It is more frequently used for location in an abstract space, e.g. *b-šéna b-tawàθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘(You have come) in peace and blessings’ (A15:8), *b-xálmî<sup>1</sup>* ‘in my dream’ (A1:2), *b-šópət brònan<sup>1</sup>* ‘in the place of our son’ (A4:39). The preposition *b-* expresses location within a state

or activity in progressive constructions with infinitives, e.g. *hóle b-θáya* ‘He is coming’ (A13:14), and occasionally other nouns.

It is used when a lesser degree of enclosure than in (1)–(4) is involved, such that there is only surface contact, e.g. *b-úrxa* ‘on the road’ (A15:1), *b-rèšux* ‘on your head’ (A23:8), *b-miya šaxine* ‘by warm waters’ (C2:54), *b-qðàli* ‘on my neck’ (A21:27).

In some cases it is used in an ingressive (5–8) or occasionally egressive (9) sense:

- (5) *míya šályela b-rešèy*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The water came down onto their heads.’ (A16:11)
- (6) *šiqela b-xa-tùra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They went up onto a mountain.’ (A17:4)
- (7) *dríθa xəppo b-réša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She had put a veil on her head.’ (A19:2)
- (8) *npíltela b-xùbba*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She has fallen in love.’ (A4:14)
- (9) *mášxət qálya plítle b-jebàne díye*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The oil of the roast meat came out of his pockets.’ (A23:9)

The preposition *gu-* is likewise used in an ingressive or egressive sense, e.g.

- (10) *wìrela gu-béθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They entered the house.’ (A15:7)
- (11) *zílela gu-ða-máθa xèta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They went into another village.’ (A15:10)
- (12) *šiqela gu-xa-tùra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They went up into a mountain.’ (A15:13)
- (13) *zádyaalla gu-ða-dèrta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They threw it into a house enclosure.’ (A15:12)
- (14) *šárɿm gu-<sup>2</sup>iθáθa d-áwwa náša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘so that I escape from the hands of this man.’ (A31:3)
- (15) *’áti páltət gu-d-àнна*.<sup>1</sup> ‘You should depart from these people.’ (A12:5)

Various nouns are used with *b-* in some contexts and with *gu-* in others, as can be seen in the examples cited above. This should not necessarily be interpreted as complete functional overlap, but rather is likely to reflect different conceptualizations of the degree of enclosure involved, e.g.

- b-xa-tùra*<sup>1</sup> ‘onto a mountain’ (A17:4)  
*gu-xa-tùra*<sup>1</sup> ‘into a mountain’ (A15:13)  
*gu-jèbe*<sup>1</sup> ‘in his pocket (hidden)’ (A15:2)  
*b-jebàne díye*<sup>1</sup> ‘(from) in his pockets (revealed)’ (A23:9)

- b-ʔðe diye*<sup>1</sup> ‘in his hand’ (A22:30)  
*gu-ʔiθáθθ* ‘(from) in his hands (trapped)’ (A31:3).

The place through which one passes is also marked by *b-*, e.g.

- (16) *b-tára wirtela*<sup>1</sup> ‘It (the cat) entered by the door.’ (A23:19)  
 (17) *táwre morátla b-kàwre*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should bring the oxen in through the window.’ (A30:22)

The preposition *b-*, rather than *gu-*, is used to express location in a time period, e.g. *b-áyya dána* ‘at this time’ (A15:7), *b-lèle* ‘at night’ (A15:8), *b-lèle b-yòma*<sup>1</sup> ‘night and day’ (A21:2), *b-ʔašàrta*<sup>1</sup> ‘in the evening’ (A22:31), *b-qéta* ‘in the summer’ (B5:19), *b-xarèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘at last’ (A22:5).

#### 16.1.2. Instrument

It is often used in relation to the instrument or means by which an action is performed. The complement is usually an inanimate object or a part of the body, e.g.

- (1) *b-o nàra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-táwre diye*<sup>1</sup> *mquðqdeleley*<sup>1</sup> ‘He chopped the oxen up with the axe.’ (A30:23)  
 (2) *xzáyàtalla b-dùrbìn*<sup>1</sup> ‘You see it with binoculars.’ (A25:52)  
 (3) *bərzóma yáʔni ta-t-sáli gu-gòma*<sup>1</sup> *b-semàlta*<sup>1</sup> ‘a hatch for them to go down into the basement stable, by a ladder’ (A23:28)  
 (4) *zriyənwale b-iθàθi*<sup>1</sup> ‘I had cultivated it with my hands.’ (A17:32)  
 (5) *ʔáyya kúlla qəm-maxərwàla*<sup>1</sup> *b-aqláθa diya*<sup>1</sup> ‘This (cat) has spoilt everything with its feet.’ (A23:19)

Occasionally the complement is an animate referent, e.g.

- (6) *súq méθi qèsa biyéx*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go up and fetch wood with them (the asses).’ (A23:34)

The expression *waða b-xabra* ‘to do by, according to the word (of so-and-so)’ belongs here, e.g.

- (7) *ʔu-ʔádyo ʔáti lat-waða b-xàbri*<sup>1</sup> ‘Today you are not doing as I say.’ (A21:43)



Under this head can be included phrases with the base *b-gan-* ‘by oneself’, e.g.

- (8) *ma-lat-ðáya b-gánax qàrθela.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Don’t you know yourself that it is cold?’ (A20:1)  
 (9) *wídla ’ixála ’áy b-gàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She made the food by herself.’ (A21:40)  
 (10) *yáððat b-gànux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You know by yourself.’ (A1:11)

Here also belong multiplicative expresses such as:

- (11) *’áxni t-yawóxla xa-b-!làθa ’álle díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall give him threefold (if it is lost).’ (A7:10)

### 16.1.3. ‘with’

On a number of occasions it is appropriate to translate the preposition by English ‘with’. The relation may be comitative, e.g.

- (1) *’áθi b-dáwla-w zórna-w tópe-w* ‘Let them come with the drum and pipe and with guns.’ (A4:33)  
 (2) *xázax ’sályele b-xà tēna ’áxre<sup>1</sup> ’u-θéle b-!láθa tēne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We see that he went down with one saddle bag of excrement and he has come back with three saddle bags.’ (A7:12)  
 (3) *’ánna ma-t-íla xmíle b-gòððe!*<sup>1</sup> ‘How happy they were with each other (= together)!’ (A4:50)  
 (4) *’áyya bráta la-péša biyux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This girl will not remain with you.’ (A29:33)  
 (5) *’i-xoúla b-màšxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They mix them with oil.’ (B6:51)  
 (6) *’an-tre-maláxe t-wéwa ’áθye biya!*<sup>1</sup> ‘those two angels who had come with her (= had brought her)’ (A4:44)

It is also used to express various other types of association or linkage, e.g.

- (7) *lìlən súla biye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We have no business with it (= It is not our business).’ (A48:6)  
 (8) *’aláha hole-múra<sup>1</sup> t-yawòllux<sup>1</sup> b-šàrt<sup>1</sup> kú-mdit yawòllux<sup>1</sup> ta-šwáwux t-yáwəł trè.*<sup>1</sup> ‘God has said that he will give to you with the condition that everything he gives to you he will give to your neighbour twofold.’ (A3:4)

- (9) *'ána xa-náša gôřewən,*<sup>1</sup> *wíra b-šənne.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am an old man, advanced in age.' (A8:43)
- (10) *moləxmáli...* *'áyya zmárta bíye diyē.*<sup>1</sup> 'I composed this song about him.' (C4:2)
- (11) *naša gořa b-šənne* 'a man big with regard to years (= an elderly man)'

#### 16.1.4. *Attributive*

The preposition sometimes has the function of linking a referent to a nominal that is presented as an attribute, in that it constitutes a component or property of it. e.g.

- (1) *mən-d-àmma<sup>1</sup> pazesór b-ʔalyàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa b-qanàne<sup>1</sup>* 'Some of those big sheep with fat tails and horns (big) like this' (A7:22)
- (2) *'ána làn b-xá-reša<sup>1</sup> b-šàwəwa reššawáθən.*<sup>1</sup> 'I do not have just one head, I have seven heads.' (A24:41)
- (3) *'ána b-zawənənnə ʔən-háwə b-tárte ʔaqlàθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall buy it if it has two legs.' (A22:9)
- (4) *w-ašárta meθətlí<sup>1</sup> xá-qapla qəšə<sup>1</sup> t-lá-hawa b-qàlpe.*<sup>1</sup> 'In the evening bring me a bundle of pieces of wood that are without bark.' (A30:6)
- (5) *wéləx hawənànta,*<sup>1</sup> *b-ʔiqárət šáwθa basimta,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-mâqul.*<sup>1</sup> 'You have been clever, with the honour of sweet and fine words.' (A40:16)
- (6) *b-rəxme!*<sup>1</sup> '(May you be) with mercy! (= Bless you!)' (A4:60)
- (7) *ʔlâ-mma xatáne b-xa xeríya.*<sup>1</sup> 'Three hundred ladies with one veil.' (D1:9)
- (8) *barða b-qanane* 'hail with horns (= heavy hail)'

We should classify here attributive expressions such as the following: *b-xamme* 'sad', *b-xəye* 'alive', *b-tali* 'ill', *b-pəlxana* 'busy' (§11.7.).

#### 16.1.5. *Material*

It is occasionally used to denote the material out of which something is made, e.g.

- (1) *t-əðətlí gášra b-qəša.*<sup>1</sup> 'Make me a bridge of wood.' (A17:18)

16.1.6. *Price*

It denotes the price at which an item is fixed either in an amount of money or a bartered object, e.g.

- (1) *xá-kilo ʔixre b-ḥláθa dāwεle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘One kilo of dung sells for three gold pieces.’ (A7:14)
- (2) *ʔána zonánna b-ʔšra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall buy it for ten (dinars).’ (B5:42)
- (3) *xálət xátna qəm-zawónna ʔilána b-xamšī dináre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The maternal uncle of the groom has bought it (the tree) for a hundred dinars.’ (B15:68)
- (4) *l-Yawsəp ziwinta b-neriya.* ‘It has been bought by Yawsəp for a male goat.’ (B8:28)

Conversely it is used before the item sold in expressions such as (5):

- (5) *γ-aθéwa zonána, ʔ-amərwá ʔáyya ʔátxa b-yawánnmux bíya díya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A purchaser would come and say “I shall give you such-and-such (an amount of money) for them (the apples).”’ (B15:52)

16.1.7. *Manner*

It may express the manner in which an action is performed. In such cases it is generally combined with an abstract nominal, e.g.

- (1) *maslélon b-iqàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They bring us down with honour.’ (A4:30)
- (2) *báyyən lá-ʔaθi b-xàšša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not want them to come in sadness.’ (A4:33)
- (3) *ʔáni b-xéla báyi mbarxíla ʔəlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They want to marry her to me by force.’ (A7:18)
- (4) *bás ʔamrəlli b-duzùθa dāx ʔáyya bráta wiðálux brátət bέθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Just tell me, in truth, how have you made this girl a housewife.’ (A21:34)

16.1.8. *Causal Background*

Occasionally it expresses the cause or purpose of an action, e.g.

- (1) *ʔámər b-áyyət mšúdrəlli?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Was it for this (reason) you sent for me?’ (A21:32)
- (2) *zílle b-ríxət kábàbe, xzéle mdaxóye xmàre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went after the smell of kebabs, but he found the branding of asses.’ (D2:30)

- (3) *léwət ʔàti<sup>1</sup> ʔε-bráta t-in-ʔána wíðalla gáni kóra b-rèšax,<sup>1</sup> máxyalla ʔwədxá<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔəni.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Are you not the girl on account of whom I made myself blind, by putting the needle into my eye?’ (A16:7)

#### 16.1.9. Oath

The preposition is used in oaths or adjurations before the item by which the speaker is swearing, e.g.

- (1) *mára b-rèšux.<sup>1</sup> ʔáti múttət-alle tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said “(I swear) by your head. You put him there.”’ (A22:39)

The preposition is most frequently used with this function before the noun *ʔalaha* ‘God’ in the phrase *b-álaha*, which is usually stressed on the first syllable and often pronounced [b-ɑːla]. This expression is used in a variety of contexts. In general it strengthens an assertion, by committing the speaker fully to the truth of the statement, e.g.

- (2) *b-álaha ʔáwwa xoš-yàlɛle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘By God, he is a good lad.’ (A21:5)  
 (3) *b-álaha dūs-it.<sup>1</sup>* ‘By God, you are right.’ (A17:19)

It is often used to introduce the response to a question, e.g.

- (4) *ʔo-tèla<sup>1</sup> máre há lèkət zála,<sup>1</sup> ya-gáni dəbba.<sup>2</sup> b-álaha xðárən báθər rəsqi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The fox said “Hey, where are you going, my dear bear?” “By God, I’m looking for my sustenance.”’ (A20:1)  
 (5) *há bròni,<sup>1</sup> m-èkət θáya.<sup>2</sup> b-álaha m-bèθən θáya,<sup>1</sup> ʔàmti.<sup>1</sup>* ‘“Hey, my son, where are you coming from?” “By God, I’m coming from home, aunt.”’ (A23:2)  
 (6) *mára mòdila qáʃʃət díya.<sup>2</sup> máre b-álaha qáʃʃət díya hàtxela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said “What is her story?” He said “By God, her story is like this.”’ (A4:14)

It is used to strengthen a remonstrance expressed by a negative question, e.g.

- (7) *b-álaha látwa mirta<sup>1</sup> la-héwən ʔu-lá bər-náša ʔáwər gu-ʔətəx.<sup>2</sup>* ‘By God, did you not say that no animal and no person should enter the room?’ (A23:22)

16.1.10. *Complements of Verbs and Expressions*

The preposition *b-* is used as the complement of some verbs, e.g. *dbaša b-* ‘to stick to’, *dqara b-* ‘to touch’, *mbaxole b-* ‘to envy’, *mhaymone b-* ‘to believe in’, *mparoje b-* ‘to look at’, *tfaqa b-* ‘to meet’, *tpaya b-* ‘to catch onto (fire)’, *parpore b-* ‘to plead to’, *qyaθa b-* ‘to hit’, *tpara b-* ‘to threaten’, *xđaya b-* ‘to rejoice in’, *xkaka/gxaka b-* ‘to laugh at’, *xqara b-* ‘to honour’, *xyara b-* ‘to look at’. It is also used as the obligatory complement of some attributive expressions, e.g. *bista b-* ‘familiar with’, *bliga b-* ‘busy with’, *xəđya b-* ‘pleased with’.

Several verbs may take a direct object complement or a complement introduced by the preposition *b-*. In general the construction with the prepositional complement is used to express a situation in which the action affects the referent to a lesser extent than when a direct complement is used, or a situation in which the action is less directly associated with the referent. Some pairs are given below by way of illustration:

*đaya* + object ‘to know, understand (sth., so. by direct knowledge)’, *đaya b-* ‘to know about (sth. so. indirectly)’, e.g.

- (1) *γəđənnə ʔəθrət bəbi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I know the land of my father.’ (A14:90)
- (2) *hé b-ələha,<sup>1</sup> qídle bəθət duglana-w<sup>1</sup> ʔəxni lə-điye bíye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Oh, by God, the house of the liar has burnt down, without us knowing about it.’ (A48:7)

*mxaya* + object ‘to strike’, *mxaya b-* ‘to play (a musical instrument)’, e.g.

- (3) *lá maxənnəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not strike you.’ (A51:19)
- (4) *ʔAšəbaṭəlo<sup>1</sup> ʔəwəwə máxe b-zòrna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Ašəbaṭəlo played the pipe’ (A25:26)

*mšaxlope* + object ‘to change’, *mšaxlope b-* ‘to exchange’, e.g.

- (5) *ta-mšaxəłpi šəmmət Čuxo<sup>1</sup>* ‘in order for them to change the name Čuxo’ (A7:3)
- (6) *mšuxləpla b-isəqyəθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They exchanged rings.’ (A4:5)

*zmara* + object ‘to sing (a song)’, *zmara b-* ‘to sing to (so.)’, e.g.

- (7) *ʔi-zamríwa rəwə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They used to sing *rawə*.’ (B15:75)
- (8) *zmírre b-Žine.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He sang to Zine.’ (A25:22)

*xala* + object ‘to eat (completely)’, *xala b-* ‘to eat (parts of sth.)’, e.g.

- (9) *xilela xa-ràmša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They ate dinner.’ (A16:9)  
 (10) *’u-rìpeləlle kùlla,*<sup>1</sup> *nyása-w xàla ’ábbe-dìye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They (the animals) all attacked him, biting and eating bits of him (= gnawing him).’ (A35:21)

Some verbs can take a direct object or another preposition but use *b-* before a referent that is disadvantaged in some way by the action, e.g.

- (11) *fla-mò wídlux hátxa bìyi?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why have you done this to me?’ (A15:14)  
 (12) *xzi-málka b̄t-áwəð bìyi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘See, the king will do (something) to me.’ (A21:33)  
 (13) *’áp-’ana šqiláli šndüxta<sup>1</sup> doryáli bìya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I picked up a small stone and threw it at it.’ (A23:22)  
 (14) *’áp-xa lele-mšáya bìya dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nobody could (do anything) against her (= nobody could defeat her).’ (A25:68)  
 (15) *šurēla šráxa bìye dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She started shouting at him.’ (A25:82)  
 (16) *bálki t-íle xa-mándi θiθa bìya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps something has happened to her.’ (A21:25)

The preposition with the sense of ‘disadvantage’ is found after the existential particle in expressions such as:

- (17) *’ána bsimlì<sup>1</sup> čú-mdi liθ-bìyi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am cured. Nothing is the matter with me.’ (A4:20)

With some verbs the preposition *b-* may be exchanged for other prepositions to express a different relationship to the complement. In (18), for example, the verb *xyara* ‘to look’ takes a complement with *b-* (‘look at’), but in the second clause the complement has *gu-* to express ‘looking into’ the enclosed interior of the cave:

- (18) *qamáye xírta b-áqlət súsá dīya,*<sup>1</sup> *la-xírra gu-gəppa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘At first she looked at the legs of her horse, she did not look into the cave.’ (A8:72)

16.1.11. *bəd-*, *bud-*

The expression *bəd-* and its variant *bud-* is in origin a combination of the preposition *b-* and the subordinating particle *D*. It is not, however, used with exactly the same distribution as the basic preposition *b-*. It generally has the sense of ‘about, concerning’, which is not a meaning that is generally expressed by *b-* alone, e.g.

- (1) *ʿən-xá-naša mēθelaxu xàbra<sup>1</sup> bəd-bròni,<sup>1</sup> kut-mēθéli xàbra bəd-bròni,<sup>1</sup> ʿən-míθa ʿən-ṣàxi,<sup>1</sup> pálgat dáwi de-t-yánne ʿalle diye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If somebody brings you word about my son—whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I’ll give him half of my gold.’ (A14:92)
- (2) *ʿánna šámye-wawwa bəd-Mámo mən-žîne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They had heard about Mămo from Zine.’ (A26:25)
- (3) *šmîla bud-dîye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They heard about him.’ (A21:5)
- (4) *lá taxmánnan ʿána bəd-zəndàna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall not think about prison (= I don’t care about prison).’ (A26:44)
- (5) *náše spáy t-yáđi bud-màrra<sup>1</sup>* ‘fine people who know about the illness’ (A8:32)
- (6) *qímən moláxməna ʿánna šére bud-dîye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I composed these verses about him.’ (C4:3)
- (7) *bəd-ʿáwwa náša tàlxəx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Let’s destroy with regard to this man (= let’s get rid of this man).’ (A30:41)

Elsewhere the phrase is occasionally used to denote relations that are expressed by the basic *b-* preposition, including causal (‘because of, on account of’), instrumental (‘through the means of’) and comitative (‘with’), e.g.

- (8) *bud-àyya muθélux ʿánna zúze.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Because of this you have brought these coins.’ (A1:27)
- (9) *rába ʿitley xayúθa basímta bəd-àyya,<sup>1</sup> yáʿni zrátət xabúše.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They had a very good life on account of this, that is the cultivation of apples.’ (B5:106)
- (10) *y-axlíwa ləxma bəd-an qése.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would eat bread through the means of (the sale of) this wood.’ (A14:10)
- (11) *ʿáwwa rəšʿi<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xá-yoma pràma<sup>1</sup> bəd-ʿiθáθa diyux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands.’ (A14:35)
- (12) *qímîla kθúla xa-kθàwa,<sup>1</sup> mšudərra bəd-qàzəd.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She wrote a letter and sent it by a messenger.’ (A11:17)

- (13) *lšāle bāxta,¹ bād-miya mənne.¹* ‘A woman kneads it, together with water.’ (B5:100)

In addition it is found in a few fixed expressions, e.g.

- (14) *qimēle hūwālla bnāthe diyē¹ ʔla-d-an-nāše,¹ bād-xātər d-ó-xona zōra.¹* ‘He gave his daughters to those people on account of that young brother.’ (A12:22)
- (15) *har-dmíxtēla bād-lābba gu-béθət bāba diyēla.¹* ‘She continued sleeping, thinking that she was in her father’s house.’ (A21:18)

#### 16.1.12. Combined with Other Prepositions

The preposition *b-* is often combined with the locative preposition *reš-* ‘upon’, e.g.

- (1) *hóle dōrya jūlla b-réša.¹* ‘He put a cloth over them.’ (A25:48)
- (2) *qimēle zīla mútta ʔan-jūlla díya gu-d-o-sandūqa,¹ múttālla gu-ʔasāsət béθa,¹ ʔu-bányēle gūda b-réše.¹* ‘He put her clothes in a box and placed it in the foundations of the house, then built a wall over it.’ (A14:99)

### 16.2. *l-*

This preposition has a wide variety of functions. One reason for this is that it is derived from two different prepositions in earlier Aramaic, namely \**l-* ‘to, for’ and \**al* ‘upon’. Generally the usage of *l-* in the dialect makes it clear from which of these two earlier prepositions it is derived in any one particular case. In some cases, however, the derivation is not completely certain. For this reason all the usages of *l-* are here treated together. It is important, furthermore, to make a distinction between the adnominal uses of *l-* and the adpronominal forms. Various possibilities exist for pronominalizing a phrase consisting of *l* + nominal. These include the L-suffixes and independent phrases consisting of ʔ*ll-* + pronominal suffixes. Each of these pronominal forms has a restricted usage and is not found in all contexts that *l* + nominal phrases are used.



16.2.1. *Adnominal Uses*16.2.1.1. *Destination*

The preposition *l-* is frequently used in the complement of a verb of movement to express the destination, e.g.

- (1) *'áwwa qíma zíla l-bèðe díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'He went to his house.' (A17:6)
- (2) *'ðyεle l-bèða.*<sup>1</sup> 'He came home.' (A17:20)
- (3) *si-dúr l-šòpux.*<sup>1</sup> 'Go back to your place.' (A15:20)
- (4) *ha-t-áðe 'o-náša qamàya' máte l-èna' 'áðe xa-náša sàwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Before the first man reached the spring, an old man came.' (A15:3)
- (5) *dáqne díye mtáya l-àra.*<sup>1</sup> 'His beard reached the ground.' (A15:13)
- (6) *t-ásqax l-áwwa tura?*<sup>1</sup> 'Shall we go up to this mountain?' (A17:4)
- (7) *masqánne l-bèða.*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall take it up to the house.' (A22:19)
- (8) *théla slèla l-àrxat be-Xàmmo.*<sup>1</sup> 'She came down to the water-mill of the family of Xammo.' (A19:1)
- (9) *Čúxo húwle bále l-bèða.*<sup>1</sup> 'Čuxo set off for home.' (A7:12)

In some cases the movement has a purposive sense, e.g.

- (10) *lá-azat l-qése b-xáwlat xàwrux.*<sup>1</sup> 'Do not go to (collect) wood with the rope of your friend.' (D2:71)

16.2.1.2. *Direction*

It may be used to express, broadly, the direction or objective of an action without any clear movement towards the complement of the preposition being involved. It should be noted, however, that the relation of recipient or beneficiary is normally expressed by the prepositions *ta/tla-* or *qa-* when the complement is a nominal:

- (1) *ràbban' 'áwwa t-i-sàxəð l-álaha.*<sup>1</sup> 'A monk is somebody who worships God.' (A15:4)
- (2) *dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xèna*<sup>1</sup> 'slandering this one and that one' (A48:5)
- (3) *dréla šláma l-fāqih.*<sup>1</sup> 'She greeted the jurist.' (A22:16)
- (4) *'álaha šuxa-l-šamme* 'God—praise be to his name' (A6:10)
- (5) *'ána tlibtənwa l-brónat mami.*<sup>1</sup> 'I was engaged to my cousin.' (A13:14)

## 16.2.1.3. 'Upon, On'

In numerous cases *l-* has the sense of 'upon' or 'on', denoting a spatial location above or, at least, on the surface of the referent that it governs. The preposition in such cases is clearly derived from \**al*:

- (1) *hóle tíwa l-kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> 'He is sitting on a stone.' (A15:13)
- (2) *brōn-málka tíwele l-d-a-tàxta.*<sup>1</sup> 'The son of the king sat on the throne.' (A14:43)
- (3) *ṭayánwale l-xàše.*<sup>1</sup> 'He would carry him on his back.' (A17:18)
- (4) *párxa ṭátwa l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> 'She flew up and sat on the roof.' (A14:101)
- (5) *kláṭa l-márzə d-a-jázira.*<sup>1</sup> 'It came to rest on the shore of the island.' (A14:39)
- (6) *máxewa darmàna<sup>1</sup> l-ṣàwle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He used to put polish on shoes.' (A16:1)
- (7) *míla l-hàlux!*<sup>1</sup> 'Blue on your condition! (= Confound you!)' (A23:10)

In certain contexts, where the verb involves movement, the preposition has a sense of 'onto',

- (8) *ṣìqele<sup>1</sup> l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> 'He went up onto the roof.' (A25:52)
- (9) *ta-dérela l-xásət xmàre<sup>1</sup>* 'in order that he puts them onto the back of his donkey' (A23:13)
- (10) *mattíwala l-ṣàra.*<sup>1</sup> 'They would put it onto the ground.' (A12:3)

In constructions with the verb *mxy* used with the sense of 'applying' a substance to something, the adnominal preposition *l-* may be used with the item upon which the substance is applied (11) or a transposition may take place as in (12), in which the preposition is placed on the nominal expressing the substance:

- (11) *máxewa darmàna<sup>1</sup> l-ṣàwle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He used to put polish on shoes.' (A16:1)
- (12) *ṭu-máxyaxalla máṭən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma m-báṭre diye.*<sup>1</sup> 'and we have covered all our village with blue and black after him (= after his departure).' (A4:32)

In some cases where the preposition *l-* corresponds to \**al* in earlier Aramaic it has the sense of 'concerning, about', e.g.

- (13) *mbaqóre l-d-ò-naša.*<sup>1</sup> ṭitle bróna.<sup>21</sup> 'He was inquiring concerning the man: Has he a son?' (A8:5)

16.2.1.4. *General Spatial Location*

In some cases it denotes a static spatial location without any implication of being ‘above’ in a higher position, e.g.

- (1) *hóle ’àrya’ l-àyya góta’ ’u-’əzza’ hóla l-àyya góta.* ‘There is a lion on this side and a she-goat on the other side.’ (A24:15)
- (2) *’u-xmáre l-gòte-dìye* ‘with his ass at his side’ (A7:6)
- (3) *l-a-páθa xétət nèra’ ’iθ xa-máθət huðàye.* ‘On the other side of the river there is a village of Jews.’ (A14:50)
- (4) *’u-xátna l-béθa pèšəna.* ‘and I shall become a son-in-law in the house.’ (A17:35)
- (5) *šqúl ’awwa qésa l-’iðux.* ‘Take this stick in your hand.’ (A22:26)
- (6) *’aw-l-hàmmam sáxe.* ‘He washes in the bathroom.’ (A21:17)
- (7) *hóla spára l-kàwe.* ‘They are waiting at the window.’ (A4:59)
- (8) *’u-qáre l-tàra.* ‘and he calls at the door.’ (A6:5)
- (9) *’u-šawqúwale l-šəmša.* ‘and they would leave it in the sun.’ (B7:20)

We could include here the adverbial *laxxa* ‘here’, which has been formed from *l- + ’axxa* and may be used to denote static location. The *l-* that is often used with the particle of isolation *xoð-* (§14.6.) also falls in this category, e.g.

- (10) *pīšela’ har-’àni-tre l-xoðé.* ‘Only those two remained by themselves.’ (A20:9)

16.2.1.5. *Expression of the Agent*

An adnominal *l-* is sporadically used to express the agent in constructions with resultative participles (cf. §15.9.2.–3.), e.g.

- (1) *šawwaθna hóla xíle l-dèwa.* ‘The seven of them have been eaten by wolves.’ (A23:15)
- (2) *’ən-réšət bábə díye ’ax-túra,* *’u-hóle qtila l-Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi,* *lèka bṭ-ázəl.* ‘If the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi, where will he go?’ (A28:8)
- (3) *xáθux Nasímo jlwtəla l-’arabàye.* ‘Your sister Nasímo has been kidnapped by Arabs.’ (A37:5)
- (4) *’u-Dùre’ píštəla muqyàmta’ muxràwta’ šawwà gáye’ l-xànpə’ qaṭòle’ t-mušəlmáne.* ‘Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murderers of Muslims.’ (B2:2)

- (5) *ʔu-siqele gu-d-ó sàrga<sup>1</sup> mtúrša l-an-jaqsìye<sup>1</sup> t-mðita.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He went up onto the saddle, which was made by the town craftsmen.’ (A8:52)

#### 16.2.1.6. *Manner*

The use of the preposition *l-* in adverbials of manner is restricted to numerical expressions such as (1):

- (1) *pìšela mnáyalla l-xà-xa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They began counting them one by one.’ (A6:3)

#### 16.2.1.7. *Complement of Verbs and Expressions*

The preposition *l-* occurs as a complement to various verbs and expressions, e.g. *dmaya l-* ‘to resemble’, *masloye l-* ‘to despise’, *masyothe l-* ‘to listen to’, *mhaymone l-* ‘to believe in’, *mqahore l-* ‘to grieve for’, *qrawa l-*, *mqarobe l-* ‘to approach’, *mraxome l-* ‘to pity’, *mšawore l-* ‘to curse’, *mxaya l-* ‘to hit, knock’, *n̄tara l-* ‘to watch’, *ṭāya l-* ‘to search for’.

#### 16.2.1.8. *Combined with other Prepositions*

The preposition *l-* may be combined with other prepositions. After verbs of movement, for example, it may be combined with *kas-*, e.g.

- (1) *ʔo-gáya qām̄εθα θélux l-kásli<sup>1</sup>* ‘the first time you came to me’ (A1:22)

### 16.2.2. *Adpronominal Uses*

#### 16.2.2.1. *L-suffixes*

The L-suffixes exhibit only a very restricted degree of functional overlap with the adnominal uses of *l-*. The most common uses of the L-suffixes include the expression of the subject of verb forms derived from the past base (*qtille*, *qtikwale*) and the expression of the direct and indirect object of transitive verbs.

The use of the L-suffixes to express the subject in forms such as *qtille* originated historically as a marking of the agent in a passive construction (< *qtil* ‘He was killed’ + *le* ‘by him’). We have seen above that adnominal *l-* is still used to mark the agent of a passive. The L-suffixes have, however, been extended to the marking of the subject of past base intransitive verbs, where they clearly do not mark an agent. This can be explained as a result of the suffixes being reinterpreted as markers of the grammatical subject of the verb rather than markers of the agent.

The direct object function of the L-suffixes has no parallel in the use of the adnominal *l-*.

The use of the L-suffixes to express the indirect object is restricted for the most part to the marking of a human recipient or beneficiary. There is no clear parallel to this in the functional range of adnominal *l-*, the relation of recipient or beneficiary being normally expressed by the prepositions *ta/!la-* or *qa-* when the complement is a nominal.

Another use of L-suffixes, which is related to its indirect object function, is to express the possessor in possessive constructions formed with the existential particle *'iθ*, e.g. *'itli kθawa* 'I have a book'. There are no adnominal parallels to this function. When the possessor is a nominal, this is normally placed in extraposition and is resumed by an L-suffix, e.g. *xáwri 'itle kθawa* 'My friend has a book' (§17.8.1.2.).

In general, therefore, the functional correspondence between L-suffixes and adnominal uses of *l-* is considerably limited in the present state of the language.

#### 16.2.2.2. *'əll-*

Pronominal prepositional phrases consisting of the particle *'əll-* correspond to a wide range of the adnominal uses of *l-*. As with adnominal *l-*, the particle *'əll-* represents the merging together of what were originally two separate prepositions, i.e. *\*l-* and *\*'al-*. The functional range of *'əll-* overlaps with those of L-suffixes and adnominal *l-*, but it is not completely parallel with either of these. It may be classified into the following categories:

##### (i) *Destination*

- (1) *'əθyela mət'ye 'əlle.*<sup>1</sup> 'They came up to him.' (A7:19)
- (2) *muθéla yámme d'ye xa-rámša 'əlle d'ye.*<sup>1</sup> 'His mother brought dinner to him.' (A21:12)
- (3) *z'ilele nùblalla' 'əlle d'ye.*<sup>1</sup> 'He went and took them to him.' (A17:12)
- (4) *mam'tátla 'əlla d'ya.*<sup>1</sup> 'Deliver them to her.' (A4:16)
- (5) *mšádrən mexòlta 'əlle d'ye.*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall send food to him.' (A17:11)

This usage is paralleled by adnominal *l-* with verbs of movement (e.g. 'to go', 'to come', 'to arrive'), but only marginally with verbs of conveyance (e.g. 'to send', 'to take', 'to bring'), which normally express the destination with *ta-/!la* or *qa-* when the complement is a nominal. Verbs of movement do not usually express destination by L-suffixes, but L-suffixes are used after verbs of conveyance.

(ii) *Direction*

- (1) *ʔámər ʔəlla dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He says to her.’ (A16:7)
- (2) *hàtxa mjuwəble ʔəlli málka.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The king replied to me in this way.’ (A17:34)
- (3) *qəm-yawəlla yaləxθa ʔəlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He has given me her scarf.’ (A4:24)
- (4) *wídla fíarta ʔəlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She made me breakfast.’ (A21:38)
- (5) *driθela šláma ʔəlle dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She offered a greeting to him.’ (A22:12)
- (6) *m-éka píšlux baláya ʔəlli?*<sup>2</sup> ‘From where (have you come) and become trouble for me?’ (A17:4)
- (7) *módi mqúma ʔəllux?*<sup>2</sup> ‘What has befallen you?’ (A17:31)
- (8) *t-lá-hoya qàrθ-əlləx*<sup>1</sup> ‘so that you are not cold’ (A20:2)

Nominal complements of verbs of speech (1)–(2) and recipients or beneficiaries (3)–(4) are normally expressed by phrases containing the prepositions *ta-/tla-* or *qa-* rather than *l-*. The adnominal equivalents of constructions such as those in (5)–(8), however, generally have *l-*.

(iii) *‘Upon, over, against’*

Location over a physical object is not normally expressed with a pronominal *ʔəll-* phrase, although *l-* as an adnominal preposition is often used with this sense. The normal means of expressing this relation with pronominal complements is by phrases consisting of the preposition *rəš-* ‘upon’, e.g. *rəša* ‘on it (f.)’ (A27:17), *rəše dīye* ‘on him’ (A31:10), *b-rəša* ‘over them’ (A25:48), *b-rəša* ‘on it’ (A12:47).

In a few contexts a pronominal *ʔəll-* phrase is, nevertheless, the historical reflex of a phrase with the preposition *\*al-*. These tend to be restricted to relations of an abstract or non-physical nature, such as (1)–(7), or constructions such as (8)–(12), which express location on the surface but not necessarily above the item in question, often in relation to liquids (11)–(12):

- (1) *šákən ʔəllux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I’ll make a complaint about you.’ (A22:46)
- (2) *hótu pšàma ʔəlla dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You are sad over it.’ (A5:10)
- (3) *kúlla ʔəlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is all on me (= I shall pay for everything).’ (A8:38)
- (4) *ləle-ʔəba ʔəlli?*<sup>2</sup> ‘Would not that be a shame on me?’ (A8:55)
- (5) *kúlla qəm-malušila ʔəlla dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They put all of them (her clothes) on her.’ (A4:20)
- (6) *lá-qəmət ʔəllə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You will not rise against them.’ (A8:95)
- (7) *zriqeले yóma ʔəlle dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The sun shone on him.’ (A26:22)

- (8) *ʔu-ʔanna baxtáθa ʔáði;¹ mattí ʔíða ʔálle¹ rḗḗi qá-t ʔáwwa mǝndi¹ hóle xmiʔa.¹*  
 ‘The women know (about this), they place a hand on it and feel that it is... it is leavened.’ (B5:100)
- (9) *ḡqílalla xa-skínta xéta ʔálle dīye.¹* ‘He took another knife on him (i.e. with him).’ (A14:66)
- (10) *ʔáxḗ gu-Már-Gwǝrgas Dúre ʔíθwa xa-kèpa¹ ʔáwwa kθíwta taḡíθa ʔálle dīye.¹*  
 ‘In Mar Gwirgis of Dure there was only a stone, on which its history was written.’ (B1:7)
- (11) *bár baθqìwale,¹ hammáḡe míya gǎrǝg háwa ʔálle dīye.¹* ‘After they scattered it, water had to be on it constantly.’ (B5:78)
- (12) *qímle muráḡle hátxa míya ʔállèy.¹* ‘He sprinkled water on them like this.’ (B6:11)

We could include here a construction such as (13), which expresses an external quality:

- (13) *ḡúprǝ dúnye hóle ʔálla-dīya.¹* ‘She had the beauty of the world.’ (A13:11)

(iv) *Direct Object*

Compound verbal forms consisting of a resultative particle or an infinitive express a pronominal object either by L-suffixes or by a pronominal suffix attached to the preposition *ʔall-*. The use of the *ʔall-* phrase is obligatory when the participle or infinitive does not have a copula enclitic, e.g. *hóle qḡtílalle* ‘He has killed him’, but is optional if the construction has a copula enclitic. Details of the use of *ʔall-* with the compound verbal forms are given in §8.19.4. On rare occasions it is used to mark the pronominal direct object of a *qḡtille* form (§8.19.2.). It should be noted that this usage of the prepositional phrase differs from others in that the phrase is generally bound to the verbal form prosodically and does not stand independently with its own stress, e.g. *múttatalle* ‘You put him’ (A22:39), *primǝnalla* ‘I cut it (f.)’ (A22:9), *biθallela (biθa-alle-ila)* ‘She loved him’ (A4:12). This is a property it shares with L-suffixes, which likewise cannot be used with prosodic independence from the verb. Furthermore, the adnominal preposition *l-* does not function as a direct object marker.

(v) *Complement of verbs*

Verbs that take *l-* as their complement before nouns have an *ʔall-* phrase when the noun is pronominalized. This phrase has prosodic independence. Given what has been said in the previous section, this prosodic

feature should be regarded a reflection of the fact that they are not direct objects, e.g.

- (1) *náše là hāmāniwa ’lle dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘People did not believe him.’ (A48:1)
- (2) *ham-mṣawòre ’lle dīye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He curses him again.’ (A17:3)

### 16.3. *ṬLA, TA-*

#### 16.3.1. *Direction*

The most frequent usage of this preposition is to express the direction, objective or beneficiary of an action or situation without necessarily any movement being involved, e.g.

- (1) *híwəlla quṣárta ta-màlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They gave the pot to the mullah.’ (A5:8)
- (2) *hálla júllux ṭlāli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Give your clothes to me.’ (A7:18)
- (3) *maláxa móre ṭla-ràbbən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The angel said to the monk.’ (A15:7)
- (4) *’u-θélux mdagóle ṭlāli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘and you came lying to me.’ (A1:23)
- (5) *wídlā ’ixàta<sup>1</sup> ṭla-yàta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She made food for the young man.’ (A21:22)
- (6) *’u-ṭlālūx lan-šwíqa čū-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘and for you I have left nothing.’ (A2:11)
- (7) *báyən msóqən xákma məndiyàne<sup>1</sup> ṭla-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want to buy a few things for the house.’ (A22:12)
- (8) *’ülən xá-məndi báyəx t-odəxxe ṭlāləx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is something that we want to do for you.’ (A4:48)
- (9) *’áyya šwíθa ṭlāli ’u-ṭlālūx-ila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This bed is for me and you.’ (A22:32)
- (10) *lá pəšəx ṭla-xādāya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall not stay for lunch.’ (A21:30)
- (11) *màlla píšla quṣárta ta-màlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The cooking pot became the mullah’s.’ (A5:10)
- (12) *ṭla-mò wídlūx hátxa bíyi?*<sup>2</sup> ‘Why (literally: for what) have you done this to me?’ (A15:14)

#### 16.3.2. *Destination*

It is occasionally used after verbs or movement or conveyance expressing destination, e.g.



- (1) *dǎrɾa ta-ʔaθrɛ̃ɣ*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They returned to their land.’ (A4:27)
- (2) *ʔm-bǎɣɾt ʔázɾt dɛ̃rɾt ʔla-bɛ̃θɾt bǎbɛ̃x*.<sup>1</sup> ‘If you want to go and return to the house of your father’ (A4:42)
- (3) *ʔu-náballa ʔla-be-šwàwɛ̃n*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Take it to our neighbours’ house.’ (A5:3)

### 16.3.3. *Temporal Objective*

The preposition may be used to express a temporal objective in constructions such as (1)–(3):

- (1) *ʔáni zǐlla ta-ʔlǎ-yomane*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They went for three days.’ (A14:84)
- (2) *ʔawwa ʔaskariya diye<sup>1</sup> ʔlǎ-kama dánɛla<sup>2</sup>*.<sup>1</sup> ‘For how long is this army of his?’ (A17:22)
- (3) *pǐšla yóma ʔla-yòma<sup>1</sup> yóma ʔla-yòma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She went on (like this) from day to day, day to day.’ (A21:1)

### 16.3.4. *Object Marker*

It is occasionally used to mark the direct object (§15.13.6.). This is attested only before definite nominals, the majority of which have animate referents, e.g.

- (1) *ʔawwa qǐlle ʔla-ʔarya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He killed the lion.’ (A11:1)
- (2) *dǐya ʔawwa bǎɣe ta-d-áyya bráta zǐrta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Now, he loves this young girl.’ (A14:83)
- (3) *taxrǎnne ʔla-xlúlɾt xóni Šǎmmo*.<sup>1</sup> ‘I remember the wedding of my brother Šǎmmo.’ (B8:21)
- (4) *zǐptǎllela<sup>1</sup> ʔla-Mǎmo*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She pushed Mǎmo.’ (A26:3)
- (5) *xá-xuwwe plǐta táma bǎɣe nayǎsle ʔla-brón d-ó fallǎh*.<sup>1</sup> ‘A snake had come out of there wanting to bite the son of that peasant.’ (A9:6)

## 16.4. *qa-*

The preposition *qa-* has distribution that is broadly parallel with that of *ta-/ʔla-*.

### 16.4.1. *Direction*

In most cases it is used to express the direction, objective or beneficiary of an action or situation, e.g.

- (1) *máre qa-yámme diyē*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said to his mother’ (A21:10)
- (2) *ʔu-là-mšalɛwa qa-ʔálaha*<sup>1</sup> ‘They did not pray to God.’ (A15:17)
- (3) *ʔáp-ʔawwa šaqǎlla ḏá-kista qa-d-ày*<sup>1</sup> *yawǎlla qa-d-ày*<sup>1</sup> ‘He takes a purse for her and gives it to her.’ (A4:22)
- (4) *xa-čára xazènaʹ qa-t-ʔáyya bràti*<sup>1</sup> ‘I should find a solution for this daughter of mine.’ (A21:2)
- (5) *ʔu-hóle míra ʔáyya bràti qa-brònu*<sup>1</sup> ‘This daughter of mine is for your son.’ (A21:8)
- (6) *háwət basíma rabaʹ qa-d-áwwa ʔixála t-it-yúwalle qa-diyi*<sup>1</sup> ‘Thank you very much for this food that you have given me.’ (A22:31)
- (7) *náše jámi qa-šera*<sup>1</sup> ‘People gather for the festival.’ (B5:69)
- (8) *masqíle ʔíle dúka mruzágtá qa-sətwa*<sup>1</sup> ‘They take it up to a place that has been prepared for it for the winter.’ (B5:98)
- (9) *qá-mo lá*<sup>21</sup> ‘Why not?’ (A23:2)

#### 16.4.2. *Destination*

It is occasionally used after verbs of conveyance to express the destination of movement, e.g.

- (1) *núblalla qa-bráte diyē*<sup>1</sup> ‘He took them to his daughter.’ (A17:13)

#### 16.4.3. *Temporal Objective*

In sporadic instances it expresses a temporal objective, indicating how long a situation lasts, e.g.

- (1) *qa-t!à-yarxe*<sup>1</sup> ‘for three months’ (A17:22)

#### 16.4.4. *Object Marker*

It is occasionally used to mark a noun as the direct object of a verb (§15.13.6.). This is attested only before nouns with definite animate referents. Note that the verb does not have a pronominal object agreement suffix, which is elsewhere the norm before direct object nominals, e.g.

- (1) *bäyéwa qa-ʔálaha*<sup>1</sup> ‘He loved God.’ (A16:10)
- (2) *maláxa mǔřǎšleʹ qa-ràbbəm*<sup>1</sup> ‘The angel woke the monk.’ (A15:8)
- (3) *šlǎθela bàxtaʹ xzǎθa qa-mállá*<sup>1</sup> ‘The woman went down (to the town) and saw the mullah.’ (A22:11)

- (4) *dwíqele qa-ʿàrya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘He seized the lion.’ (A27:3)
- (5) *taʿla čidle ʿárxa qa-làqləq*.<sup>1</sup> ‘The fox invited the stork as a guest.’ (A45:1)
- (6) *Tātār-i Slemán-i Səndi qtiləle qa-žāl*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Tātar-i Sleman-i Səndi killed Zāl.’ (A28:1)

### 16.5. *MEN*; *M-*

This preposition represents the merging together of two prepositions that were distinct in earlier Aramaic, viz. \**men* ‘from’ and \**am* ‘with’ (§13.3.14.). The relations it expresses may be classified as follows.

#### 16.5.1. *Separation or Removal*

- (1) *šqíləlla mən-d-ε-dərta*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They took it from that enclosure.’ (A15:12)
- (2) *qu-plūt m-àxxa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘Get out of here!’ (A16:11)
- (3) *hal-ʿé-gət t-ázə dábba m-tàma*.<sup>1</sup> ‘until the bear goes away from there.’ (A20:7)
- (4) *béθe díye xáčča rəhqa-wewa mən-máθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘His house was quite far from the village.’ (A48:1)
- (5) *nixlən m-Čuxo*.<sup>1</sup> ‘We are relieved of Čuxo.’ (A7:19)

#### 16.5.2. *Source or Origin*

- (1) *ʿm-kʿálo m-gu-màθa*,<sup>1</sup> *čərxìwala máθa*<sup>1</sup> *xášə dawère*.<sup>1</sup> ‘If the bride was from the village, they would take her round the village on the back of mules.’ (B10:34)
- (2) *ʿu-léla šəbye míya mən-d-ε-tàsa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘They did not drink the water from that bowl.’ (A15:11)
- (3) *mùdit har-blíga flába m-alàha*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-yawəllux*.<sup>21</sup> ‘Why are you always busy asking God to give (things) to you?’ (A3:3)
- (4) *yəmmi lípta m-yamma díya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘My mother learnt from her mother.’ (B10:22)
- (5) *ʿay-m-rəhqa hóla wáðəlla ʿa-yaláxθa hətxa qam-ʿéna díya*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She shakes the handkerchief before her eyes from a distance like this.’ (A4:17)

When the clause contains a verb of movement, this sense overlaps to some extent with the previous category.

- (6) *ʔiθwa xa-Leliθa θiθa mən-Čā̄l.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a Leliθa who came from Čā̄l.’ (A19:1)
- (7) *ʔána hadiya m-kəslen θáya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am now coming back from him.’ (A4:24)
- (8) *síqla najjàre<sup>1</sup> mən-ʔAmediya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Carpenters have come up from Amedia.’ (B10:80)
- (9) *ʔána m-éka mεθónnux qèse?*<sup>1</sup> ‘From where should I bring you wood?’ (A17:3)

The complement of the preposition may be a temporal expression, e.g.

- (10) *ʔu-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma t-íla xziθalle ʔaw.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She has been mad from the day that she saw him.’ (A4:12)
- (11) *ʔána m-díya m-bàθar<sup>1</sup> brátux báyyanna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I from now on love your daughter.’ (A17:35)
- (12) *xítte m-sənnòrta,<sup>1</sup> yála m-qapə̄lta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Wheat (is seen to be good) from when it is a shoot. A child (is seen to be good) from the time of (his mother’s) embrace.’ (D2:36)

It indicates the beginning in a range of items (*mən...ʔu-hal* ‘from...to’), e.g.

- (13) *küllən,<sup>1</sup> mən-yále zóre ʔu-hal-gòre<sup>1</sup>* ‘all of us, from young children to old people’ (B16:4)

### 16.5.3. Partitive

On numerous occasions the preposition expresses a partitive relationship, i.e. a part of a larger group or class, e.g.

- (1) *šqiltela mən-dàwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She took some of the gold coins.’ (A10:7)
- (2) *ʔəθyele xa-mən-zaràye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘One of the farmers came.’ (A4:31)
- (3) *kút-xa mánna šqilalle xa-skinta rixta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Each of them took a long knife.’ (A23:29)
- (4) *síqele xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Some of the soot went up.’ (A4:60)
- (5) *lá-mεθət m-an-t-qanàne.<sup>1</sup> méθət m-an-kòče.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Don’t bring ones with horns. Bring ones that are hornless.’ (A7:24)
- (6) *ʔo-bəzmára xíla mən-dàwa,<sup>1</sup> šqila mən-dàwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The nail ate the gold, took some of the gold.’ (A17:28)

- (7) *'ána b-gáni là-taxrən m-áy.*<sup>1</sup> 'I myself do not remember any of this.' (B10:82)  
 (8) *pyášan m-d-áwwa bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am becoming part of this family.' (B5:41)

#### 16.5.4. Comparison

- (1) *'ína mástət 'ırwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-prístela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*<sup>1</sup> 'But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.' (B5:173)  
 (2) *'íθwa liθwa' biš-m-álaha góra čú-mđi liθwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God.' (A30:1)  
 (3) *'áy biš-xámθela m-kúlla.*<sup>1</sup> 'She is more beautiful than all (= the most beautiful of all).' (A25:26)

For further details concerning the formation of comparative constructions see §14.8.

#### 16.5.5. Cause

- (1) *mítli m-kəpna.*<sup>1</sup> 'I have (almost) died of hunger.' (A27:31)  
 (2) *'ána-ži m-kérbi 'óθyan 'á-kθeθa múttənnə rəš-núra 'u-xilənnə.*<sup>1</sup> 'I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it.' (A2:11)  
 (3) *'ánna ríqela síqela rəš-d-ay-'ilána m-zdúθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'They ran and climbed the tree out of fear.' (A13:11)  
 (4) *šənyele žáre mən-xaðùθe díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'He fainted, poor man, on account of his joy.' (A14:95)  
 (5) *'áyya m-hàtxeəwa mára, bnóli 'ótəx rəš-qórət gəwri.*<sup>1</sup> 'It was for this reason that she said "Build me a room over the grave of my husband."' (A4:51)  
 (6) *'áwəwa 'ərbi' m-gáne díye θéle ríqle l-túra.*<sup>1</sup> 'This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord.' (A10:3)

#### 16.5.6. Material

The preposition may express the material from which something is made, e.g.

- (1) *məlxáwa 'úwa mtúrša m-qəsa.*<sup>1</sup> 'The winnowing fork was made from wood.' (B5:87)

- (2) *dúxwa ʔile mtúrša mən-dàwwe-uʔ sàre-uʔ* ‘*Duxwa* is made from diluted yoghurt and barely.’ (B5:27)
- (3) *téni kúlla ʔíwa mən-dàwa.* ‘My load all consisted of gold.’ (A7:11)
- (4) *ʔipyátha mən-miròtela.* ‘The yoke straps are made of gut.’

#### 16.5.7. *Specification*

In some cases the preposition is used to specify a preceding expression, as in (1):

- (1) *háwət basíma ràbaʔ qa-d-áwíwa ʔixála ʔ-it-yíwəlle qa-díyíʔ mən-kθayàtha,ʔ mən-bàsrá,ʔ mən-šékar-u čáy-u šàbun.* ‘Thank you very much for this food that you have given me, chicken, meat, sugar, tea, soap.’ (A22:31)

#### 16.5.8. *Spatial Location*

On some occasions it is used to express a static location. This tends to be restricted to adverbial expressions containing locations that typically stand in contrastive opposition, especially sides, e.g.

- (1) *ʔasríwala b-qésa ʔu-m-áy-gota qèsaʔ ʔu-m-áy-gota qèsa.* ‘They would bind them to a stick, with a stick this side and a stick that side.’ (B7:16)
- (2) *Čixàlo,ʔ m-yaha-góta xèta,ʔ qəm-xazéla ʔína xzéle šádra díya.* ‘Čixalo, on the other side, saw them and saw her breast.’ (A25:29–30)
- (3) *ʔína ʔáw tára lá tára mánne-mənnət tárat nàše,ʔ m-àwíwa bára.* ‘The door for this, however, was not together with the door for people on this side.’ (B10:53)
- (4) *txúme díye ʔílaʔ mən-madənxáʔ Zàwa,ʔ ʔu-mən-màrwaʔ ʔílaʔ Xawòra.* ‘Its borders are on the East the Zab and on the West the Khabur.’ (B1:4)

We should include here the expression *m-gəb* ‘instead of, in place of’, which is literally ‘on the side of’, e.g.

- (5) *ʔáyya béna hár-kulla ʔlàlux ʔm-báyyət,ʔ m-gəb-d-àni.* ‘This time everything is for you, if you want, in place of those (other coins).’ (A1:13)
- (6) *ʔap-ʔàtiʔ m-gəb ʔ-aθàtwa məθàtwali zùze,ʔ šqillux xa-šəndəxa.* ‘So you, instead of coming and bringing me money, took a rock.’ (A1:25)

- (7) *'álaha mxožǰbnalla m-gēb-xà-dawa.*<sup>1</sup> 'God has reckoned this bag as corresponding to one gold coin.' (A6:10)

#### 16.5.9. *Temporal Location*

The preposition may denote a fixed temporal location. It is most commonly used in this function before *baθar/bar* 'after', e.g.

- (1) *m-báθar xámša daq̄qe*<sup>1</sup> 'after five minutes' (A22:23)  
 (2) *'u-'áxni-žī lāx muq̄ime m-báθre díye málka.*<sup>1</sup> 'We have not installed (another) king after him.' (A4:32)  
 (3) *m-báθar 'ána zilli šùla*<sup>1</sup> 'after I went to work' (A21:38)  
 (4) *m-bar-t-gwìrra*<sup>1</sup> 'after they married' (A4:57)

It is occasionally used in this way elsewhere, e.g.

- (5) *'o-t-páyās b-húwit nàše' míθele mən-bərmāše.*<sup>1</sup> 'He who pins his hope on other people is dead by the evening.' (D2:28)

#### 16.5.10. 'With'

When it is appropriate to translate the preposition with English 'with', the relation is generally comitative, e.g.

- (1) *mən-xuráne díye píšele gu-túra xá-yoma yóme trè.*<sup>1</sup> 'With his friends he remained in the mountains one or two days.' (A4:2)  
 (2) *núbla xulamwàθa mánne.*<sup>1</sup> 'He took servants with him.' (A4:10)  
 (3) *šléla mánne gu-gòma.*<sup>1</sup> 'She went down with him into the basement stable.' (A21:23)  
 (4) *qémən šaqlónni xákma mándi mónni b-'idi.*<sup>1</sup> 'I'll take something for myself with me in my hand.' (A23:5)  
 (5) *'tli šúla mənnox.*<sup>1</sup> 'I have business with you.' (A21:33)  
 (6) *háyyo puš-mənni.*<sup>1</sup> 'Come, stay with me.' (A21:43)

In (7) and (8) the preposition expresses the beneficiary of the action:

- (7) *wúð ḏa-spayúθa mənni.*<sup>1</sup> 'Do me a favour.' (A7:17)  
 (8) *'áyya t-odàlla mánni?*<sup>21</sup> 'Will you do this for me?' (A8:62)

16.5.11. *Combined with Other Prepositions*

The preposition *mən* is sometimes used before other prepositions. In such cases it expresses separation or source, e.g.

- (1) *ʔu-triðalle m-gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'He drove him from the house.' (A16:11)
- (2) *ʔina plitεle max-tàla<sup>1</sup> m-gu-kàrma.*<sup>1</sup> 'but he came out as a fox from the orchard.' (A17:35)
- (3) *pàltən m-gáwe.*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall get out of it.' (A20:3)
- (4) *xa-qála ʔáθe m-qam-tárət bèθa<sup>1</sup>* 'A voice came from before the house.' (A22:29)
- (5) *ʔázəm šáqlən zùzi<sup>1</sup> m-rəš-ʔəna.*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall go to take my money from on top of the spring.' (A15:2)
- (6) *dawqíwa tárte bnàθa<sup>1</sup> xá m-rèše<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xa-bráta mən-xóθe dýe.*<sup>1</sup> 'Two girls held it, one from above it and one from below it.' (B7:24)

It is used after the preposition *qam-* when the latter has a temporal sense, e.g.

- (7) *ʔáw qam-mənnux hóle ʔíθya láxxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'He has come back here before you.' (A22:39)

16.5.12. *Complements of Verbs and Expressions*

The preposition *mən* is used as the complement of various verbs and expressions, e.g. *braya mən* 'to leave (so.)', *bista mən* 'familiar with', *hrawa mən* 'to speak (angrily) with', *mbaqore mən* 'to ask (so.)', *mdagole mən* 'to lie about', *mjagore mən* 'to contend with', *młaya mən* 'to fill with', *mšawoθe mən* 'to speak with', *mštawhore mən* 'to be proud of', *praqa mən* 'to finish with', *qwala mən* 'to complain about', *tlaba mən* 'to ask (so.)', *zda'a mən* 'to be afraid of', *wădar mən* 'outside of'. It is used after some verbs to express an advantage or benefit, e.g. *wăda mən* 'to do a good service to', *mqawole mən* 'to give a promise to', *mašyoxe mən* 'to visit (the sick)'.

## 16.6. REPETITION OF PREPOSITIONS

In certain circumstances prepositions are repeated. In some cases the purpose of this is to express movement. It is commonly found with the preposition *reš-* 'upon', which, when repeated, has the sense of 'across' or 'over', e.g.



- (1) *lá 'awðáxle 'áwwa gəšra' šáwrax réša réša d-ánna mīya.*<sup>1</sup> 'Should we not make a bridge for it so that we can go across this water?' (A17:3)
- (2) *m-éka meθánne bəzmàre' 'u-nasàrta, ta-t-odónne gəšra' šáwrax réše réše.*<sup>1</sup> 'From where should I bring you nails and a saw to make him a bridge over which he could cross?' (A17:9)
- (3) *har-'əθyēle mən-ṭúra réša-réša d-o-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> 'He came straight from the mountain across that roof.' (A23:14)
- (4) *plítēle xa-dídwa mən-naxìrət málka, réša-réša d-a-dudə̀kθa, t-wawa rəš-d-à-masta, zílle wírre gu-xá-borət kèpe.*<sup>1</sup> 'A fly came out of the nose of the king, (went) across the pipe that was over the yoghurt, and entered a pile of stones.' (A11:5)
- (5) *b-xəlmi zála réša-réša ḏa-yáma rába gòrta, yáma xwàrta.*<sup>1</sup> 'In my dream I went across a great sea, a white sea.' (A11:7)

Note that in these constructions the preposition has a full nominal inflection in the form *réša* or has a pronominal suffix. This contrasts with its normal contracted form *rəš* before a noun.

Other prepositions are occasionally repeated to express movement. This is attested for the prepositions *gu-* 'in', *xo-* 'under', *qam-* 'before' and *baθər-/bar-* 'after', which in this construction are used with nominal inflection in the forms *gawwa*, *xoθa*, *qama* and *baθra/bara*, e.g.

- (6) *síqle gáwa-gawət ḥadīqa.*<sup>1</sup> 'He went up through the garden.' (A17:24)
- (7) *náša jawújwa gawe-gawe-dīye' palátwa m-d-é-paθa xèta.*<sup>1</sup> 'A person could walk through it (the river) and come out the other side.' (B3:9)
- (8) *'u-gríšle mīya m-ṭúra' muθéle xóθa-xoθət 'ùpra, muwàrre gu-Də̀mdə̀ma.*<sup>1</sup> 'and he drew water from the mountain, bringing it under the ground and directing it into Də̀mdə̀ma.' (A11:14)
- (9) *'əθyēla tré malàxe, pyáða qama-qámət čádra d-ò-malka.*<sup>1</sup> 'Two angels came, passing in front of the tent of the king.' (A4:2)
- (10) *'áw nḫílele báθra báθra tēla.*<sup>1</sup> 'He followed after the fox.' (A35:13)
- (11) *zílle báre báre dīye.*<sup>1</sup> 'She went after him.' (A20:5)

The prepositions *b-* and *mən-*, which have multiple meanings, are sometimes repeated when they have a comitative sense. In the construction with *b-* the preposition is, in some cases, expressed three times (*bīye bə-b* 'together with'), e.g.

- (12) *šábyele biye b-došákka<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ó tanúra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went down together with the mattress into the oven.’ (A34:15)
- (13) *qam-maxéle bə-b-qàtta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He struck it (the sword) together with the sheath.’ (A52:18)
- (14) *’áwwa biye bə-b-sùse<sup>1</sup> ’áwər gu-d-o-gəppa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He together with his horse entered a cave.’ (A28:3)
- (15) *škíra šəmmux,<sup>1</sup> márya ’álaha,<sup>1</sup> ’eni qam-məθéli láxxa biye bə-b-sùsi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘May your name be praised, Lord God, who have brought me here together with my horse.’ (A26:22)
- (16) *péšət mánni mənni<sup>1</sup> ’u-t-yánnux ’úpra kəmət báyyət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Stay with me and I shall give you as much land as you want.’ (A21:41)
- (17) *kút-yoma gárəg háwən mənney mənney.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I must be with them everyday.’ (A8:18).
- (18) *hálbət míya mánne mánne lešwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Of course they kneaded it together with water.’ (B5:16)
- (19) *’ina ’áw tára lá tára mánne-mənnət tárat nàše,<sup>1</sup> m-áwwa bára.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The door for this, however, was not together with the door for people on this side.’ (B10:53)

In (20) the preposition *mən* is used with the sense of spatial location and the repetition conveys the sense of extension that can be captured by the translation ‘along by’ or ‘alongside’:

- (20) *’Ēn-Núne npíltela l-túra l-túra<sup>1</sup> mánna-mənnət nərə<sup>1</sup> ’Ēn-Nune* lies between one mountain and another alongside a river.’ (B5:148)

#### 16.7. GENITIVE PARTICLE WITH PREPOSITIONS

When a preposition has a pronominal suffix, it may optionally be extended with the independent genitive particle bearing the same pronominal suffix, e.g. *’alle ~ ’alle diye*, *biye ~ biye diye*, *mánne ~ mánne diye*, *gawe ~ gawe diye*. The final syllable of the preposition with the suffix is occasionally contracted, with the result that the suffix is expressed only on the genitive particle, e.g. *bi-díye* (B5:126), *mən-díye* (B5:158). These extended types of construction should be contrasted with prepositions that cannot take pronominal suffixes directly and regularly use the genitive particle to carry them, e.g. *qa-diye* ‘to him’.

Prepositions with pronominal suffixes that are extended by the genitive particle are attested predominantly with third person suffixes. It is occasionally found with other suffixes, e.g. *ʔalli-diyi* ‘to me’ (A7:7).

Since the preposition in these constructions itself carries a pronominal suffix, the use of the genitive particle is redundant. Such ‘heavy’ coding is often used as a type of end weighting in order to mark some kind of closure. This is reflected by the fact that the constructions are predominantly used at the end of intonation groups, e.g.

- (1) *ʔo-náša y-azšlwa ʔalla diyey.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The man would go to them.’ (B5:21)
- (2) *šúprə dúnye hóle ʔalla-diya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She had the beauty of the world.’ (A13:11)
- (3) *qá-t ʔan-márre la-ʔáθi ʔalla diyá.*<sup>1</sup> ‘so that diseases do not afflict it.’ (B5:106)
- (4) *šályele tšiqá bíye diyé.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went down and met him.’ (A13:3)
- (5) *mò-ʔoðax bíye diyé?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What shall we do with him?’ (A14:8)
- (6) *ʔo-yála zóra žàre,<sup>1</sup> šqíla ʔaw-nàre mónne diyé.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The young boy, poor thing, took the axe with him.’ (A14:12)
- (7) *ʔína brónat málka θèle<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ðà mánne diyé.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Behold the son of the king has come and a girl is with him.’ (A14:93)
- (8) *báhər t-áθi xákma náše sáxi gáwa diyá.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In Spring some people come and swim in it.’ (A14:78)
- (9) *ʔu-déere xmíra gáwe diyé.*<sup>1</sup> ‘and they put leaven in it.’ (B5:100)
- (10) *múttá<sup>1</sup> bəsra-w gèrme qáme diyé.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He put meat and bones before him.’ (A25:50)
- (11) *gárag xaprátla žənnəkéra diyá.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Each year you must dig around it.’ (B5:105)

Equivalent constructions that lack the genitive particle and so are morphologically lighter often occur within an intonation group, e.g.

- (12) *xárθa tšiqe bíye xózyalle ʔína šənya,<sup>1</sup> npíla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen.’ (A14:88)
- (13) *ʔu-bar deréwa gáwe y-asřiwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After they put it in it, they tied it up.’ (B5:166)
- (14) *ʔína múttá qáme nále-w bəzmàre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But he put before him horseshoes and nails.’ (A25:50)

When the genitive particle is omitted at the end of an intonation group, the clause is generally closely associated with what follows, in that it coheres

together with it in a closely knit series of clauses. In some of the examples below the closure of the series of clauses is signalled on a subsequent clause by a ‘heavy’ prepositional phrase containing a genitive particle:

- (15) *malákθa m̀̀ra<sup>1</sup> kút-xa t-̀̀le rǵáða m̀̀nna<sup>1</sup> dàməx m̀̀nna díya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The queen said that whoever danced with her would sleep with her.’ (A13:2)
- (16) *yála z̀̀ra<sup>1</sup> xzi-m̀̀ndi<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa sk̀̀nta m̀̀nne<sup>1</sup> ʔo-ǹ̀ra m̀̀nne díye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(He was) a young boy, you see, and he had a knife with him, or an axe with him.’ (A14:25)
- (17) *ʔu-ʔanna baxtáθa yáði,<sup>1</sup> matti ʔíða ʔ̀lle<sup>1</sup> řéši qá-t ʔáwwa m̀̀ndi<sup>1</sup> hóle xmiʔa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The women know (about this), they place a hand on it and feel that it is...it is leavened.’ (B5:100)
- (18) *ʔu-ʔitwala ʔ́anna júllət p̀̀ixla bíya,<sup>1</sup> qəm-tənáli xáša díya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She had these clothes with which she flew and carried me on her back.’ (A14:96)
- (19) *šaqákwá čánta m̀̀nne-u<sup>1</sup> máttu ĺxma g̀̀awa,<sup>1</sup> y-azákwá č̀̀yada,<sup>1</sup> b́éθa b̀̀éθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He would take a bag with him, in which he put bread, and would go from house to house making invitations.’ (B5:20)

The genitive particle is regularly omitted on ʔ̀ll- phrases that mark pronominal objects on compound verbal forms. It was noted above (§16.2.2.2. iv) that in this context the ʔ̀ll- phrases resemble L-suffixes prosodically in that they are always bound to the verb in the same stress group. The lack of a genitive particle is compatible with this tendency for prosodic lightening of the suffix.



## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

### THE CLAUSE

#### 17.1. THE COPULA CLAUSE

Many aspects of the function of the various copulas and the clauses in which they occur have already been dealt with at length in §8.7. The use of copulas in the predicate of compound verbal constructions has been presented in §8.8. Here we shall be concerned with some features of the word order of copula clauses. The clauses are divided into three groups according to the type of copula they contain: (i) enclitic copula (including present and past copula), (ii) independent copula (including present and past copula) and (iii) deictic copula.

##### 17.1.1. *Enclitic Copula*

###### 17.1.1.1. *Basic Predicate*

When the enclitic copula occurs in a clause consisting of a predicate without any independently standing subject constituent, it is suffixed to the predicate, e.g.

- (1) *xòðiwən*.<sup>1</sup> 'I am by myself.' (A22:32)
- (2) *xàwrən-ile*.<sup>1</sup> 'He is our friend.' (A14:61)
- (3) *zòrēle*.<sup>1</sup> 'He is young.' (A25:87)
- (4) *senàyile*.<sup>1</sup> 'It is easy.' (B5:106)
- (5) *'ε-gòrtēla*.<sup>1</sup> 'She is the elder one.' (A25:19)
- (6) *xa-<sup>2</sup>ilànēle*.<sup>1</sup> 'It is a tree.' (B5:152)
- (7) *qùwyeɣwa*.<sup>1</sup> 'It was strong.' (B5:145)
- (8) *zàxme-wawa*.<sup>1</sup> 'It was huge.' (C7:2)

When the predicate is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the copula agrees with the predicate, e.g. *'ànεwən*<sup>1</sup> 'It is me', *'àti-wət*<sup>1</sup> 'It is you'.

###### 17.1.1.2. *Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent*

When the clause contains a subject constituent in the form of an independent pronoun or a nominal, the subject is normally placed before the

predicate and the copula is suffixed to the predicate with the nuclear stress occurring on the predicate, e.g.

- (1) *ʔána málkən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am a king.’ (A4:30)
- (2) *ʔáwəwa nišānqele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is a symbol.’ (B5:41)
- (3) *bráta zamàrtela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The girl is a singer.’ (A25:68)
- (4) *xáli zāngin-ile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘My uncle is rich.’ (A23:3)
- (5) *w-áw xamímewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It was warm.’ (B5:154)
- (6) *xóne díye fáqira-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His brother was poor.’ (A25:1)

When the predicate is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the copula agrees with the predicate, e.g.

- (7) *ʔáni xášwi ʔáti ʔànən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They will think you are me.’ (A7:18)

The subject constituent may occur in a separate intonation group. Constructions such as these often occur at some kind of boundary in the discourse. The clause in (8), for example, opens a section of discourse concerning the village saint’s festival. The clause in (9) marks the onset of a concluding comment on the preceding foreground section of the discourse concerning the cultivation of apples. The clause in (10) occurs at the onset of a turn of speech:

- (8) *šəra<sup>1</sup> xa-taxrùnyele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The festival is a memorial.’ (B5:69)
- (9) *ʔu-xayuθəy<sup>1</sup> b-àyyewa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Their livelihood was in this (profession).’ (B5:106)
- (10) *ʔána-w ʔáti<sup>1</sup> xonāwàθewəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You and I are brothers.’ (A26:49)

The copula is occasionally placed on the subject constituent. The motivation for such a construction is to express the prominence of the subject. This may be focal prominence or topical prominence (§15.4.1.4.1. i–ii). When it has focal prominence it functions as an information focus. This is signalled on the prosodic level by the placement of the nuclear stress on the subject constituent, e.g.

- (11) *ʔáwəwa ləle kálba,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáti kálba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is not a dog, *you* are a dog.’ (A11:20)
- (12) *dəbbəla táma<sup>1</sup>* ‘The bear is there.’ (A20:7)

In (11) and (12) the predicate belongs to the presuppositional background of the clause. In (11), for example, the presupposition is ‘*x* is a dog’ and the subject constituent supplies the new information that *x* is to be identified with ‘you’. The clauses are used in a context in which the speaker assumes that the hearer is entertaining another referent for the role in question and the purpose of the construction is to reverse this expectation.

In (13) the construction is used to express an exclusive focus after the particle *har*:

- (13) *l̥mu har-àt̥it ʔárya.ʔ* ‘Is it only *you* who are a lion? (literally: Only *you* are a lion?)’ (A46:3)

When the subject constituent with the enclitic copula is topically prominent, the nuclear stress remains on the predicate. The topical prominence of the referent arises from the fact that it has been evoked in the immediately preceding discourse. This construction is not regularly used with all subject constituents that have been previously evoked. The purpose of the ‘heavy coding’ of the initial topical subject is to mark a boundary in the discourse, endowing the clause with a distinctness from what precedes. This may mark a new discourse section, as in (14) and (15), where the clauses are concluding comments on a preceding foreground section. The construction is also used to give a clause distinctness for the sake of making it more prominent, as is the case in (16):

- (14) *ʔáwwa m̥s̥xa y-amr̥áxle č̥ita.ʔ ʔáwwa ʔi-map̥əlx̥il̥eʔ ʔ̥n y-ax̥l̥ile b-l̥əxma,ʔ ʔ̥n ʔi-d̥er̥ile b-r̥əzza,ʔ... ʔáyy̥ela č̥ita.ʔ* ‘We call this butter *č̥ita*. They use it—either they eat it on bread or they put it in rice or, when they cook rice... This is butter.’ (B6:40–41)
- (15) *ʔo-y̥álat̥ b̥ǎy̥awaleʔ hóle ʔ̥θya-wʔ q̥əm-yaw̥əlla yal̥əx̥θa ʔ̥lli.ʔ u-ʔáyy̥ela k̥ulla.ʔ* ‘The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her scarf. That is all.’ (A4:24)
- (16) *x̥úwwele q̥t̥ila.ʔ* ‘The snake is killed.’ (A24:42)

The topical prominence marked by the copula may also be forward pointing, i.e. the item is marked as having relevance in the subsequent discourse. This is found in constructions with the deictic form *hatxa* or *hadəx* ‘thus’, when it has a forward pointing correlative function in that it relates to what is specified in the following clause, e.g.



- (17) *hátxela qadiya<sup>1</sup> málka hóle múθyalla bráte diye<sup>1</sup> ’u-hóle míra ’áyya bráti qa-brònu<sup>x</sup>.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This is the situation: the king has brought his daughter and said “This daughter of mine is for your son, that is she will become your wife.”’ (A21:8)

The enclitic copula, therefore, expresses a general prominence, which is unmarked with regard to its pragmatic nature. The nucleus of the intonation group, on the other hand, expresses a new information focus. The two devices usually coincide, in that the enclitic copula is generally placed on the element that is the new information focus of the clause. They may, however, operate independently, as in (14)–(17).

On some occasions the subject constituent is placed after the predicate. In such cases the enclitic copula and the nuclear stress are generally on the predicate, e.g.

- (18) *’áwwele geyása.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The *geyasa* ceremony is this.’ (B6:4)  
 (19) *’ánnela ’edáwáθa diyéni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Our festivals are these.’ (B6:16)  
 (20) *y-ásqax méθax míya mən-d-’áwàha túra.*<sup>1</sup> *rába rə̀hqele ’o-túra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there. That mountain is very far away.’ (A39:9)  
 (21) *mšadore ’alla diya<sup>1</sup> ’u-náše θèla<sup>1</sup> qəm-banéle béθe diye,<sup>1</sup> gu-’ášta šáwwa yománe,*<sup>1</sup> *’ašrət rə̀bθa-wawa Jazíre Bóta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She sent them to her and people came and rebuilt his house, in six or seven days. Jazire Bota was a large community (consisting of many people).’ (A26:59)  
 (22) *xzéle b-xəlme diye<sup>1</sup> ’iθ xa-náša gu-d-áy mđita<sup>1</sup> biš-fáqíra m-kúlla náša.*<sup>1</sup> *rába fáqíra-wewa ’awwa-náša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He saw in his dream that there was a man in the town who was poorer than anybody else. The man was very poor.’ (A8:3)

Constructions with postposed subjects such as (18)–(22) are typically used to express an elaborative comment on something that has been talked about in the immediately preceding discourse. They are intended to be cohesive with what precedes more than with what follows. The subject is a topical referent and not part of the information focus of the clause.

This construction is used also in clauses that repeat information that has been given in what immediately precedes without advancing the discourse. This is the case in (23), where the postposed subject is placed in a separate intonation group:

- (23) *mára gúræg méθət sisisàmbər.<sup>1</sup> sáwən Tóma smèle, píšle kòra.<sup>1</sup> sisisàmbər<sup>1</sup> ʔékela.<sup>1</sup> kəs-Leliθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-xa lá-maše máte ʔilla dīya.<sup>1</sup> kəs-Leliθela<sup>1</sup> sisisàmbər.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘They said “You must bring the sisisambər plant. Grandfather Toma has become blind.” “Where is the sisisambər?” “With Leliθa. Nobody can reach it. The sisisambər is with Leliθa.”’ (A50:1)

When the referent of the subject constituent has been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, the copula is occasionally placed on the postposed subject rather than on the predicate. The copula in such cases signals the topical prominence of the subject constituent, e.g.

- (24) *móre kʔéle qásre dīye.<sup>1</sup> ...móre ʔawàʔha qásre dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “Where is his residence?” ...He said “His residence is that (over there).”’  
 (A37:10)

The motivation for a construction with a postposed subject such as (24) is again to signal cohesiveness with what precedes, in this case supplying the answer to a preceding question. When, conversely, a topical subject constituent occurs at the front of a clause, this typically expresses a less cohesive connection with what precedes. As we have seen, the discourse boundary marking function may be enhanced by increasing the coding of the subject topic by means of the enclitic copula (14–16).

### 17.1.1.3. *Split Predicate*

When the predicate is a composite phrase consisting of several constituents, the copula is sometimes placed on the head of the predicate before the dependent elements.

This is frequently the case when the head of the predicate is modified by a dependent prepositional phrase, e.g.

- (1) *ʔáyya qétela tla-haywàne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This is (the activity of) the summer for the animals.’ (B5:112)  
 (2) *ʔÈn-Núne npíltela l-túra l-túra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Èn-Nune lies between one mountain and another.’ (B5:148)  
 (3) *har-blígət b-kàsux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You are always concerned about your stomach.’ (A23:10)  
 (4) *ʔan-markáne mtúrşela m-ʔùpra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The jars are made from clay.’ (B5:168)  
 (5) *ʔaw-zeðáya mtúrşewa m-xətte.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The flat-bread was made out of wheat.’ (B5:15)

- (6) *ʿína ramáneɣwa biš-mən-qáɣrət kùl-naše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But it was higher than the villa of anybody (else).’ (B10:51)

If the speaker wishes to give particular focal prominence to the dependent prepositional phrase, this may be fronted before the head of the predicate with the nuclear stress and copula placed on it, e.g.

- (7) *ɣáwθa gu-púmmət mərəla šəklánta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A word is beautiful (only) in the mouth of its master (= It is easier said than done).’ (A26:40)

The split of the predicate is regularly found when the head of the predicate is a noun with a subordinate clause as its dependent, e.g.

- (8) *dáneɣa qá-t deréla merèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is time to add the rennet.’ (B5:164)

It is occasionally found in nominal annexation constructions, whereby the copula is placed on the head noun, e.g.

- (9) *ʿána málkən d-àɣ-bažər.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am the king of that town.’ (A32:9)  
 (10) *ʿáwɣa xa-nišānqele<sup>1</sup> t-ʿáθra d-è-ga.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This was a symbolic act of our country at that time.’ (B5:153)

In (9) the annexation particle is attached to a dependent phrase that begins with a demonstrative and in (10) the particle is attached to a dependent noun that is separated from its head by an intonation group boundary. In both cases, therefore, the connection between the head and dependent elements of the annexation are looser than in a construction in which the annexation particle is suffixed to the head noun (*kθawət qaša* ‘the book of the priest’). The copula does not split the head and dependent elements in the latter type of tight annexation, e.g.

- (11) *ʿap-ʿána brónət málkewən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I also am the son of a king.’ (A24:45)  
 (12) *ɣálθət qáša Hēdot.<sup>21</sup>* ‘Are you the daughter-in-law of the priest Hēdo?’ (B9:10)

A copula normally intervenes between a head noun and an adjective only when the adjective is in a separate intonation group. In such constructions the adjective can be regarded as a reduced form of a separate predication (see §14.7., examples 47–50), e.g.

- (13) *xa-kàrmele<sup>1</sup> rába gòra.* 'It is an orchard (which is) very large.'  
(A12:9)

When the adjective occurs in the same intonation group as the head noun, the copula is placed at the end of the phrase, e.g.

- (14) *'ána xa-náša gòrɛwən.* 'I am an old man.' (A8:43)  
(15) *'áy qə̀s̄s̄tta rìxtela.* 'It is a long story.' (A25:52)  
(16) *xa-q̄s̄s̄ət rába map̄šəmàntela.* 'It is a very sad story.' (A4:31)

On some sporadic occasions the copula is placed on a quantifier or intensifier particle that stands before the head of the predicate, e.g.

- (17) *rábɛwa nášɛ xə̀ðye.* 'The people were very happy.' (B15:12)  
(18) *rábaxwa xə̀ðye p̄s̄ixe.* 'We were very happy and cheerful.' (B16:6)  
(19) *tárət 'ùmra<sup>1</sup> rábɛwa kòpa.* 'The door of the church was very low.'  
(B15:2)  
(20) *kúlla qumašút 'é-ga bíš-wɛwa rešàye.* 'All the material at that time was of the very best quality.' (B10:45)

This retraction of the copula can be regarded as a device for expressing the prominence of the intensifier particle. The predicate as a whole expresses new information, so the particle is not being singled out as the only information focus in the clause. This is reflected also in the prosody, in that the nuclear stress is placed at the end of the predicate, which is intended to mark the whole phrase as new information. Rather, within the new information of the predicate, the intensifier is being given an enhanced prominence. This can be compared to a construction with a compound verbal form such as (21), in which the copula is moved back onto the quantifier *raba* to give it an enhanced prominence within the new information of the predicate:

- (21) *zrìyənwale b-ìthàthì<sup>1</sup> 'u-rábənwa kč̄xa bíye dìye.* 'I had cultivated it with my hands and greatly toiled in it.' (A17:32)

When the subject constituent is postposed, in some isolated cases it is placed after the head noun of the predicate but before a dependent modifier. This applies to (22), in which the independent subject pronoun intervenes between a noun and its adjective. As with other cases of postposed subjects, the clause has a status of a comment on what precedes it:

- (22) *káze xoš-šligan<sup>1</sup> yalúnka ’áti zôrewat.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He tried (to persuade him to go) “Go down, you are a young child.”’ (A29:28)

### 17.1.2. *Independent Copula*

#### 17.1.2.1. *Basic Predicate*

An independent standing copula without a subject constituent is attested in the text corpus in two contexts.

##### (i) *Present Copula before the Predicate*

These tend to occur as answers to rhetorical questions such as (1) and (2):

- (1) *’ε-màsta<sup>1</sup> ’i-dεrila gu-gùða.<sup>1</sup> gùða mòdile.<sup>2</sup> ’ile gáldat xa-hèwəm.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They put the yoghurt in a churn. What is a churn? It is an animal skin.’ (B6:38)
- (2) *xéla díya mòdile<sup>1</sup> t-mazvèrra.<sup>2</sup> ’ila miya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘What is its power, which turns it? It is water.’ (B6:53)

This type of question and answer structure has a similar function to clauses with an independent copula after the subject such as *guða ’ile gáldat heywəm, xéla díya ’ila miya* (§17.1.2.2.), which typically supply an explanatory or elaboratory comment on what precedes.

##### (ii) *Past Copula after the Predicate*

These constructions do not appear to be significantly different in function from corresponding ones with an enclitic copula. The ‘heavier’ coding brought about by the prosodic separation may have been exploited by the speaker to give the clause added prominence, e.g.

- (1) *gu-bèθa wéwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He was in the house.’ (A6:1)
- (2) *rába tàza ’iyéwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It was very good.’ (B5:55)

#### 17.1.2.2. *Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent*

Clauses containing an independent standing copula generally have a subject constituent in the form of an independent pronoun or a nominal. The constructions discussed in §17.1.2.1. which lack a subject constituent are far more rarely attested in the text corpus. The subject constituent is regularly placed at the front of the clause before the predicate. The copula is placed either before the predicate, immediately after the subject (1–6),

or is placed after the predicate (7–10). This applies both to the present and the past copula.

- (1) *'ána 'úwən Rustámo brōn-t-žálo.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am Rustam son of Zāl.' (A29:63)
- (2) *'áxni 'úwəx málke.*<sup>1</sup> 'We are kings.' (A18:8)
- (3) *'áxxa 'iθena dāwla.*<sup>1</sup> *dāwla 'ile xa-sandūqa<sup>1</sup> réše pθixele dére xàtte gáwe.*<sup>1</sup> 'Here there is a drum. The drum is a box, with an open top, in which they put wheat.' (B6:54)
- (4) *béθət Qára Těždin qidle.*<sup>1</sup> *Qára Těždin 'ile xàtne diyə.*<sup>1</sup> 'The house of Qara Teždin has burnt down. Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law.' (A26:55)
- (5) *məlxáwa 'úwa mtúrša m-qəsa.*<sup>1</sup> 'The winnowing fork was made from wood.' (B5:87)
- (6) *w-áw 'iwéwa malàxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'He was an angel.' (A8:25)
- (7) *'ána Qára Těždin 'úwən.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am Qara Teždin.' (A26:68)
- (8) *'ána brònux 'úwən.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am your son.' (A18:7)
- (9) *sab-qyámta b-lèle 'iyáwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'because Easter was at night.' (B5:53)
- (10) *tròsa<sup>1</sup> 'áni milàne 'iyéwa<sup>1</sup>* 'In fact, they were green.' (B5:218)

The placement of the copula immediately after the subject in clauses such as (1)–(6) expresses the topical prominence of the subject. This reinforced coding of the topic in initial position functions as a discourse boundary marker. The construction is used either in statements that supply explanatory information concerning what precedes or in statements that open a section of discourse. When acting as explanatory comments on what precedes, they differ from constructions with postposed subjects such as (§17.1.1.2., examples 18–24) in their degree of independence and prominence. The postposed subject constructions are incidental comments that are tagged onto what precedes. The constructions with the initial subject and following copula are presented as important pieces of information, which typically have relevance for what follows as well as being explanatory of what precedes.

As remarked, the position of the copula after the subject expresses the topical prominence of the subject. The prosodic detachment of the copula as an independent word can be interpreted as a 'heavy' grammatical coding device intended to give the clause as a whole prominence and distinctness. Construction such as (7)–(10) which have have a prosodically independent copula after the predicate exhibit this latter device. They can, therefore, be regarded as expressing some degree of prominence. Indeed, they can all be interpreted as being intended as important statements in the contexts

in which they occur. They lack the additional device of reinforcing the topical prominence of the subject as a means of marking their distinctness. It should be noted, however, that in the attested examples of this construction a pronominal subject is always expressed by an independent pronoun (cf. 7, 8, 10) rather than zero anaphora. This in itself is a ‘heavy’ coding device designed to mark a boundary (see §17.7.4.).

The subject constituent in clauses with an independent copula is not postposed after the predicate. This can be explained by the fact that, as seen in §17.1.1.2, the postposition of a topic subject constituent, is typically used as a device to bind cohesively the clause with what precedes as a form of incidental tag. This is incompatible with the function of the independent copula as a marker of distinctness and independence from what precedes. An apparent exception to this is (11):

- (11) *rəš-kulla d-áni ʔila Səttiye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Above all of these is Səttiye.’ (A25:22)

Here the inflection of the copula agrees with the noun *Səttiye* and in this respect the latter would normally be construed as the grammatical subject. In terms of information structure, however, the initial prepositional phrase containing the anaphoric pronoun is clearly more topical than the noun *Səttiye*, which is the asserted focus of new information.

The initial subject constituent is sometimes separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation group boundary. This is a further prosodic device to reinforce the prominence of the initial topic in order to give the clause as a whole distinctness in the discourse and disjoin it from what precedes, e.g.

- (12) *ʔu-zeðàya ʔila biš-xlīmta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A flat-bread is thicker.’ (B6:49)  
 (13) *Nīnwe ʔiwáwa pētəxt ʔaθoràye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrians.’ (B6:17)  
 (14) *Māmo ʔiwewa gu-ʔAlān ʔu-ʔīne ʔiwáwa gu-ʔazīre Bōta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Māmo was in ʔAlān and Zine was in Jazire Bota.’ (A26:1)

### 17.1.3. *Deictic Copula*

#### 17.1.3.1. *Basic Predicate*

When the deictic copula occurs in a clause without a subject constituent, it is normally placed before the predicate (1–3).

- (1) *hóla làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They are here.’ (A14:100)
- (2) *hóle gu-Kàrkuk.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is in Kirkuk.’ (A16:1)
- (3) *hóla gəw̄rta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She is married.’ (A26:31)

On sporadic occasions deviations from this structure are found. In (4)–(6), for example, it is placed after the predicate. In (7) it is used in combination with an enclitic copula:

- (4) *bas-ṭliya hóle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But he is asleep.’ (A31:6)
- (5) *ʔárye diye<sup>1</sup> kas-báxte diye hóla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His lions are with his wife.’ (A18:19)
- (6) *šxāna hóli!*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am getting hot!’ (A32:23)
- (7) *hóle qúrbaṭ nūrele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He is near the fire.’ (A23:9)

#### 17.1.3.2. Clauses Containing a Subject Constituent

When the clause contains a subject constituent, the deictic copula is normally placed before the predicate. There is variation, however, regarding the position of the subject, in that it may be placed before or after the copula.

##### (i) Subject—Copula

When the subject is placed before the copula, the clause in principle marks some kind of discourse boundary. This construction often occurs at the beginning of a section of text that concerns the referent of the subject, e.g.

- (1) ***xa-bráta hóla tàma***<sup>1</sup> *ʔána m̄ari ʔəllux,*<sup>1</sup> *bráta zamàrtela.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp-xa læle-mšáya bíya diya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A girl is there. The girl is a singer—as I said to you. Nobody can prevail over her.’ (A25:68)
- (2) ***baxtáṭəṇ hóla yaqúre tər̄wəṭna.***<sup>1</sup> *ʔn-báxtux muṭéla bráta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-báxti muṭéla bròna,*<sup>1</sup> *brátux qa-bròni.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔn-báxti muṭéla bráta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-báxtux muṭéla bròna,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔa-bráti qa-brònux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Our wives are both pregnant. If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. If my wife gives birth to a daughter and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son.’ (A25:2–3)
- (3) *ʔĒn-Nūne*<sup>1</sup> *hóla np̄ilta gu-ʔəṭṭat Bərwəṇ.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Ēn-Nune lies in the land of Barwar.’ (B4:1)

The construction is sometimes used to introduce a discourse section that is inserted within a larger section. This applies, for example, to (4), which



is an extract from a description of the activities of the bride in a wedding. The construction in question with the deictic copula marks a shift to a section concerned with the activities of the groom. The discourse subsequent shifts attention back to the bride:

- (4) *y-amrila zawərtət k'alo.*<sup>1</sup> *'əy<sup>1</sup> ta-t-toràla<sup>1</sup> k'alo xaràye t-óra gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *maxyàle*  
*'o-mášxa.*<sup>1</sup> ***xátna hóle zína l-gàre.***<sup>1</sup> *mən-gàre maxé-'aqle rəš-swána*  
*hàtxa,*<sup>1</sup> *šále xánčī 'upra gu-réšət k'alo.*<sup>1</sup> *xaràye t-àwra.*<sup>1</sup> 'They call it "the  
 bride's pot." It was for the bride to break in order that she could  
 finally enter the house. She would apply the oil, while the groom  
 was standing on the roof. From the roof he strikes his foot on the  
 eves like this and a little earth falls onto the head of the bride.  
 Finally she enters.' (B8:33–34)

The inserted section may consist of only a clause, as in (5), in which the speaker uses the construction to turn attention to the activity of the doves. The effect is to present this as an activity with a degree of independence from the activity of the youth described in what precedes, which is concomitant with it rather than being a component of it:

- (5) *xa-yála rába šapira<sup>1</sup> hóle 'əθya,*<sup>1</sup> *súse mrúpyalle gu-màrgax.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle dáyalla gáne*  
*gu-bərke dīyax.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle sxàya,*<sup>1</sup> ***yonáθa hóla reše-reše-dīye.***<sup>1</sup> *mút 'āti tawta*  
*lāxxa.*<sup>21</sup> *qu-xzà!*<sup>1</sup> 'A very handsome youth has come and released his  
 horse in your meadow. He has immersed himself in your pool and  
 is swimming. Doves are (flying) over him. Why are you sitting here?  
 Get up and see!' (A25:58)

The initial subject constituent is occasionally placed in a separate intonation group. This is the case in (6), in which the two clauses with the deictic pronouns distinguish between the situation of his aunt and uncle by presenting them in a contrastive opposition. The prosodic separation of the subject topic constituent enhances the distinctness of the two poles of the opposition:

- (6) *qiməle,*<sup>1</sup> *šəmmət máθa dīye wéwa Barwòre.*<sup>1</sup> *'ámte dīye<sup>1</sup> hóla gu-Sàrzar<sup>1</sup> 'u-xále*  
*dīye<sup>1</sup> hóle gu-Daštàne.*<sup>1</sup> 'The name of his village was Barwore. His aunt  
 was in Sarzar and his uncle was in Daštane.' (A23:1)

(ii) *Copula—Subject*

When the subject constituent is placed after the copula, the clause is presented with a greater cohesion with what precedes. In (1) and (2) the

construction gives descriptive detail concerning the preceding event. In (3) it describes a situation that is an immediate consequence of the preceding event. In (4) the clause introduces the instrument of the following activity of the cutting of the bread and in this sense is cohesive with what follows. The placement of the subject after the copula, however, has the effect of binding the whole section describing the cutting of the bread to what precedes and presenting it as a direct consequence of it.

- (1) *wírele gu-xà-ʔotax xéta<sup>1</sup> gòrta<sup>1</sup> hóla xákma kursǎwàθa<sup>1</sup> m-ày-gota<sup>1</sup> xákma m-ày-gota.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went into another room, a large one. Some chairs are on one side and some on the other.’ (A14:29)
- (2) *ʔáy hóla wáða kùbbe.<sup>1</sup> hóla ʔíθáθa gu-lèša,<sup>1</sup> lyáša kùbbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She is making meat-balls. Her hands are in dough, while kneading the meat-balls.’ (A21:26)
- (3) *múθyalla làxxa<sup>1</sup> ʔáw-u wǎžr<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hóla wajjúwe díya làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He and his vizier brought her here, and her effects are here.’ (A21:9)
- (4) *zedàye<sup>1</sup> t-la-qšàya<sup>1</sup> de-màto hóya.<sup>21</sup> hóla skínta mènne.*<sup>1</sup> *xarə̀tla zedàye<sup>1</sup> b-pálga díya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(He says) “Pitta bread without breaking it, how could that be?” He has a knife with him. He scores the pittas in their middle.’ (A30:21)

#### 17.1.4. Copula Clauses with an Interrogative Constituent

The predicate of a copula clause may be an interrogative constituent, e.g. *mòdile?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What is it?’ (A4:48), *ʔènile?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Who is it?’ (A22:32), *ʔékele?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Where is he?’ (A4:19).

When the clause contains a subject constituent, the copula is always placed on the predicate. The subject is placed either before or after the predicate. The basic principle determining the position of the subject is the same as in indicative clauses. The placement of the subject in initial position before the predicate typically marks some kind of boundary in the discourse, whereas the subject is postposed after the predicate when the speaker wishes to present that clause as having greater cohesion with what precedes.

The construction with the subject before the predicate is frequently attested in the text corpus at the beginning of a section of discourse that supplies an explanatory comment on what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *hóle ʔíθan làxxa<sup>1</sup> stǎrra.<sup>1</sup> stǎrra mòdile?<sup>21</sup> xə̀ttele<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ššmele<sup>1</sup> ʔu-pràge<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sàye,<sup>1</sup> kúlla dǎrye gu-mziðe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a food store. What is a food store?’

It is wheat, sesame, millet, barley, everything put in leather bags.’ (A23:17)

- (2) *ʔiθwalən mandórta.<sup>1</sup> mandórta mòdila.<sup>2</sup> ʔáwɔwa kèpele,<sup>1</sup> mən-gòte,<sup>1</sup> m-ay-gòta m-ay-gòta<sup>1</sup> xriṭa xa-bòya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We had a roller. What is a roller? It is a stone, bored with a hole in its side, on one side and the other side.’ (B5:145)
- (3) *ʔéda gòra<sup>1</sup> yómət trùšeba<sup>1</sup> y-áwe duxràna.<sup>1</sup> y-áwe duxràna.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-duxrána mòdile.<sup>2</sup>* *ʔan-nàšə<sup>1</sup> kùlla báte<sup>1</sup> kut-béθa mbášəl xa-màndi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘During the “big festival,” Monday was a (time of) memorial, it was a (time of) memorial. What is this memorial? The people, all the families, each family cooks something.’ (B5:64)

The referent of the subject has not always been mentioned in the preceding discourse. In (4), for example, the subject ‘his job’ has not been mentioned. The crucial factor is that the narrator presents the interrogative clause as a boundary, introducing a section of discourse in which he describes the activities of his daily work:

- (4) *ʔiθwale xa-tàwra<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xa-xmàra.<sup>1</sup> kút-yum šúle díye mòdi-wewə.<sup>2</sup> šaqəlɔwale táwre díye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šaqəlɔwa xmáre díye<sup>1</sup> qèdamta<sup>1</sup> y-azəlɔwa zàrèwa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-y-aθéwa l-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> y-axəlɔwa mándi ʔi-damàxwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He had an ox and an ass. Every-day what was his job? He would take his ox and take his ass early in the morning and go to cultivate (his field). He would then come back home, eat something and go to sleep.’ (A21:3–4)

The construction with the subject before the predicate is sometimes used at the beginning of a speech turn, e.g.

- (5) *ʔámə ʔáw ʔənile.<sup>2</sup>* ‘He says “Who is he?”’ (A22:29)
- (6) *ʔámə ʔáti ʔəniwət.<sup>2</sup>* ‘He says “Who are you?”’ (A28:34)

When the subject is placed after the predicate, the nuclear stress is either placed on the predicate or on the subject. As remarked above, the subject is postposed in various contexts where the clause is presented by the speaker as cohesive with what precedes. In (7) and (8) the construction is used in the second of a series of two questions, the purpose of which is to elicit the same basic information and are presented as a unit:

- (7) *yába ʔəkəle<sup>1</sup> Dáwəð kòra.<sup>2</sup> ʔəkəle maḥállə díye.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Where is blind David? Where is his place?’ (A16:3)

- (8) *máre tla-Zālo.<sup>1</sup> Zālo<sup>1</sup> ’anna mòdila gu-réšux,<sup>1</sup> ’anna šaqyàθa.<sup>1</sup> mòdila ’anna brinàne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said to Zāl “Zāl, what these on your head, these scars? What are these wounds?”’ (A29:4)

In (9) the question ‘What was her name?’ is presented as cohering closely with the preceding clauses which introduce the referent of a woman into the discourse:

- (9) *’iθwa xa-baxtà<sup>1</sup> rába xàmθewawa.<sup>1</sup> módi-wewa šamma diya.<sup>1</sup> Bəlbəl Hazār.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was a woman. She was very beautiful. What was her name? Bəlbəl Hazar.’ (A8:21)

In (10) the subject is postposed in a question at the beginning of a speech turn. The effect of this is to present it as a tag to what precedes, eliciting a supplementary detail, rather than setting it up as the onset of a new section of discourse concerning ‘your house’:

- (10) *b-óma xéna ’áθeti tla-kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> čđat kəslèni.<sup>1</sup> máre ’èkele bεθéxu.<sup>1</sup> móra fállən dükθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(She said) “The day after tomorrow come to lunch, you are invited to our home.” He said “Where is your house?” She said “In such-and-such a place.”’ (A22:14)

If the interrogative constituent is the subject of the clause, this is normally placed at the front of the clause with the copula cliticized to it, e.g.

- (11) *’énile gu-béθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Who is in the house?’  
 (12) *’énile zaqàra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Who is a weaver?’  
 (13) *módile rəš-mèz?<sup>1</sup>* ‘What is on the table?’

The nuclear stress is in principle put on the predicate. The placement of the copula on the subject can be explained as a reflection of the topical prominence of this constituent. It is not topically prominent in the sense that it is referentially bound to the preceding discourse, but rather due to the fact that it is the central concern of the clause which is typically expected to be talked about in the following discourse. This may be termed ‘forward pointing’ topical prominence (see §15.4.1.4.1. iiiia).

The nuclear stress is generally placed on the interrogative subject constituent when the predicate is a component of the presuppositional background the clause. The prosodic pattern *’énile gu-béθa<sup>1</sup>*, for example, would typically be used when the speaker assumes that the hearer is entertaining the presupposition that somebody is in the house.

When an adverbial interrogative expression meaning ‘why’ is placed at the front of a copula clause, the copula is, likewise, attached to this item rather than to the predicate, e.g.

- (14) *ta-módila ’áyya mǒíta hǎtxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why is this town like this?’ (A4:31)

#### 17.1.5. *Existential Usage*

In a few cases the enclitic copula is used simply to predicate the existence of a referent rather than ascribe some property to it or identify it with another item. This is most commonly found in meteorological expressions, e.g.

- (1) *xapùθela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is foggy (literally: There is fog).’  
 (2) *mǎtrɛla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is rainy (literally: There is rain).’  
 (3) *xǎmmɛle ’ǎlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am hot (literally: There is heat is to me).’  
 (4) *qǎrθela ’ǎlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am cold (literally: There is cold is to me).’

Other examples:

- (5) *gu-xa-gǎppa hambišǎye-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were giants in a cave.’ (A12:18)  
 (6) *há rixǎt náša naxrǎyele!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Ha, there is the smell of a foreign man!’ (A24:47)  
 (7) *’iθáθa qǎmxɛle, ’pθixtǎllela tǎra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘While there was flour on her hands, she opened the door.’ (A21:26)

In principle the nuclear stress is placed on the existential subject in such constructions, which reflects its status as a new information focus. In (8) the copula is placed on a preceding quantifier. In such constructions the whole clause is a new information focus, including the existential subjects, which is reflected by the position of the nuclear stress on the subject at the end of the intonation group. The placement of the copula on the quantifier, therefore, does not express a narrow new information focus on the quantifier, but rather expresses a prominence or intensification of the quantifier within the broad information focus of the clause:

- (8) *’ǎšwut rǎba krèt-iwa gu-’áθra.*<sup>1</sup> *rǎɛwa tǎlga<sup>1</sup> rǎɛwa mátra ’u-mǎndiyàne.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘(The month of) February was very bad in our country. There was a lot of snow. There was a lot of rain and so on.’ (B5:152)

Sporadically the enclitic copula is found with an existential function with referentially definite subjects in other contexts, e.g.

- (9) *har-Wérda-w Nèrgis-ila.<sup>1</sup> làtla,<sup>1</sup> lá bnòne,<sup>1</sup> lá cù-màndi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Only Wèrda and Nèrgis were there. They had no children, nothing.’ (A24:51)

The independent copula is attested with existential meaning in clauses containing indefinite subjects, e.g.

- (10) *gu-d-ó qotíya ’íla xa-şəpra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In that box there is a sparrow.’ (A12:40)

The deictic copula is used existentially with definite or indefinite subject constituents. It is placed either before or after the subject, e.g.

- (11) *hóla ’isáqtha diya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Here is her ring.’ (A25:69)  
 (12) *hó’la miya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Here is some water.’ (A28:18)  
 (13) *xa-bétha hòle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There is a house over there.’ (A33:5)

## 17.2. CLAUSES CONTAINING A NEGATIVE COPULA

The negative copula is in principle placed before the predicate. The most basic construction consists of a simple nexus of copula and predicate, e.g.

- (1) *léle dàwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It is not gold.’ (A14:26)  
 (2) *léle pčila.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It is not crooked.’ (A17:20)  
 (3) *léle gnàyi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Its not my fault.’ (A23:23)  
 (4) *léwət d-áwwa ’àθra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You are not from this country.’ (A25:82)  
 (5) *léwa rába gòra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It was not very big.’ (B5:140)

When the clause contains a subject constituent, this is generally placed before the predicate, e.g.

- (6) *’áwwa léle qáša.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He is not a priest.’ (B17:7)  
 (7) *’áw léle ’ùpri.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It is not my land.’ (A25:52)  
 (8) *Yuwánəs léle táma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Yuwánəs is not there.’ (A52:6)  
 (9) *dárdi léla d-àyya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My suffering is not from this.’ (A26:66)  
 (10) *yámmi léwa qriθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My mother was not educated.’ (B8:15)

The nuclear stress is placed either at the end of the predicate phrase or on the copula. It is typically placed on the copula when the predicate consists of an item that has been introduced in the preceding discourse, e.g.

- (11) *máre má-lax bráta t-it-hátxa bxàya<sup>1</sup> gam-d-ánna ’rwe?<sup>1</sup> mára ’ánna lèwa ’rwe,<sup>1</sup> xonáwàthi wéwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “What is the matter with you girl that you are weeping so much in front of these sheep?” She said “These used not to be sheep, they used to be my brothers.”’ (A34:20–21)
- (12) *máre mùt kálba mubrétá ’átí?<sup>1</sup> ... mára ’áwwa lèle kálba,<sup>1</sup> ’átit kálba.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “What dog have you given birth to?” ... She said “He is not a dog. You are a dog.”’ (A11:20)
- (13) *’áw y-amrile<sup>1</sup> litle náše.<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa mìθele.<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa mádam ’iθwale<sup>1</sup> bàxta,<sup>1</sup> ’iθwale bnòne,<sup>1</sup> ’iθwale náše,<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa lèle míθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They say that he has no relatives. He is dead (in this case). So long as he had a wife, he had sons, he had relatives, he is not dead.’ (A17:17)

The subject constituent is sporadically placed after the predicate. As with positive copula clauses with postposed subjects, this construction is used to express close cohesion to what precedes. It is found in contexts such as (14), in which the clause is a comment that is presented as a tag to the preceding remark and not the onset of a new discourse section. Note that the subject is in a separate intonation group:

- (14) *hot-qùlèlle ’azvána!<sup>1</sup> màre<sup>1</sup> lèle ’azvána<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa.<sup>1</sup>* (She said) “You have killed the caretaker.”. He said “He is not the caretaker.”’ (A22:46)

The negative copula is placed after the predicate in idiomatic interrogative constructions such as (15) and (16). In these an interrogative clause with a negative copula echoes a preceding interrogative clause with a positive copula, maintaining the same word order:

- (15) *dréla sláma l-fâqih<sup>1</sup> dàx-it?<sup>1</sup> dax-lèwət?<sup>1</sup>* ‘She greeted the jurist “How are you? How are you not?”’ (A22:16)
- (16) *’n-ile xwarzàyi,<sup>1</sup> t-áθe t-yáðéla ’ánna mòdila<sup>1</sup> ’u-módi lèla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If he is my nephew, he will come and will know what these are and what they are not.’ (A25:49)

This echoing of the word order of a preceding constituent question with a positive copula is also found in the answer to such questions, as in (17), in which the negative copula in the answer is placed after the predicate:

- (17) *ʔəmər, Fárxo ʔla-xále díye ʔəmər<sup>1</sup> xáli mòdila?<sup>1</sup> xázəx ʔaskaràye.<sup>1</sup> kúlla ʔAmedía píʃla ʔaskaràye.<sup>1</sup> móre xá-məndi lèla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said, Farxo said to his maternal uncle “What is the matter uncle? We can see soldiers. The whole of Amedia has become soldiers.” He said “It is nothing.”’ (A25:79)

The 3fs. form of the negative copula *lèla* is tagged onto the end of clauses in various contexts to refer to some general propositional content, e.g.

- (18) *báʔəxwa tannəkkə.<sup>1</sup> tannəkkə t-nùta lèla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would make a hole in the can, an oil can, is that not so?’ (B10:86)
- (19) *káma gàyə<sup>1</sup> gu-xáša díya mútte tópe čürük,<sup>1</sup> lèla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Several times the guns were pointed at her back, bang, but it does not happen (i.e. the gun does not shoot).’ (B9:18)

The negative particle *la* is occasionally used in a clause containing a positive copula in order to express asseveration rather than negation. In such cases the negative particle never bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (20) *la-hóle m̀̀theta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He is indeed dead.’ (A17:2)
- (21) *la-ʔaw-dùs-wəwə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He was indeed right.’ (A17:8)
- (22) *la-málka m̀̀mi<sup>1</sup> hóle yámya b-rèš.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Indeed the king my uncle has sworn on my head (to execute me).’ (A25:36)
- (23) *la-ʔəxxa-wəwə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He was indeed here.’

Such constructions have no doubt developed from the use of the negator as an interjection to contradict some statement or request of the interlocutor, as is seen in contexts such as (24):

- (24) *móre ʃli-qámθa<sup>1</sup> móre la-ʔàti ʃli-qámθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “Go down and meet her.” He (the other) said “No, you go down to meet her.”’ (A26:40)



## 17.3. THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES

The existential particles (*'iθ*, *'iθwa*, *liθ*, *liθwa* and their variants) are placed either before or after the nominal with which they are combined.

17.3.1. *Particle—Nominal*

In most constructions with the positive existential particle that are attested in the text corpus the nominal is placed after the particle. The function of such constructions is to introduce into the discourse new referents, which have not been mentioned previously. The nominal in most cases is indefinite with a specific referent, e.g.

- (1) *'iθən xa-tùra*.<sup>1</sup> 'There is a mountain.' (A24:11)
- (2) *'iθwa xa-màlka*.<sup>1</sup> 'There was a king.' (A1:2)
- (3) *'iθ xa-párša b-rése dīye*.<sup>1</sup> 'There is a flat stone on him.' (A39:13)
- (4) *'iθən táma ðà'a*.<sup>1</sup> 'There is a woman there.' (A25:53)

In some cases the nominal denotes a generic class or is a proper name. Both of these types of nominal are definite in status, since their referent is identifiable from their description independently of context. The crucial feature, however, is not identifiability but rather the fact that they have not been mentioned previously and are being introduced into the discourse, e.g.

- (5) *'iθwa 'àraq*.<sup>1</sup> 'There was arak.' (B5:11)
- (6) *'é-ga qam-lámpha 'iθwa šrà'a*.<sup>1</sup> 'At that time instead of an (electric) lamp there was an (oil) lamp.' (A33:1)
- (7) *'é-ga 'iθən Čixàlo 'u-'Ašebaṭàlo*.<sup>1</sup> 'At that time there were Čixalo and Ašebaṭalo.' (A25:23)

When the particle is negative, the nominal is placed after the particle on several occasions, e.g.

- (8) *liθ čù-məndi*.<sup>1</sup> 'There is nothing.' (A21:5)
- (9) *liθ 'áp-xa gu-bèθa*.<sup>1</sup> 'Is there nobody in the house?' (A22:32)
- (10) *liθən dāràje*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-šàli gu-gòma*.<sup>1</sup> 'There are no steps for them to go down into the basement stable.' (A22:10)
- (11) *liθwa 'anna qānāfe-u mändiyáne*.<sup>1</sup> 'There were no armchairs and things (like that).' (B5:200)

The nuclear stress is normally placed on the phrase that follows the particle. It is placed on the particle to express a narrow focus in contexts where the speaker asserts the existence of something when it may be presupposed that it does not exist, e.g.

- (12) *mabyóne ʔiθ-xa-məndi gu-qəššət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It seems there really is something in the story.’ (A4:18)

### 17.3.2. *Nominal—Particle*

Constructions with the positive existential particle that have the nominal before the particle are only sporadically attested. They are used when the nominal is modified by an interrogative particle, e.g.

- (1) *kəmə ‘Abda-Raḥmān ʔiθ?*<sup>1</sup> ‘How many ‘Abda-Raḥmāns are there?’ (A23:27)

The nominal is placed before the particle in contexts where the referent of the nominal has already been introduced in the immediately preceding context, e.g.

- (2) *ṭalituwa ṭawalyàθa?<sup>1</sup> ṭawalyáθa ʔiθwa rāba<sup>1</sup> ʔəxčī<sup>1</sup> lá-raba ʔi-taxrənna.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘“Did you play games?” “There were many games, but I do not remember them much.”’ (B15:30)

The preposed nominal may not have been explicitly mentioned, but is nevertheless bound to previously mentioned items in a set relation. This is the case in (3), in which the universal set term ‘everything’ includes the items ‘fine grapes’ and ‘houris’:

- (3) *ʔiθ-táma ʔənwə tēpi<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ḥuriyāt<sup>1</sup> ʔu-kúlla-məndi ʔiθgena<sup>1</sup>* ‘There are there fine grapes and houris. There is everything.’ (A2:8)

Constructions with the negative existential particle that have the nominal before the particle are frequently attested in the text corpus. On some occasions the referent of the nominal has been mentioned in the preceding discourse. The construction in such cases does not deny the existence of the referent but rather denies its presence on the scene, e.g.

- (4) *ʔáza xázya jùlla,<sup>1</sup> jùlla liθ.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She goes to find her clothes, but her clothes are not there.’ (A14:99)

- (5) *'o-xóna zóra liθ.*<sup>1</sup> 'The young brother is not there.' (A12:24)  
 (6) *Parizáda rišla,*<sup>1</sup> *ťéra liθ.*<sup>1</sup> 'Parizada woke up, but the bird is not there.'  
 (A24:30)  
 (7) *rišela 'ánna maymùne,*<sup>1</sup> *'ina 'áni liθ.*<sup>1</sup> 'The monkeys woke up, but they  
 (the men) were not there.' (A14:57)

In some cases the referent of the nominal is linked to what precedes by associative anaphora, such as a set relationship, e.g.

- (8) *xílle xácca mən-d-o-dùša.*<sup>1</sup> *šéle miya,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-ťappíða miya liθ.*<sup>1</sup> 'He ate some of the honey. He became thirsty for water, but there was not a drop of water.' (A14:24)

In many cases, however, the preposed nominal has no clear anaphoric relationship with what precedes. The placement of the nominal in such cases is likely to be conditioned by its lack of referentiality. It would appear that referential nominals that introduce a referent into the discourse have a greater tendency to be placed after the nominal than negated, non-referential ones. In the attested examples the nuclear stress is placed either on the particle (9–11) or on the nominal (12–13). The placement of the nuclear stress on the nominal takes place where the negation of the nominal is reinforced by the negative particle *čü-* or, in the case of the indefinite pronoun *xa*, the particle *'ap*. The nuclear stress gives added force to these particles. These negative reinforcement particles may also be used where the nuclear stress is on the existential particle (10–11):

- (9) *qímela xilela.*<sup>1</sup> *qímela šqílela xa-<sup>2</sup>amána xànčǐ zóra.*<sup>1</sup> *múttalla kəs-réša diya.*<sup>1</sup> *šáwoθa liθm.*<sup>1</sup> 'They ate. Then they took a small container and put it at her head. There was no speech (with this).' (A21:17–18)  
 (10) *xzéle xa-qáyra raba góra.*<sup>1</sup> *zilele máxya tára.*<sup>1</sup> *čü-naša liθ.*<sup>1</sup> 'He saw a very large palace. He went and knocked on the door. There was nobody.' (A14:28)  
 (11) *qəm-šaqłála kanóšta,*<sup>1</sup> *daryála gu-núra.*<sup>1</sup> *čü-məndi liθ.*<sup>1</sup> 'She took the broom and put it in the fire, but there was nothing (= nothing happened).' (A12:39)  
 (12) *čü-qala liθ.*<sup>1</sup> 'There is no sound.' (A18:15)  
 (13) *'ap-xa liθ.*<sup>1</sup> 'There is nobody.' (A33:3)

When two or more negated existential clauses are conjoined, the negative particle *la* may be placed before each nominal. In such constructions the

nominals are presented as being linked in a set relationship. The existential particle may have either its positive or negative form, e.g.

- (14) *la-bèθa ʔiθm,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-la-nàša ʔiθm.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There is not a house and there is nobody there.’ (A39:2)
- (15) *líθ là-xmara mánne díye<sup>1</sup> la-čù-məndi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There is no ass with him, (there is) nothing.’ (A22:25)

The negative particle *la* can be used before the positive existential particle with an asseverative function, e.g.

- (16) *la-ʔiθwa manà.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Indeed there was a meaning (to this).’ (B8:33)

### 17.3.3. Particle Alone

In certain contexts the negative particle is used by itself, without any other clause constituents.

It may refer anaphorically to a referent in the previous discourse denoting the absence of this referent from the scene, e.g.

- (1) *Hásan ʔÁga spárele ta-t-dèra<sup>1</sup> ʔu-spárele ta-t-dèra,<sup>1</sup> líθ.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Hasan Ága waits for her to return, waits for her to return, but she is not there.’ (A27:26)

Speakers sometimes use the particle as an interrogative tag to receive confirmation from the interlocutor. This is generally used in contexts where the speaker is sure about what he is saying, but seeks confirmation as a device for drawing attention to a particular point. The sense can often be rendered in English by ‘you see’:

- (2) *ʔo-šúla ʔáwwa y-amráxwale qàrta líθm.<sup>21</sup>* ‘We called this job trimming, you see.’ (B5:141)
- (3) *máglat gilánda xá-mdi gòrele líθm.<sup>21</sup>* ‘The scythe is something big, you see.’ (B5:144)
- (4) *ʔitwa náše šuléy ʔáwwéle líθm.<sup>21</sup>* ‘There were people whose job was this, you see.’ (B5:135)
- (5) *ʔiθwale qássta-w géra d-è-ga,<sup>1</sup> líθ.<sup>21</sup>* ‘He had a bow and arrow (typical of that time, you see).’ (A12:32)

In narrative it is occasionally used as a device to draw attention to an unexpected event, e.g.

- (6) *ʔásqa t-paθxàle táraʔ ʔina gáwra díya mpáloye gu-d-an-dáwe,ʔ liθʔʔ* ‘She went up to open the door and saw her husband sorting the gold coins!’ (A10:13)

#### 17.4. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The existential particles are commonly used together with L-suffixes to express possession.

##### 17.4.1. *Particle—Possessed Item*

The item possessed is normally placed after the particle. It is typically indefinite and bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (1) *ʔíli dá brátət-màma.*ʔ ‘I have a cousin.’ (A7:17)  
 (2) *ʔíli xákma xabráne t-amrènnəx.*ʔ ‘I have a few words to say to you.’ (A4:40)  
 (3) *sab-ʔíli rába mándi temàna gáwe díye.*ʔ ‘because I have something very valuable in it.’ (A7:9)  
 (4) *ʔíθwalən xa-málka.*ʔ ‘We had a king.’ (A4:31)  
 (5) *líθwale quşàrta.*ʔ ‘He did not have a cooking-pot.’ (A5:1)  
 (6) *líθwala bnòne.*ʔ ‘They did not have children.’ (A15:9)

##### 17.4.2. *Possessed Item—Particle*

The possessed item is occasionally fronted before the existential particle. The examples of this construction in the text corpus may be classified as follows.

(i) When the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to a newly introduced referent in the ‘item possessed’ slot. In such cases the fronted item bears the nuclear stress. In (2) the nominal is combined with the particle *bas*, which expresses exclusivity:

- (1) *saṭàne ʔílnʔ gu-d-áwəwa bəṭa.*ʔ ‘We have demons in this house.’ (A22:26)  
 (2) *bas-γəmma ʔíθwale.*ʔ ‘He had only a mother.’ (A21:3)

(ii) In constructions with the positive existential particle, the possessed item is fronted without bearing the nuclear stress when it is definite and given in the previous discourse, e.g.

- (1) *t-yánnux 'úpra kəmà-t bǎyət' 'u-plóx gáwe díye 'u-máplax nǎše. '... 'úpra 'íli' malyànele. ' "I shall give you as much land as you want. Work on it and employ people." ... "I have land, (which) is sufficient."'* (A21:41–42)

(iii) In constructions with the negative existential particle, the nominal is sometimes fronted without the nuclear stress where it is not anaphorically linked to the preceding discourse, e.g.

- (1) *'ána zúza líli, ' fǎqirten. ' 'I do not have money. I am poor.'* (A22:19)

### 17.4.3. *Possessor Expressed by a Nominal*

If the possessor is expressed by a nominal or independent pronominal form, it is not made the complement of the preposition *l-* but rather is extraposed at the front of the clause and resumed by an L-suffix. This reflects the fact that the L-suffix is acquiring the properties of verbal inflection as is the case in the *qǐlle* form of the verb. Examples:

- (1) *'aw-málka 'íθwale xa-bròna. ' 'That king had a son.'* (A4:1)  
 (2) *kul-máθa 'íθwala qnyàne. ' 'Every village had domestic animals.'* (B15:43)  
 (3) *sab-kúlla líθwale táwre. ' 'because everybody did not have oxen.'* (B5:73)

On some sporadic occasions the possessor is extraposed at the end of the clause, e.g.

- (4) *hóle 'íθm bóya zòra. ' 'u-'áp bǎxta díye hóla tàma, ' 'u-'ítle 'ayàle ' 'o-tèla. ' 'There was a small hole (in it). His wife was there also, and the fox had children.'* (A20:5)

Constructions such as (4) with final extraposition are typically used when the clause is presented as an elaborative tag that is cohesively connected with what precedes. Constructions with initial extraposition such as (1)–(3), on the other hand, express a greater disjunction from what precedes and present the clause with more distinctness and independence.

17.5. PREDICATIONS WITH THE VERB *HWY*

In various contexts, which have been fully described in §15.3.9., the copula and existential particle are replaced by a form of the verb *hwy*. Here we shall restrict ourselves to some remarks concerning the word order of predications with this verb.

When the verb in the predicate of a main clause expresses a generic or habitual sense, it is often placed after the other constituents, e.g.

- (1) *kálba gu-tárət märe<sup>1</sup> ləbbàna y-áwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A dog at the door of his owner is brave.’ (D2:64)
- (2) *lǎxma prǎša y-áwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Bread is different.’ (B5:99)
- (3) *ʔotáxe gòre hawéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Rooms were large.’ (B10:51)
- (4) *ʔáw qəqwána gu-túra y-áwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The partridge is in the mountains.’ (B5:147)
- (5) *ʔitleni halúke,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔáni har-gu-ʔaqàra y-áwa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔáni rába basime y-áwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We have plums. These are only in the farmland. These are also very tasty.’ (B5:222)
- (6) *xlǐmta hóya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It is thick.’ (B6:49)
- (7) *har-dmáxta diyən<sup>1</sup> biz-zóda gu-bεθwàθa hóya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Our sleeping is mainly in the houses.’ (B15:27)

The verb is also placed before the predicate constituents when it has this generic or habitual sense, e.g.

- (8) *ʔina ʔáyyət xúmša har-xúmša háwe xwarnàya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But the dish consisting only of *xumša* is whitish.’ (B10:16)
- (9) *qedámta hál bar-kawùθra<sup>1</sup> šmša y-óya bàθar túra,*<sup>1</sup> *fa-tàlla háwe<sup>1</sup> qam-túra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the morning, until after lunch, the sun is behind the mountain and there is shade at the front of the mountain.’ (B3:2)

The frequent posposition of the verb *hwy* to the end of the predicate in generic/habitual main clauses is no doubt by analogy with the position of the copula in main clauses. This has come about due to the semantic proximity between this generic/habitual function of the verb and the function of the copula.

When used in contexts other than these generic/habitual main clauses, the verb *hwy* is regularly placed before the predicate constituents, e.g.

- (1) *háwət hášyər ’ílən jənnə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Be careful, we have jinn.’ (A22:26)
- (2) *’ána báýən ’aláha t-yawállī kúl-məndī bi-záwda,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-xayúθi hóya spəy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want God to give me more of everything, so that my life will be good.’ (A3:3)
- (3) *hézuke mòdīla.*<sup>2</sup> *táli xàwla<sup>1</sup> b-xa-’ilána t-’óya górta rába ramàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘What is swinging? They hang a rope on a tree that is large and very high.’ (B6:7)
- (4) *’áw mášli xá-dukθa t-’óya šaxínta y-amráxwa gòma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They bring them down to a place that is warm, which we called a “basement stable.”’ (B5:211)

A predicate constituent is put before the verb only in a few sporadic cases, in which the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to the constituent, e.g.

- (5) *kút-dukθa ’áza ’àwra<sup>1</sup> ’áp ’ayya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to be (i.e. to follow) after her.’ (B12:2)

## 17.6. VERB ‘TO BE’ OMITTED

In some cases the verb ‘to be’, in the form of a copula, existential particle or the verb *hwəy*, is omitted from a clause. The majority of the attested examples can be classified into the following categories.

### 17.6.1. Clauses Expressing Supplementary Information

The verb ‘to be’ is sometimes omitted when the situation expressed by the clause is presented by the speaker as information that is supplementary to what is expressed in the adjacent clauses, e.g.

- (1) *xa-náša díye t-ámərwa ’ána zonónna b-’əšya,*<sup>1</sup> *šaqlíwa ’əšya dinàre.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-xéna t-ámərwa zonónna b-xamšässə,*<sup>1</sup> *šaqlíwa xamšässə.*<sup>1</sup> *qa-xumlàna ’áwwa mándi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘One relative of his would say “I shall buy it for ten” and they would receive ten dinars. Another would say “I shall buy it for fifteen” and they would receive fifteen. This was for fun.’ (B5:42)
- (2) *’áy y-amríla xǎdáyət xətna.*<sup>1</sup> *yǎ’ni xa-xəllèta tla-xətna ’ap-áyya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This is called “the lunch of the groom.” This also was a gift for the groom.’ (B5:48)



- (3) *y-azíwa mpalíwa k'álo,*<sup>1</sup> *meθéwa be-xàtna.*<sup>1</sup> *xlúla t-ílaθà yomáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-šabθa xlúla.*<sup>1</sup> 'They would go and bring out the bride and bring her to the house of the groom. A wedding is for three days or a wedding is for a week.' (B8:22)
- (4) *'íθwa xásat gómāt 'árwē,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-t-xásat tàwre*<sup>1</sup> *'u-t-pàre*<sup>1</sup> *xòðeγ.*<sup>1</sup> *'árwē b-xoðèγ,*<sup>1</sup> *'ína tawráθa 'u-tàwre 'áni kút-xa b-xòðeγ.*<sup>1</sup> 'There were special stables for sheep, special ones for oxen and for lambs, by themselves. Sheep were by themselves, cows and oxen, they were all by themselves.' (B10:55)
- (5) *sátwa tálga*<sup>1</sup> *màrkən*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa t-dúša,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa t-màšxa,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa t-jájək,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa t-gùpta.*<sup>1</sup> 'In the winter (we had containers known as a) *màrkən*, one was for honey, one was for oil, one was for *jájək*, one was for cheese.' (B8:11)

In (6) the speaker has omitted the copula in the first clause since it is presented as the background to the following statement concerning the main protagonist of the narrative. This can be captured in English by translating it with a subordinate construction such as one introduced by 'whereas' or 'while':

- (6) *'ína kúlla 'an-xéne bnáθat guràne,*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya Šóše brátat faqìre-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Whereas all the others were daughters of gentlemen, this Šóše was the daughter of poor people.' (A38:3)

The expression of the verb 'to be' is sometimes omitted in clauses describing a state that is circumstantial to an action expressed in an adjacent clause. Such clauses are sometimes introduced by the connective particle *w*, e.g.

- (7) *bróni hóle xíla 'állèle,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-dargúšta dmíxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'My son was eaten tonight while asleep in his cradle.' (A18:2)
- (8) *m-léle qiméle,*<sup>1</sup> *'o-xuláme diye.*<sup>1</sup> *tàwre mpúlṭalla-w nùblalla*<sup>1</sup> *'u-tullákθa mánne-diye,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-bzára mánne-diye,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-màsta-w*<sup>1</sup> *zèðàye*<sup>1</sup> *zilele ta-t-záre.*<sup>1</sup> 'That servant of his got up early in the morning. He brought out the oxen, took them (with him) and went to plough, a hound (being) with him, a plough (being) with him, and also yoghurt and pitta breads.' (A30:7)
- (9) *ðiyile*<sup>1</sup> *'o-párca b-rešèγ.*<sup>1</sup> 'He knew them (while) the cloth (was) on them.' (A25:50)

If the subject of the circumstantial clause is pronominal, this is regularly expressed by an independent pronoun when there is a change in subject from the preceding clause, e.g.

- (10) *nəpʃanna kulla b-réše diye,<sup>1</sup> ʃáli tàma,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa dmíxa gu-d-áw ʔòtəx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I’ll shake them all over him and they will go down there (in the house), while he is sleeping in that room.’ (A10:10)
- (11) *xazéla ʔánna júllux hátxa,<sup>1</sup> káʃxa-w ʔýya xmàrtux<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sèrga-w<sup>1</sup> w-ána b-ánna dašdàše-w<sup>1</sup> b-ánna čakàlle-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šəxtàna-w<sup>1</sup> šàrt qázi t-yawəlla t̄lálux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They will see these clothes of yours like this, the smart suit and this donkey of yours, with the saddle, while I am in these plain clothes and slippers, all dirty, and the judge will make a sentence in your favour.’ (A6:7)

When the subject of the circumstantial clause is the same as in the preceding clause, it is sometimes expressed by an independent pronoun, e.g.

- (12) *y-azíwa zràʔa,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa xzàda,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa məθóye mán̄di ta-bèθa!<sup>1</sup> ʔáni ʃime.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would go to cultivate (the fields), go to harvest, go and bring things for the house, while they were fasting.’ (B16:17)

In some cases, however, there is no morphological expression of the subject, e.g.

- (13) *ʔu-là-mʃaləwa qa-ʔálaha,<sup>1</sup> har-dbíše b-bronèy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They did not pray to God, being constantly attached to their son.’ (A15:17)

Of a similar nature are imperative expressions such as *qu-qíma!* ‘Stand up!’ (literally: ‘Stand while being standing’), *tu-tíwa!* ‘Sit down!’ (literally: ‘Sit while being seated’), *páqðu t̄iwe!* ‘Please sit down’ (A15:8) (§15.7. examples 42–44).

The close connection of the reduced circumstantial clause to the main clause is sometimes expressed prosodically by combining the two in the same intonation group, e.g.

- (14) *ʔána məjbúr-íwən t-ázan qát̄lən gáni pálxən w-áy dmíxta maxl̄ənna.<sup>2!</sup>* ‘Was I obliged to kill myself working to feed her while she was asleep?’ (A21:38)
- (15) *kú-mdit láyap náša yála zòra!<sup>1</sup> ʔýya pyàša gu-résət náša.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Everything that a person learns (while he is) a young child, this remains in the mind of person.’ (B8:20)

The copula is sometimes omitted in questions. This is found in questions that are used as a device to introduce information that is supplementary to what precedes, e.g.

- (16) *ʔay-ʔilána ʔèkaʔ<sup>1</sup> masqíwala gàre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Where is the tree? They take it up to the roof.’ (B5:39)
- (17) *ʔo-Dáwið mòdi súle díye.<sup>1</sup> máxewa darmàna<sup>1</sup> l-sàwle<sup>1</sup> xáyəṭwa sàwle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘What is the profession of that David? He used to polish shoes and sew shoes.’ (A16:1)

In (19) the copula is omitted in a clause expressing a supplementary piece of information that the speaker has previously forgotten:

- (18) *bína ʔána ʔáxxa nšéli xa-màndi.<sup>1</sup> kʔàlo<sup>1</sup> ʔíman t-aṭyàwa<sup>1</sup> páṭha díya mkusèṭha.<sup>1</sup> kʔàlo<sup>1</sup> páṭha díya mkusèṭha.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But I have forgotten something here. The bride, when she came, her face was covered. The bride’s face was covered.’ (B5:35)

#### 17.6.2. Gapping in a Series of Clauses

The expression of the verb ‘to be’ is sometimes omitted also in a series of clauses of equivalent status in the discourse. In a series of closely related clauses, ‘gapping’ of the expression of the verb ‘to be’ may take place in the clauses that follow the first of the series. This is found, for example, in (1) and (2), in which clauses of parallel structure are linked together.

- (1) *Səttiye ʔe-gòrta-wawa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-Nàze<sup>1</sup> gawèṭha<sup>1</sup> ʔu-Ẓíne ʔe-zòrtət kúlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Səttiye was the oldest one, Naze the middle one and Zine the youngest.’ (A26:20)
- (2) *béjýe hóla xa-gòta<sup>1</sup> ʔáwa xa-gòta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The young lambs were one side and the sheep the other.’ (A25:31)

Such gapping of the verb ‘to be’ is more commonly found in clauses containing compound verbal forms that consist of the verb ‘to be’ and the resultative participle or the infinitive. This occurs in narrative in clauses expressing an event that is presented as directly sequential to a preceding event (§15.4.1.3.):

- (3) *ʔṭhyele wíra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He came and entered.’ (A26:47)
- (4) *ʔu-siqele<sup>1</sup> suse kálya tãma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He went up and his horse stopped there.’ (A26:28)

- (5) *ʔanna plàtɛla,<sup>1</sup> kùlla zàla ʃèda.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They go out and all go hunting.’ (A13:7)
- (6) *súse díye mtsalómalle ʃla-xolàma.<sup>1</sup> wára gu-čádre díye,<sup>1</sup> dmáxa hal-mbàdla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He handed over his horse to the servant. He entered his tent and slept until morning.’ (A12:8)

### 17.6.3. *Presentative Constructions with the Particle ʔina*

The presentative particle *ʔina* is used in various contexts to introduce a referent or a proposition in place of the verb ‘to be’ (§18.1.5.1.), e.g.

- (1) *qrúla qrúla kóslɛ díye<sup>1</sup> ʔina xa-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> xa-qáʃra rába ʃapíra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They came near to it and behold a house, a very beautiful palace.’ (A14:42)
- (2) *ʔina xa-seniye<sup>1</sup> dáwa xaʃe-díye xá-xuɔwe zòra,<sup>1</sup> réʃat nàʃa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-gánat xùɔwe,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-à seniye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Behold a gold tray on which there was a small snake with the head of a man and the body of a snake.’ (A14:31)
- (3) *qímela zíle xázye ʔina dūs<sup>1</sup> xa-képa hâtxa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ða-yàdde gáwe díye,<sup>1</sup> t-pròzla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They went and saw that it was true, there was a stone like this, with a handle of iron in it.’ (A14:13)
- (4) *yámme díye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-báxte díye táma xázyalle sùsa,<sup>1</sup> ʔina sapíqa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘His mother and his wife there saw that the horse was without a rider (literally: saw the horse behold empty).’ (A28:29)

### 17.6.4. *Presentative Constructions with Demonstratives*

In clauses with the speaker deixis demonstrative as subject which have the function of presenting an item to the hearer, the copula is usually omitted, e.g.

- (1) *ʔáwɔa qðíla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This is the key (= Here is the key).’ (A12:63)
- (2) *ʔáwɔa ʔixàla<sup>1</sup> ʃlálux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This is food for you (= Here is some food for you).’ (A17:12)

Of a similar nature is the phrase *ʔáyya xá-ʃeta* (literally: This is a year = Look it is a year) in (3):

- (3) *ʔáyya xá-ʃeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorèllux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It has been a year that they have been here but have not asked for you.’ (A26:78)

17.6.5. *Exclamatory Clauses*

When the clause expresses an exclamation, the verb ‘to be’ is often omitted, e.g.

- (1) *’áti biš-zl̩ma m̩nni!* ‘You are more oppressed than me!’ (A13:5)
- (2) *’áwwa hambiš̩ya!* ‘It is a giant!’ (A31:2)
- (3) *námu ’ánna là-biš̩ t̩áwe m-áwwa Gozáli xóni!* ‘Surely they are not better than Gozali, my brother!’ (A8:72)

In various constructions expressing wishes, a deontic form of the verb *hwy* is omitted, e.g.

- (4) *basíma ràba!* ‘Thank you very much.’ (literally: ‘May you be very healthy’; cf. *háwət basíma ràba!* A22:31)
- (5) *q̩t̩ma b-r̩š̩ux!* ‘May ash be on your head!’ (A23:8)
- (6) *’álaha šuxa-l-š̩mme* ‘God—praise be to his name’ (A6:10)
- (7) *bríxta dudíya t̩-íwət ’áti q̩ma g̩wa!* ‘Blessed be the cradle in which you grew up!’ (A21:41)
- (8) *y-azíwa m̩š̩mš̩íwa b̩θ-q̩òra, r̩h̩qa m̩n-an-dukàne!* ‘They would go and hold a ceremony in the cemetery—(may death be) far from these places!’ (B10:3)

The exclamation may be expressed in the form of a question, e.g.

- (9) *mú-t q̩ala d̩yi?*<sup>21</sup> ‘What is my voice (in comparison with his)?’ (A25:44)

17.6.6. *Proverbs*

Expressions of the verb ‘to be’ are often omitted in proverbial contexts, e.g.

- (1) *l̩xma šaxína darmánət náša kp̩na!* ‘Hot bread is the medicine of a hungry man.’ (D2:69)
- (2) *liš̩áne r̩xa! ’u-xáše t̩w̩xa!* ‘His tongue is long, but his back is broken.’ (D2:67)
- (3) *dárta l-yòma, ’r̩we gu-gòma, dárta l-s̩èra, ’r̩we l-t̩èra!* ‘If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noon sun.’ (D2:15)

17.6.7. *Meteorological Expressions*

In some meteorological expressions that have the general term *dunye* ‘world, weather’ as subject or leave the subject unspecified, the copula tends to be omitted, e.g. *ʔadyo šaxànta* ‘Today it is hot’. In a similar manner the copula is omitted in meteorological expressions with an infinitive such as *dunye ràya* ‘It is raining’ or *ràya tàlga* ‘It is snowing.’

## 17.7. VERBAL CLAUSES

17.7.1. *Basic Verbal Clauses*

A verbal clause may consist of a verbal form alone, with the participants of the activity expressed by affixes but without any other independently standing components, e.g.

- (1) *ʔàzə* ‘He goes.’ (A28:33)
- (2) *ʔàθena*. ‘I shall come back.’ (A26:30)
- (3) *damxàwa*. ‘She would go to sleep.’ (A18:1)
- (4) *raqðüwa*. ‘They would dance.’ (B7:4)
- (5) *tüwle*. ‘He sat down.’ (A15:1)
- (6) *kpinna*. ‘They became hungry.’ (A20:9)
- (7) *t-axlänne*. ‘I shall eat it.’ (A23:5)

17.7.2. *Clauses with a Subject Constituent*

When the clause contains a subject constituent, this is placed either before or after the verb.

17.7.2.1. *Subject—Verb*

Most subjects that are placed before the verb are definite, e.g.

- (1) *téla riqle*. ‘The fox ran.’ (A20:5)
- (2) *málka rwèle*. ‘The king became drunk.’ (A17:26)
- (3) *külle bέθε qidle*. ‘All of his house burnt.’ (A48:7)
- (4) *gáwri θèle*. ‘My husband has come back.’ (A22:32)
- (5) *dábba ziltela tama*. ‘The bear went there.’ (A20:6)

In descriptive discourse, indefinite subject constituents introducing new referents are sometimes placed before the verb in foreground sections concerning a habitual activity or generic situation, e.g.

- (6) *xa-náša y-azəlwa<sup>1</sup>...y-azəlwa čyàda,<sup>1</sup> béθa bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A man would go... he would go from house to house making invitations.’ (B5:20)
- (7) *báxta y-àza<sup>1</sup> mattála qašxàne<sup>1</sup> rēš-bárka dīya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A woman would go and place a pail on her knees.’ (B5:175)

In narrative, indefinite subjects that introduce a specific referent tend to be placed before the verb in background rather than foreground sections of the discourse. The background may be presented as a perfective event or an imperfective situation. In (8) the clause expresses a punctual event that opens a background section of narrative that explains how the protagonist lost his hand. The clauses in (9)–(11) express a background resultative state and the construction in (12) denotes a background ongoing activity. The lack of the indefinite particle *xa* in (8) and (12) reflects the diminished tendency to use this particle in backgrounded sections of discourse (§14.1.2.2.).

- (8) *’arya θéle tálbe dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A lion attacked him.’ (A11:1)
- (9) *’dlele<sup>1</sup> xa-bráta θíθewa dmíxta kəsli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Last night, a girl had come and slept with me.’ (A26:10–11)
- (10) *xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> siqewa<sup>1</sup> l-tùra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A man had gone up into the mountains.’ (A31:1)
- (11) *xa-nàša hóle mìθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A man had died.’ (A17:7)
- (12) *xà-yoma<sup>1</sup> dábba xóara-wawa gu-ṭuràne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘One day a bear was wandering around the mountains.’ (A20:1)

If, however, an indefinite subject constituent is a narrow information focus, it is fronted before the verb in all contexts, including where the verb expresses a punctual foreground action. The nuclear stress is placed on the subject in these circumstances. This construction is found in contrastive contexts where the speaker corrects a misapprehension of his interlocutor, e.g.

- (13) A: *qəm-qatálle ’arya.<sup>1</sup>* B: *là,<sup>1</sup> dábba qəm-qatálale.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A: “A lion killed him.”  
“No, a bear killed him.”’

In such constructions, the verb is in the presupposition of the clause, which in this case is ‘*x* killed him’. The subject, therefore, is a narrow new information focus, which asserts the identity of *x*.

In (14) the indefinite noun in focus does not have a specific referent:

- (14) *diga lè-yaðal.<sup>1</sup> kθèθa yádla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A cock does not lay eggs. A hen lays eggs.’  
(D1:3)

Of a similar structure is (15), in which an indefinite subject with the nuclear stress on the subject occurs in initial position and the verb is repeated from the preceding discourse. The subject is not, however, intended to replace that of the preceding clause but rather it is a component of a separate, albeit related, event, e.g.

- (15) *θéle mälla.<sup>1</sup>... mu‘állam θéle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A mullah came... (then subsequently) a teacher came’ (A22:3–5)

This again is a kind of new information focus on the subject. The verb is presented as a presupposition. It is not completely old information recoverable from the preceding clause, but rather is linked to it in a set relationship, i.e. the set of the acts of coming.

A subject that is a non-referential negated constituent is treated like definite constituents as far as order is concerned and freely occurs in foreground narrative sections in all contexts, e.g.

- (16) *‘áp-xa la-šqille.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Nobody bought it.’ (A22:6)  
(17) *‘áp-xa lá-šbirre ‘asəqlé.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Nobody dared to undertake it.’ (A33:4)

A subject that is placed before the verb is sometimes presented in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (18) *náša diyèni<sup>1</sup> ‘i-šémi t̄lá yomàne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Our people fast for three days.’  
(B6:21)  
(19) *bábət bràta<sup>1</sup> xazéwa yəmmət bràta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The father of the girl would see the mother of the girl.’ (B5:2)  
(20) *mìya<sup>1</sup> mazəvrile xa-parwàna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The water drives round a propellor.’  
(B6:53)  
(21) *‘ó t-là páləx<sup>1</sup> lè y-áxəl.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Whoever does not work does not eat.’  
(A21:13)



17.7.2.2. *Verb—Subject*

In clauses expressing a foreground punctual event the subject constituent is generally postposed after the verb if it introduces a new referent that has a prominent role in the discourse. In narrative this construction is typically used when a new protagonist character comes onto the scene, e.g.

- (1) *θéle mälla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A mullah came.’ (A22:3)
- (2) *θiθéla xa-bràta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A girl came.’ (A16:2)
- (3) *ʔina ʔθyεle xa-yàla, xa-ʔašòta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But a tiresome youth came.’ (A17:7)

The referent is not necessarily always indefinite. This construction is used also where the subject is definite, but newly introduced into the discourse. This is seen in (4), which is the report of an event uttered by the speaker in isolation without any preceding or immediate following context. The subject constituent ‘my house’ is definite in status, but newly introduced and prominent in the mind of the speaker:

- (4) *sríxεle yàba qídle bèθi!*<sup>1</sup> ‘He shouted “Oh, my house has burnt down!”’ (A48:4)

On many occasions, however, the postposition of the subject after the verb does not have this presentative function that is independent of a preceding context. Rather, the subject is familiar to the hearer from the previous context or is, at least, related in some way to the previous context. In such cases the motivation for the construction is to express the existence of a close semantic relationship of the clause with the preceding discourse. When it is used in narrative, the close relationship with what precedes may be one of close temporal sequence and spatial continuity. The effect is to present the series of clauses as components of the same overall event. The subject may be the same as that of the preceding main event clause (5–6) or it may be different (7–8):

- (5) *mára gáwya ma-yxàlɸ!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána b-salyàna.*<sup>1</sup> ***šlíθela bàxta.***<sup>1</sup> ‘She said “Husband, it’s all right. I shall go down (to the town).” The woman went down.’ (A22:11)
- (6) *máre bráti lá là.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáti ʔàxlat.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxni t-àzexi.*<sup>1</sup> *lá pεšəx ɿla-xàðya.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-qímεle málka.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “My daughter, no, no. You eat. We shall go. We shall not stay for lunch” and the king got up (to leave).’ (A21:30)
- (7) *zìlele,*<sup>1</sup> *qedámta qímεla bràta-w!*<sup>1</sup> *mxùláltalla ʔay-dùkθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went away and in the morning the girl got up and cleaned the place.’ (A17:27)

- (8) *xθimalle.<sup>1</sup> kúlle zqìr̀alle-w<sup>1</sup> pístela hádax dóbba g̀awe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He finished it. He wove it all and the bear remained inside it.’ (A20:4)

As can be seen in the preceding examples, the nuclear stress is normally placed on the subject constituent. It is occasionally retracted onto the verb, especially where the speaker wishes to give prominence to a climactic or important event. In (9), for example, the fall of the fox is a climax:

- (9) *m̀are díya mò t-ódexi.<sup>2</sup> qú npila-xila.<sup>1</sup> qú npila-xila.<sup>1</sup> trípela t-g̀òðàðe<sup>1</sup> npille téla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “Now what shall we do? Come on (let’s fight and) whoever falls (first) will be eaten.” They attacked each other and the fox fell.’ (A20:10)

The verb—subject construction is used in descriptive discourse in a similar manner to express the close temporal sequence of habitual events. This is seen in (10)–(12). In (11) and (12) the temporal anteriority of the first clause is explicitly marked by the conjunction *bar* ‘after’:

- (10) *qémi mpálfi k’álo marq̀ðila.<sup>1</sup> bína y-úθi náše qamθèy,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíla maşlèla<sup>1</sup> qam-t̀arət-béθa g̀òrta y-óya.<sup>1</sup> maduqíla xátna-w k’álo gotə-g̀òðàðe,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-béna náše ràq̀ði.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They bring the bride out and make her dance. Then people come up to them and take them down to a large space outside. They put the groom and bride together side by side and then people dance.’ (B5:50)
- (11) *bár hádax,<sup>1</sup> bár t-íla-báxta pyáša rásmi tàma<sup>1</sup> yá’ni wára gu-l-béθa,<sup>1</sup> θáysle q̀áša<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sára gǹunèle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Afterwards, after the woman has become official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band.’ (B5:44)
- (12) *bár mbarx̀iwa,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-razg̀iwa<sup>1</sup> béna y-atwíwa k’álo-w xátna-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘Afterwards, after they performed the blessing and were finished, the bride and the groom would sit down.’ (B5:30)

The postposition of the subject may express cohesiveness with what precedes in contexts where there is no temporal sequentiality. In (13) the construction follows the existential clauses that introduce the characters of the narrative. It coheres with these in that it continues to give background information that forms the setting for the main narrative. The verbs in this background setting express habitual rather than punctual actions. The same applies to the (14), which also occurs in a background section. In (15) the clause with the postposed subject coheres closely with what

precedes in a causal relationship. In (16) the construction supplies supplementary detail to the statement made in the preceding clause:

- (13) *ʔθwa xa-gáwra-w bǎxta.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔθwala bnòne.*<sup>1</sup> *kùt-yum*<sup>1</sup> ***ʔaléwa gǎwra***<sup>1</sup> *l-šùqa*<sup>1</sup> *msawòqe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-čú-mǎndi lé meθéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a man and a wife. They had children. Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping, but would bring nothing back.’ (A22:1)
- (14) *ʔθwala xa-qarǎwǎt gòrta.*<sup>1</sup> ***mεθíwala xadamyáθa***<sup>1</sup> *díya ʔixála,*<sup>1</sup> *y-ax-láwa-w*<sup>1</sup> *damxàwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She had a big bed. Her servants would bring her food, she would eat then go to sleep.’ (A21:1)
- (15) *xáze mòdila qǎššǎt*<sup>1</sup> *míya lèla θáya.*<sup>1</sup> ***hóle ʔǎlya ʔo-náša***<sup>1</sup> *gu-míya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He saw what the problem was. The water was not flowing (because) that man had come down into the water.’ (A22:43)
- (16) *šǎmša mxíθa l-turǎne,*<sup>1</sup> ***heš-léla kmíltá šǎmša.***<sup>1</sup> ‘The sunshine has struck the mountains, but the sunshine has not yet completely (spread).’ (A26:37)

The coherence may be one of total overlap, in that the clause is no more than a reiteration of what precedes, e.g.

- (17) *wírele tàma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-dǎbba zíltela tàma.*<sup>1</sup> ***zíltela dǎbba***<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-dráyalla ʔída díya ʔílle díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The fox entered there and the bear went there. The bear went there and put her paw into it.’ (A20:6)

It is worth noting that this coherence principle can also be identified in the tendency for verb—subject order to be used in syntactically subordinate clauses, whose close semantic connection with what precedes is signalled by a subordinating particle. This applies, for example, to purpose clauses such as (18):

- (18) *máttat qése gáwe díye,*<sup>1</sup> *t-lóxi ʔánna qése.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You put wood in it and the wood blazes up.’ (B15:23)

### 17.7.2.3. Further Remarks on the Function of Subject Position

In general, it can be said that the verb—subject construction is ‘event-orientated’. When, by contrast, the subject constituent is placed before the verb, the construction can be said to be ‘topic-orientated’. The shift of attention from the event-line to a topic referent at the front of a topic-orientated clause causes it to be interpreted as having a lesser degree of cohesion with what precedes. In foreground narrative the placement of the

subject before the verb may be used to express the onset of a new section. The effect is that the clause is in principle forward looking, cohering with what follows, rather than cohering with what precedes. In (1) the clause ‘The king became drunk’ with an initial subject follows sequentially the preceding speech. It is not, however, presented as a tag to this speech but rather as the onset of an episodic section in which the woman disposed of his inebriated body. Similarly in (2) the clause ‘The king was perplexed regarding her (i.e. his daughter)’ is presented as the onset of a section of discourse that describes his worries about her.

- (1) *māra dā-yālla,<sup>1</sup> jālde,<sup>1</sup> šti ta-t-dāmḫəḫ.<sup>1</sup> **mālka rwēle.**<sup>1</sup> rwēle<sup>1</sup> qəm-doqāle p-āqle,<sup>1</sup> xrrr garšāle nablāle gu-čāčma,<sup>1</sup> w-ačmāle tāra bāre.<sup>1</sup> ’ay-θēla dmīxla gu-’ótəḫ dīya.<sup>1</sup> xliqla tāra,<sup>1</sup> dmīxla.<sup>1</sup> ‘She said “Come, quickly, drink so that we can go to sleep.”’ The king became drunk. He became drunk and she grasped him by his legs, dragged him along and took him to the bathroom, then closed the door behind him. She came back and went to sleep in her room. She closed the door and went to sleep.’ (A17:26)*
- (2) *frīsla rāba.<sup>1</sup> **mālka hīrre** b-gāne dīye bīya dīya.<sup>1</sup> ’āp-xa léle gwāralla.<sup>1</sup> mārē ’āna mò-’oðən.<sup>2</sup> xa-čāra xazēna.<sup>1</sup> ‘She became very fat. The king was perplexed regarding her. Nobody would marry her. He said “What should I do? I should find a solution for this daughter of mine.”’ (A21:1–2)*

A shift in subject from that of the immediately preceding discourse is not always the crucial factor that conditions the placement of the subject in initial position. This is shown by the fact the speaker in many cases opts for a verb—subject continuity construction where there is a change of subject (e.g. §17.7.2.2. examples 7–8). The crucial factor is rather that the speaker decides to present the clause as disjoined from what precedes in some way.

The disjoining expressed by the subject—verb construction sometimes reflects a lack of temporal sequentiality between the events expressed in clauses. This is clearly seen in (3) where subject initial clauses are used to present a listing of events that occurred in parallel. In (4) the subject—verb clauses expresses an action undertaken by Zine and her servants that overlaps temporally with that of the preceding clause. The important point is that in both cases the actions expressed by the subject—verb constructions are presented as distinct events rather than cohering together in a single overall event:

- (3) *mára ʿána báxtət ʿáǧət Čǎl-iwən.<sup>1</sup> ʿáyya xmáθa díya homàнна.<sup>1</sup> xəmyána homàнна.<sup>1</sup> bróna homàнна.<sup>1</sup> kúlla homàнна.<sup>1</sup> kálθa là hománna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said “I am the wife of the aǧa of Čǎl.” Her mother-in-law believed it. Her father-in-law believed it. The son believed it. Everybody believed it. The daughter-in-law, however, did not believe it.’’ (A19:2)
- (4) *qíməle ʿóθya síqa l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> síqele l-gàre<sup>1</sup> maxzóyalle Jazíra Bóta.<sup>1</sup> Žine<sup>1</sup> ʿu-ʿán-xaddamyáθa díya šléla rəs-ʿèna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now, he came and he went up onto the roof. He went up onto the roof to show him Jazira Bota. Zine and her maid-servants went down to the spring.’ (A26:40)

In (5) the verb—subject clauses are temporally sequential with what precedes. The clause ‘The three hundred horsemen returned’, on the other hand, has a subject—verb structure. This reflects the fact that it is not directly sequential to what precedes but rather presents a final synopsis of the overall series of preceding events.

- (5) *móre sò<sup>1</sup> kut-qónəx yòma<sup>1</sup> déri ʿəmma mənnəxu.<sup>1</sup> [VS] ʿamritu ʿəxni là-mtələn Jazíra Bóta.<sup>1</sup> léðəx ʿəkəla.<sup>1</sup> žílela tla-ʿəmma swaríye.<sup>1</sup> [VS] kut-yòma<sup>1</sup> deříwa ʿəmma.<sup>1</sup> [VS] kut-yòma deříwa ʿəmma.<sup>1</sup> [VS] tla-ʿəmma swaríye dírri<sup>1</sup> [SV] mára ʿəxni<sup>1</sup> la-xəzyálm Jazíra Bóta ʿəkəla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “Go and at every day’s stage (of the journey) a hundred of you will return. You will say: We have not reached Jazira Bota. We do not know where it is.” Three hundred horsemen went off. Every day a hundred returned. Everyday a hundred returned. The three hundred horsemen returned and said ‘We have not found where Jazira Bota is.’’ (A26:14–15)

On some occasions a subject-initial clause is used to introduce a new referent into a narrative. In such cases the referent generally does not play a prominent role in the discourse as a whole, although it may have topical continuity over a series of several clauses. Here the boundary marking function of the subject—verb construction overrides the presentative function of the verb—new subject construction, since the latter is used only to introduce referents of textual importance. This applies to (6)–(8), in all of which the referents of the subject constituents play only an incidental role in the discourse:

- (6) *ʿəθyele,<sup>1</sup> qam-tárat béθa tíwele hədəx.<sup>1</sup> bábə díye θèle.<sup>1</sup> móre ha-bròni,<sup>1</sup> Məmo<sup>1</sup> mə-lux<sup>1</sup> tíwət xəsšána.<sup>21</sup>* ‘He came and sat down in front of the door of the house. His father came. He said “Ah, my son, Məmo, why are you sitting (looking so) sad?”’ (A26:10)

- (7) *j̄anne<sup>1</sup> t-šmàyya<sup>1</sup> qímla wídlá tàgbir<sup>1</sup>* ‘The jinn of heaven made a plan.’ (A26:1)
- (8) *’arya θéle tálbe diye<sup>1</sup>* ‘A lion attacked him.’ (A11:1)

In descriptive discourse expressing habitual or generic events, the subject is in principle placed before the verb in all contexts where the speaker wishes to present the clause as disjoined in some way from what precedes. In (9), for example, the subject initial clause ‘The priest would take a long stick’ opens the section of discourse that describes the *geyasa* ceremony. The verb initial clause ‘The people would go and take communion’, on the other hand, continues the introductory background section. In (10) the two subject initial clauses express two distinct events that occur in a parallel opposition:

- (9) *’o-yómat trè t-’èða<sup>1</sup> y-amrile geyàsa<sup>1</sup> geyàsa<sup>1</sup> yómat trè<sup>1</sup> t-’èða gòra<sup>1</sup> y-ázi náše l-’ùmra<sup>1</sup> [VS] y-ódi qurbàna<sup>1</sup> qáša šaqálle [SV] xa-qésa rixa<sup>1</sup> b-’ide diye dawùqle<sup>1</sup> ’i-rášm hátxa gu-réšat náše<sup>1</sup> maxéle gu-réšat náše<sup>1</sup> ’ax burkàtha<sup>1</sup>* ‘The second day of the festival was called *geyasa* (‘the [good] thief’). The *geyasa* was the second day of the festival. The people would go and take communion. The priest would take a long stick. He would take it in his hand and make a sign like this on the heads of the people, he would tap it on the heads of the people, as blessings.’ (B6:3)
- (10) *’an-t-ila qam-tàra t-áθi gawàye<sup>1</sup> ’an-gawáye pálti qam-tàra<sup>1</sup>* ‘The ones that are outside come inside and the ones inside go outside.’ (B11:9)

Generic and proverbial statements, which by their nature stand independently of a context, in principle have the subject in initial position, e.g.

- (11) *miθéni dèri<sup>1</sup>* ‘Our dead return.’ (A22:37)
- (12) *neriya b-gážže lè-mayəθ<sup>1</sup>* ‘A male goat does not die (at the sight of a raised) hand.’ (D2:12)
- (13) *qála mən-qávra lè-y-aθe<sup>1</sup>* ‘A voice does not come from the grave.’ (D2:13)
- (14) *’ó t-là pálx<sup>1</sup> lè y-áxəl<sup>1</sup>* ‘Whoever does not work, does not eat.’ (A21:13)
- (15) *xátna lè-xaze k’álo<sup>1</sup>* ‘The groom does not see the bride.’ (B5:35)

17.7.3. *Subject Verb Agreement*

In principle, the inflection of the verb agrees in number, gender and person with the subject nominal. In a few cases, however, there is a discrepancy of agreement. The attested examples may be classified as follows.

In clauses with the verbs *hwy* and *pyš* that are used existentially with the subject placed after them, the verb sometimes remains in the 3ms even when the subject is 3fs. or 3pl., e.g.

- (1) *pišele tarte.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Two remained.’ (A22:9)
- (2) *pišele gërme.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(Only) bones remained.’ (A2:5)
- (3) *qam-hawéla xáθa yaḵànta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘An only sister was born to them.’ (A18:1)

In a few cases these verbs have 3fs. inflection when the following subject is plural, e.g.

- (4) *rába gáye wítela ’anna mändiyàne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Many times such things happened.’ (B5:163)
- (5) *’u-píštela ’an-dabbòre har-zála-w θàya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The hornets remained, flying back and forth.’ (A20:8)

As discussed in §14.2.3., the feminine singular is used in some temporal adverbial expressions to refer to the general temporal situation in a narrative. This can result in some constructions in which 3fs. verb forms appear to take a following plural noun as their grammatical subject, e.g.

- (6) *zilta láxxa tre-ḥlà-yarxe,*<sup>1</sup> *’arbà-yarxe,*<sup>1</sup> *máre xa-béna xéta mjarbànnu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Two or three months, four months passed. He said “I’ll test them again.”’ (A48:4)
- (7) *y-oráwa káma yàrxu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Several months would pass.’ (B5:18)

In such cases, however, the 3fs. inflection should be interpreted as referring to the general temporal situation: ‘(Time) went by (for) two or three months, four months’, etc.

In a few cases the verbal agreement is based on the sense rather than the form of the subject noun. In (8) and (9) the collective nouns *’askar* ‘army’ and *bər-našūθa* ‘mankind’ are construed as plural.

- (8) *’u-kállu ’askar qlíbela piše náše xa-ga-xéta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘All the army returned and became men again.’ (A8:83)
- (9) *bər-našūθa zliməlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Mankind has wronged me.’ (A14:34)

A subject constituent consisting of a combination of a 1s. and a 2s. pronoun takes 1pl. agreement on the verb, e.g.

(10) *ʔána w-áti xonǎwàθax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You and I are brothers.’ (A15:7)

(11) *ʔána ʔu-ʔáti qtélɔn l-d-áwɔwa šúla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You and I decided on this matter.’

When the conjoining of the subject referent with another referent expresses a concomitative relationship, the verb sometimes agrees only with the first referent. This is found when two conjoined pronouns are placed after the verb, e.g.

(12) *kályele gu-tárət bétə ʔáv ʔu-ʔáy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He stood at the door of the house together with her.’ (A4:55)

#### 17.7.4. *Independent Subject Pronouns*

A pronominal reference to the subject of the clause is contained within the inflection of a verb and so the additional occurrence of an independent subject pronoun is redundant with regard to the identification of the subject. The use of an independent pronoun does, nevertheless, have discourse functions. These functions are performed both by independent pronouns in verbal clauses and also by those that occur in copula clauses. The following discussion, therefore, will include examples from both verbal and copula clauses. The subject pronoun may be placed either before or after the verb/copula.

##### 17.7.4.1. *Preposed Subject Pronouns*

When an independent subject is placed before the verb or copula, its function depends on the prosody. If it does not bear the nuclear stress, the motivation for the use of the pronoun is generally to mark some kind of semantic discontinuity in the discourse. The discourse function of such clauses, therefore, is similar to that of clauses with subject nominals in initial position. The various types of semantic discontinuities include the following.

##### (i) *Shift in Subject Referent*

An independent subject pronoun is used when there is a change in subject, e.g.



- (1) *ʾárya théle tálbe diyé,<sup>1</sup> ʾáwwa qǎlle tla-ʾárya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A lion once attacked him. He killed the lion.’ (A11:1)
- (2) *téla rǎqle,<sup>1</sup> ʾáy hédi-hedi qǎmla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The fox ran. She (the bear) slowly got up.’ (A20:5)
- (3) *zǐlela<sup>1</sup> ʾay-qǐmtéla wǐdtéla kǔbbe-w<sup>1</sup> ʾu-qlǐθélla gu-mǎšxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They went off and she made meat-balls and fried them in oil.’ (A21:30)
- (4) *ʾu-muttéθéla tǎlǎθi lǎxme<sup>1</sup> gu-čǎnta.<sup>1</sup> mára bábi nábélla gu-jǎma<sup>1</sup> hálle.<sup>1</sup> ʾáwwa zǐléle b-ʾúrxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She put thirty loaves of bread in a basket. She said “Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him.” He went off on the road.’ (A17:11–12)
- (5) *maymúne kǔlla dmǔxela.<sup>1</sup> ʾu-xa-béna ʾáni qǐmela,<sup>1</sup> gnǐwélla gǎna,<sup>1</sup> wǐre gu-d-a-wádi-t šǎkwǎne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘All the monkeys slept. Then they (the men) got up and stole away and went into the valley of the ants.’ (A14:56)
- (6) *bǎyat ʾǎxlǎt,<sup>1</sup> xǔl.<sup>1</sup> kǐnat.<sup>1</sup> míya šti.<sup>1</sup> ʾána la-qéθǎn b-čǔ mǎndi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you want to eat, eat! You are hungry. Drink some water. I shall not touch anything.’ (A14:59)
- (7) *ʾu-Mǎmo mítle qédamta-w<sup>1</sup> ʾána méθǎn ʾašǎrta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Mǎmo died in the morning and I shall die in the evening.’ (A26:83)

An independent pronoun is often used at the beginning of a turn in conversation, e.g.

- (8) *mǎre ʾána t-áθǎn mǎnnǎx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “I shall come with you.”’ (A24:39)
- (9) *mǎre ʾána báyyǎn Sǎttiye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “I love Sǎttiye.”’ (A25:20)
- (10) *mǎre ʾáti yǎđǎt ʾékéle?<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “Do you know where he is?”’ (A25:74)
- (11) *mǎre ʾáxtu ʾasqútu ʾǎdyo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “You go up today.”’ (A25:85)
- (12) *mǎre ʾay-mòdǐla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “What is that?”’ (A21:8)
- (13) *mǎre ʾáxni t-ǎzǎx. lá xazǎxle brònnǎn.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “We should go. We shall not see our son.”’ (A25:11)

(ii) *Non-Sequential Actions*

On some occasions where an independent subject pronoun is used, there is no change in the subject referent. In such cases the use of the pronoun reflects a discontinuity on another level of the discourse. One such discontinuity is the lack of temporal sequence between the action of the

clause and that of the adjacent discourse. The action of the clause may overlap temporally with it, e.g.

- (1) *ziltɛla bār t-ile-béθa p̄riqa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaza xázya júlla,*<sup>1</sup> *júlla liθ.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya šaq̄l̀àwale rixət júlle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After the house was finished, she went to find her clothes, but her clothes were not there. She could smell the scent of the clothes.’ (A14:99–100)
- (2) *ʔána bíθənnux θíθən b̀àθrux.*<sup>1</sup> *w-ana-léðən t-awótwa ʔáti x̀ayən pal̄t̀ətwə m̀ənni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I loved you and followed you, but I did not know that you would turn out to be treacherous to me.’ (A14:101)

Two clauses with different initial pronouns that are juxtaposed often express an opposition between two temporally overlapping events, e.g.

- (3) *ʔáti ʔ̀axlat.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔ̀axni t-àzəxi.*<sup>1</sup> *lá p̄əšəx t̄la-x̀əðàya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You eat. We shall go. We shall not stay for lunch.’ (A21:30)
- (4) *q̄imɛle Q̄ára T̄əždin.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-š̀əlyɛle m̀d̄ita.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔay-q̄imɛla,*<sup>1</sup> *wiðta q̀àwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Qara Teždin set off. He went down to the town. She got up and made coffee.’ (A26:31)

In (5) and (6) the independent pronoun is used in a clause that disrupts the temporal sequence by moving back on the time line to reiterate an event that occurred earlier:

- (5) *xá mən-x̀úwwe g̀əre*<sup>1</sup> *z̄ilele šq̄ila sen̄iye*<sup>1</sup> *m̀uθyalla.*<sup>1</sup> *s̄iqa s̄iqa*<sup>1</sup> *m̀utt̄alla kəs-d-ó K̄ərim-addin.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔ̀əwwa z̄ila híwəlla t̄iwa t̄àma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘One of the large snakes went and took the tray and brought it. He came up and put it next to Karimaddin. He went and delivered it and sat down again.’ (A14:31)
- (6) *ʔ̀əwwa m̀əre b-àlaha*<sup>1</sup> *har-x̀á-m̄əndi ʔ̀iθ b-áyya dúk̄θa t-ile w̄ira.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔ̀əw xz̄èle ʔ̀o-d̄id̄wa ʔ̀əka w̄irre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said (to himself) “By God, there must be something in this place where it entered.” He saw where the fly had entered.’ (A11:9)

### (iii) *Other Discourse Shifts*

The discontinuity can sometimes be identified with the onset of a new section of discourse. This is seen in the following extracts from narrative, in which the construction signals the onset of an event that is distinct from what is recounted in the preceding clauses. In (1) the construction

marks the spatio-temporal shift in the event line in which the protagonist enters a different world. In (2) the clause marks a spatio-temporal boundary between the event of the woman's disposing of the king and the event of her returning to her room. In (3) the construction distinguishes between the event of the protagonist's laying the trap and the event of his setting himself in a hiding place.

- (1) *'u-xzéle 'ína tára' b-qèsa' xa-kilòn' sèma-w' qðíla séma b-rèšé'. léle dàwa.<sup>1</sup> pðixalle.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa plítéle gu-ða-dúnye xèta,<sup>1</sup> šmša milànta,<sup>1</sup> 'ára milànta.<sup>1</sup>*  
 'He saw that the door was of wood and had a lock of silver with a silver key on it. It was not gold. He opened it. He came out into another world, with a blue sun and a blue land.' (A14:26)
- (2) *málka rwèle.<sup>1</sup> rwèle<sup>1</sup> qəm-doqále p-àqle,<sup>1</sup> xrrr garšále nablále gu-čàčma,<sup>1</sup> w-ačmále tára bàre.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-θéla dmíxla gu-ótəx dīya.<sup>1</sup> xlíqla tára,<sup>1</sup> dmíxla.<sup>1</sup>*  
 'The king became drunk. He became drunk and she grasped him by his legs, dragged him along and took him to the bathroom, then closed the door behind him. She came back and went to sleep in her room. She closed the door and went to sleep.' (A17:26)
- (3) *'áwwa-ži zàlèlè,<sup>1</sup> nabòlèlla<sup>1</sup> xámra mánna dīya,<sup>1</sup> l-d-à-dukθa.<sup>1</sup> xzəyalla 'éna.<sup>1</sup> mdabòqalla<sup>1</sup> mattóye qira,<sup>1</sup> taṭiya-w qira.<sup>1</sup> míya ktápèla.<sup>1</sup> dráyèle biš-hódəx mánna dīya xáčča xámra.<sup>1</sup> 'áw mattóyalla gáne dīye.<sup>1</sup> hóle xpíralla xa-dükθa<sup>1</sup> mṭašòyalla.<sup>1</sup> mṭùšyalla.<sup>1</sup>*  
 'He went and took them, together with wine to that place. He saw the spring. He pressed it down, put down tar, the woolen mat and tar. The water stopped flowing. He put some wine further up from them. He positioned himself. He dug a place to hide. He hid.' (A12:49)

In some cases the main motivation to use an independent pronoun is to express the independence of the clause for the sake of giving it prominence. This appears to apply to the following:

- (4) *làn-gwírta.<sup>1</sup> 'ána spárən 'əllux.<sup>1</sup> 'ána lè-gorən.<sup>1</sup>*  
 'I have not married. I am waiting for you. I shall not marry.' (A25:83)
- (5) *málka t-áwət basíma<sup>1</sup> 'áti dīya píšlux málka dīyən.<sup>1</sup>*  
 'King, may you be well, you have now become our king.' (A14:45)

Occasionally a 2nd person independent pronoun is used with an imperative form. The motivation for this is likewise to mark off the construction clearly from what precedes in order to enhance its prominence. In (6) the speaker also uses the particle of immediacy *də-* to increase the force of the imperative:

- (6) *də-ʔati xùs!*<sup>1</sup> 'You go!' (A39:1)

When the independent pronoun bears the nuclear stress, the function of the construction is generally different. The motivation for the use of the pronoun in such cases is normally to express an information focus on the pronominal referent, the remainder of the clause being presuppositional. The construction may be used to express contrastive assertion, e.g.

- (7) *ʔati là pálxət.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati tù.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔàna pálxəm.*<sup>1</sup> 'Don't you work. You sit down. I shall work.' (A21:23)  
 (8) *ʔati þarmátte réšì.*<sup>1</sup> 'You will cut off my head.' (A14:35)

In some cases there is no clear contrastive opposition, e.g.

- (9) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàša*<sup>1</sup> *t-íle pálxaxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-t-yáxla ʔílle dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔàw mtagbárra.*<sup>1</sup>  
 'Let's look for a man who is a hard worker and give her to him. He will look after her'. (A21:3)

In clauses containing a copula, the copula is placed on the focused pronoun, e.g.

- (10) *ʔáwwa lèle kálba,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔàtit kálba.*<sup>1</sup> 'He is not a dog. You are a dog' (A11:20)  
 (11) *ʔànən xázɣalle,*<sup>1</sup> *dīyile.*<sup>1</sup> 'I (and nobody else) have found it. It is mine.' (A14:15)

In (12) a nuclear stress occurs also on the predicate of the clause, which can be regarded as being the result of the bonding together of two intonation groups by sandhi:<sup>1</sup>

- (12) *ʔàtit θíθa kəsli.*<sup>1</sup> *lán ʔàna-ʔəθya kəsłəx.*<sup>1</sup> 'You came to me. I did not come to you.' (A4:4)

The information focus may be exclusive or inclusive. The intonation group in such cases may contain two nuclei, which can be interpreted as intonation group sandhi, e.g.

<sup>1</sup> For the notion of intonation group sandhi see Cruttenden (1986: 43).

- (13) *har-ʔàtít plíxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Only you have worked.’ (A21:15)  
 (14) *kúlla hóla qtile.*<sup>1</sup> *bas-ànan sříta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They have all been killed. Only I have escaped.’ (B19:8)  
 (15) *har-ʔàxni bġ-áxləx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Only we shall eat.’ (A21:15)  
 (16) *ʔap-ʔána mġarbənna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Also I will try it.’ (A1:4)  
 (17) *ʔap-ʔána hówəw zála tǎya báθər haqqúθa ʔu-na-haqqúθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I also am going to search for what is lawful and what is unlawful.’ (A15:6)

#### 17.7.4.2. Postposed Subject Pronouns

Independent subject pronouns are on some occasions postposed after the verb or copula predicate. This construction expresses greater continuity and cohesion with the preceding discourse than the construction where the pronoun stands before the verb.

In many cases the motivation for this additional coding appears to be to give prominence to the clause as a whole, due to its importance or unexpectedness. Sometimes the prominent clause is the final one of a series, e.g.

- (1) *ʔána spayùθən wáða,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔádyo mtéli ʔána ləxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I was doing good and today I have come here.’ (A14:34)  
 (2) *ʔəy<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xolamwəθa<sup>1</sup> kúlla rǧáða ġðáde zmàra,*<sup>1</sup> *màra xa-ʔábíd kòma<sup>1</sup> dmáxela mánne díye ʔəy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She and her servants all danced and sang together. She slept with a black slave.’ (A13:8)  
 (3) *ʔiθ xa-yála,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána mquwáltən mənne<sup>1</sup> ġářəg ġawrànne,*<sup>1</sup> *ġářəg déřən ʔána l-tàma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is a young man. I gave him a promise and I must marry him, I must return there.’ (A14:86)  
 (4) *hey-nàša<sup>1</sup> la-ʔàzət<sup>1</sup> ʔáθe mtaláxlux ʔəw.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Don’t go, man. He will come and destroy you.’ (A14:65)  
 (5) *m-əka qəm-yáðətli ʔati t-íwən Gozáli?*<sup>2</sup> ‘How did you know that I was Gozali?’ (A8:41)  
 (6) *xóni dāwəqlux<sup>1</sup> darélux gu-zəndàna,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-hàbsa.*<sup>1</sup> *máre lá taxmánnən ʔána bəd-zəndàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘“My brother will seize you and put you in prison, in jail.” He said “I don’t care about prison.”’ (A26:43–44)

A postposed second person subject pronoun is used with imperatives to give added force to the command, e.g.

- (7) *qu-plút ʔati<sup>1</sup> xzi-mò-d-ila qářřət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go out and see what is happening.’ (A26:54)  
 (8) *túgən ʔati ġàwe<sup>1</sup>* ‘Sit in it!’ (A20:3)  
 (9) *háyyo šlí Kāřm ʔati gu-d-áwwa balíʕa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Come Karim, go down into this conduit.’ (A14:16)

In some cases the pronoun is used to give prominence to the subject referent for contrastive purposes. This is not a narrow new information focus on the subject, since the predicate is not presuppositional. Rather it should be regarded as a form of topical prominence. The construction is used to give the subject added distinctness where the activity of the subject is set up in a contrastive opposition to that of another referent. In (10), for example, there are two characters on the scene, a man and a woman. The man goes to sleep whereas the woman remains awake. The construction *dmixele 'aw*<sup>1</sup> with the postposed pronoun expresses cohesive temporal sequence to what precedes, but underscores the fact that the activity was undertaken by him and not her. In (11) the clause with the postposed pronoun is, likewise, cohesive with what precedes, but the activity of the subject (a lioness) is set up in opposition to the activity of her young, which is described in the following clause:

- (10) *kut-dānat 'áθe xūwwe<sup>1</sup> mārəšātlī.<sup>1</sup> mára spāy.<sup>1</sup> mára xa-bəna,<sup>1</sup> dmixele 'aw.<sup>1</sup> dmixele,<sup>1</sup> wītela b-lēle<sup>1</sup> xūwwe θēle.<sup>1</sup> 'áy bxēla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(He said) “When the snake comes, wake me.” She said “Fine” and he went to sleep. He went to sleep and during night the snake came. She wept.’ (A24:39–40)
- (11) *šlīθela 'arīθa,<sup>1</sup> šrāxela, šrāxa.<sup>1</sup> šlīθa šmīyalla.<sup>1</sup> klīθela-ʔay.<sup>1</sup> bnóna díya ššlye šštye mīyela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The lioness came down, yelling. She came down and he heard her. She stood and her young went down and drank the water.’ (A33:10)

It could be argued that the opposition between the two activities in cases such as (10) and (11) is made distinct by increasing the prominence of the proposition expressed by the clause as a whole and so the function of the postposed pronoun is basically the same as in examples (1)–(9). It is worth noting that in (11) the copula of the compound verbal construction is postposed to the end of the clause, which is a device used to give prominence to the predicate as a whole (see §15.4.1.4.2.).

When the independent 1pl. subject pronoun is postposed, the intention is often to express a contrastive prominence that gives the pronoun an exclusive sense. This is typically used in clauses in which the pronoun refers to the community of the speaker, which is distinct from the community of the hearer. This may be compared to the use of the ‘heavy coding’ of the long 1pl. pronominal suffix *-eni* to express the exclusive 1pl. In (12) and (13) the clauses with postposed 1pl. pronouns are cohesive with what precedes:

- (12) *ʔelíθa mən-ʔərbə xwára, ʔpàra, ʔərbə, ʔla-ʔəzzə, ʔlá ʔan-kòme ʔy-amrəxla ʔəxni.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Tail fat is from white small cattle (sheep), a lamb, sheep, not goats, not black (small cattle), as we call them.’ (B10:5)
- (13) *ʔy-oðíwa ʔpáške hátxa zòre, ʔo-t bəyéwa qǎràne. ʔpáške ʔy-oðəxwa ʔəxni, ʔta-xàla.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘They would make pieces of meat small like this or, if people wanted, thick. We would make meat pieces for eating.’ (B10:7)

In the constructions considered so far, the nuclear stress is often not placed on the pronoun, even when the pronoun occurs at the end of an intonation group. If, however, the postposed pronoun is a narrow focus of new information, it always bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (14) *mára ʔla-xaθwàθa, ʔxáθi ʔàna ʔáltən. ʔplítteła ʔəy.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘She said to her sisters “My sister, I shall go out.” She (not any of the others) went out.’ (A12:67)
- (15) *ʔədyo ʔpésə ʔəy maxóle ʔla-náše.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Today she (not other people) has begun to feed people.’ (A21:32)

In many examples in the text corpus the narrow focus is inclusive, expressed by the particle *ʔap*, e.g.

- (16) *t-yállì xa-šúla ʔálxən ʔəp-ana.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘He will give me a job so that also I can work.’ (A23:3)
- (17) *xuš-ʔésən képa ʔap-ʔàna.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Let me also turn into stone.’ (A8:55)
- (18) *bróni qaʔlólì ʔap-àti.*<sup>2</sup>  
 ‘My son, would also you kill me?’ (A28:34)
- (19) *xonəwáθi mwádo mwádo ʔt-la-ʔazítu b-míya ʔap-àxtu.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Brothers, move out of the way! Move out of the way, so that you also do not go with the water.’ (A39:12)

Pronouns are postposed in constructions such as the following where they are conjoined with other items:

- (20) *ʔ-átwəx šátəx ʔàna w-àti.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘so that we can sit and drink, you and me.’ (A17:25)
- (21) *ʔlíxet ʔàti, ʔu-xmára-w tàwra.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘You, the ass and the ox have worked.’ (A21:13)
- (22) *ʔu-qíme ʔaw ʔu-brōn-díye ʔu-tre-wəzírə ʔlíte šèda.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘He, his son and two ministers went out hunting.’ (A14:36)

17.7.5. *Clauses with a Direct Object Constituent*17.7.5.1. *Verb—Direct Object*

The default position for the placement of a direct object nominal is after the verb, e.g.

- (1) *šáqli lěša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They take the dough.’ (B6:46)
- (2) *méθan ’ixála.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall bring food.’ (A26:30)
- (3) *šaryáwa bānūda dīya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She would untie her bands.’ (A18:1)
- (4) *bašláwa rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would cook rice.’ (B7:3)
- (5) *qəm-pārēla ’ēne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He burst his eye.’ (A16:2)
- (6) *mxūláltəlla ’ay-dükθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She cleaned that place.’ (A17:27)

In most cases the nuclear stress is put on the object, as in the examples above. When the object is definite in status, the speaker occasionally puts the nucleus on the verb. The purpose of this is usually to give prominence to the event expressed by the clause for some reason. In (7), for example, the event is a remarkable act of strength performed by one of the characters in the narrative. The clause in (8) has importance in the discourse structure, in that it marks the onset of the climactic section of the narrative in which the Leliθa monster is destroyed:

- (7) *načəlle ’o-šryóxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He pulls the tether apart.’ (A28:20)
- (8) *qəm-’ačməle tára.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She closed the door.’ (A19:4)

17.7.5.2. *Object—Verb*

The object is sometimes placed before the verb. A distinction should be made between constructions where the fronted object is an information focus marked by the nuclear stress and those in which it is not an information focus and does not bear the nuclear stress.

The latter type of construction without the nuclear stress on the fronted object is used to perform two main functions, which may be designated as ‘event-orientated’ and ‘topic-orientated’ respectively. When it has an event-orientated function, it expresses an event or situation that has a close cohesion with what precedes. The object in such cases has some referential link with the preceding discourse, either by explicit previous mention or by some kind of associative anaphora. In narrative the construction presents an event as occurring in close spatio-temporal sequence to the preceding event, e.g.



- (1) *ʔu-šwíqle zúze díye táma zülle.*<sup>1</sup> *θéle xa-xèna,*<sup>1</sup> ***ʔan-zúze šqilíle*** *ʔu-zülle.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘He left his money there and went off. Another man came, took the money and went off.’ (A15:15)
- (2) *yála θéle mən-zrùta,*<sup>1</sup> ***táwre mūrile gu-gòma.***<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-síqle ta-t-áxal mändi.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘The young man came back from his cultivating, put the oxen in the basement stable and went up to eat something.’ (A21:8)
- (3) *ja-jálde qiméle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-zíla šqílalle ʔo-qésa rixa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-wírele gu-d-o-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> *rəš-d-ò-dapa*<sup>1</sup> ***ʔu-tára čəmtalle báre.***<sup>1</sup> ‘He quickly got up, took the long stick and entered the room, by the board. She closed the door behind him.’ (A22:27)
- (4) *máre mo-t-òðax?*<sup>2</sup> *per máxle ʔo-zòra*<sup>1</sup> *t-axləxle,*<sup>1</sup> *hal-ʔé-gət t-áza dábba m-tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *qimela*<sup>1</sup> ***ʔo-zóra priməllela***<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xiləllela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “What shall we do? Let’s slaughter the young one and eat him, (and wait) until the bear goes away from there.” They slaughtered the young one and ate it.’ (A20:7–8)

The construction is also used to express close spatio-temporal cohesion of habitual events in descriptive discourse, e.g.

- (5) *marəxθila,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔi-šoqila təməha,*<sup>1</sup> *míya ʔi-tépi b-rəša.*<sup>1</sup> ***míyət tépi b-rəša bezila.***<sup>1</sup> ‘They boil it and put it aside. The water comes to the top. They pour off the water that comes to the top.’ (B6:42)

The cohesion may be one of total overlap, in that the clause is a reiteration of what precedes. Although in such cases the clause is strictly not sequential to the preceding narrative, it often acts as a link between what precedes and a subsequent series of sequential clauses, e.g.

- (6) *ʔu-dwiqtəlle ʔixála gu-čante díye,*<sup>1</sup> *jarrəta y-amrəxla.*<sup>1</sup> ***jarrəta dwiqtəlla***<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-másta gu-bürra-w*<sup>1</sup> *dríθəlle gu-čante díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She packed food in his bag—we call it a *jarrəta* (‘lunchbag’). She packed the lunchbag, (put) yoghurt in a pot and placed it in his bag.’ (A21:11)

The construction is sometimes used in clauses that are logically cohesive with what precedes in that they express the cause or the evidence for it, e.g.

- (7) *ʔáp-xa liθ láxxa gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> ***ʔayále díye hóle mšùdrəlla xa-dúkθa xéta.***<sup>1</sup> ‘There is nobody here in the house. He has sent his children to another place.’ (A22:28)

- (8) *máre qatlǝnnux.<sup>1</sup> máre qǝtǝl!<sup>1</sup> lítli.<sup>1</sup> zúze lán-xəzya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “I’ll kill you.” He said “Kill (me). I have not got it. I have not found the money.” (A15:4)’

The preposed object in such event-orientated constructions may be a non-referential negative expression that has no anaphoric connection with what precedes, e.g.

- (9) *kùt-yum<sup>1</sup> šaléwa gəwəra<sup>1</sup> l-šūqa<sup>1</sup> msawòqe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-čú-məndi lé məθəwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping, but would bring nothing back.’ (A22:1)
- (10) *kúl-xa náša šəyəm.<sup>1</sup> šəyəm,<sup>1</sup> híč-məndi lá-axəl tǝlā yománe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Everybody should fast. (Everybody) should fast and should not eat anything for three days.’ (B6:19)

When the construction is topic-orientated, the initial object is set up as a topic that is the main centre of concern in the clause. This strategy is used at the beginning of a section of discourse, in which the referent of the preposed object often retains its central topicality in what follows. The fronted referent is often a newly introduced referent, e.g.

- (11) *xályə marəxθile<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šoqile pəša dáraj hərəra díye taqriban ʔərbi.<sup>1</sup> déri marəθa bíya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They boil milk and let its heat become about forty degrees. They put rennet in it.’ (B6:37)
- (12) *sáre xašləxwala<sup>1</sup> b-xašolta.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mpartənəxwala<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qašrəxwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would crush barley in a mortar. We winnowed it and removed the peel.’ (B10:12)
- (13) *xá-məndi t-amrənnexu.<sup>1</sup> xǝtǝθi b-quðaləxu<sup>1</sup> bnóni qam-ʔəni lə qatǝlǝtula.<sup>1</sup> báθər qatǝlǝtuli,<sup>1</sup> xéna ʔap-bnóni qatǝlǝtula,<sup>1</sup> b-gòti qatǝlǝtula.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I say to you one thing. I implore you, do not kill my children before my eyes. After you kill me, then kill also my children, kill them by my side.’ (B9:13)
- (14) *ʔidux lá-darət gu-núra<sup>1</sup> t-lə-ʔaqða.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Do not put your hand in the fire, lest it burn’. (D2:8)

In some cases the newly introduced referent is not explicitly referred to in the following clauses, but nevertheless it has some kind of relevance in what follows. In (14), for example, the lamp is needed to see the girl asleep. In (15) the living room is required to accommodate the guests on their return. The object ʔurxa ‘way’ in (16) is closely linked semantically

with the following clause, which should be analysed as its complement ('the way she learnt'):

- (15) *xa-lámpa méθat b-ʔidux,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-háyyo láxxa kàslì.<sup>1</sup> xzìgən<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya bráta šapírta t-íla dmíxta kàslì.<sup>1</sup>* 'Bring a lamp in your hand and come here to me. Look at this beautiful girl who has fallen asleep with me.' (A26:5–6)
- (16) *mur-tla-žine<sup>1</sup> kúčke mtagəbrála,<sup>1</sup> ʔaxni dիրրən<sup>1</sup> la-mşələn síqlən şəda.<sup>1</sup>* 'Tell Zine to prepare the living room. We have returned, we could not go out hunting.' (A26:46)
- (17) *dáx ʔúrxa muxzélux ʔílla lípla ʔàwəwa šúla?<sup>1</sup>* 'How did you show her the way to learn this work?' (A21:34)

The initial object that is set up as the topic of the clause may be a generic relative phrase, e.g.

- (18) *kú-məndi báýət šqùl.<sup>1</sup>* 'Take whatever you want.' (A22:17)
- (19) *kú-məndi-t ʔamrənnux gárəg ʔòðət.<sup>1</sup>* 'Everything I say you must do.' (A14:66)

The construction is used in direct speech where the referent has topicality due to its presence in the speech situation, e.g.

- (20) *ʔáyya bráta<sup>1</sup> hox-múθyalla ílələx<sup>1</sup> tla-brònux.<sup>1</sup>* 'We have brought this girl for you, for your son.' (A21:6)
- (21) *t-yánnux ʔşrà dináre.<sup>1</sup> bəs<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa náša nablátle tamrətle.<sup>1</sup>* 'I shall give you ten dinars. Only, take away this man and bury him.' (A22:37)

When two or more such topic-orientated constructions are juxtaposed, they are presented as two parallel situations without being connected sequentially, e.g.

- (22) *ʔap-şúlət banjáne har-hàdəx ʔawðíwale.<sup>1</sup> ʔap-şúlət xiyáre hàdəx ʔawðíwale.<sup>1</sup>* 'They carried out the cultivation of aubergines in the same way. They carried out the cultivation of cucumbers in the same way.' (B7:13)
- (23) *íla-bnone xilìli.<sup>1</sup> báxta xilàli.<sup>1</sup>* 'I have eaten three sons. I have eaten the wife.' (A20:12)
- (24) *ʔíθwəli xa-kàrma.<sup>1</sup> zriyənəwale<sup>1</sup> mútta-wəwə dalyáθa ʔu-xabúşe ʔu-kúl xa-məndi.<sup>1</sup> mútta-wəwə ʔixàla.<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-náša qəm-şaqállə ʔo-kàrmi.<sup>1</sup> **lá-karmi***

*lele-mädôre*<sup>1</sup> *'u-la-ḥúqqət kârmi lele-yáwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'I had an orchard. I had cultivated it. It was laid out with vines, apple-trees, everything. It was laid out with food. A man came and took away my orchard. He does not return my orchard nor does he pay the price.'  
(A17:30)

The topic-orientated construction with a fronted object may be juxtaposed with a clause with an initial subject, which has the same effect of expressing parallel situations rather than sequentiality, e.g.

- (25) *másxa páyās xòðe,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-dáwwe deréla gu-xa-quşxáne gòrta.*<sup>1</sup> 'The butter remains by itself and they put the yoghurt water in a large pot.'  
(B6:40)

The constructions discussed above should be distinguished from constructions with a fronted object that is an information focus marked by the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (26) A: *xzéli bàbux*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *màmi xzélux.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "I saw your father." B: "No, you saw my uncle."  
(27) A: *xómux hóle xíla xabüşá*<sup>1</sup> B: *là,*<sup>1</sup> *xàwxéle xíla xómi.*<sup>1</sup> *léle xabüşá xíla.*<sup>1</sup> 'A: "Your brother has eaten an apple." B: "No, my brother has eaten a peach. He has not eaten an apple."  
'

In such cases the remainder of the clause belongs to the presuppositional background, i.e. it is assumed to be known to the hearer. What is unknown is the identity of the argument in question. In (25) the presuppositional background of the clause with the fronted object is 'You saw *x*' and in (26) it is 'My brother has eaten *x*'. What the speaker is asserting, i.e. the new information that he is conveying, is the identity of *x* in each case. Note that in clauses with compound verbal forms, the copula is attached to the fronted object. Examples from the text corpus (see §15.4.1.4.1 i):

- (28) *léwən θíθa b-xabrə diyé.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya xáθe diyela.*<sup>1</sup> *b-xábrət xáθə diyən θíθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'I did not come at his word. She is his sister. I came at the word of his sister.' (A8:85)  
(29) *'ànən múθyalle.*<sup>1</sup> 'I (and not my brother) have brought it back.'  
(A24:31)

The fronted object in focus may be introduced by an inclusive or restrictive particle ('also, only'), e.g.

- (30) *ʔap-məlxə piðále.*<sup>1</sup> 'He passed by also *the salt.*' (A24:19)  
 (31) *məri qa-yəmmi<sup>1</sup> bas-miya máttət qam-réša díya.*<sup>1</sup> 'I said to my mother  
 "Place only *water* by her head.'" (A21:37)

The inclusive particle *ʔap* is also used with initial object constructions that have the nuclear stress on the verb and so do not express narrow focus on the object but rather a broader focus on the proposition as a whole, e.g.

- (32) *hot-štimalle béθət xálux.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-béθi báyyət šatmətle?*<sup>2</sup> 'You have ruined the house of your uncle. Do you want to ruin also my house?' (A23:39)  
 (33) *ʔup Mar-Sáwa qəm-taləxle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He also destroyed (the church of) Saint Sawa.' (B6:33)  
 (34) *béna ʔaw<sup>1</sup> ma-t-íwa hal-hàdax,*<sup>1</sup> *bäyéwa qa-ʔalàha<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔalàha bäyèwale,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-miya muklèle gu-d-ε-sálla.*<sup>1</sup> 'He was so (holy), he loved God and God loved him, that he could even hold water in the basket.' (A16:10)

#### 17.7.6. *Double Objects*

In constructions that take two direct object nominal constituents these are normally both placed after the verb, e.g.

- (1) *ʔaxni šaqləxxe ʔu-málxəxxa čántux zùze.*<sup>1</sup> 'We shall take it and fill your bag with money.' (A39:14)  
 (2) *madoqila xətna-w k'álo gotə-ğəðəde<sup>1</sup>* 'They make the groom and bride hold each other's side.' (B5:50)

The first object constituent may be fronted before the verb in contexts where single object constituents are fronted. In (3), for example, the fronting of the object 'his bag' occurs in a clause that is intended to be cohesive with what precedes in a close temporal sequence. In (4) the object is fronted in a topic-orientated construction that is presented as parallel with what precedes:

- (3) *widla ʔixála<sup>1</sup> fía-yála.*<sup>1</sup> *xille.*<sup>1</sup> ***čánte díye dwiqla zwàde.***<sup>1</sup> 'She made food for the youth. He ate. She packed his bag with provisions.' (A21:22)

- (4) *t-ódan ʾixála, 1 xáʾa mən-d-ánna kúbbe gòre. 1 xáʾa ʾtla-xmàthila 1 ʾu-xá ʾtla-gàwri. 1 ʾa-t-ila ʾtláli 1 ʾawðánna trè-qəsmə, 1 t-yánna xa-ʾtlàlux 1 ʾu-xá ʾtla-wàžir. 1* ‘I’ll make food, one of these big meat-balls. One is for my mother-in-law, one is for my husband. The one that is for me I’ll make into two parts and give one to you and one to the vizier.’ (A21:28)

#### 17.7.7. *Subject—Object—Verb*

Occasionally the object is fronted before the verb when the clause has an initial subject constituent. Most attested cases of such constructions have independent pronouns as subject, e.g.

- (1) *máre yába b-zabnátte ʾállí ʾən-háwe b-ðà-ʾaqla! 1 máre zilla θèla 1 ða-ʾaqla! 1 ʾáti ʾáqla šqùlla 1* ‘He said “Will you sell it to me if it has one leg?” He said “All this fuss (literally: they have gone, they have come), now one leg! Take the leg.”’ (A22:5)
- (2) *t-ódan ʾixála, 1 xáʾa mən-d-ánna kúbbe gòre. 1 xáʾa ʾtla-xmàthila 1 ʾu-xá ʾtla-gàwri. 1 ʾa-t-ila ʾtláli 1 ʾawðánna trè-qəsmə, 1 t-yánna xa-ʾtlàlux 1 ʾu-xá ʾtla-wàžir. 1 ... ʾána sámi t-yánne ʾtlalèxu 1 ʾána lè-y-axlən. 1* ‘I’ll make food, one of these big meat-balls. One is for my mother-in-law, one is for my husband. The one that is for me I’ll divide into two parts and give one to you and one to the vizier. ... I shall give my share to you. I shall not eat.’ (A21:28–29)
- (3) *sógən méθo xárj-u bájrat botanàye 1 ʾu-ʾána xáθi t-yánna ʾtla-Mămo. 1* ‘Go and collect the taxes of the people of Botan and I shall give my sister to Mămo.’ (A26:73)

In all cases the object is anaphorically bound to the preceding context and the clause is semantically cohesive with what precedes. As we have seen, clause initial subject pronouns are in principle used to signal some kind of disjoining from what precedes, so there appears to be some tension here. The main motivation to use the subject pronouns seems to be to give prominence to the clause as a whole.

#### 17.7.8. *Independent Object Pronouns*

Occasionally an independent pronoun or anaphoric demonstrative pronoun is used to express a pronominal direct object. It is placed either before or after the verb. This construction is found in the following contexts.

When placed before the verb, on some occasions the pronoun is topical in status and the clause coheres closely with what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *'aw-y-odəxxwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'We would do that.' (B10:49)  
 (2) *'āti xūwwe lā 'axəlləx.*<sup>1</sup> 'The snake will not eat you.' (A24:39)

The motivation to use the independent pronoun is in some cases to place the topical referent in contrastive opposition, e.g.

- (3) *māra lā-dri xələt gānux.*<sup>1</sup> *'āna θiθən mpaltānnux m-gu-səjən.*<sup>1</sup> *māre lāt-θiθa 'āna mpalótəlli* *m-gu-səjən.*<sup>1</sup> *θiθət šqāla 'āyya róxi mən-gu-gāni.*<sup>1</sup> *māra lā'a.*<sup>1</sup> *'āna θiθən mpaltānnux*<sup>1</sup> *'āxxa l-tāmma,*<sup>1</sup> *lā-dri xəla.*<sup>1</sup> 'She said "Do not struggle. I have come to bring you out of the prison." He said "You have not come to bring me out of the prison. You have come to take my spirit from me."' (A26:82)

When an independent pronoun with topical status is placed after the verb in addition to or in place of an L-suffix, the motivation appears to be to give the construction morphological weighting to mark some kind of discourse boundary. In (4) and (5) the pronouns occur at an end boundary, whereas their occurrence in (6) and (7) coincide with an onset. The event in (6) marks the return to the narrative after direct speech. In (7) the clause marks the onset of a deontic section that is the main point of the speech, after an initial background section:

- (4) *kūlla hon-xiləlla.*<sup>1</sup> ... *xillux tāma mubsəmlux.*<sup>1</sup> *'āna qəm-tarðili.*<sup>1</sup> *'əθyən m-kérbi hon-xiləlla 'āy.*<sup>1</sup> 'I have eaten all of it... You ate there and enjoyed yourself. They drove me out and, out of my anger, I have come and eaten it.' (A2:11)  
 (5) *xziθəlle xa-bronət-xə-malka,*<sup>1</sup> *lāx-ða'a 'əkə,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-biθəllela-w*<sup>1</sup> *'u-hóla mšuyđánta mən-d-ó-yoma t-ila xziθəlle 'āv.*<sup>1</sup> 'She saw the son of a king, we do not know where, and fell in love with him, and she has been mad from the day that she saw him.' (A4:12)  
 (6) *lā bāyānna.*<sup>1</sup> *šqúl sī!*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle šqīla-'āni*<sup>1</sup> *'u-müðəyəlla.*<sup>1</sup> *núbləlla qa-bráte dīye.*<sup>1</sup> '“I don't want them. Take (them), go!” He took them and returned them. He took them to his daughter.’’ (A17:13)  
 (7) *māre*<sup>1</sup> *'āna bāyən 'ānna déwe maxənna.*<sup>1</sup> *māre dāxi?*<sup>1</sup> *māre 'āna xzāyən 'an-maymíne...*<sup>1</sup> *hóla xáləlla qtaləlla.*<sup>1</sup> *pálšəx 'āni* *w-āna šaqlənna 'áθra mənnyé.*<sup>1</sup> 'He said “I want to attack these wolves.” He said “How?” He said “I see that they are eating and killing the monkeys. Let us fight them and I shall take the land from them.’’ (A14:52)

The pronoun may have a narrow information focus, in which case it takes the nuclear stress and is often fronted before the verb,

- (8) *'ána 'àti báŷən*<sup>1</sup> 'I love *you*' (A25:31)

The narrow focus may be inclusive, e.g.

- (9) *qa-t-nablánne 'ap-'àw.*<sup>1</sup> 'so that I take also *him.*' (A8:80)

An independent pronoun is used when its referent is conjoined with other items in the direct object phrase, e.g.

- (10) *'əθyela déwe gu-ða-lawùrta<sup>1</sup> xílalle 'àw-u xmáre díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'Wolves came into a valley and ate him and his donkey.' (A14:17)  
 (11) *'ána mšúdrən Gúzali 'u-'àti.*<sup>1</sup> 'I sent you and Gozali.' (A8:91)

#### 17.7.9. *Verb—Prepositional Phrase*

A prepositional phrase expressing an indirect object or some other complement of the verb is normally placed after the verb, e.g.

- (1) *'ámər 'šlle díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'He says to him.' (A21:2)  
 (2) *máŷe l-šádrət bábe díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'He arrives at the tent of his father.' (A28:33)  
 (3) *qéθa b-è-'aqla.*<sup>1</sup> 'It strikes the leg.' (B7:24)  
 (4) *šléle rəš-xa-'əna.*<sup>1</sup> 'He alighted at a spring.' (A15:1)  
 (5) *wúr gu-d-áwwa bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Enter this room.' (A22:26)

The nuclear stress is generally placed on the prepositional phrase, unless this is pronominal, in which case the nucleus exhibits a greater tendency to be placed on the verb, e.g.

- (6) *pàlŷən m-gáwe.*<sup>1</sup> 'Let me come out of it.' (A20:3)  
 (7) *'u-dəryalle gáwa díya.*<sup>1</sup> 'He put him in it.' (A22:38)

#### 17.7.10. *Verb—Object—Prepositional Phrase*

When the clause also contains a direct object nominal, this is normally placed before the prepositional phrase complement, e.g.



- (1) *'u-máxa xa-mášxa gu-be-'éne diye.*<sup>1</sup> 'They put some oil on his forehead.' (B6:36)
- (2) *mattíwa bála b-áqlə susəj.*<sup>1</sup> 'They directed their attention to the leg of their horse.' (A8:30)
- (3) *y-awđíwa sàdde gáwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'They would put partitions in them.' (B7:10)
- (4) *maθyáwa ḏa-kértə qésa l-xáša diya.*<sup>1</sup> 'He would bring a bundle of wood on her back.' (A10:6)

A related construction is where an item is named by the expression 'to say to it *x*'. The constituent expressing the name in principle takes the nuclear stress and is an information focus. It may be placed either after (5–6) or before (7–8) the verb, e.g.

- (5) *mattíwala xa-dúkθa šaxinta<sup>1</sup> t-amráxxa gòma.*<sup>1</sup> 'They would place them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement).' (B5:12)
- (6) *y-amríwala qâzbe.*<sup>1</sup> 'They called them *qazbe* (dates).' (B5:12)
- (7) *'m-bâyət<sup>1</sup> zaqrənnəx<sup>1</sup> xa-qurtála,<sup>1</sup> sàla y-amríxle.*<sup>1</sup> 'I'll weave you a large basket, we call it a *sala* (basket).' (A20:2)
- (8) *'u-dwíqtalle 'ixála gu-čánte diye,<sup>1</sup> jarrəta y-amráxla.*<sup>1</sup> 'She packed food in his bag—we call it a *jarreta* (lunchbox).' (A21:11)

#### 17.7.11. *Prepositional Phrase—Verb*

A prepositional phrase is fronted before the verb in similar contexts to those in which a direct object constituent is fronted. A distinction should be made between constructions where the fronted phrase bears the nuclear stress and those in which it does not. The latter type of construction without the nuclear stress on the initial phrase may be 'event-orientated' or 'topic-orientated'. Event-orientated constructions are closely cohesive with what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *'i-mattíle š-kəpe,<sup>1</sup> xóθe diye y-ódi nùra.*<sup>1</sup> 'They put it on stones and make a fire under it.' (B6:45)
- (2) *'áw mattíle š-ğðàðe,<sup>1</sup> y-amríle huðála.<sup>1</sup> mattíle š-ğðàðe<sup>1</sup> y-amríle huðála.<sup>1</sup> qa-'íma?<sup>1</sup> qa-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> qa-haywáne diyè.<sup>1</sup> š-d-ó huðála<sup>1</sup> 'i-mátti púwus,<sup>1</sup> sab-púwus<sup>1</sup> la-sála míya bi-diye.<sup>1</sup> 'They stack it up. This is called a *huðala* (fodder stack). They stack it up, it is called a fodder stack. For when (is this prepared)? For the winter, for their animals. On top of this fodder stack they put hay, since water does not seep through hay.' (B5:113)*

In (3) the clause has both a fronted direct object and a fronted prepositional phrase:

- (3) *'ámær là-bǎyanna lá zùzax<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-čù-māndi.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ya-àlaha,<sup>1</sup> zìlele riqele.<sup>1</sup> 'an-zúze tla-d-àw,<sup>1</sup> tla-d-o-ḥammála<sup>1</sup> là-yiwla.<sup>1</sup>* 'He said "I don't want your money or anything" and he was off, he fled. She did not give the money to him, to that porter.' (A22:46)

Topic-orientated types of the construction are attested in contexts where two events are presented as occurring in parallel, e.g.

- (4) *muθéθela tré glāse.<sup>1</sup> tla-d-áy dráyela xàčča<sup>1</sup> tla-d-áw ràba.<sup>1</sup>* 'She brought two glasses. For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot.' (A17:25).

When the fronted prepositional phrase bears the nuclear stress, it expresses an information focus, the rest of the clause being presuppositional, or at least less prominent, e.g.

- (5) *'ána b-àrbe lánwa zwánalle<sup>1</sup> zawnónne b-tàlləθ?<sup>1</sup>* 'I would not buy it with four legs, would I buy it with three?' (A22:8)
- (6) *'aw-t-lá-šaxən b-zráqtət šəmša<sup>1</sup> b-gnèθa la-šaxən.<sup>1</sup>* 'He who does not get warm with the rising of the sun, does not get warm at its setting.' (D2:21)
- (7) *'ána qa-Səttiye b'áyən.<sup>1</sup>* 'I love Səttiye (not anybody else).' (A25:22)
- (8) *dáx liltəx xátər bəxta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-bt-àθən<sup>1</sup> gu-d-àna 'əni bt-áθən.<sup>1</sup>* 'Of course, you are welcome, my lady. I shall come. *By these eyes* (of mine) I shall come.' (A22:20)

In such cases the short prepositions *b-* and *l-* are occasionally omitted on the focused item, e.g.

- (9) *har-gubbànəx (< b-gubbanəx) wíðalle.<sup>1</sup>* 'We made it exactly according to a spirit-level.' (A17:20)
- (10) *kut-ʔrba ʔaqlət-gàne (< b-ʔaqlət-gàne) páyəs tǎlya.<sup>1</sup>* 'Every sheep is hung up by his own legs.' (D2:55)
- (11) *'áyya yaləxta<sup>1</sup> bábila (< l-bábila) zqirta<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáθi Nasimola (< l-Nasimola) mnuqášta.<sup>1</sup>* 'This handkerchief was woven by my father and embroidered by my sister Nasimo.' (A37:12)

17.7.12. *Placement of Adverbials*

The placement of adverbials in relation to other components in the clause is conditioned by a number of factors. We shall consider here both verbal and copula clauses, since the conditioning factors are the same. The majority of adverbials that occur in the text corpus are temporal or spatial expressions. The various positions can be classified as follows.

17.7.12.1. *In Clause Initial Position*

Temporal or spatial adverbials that stand at the front of a clause in principle mark a shift in the discourse and set the temporal or spatial frame for what follows. This frame often incorporates a series of clauses. Examples:

- (1) *xá-yoma šlèle,<sup>1</sup> ʿina šmíle xzéle ʿina fəlləθ-yawne tíwla táma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘One day he went down and heard (something) and saw that three doves had alighted there.’ (A14:81)
- (2) *xá-yoma šléla gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup> rixət júlla díya θèle.<sup>1</sup> mára hóla làxxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘One day she went down into the basement. The scent of her clothes came to her. She said “They are there.”’ (A14:100)
- (3) *šúryele zráyá hál-ʿašarta.<sup>1</sup> ʿašarta ʿáθe l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He began cultivating (and continued) until evening. In the evening he came home.’ (A21:12)

The temporal frame may be set by a distributive adverbial expression, e.g.

- (4) *kút yomət-šábθa míya là-hawe gu-néra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Every Saturday there is no water in the river.’ (A14:50)
- (5) *ʿu-kut-šéta xa-gáya y-oðáxxwa mən-d-o-ʿùpra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Once every year, we would collect this mud.’ (B10:68)
- (6) *kut-yárxa t-yánnux xámši dinàre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Every month I shall give you fifty dinars.’ (A24:5)

In descriptive discourse, some kind of shift is often marked by a reidentification of the temporal frame by an anaphoric adverbial such as ʿε-ga ‘at that time’ or *tama* ‘there’. In (7), for example, these adverbials are used in a clause that occurs at the beginning of a section of discourse concerning the churn. The reidentification is also used to mark a shift from the foreground discourse to a background comment (8):

- (7) *'é-ga táma gu-maθwáθa káslèni<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən gùða.<sup>1</sup>* 'At that time, there in our community in the villages, we had a churn.' (B7:20)
- (8) *maxíwa 'ilána.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga liθwa kéka.<sup>1</sup> 'y-asqíwa l-gàre,<sup>1</sup> 'é-dánə mεθíwala k'álo,<sup>1</sup> napšiwala.<sup>1</sup>* 'They would set up the tree. At that time there was no cake. They would go up onto the roof, at the time when they brought the bride and shook it.' (B10:27)

In narrative the initial adverbial may express the point at which an event takes place, e.g.

- (9) *bár tlaθa-yóme diŕŕe.<sup>1</sup>* 'After three days he returned.' (A3:6)
- (10) *šəlyela.<sup>1</sup> yomət-tlaθa mətyela<sup>1</sup> l-Amedia.<sup>1</sup>* 'They went down. On the third day they reached Amedia.' (A25:77)

On some occasions the initial adverbial is placed in a separate intonation group. The effect of this is to disjoin more forcefully the clause from what precedes. Some of the examples of such adverbials in the text corpus are numerical expressions such as those in (13)–(15), which denote members of a limited set of points or periods in time. The added disjunctive effect of placing the adverbial in a separate intonation group marks these off distinctly in contrastive opposition:

- (11) *xa-yòma<sup>1</sup> qímla zílla mərə<sup>1</sup> t-ázəx l-ʔrwe.<sup>1</sup>* 'One day they set off and said "Let's go to the sheep."' (A25:23)
- (12) *'o-lèlè<sup>1</sup> 'y-azəxwa be-k'álo.<sup>1</sup>* 'That night we would go to the house of the bride's family.' (B5:28)
- (13) *bénə təlləθ<sup>1</sup> nəpla<sup>1</sup> bəxta.<sup>1</sup>* 'The third time the wife fell.' (A20:11)
- (14) *yómət trè<sup>1</sup> 'ay-là xílla.<sup>1</sup>* 'On the second day she did not eat.' (A21:14)
- (15) *yómət xàmša,<sup>1</sup> qímla 'áy m-bádal xmáθa diya.<sup>1</sup>* 'On the fifth day, she got up instead of her mother-in-law.' (A21:22)

An initial adverbial that is not placed in a separate intonation group on some occasions takes the nuclear stress. This is used to put a narrow information focus on the adverbial. In clauses containing a copula, the copula is placed on the adverbial, e.g.

- (16) *kúlla lələla l-bálux?<sup>2</sup>* 'Has it been on your mind *all night*?' (A25:67)

When narrow focus is placed on anaphoric adverbial expressions, its function is to strengthen the anaphoric bond with what precedes. In (17) and (18) the adverbial ‘at that time’ binds the clause with what precedes rather than setting the temporal frame for what follows:

- (17) *muttëθalle púmma gu-púmmət<sup>1</sup> Färxo,<sup>1</sup> šuréla myàša<sup>1</sup> ’è-danəla kálye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She put her mouth on the mouth of Farxo and began sucking. *At that time* they stopped (crying).’ (A25:5)
- (18) *taxránne tla-xlúbat xóni Šəmmo<sup>1</sup> ’é-gə t-wéwa riqe nàše<sup>1</sup> šəlye Badərəške,<sup>1</sup> ’askar t-léwi síqta gu-’Ēn-Nùne,<sup>1</sup> ’é-ga-weewa gwíra xóni Šəmmo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I remember the wedding of my brother Šəmmo, when people had fled and come down to Badərəške. The Levy army went up to ’Ēn-Nune. *At that time* Šəmmo married.’ (B8:21)

By contrast, in (19) the initial adverbial is not marked by the nucleus and it sets the temporal frame for what follows. The copula on the adverbial here signals topical rather than focal prominence (§15.4.1.4.1. ii):

- (19) *’é-gəla hüdúde mùrme,<sup>1</sup> gu-Türki músqe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘At that time the borders were moved, they were moved up to Turkey.’ (B9:21)

When the anaphoric adverbial *hətxa* has narrow focus, it likewise links the clause to what precedes, e.g.

- (20) *’ína semálta<sup>1</sup> ’áyya t-qèse,<sup>1</sup> max-d-ánna t-ásqi ’əbu-bərqə.<sup>1</sup> ’əxni hətxəwa semáltən ’ap-’əxni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A ladder is made of wood, like the ones that the electricity workers climb up, our ladder was like *that*.’ (B10:60)
- (21) *hətxa mjuwəble ’əlli málka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The king replied to me *thus*.’ (A17:34)
- (22) *hətxa ’əđəti b-náše.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You should treat people *like this*.’ (A22:47)

In (23), on the other hand, where it does not have the nucleus, it is forward pointing:

- (23) *bróni hətxəla qadīya<sup>1</sup> málka hóle múθyalla bráte dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘My son, the situation is like this. The king has brought his daughter.’ (A21:8)

A backwarding linking function is performed also by the focused spatial adverbials *’axxa* ‘here’ and *tama* ‘there’ in (24)–(27). In (26) and (27) these occur after a subject constituent, but their function is the same:

- (24) *dámxəx š-gəšra,¹ biš-saləmət-ile.¹ ʔaxxa xuwəwəwe ma-xuwəwəwe lè-y-aθe l-d-əwəwa gəšra.¹ ʔaxxa damxəxi.¹* ‘Let’s sleep on the bridge. It is safer. Here—snakes and the like will not come onto this bridge. Let’s sleep *here*.’ (A30:49)
- (25) *ʔəka šəṭqa¹ tàma zārəti.¹* ‘Wherever she squats down, you should plough *there*.’ (A30:4)
- (26) *bábi muttúle táma bəθa.¹ zilleni,¹ təxrúθa diyi¹ ʔu-t-xóni d-o-gòra.¹ ʔəwəwa xóni tàmele bərya.¹* ‘My father set up home there. We went, as far as I remember, together with my older brother. This brother of mine was born *there*’. (B8:10)
- (27) *ʔe-dúkəθə t-ixəwa mūməðe,¹ hálbat sawəwəwəθən t-qámθa kúlla tàmeəwa mūməðe.¹* ‘That place where we were baptized, of course all our ancestors were baptized *there*.’ (B3:21)

#### 17.7.12.2. *Adverbial in Clause Final Position*

When temporal or spatial adverbials are placed at the end of the clause, they, in principle, do not mark a shift in the discourse by setting the temporal or spatial frame for what follows. Rather the clauses in which they occur are cohesively bound to what precedes. This is seen in (1) and (2), in which the adverbials are anaphoric. The clause with the adverbial ‘at that time’ in (1) develops the description of ‘mats’, which have been introduced in the preceding clause. In (2), from a narrative, the clause with the adverbial ‘on that day’ does not introduce a new episode, but rather recapitulates on an event that has already been related:

- (1) *ʔiθwa y-amrəxəwa xašira.¹ xašire məθéwəla m-məðinàθa ʔé-ga.¹* ‘There was a mat, as we called it. They brought the mats from the towns at that time.’ (B5:199)
- (2) *xá-yoma ʔiθwa xá-qaša ʔu-xà-malla.¹ ... šəryela gu-xa-ʔotəl.¹ ... šəryela gu-d-é ʔotəl ʔo-yòma-w¹ píšəla hàdəx.¹* ‘One day there was a priest and a mullah.... They put up in a hotel.... They put up in the hotel that day and remained there.’ (A2:2)

#### 17.7.13. *Clauses with an Interrogative Constituent*

Interrogative particles that function as a subject, object or adverbial in the clause are in principle placed before the verb. The nuclear stress is placed either on the fronted particle or at the end of the intonation group. If the verb is a compound form containing a copula, the copula is attached to the interrogative particle:

- (1) *módi widdle?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What did he do?’ (A20:5)
- (2) *mó t-òðax?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What shall we do?’ (A14:47)
- (3) *mó bǎyǎt?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What do you want?’ (A12:62)
- (4) *mòditu xázye?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What have you seen?’ (A12:16)
- (5) *ɬla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why did you do that to me?’ (A15:14)
- (6) *’énile q̄t̄ilalle?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Who has killed him?’ (A15:16)
- (7) *’énile pl̄ixa?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Who has worked?’ (A21:13)
- (8) *’éka péš̄an ’arxa?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Where can I be a guest?’ (A26:26)

When the clause contains a subject constituent, this is generally not placed between the interrogative particle and the verb, but rather is positioned either before the interrogative particle or after the verb. The decision to place the subject at the front or end of the clause is conditioned by the discourse factors that have been discussed above (§17.7.2.), e.g.

- (9) *Barzǎkko módi widdle?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What did Barzǎkko do?’ (A12:7)
- (10) *x̄yálexu mù-q̄t̄ila?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What have you decided? (literally: What have your thoughts decided?)’ (B5:2)
- (11) *’ána mò-’òðm?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What should I do?’ (A21:2)
- (12) *w-áti mò t-amr̄áti?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What will you say to me?’ (A17:33)
- (13) *’áxni mò t-áxl̄ax?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What shall we eat?’ (A10:5)
- (14) *’áwewa mòd̄ile wíða?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What did he do?’ (A22:27)
- (15) *mót mára ’áti?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What do you say?’ (A25:21)
- (16) *mò ’awðéna ’ána had̄iya?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What should I do now?’ (A26:13)
- (17) *mùt kálba mubr̄éθa ’áti?*<sup>1</sup> ‘What dog have you given birth to?’ (A11:20)

In a few sporadic cases the subject intervenes between the interrogative particle and the verb, e.g.

- (18) *mùt ’áti tíwota làxxa?*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why are you sitting here?’ (A25:58)

The interrogative particle *mo* is used to express exclamation in constructions such as (19), in which the verb is repeated:

- (19) *q̄m̄ta<sup>1</sup> m̄gašóqe hàtxa,<sup>1</sup> mo-mgàšqa!<sup>1</sup>* ‘She got up and looked and what (a sight) she sees!’ (A25:59)

This construction is used also with intransitive verbs, e.g.

- (20) *ʔanna ʃàliʔ ʔina mò ʃáli!* ‘They went and what (a surprise when) they went down! (A25:13)  
 (21) *dmíxele xá-bena řâyáʃʔ ʔina mò řáyáʃ!* ‘He went to sleep, then woke up, but what (a surprise when) he woke!’ (A14:30)

The adverbial interrogative particle *dax* is used also in a longer form *daxi*. The occurrence of the longer form is prosodically conditioned, in that it occurs predominantly in pause at the end of an intonation group, as is the case with the long forms of verbal inflections (§15.12.), e.g.

- (22) *dàxi?* ‘How (could this be)?’ (A25:69)  
 (23) *báxta dīya dáxi?* ‘Wife, now how (can we solve the problem)?’ (A20:9)

#### 17.7.14. *Negated Verbal Clauses*

##### 17.7.14.1. *Negative Particle before Verb*

When a verbal clause is negated, the negative particle *la* is normally placed immediately before the verb. Various stress patterns are attested in relation to this particle. In some cases it is stressed and in others it is unstressed (§6.4.). It takes the nuclear stress of the intonation group when the speaker wishes to give the negation particular prominence. This is found predominantly in the following circumstances.

##### (i) *Negated Deontic Expressions*

When the negated verb has a deontic modality, such as a prohibition addressed to the hearer or an expression of deontic intention by the speaker, the negator is often given prominence, e.g.

- (1) *là mtałpátle! là-daqrət bíye!* ‘Do not harm him! Do not touch him!’ (A26:73)  
 (2) *là mašíθət!* ‘Do not listen!’ (A26:11)  
 (3) *là-mšawθət!* ‘Do not speak!’ (A26:89)  
 (4) *bróni là qəłlúle!* ‘Do not kill my son!’ (A33:6)  
 (5) *là maštóla míya!* ‘Do not give them water to drink!’ (A25:9)  
 (6) *ʔána là-ʔaθən mánnux!* ‘I shall not come with you!’ (A6:6)  
 (7) *là-ʔawerən gu-máθa!* ‘I shall not go into the village!’ (A25:34)



(ii) *Adversative Contexts*

The negator is given prominence when the clause defeats an expectation that arises from what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *spírra spírra<sup>1</sup> bróna díya là théle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She waited and waited, but her son did not come.’ (A14:21)
- (2) *ták-tak mxáyalla goyáθa súsa<sup>1</sup> ta-t-dàyyar súsa m-táma,<sup>1</sup> là-jwíjle súsa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He struck the sides of the horse so that the horse would move away from there, (but) the horse did not move.’ (A26:28)
- (3) *mára t-ásqan ta-t-axállí xúwwe.<sup>1</sup> máre ’ána t-áθan mǎnnax.<sup>1</sup> ’áti xúwwe là ’axállax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said “I am going up in order for the snake to eat me.” He said “I shall come with you. The snake will not eat you.”’ (A24:39)

(iii) *Contrastive Oppositions*

When the negated clause is set up in a contrastive opposition with what precedes, the negator, which is the focus of contrast, has the nucleus, e.g.

- (1) *mára ’ána báxtat ’ágət Čǎl-iwǎn.<sup>1</sup> ’áyya xmáθa díya homǎnna.<sup>1</sup> xamyána homǎnne.<sup>1</sup> bróna homǎnne.<sup>1</sup> kúlla homǎnna.<sup>1</sup> kálθa là homǎnna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said “I am the wife of the ağa of Čǎl.” Her mother-in-law believed it. Her father-in-law believed it. The son believed it. Everybody believed it. The daughter-in-law, however, did *not* believe it.”’ (A19:2)
- (2) *rési parmǎnne<sup>1</sup> ’u-réšax là parmǎnne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall cut off my head. I shall *not* cut off your head’ (A14:35)

(iv) *Verb mšy ‘to be able’*

- (1) *’ána là-mšən t-áθan mǎnnux hátxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I cannot come with you in that case.’ (A26:18)
- (2) *’ána là-mšən maθyǎnne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I cannot bring him back.’ (A25:75)
- (3) *!lá gáye suse díye<sup>1</sup> théle ta-t-šāwǎr<sup>1</sup> là mšéle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Three times his horse came up to jump but could not do so.’ (A25:55)
- (4) *zmírra,<sup>1</sup> là-mšela býi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She sang and could not beat me.’ (A25:69)

(v) *Negator Combined with Intensifier*

In some cases a negator with the nuclear stress is combined with the intensifying particle *xo-/xu-*, e.g.

- (1) *xo-là pēsān šāvāna-llux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not become a shepherd for you.’ (A25:32)
- (2) *ʔáxni bāyáxwa t-aθáxwa.*<sup>1</sup> *xu-là-mšaya t-aθáxwa t-amráxwalax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We wanted to come back, but we could not come back to tell you.’ (A14:21)
- (3) *yába ʔan-ʔemma dāwe,*<sup>1</sup> *xu-là mbaqràtalli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Well, do not ask me about those hundred gold coins.’ (A14:65)

#### 17.7.14.2. *Negative Particle before Other Constituents*

The negative particle is sometimes placed before another component of the clause that intervenes before the verb. This is found in the following circumstances:

##### (i) *Verb Not in Scope of Negation*

One context where this is found is where the scope of the negator includes this item but not the verb. In order for it to be within the scope of the negation, it must be in the focus component of the clause. There is, therefore, a narrow focus on the negated item, with the verb being in the presupposition. The nuclear stress is sometimes, though not regularly, placed on the negator before the item in narrow focus, as in (1)–(4):

- (1) *xzēla*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina níra tǎpya b-béthe dīye,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina là-bεθα qída,*<sup>1</sup> *xáčča qése ráhqa mən-béthe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They saw that fire had been kindled in his house, but his house had not burnt down, only a few sticks far from his house (had burnt).’ (A48:3)
- (2) *ʔóyela hūwalla*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáy mára ləkət nabólalli.*<sup>2</sup> *máre ʔána làn tǎlali nabólallax.*<sup>1</sup> *nabólallax tla-d-áuwwa dewǎrraş.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She said “Where are you taking me?” He said “I am not taking you for myself. I am taking you for this vagabond.”’ (A12:35)
- (3) *là-kulley yapáwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Not all of them used to bake.’ (B5:17)
- (4) *ʔáxci là gu-ʔĒnə Núne qəm-ʔodánnə ʔéða,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-ʔodánwale gu-Dòhok.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But I did not spend the festival in ʔĒn-Nune, I spent it in Dohok.’ (B15:9)
- (5) *lá kulla-náše yádi t-odíla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Not all people know how to make it.’ (B10:22)
- (6) *ʔáxni lá raba-ʔi-mapǎlxáxwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We do not use it much.’ (B10:18)
- (7) *ʔilaneni t-xabušta. m-reša-w šáttə mnoqašta. l-Yáwsəp zwin̄ta b-dabašta. námu ʔáxni xlúlat Gwǎrgas la-xálti zwin̄na kéke dīye*<sup>1</sup> *mára ḏa-dabàšta.*<sup>2</sup> ‘“Our tree is an apple tree. It is decorated above and below. It has been bought by Yawsəp for a beehive.” [wedding song] At the wedding of Gwǎrgas was it not my aunt who bought his cake and say “(I buy it) for a beehive?”’ (B8:29–30)
- (8) *xo-lán har-ʔána gáwra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am not the only man.’ (A26:79)

Constructions such as (9) and (10), in which the verb has been gapped, can be included here:

- (9) *ʔáni mašlaxwa ʔrxē, ʔaxnəxwala. ʔà kúlla náše. ʔbas-ʔəxni.* <sup>1</sup> ‘We brought them down to the water-mill and ground them. Not everybody, but we did (this).’ (B10:88)
- (10) *mattátla xa-kawázət míya kəs-réša-w bàs, ʔla-ʔixàla, ʔla-ləxma.* <sup>1</sup> ‘You should put out for her a jar of water by her head and that’s all, not food, nor bread.’ (A21:10)

In (11) the item in the scope of negation is placed after the verb, with the negative particle used both before this item and the verb:

- (11) *lá dəréle là rəš-séla ʔi-maxíle gu-tanúra.* <sup>1</sup> ‘They do not place it *on a griddle*, they place it *in the oven*.’ (B6:49)

(ii) *Constituents Coordinated in a Set Relation*

The negative particle is placed before a subject constituent when the latter is placed at the front of a clause in order to establish it in a set relationship with an item in a coordinated adjacent clause and the scope of negation includes the subject, e.g.

- (1) *la-kʔàsa mǎráwa ʔu-la-xàša mǎréwa, ʔla-dáqət y-awəwale.* <sup>1</sup> ‘(One’s) stomach did not ache, (one’s) back did not ache and one did not have (high blood) pressure.’ (B5:31)
- (2) *ʔána lə-goran, ʔla-ʔati gáwrət.* <sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not marry, so long as you do not marry.’ (A25:83)
- (3) *la-ʔəxni xála ʔu-lá susəwəθm xála.* <sup>1</sup> ‘Neither are we eating nor are our horses eating.’ (A26:16)

If the items that are coordinated in a set relationship across a series of two or more clauses are not subject constituents, a second negator is often placed before the item in question, in addition to a negator in the normal position in the clause, e.g.

- (4) *lá-karmi ləle-mǎdöre ʔu-la-háqqət kàrmi ləle-yáwa.* <sup>1</sup> ‘He does not return my orchard nor does he pay the price.’ (A17:30)

Constituents that are coordinated in this way include the resultative participle and infinitive of compound verbal constructions, e.g.

- (5) *'o-déwa léle lá plixa' 'u-lá zərya' 'u-lá xzida.* 'That wolf has neither worked, nor cultivated, nor harvested.' (A10:3)

We see from (5) that the items are not necessarily placed at the front of the clause but may remain in their normal position.

The verb may be gapped after the first clause of the coordinated series, e.g.

- (6) *'ána lànwa wiða' là xəbayúθa' là spayúθa tla-čü-naša.* 'I have not done evil or good to anybody.' (A14:23)
- (7) *'ána làn dmixa,' là-b-léle,' là-b-yoma.* 'I have not slept, neither at night nor during the day.' (A24:24)
- (8) *lá-bəyax la-miya' 'u-la-čü-məndi.* 'We do not want water or anything else.' (A39:12)

A series of negated verbal predicates may be coordinated with this type of construction, e.g.

- (9) *šuréle mtaxmòne,' gu-d-áy taxmànta' tla yomàne' léle la-xíla-w la-šətya' 'u-la-dmixa.* 'He began to think. He was (immersed) in this musing for three days without eating or drinking or sleeping.' (A26:19)

In (10) the Arabic particle *walla* 'and not' is used by the speaker in this type of construction:

- (10) *le-šóqən lá xolamwəθa' wälla 'àti' wälla yəmmi' wälla ču-nàša.* 'I shall not let servants, you, mother or anybody (look after them).' (A8:18)

Similar constructions are attested with existential particles, in which the negator is either repeated (11) or is placed only before the item in focus (12):

- (11) *liθ là-xmara mənne dīye' la-čü-məndi.* 'There was not an ass with him, nor anything (else).' (A22:25)
- (12) *la-bàba 'itle,' la-yəmma 'itle.* 'He does not have a father and he does not have a mother.' (A14:16)

The unusual construction in (13) with the sequence *la 'itle* rather than *litle* may perhaps be understood in this light. The noun *nxəpθa* 'shame' is established in a set relationship with what precedes in order to explain the meaning of the latter:

- (13) *xzí hátxa be-nxàpθele.<sup>1</sup> lá 'itle nxàpθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘Look, he is so shameless. He has no shame.’ (A6:11)

In certain circumstances a negative particle is placed before an infinitive that is the complement of a main verb if only the infinitive is in the scope of the negation, e.g.

- (14) *'u-kút-xa mšuréle là-dwaqa míya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Everybody began (to agree) not to gather water.’ (A24:43)

(iii) *Asseveration*

The negative particle may be used to express asseveration rather than negation, especially to dispell possible doubt after questions. In such cases the particle never bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (1) A: *štélux čâyux?<sup>1</sup>* B: *la-štéli!<sup>1</sup>* ‘A: “Have you drunk your tea?” B: “Indeed I have drunk it!”’

If the clause contains a compound verbal form with a copula, the copula is not replaced by the negative copula, e.g.

- (2) A: *t-àθeti?<sup>1</sup>* B: *la-hóli θàya!<sup>1</sup>* ‘A: “Will you come?” B: “But I am coming!”’

The negative particle is used to express asseveration also before a negated clause, as seen in (3):

- (3) *lá le-zǎdánwa ču-bèna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Indeed, I was never afraid.’ (B5:130)

17.7.14.3. *Negation of the Verb ‘to know’*

The present form of the verb to know exhibits some irregularities. When combined with the negator *la*, the first syllable of the verb is often contracted, e.g. *leðan* < *la-yǎðan* ‘I do not know’, *leðax* < *la-yǎðax* ‘We do not know’. An alternative negative form is formed by replacing the first syllable of the verb by *mi-*, e.g. *míðan* ‘I do not know’, *míðe* ‘He does not know’. This derives historically from a phrase containing the interrogative particle (< *mo yǎðan* ‘What do I know?, *mo yǎðe* ‘What does he know?’). It has now, however, lost its interrogative sense and functions as a negator, as shown by phrases such as *míðan mòdi<sup>1</sup>* (A1:23) ‘I don’t know what’. Further examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *míðan ʔo-béθa ʔékele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I don’t know where that house is.’ (A12:63)
- (2) *kút-yum ʔáθya xàjətta daryáwa bíye díye<sup>1</sup> ʔáti xélux ʔékele?<sup>1</sup> róxux ʔékela-w.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-dáx-it xyáʔa.<sup>1</sup> míðan mó.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Every day she came with a pretext (to ask him) “Where is your strength? Where is your spirit? How do you live?” I don’t know what (else she asked).’ (A12:38)
- (3) *míðət ʔáyya módila mşəθe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You do not know what she is saying.’ (A38:10)

## 17.8. EXTRAPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

In many cases a referential participant in a clause is extraposed in initial position in syntactic isolation. This is normally resumed in the body of the clause by a coreferential pronominal element that indicates its syntactic function. In what follows we shall first examine the structural details of this type of construction and then discuss its function. This section will consider not only clauses with verbal predicates, but also those with a copula or existential particle.

### 17.8.1. *Structure*

#### 17.8.1.1. *Extraposed Element*

The extraposed element may be a nominal or an independent pronoun, e.g.

- (1) *ʔó-ʔəða y-amráxle šera.*<sup>1</sup> ‘That festival—we call it a *šera*.’ (B6:22)
- (2) *ʔo-Dáwið mòdi súle díye?<sup>1</sup>* ‘That David—what is his profession?’ (A16:1)
- (3) *ʔá mexólta nášət kʔàlo y-ođíwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The food—the family of the bride would make it.’ (B5:7)
- (4) *ʔána šəmmi Čuxole<sup>1</sup>* ‘I—my name is Čuxo.’ (A7:18)
- (5) *ʔáti xélux ʔékele?<sup>1</sup>* ‘You—where is your strength?’ (A12:38)
- (6) *ʔáw múttalle šimme díye Mar-Sáwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘That—they made its name Saint Sawa.’ (B6:30)

The extraposed nominal is sometimes uttered in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (7) *tàwra<sup>1</sup> primále dá 'íde diyé.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The ox—he cut off one of its feet.’ (A22:3)
- (8) *Dáwīð kōra<sup>1</sup> dbíšla bábe-w yámme biye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Blind David—his father and mother urged him.’ (A16:5)

An extraposed nominal is in principle definite with an identifiable referent. In some cases the nominal has not been explicitly mentioned, but its referent is referentially anchored in some way to a nominal in the preceding context, as in (9), where the nominal ‘one room’ is a member of the set of ‘two rooms’ mentioned earlier. The referent of the nominal may be a class that is identifiable by its descriptive content alone (10)—(11):

- (9) *'íla trè 'otáxe.<sup>1</sup> ḏa-'òtəx<sup>1</sup> 'áni dámxi gàwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-xèta<sup>1</sup> heywànela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They had two rooms. In one room they slept. The other one was (for) the animals.’ (A22:10)
- (10) *'ína semàlta<sup>1</sup> 'áyya t-qèse.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But a ladder—it is made of wood.’ (B10:60)
- (11) *kut-məθéli xábra bəd-bròni,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-míθa 'ən-sàxi,<sup>1</sup> pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne 'álle diyé.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I’ll give him half of my gold.’ (A14:92)

When the referent of the fronted nominal has the role of direct object in the clause, marked by a direct object pronominal suffix on the verb, as in (12)–(15), its syntactic status is ambiguous. This is because there is a general tendency for there to be a pronominal suffix on the verb agreeing with a definite direct object constituent irrespective of whether the object is placed before or after the verb (§15.13.2.1.).

- (12) *'a-štéθa šatéwala t-lá miya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They drink that drink without water.’ (B5:14)
- (13) *'áy 'ílana mšaqliwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They decorate that tree.’ (B5:39)
- (14) *'a-štèθa<sup>1</sup> har-tàma mpaltšixwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We produced that drink there.’ (B5:11)
- (15) *'o-qàmxa<sup>1</sup> məθéwale bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would bring the flour back to the house.’ (B5:16)

Although there is ambiguity on the level of syntactic structure, certain object initial clauses possess the functional properties of extrapositional constructions. This applies to the type of construction that has been

referred to in §17.7.5.2. as ‘topic-orientated’ object initial clauses, in which the object sets the topical frame for the clause. As we shall see, this is a basic functional property of extraposition. It should also be noted that the prosodic isolation of the initial object in a separate intonation group, as in (14) and (15), is a feature common to ‘topic-orientated’ object initial clauses and extrapositional clauses, but is rarely found in ‘event-orientated’ object initial clauses. ‘Topic-orientated’ object initial constructions with a resumptive pronoun will be included together with extrapositional constructions in what follows.

### 17.8.1.2. *Resumptive Element*

The extraposed constituent is generally resumed in the clause by a pronominal suffix. The suffix may be on the verb (1), a noun (2) or a preposition (3):

- (1) *ʔáv y-amrile xəppo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘That—they call it a *xəppo*.’ (B5:35)
- (2) *ʔána xéli hóle gu-xa-qésa xèna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I—my strength is in another piece of wood.’ (A12:39)
- (3) *ʔàxni<sup>1</sup> kəslən<sup>1</sup> šəbθa<sup>1</sup> ʔila šawwà-yome.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In our community a week is seven days.’ (A17:13)

In some cases the resumptive element is an independent pronoun. In most of the attested cases this is the subject of the clause, e.g.

- (4) *jawətta ʔáyya t-prəzələla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The chopper—it is (made) of iron.’ (B5:140)
- (5) *ʔina seməllta<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya t-qəse<sup>1</sup>* ‘But a ladder—it is (made) of wood.’ (B10:60)
- (6) *bas-ʔəni t-xzələ ʔəy xoš-ʔáza gu-jahənnam.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Only my eye, which saw it—let that go to Hell.’ (A16:2)
- (7) *ʔo-t-ile plixa ʔáv bt-áxəl.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever has worked—he will eat.’ (A21:15)

Occasionally the independent resumptive pronoun is the object of the verb, e.g.

- (8) *táma ʔáti kut-báyyət górat ʔáv.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There anybody you like—you can marry him (= You can marry anybody you like).’ (A8:80)
- (9) *ʔiθ pállta zúrta.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔe-zúrta ʔəy zadūwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was (some of the tobacco) that came out (as) small (pieces). This small stuff—they threw that away.’ (B7:17)



The resumptive element may even be a full nominal, e.g.

- (10) *màlla píšla qušárta ta-màlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘As for the mullah, the cooking pot became the mullah’s.’ (A5:10)

In (11) where the extraposed element is a generic relative phrase, the resumptive noun has an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun:

- (11) *kú nàšma<sup>1</sup> t-màtya<sup>1</sup> rəš-gášrət Dalàle<sup>1</sup> ’ε-nášma bəd-pěša<sup>1</sup> p̀r̀mta,<sup>1</sup> q̀t̀ilta.*<sup>1</sup>  
‘Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed.’ (C8:5)

In (12) an extraposed plural noun does not have any direct resumption, but is linked to a singular noun in the clause in a set relationship:

- (12) *bàte<sup>1</sup> ’áxni qásra díyən mubnéln šétət xámšī-w t̀l̀àθa,<sup>1</sup> ’u-xámšī-w ’àrpa.*<sup>1</sup>  
‘As for houses, we had our villa built in the year fifty-three and fifty-four.’ (B1:20)

An extraposed item may be left without any explicit resumption in the clause. In such cases the extraposed element sets the orientation of the clause, similarly to a clause initial adverbial, without playing a syntactic role in it.

- (13) *t̀al̀obe,<sup>1</sup> béna y-ođéwa mexólta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘As for the betrothal—they would make food.’ (B5:7)
- (14) *mexólta y-áwa mbúšle qawúrma-w rəzza,<sup>1</sup> ’u-kəftàne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘As for the food, they would have cooked *qawurma*, rice, meat-balls.’ (B5:15)
- (15) *palát̀t̀t̀at ’áraq,<sup>1</sup> t̀-amer̀xi,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa meθéwa l̀ne ’iθwa,<sup>1</sup> deréwa l̀ne,<sup>1</sup> ’u-deréwa m̀ya gáwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘As for the production of arak, as we would say, they used to bring pots, they would put down the pots and put water into them.’ (B5:12)
- (16) *sab-xlúla rába náše čedéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Because the wedding—they invited many people.’ (B5:23)

A speaker sometimes extraposes the 1pl. independent pronoun in this way when referring to activities in his own home or community.

- (17) *’áxni b-sátwa mšéra dúnye ràya<sup>1</sup> mən-yárxət ’əšra-w<sup>1</sup> xadássər hòdax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We (= in our community)—in winter it starts raining from October and November onwards.’ (B5:145)

- (18) ʔáxni<sup>1</sup> ʔĒn-Núne n̄p̄lta bel-túra l-túra.<sup>1</sup> 'We—ʔĒn-Nune is situated between mountains.' (B5:148)
- (19) ʔáxni béθat be-bábi ʔatìqa-wewa.<sup>1</sup> ʔína ramánewa biš-mən-qáṣrat kùl-náše.<sup>1</sup> 'We—the house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of everybody (in our community).' (B10:51)

In (20) and (21) the resumptive independent pronoun itself stands extraposed from the clause:

- (20) xá-naša l-xóðe litle la-bába la-yámma la-ʔap-xa,<sup>1</sup> ʔáw y-amrile<sup>1</sup> litle náše.<sup>1</sup> 'A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody—he—they say concerning him that he has no relatives.' (A17:17)
- (21) xzi-ʔanna t̄la-náše<sup>1</sup> t̄-ila prímalle tàwra,<sup>1</sup> t̄láθna hon-yúwtalla móʔad.<sup>1</sup> 'Take note that the three people who slaughtered the ox—the three of them—I have given them an appointment.' (A22:21)

## 17.8.2. Function

### 17.8.2.1. Discourse Boundary Marking

The function of the extraposition of an item at the front of a clause is in most cases to express some kind of boundary and reorientation in the discourse. The initial nominal expresses the topic referent of the clause, which often has topical status also in the following clauses. When the initial topic is given added prominence by being prosodically separated from the rest of the clause in a different intonation group, the degree of disjunction from what precedes is in principle enhanced. As we have seen, subject initial clauses and 'topic-orientated' object initial clauses also have a disjoining function. In these constructions also the degree of disjoining is enhanced by the prosodic separation of the initial topical constituent. The subject constituent may be separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

- (1) š̄era<sup>1</sup> xa-təxrùnyele.<sup>1</sup> 'The festival is a memorial.' (B5:69)
- (2) náša diyèni<sup>1</sup> ʔi-š̄émi t̄lá yomàne.<sup>1</sup> 'Our people fast for three days.' (B6:21)

In copula clauses another type of prosodic separation of the initial subject topic constituent is its detachment from the copula, resulting in a

construction such as (3). Example (4) has the same structure, with the copula after the subject, without the prosodic separation:

- (3) *gárðo 'íla mæn-màsta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘*Gárðo* is (made) of yoghurt.’ (B5:64)  
 (4) *xáwwele qíla!*<sup>1</sup> ‘The snake is killed.’ (A24:42)

It is worth noting that in some other NENA dialects, constructions that correspond to (3) are extrapositional with an independent resumptive pronoun attached to the copula, e.g. C. Qaraqosh:

- (5) *'ójar 'áhu-lə xa-mánda d-gárášlə xmàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The plough is something that an ass pulls.’ (Khan 2002: 412)

The types of boundary that are expressed by extrapositional clauses in the text corpus can be classified as follows:

(i) *Beginning of Speech*

A speaker often opens a speech turn with a topic referent that is accessible to the hearer. If this is not the subject of the clause, it stands in extraposition, e.g.

- (1) *máre yəmmi 'ədyo' !ləθna' xonāwáθət Qára Təždin' mopíšəlle ləbbəy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “Mother, today the three brothers of Qara Teždin—their hearts became (angry).”’ (A26:71)  
 (2) *mára 'áwwa náša fāqira' t-awéle xá bronà.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They said “This poor man—to him will be a son (= he will have a son).”’ (A8:3)  
 (3) *máre xàli' xmàre, 'šáwwaθna hóla xile l-dəwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said “Uncle, the asses—the seven of them have been eaten by wolves.”’ (A23:15)  
 (4) *šlélux xá-bena xəna?' gúrzə šərmux xo-'ána t-azánwa bəya?'*<sup>1</sup> ‘“Have you come down again?” “Your stupid club (literally: the club of your behind)—would I have been finished off by it?”’ (A52:17)

If the subject of the clause is a possession or attribute of the speaker or hearer, the speech turn often begins with an extraposed 1st or 2nd person independent pronoun respectively, e.g.

- (5) *'ána šəmmi Čuxole.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I—my name is Čuxo.’ (A7:18)  
 (6) *'ána xéli hóle gu-xa-qésa xəna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I—my strength is in another piece of wood.’ (A12:39)

- (7) *'ána 'úrxi rába rixtela.*<sup>1</sup> 'I—my way is very long (= I have a long way to go).' (A8:42)  
 (8) *'áxni 'áti xàθan-iwat.*<sup>1</sup> 'We—you are our sister.' (A34:16)  
 (9) *'áti xélux 'ékéle?*<sup>2</sup> 'You—where is your strength?' (A12:38)

The choice of extraposed pronoun to open the speech turn depends on the topicality of the referent in the ensuing discourse. This is seen in (10), in which the first clause opens with the 2s. pronoun although the grammatical subject is 1fs., since the following clauses are 'hearer-orientated', containing various deontic expressions addressed to the hearer:

- (10) *'áti rába báyánnux.*<sup>1</sup> *bas-msə'dli xáčča.*<sup>1</sup> *hálli xákma mändi<sup>1</sup> masqánné l-bèθa<sup>1</sup>*  
*'u-'ašáta b-léle 'áθeti kəslí.*<sup>1</sup> 'I love you a lot. Only, help me a little. Give me something to take up to the house and tonight come to me.' (A22:19)

(ii) *New Section of Discourse*

On some occasions a construction with an initial extraposed topic referent occurs at the onset of a section of discourse that is disjoined in some way from what precedes. Various types of disjunction can be identified.

In (1) the extrapositional clause coincides with a shift in topic referent:

- (1) *xíllux táma mubsəmlux.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána qəm-tarðili.*<sup>1</sup> *'əθyən m-kérbi hon-xílalla 'à.*<sup>1</sup>  
 'You ate there and enjoyed yourself. I—they drove me out and, out of my anger, I have come and eaten it.' (A2:11)

The construction is used when there is continuity of a topic referent from the preceding discourse but disjunction on some other level. In narrative it is used to signal the onset of an event section that is presented as separate from the previous one:

- (2) *'imat píde túra,*<sup>1</sup> *šàle<sup>1</sup> 'əltax.*<sup>1</sup> *rəša xtáya kúlle məlxéle.*<sup>1</sup> *sūsux<sup>1</sup> 'aqláθe mdur-*  
*bənnela.*<sup>1</sup> *məlxá maxéla 'aqláθe diye,*<sup>1</sup> *t-áwe súa mšaršore.*<sup>1</sup> 'When he has crossed over the mountain, he will go down. Down hill it is all salt. Your horse—(when) its legs have become wounded, salt will strike his legs and he will screech.' (A24:12)

In narrative the construction is used at the onset of a section that supplies some kind of elaboration on what precedes rather than carrying the narrative forward. In (3) it presents an event that is circumstantial to the

previously mentioned event. The extrapositional clause in (4) provides an evaluative comment on what precedes rather than an event that is presented as sequential to what precedes. In (5) the narrator opens a section that shifts to a point earlier in the time-line and recounts the events that led to the protagonist becoming blind.

- (3) *qíme d-wíqe xá b-aw-rùšē<sup>1</sup> xá b-aw-rùšē<sup>1</sup> nùblàlle.<sup>1</sup> ’áw lá snidíle ’áqle dīye<sup>1</sup> qam-nablīle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They held him, one this shoulder and one the other, and took him away. His legs did not support him. They took him away.’ (B9:24)
- (4) *qímla zrā’a xabūšē.<sup>1</sup> xabūšē muntéwala bíya dīya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They began to cultivate apples. They were successful with apples.’ (B5:75)
- (5) *qám d-áyya qəššət<sup>1</sup> t-miràli<sup>1</sup> Dáwið kòra<sup>1</sup> dbišla bábē-w yámme bíye<sup>1</sup> mára ’állahi maguràxlux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before this story that I have told you (so far), the blind David—his father and mother pressed him and said “By God, we must marry you.”’ (A16:5)

In (6)–(8), from descriptive discourse, the extrapositional construction constitutes an explanatory supplement to what precedes:

- (6) *béna gu-d-á-dana meθéwa štèθa.<sup>1</sup> ’a-štèθa<sup>1</sup> har-tàma mpaláxwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘At that time they brought drink. That drink—we produced it there.’ (B5:11)
- (7) *béna y-oðíwa mexólta.<sup>1</sup> ’á mexólta násət k’álo y-oðíwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would make food. The food—the family of the bride would make it.’ (B5:7)
- (8) *’íθwa jawàtta.<sup>1</sup> jawàtta ’áyya t-prə̀złəla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was a chopper. The chopper—it is (made) of iron.’ (B5:140)

In (9) the construction is used in a clause that repeats the content of the preceding clause as a strategy to introduce elaborative material:

- (9) *y-ázəxwa ’áxni zóre mṭaláxwa kólàne.<sup>1</sup> kólàne mṭaláxwa gáwa.<sup>1</sup> mattáxwala bē’e gu-šawə̀lta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would paint eggs. We young people would go and play in the streets. The streets—we would play in them and would put eggs in a shoe.’ (B16:5)

In (10) the construction coincides with a shift from a general description of a habitual situation to the description of a specific event, which is offered as an illustration:

- (10) *yawíwala xà-mdi.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána xmáθi xá-dawa z'ára mutt'éθalli gu-'íðat xóni 'Íshəq.*<sup>1</sup>  
 'They would give her (the bride) something. I—my mother-in-law  
 put a yellow gold coin for me in the hand of my brother Ishəq.'  
 (B8:35)

An extrapositional construction is used after a presentative clause with existential particles in (11) and (12). This is likely to be a strategy to mark off the presentative clause with enhanced distinctness in order to give the item presented added prominence:

- (11) *'íθən xa-túra.*<sup>1</sup> *túra t-ásqat bíye díye,*<sup>1</sup> *külle skinyàθele.*<sup>1</sup> 'There is a mountain. The mountain—you should go up it, it is all (covered in) knives.' (A24:11)
- (12) *'úłən 'énət 'úmra.*<sup>1</sup> *'ay-čú-ga lá-q'éta-w lá-sətwa bárzi míya díya.*<sup>1</sup> *trè 'enáθa 'úłən.*<sup>1</sup> 'We have the spring of the church. It—its water never dries up, in summer or winter.' (B10:61)

Generic or proverbial statements, which have an inherent independence and distinctness from the preceding context, may open with an initial topic standing in extraposition, e.g.

- (13) *'ó-t šawórra šáwwa səkke,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-q'éθa gu-be-təkke*<sup>1</sup> 'He who jumps seven stakes—(one stake) will hit him in his waist.' (D2:1)
- (14) *xá-naša l-xóðe litle la-bába la-γámma la-'əp-xa,*<sup>1</sup> *'áw γ-amrile*<sup>1</sup> *litle náše.*<sup>1</sup>  
 'A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody—he, they say concerning him that he has no relatives.'  
 (A17:17)

In clauses denoting an iterative action containing a constituent with a universal quantifier, the quantified phrase is often made the topic of the clause and placed in extraposition, e.g.

- (15) *kut-məsta*<sup>1</sup> *xa-zága dáryət bíya.*<sup>1</sup> 'Put a bell on every hair.' (A27:8)
- (16) *kú-rešət xúwwe θèle,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maxèle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He struck each head of the snake that came (his way).' (A24:40)

(iii) *Opposition between Topics*

In some cases the motivation for the extrapositional construction is to set up an opposition or parallelism between two topic referents. Each topic

referent is placed at the front of the clause and stands in extraposition if it is not the subject referent, e.g.

- (1) *'axni<sup>1</sup> kəslən<sup>1</sup> šəbθa<sup>1</sup> 'ila šawwə-yome<sup>1</sup> 'u-yàrxə<sup>1</sup> 'ile tlaθi-yome.<sup>1</sup> 'axtu šəbθəxu 'əštə-yomela.<sup>2</sup>* 'We—a week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days. You—is your week six weeks?' (A17:13)
- (2) *'ila trə 'otáxe.<sup>1</sup> δa-δətax<sup>1</sup> 'áni dāmxi gəwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-xətə<sup>1</sup> heywànela.<sup>1</sup>* 'They had two rooms. One room—they slept in it. The other one—it was (for) the animals.' (A22:10)
- (3) *zedəye<sup>1</sup> 'axlət mánna t-là-qəsa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-màsta<sup>1</sup> 'axlət mánna qrúšta dīya t-la-xàrwə.<sup>1</sup>* 'The pittas—you should eat them without breaking them. The yoghurt—you should eat it without the crust being spoilt.' (A30:5)
- (4) *'ina júllux hálla t-làli.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xmártux t-átwən 'àna l-xása.<sup>1</sup>* 'Your clothes—give them to me. Your donkey—I shall sit on its back.' (A6:8)

In (5) and (6) the extraposition of the topical subject constituent by means of an independent pronoun is used to mark it off distinctly from a topic of an adjacent clause:

- (5) *dărăje t-kəpəla,<sup>1</sup> 'ina semàlta<sup>1</sup> 'áyya t-qəse.<sup>1</sup>* 'Steps are made of stone, but a ladder—it is made of wood.' (B10:60)
- (6) *'ánna qurđəye barzanəye<sup>1</sup> 'áni hóla jrəta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-surəye ləla jrəta.<sup>1</sup>* 'The Barzan Kurds were slipping, but the Christians were not slipping.' (B19:7)

(iv) *Prominence of Clause*

In some cases the main motivation for an extrapositional construction with a clause initial topic is to mark it off distinctly from what precedes in order to give it prominence, e.g.

- (1) *θéle xa-hambišəya.<sup>1</sup> hambišəya<sup>1</sup> 'ə-ga<sup>1</sup> xirəle biye,<sup>1</sup> 'əwəwa náša ləbbe pəqile!<sup>1</sup>* 'A giant came. The giant looked at him. That man's heart burst (with fear).' (A31:2)
- (2) *lá-bəyax la-miəya<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-čü-məndi.<sup>1</sup> 'axni har-xònən-it!<sup>1</sup>* 'We do not want water or anything else. You are indeed our brother.' (A39:12)

In (3) the extrapositional clause marks the climactic point of the discourse section, the origin of the name of the church being the main point of the narrative:

- (3) *gu-d-ò-ʔumra<sup>1</sup> tùmɾəllə<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bónyela ʔúmra b-réše diye.<sup>1</sup> ʔáw múttalle šámme diye Mar-Sàwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They buried him in (the site of) that church and built the church over him. They gave it the name of Saint Sawa.’ (B6:30)

### 17.8.2.2. *Topic Referents Obligatorily Resumed by L-Suffixes*

In certain clauses, an initial topic referent regularly stands in extraposition and is resumed on the verb by an L-suffix. These include the following:

#### (i) *‘Naming’ Constructions with the Verb ʔmr*

- (1) *ʔó-ʔeða y-amrǎxle šera.<sup>1</sup>* ‘That festival—we call it a *šera*.’ (B6:22)  
 (2) *ʔáyya y-amrǎxla mǎmǎðta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This—we call it baptism.’ (B6:8)  
 (3) *ʔáni xatoryàða y-amrila.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They are called “washing-boards.”’ (B19:9)

#### (ii) *Possessive Constructions with the Existential Particle*

- (4) *šlíθela bàxta<sup>1</sup> xzìða qa-màlla.<sup>1</sup> mǎlla ʔíle dǎkkánət ʔaparùða.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The woman went down (to the town) and saw the mullah. The mullah had a shop of household goods.’ (A22:11)  
 (5) *ʔáw ʔíle ða-ʔótax ʔax-d-àyya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He has a room like this one.’ (A21:5)  
 (6) *ʔàxni<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔĒn-Nùne<sup>1</sup> ʔítlən šera.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We in ʔĒn-Nune have a saint’s festival.’ (B5:72)

#### (iii) *Clauses Containing Verbs with Impersonal Subjects*

- (7) *ʔáwáha t-íle xóde diye bǎyéle bàxta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The man who is alone needs a wife.’ (A27:7)

### 17.8.2.3. *Narrow focus*

In some cases the nuclear stress is placed on an independent pronoun that resumes an extraposed nominal phrase. This puts narrow focus on the referent. The construction is typically used when the nominal is a long phrase, e.g.

- (1) *kùt la-pálax<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áwowa bèθa<sup>1</sup> ʔixála lè y-áxəl.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-pàlax<sup>1</sup> ʔáw t-áxəl.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Whoever does not work in this house will not eat food. Whoever works—he (and not anybody else) will eat.’ (A21:13)  
 (2) *qa-mó gǎrǎg ʔázəl kùlla páxri gu-nùra,<sup>1</sup> gu-jahànnam.<sup>2</sup> bas-ʔéni t-xzèla ʔáy xoš-ʔáza gu-jahànnam.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Why should all my body go to the fire, to Hell? Only my eye that saw it—let it go to Hell.’ (A16:2)



## 17.9. MISCELLANEOUS CLAUSAL PARTICLES

17.9.1. *nəmu/ləmu*

This particle gives an expostulatory or hortatory sense to questions. When used to introduce negative questions, which is its most frequent usage, the question is equivalent in function to an asseveration, e.g.

- (1) *nəmu la-məri-llux dəyər,<sup>1</sup> miθa dəyər?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Did I not tell you that he would return (= indeed I told you...), that the dead would return?’ (A22:39)
- (2) *nəmu ʾáxni xlúlat Gwərgəs la-xálti zwiinna kéke diye<sup>1</sup> mərə θa-dabàšta?<sup>2</sup>* ‘At the wedding of Gwərgəs did not my aunt buy his cake and say “(I buy it) for a beehive? (= indeed my aunt bought his cake...)”’ (B8:29–30)
- (3) *nəmu la-ʾawðáxle ʾáwwa fura<sup>1</sup> dərajyàθa,<sup>1</sup> dərəje,<sup>1</sup> t-ásqəx l-áwwa fura?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Should we not make for this mountain steps (= indeed let us make...), so that we can go up the mountain?’ (A17:4)
- (4) *ləmu lá-ʾasqən ʾána?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Should I not go? (= indeed I should go)’ (A39:10)
- (5) *ləmu lax-xniqəllux?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Have we not drowned you? (= surely we have drowned you)’ (A7:22)

Occasionally the most appropriate translation of the particle is ‘why?’, e.g.

- (6) *lat-nxàpa!<sup>2</sup> xá ʾaxiwáθi mira<sup>1</sup> dráya šlámi ʾəllux<sup>1</sup> ʾu-ʾáti tíwa l-ʾizux!<sup>1</sup> ləmu la-qimlux?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Are you not ashamed!? A prince like me greets you and you sit on your bum. Why did you not get up?’ (A26:48)

The particle is occasionally used in positive questions, where it has a remonstrating force, e.g.

- (7) *nəmu ʾáyya bərke d-ənila<sup>1</sup> t-it-ʾáti sxáya gəwa?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Whose is this pool in which you are swimming? (= surely it is mine not yours)’ (A25:61)

17.9.2. *xo-/xu-*

This particle, which is related etymologically to Syriac *kbar*, is used most frequently in negated clauses. When used in non-interrogative clauses, it intensifies the negation, often with a remonstrating force, e.g.

- (1) *xo-la-méθan làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not die here.’ (A20:11)
- (2) *xo-là péšən šávána-llux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not remain a shepherd for you.’ (A25:32)
- (3) *xu-là-mšaya t-aθáxwa t-amráxwaləx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We could not come to tell you.’ (A14:21)
- (4) *xu-lanwa-mírəllux maxzəlli xəzina.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I had not told you to show me a treasure.’ (A14:23)
- (5) *ʔu-šemma dáwe d-é-ga xu-ləla xáčča.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A hundred gold coins of that time indeed are not a little.’ (A14:63)
- (6) *yába ʔan-šemma dáwe,*<sup>1</sup> *xu-là mbaqrətəlli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Well, do not ask me about those hundred gold coins.’ (A14:65)
- (7) *ʔána t-ásqən,*<sup>1</sup> *xu-là ʔaxəlli,*<sup>1</sup> *xu-ləle ʔarya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall go up (and ride the horse), surely it will not eat me, surely it is not a lion.’ (A12:63)
- (8) *xo-lán har-ʔána gəwra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am not the only man (literally: Not only I am a man).’ (A26:79)

It is also frequently used in negative questions, again often generally with remonstrating force, e.g.

- (9) *xu-léwa taxxána brən-taxxanəθa?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Was he really a miller, son of a miller woman?’ (A32:28)
- (10) *xzéli xa-xəlma diya,*<sup>1</sup> *xu-léwa xəlma?*<sup>21</sup> *xəzwa škāra wéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have just now had a dream. Was it (really) a dream? It was a clear vision.’ (A2:6)
- (11) *xo-lat-mírta xə-məndi?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Did you not say something? (= surely you said something?)’ (A26:34)
- (12) *bábi təmməl ʔyya mđita xu-kúmta-wawa?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Father, was this town not black yesterday? (= surely this town was black yesterday)’ (A4:36)
- (13) *xu-ləwət l-xođux rxima?*<sup>2</sup> ‘Are you alone not loved? (= surely you alone are loved) (C2:62)

It is attested in positive non-interrogative clauses that express deontic intention (14) or that are apodosis clauses in conditional constructions (15–16):

- (14) *manixən ʔdlele làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *xu-mbádla qémən šələn.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall rest tonight here. In the morning I shall (surely) get up and go down.’ (A31:2)
- (15) *ʔən-šáwət diyi qəm-yəđətla,*<sup>1</sup> *xo-b-gawrənnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed marry you.’ (A25:62)

- (16) *ʔn-mjuwə̀bla, ʔ xo-ʔànən ʔθya kə̀sləx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you.’ (A26:4)

It is occasionally used in a positive interrogative clause that is remonstrating or exostulatory in tone.

- (17) *mára mòt ʔθya xo-bábi?*<sup>1</sup> *máre ʔánti ʔθyan masqə̀nnəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She said “Why have you come, my dear?” He said “Aunt, I have come to take you up (to your home).”’ (A52:9)
- (18) *gúrza šə̀rmux xo-ʔána t-azə̀nwa biya?*<sup>1</sup> ‘(Why) should I have been finished off by your stupid club (literally: the club of your behind)?!’ (A52:17)

## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### CLAUSE SEQUENCES

#### 18.1. CONNECTIVE PARTICLES

##### 18.1.1. *w*

When functioning as a clausal conjunction, the particle *w* may be attached as a clitic either to the initial or final word of a clause. It is realized as <sup>2</sup>*u-* (< \*<sup>2</sup>*uw*) when in contact with a consonant at the beginning of a word, e.g.

- (1) <sup>2</sup>*áti tí-tiwa lǎxxa.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-súsi páyǎš lǎxxa<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>ána bráta masqǎnna be-bába díya.<sup>1</sup>*  
'You stay here and my horse will stay here and I shall take the girl up to the house of her father.' (A29:41)
- (2) <sup>2</sup>*o-yǎlǎt bǎyǎwale<sup>1</sup> hóle <sup>2</sup>ǎya-w<sup>1</sup> qǎm-yawǎlla yalǎxθa <sup>2</sup>ǎlli.<sup>1</sup>* 'The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her scarf.' (A4:24)

Occasionally, the speaker attaches a particle as a suffix to the end of one clause and then repeats it as a prefix to the following clause, e.g.

- (3) *matíla gu-quşárta mbaşlila-w<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-yátwi <sup>2</sup>ǎxli.<sup>1</sup>* 'They put them in a pan and cook them, then sit down to eat them.' (A1:3)
- (4) *mxúllalla páθe díye-w<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-zílele şúle díye.<sup>1</sup>* 'He washed his face and went to his work.' (A21:16)

The particle is used to express various types of semantic connection between clauses. In most cases such semantic connections may also be expressed by juxtaposing clauses asyndetically without the explicit linguistic expression of the connection in the form of the connective particle.

In narrative the particle is used to join clauses that express sequential events. The majority of sequential clauses in narrative are joined asyndetically. The usual strategy is to use the particle before the final clause of a chain of events. In this respect, therefore, it is a device for marking sections of discourse that are presented as expressing closely cohering events, e.g.

- (5) *šléle gu-d-o-balū'a.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa dúša t-wéwa pyāša'* *kúlla qəm-daréle gu-d-an-gudanyàθa'* **'u-grìšla.**<sup>1</sup> 'He went down into the conduit. He put all the honey that was left into the skins and they pulled them up.' (A14:19)
- (6) *'óθye xakma-dèwe,* *màxyàlle'* *'áw 'u-xmáre dīye'* **'u-xìlalle.**<sup>1</sup> 'Wolves came and attacked him and his donkey and ate him.' (A14:22)

The chain of sequential clauses may express habitual actions, future actions or commanded actions, e.g.

- (7) *y-asqíwa malwāšiwale jull-dīye'* **'u-y-atwèwa.**<sup>1</sup> 'They would come up (from the river), dress him in his clothes and sit down.' (B6:26)
- (8) *'aw-šále táma mrapáxle xáwla b-réše dīye'* **'u-'áyya qāpáxta mattáxxa rāš-d-o-tárat gəppa.**<sup>1</sup> 'He will go down there, we shall throw the rope onto his head and shall put this cover onto the opening of the cave.' (A14:16)
- (9) *qū!* *šqúlla 'áyya tāsá'* **'u-háyyo mənni.**<sup>1</sup> 'Get up, take this bowl and come with me.' (A15:11)

The chain of clauses that occurs before the connective particle is used can be of a considerable length. In (10), for example, the particle occurs for the first time on the verb *'u-zille*, which comes at the end of a long sequence of clauses. This passage occurs at the beginning of the story and the speaker presents the whole sequence as a coherent section, expressing a single overall situation that sets the scene for what follows.

- (10) *θéle xa-náša swarīya,* *rakáwa.* *šléle rāš-xa-'èna.* *tíwle,* *xílle mändi,* *šléle mīya.* *'íθwale xákma zúze.* *qímle šqilíle.* *muttíle* *rāš-d-ε-'èna.* *'áwwa'* *munšile zúze dīye.* *'zille.* *'áwwa zille b-'úrxa.* *θéle xá rakáwa xèna,* *swarīya.* *'zille rāš-'èna.* *qəm-xazèla'* *'amma dináre.* *šqilíle jal-jálde'* *muttíle gu-jèbe'* **'u-zille.** *'o-qamāya'* *'ámər 'òh'* *zúzi munšili.* *qémən dèrəm'* *'ázən šáqlən zúzi'* *m-rāš-'èna.* 'A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring. He sat down, ate something and drank some water. He had some money. He took it and put it on top of the spring. He forgot his money. He went off. He went off on the road. Another rider came, a horseman. He went to the spring. He saw the hundred dinars. He quickly took them, put them in his pocket and went off. The first (rider) said "Oh, I have forgotten my money. I'll return and go to take my money from on top of the spring."' (A15:1–2)

A chain of events that is marked off as a unit by the connective particle may be embedded as a component in a superordinate chain. Consider (11):

- (11) *ʔaw-šále táma mrapáxle xáwla b-rése diye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáyya qǎpáxta mattáxxa rǎš-d-o-tárət gǎppa.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mšálax ʔla-yámme diye ʔáwwa qurtánət xmàra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He will go down there, we shall throw the rope onto his head and we shall put this cover onto the opening of the cave. Then we shall take down to his mother this donkey blanket.’ (A14:16)

Here the first connective marks the end of a series of events that are planned to take place in a cave. They are presented as a unit, as it were a single overall activity. This activity at the cave is followed by another event in which the participants shift to another location. This subsequent event is joined by a connective particle, which can be regarded as linking the preceding chain as a whole rather than simply the immediately preceding clause. The particle, therefore, would mark the closure of the whole composite series of events, which can be represented thus [[A-B-ʔu-C] ʔu-D].

In some cases the connective is placed earlier than the final clause of a sequential chain. This may reflect a strategy of presenting the final clause as a supplementary tag to what precedes. This applies to the final clauses in (12) and (13), which contain the verb ‘to go’ and have the function of taking the participants off the scene. The connective is attached to the preceding clause, which is presented as the climax of the main chain of events:

- (12) *théle xa-náša swariya,<sup>1</sup> théle zille rǎš-ʔəna.<sup>1</sup> xille mǎndi<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šwǐqle zúze diye táma zille.<sup>1</sup>* ‘A horseman came, he came to a spring. He ate something and he left his money there. He went off.’ (A15:15)
- (13) *mára yába ʔáxnǐ bǎyáxwa ʔ-aθáxwa.<sup>1</sup> xu-lǎn-mšaya ʔ-aθáxwa ʔ-amrǎxwalax.<sup>1</sup> brónəx,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa xmáre diye zille gu-ðà lawúrta,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-brónəx zille ʔla-mεθəwale.<sup>1</sup> ʔəθye xakma-dəwe,<sup>1</sup> mǎxyalle<sup>1</sup> ʔáw ʔu-xmáre diye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xilalle.<sup>1</sup> ʔáxcǐ xázyax ʔáwwa mǎndi nišánqe diye.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya mǎškánta píštela mxàya<sup>1</sup> dráya qǎtma gu-réša diya.<sup>1</sup> bróna diya zille!<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔan-zúze plila b-ğǎdáde.<sup>1</sup> zilla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They said “Well, we wanted to come back, but we could not come back to tell you. Your son’s donkey went into a valley and your son went to fetch it. Wolves came and attacked him and his donkey and ate him. We only found this sign of him.” The poor woman began to beat (herself) and put ash on her head. Her son had gone! They divided the money among them. They went on their way.’ (A14:21–22)

In (14) and (15) the final clause, without the connective, is a supplementary recapitulation of the preceding clause, which is marked as the endpoint of the sequential chain by the connective:

- (14) *Kārīm zille bar-xmāre dīye<sup>1</sup> ʔla-mεθēwa xmāre dīye,<sup>1</sup> ʔθyela déwe gu-ḏa-lawūrta<sup>1</sup> xīlalle ʔāw-u xmāre dīye.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-lāx-xəzye cū-māndi šuq-mən-d-anna.<sup>1</sup> ʔanna julle dīye xəzye bás.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Karim went after his donkey, to fetch his donkey, wolves came into a valley, ate him and his donkey, and we did not find anything except these. We found only these clothes of his.’ (A14:17)
- (15) *qímεle šqīla-ani<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mūḏəṛəlla.<sup>1</sup> núbləlla qa-bráte dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He took them and returned them. He took them to his daughter.’ (A17:13)

Similarly in (16) the clause ‘Let him break his neck’, which does not have a connective, is appended to the preceding chain of sequential clauses as an elaborative comment and is not intended to be a component of this sequence:

- (16) *si-mxi-ʔáqlux gu-xáše dīye l-əyya kérta<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hálle šàle.<sup>1</sup> šáməṭ qḏále dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Go and kick his back on the load (he is carrying) and let him go down (the mountain). Let him break his neck.’ (A15:13)

The connective particle is used to mark the closure of a chain of turns of direct speech introduced by the verb ‘to say’. These turns interlace their way through a story and are often separated by sections of narrative. The connective in the phrase *ʔu-məre* in (17) introduces a climactic speech at the end of the story in which one of the protagonists reveals himself as an angel. This is preceded by thirty-five occurrences of the direct speech formula ‘x said’ without the connective. There is clearly a consciousness on the part of the speaker that the turns in speech cohere together in a thread. The final speech of the story is not introduced by the connective (*ʔaməṛ*). This can be regarded as an elaborative tag to what precedes, functioning as an final epilogue rather than a section in the main chain of speeches.

- (17) *māre hé qəm-yāḏəanna.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-məre si-dúr l-šəpux,<sup>1</sup> ʔax-ʔarbi-šənne t-it-ʔāti plíxa qa-ʔalaha,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-pəlaxeti.<sup>1</sup> ʔana malāxən.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-lá-ʔawḏət b-xábra dīyi<sup>1</sup> gánux šaqlənna.<sup>1</sup> ʔaməṛ xátəṛ ʔalaha,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xátəṛ mšixə,<sup>1</sup> bas-lá dáqrət biyi.<sup>1</sup> t-ázən šəpi.<sup>1</sup> t-axlənne ləxmi hál ʔo-yómət mēθən<sup>1</sup> har-ʔúrxət ʔalaha dóqən b-idi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He (the monk) said “Yes, I have understood them.” He (the angel) said “Go back to your place and continue to serve God as you

have served him for forty years. I am an angel. If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life.” He says “For the sake of God and the Messiah, do not touch me. I shall go to my place. I’ll eat my bread (there) and until the day I die I shall always keep to God’s way.”’ (A15:20–21).

In some cases the placement of the connective on a clause that is not final in a sequential chain reflects the fact that the action of the clause with the connective is felt to cohere closely with that of the following clause to the extent that the two express a single seamless event. This composite event, therefore, is the final event of the chain. It is relevant to note that such composite events generally occur in the same intonation group, which is a prosodic signal of coherence (§18.3.). They are often introduced by verbs of movement, such ‘to come’, ‘to go’, ‘to take away’, as in the following:

- (18) *b-léle qimla šárya bānūda diya, t-àza, pθixla tára qðila. zilla xilla xà-yala xéna u-θéla dmixla.* ‘At night she got up, untied her bands, then went and opened the door with a key, went, ate another child and came back and went to sleep.’ (A18:3)
- (19) *šàlax, zawnáxlən kθayàθa-w t-áθax bašlǎxla b-gàñən.* ‘Let’s go down, buy for ourselves some chickens and come back and cook them ourselves.’ (A2:2)
- (20) *ja-jálde qiméle u-zila šqilǎlle o-qésa rixa.* ‘He quickly got up and went and took the long stick.’ (A22:27)
- (21) *šqilǎlla tása b-lèle u-núblalla zǎdyalla gu-ða-dérta.* ‘They took the bowl in the night and carried it away and threw it into a house enclosure.’ (A15:11)

In general it may be said that the use of the connective particle constitutes heavy morphological coding of the semantic connection, in contrast to the light coding of asyndesis. This heavy coding is used at the end of sequences as end weighting to mark closure. Related to this function of halting a sequence, is its function of marking a lack of sequence between clauses. In (22) and (23), for example, events that take place simultaneously with the one preceding it are linked in each case by the connective particle:

- (22) *’ati tú-tiwa làxxa. u-súsi páyǎš làxxa u-’ána bráta masqánna be-bába diya.* ‘You stay here and my horse will stay here and I shall take the girl up to the house of her father.’ (A29:41)



- (23) *dmíxele Dáwið kóra lāxxa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-báxta dmíxtela lāxxa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔo-rábbən dmíxele lāxxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Blind David slept here, the woman slept here and the monk slept here.’ (A16:9)

One may say that these passages express a slowing of the temporal line and so are more static than dynamic temporal sequences. Sometimes a series of clauses that express temporally sequential events are linked together by a repeated use of the connective particle. This is typically found in passages that do not belong to the main foreground of the narrative and do not crucially advance the narrative line. It can be regarded, therefore, as a strategy to express the slowing down of the progress of the narrative, e.g.

- (24) *xílela xa-rámša<sup>1</sup> ʔu-priqela,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-dáryalle šwiθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They ate dinner and finished (the meal), then they (each) laid out a bed.’ (A16:9)
- (25) *qémi sáli zoníla tórté-kθaye ʔu-məθēla-w<sup>1</sup> mattíla gu-qušárta mbašlila-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-yátwi ʔaxlí.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They go down and buy two chickens and bring them back. They put them in a pan and cook them, then sit down to eat them.’ (A2:3)
- (26) *túvela támá.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xílela ʔixála<sup>1</sup> ʔu-píše dmíxe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They sat there and they ate food and they stayed to sleep.’ (A15:7–8)

The narrator sometimes slows down the action expressed by verbs of movement by repeating the verb. The connective particle is often used to assist in this strategy, spinning out the action as it were. In (27), for example, the repeated series of the verb *siqla* ‘she went up’ has the effect of expressing gradual movement:

- (27) *ʔu-siqla-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-siqla-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-siqla-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-siqla-w<sup>1</sup> ʔé-ga t-íla-qriwota ʔállá.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She (gradually) came up and up and up and up. When she was near to her...’ (A4:17)

Similar constructions are used to express long journeys, which take a long time to complete, e.g.

- (28) *θéla b-ʔúrxa-w<sup>1</sup> θéla-w θéla-w θéla-w θéla.<sup>1</sup> tre-!lá yománe wéla b-ʔúrxa t-là-xala,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-t-là-štaya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He came on the road. He came and came and came and came. He was on the road for two or three days, without food and without drink.’ (A26:16)
- (29) *zília b-šaқиθa, zília-w zília-w zília.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They went along in the stream, they went and went and went.’ (A8:12)

- (30) *xíšla-w xíšla-w xíšla,*<sup>1</sup> *tàryela gu-yáma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They travelled and travelled and travelled, they sailed on the sea.’ (A14:38)

In passages describing a habitual situation speakers often join clauses or groups of clauses together with the connective particle when they do not intend these as sequential activities but rather as various aspects of the situation that come to mind, e.g.

- (31) *mádre deréwa áraq tla-xlúla,*<sup>1</sup> *sab-xlúla rába náše čedúwa.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-méθéwa ’áwwe pèrmúwa y-odúwa qálya.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-méθéwa rázza ’u-məndiyàne<sup>1</sup> béna hál-yomət xlúla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would put aside arak for the wedding, since many people were invited. They would bring sheep, slaughter them and make *qalya*. They would bring rice and other things (and continue thus) until the day of the wedding.’ (B5:23)
- (32) *y-odáxwa lèbe-u,*<sup>1</sup> *gaxkàxwa-w<sup>1</sup> zamràxwa-w<sup>1</sup> xamláxwa biya.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-y-amràxwa: d-xùlena-w<sup>1</sup> y-ámər len-kpina-w<sup>1</sup> xəðya-w<sup>1</sup> m-án məndiyàne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would make tricks, laughed, sang and enjoyed the occasion. We would say “Eat!” and he would say “I am not hungry”, in fun, things like that.’ (B5:33)

Repetition of a clause given ballast by the particle may be used to present its content with added prominence, e.g.

- (33) *lēs-’aθəx hayoràxlux<sup>1</sup> ’u-béθux xoš-’əqəð<sup>1</sup> ’u-xoš-’əqəð.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall not come to help you any more. Let your house burn! Let it burn!’ (A48:6)

Likewise the motivation to use the connective before the negated clauses in (34) appears to be to enhance the force of the denial:

- (34) *’ána skínta mattónna l-qðàl<sup>1</sup> ’u-lá mattónna l-qðàləx.*<sup>1</sup> *rési parmənnə<sup>1</sup> ’u-résəx là parmənnə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall put the knife to my neck, I shall not put it to your neck! I shall cut off my head, I shall not cut off your head!’ (A14:35)

The heavy coding of the connective particle is sometimes used to mark the onset of the main narrative section of a story after the preliminary background section, e.g.

- (35) *’itwa xa-málka t-Yàman.*<sup>1</sup> *’itwale xa-bróna<sup>1</sup> yākàna-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-qíme ’áw ’u-bròn-díye ’u-tre-wázire plíte şəda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a king of Yemen. He had a son who was an only child. He and his son together with two ministers went out hunting.’ (A14:36)

The connective particle is used to link a clause expressing an event and one that expresses a temporally overlapping state or ongoing activity.

- (36) *qídlle béθət duglāna-w<sup>1</sup> ʔáxni là-ðiye bíye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The house of the liar has burnt down, while we did not know about it.’ (A48:7)
- (37) *nāmo ʔiθ xa-náša máše táwər réšət Zālo ʔu-Rustāmo sàxi?*<sup>21</sup> ‘Is there somebody who can break the head of Zāl while Rustam is alive?’ (A29:11)
- (38) *w-ána qəm-maxēli<sup>1</sup> w-āti xyára bìyi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But they beat me while you were looking at me.’ (A2:10)
- (39) *ʔaw-ráqa ʔu-ʔaw-xéna šaqálla xa-kílo dàwe mánne díye,<sup>1</sup> máxe gu-rése díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘While he was running, the other took a kilo of gold in his hands and hit him (with it) on his head.’ (A14:94)

Note that in such stative or progressive clauses the copula is often omitted. This reflects a degree of dependency on the event clause (§17.6.1.) in that they have a function of an adverbial modifier.

In (40–43) the temporally overlapping state clause has an adversative or concessive sense, in that it is not the state that is expected to exist in combination with the event in question:

- (40) *díya t-ámər<sup>1</sup> ʔáp ʔanna-júlle t-ilà-llux<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáyya xmárta diyila.*<sup>1</sup> *w-āti xázyatli ʔána tíwa l-xāša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He will say now that also these clothes that are on you and this ass are mine, but you have seen that I was sitting on its back.’ (A6:12)
- (42) *málka kribile<sup>1</sup> ʔu-b-gáne málka mírewa ʔm-hawéli bráta<sup>1</sup> t-yánna qa-bronèxu.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The king became angry, although the king himself had said “If I have a daughter I shall give her to your son.”’ (A25:8)
- (43) *píšla dəžmənne,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáni là-xəzye ġdádə,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-là-mšuθe hátxa mándi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘So, they became enemies, although they had not met each other and had not said (to each other) any such a thing.’ (B19:2)

The same applies to (44), in which the question ‘but what have I done?’ is functionally equivalent to ‘but I have done nothing (to deserve it)’:

- (44) *qəm-darətli gu-d-áwwa qúnja.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔána mún wíða?*<sup>21</sup> ‘You have put me in this hole, but what have I done?’ (A14:23)

Two co-ordinated copula clauses may be linked with the connective, e.g.

- (45) *ʔáxni<sup>1</sup> kəslən<sup>1</sup> šābθa<sup>1</sup> ʔila šawwà-yome<sup>1</sup> ʔu-yàrxax<sup>1</sup> ʔile tlaθi-yome.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days.’ (A17:13)

- (46) *rába hawənàɛle,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔup-báxte díye<sup>1</sup> t-íle gwírəlla<sup>1</sup> rába hawənàntɛla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He is very clever and also his wife, whom he married, is very clever.’ (A17:21)
- (47) *ʔáw brōn-málka rába šapìrele<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hawənàɛle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘That son of a king is very good-looking and is clever.’ (A4:3)

A copula clause that expresses a comment on a preceding statement may be introduced by the connective as in (48). This may be regarded as the use of heavy coding to express closure:

- (48) *ʔo-yálat báyàwale<sup>1</sup> hóle ʔəθya-w<sup>1</sup> qam-yawálla yaləxθa ʔəlli.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔəyyɛla kùlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her scarf, and that is all.’ (A4:24)

In a few cases the connective particle *w* expresses logical sequence, e.g.

- (49) *hadíya ʔáti málkən-it<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hál ʔámra t-óðəx xadùθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now you are our king, so give us an order for us to celebrate.’ (A14:46)
- (50) *b-šəna θélux!<sup>1</sup> ʔáyo ʔərxiwət<sup>1</sup> ʔu-là-zədat.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Welcome! Today you are my guest, so you should not be afraid.’ (A14:32)

### 18.1.2. fa-

A few informants use the Arabic connective particle *fa-*. This, however, is by no means an established feature of the dialect. It is entirely absent in the speech of some informants. In the texts that contain this particle it is used in the following ways.

#### 18.1.2.1. Logical Sequence

In expository texts it is sometimes used to express a logical consequence of a situation described in what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *b-šəryəwáθa šaxinta y-óya dúnye.<sup>1</sup> fa-y-átwi náše t̄əlla,<sup>1</sup> t̄əllat ʔilanəne,<sup>1</sup> tuθàne,<sup>1</sup> gawzàne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘During the saint day festivals it is always hot, so people sit in the shade, the shade of trees, mulberry trees, walnut trees.’ (B6:25)
- (2) *qále díye y-áθe čakčàkta,<sup>1</sup> mánne díye čak čak čak čak.<sup>1</sup> fa-ʔáwwa qésa mút-talle šəmme díye čakčàka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It makes a sound like čak čak čak čak. So they gave this stick the name čakčàka.’ (B6:57)
- (3) *ma-t-wéwa ʔəθye náše<sup>1</sup> ʔənnəxérət Mšixə,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wéwa ràbe<sup>1</sup> Mar-Yuḥánna lá-mšele kút-xa dréle qáwəwət míya b-rəše.<sup>1</sup> qímle müríslə hátxa míya ʔəlləy<sup>1</sup>*

*yà'mi<sup>1</sup> kùlley<sup>1</sup> ta-t-máta míya 'állèy.<sup>1</sup> fa-l-d-áw tuxsa,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni 'ó-yoma y-ódèxi 'áp-'axni musàrde.<sup>1</sup>* ‘So many people came around Christ, so many, that Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody. He scattered water over them like this, so that the water would reach all of them. So, in this way we perform (the festival of) *musarde* on that day.’ (B6:10–11)

In a narrative context, the consequence may also have an element of temporal sequentiality to what precedes, e.g.

- (4) *náše mšuréla xnàqa,<sup>1</sup> xàkma náše,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xákma mxulšàla gána.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xákma síqla garāwáθat bâte.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xákma síqla dukáne ramáne qa-t-la-máti míya 'àlla.<sup>1</sup> fa-málka,<sup>1</sup> málka híwle 'àmra<sup>1</sup> móre kúl-xa náša šàyəm.<sup>1</sup> šàyəm,<sup>1</sup> híč-məndi lá-'axəl t̄l̄à yománe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘People began to drown—some people, some saved themselves. Some went up onto the roofs of houses. Some went up onto high places so that the water would not reach them. So, the king gave an order saying “Everybody should fast. (Everybody) should fast and should not eat anything for three days.”’ (B6:18–19)

#### 18.1.2.2. *Division into Discourse Sections*

The particle is sometimes used to mark off sections of discourse, which are not necessarily logically or temporally sequential to one another. In (1), for example, the first *fa-* introduces a section that indicates the season of the cultivation of the rice. This does not follow what precedes sequentially but rather has the status of a parenthetical insertion. The second *fa-* signals the shift back to the description of the cultivation process, with a recapitulatory reference to irrigation:

- (1) *zrétət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> zrútət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'ára y-áwa sapiqta.<sup>1</sup> qam-dàna,<sup>1</sup> tré-yomaθa t̄l̄àθa,<sup>1</sup> maštèwala<sup>1</sup> qá-t xáčča pészawa rakixta.<sup>1</sup> fa-'áyya 'i-zāriwala šuráye b-yárxət t̄l̄àθa,<sup>1</sup> 'arba,<sup>1</sup> xámša hatxàne,<sup>1</sup> sab-'áwəwa b-qèta y-áwe rəzza.<sup>1</sup> fa-deréwa míya gáwa díya<sup>1</sup> 'u-məθéwa tàwə<sup>1</sup> 'u-zāriwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘As for the sowing of rice, the cultivation of rice—the ground was (left) empty. Three or four days beforehand, they would irrigate it so that it would become quite soft. They cultivated this beginning in March, April or May, in such (months) as these, since by summer it would be rice. They would put water onto it. They would bring oxen and cultivate it.’ (B5:76)

In (2) the *fa-* is placed at the beginning of a new section that recapitulates the statement ‘My brother has gone’ and so is not directly sequential to what precedes:

- (2) *málka t-áwət basima.<sup>1</sup> xóni mšudərrux.<sup>1</sup> xóni zille ʔu-lá θèle.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-díya ʔána hon-xšáwa leš-ʔàθe.<sup>1</sup> sab-ʔáy ʔúrxa hon-šmíta rába náše zílela bíya<sup>1</sup> w-áp-xa léle díra-w ʔəθya.<sup>1</sup> **fa**-xóni zille,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔána gárəg ʔázən bar-xòni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Oh King, may you be well. You have sent my brother. My brother has gone and not come back. Now I am thinking that he will not come back any more, since I have heard that many people have gone that way but nobody has returned and come back. My brother has gone and I must go after my brother.’ (A8:60–61)

In (3) the particle introduces a section that does not convey any new information but repeats the content of what precedes for the sake of underscoring an important point:

- (3) *deréwale-u šatéwale t-là míya.<sup>1</sup> **fa**-ʔa-štéθa šatéwala t-lá míya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They would serve it and drink it without water. They would drink that drink without water.’ (B5:14)

### 18.1.3. ʔap/ʔup

The particle ʔap, which occasionally has the form ʔup, is normally combined with a following nominal or independent pronoun. Its function depends on the informational status of the item following it, namely whether it is topical or focal in status.

#### 18.1.3.1. *Topical Function*

The combination of ʔap with a topical item is found in narratives. It typically occurs at the beginning of the clause followed by an independent subject pronoun with a referent that is accessible from the immediately preceding discourse and constitutes the topical pivot for the new information of the clause. This construction generally signals that the clause is linked sequentially to what precedes but constitutes a boundary in the discourse. It should be recalled that the use of an independent subject pronoun rather than zero anaphora is a strategy of ‘heavy coding’ to mark a boundary (§17.7.4.1.). The particle ʔap is an explicit marker of connection, which is combined with this boundary marking strategy. The particle cannot stand independently and must attach itself to a participant in the clause.

This construction often occurs at the beginning of a narrative section that follows direct speech, e.g.

- (1) *móre ’ámrət t̄la-màlka<sup>1</sup> xzélux b-xàlmux<sup>1</sup> dúnyε ráya t̄le.<sup>1</sup> ’áp-aw-z̄ilele<sup>1</sup> x̄iša mátya k̄as-màlka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It said “Say to the king: You saw in your dream that that it was raining foxes” So, he went and he entered into the presence of the king.’ (A1:6–7)
- (2) *móre t̄la-bábe díye báyyən p̄ált̄ən š̄èda,<sup>1</sup> ’ána ’u-xuràne,<sup>1</sup> gu-t̄úra,<sup>1</sup> t̄-áwe ’ərət wàla<sup>1</sup> m-ánna m̄andiyàne,<sup>1</sup> q̄aqwàne,<sup>1</sup> t̄ère,<sup>1</sup> leðən-mòdi.<sup>1</sup> ’áp-awwa siqele gu-t̄úra<sup>1</sup> m̄ən-xuràne díye píš̄ele gu-t̄úra xá-yoma yóme tr̄è.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said to his father “I want to go out hunting, I together with friends, in the mountains, where there were wild sheep, such things, partridges, birds, I don’t know what.” So, he went up into the mountains with his friends and remained in the mountains one or two days.’ (A4:1–2)
- (3) *z̄iltela t̄óto<sup>1</sup> m̄óra m̄àlka,<sup>1</sup> m̄àlka,<sup>1</sup> m̄busm̄áli br̄atux.<sup>1</sup> ’áp-awwa š̄aq̄alla dá-kista qa-d-àyy,<sup>1</sup> yawàlla qa-d-àyy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The old woman went and said “Oh King, oh king, I have cured your daughter.” Then, he takes a purse for her and gives it to her.’ (A4:22)
- (4) *’áwewa báye ta-d-áyya br̄áta z̄úrta.<sup>1</sup> mq̄áwlət goràtle,<sup>1</sup> t-yàlla j̄ulla.<sup>1</sup> ’ən-là,<sup>1</sup> har-t-yàlla j̄ulləx b-k̄əfəx.<sup>1</sup> ’áp-aw z̄íla m̄úθya j̄ulle h̄úwəlla j̄ulla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘“He loves this young girl. If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them.” So, he went and brought the clothes and gave her clothes to her.’ (A14:83–84)

In (5) the topical pronoun at the front of the clause is a direct object:

- (5) *móre námú lét-mira t̄-òðən b-xàbrux.<sup>2</sup> ’áyyela.<sup>1</sup> báyyət báyyət.<sup>1</sup> la-báyyət si-pr̄umle yàla.<sup>1</sup> bába-w yámmət yàla<sup>1</sup> xamš̄i-š̄anne ’iθwala ’umra<sup>1</sup> liθwala bn̄one.<sup>1</sup> ’áwewa yàla yáwəlle ’álaha ’əlla díya ’əš̄t̄à yárxe.<sup>1</sup> ’u-’áp-awwa q̄am-parmile.<sup>1</sup> ’u-z̄illa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “Did you not say: I shall do as you say. That is that. Whether you want to do so or not, go and slaughter the baby. The father and mother of the baby did not have children for fifty years. God gave this baby to them six months ago.” So, they slaughtered him and went on their way.’ (A15:9–10)

In (6) the boundary is marked also by the narrative device *mara* (§15.4.2.3. examples 19–22):

- (6) *móre mexólta h̄óla t̄āmàha.<sup>1</sup> báyyət ’àxlət,<sup>1</sup> x̄ùl.<sup>1</sup> k̄p̄inət.<sup>1</sup> míya š̄t̄i.<sup>1</sup> ’ána la-q̄éθən b-č̄ù m̄and̄i.<sup>1</sup> sab-hud̄áye yomə-š̄ábθa l̄ē palx̄i.<sup>1</sup> m̄ara ’áp-aw k̄p̄inεwa m̄askéna.<sup>1</sup> d̄áryele mexólta x̄ilele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “The food is over there. If you want to eat, eat! You are hungry. Drink some water. I shall not touch

anything.” This is because Jews on Saturday do not work. Now he was hungry, the poor man. He put out some food and ate.’ (A14:59–60)

In (7) and (8) the clause with initial *ʔap* opens a foreground narrative section after a section giving explanatory background information:

- (7) *ʔu-ʔáwwa jáket d-o-Kārīm-addīn, 1 píštewa wáðar, 1 ʔáp-ay tēšila damma 1 ʔu-māndiyāne, 1 ʔu-šléla ʔla-yámme diyē, 1 šléla xaššāne l-béθa. 1* ‘The jacket of Karimaddin had remained outside. They daubed it in blood and the like, then went down to his mother, went down, sad, to her house.’ (A14:20)
- (8) *ʔó-yomat mári ʔlálux háðax záwna lebāna-wewa. 1 ʔúp-ati xišlux 1 mārux šqillux zúze wélux lebāna ʔax-zawna. 1* ‘The day I said that to you, the time was tricky. So you went off, said (this to the king), took the money and became tricky like the time.’ (A1:22)

The construction is occasionally used to give independence and hence prominence to a clause or clause group that expresses a climactic event at the end of a sequence, e.g.

- (9) *zilele maxéla-ʔagle ʔalle diyē 1 ʔap-ʔáw šále 1 šámətle qðále. 1* ‘He went and kicked him, and he went down (the mountain) and broke his neck.’ (A15:14)

The *ʔap* particle is in a few cases used as a boundary marker to introduce a section that supplies background information to the preceding foreground narrative. This, therefore, has a semantic connection with what precedes but is not temporally sequential to it, e.g.

- (10) *riqele xàʔa. 1 ʔap-ʔaw káčāla. 1* ‘One man ran away. He was bald.’ (B19:8)

The particle *ʔap* is sporadically used with a topical independent pronoun that does not occur at the beginning of the clause. Such clauses have greater continuity with what precedes on account of the position of the topical item. This applies, for example, to (11), where the interpretation of the phrase *ʔap-anna* as an inclusive focus (‘also these’) is not appropriate in the context. Rather the sense is rather topical (‘so... these that we are talking about’):



- (11) *huðáya l-gàre<sup>1</sup> šwiréle l-pàlga,<sup>1</sup> yába ’ànan mšúdràlla.<sup>1</sup> ’áy kálba ’ámər táma l-gàre mayóθe,<sup>1</sup> báyat šaqlálla ’ap-àna.<sup>1</sup> mrazgət gànux.<sup>1</sup> támml t-asqəx kəs-qàzi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The Jew on the roof jumped down into their midst “It was me who sent them!” “Oh (you) dog” he says “listening there on the roof. So you want to take these (coins). Prepare yourself. Tomorrow we shall go to the judge.” (A6:4)

### 18.1.3.2. Focal Function

When combined with an item in focus, the particle *’ap* has the inclusive sense of ‘also’ or ‘even’ (‘not even’ when negated). The inclusive phrase may occur anywhere in the clause, though it is found predominantly in initial or final position. The item in focus often takes the nuclear stress, which is a prosodic marker of prominence, e.g.

- (1) *’ap-àna mjarbónna<sup>1</sup> hāðð dīyi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I also shall try my luck.’ (A1:4)  
 (2) *’ap-təmməl ’axləx mánna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We could eat them also tomorrow.’ (A2:2)  
 (3) *’ap-šlāma léla daryəlle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They did not offer him even a greeting.’ (A15:13)  
 (4) *xuš-pəšən képa ’ap-àna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Let me also become a stone.’ (A8:55)  
 (5) *sab-wítela b-réši ’ap-ayya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Because this also happened to me.’ (B15:85)  
 (6) *’ana lé-yawənnə ’ap-xa-fəlsa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall not give him even a penny.’

On numerous occasions, however, the phrase with *’ap* does not bear the nuclear stress. In such cases the prosody signals a broad focus but the particle signals the informational focus on the phrase, a focus within a focus as it were, e.g.

- (7) *’ap-xmərey šqiləlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They took also their asses.’ (A7:15)  
 (8) *’ap-aw táma mitle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Also he died there.’ (A25:90)  
 (9) *’é-ga ’ap-ana báymən ’àzən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘So I also want to go.’ (A1:5)  
 (10) *’ap-míya mukléle gu-d-ε-sálla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He could hold even water in the basket.’ (A16:10)  
 (11) *hádəx ’ap-ati ’əθyət.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Meanwhile you also came.’ (A2:9)  
 (12) *’ap-ani driθəlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She put also these onto it.’ (A13:13)  
 (13) *mεθéla ’ap-áni l-bàdra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They bring also these to the threshing-floor.’ (B5:96)  
 (14) *kú-mdit t-yáwəl t-làlux<sup>1</sup> ’ap ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trè.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Everything that he gives to you, he will give also to your neighbour, twofold.’ (A3:4)  
 (15) *’ap-ayya béna dīlux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Also this time you knew it.’ (A1:19)

The phrase with *'ap* may stand in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (16) *mqawòlɛwɛn*,<sup>1</sup> *'ap-an-zúze kúlla t-in šqilalla<sup>1</sup> pǎlǎnna pǎlge*.<sup>1</sup> 'I promise, I'll divide into halves also all the money that I took.' (A1:17)  
 (17) *max-t-íla brátux mšuyðánta*,<sup>1</sup> *'ap-àw*,<sup>1</sup> *'ən-lá-'azən mšuyðən*.<sup>1</sup> 'Just as your daughter has gone mad, he also, if I do not go back, will go mad.' (A4:27)

On some occasions a nominal that is within the inclusive focus of the particle is extraposed at the front of the clause and the particle is combined with a resumptive pronoun, e.g.

- (18) *qarítwa y-áwe mǎnne díye 'ap-àw*<sup>1</sup> 'The best man also would be with him.' (B5:29)  
 (19) *lǎxma 'ile 'ap-áw mǎn-xàtte*,<sup>1</sup> 'Bread is also (made) from wheat.' (B5:98)  
 (20) *bótme 'ap-'áni 'ðena*.<sup>1</sup> 'There are also terebinth nuts.' (B5:221)

The phrase *'ap-xa* is used in negated clauses in the sense of 'nobody', e.g.

- (21) *'áp-xa lɛle-mšáya mbasàmla*.<sup>1</sup> 'Nobody can cure her.' (A4:12)  
 (22) *'áp-xa lá-biš-ile-mšaya mqarów-alla díya*.<sup>1</sup> 'Nobody was able to go near her at all.' (A4:6)  
 (23) *'áp-xa léla-xzaya*.<sup>1</sup> 'She sees nobody.' (A4:38)

When combined with the preposition *mǎn* 'from', the phrase *'ap-xa* has the sense of 'none' from a collective set or 'neither' from a set of two items, e.g.

- (24) *'úp-xa mǎnnéxu là-mqabǎlle šláme*.<sup>1</sup> 'None of you should accept his greeting.' (A25:47)  
 (25) *'úp-xa mǎnna lá-wewea klàya*.<sup>1</sup> 'Neither of them had stopped (beforehand), but were constantly crying.' (A25:5)

#### 18.1.4. -ži

The suffixed particle *-ži*, which sometimes occurs in the augmented form *-žigɛn*, has a function that is similar to that of the particle *'ap*. As with *'ap*, the function of *-ži* depends on the informational status of the item it is attached to, namely whether it is topical or focal.

18.1.4.1. *Topical Function*

The particle is often attached to a clause initial nominal or independent pronoun that has topical status, in that it has been referred to in the preceding discourse and is the pivot for the new information of the clause. The particle can be interpreted as enhancing the topical prominence of the initial item. This reinforces the boundary marking function of the clause initial topic. In most cases the initial topical item is the grammatical subject. This often constitutes a shift in subject referent from the preceding discourse, as in (1–4). The clause may be sequential to what precedes (1–3) or overlapping temporally with it (4):

- (1) *móre yába hàyyo,<sup>1</sup> 'aθitu,<sup>1</sup> ċdetu<sup>1</sup> ta-mšaxálpī šámmat Čùxo<sup>1</sup> mattúle xá-šamma xèna.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna-žī 'áθyela.<sup>1</sup> xilela-w<sup>1</sup> šátyela.<sup>1</sup>* 'He said "Come, come, you are invited" in order for them to change the name Čuxo and give him a another name. They came. They ate and drank.' (A7:3)
- (2) *dmixela.<sup>1</sup> xá-bena xéta qímela<sup>1</sup> qèdamta.<sup>1</sup> yála-žīgān qímēle fšīrele<sup>1</sup> mxúllalla páθe dīye-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-zīlele šúle dīye.<sup>1</sup>* 'They went to sleep. Again they got up in the morning. The young man got up and had breakfast, washed his face and went to his work.' (A21:16)
- (3) *qímela mšuxálpē b-júlle.<sup>1</sup> 'awwá-žī zīlele.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-kusíθa múslalla gu-'éne dīye t-Čùxo.<sup>1</sup>* 'They exchanged clothes. He (the shepherd) went and lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes.' (A7:19)
- (4) *mubsəmlux,<sup>1</sup> huriyyāt.<sup>1</sup> w-ána qəm-maxèli<sup>1</sup> w-áti xyára bīyi.<sup>1</sup> 'ána-žī m-kérbi 'áθyān 'á-kθeθa múttanna rəš-núra 'u-xilənna.<sup>1</sup>* 'You enjoyed yourself (with) houris. But they beat me while you were looking at me. I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it.' (A2:10–11)

The particle occurs in constructions where two topics are set up in a disjunctive opposition ('either *x* or *y*'), as in (5), where the nuclear stress occurs on the subject constituent since the lexical content of the verb is given information:

- (5) *har-déwe t-axlīli.<sup>1</sup> har-t-ázān gu-d-anna hambisāye<sup>1</sup> har-hambisāye-žī t-axlīli.<sup>1</sup>* '(Either) the wolves are sure to eat me (or) I shall go to these giants and the giants are sure to eat me.' (A39:4)

In some cases the subject constituent continues that of the preceding discourse, but the construction nevertheless marks a boundary on some other level of the discourse. In (6), for example, the clause *'awwā-žī qáryālla*

(‘He called to them’) marks the onset of a section where the protagonist engages directly with the inhabitants of the town, whereas in what precedes he surveys the scene:

- (6) *xuláša ʾaláha mutáḥqalle gu-d-a-mḏíta t-íla ʾe-bráta d-o-málka.<sup>1</sup> xázyalla náše j̄mye<sup>1</sup> qúrbət qásrət málka,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mṣawóthe xà-məndi,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mára xà-məndi.<sup>1</sup> ʾáwwa-zi qáryalla máre mōdila qásṣət.<sup>2</sup>* ‘In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was. He saw the people gathered near the palace of the king, each one saying something, each one telling something. He called to them and said “What has happened?”’ (A4:11)

If the clause with the initial topic is negated, it may stand in an adversative relationship to what precedes, e.g.

- (7) *ʾó-yōm t-íle plíta<sup>1</sup> bróne díye mīthele.<sup>1</sup> ʾu-ʾáxni-zi lác muqíme m-báṭre díye málka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘On the day he left, his son died. But we have not installed (another) king after him.’ (A4:32)

#### 18.1.4.2. *Focal Function*

When the particle is attached to a nominal constituent that is in focus it has the inclusive sense of ‘also’ or ‘even’. The focused item, which may occur anywhere in the clause, generally takes the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (1) *ʾána hadiya m-kàslən θáya.<sup>1</sup> ʾu-báyye ʾáṭe xazélux<sup>1</sup> ʾu-qa-t xazéla bráta-zi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I am now coming back from him and he wants to come to see you and to see also the girl.’ (A4:24)
- (2) *ʾu-b-léle t-yánne xa-báxta-zi<sup>1</sup>* ‘And at night I shall give him also a woman.’ (A14:63)
- (3) *ʾúle lára gu-hadiqa<sup>1</sup> ʾu-ʾúle dārga-ziḡm.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was a door in the garden and there was also a main gate.’ (A17:23)
- (4) *ʾm-háwe dāwa-zi<sup>1</sup> ʾáxni t-yawáxla xa-b-ḥlāṭa ʾálle díye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (if it is lost).’ (A7:10)

On a few occasions the nuclear stress is placed elsewhere in the intonation group, e.g.

- (5) *dóryalla š-qaràwət,<sup>1</sup> ʾanna wajjúwe díya-zi múttalla tàma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They put her on the bed and they also put her effects there.’ (A21:7)

The particle is occasionally attached to a verb in order to express the climax of a sequence of events. This may be regarded as a focal inclusive function, marking explicitly that the verb is to be included in the sequence, e.g.

- (6) *síqele šqille xa-kèpa' múttalla 'àxxa' kaləbθa, ' qīləlla, ' dəryəlla, ' mquləbzəlla-žī.* 'He went up and took a stone, put the dog here, killed it and (finally) turned it upside down.' (A30:20)

#### 18.1.5. 'ina

The basic function of this particle is presentative, i.e. it draws attention to something. The item to which attention is directed may be a referent or a proposition. The contexts where it is most commonly used are as follows.

##### 18.1.5.1. *In Association with Verbs of Perception*

It is used in narrative after a verb of perception, usually 'to see', to introduce what is perceived. In this context it introduces a proposition rather than a referent and so is equivalent to the English complementizer 'that'. The proposition typically denotes a state or an imperfective progressive activity rather than a perfective action. The clause that expresses the proposition generally lacks a copula element, e.g.

- (1) *'əθyela xəzye' 'ina tēna kulle məlyə šəxta.* 'They came and saw that the saddle bag was completely full of filth.' (A7:11)  
 (2) *qiməle plitə' xəzya 'ina bəθət Qara Teždin qəða.* 'He went out and saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning.' (A26:53)  
 (3) *xzēli b-xəlmī' 'ina' 'ána zila l-pardəsa.* 'I saw in my dream that I went to Paradise.' (A2:7)  
 (4) *qimela zile xəzye 'ina dūs.* 'They went and saw that it was true.' (A14:13)  
 (5) *xárθa tfiqe bíye xəzyalle 'ina šənya, ' npila.* 'Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen.' (A14:88)

In (6) a construction of this type is followed by a negated construction with the verb of perception and the presentative particle gapped after the negative particle *la*. The *'ina* before the *la* in the negative construction here has an adversative function (see §18.1.5.3.):

- (6) *xzələ' 'ina núra təpya b-béθe diyə, ' ina là bəθa-qída.* 'They saw that fire had been kindled in his house, but not that his house had burnt down.' (A48:3)

Occasionally the complement clause has a deictic copula in addition to the presentative particle, e.g.

- (7) *wíra xázya 'ína kúl-xa mexólta hóla mbušle wíde hàzər.* 'He went in and saw that all kinds of food were cooked and made ready.' (A14:29)

The particle is sometimes used before a verb of perception. This construction is used when the complement of the verb is an object referent rather than a proposition, e.g.

- (8) *paθəxle tára, 'ína xazéle 'o-'ažvána támara.* 'He opened the door and saw the caretaker there.' (A22:43)  
 (9) *laxma pθixle 'ína xáze 'sri 'áçça ləxme.* 'He opened (the basket of) bread and saw that there were twenty-nine loaves of bread.' (A17:12)  
 (10) *'áθya gəsqa 'ína xazyála Leliθa.* 'She comes and looks. She sees Leliθa.' (A19:8)  
 (11) *qédamta qiméle xále diye, 'ína xózyəlla 'án 'askarəye.* 'The next morning his maternal uncle got up and saw those soldiers.' (A25:79)  
 (12) *Səttiye xðirtəla 'ína xziθəlle.* 'Səttiye searched and found him.' (A25:37)

When the complement of the verb 'to see' is a proposition the subject of the proposition is sometimes raised into the position of direct object of the verb. In such case the presentative particle is placed either after the verb (13–14), which is characteristic of constructions with proposition complements, or before the verb, which is characteristic of those with referent complements (15):

- (13) *xazéle 'ína béθe məlyə.* 'He sees that his house is full.' (A21:8)  
 (14) *'imə t-ín práməlle, ' xzáyən naθyàθe 'ína t-hewəne.* 'When I was slaughtering it, I saw that its ears were those of animals.' (A23:39)  
 (15) *'ína qəm-xazənnəx 'áti rába hawənánta.* 'I have seen that you are very clever.' (A40:16)

On some occasions the particle is used to introduce something that is perceived without the explicit expression of a verb of perception. What is perceived may be a proposition or a referent. If it is a proposition, this usually denotes a state or progressive activity, e.g.

- (16) *qimela mbádla nəše 'an-marəwáθa 'ína 'əwéy kúlla npile twíra qðaləy.* 'In the morning the people, the owners (of the sheep), got up (and saw) that they had all fallen and broken their necks.' (B18:7)

- (17) *widle hãtxa,¹ ʔina kulla triða.¹* ‘He put (his hand here) like this (and felt it) was all wet.’ (A18:30)
- (18) *mãtti bála gu-yàma,¹ ʔina¹ ʔa-sústæt yamàða¹ nabòlalla¹ Ālkãže.¹* ‘They looked at the sea (and saw) the mare of the seas taking away Ālkãže.’ (A12:34)
- (19) *ʔán-naše kulla xirra bíye díye¹ ʔina qurtánæt xmáre tàma.¹* ‘All the people looked at it (and saw) that asses’ blankets were there.’ (A23:15)

Note that a 3rd person pronominal subject has zero expression in (20) and (21):

- (20) *rišele¹ mãlka¹ ʔina gu-čãma.¹* ‘The king woke up (and saw) that he was in the bathroom.’ (A17:27)
- (21) *bãxte díye xá-bena knãša-wawa,¹ xírta hátxa túwæt ʔisàqða,¹ ʔina bdìla.¹* ‘While his wife was sweeping, she looked at the diamond of the ring and saw that it had changed colour!’ (A18:25)

In (22) it is used before a clause containing a *qille* verb form denoting an event that took place at a point immediately preceding the act of perception:

- (22) *mára ʔóx ya-ʔalãhi! b-xšáwæn gáwri ðèle.¹ pθixle tàra.¹ ʔina ðèle.¹* ‘She said “Oh, my God! I think my husband has come back.” She opened the door (and saw that) he had come back.’ (A39:18)

The perceived item may be a referent, e.g.

- (23) *ʔo-xabúša pθixtalle,¹ ʔina ʔisàqða díya.¹* ‘She opened up the apple and (saw) her ring.’ (A4:19)
- (24) *qímela bãbi,¹ šqílalla xonãwáðe díye ʔð-parša¹ d-o-magàra,¹ ʔina xa-marágla gòra¹ málja dàwe.¹* ‘He set off, my dear, and his brothers took off the flat stone, of that cavern (and they found) a large pot full of gold coins.’ (A39:15)
- (25) *pθixtalla ʔina kulla dàwe.¹* ‘She opened them (the bags) and saw all the gold coins.’ (A39:20)

When a nominal is followed by an non-restrictive attributive description the construction can sometimes be interpreted as a referent or a proposition. This is particularly the case when the noun is definite in status and so is suitable for functioning as a clause subject, e.g.

- (26) *pθixəlle tǎra mǎlla, ʾina huðáya lwíša kásxa-w júlle xàθe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The mullah opened the door (and saw) the Jew wearing / that the Jew was wearing a smart suit and new clothes.’ (A6:6)

Observations of the non-existence of something are expressed either by the negator *la* or by the negative existential particle *liθ*, e.g.

- (27) *ʾu-gásəq báre ðiye ʾina la-dəbba, la-čù mǎndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He looked behind him (and saw) that there was no bear, nothing.’ (A20:12)
- (28) *qímela šábθa qedámta, ʾina lá Fǎrxo, lá ču-mǎndi. liθ.*<sup>1</sup> ‘On Saturday morning they set off (to find him) but there was no Farxo or anything (associated with him to be found).’ (A25:90)
- (29) *xa-béna hǎðəx ʾiśšela ʾanna maɣmùne, ʾina ʾáni liθ.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After a while the monkeys woke up (and saw that) they (the others) were not there.’ (A14:57)

In some cases the presentative particle is combined with the deictic copula in constructions without explicit verbs of perception, e.g.

- (30) *w-ánna báθəx šmiṭəlla, siqela gù-rəš-ṭura. ʾina hóla xá-qayəmθa kθiwta tǎma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After they had defeated them, they went up into the mountain. They found there an inscribed monument.’ (A14:55)
- (31) *zǐlən l-tǎrət pardəsa ʾina hóla Mšixa ʾu-Muḥámmad kólɣe gu-tǎrət pardəsa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I went to the door of Paradise and (saw) the Messiah and Muḥammad standing in the door of Paradise.’ (A2:7)
- (32) *zǐlele máxyele tǎrə d-ò-gəppa. ʾina hóla tǔwe ʾšawwə hambišáye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went and knocked on the door of the cave. (He saw) seven giants sitting there.’ (A39:3–4)

#### 18.1.5.2. *Introducing Preliminary Background Material*

In some cases the presentative particle *ʾina* is used to mark a situation that acts as the grounds for what follows. The effect of drawing particular attention to this is a device for setting it up as a boundary in the discourse, acting as the onset of what follows. In narrative, for example, it may mark an event that acts as the temporal background of a following foreground event. In such cases it is equivalent to an English ‘when’-clause, e.g.

- (1) *ʾu-ʿ-Łelíθa θèla. ʾáy kúlla dònəla, dóna, mǎšxa. ʾina θéla l-tǎra, mattóyalla ʾída pθáxa tǎra, qəm-maxyála ʾáyɣa prəzla l-ʾída dýa qəm-maqðàla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The



Leliθa came. She was all (made of) fat, fat, oil. Now, (when) she came to the door, as she put her hand to open the door, she (the daughter-in-law) struck the iron bar into her hand and burnt it.’ (A19:4–5)

- (2) *!lálθna hon-yáwtəlla mōʔəd.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina t-áθi lāxxa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáti kúl fàtra*<sup>1</sup> *mʔašálla gánux baràye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have made an assignation with the three of them. Now, (when) they come here, each time you hide yourself outside.’ (A22:21–22)

The construction may be used to express the causal grounds for the following foreground event, e.g.

- (3) *ziltela*<sup>1</sup> *móra ʔəni qátlən ya-ʔálaha bábí.*<sup>2</sup> *ʔina kúlla ʔan-xéne bnáθət guràne,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya Šóše brátət fāqùre-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> *zilla qəm-qatlàla*<sup>1</sup> *Šóšət Xère.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She went (home) and said “Whom should I kill, oh God?” Now, all the others were daughters of gentlemen, but this Šóše was the daughter of poor people. So, she went and killed Šóšət Xere.’ (A38:3)

It is used sometimes to introduce the causal grounds in a conditional type constructions and so can be rendered by an English ‘if’-clause, e.g.

- (4) *ʔina ʔanna xonǎwàθi,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔarbi xonǎwàθi,*<sup>1</sup> *kúššət maqúrət xà,*<sup>1</sup> *páyǎš ʔúmri tmàni šǎnne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If each year you marry off one of these forty brothers of mine, I’ll be eighty years old (before I marry).’ (A12:1)

In (5) the construction is used to offer the grounds supporting a following request:

- (5) *ʔina kupáli píšla šmìtʔa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-piláwe píšla šmìte.*<sup>1</sup> *júlli lílɪ t-lošəna.*<sup>1</sup> *báyən xázən xáθi Nasimo*<sup>1</sup> *xúš məθəna!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Look, my stick has broken and my shoes have broken, I have no shoes to wear. I just want to see my sister Nasimo, then let me die!’ (A37:17)

We may include in this category a construction such as (6), in which the presentative particle marks a section that cites the words of a wedding song. This is the basis for the following explanatory description, which is the main point the speaker wishes to make:

- (6) *ʔina lát-šmaya y-amríwa: ʔilanəni mxuršǎnna.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔidət qaríwa twinna.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-kʔele xale zəwǎnna.*<sup>1</sup> *qamáya xàle zəwǎnwale*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xaráye deréwa məzàde*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəni báyə t-zəwǎnna.*<sup>2</sup> ‘Don’t you hear them saying: *Our tree has dried out. The hand of the best man is numb. Where is his uncle to buy it?* First his uncle would

buy it and then they would hold an auction “Who wants to buy it?”’ (B8:36–38)

### 18.1.5.3. *Drawing Attention to Something Unexpected*

The presentative particle is used in a variety of contexts to introduce a clause that denotes a situation that is assumed to be unexpected following the preceding context or one that is contrastive with it. In such cases it is most idiomatically translated by the English adversative particle ‘but’, e.g.

- (1) *ʔəθyela,<sup>1</sup> plīte bārquḷ mōūyē.<sup>1</sup> ʔina mōūtéy kúlla mxíθa l-kòma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They came out opposite their town. But, their town was all covered in black.’ (A4:28)
- (2) *zīlela nášət m̃əθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔina ha-t-íla zīle nášət máθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-núra ʔmyele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The people of the village went (to help), but as they were going, the fire was put out.’ (A48:3)
- (3) *rába rāhatənwə,<sup>1</sup> ʔina ʔəθyele xa-yála,<sup>1</sup> xa-ʔašəta.<sup>1</sup> mūčəzəlla xəyáli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I was very peaceful, but a tiresome youth came along and annoyed me.’ (A17:7)
- (4) *ʔana bāyənwa šaqlínwali xáčča m̃əšxa<sup>1</sup> ... ta-t-áxlən b-ʔurxa<sup>1</sup> xáčča m̃əšxa-w ləxma<sup>1</sup> ʔina ʔídi šéla gu-d-áwəwa hánna linta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I wanted to take a little oil to eat on the way, a little oil and bread, but my hand has got stuck in this thing, the pot.’ (A23:8)
- (5) *xzi-ʔana m̃turšəli gáni.<sup>1</sup> ʔina léwə m̃dre gnəyux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I hid myself. But again it was not your fault.’ (A1:25)
- (6) *ʔaxni t-yawəxla ʔina fləlux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We shall hand her over, but to you (not to your father).’ (A29:64)
- (7) *b-qéta lá-məx doqəxle<sup>1</sup> ... ʔina b-sətwə<sup>1</sup> ma-t-yawéwə təlga<sup>1</sup> lá-mse jawəjwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In summer we could not catch it (the partridge)...but in winter, when there was snow, it could not walk (and we used to catch it).’ (B5:147)

It is used in exclamatory constructions expressing something surprising such as those in (8)–(11):

- (8) *ʔanna šəli<sup>1</sup> ʔina mō šáli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They went and what (a surprise when) they went down!’ (A25:13)
- (9) *dmíxele xá-bena rəyəs<sup>1</sup> ʔina mō rəyəs!<sup>1</sup>* ‘He went to sleep, then woke up, but what (a surprise when) he woke!’ (A14:30)
- (10) *xá-bena plíttəla xa-brəta.<sup>1</sup> ʔina mù-brata!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Then a girl came out, but what a girl!’ (A13:11)

- (11) *mṭēle l-o-qāšra.<sup>1</sup> šūrə d-o-qāšra<sup>1</sup> ʔina ʔamrənnux xamsi metrele,<sup>1</sup> xamsi-metre ramùθe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He reached the palace. Indeed, I tell you the wall of the palace was fifty metres, its height was fifty metres.’ (A25:54)

We may perhaps include in this section constructions such as the following:

- (12) *yātla qa-d-àni<sup>1</sup> ʔina gəldəx šalxənne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Give it to them, (and all will be well) but (if not) I’ll flay *your* skin.’ (A27:8)

#### 18.1.5.4. Climactic Result

Another identifiable usage of the presentative particle is to mark the climactic result of a chain of events. This is illustrated by (1) and (2), in both of which the narrative ends with injury:

- (1) *šléla tàma<sup>1</sup> ʔina kulla gérme díya šmùte.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She went down there and all her bones were broken.’ (A20:4)
- (2) *qəm-patlá g<sup>3</sup> ān-díya,<sup>1</sup> ... qəm-maxyála δā-ḫena.<sup>1</sup> b-ḏá-ʔaqla díya ḫéna qəm-maxyáli ʔaxxa<sup>1</sup> rəši,<sup>1</sup> qəm-ṭarpáli gu-māššāra.<sup>1</sup> ... ʔu-šriḫən<sup>1</sup> ʔu-θíθela xàθi,<sup>1</sup> ʔina rəši šmùta ʔaxxàne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It (the mule) turned itself round. ... It kicked me. With one of its legs it kicked me here, on my head, and threw me in the paddy field. ... I shouted and my sister came. My head was injured here.’ (B5:131–132)

#### 18.1.5.5. Commands

Occasionally the speaker uses the particle to give force to a command, e.g.

- (1) *ʔina m-báθər maqðàli<sup>1</sup> ʔaw-qəṭma<sup>1</sup> šaqlitule<sup>1</sup> mxamitule.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now, after she burns me, take the ashes and keep them.’ (A26:85)
- (2) *ʔina tu-ṭ-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now, sit down and I’ll tell you something.’ (A1:21)
- (3) *háwəṭ hášyər ʔina ʔáyya sústa là marḫátla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Be careful not to let that horse go.’ (A12:29)

#### 18.1.6. ga-

The particle *ga-* is used as a clausal connective with the following functions.

##### 18.1.6.1. Temporal Sequence

It sometimes signals the temporal sequentiality of an event in relation to what precedes, e.g.

- (1) *rāpili m-an-képe t-ila tàma,<sup>1</sup> ga-maxzānnux 'úrxa šàlòt.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Throw me the stones that are there, then I shall show you the way down.’ (A14:70)
- (2) *híwéle xábra tla-d-àn maymúne<sup>1</sup> ga-wírra xa-xaðùtha gáwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He gave word to the monkeys and then they became very happy.’ (A14:47)
- (3) *ga-máre mo-sùsele.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Then he said “What horse is it?”’ (A12:62)

#### 18.1.6.2. *Introducing Comment*

It may introduce a clause that presents a comment on what precedes. This may be adversative in sense (1):

- (1) *lá-màre báye xàthux.<sup>1</sup> máre báye žine.<sup>1</sup> ga-<sup>2</sup>éni žine<sup>1</sup> 'áxni lèðax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He did not say “He loves your sister.” He said “He loves Zine.” Now, we do not know (by this statement) which Zine (was meant).’ (A26:61)
- (2) *máre t-ázax qa-xàzax<sup>1</sup> žine 'ekèla.<sup>1</sup> ga-lèðax 'ekèla,<sup>1</sup> b-éni dùktheta,<sup>1</sup> 'énila 'úrxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “We shall go to find where Zine is. But we do not know where she is, in what place she is, what the road is.”’ (A26:18)

#### 18.1.6.3. *Introducing Direct Speech*

It is used at the beginning of direct speech, predominantly questions, e.g.

- (1) *mára ga-mo-xəðye b-áwra dúša.<sup>2</sup>* ‘They said “Why are we so happy about this honey?”’ (A14:15)
- (2) *máre ga-béna 'ánna kúlla t-ila zála léla mšáya b-an-<sup>2</sup>árbi bnàtha.<sup>2</sup>* ‘He said “Well, cannot all these people who are going (to fight) prevail against the forty girls?”’ (A12:58)
- (3) *máre ga-mù<sup>1</sup> qwála tla-<sup>2</sup>alàha,<sup>1</sup> ya-<sup>2</sup>àlaha<sup>1</sup> máre 'ána bəryən.<sup>2</sup>* ‘He said “Oh Lord God,” he said complaining to God “Oh God, why was I born?”’ (A14:23)
- (4) *'ámər ga-kòra<sup>1</sup> 'ána mò yánnux.<sup>2</sup>* ‘He said “Now, blind man, what can I give you?”’ (A26:57)
- (5) *'əm-mboqərra mánnux,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna d-énila,<sup>1</sup> múr ga-<sup>2</sup>ánna t-<sup>2</sup>Ájdən tēlɛla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If they ask you “Whose are these?”, say “Well, these belong to Ajdən the fox.”’ (A32:17)

## 18.2. NEGATED CLAUSES

Here we shall examine two features of clause sequences containing negated clauses.

18.2.1. *Negated Interrogative Clauses Expressing Preliminary Background Material*

A negated clause that is pronounced with intonation patterns related to those of questions (§18.5.3.) is sometimes used to signal that the situation described in the clause should be taken as the grounds for what follows. The construction is a device to draw attention to the clause, in order to set it up as a boundary in the discourse, acting as the onset of a new section. It is most commonly used to express temporal background. This may express a situation that overlaps temporally with the following main event (1–2) or a preceding event that marks its onset (3–6):

- (1) *ʿanna léla dmixe,<sup>1</sup> ʿo-rábbən múttəlla ʿáqlə dīye rš-áqlə bəxta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘While they were asleep, the monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman.’ (A16:11)
- (2) *lá y-saləxwa hātta ʿumra<sup>1</sup> xfiθewa šaləxwa sarḳóle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘When we went down to church, it was a sin to go bare-headed.’ (B10:44)
- (3) *lá māyəxwa gūða,<sup>1</sup> palḥəxwala čīta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘When we shook the churn, we would take out the curds.’ (B10:9)
- (4) *la-θéle rš-səwma,<sup>1</sup> b-šaqləxwa kúlla ʿamənən,<sup>1</sup> kúlla b-šaqləxwala<sup>1</sup> dérəxwa qəṭma mxalləxwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘When the beginning of the (Lent) fast came, we would take all our vessels, we would take them all and put ash on them to clean them.’ (B16:7)
- (5) *léle múttəlla ʿáqlə dīye<sup>1</sup>—šəwəṭ málka<sup>1</sup> ʿiwéwa dāwa<sup>1</sup>—múttəlla rš-d-ən bəz-máre,<sup>1</sup> ʿo-bəzmára xíla mən-dāwa,<sup>1</sup> šqíla mən-dāwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘When he placed his foot—the shoes of the king were made of gold—he placed them on the nails, the nail ate the gold, took some of the gold.’ (A14:28)
- (6) *ʿáyya másta la-qəm-daríla gu-d-aw-gūða,<sup>1</sup>... heš-t-là bráza,<sup>1</sup> xánčī t-la-bráza məṭwə xa-gólla y-amrile sərmo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘When they have put the yoghurt in the churn... while it is not yet dry, shortly before it becomes dry, they would fetch a herb called *sərmo*.’ (B14:1)

Occasionally the construction is used to express the causal grounds for the situation described in what follows, e.g.

- (7) *dúkəθə d-ó-gəldət təwra,<sup>1</sup> lele-wíða gódda zəra,<sup>1</sup> xzi-kəmə mášəha dwíqlə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Since he had made it into a fine thread, the place (enclosed by) the ox skin covered a great area.’ (A11:13)

On sporadic occasions the negative construction expresses the background of a preceding rather than following clause, e.g.

- (8) *maxíwale b-réšət náše,<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'áni là mbarxíwale qáša-w šamàša.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They tapped it on the head of people, while the priest and the deacon blessed them all.’ (B16:24)

### 18.2.2. *Gapping of the Negator*

When a negated clause is followed by one or more clauses that are negated in sense and elaborate on the first clause, the negative particle *la* may be gapped. This applies to all verbal forms, including imperatives (3):

- (1) *'ən-háwε 'əsrà 'iyáre xéne<sup>1</sup> 'axwáθux hawnáne,<sup>1</sup> la-matétuwa l-àwewa lóxma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'attítuwa láxxa pεšítuwa hátxa snìqe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If ten other men from Tiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (miserable condition of begging for) bread and would not be sitting here, in such a needy state.’ (B17:16)
- (2) *tùna deráxwale gáwe<sup>1</sup> qa-lá-šáliwa míya 'əltəx,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-šáliwa míya hátxa b-rəšən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would put straw in it, so that water would not flow down, so that water would not flow down on our head.’
- (3) *lá-wuð hátxa<sup>1</sup> q'túl 'anna-bnónə náše kúlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Don’t do that, don’t kill all the people.’ (A29:17)

In (4) the construction with the gapped negator is separated from the first by an intervening imperative. The gapping explains why the *'i-qaʔəl* form *y-asqən* is used with future reference (< *la-y-asqən* ‘I shall not go up’):

- (4) *lāmu lá-'asqən 'àna?<sup>2</sup> hállì hàwla.<sup>1</sup> y-'asqən kúlla qése mjāmanna<sup>1</sup> 'u-'úrxa paθxàнна<sup>1</sup> qa-t-míya šála qam-tar-gəppa?<sup>2</sup>* ‘Why should I not go (alone)? Give me a rope. (Why should I not) gather all the wood and open up the way so that the water will come down to the door of the cave.’ (A39:10)

### 18.3. INTONATION GROUP BOUNDARIES

When presenting a series of connected main clauses, the speaker may utter each clause in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (1) *jānne 'əθyela,<sup>1</sup> šqilalla Zíne<sup>1</sup> nùblalla Jazíra Bóta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The jinn came and took Zine, took her away to Jazira Bota.’ (A26:8)

- (2) *'áwwa qímele qedàmta, ' šqílalle xa-mən-súsət xàle, ' tíwa l-xáše diyē, ' 'u-šàlyā. ' 'He got up in the morning, took one of his father's horses, sat on its back and went down.'* (A25:40)
- (3) *'u-zìlele, ' múttalle réše diyē ' dmìxēle. ' 'He went, put down his head and slept.'* (A25:43)
- (4) *péšən xa-nàšra ' t-yátwən l-xàšəx ' mṭamrənnəx gu-ʔúpra. ' 'I shall become an eagle and sit on your back and bury you in the ground.'* (A25:63)

In some cases more than one main clause is placed in the same intonation group. This is found particularly with short verbal clauses, often consisting of no more than the verbal form without any nominal complements. If there are nominal complements, these tend to occur in the final clause.

In general, the effect of placing two or more clauses together in the same intonation group is to present the activities expressed by the clauses as being closely related in that they can be interpreted as forming components of a single overall event. The clauses of the series, moreover, usually have the same subject. There is no formal syntactic subordination in the form of subordinating particles and the verbs in the series are, in principle, in the same form (e.g. *qílle, qílele* etc.). There are, however, some formal signals of dependence, which reflect their close cohesion. The initial verb, for example, is combined directly with the following verbal clause in an asyndetic paratactic construction rather than being linked with the connective particle *w*, e.g.

- (5) *zìlle qílle b-xa-ṭura. ' 'It went and hit a mountain.'* (A50:10)
- (6) *táwra mítle npille táma. ' 'The ox died and collapsed there.'* (A22:9)

In a series of compound verbal forms in narrative sequences a conspicuous reflection of dependence is the omission of the copula element after the first verb (§15.4.1.3., §15.4.2.3.), e.g.

- (7) *'əṭyēle tíwa b-dìwən. ' 'He came and sat down in the reception room.'* (A26:63)

There is a particular tendency for the occurrence of prosodic bonding of clauses in a single intonation group after certain verbs (§18.3.1.– §18.3.8.) and in certain syntactic contexts (§18.3.9.– §18.3.11.).

18.3.1. *qym*

The basic meaning of this verb is ‘to get up’. When the verb occurs in a separate intonation group, it frequently has this basic meaning, e.g.

- (1) *ʔay-qimtɛla, 1 wíðta qàwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She got up and made coffee.’ (A26:31)  
 (2) *Mír-Zándin qimele 1 báye qatðlle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Mir-Zandin got up and wanted to kill him.’ (A26:67)

Also when combined with another verb in the same intonation group, the interpretation of the verb as having its basic meaning is appropriate in some contexts, e.g.

- (3) *xa-málka 1 kút-yum ðà-brata gawáwa.*<sup>1</sup> *mbádla qayámwa qatðlwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A king would marry a girl everyday. In the morning he would get up and kill her.’ (A14:1)

In many cases, however, the verb is used with a less specific meaning and functions as a general marker of the onset of an activity or situation. In several cases the interpretation is ambiguous, since the onset of a series of actions in narrative often could be interpreted as coinciding with the act of ‘getting up’. It is, indeed, this ambiguity that has led to the generalization of its meaning. In some contexts, nevertheless, the verb clearly does not admit being interpreted as denoting the physical act of ‘getting up’. It is used, for example, before verbs denoting ‘sitting down’, e.g.

- (4) *qímela tîwela, 1 wíðela tàgbir.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They sat down and made a plan.’ (A26:2)

It is attested before verbs denoting states, non-dynamic activities or passive constructions in which the grammatical subject has no dynamic role in the action, e.g.

- (5) *qímele píšele màjbur 1 Mămo dîrɛle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Mămo was forced to return.’ (A26:38)  
 (6) *ʔu-qímelle mpúltɛle muálləm.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The teacher was then brought out.’ (A22:41)

When the verb *qym* acts as an onset marker, it is used to signal some kind of boundary in the discourse, dividing the discourse into sections that cohere together. In (7), for example, the construction occurs at the onset of a section concerning the jinn. In (8) the act of replying to the letter



is presented as separate from that of capturing the dove and reading the letter. In (9) the arrival at the mountain is presented as a shift in scene and an episodic boundary. In (10) it occurs at the beginning of a narrative section after direct speech. Note that here it coincides with the use of the particle *-zi*, which is also a boundary marker (§18.1.4.1.):

- (7) *janne<sup>1</sup> t-šmàyya<sup>1</sup> qimla wídla tàgbir.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The jinn of heaven made a plan.’ (A26:1)
- (8) *Səttiye ziltəla<sup>1</sup> dwiqtəlla yáwna hàtxa,<sup>1</sup> šqiltəlle.<sup>1</sup> kθáwa qriθəlle.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qimtəla mjuwəbtəlle<sup>1</sup> ʔu-yəwtəlle qa-yəwna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Səttiye went and grabbed the dove like this and took it. She read the letter. She answered it and gave it to the dove.’ (A25:72)
- (9) *qima dart-yòma,<sup>1</sup> njiǔməlla maymùne<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xðirəle.<sup>1</sup> qimela mətyela<sup>1</sup> xa-tùra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The next day he gathered the monkeys together and toured around. They arrived at a mountain.’ (A14:48)
- (10) *máre ʔati t-ázət t-yátwət tāmàha.<sup>1</sup> šáli šalxíla julléy t-yáwne tamma.<sup>1</sup> ʔati xázət ʔəy-məwna báyət<sup>1</sup> šaqlólla ʔanna jülle,<sup>1</sup> məθəlla-lli<sup>1</sup> lílux šúla.<sup>1</sup> ʔəwəwa-zi qiməle šəlyele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “You go and sit over there. They will go down and take off their doves’ clothes. See which one you like and take the clothes (belonging to her) and bring them to me, and all will be fine.” He went down.’ (A14:80–81)

Prosodic bonding of the verb *qym* occurs in imperative and other deontic constructions, e.g.

- (11) *qu-plút m-àxxa!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Get out of here!’ (A16:11)
- (12) *qu-pégən kàde!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Get up and bake *kade* cakes!’ (A30:41)
- (13) *qu-šqúlla ʔəyya skinta!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Take this knife!’ (A15:8)
- (14) *qu-qálbəx bəθa biš-špəy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Let’s return home—that’s better.’ (A30:55)

In (15) the resultative participle *qime* is combined with imperative forms:

- (15) *qime so-məθole ʔəlli-diyi!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Go and bring him to me!’ (A7:7)

### 18.3.2. *Verbs of Movement*

These include verbs such as *ʔl* ‘to go’, *ʔy* ‘to come’, *dyr* ‘to return’, *šly* ‘to go down’, *ʔsq* ‘to go up’, which are commonly bonded prosodically with a following verb, e.g.

- (1) *Səttiye zilla qəm-dawqàla.* ‘Səttiye went and grabbed it.’ (A25:72)
- (2) *zilele máxya tǎra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went and knocked at the door.’ (A14:28)
- (3) *’u-θéle náša qəm-šaqaǎlle mánnux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A man came and took it from you.’ (A17:35)
- (4) *’ədléle<sup>1</sup> xa-bráta θiθewa dmíxta kǎslí.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This night a girl came and slept with me.’ (A26:11)
- (5) *dirre ’o-qamáya qəm-qaǎlle ’o-sàwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The first man returned and killed the old man.’
- (6) *’u-diréle šábyele rǎš-d-è-’ena.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went back down to the spring.’ (A26:32)
- (7) *’áxni tla-mò šálax ’áxni mpaltǎxle?’*<sup>1</sup> ‘Why should we go down and release him?’ (A26:77)
- (8) *síqle wírre kǎs-bràta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went up and entered the girl’s home.’ (A17:24)

Examples with imperatives:

- (9) *sa-dùqla ’ayya-yáwana!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go and grab that dove!’ (A25:72)
- (10) *də-háyyo sxà!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Come and swim!’ (A25:61)
- (11) *šli-mur-’əlle!*<sup>1</sup> ‘Go down and say to him...’ (A26:37)

When the verbs *šly* ‘to go down’ or *’sq* ‘to go up’ occur in a tight sequence to a preceding verb, the sequences can often be rendered idiomatically by English phrasal verbs containing the elements ‘down’ and ‘up’ respectively, e.g.

- (12) *zadéle šàle<sup>1</sup> gu-xa-čále gòrta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He threw him down into a big pit.’ (A22:40)
- (13) *kút-yum xá-’ərwən y-arǎqwa y-ásəq qám d-o-dèwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf.’ (A10:5)

### 18.3.3. mšy/’mš ‘to be able’

When used in a past perfective form (*mšele, māsyéle*), this verb is often combined asyndetically in a paratactic relation with the verb that is dependent on it, in that the second verb is put in a past perfective form (*qǎtille, qəm-qaǎl, qǎtílele*), e.g. *mšele θele* ‘He was able to come’. The same applies to negated clauses, e.g. *la mšele θele* ‘He could not come’, *la mšele qəm-’awədda* ‘He could not do it’. The second verb in a negative construction is semantically irrealis, since the action did not take place. In principle, therefore,

an irrealis form would be expected. The use of the realis perfective form has apparently arisen by morphological attraction. This, no doubt, is the background also of the positive construction. The majority of examples from the text corpus are negated or occur in interrogative clauses:

- (1) *lā-mšeli muθyáli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I could not bring her.’ (A8:55)
- (2) *’áyya bāxta<sup>1</sup> lā-mšela mxumèla ’írwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The woman could not keep the sheep.’ (A10:6)
- (3) *la-mšəlān sáqlān šèda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We could not go up to hunt.’ (A26:46)
- (4) *lā-mšeli zrili.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I could not cultivate.’ (A30:13)
- (5) *léla-māsyē wíde čū-māndi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They could not do anything.’ (A8:65)
- (6) *dāx mšele ’áyya bráta qam-’awálla b-pálxánat bēθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘How could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife?’ (A21:32)
- (7) *’ánna tre-γále māñile māsya daryálla gu-šaqiθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Who could have put these two children in the stream?’ (A8:15)

When the verb *msy/’mš* is in the *qatəl* form, expressing the present or future, the complement verb is in the irrealis form, sometimes introduced by the subordinating particle *D*, e.g.

- (8) *mášax t-ámrax<sup>1</sup>* ‘We can say’ (B4:3)

In (9) a perfective past verb is followed by another perfective verb but the latter is introduced by the subordinating particle *D*:

- (9) *bráta lān-māsya t-in-múθyalla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I could not bring back the girl.’ (A29:8)

#### 18.3.4. *šbr* ‘to dare’

A similar paratactic joining is found after perfective forms of *šbr* ‘to dare’, e.g. *šbirre θele* ‘He dared to come’, *la šbirre θele* ‘He did not dare to come’. The examples attested in the text corpus are negated:

- (1) *’áp-xa mānna lā-šbirre ríwle gu-diwān.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nobody dared to speak in the reception room.’ (A26:70)
- (2) *lā šbirra mšuwətila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She did not dare to speak.’ (A24:40)

The irrealis form is also attested after the perfective past, e.g.

- (3) *ʔáp-xa lá-šbirre ʔasàqle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Nobody dared to go up (and do) it.’ (A33:4)

### 18.3.5. *qbl* ‘to permit’

The verb *qbl* ‘to permit’ may be used in a similar syntactic structure. In the following example from the text corpus it is negated:

- (1) *ʔáw là-qbille θéli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He did not permit me to come.’ (A46:3)

### 18.3.6. *šry II* ‘to begin’

This verb is normally followed by an infinitive (§15.5.5.). When, however, it is in a perfective past form, it is sometimes followed by a perfective form of the verb linked to it paratactically in the same intonation group, e.g.

- (1) *šuréle zmírre b-súsa smòqa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He started singing to a brown horse.’ (A25:11)  
 (2) *šuréla xriṭla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She started to gouge it out.’ (A19:6)  
 (3) *šúryela xilela m-gòððe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They began to eat together.’ (A21:21)

### 18.3.7. *prq* ‘to finish’

Similarly, the verb *prq* ‘to finish’ is sometimes combined together with a verb in the same intonation group, e.g.

- (1) *bar-príqla kúlla náše šqilla ʔarzâq.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After all the people had finished taking provisions...’ (B17:12)

### 18.3.8. *pyš majbur* ‘to become obliged’

This expression is used to express an obligation and is often prosodically bonded with the following verb, which expresses the lexical content of the action, e.g.

- (1) *páyš májbur béna xaráya šàte.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the end it will be forced to drink.’ (A12:47)  
 (2) *píšele májbur šəlyele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He had to dismount.’ (A28:33)

18.3.9. *Circumstantial Clauses*

When a clause is dependent on another clause by virtue of the fact that it expresses the circumstances of the action of the other clause, this dependence is often expressed prosodically by combining the two clauses in the same intonation group, e.g.

- (1) *kúlla ʔóye ʔiléy šǎráte t-amríla qa-málka.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They had all come while having cases to present to the king.’ (A17:31)
- (2) *hadíya báye t-áxl mándi kpìnèle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now he wanted to eat something, since he was hungry.’ (A30:11)
- (3) *ʔu-sulámməš doqíle lóšì xa-jùlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would hold the hive whilst wearing a cloth.’ (B5:178)

18.3.10. *Temporal Adverbial Clauses*

Similarly, prosodic bonding between main clauses is often used when one clause supplies the temporal adverbial setting of the action of the following clause. In such cases the first clause is idiomatically translated by supplying a temporal particle such as ‘after’ or ‘when’, e.g.

- (1) *barzúwa xáčča mkaléwala.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(After) they (the logs) had dried a little, they would remove their bark.’ (B5:187)
- (2) *hadíya mkopášla šlèla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now (after) they had gathered it, they went down (to the plain).’ (A7:15)
- (3) *báláwala yabíšta xərqá xərqá gu-qǎala díya mabyànwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(When) she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck.’ (A8:63)
- (4) *mtéle moθéθalle xáčča miya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(When) he came, she brought some water.’ (A22:28)
- (5) *hátta Gozáli b-gáne mšudráile lèn θíθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Even (when) you sent Gozali himself, I did not come.’ (A8:94)

18.3.11. *Complement of a Clause Constituent*

Another context in which clauses occur in a single intonation group due to their semantic connection is where the second clause functions as a complement of a constituent in the first clause. In (1), for example, the second clause should be analysed as the complement of the noun *ʔurxa* ‘way’ (‘the way she learnt’):

- (1) *dáx 'úrxa muxzélux 'állá lípla 'àwwa šúla.*<sup>1</sup> 'How did you show her the way to learn this work?' (A21:34)

This applies also to clauses that are formally marked as subordinate by the particle *D*. When these are direct complements of a verb, they are typically in the same intonation group as the verb, e.g.

- (2) *'ánna yáđi t-íle duglànna.*<sup>1</sup> 'They know that he is a liar.' (A48:3)  
 (3) *báyən t-àzən.*<sup>1</sup> 'I want to go.' (A8:65)  
 (4) *mášəx t-ámrxə.*<sup>1</sup> 'We can say.' (B4:3)

If, however, the subordinate clause is not integrated into the main clause as the complement of a constituent, but rather is a complement of the clause as a whole and so is external to it, this looser relationship is sometimes expressed by putting the subordinate clause in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (5) *'ána paqðənnexu t-azítu b-'úrxa maítu 'állá.*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall instruct you, so that you go on the road and reach her.' (A8:27)

#### 18.4. REPETITION OF CLAUSES TO MARK A DISCOURSE BOUNDARY

Some types of repetition across clauses have been described already in relation to the connective particles (cf. §18.1.1., §18.1.2.). A further type of repetitive overlap across clauses is described in this section.

In narrative the narrator sometimes repeats the mention of an event that has already been narrated before recounting the event that is sequential to it. The informational status of the clause, therefore, may be compared to that of a topical referent. The purpose of 'heavy' coding of topical information at the front of a sentence is generally to mark some kind of boundary in the narrative. This is, indeed, the function of the construction under discussion since it is used to signal the onset of a section. It is a device used by the narrator to present an activity as a new event with a degree of independence from what precedes. This is usually a result of the subjective choice of the speaker as to how the narrative should be staged. The function of this construction is similar to that of subordinate 'when'-clauses (§19.3.3.) and, indeed, they are often idiomatically rendered by supplying 'when' in an English translation. Examples:

- (1) *kúlla twìre qđaléy,*<sup>1</sup> *mìθela,*<sup>1</sup> *mìθela,*<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa rìqele,*<sup>1</sup> *’sályele mtùšyalla gáne.*<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘They all broke their necks and died. (When) they died, he fled, went down and hid himself.’ (B18:6)
- (2) *xà-yoma*<sup>1</sup> *siqle*<sup>1</sup> *l-šèda,*<sup>1</sup> *tfiqle*<sup>1</sup> *xa-’àrya bíye díye.*<sup>1</sup> *tfiqle xa-’àrya bíye díye,*<sup>1</sup>  
*zìlle táləb ’àrya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘One day he went out hunting and a lion chanced to come his way. (When) a lion chanced to come his way, he went to attack the lion.’ (A27:3)
- (3) *qímle qam-tarədle.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-tarədle θéle zìlle*<sup>1</sup> *be-’ámte díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He drove him away. (When) he drove him away, he went back to his aunt’s house.’ (A23:32–33)
- (4) *zìlla qam-qatlàla*<sup>1</sup> *Šóšət Xère,*<sup>1</sup> *qam-mtamrála gu-’órət susāwáθa ’áltəx.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-mtamrála gu-’órət susāwáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *bróna díya θéle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She went and killed Šóšət Xere and buried her in the horses’ manger below. (When) she buried her in the horses’ manger, her son came back.’ (A38:3–4)

The repeated material is in some cases uttered with a different distribution of stress either across the words of a stress group (5) or within a single word (6):

- (5) *mapərxálux šawwà yamáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *mátət l-d-o-qəšra.*<sup>1</sup> *mátət l-d-ə-qəšra,*<sup>1</sup> *háwət hášyər ’ína ’áyya sústa là marpátla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She will fly you over the seven seas and you will reach that palace. (When) you arrive at that palace, be careful not to let that horse go.’ (A12:29)
- (6) *’u-mátýele qam-d-o-túra.*<sup>1</sup> *mátýele qam-d-o-túra,*<sup>1</sup> *xiréle,*<sup>1</sup> *mùjbele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He arrived in front of the mountain. He arrived in front of the mountain, he looked and was amazed.’ (A8:53)

In cases where long morphological variants are available, the long form is used either in the first clause or in the repeated clause. This can be regarded as two alternative strategies whereby a heavy morphological form is used as a boundary marker to signal either closure or onset. In (7) the first clause has a long form of pronominal suffix on the resultative participle to mark closure (§15.13.5.), whereas the repeated clause has the shorter, default form. In (8), on the other hand, the long variant of the imperative is used in the repeated clause:

- (7) *’iθáθa qámxele,*<sup>1</sup> *pθíxtəllela tára.*<sup>1</sup> *pθíxtəlle tára,*<sup>1</sup> *xzíθəlle bába díya*<sup>1</sup> *’u-’up-wázūr mənne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘While there was flour on her hands, she opened the door. She opened the door and saw her father and also the vizier who was with him.’ (A21:26)

- (8) *só l-béθət flàn-naša.<sup>1</sup> sógun l-béθət flàn-naša,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šáqlula ʔan-trè-yale,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mtálquley.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Go to the house of such-and-such a man. Go to the house of such-and-such a man, and take away the two children. Get rid of them.’ (A8:8)

In (9)–(11) the repeated clause has more lexical material than the first clause. This again can be viewed as a strategy of using linguistic ballast to mark a boundary, which should be interpreted as the onset of what follows. In (9) the repeated clause also exhibits the use of the long alternative form of the 3pl. suffix *-ley* (cf. §15.12.):

- (9) *ʔiθwa xá-nāra tàma.<sup>1</sup> kut-táwra máxyalle xá gu-réše diye,<sup>1</sup> gu-be-ʔéne diye.<sup>1</sup> dáryalle l-ára tàwra.<sup>1</sup> mqudáqdalla kùlla.<sup>1</sup> b-o nára<sup>1</sup> ʔan-táwre diye<sup>1</sup> mqudáqdeleey,<sup>1</sup> kùlla dáryalla b-kàwe,<sup>1</sup> dáryalla gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was an axe there. He struck each ox a blow on its head, on its forehead and put it on the ground. He chopped them all up. He chopped the oxen up with the axe, put them all through the window and put them in the basement stable.’ (A30:23)
- (10) *šqúlalle xmàra<sup>1</sup> ʔu-táwra.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-zìlele.<sup>1</sup> šúryele zràya.<sup>1</sup> šúryele zràya hál-ʔašarta.<sup>1</sup> ʔašarta ʔáθe l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He took his ass and ox and went on his way. He began cultivating. He began cultivating (and continued) until evening. In the evening he went back home.’ (A21:12)
- (11) *xéna políse mù t-ódi.<sup>2</sup> šáqli ʔáwámər.<sup>1</sup> málka<sup>1</sup> mo-t-ámərrey t-ódi hādax.<sup>1</sup> zilla.<sup>1</sup> zilla políse b-lèle.<sup>1</sup> qəm-šaqílila ʔán-tre yàle<sup>1</sup> mən-babéy ʔu-yammèy.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now, what should the police do? They take orders. Whatever the king tells them they should do. They went off. The police went off at night and took the two children from their father and mother.’ (A8:9)

### 18.5. INTONATION PATTERNS

The relationship between clauses is also signalled by the pitch contours associated with the nuclear stress in an intonation group. By means of intonation contours the speaker conveys to the hearer a wide range of signals, some of which belong to levels of expression that have no direct correlations in linguistic structure, such as numerous personal attitudes. For this reason it was decided not to mark the intonational pitch contours in the transcription of the texts. Here we shall restrict ourselves to a brief examination of some of the main intonational signals, with special attention to those that mark semantic continuity and discontinuity across



clauses. The semantic connection between clauses is an issue that has been discussed in numerous places in the foregoing discussion of syntactic structure.

We may distinguish two basic types of intonational contours that are relevant for the present discussion, namely a contour expressing disjunction and one expressing conjunction. Following the terminology that is customary in the field of intonation, we may refer to these as ‘major juncture’ and ‘minor juncture’ respectively.

### 18.5.1. *Major Juncture*

The intonation expressing major juncture is characterized by a low fall in pitch at the end of the intonation group. There is sometimes a slight rise in pitch on the nucleus. Any syllables occurring after the nucleus have decreasingly lower levels of pitch. This contour is represented by the symbol  $\searrow$ . It expresses completeness and disjunction from what follows. As is the case with many syntactic expressions of disjunction, the decision as to where such a signal of disjunction should be placed is generally governed by the choice of the speaker as to how he wishes to present the discourse to the hearer. Examples:

- (1)  $\text{ʔo-góʔa píʃle tàma.} \searrow$  ‘The eldest one remained there.’ (A24:5)
- (2)  $\text{xa-nǎšyʔat t-yánna t-làlux.} \searrow$  ‘I’ll give you some advice.’ (A24:9)
- (3)  $\text{lá-ʔawðət xá-mdi xéna t-la-b-dìyi.} \searrow$  ‘Do not do anything else without me.’ (A24:9)

Speakers separate clauses with major juncture to express lack of sequentiality in a variety of contexts.

In (4) the major juncture is used to separate two clauses that are not connected in temporal sequentiality, but rather are overlapping temporally. The second clause does not complete the first so much as stand in parallel with it, giving a supplementary description of the same event. Similarly in (5) the second clause does not follow temporally or logically from the first but rather elaborates on it:

- (4)  $\text{ʔan-míya péššì trè-qəsmə.} \searrow$   $\text{kàli.} \searrow$  ‘The water will become (divided into) two parts. It will stop.’ (A24:14)
- (5)  $\text{wúðulì xa-čàra.} \searrow$   $\text{xzólì xa-darmána qa-ʔəni.} \searrow$  ‘Cure me. Find a remedy for my eyes.’ (A24:2)

In (6) the disjunctive prosody separates a prohibition from a following instruction, which is supplementary to the prohibition rather than sequential to it:

- (6) *lā-šoqat t-kále. ʎ<sup>1</sup> máxət ʔille díye ta-t-ʔásəq payədle ʔo-túra. ʎ<sup>1</sup>* ‘Do not let him (the horse) stop. Strike him so that he will go up and cross over that mountain.’ (A24:11)

When the clauses express temporally sequential events, the purpose of the major disjuncture is to make a clear division between the two and to signal that they are not seamlessly connected. This may coincide with a spatio-temporal shift, as in (7) in which the arrival at the palace is separated from the event of crossing the water in both place and time:

- (7) *ʔu-pəðàtla ʔan-míya. ʎ<sup>1</sup> máṭət t-qáṣrət Parizàda. ʎ<sup>1</sup>* ‘You should cross the water. Then you will arrive at the palace of Parizada.’ (A24:14)

#### 18.5.2. *Minor Juncture*

The intonational contour that are typically associated with minor juncture consists of a rise in pitch on the nucleus. This is typically followed by a mid fall on the syllables coming after the nucleus. Such a contour is represented here by the symbol  $\nearrow^{\vee}$ . Minor juncture contour signals incompleteness. It is regularly used on a clausal constituent that is uttered in an intonation group that is separate from that of the rest of the clause. This applies to the clause initial subjects and extraposed items in (1)–(4):

- (1) *báxta yaqùrta, \nearrow^{\vee} ʔi-màbra. ʎ<sup>1</sup>* ‘A pregnant woman will give birth.’ (A24:13)
- (2) *ʔo-gòra \nearrow^{\vee} máre ʔána pəšən láxxa gu-d-áyya mḍita. ʎ<sup>1</sup>* ‘The eldest one said “I shall remain here in this town.”’ (A24:4)
- (3) *ʔan-šūrùt \nearrow^{\vee} lázəm yăðátla mòdila. ʎ<sup>1</sup>* ‘The conditions—you must know what they are.’ (A24:10)
- (4) *sùsux \nearrow^{\vee} ʔaqláthe mdurbənnela. ʎ<sup>1</sup>* ‘Your horse—his legs have become wounded.’ (A24:12)

Likewise, if a constituent is placed at the end of the clause in a separate intonation group, the clause is connected to the postposed constituent by minor juncture. This applies to (5) and (6), which have a postposed subject and adverbial respectively:

- (5) *ʔiθwale* <sup>↗</sup> *tlà bnóne*. <sup>↘</sup> 'He had three sons.' (A24:1)  
 (6) *t-yáxlux xamšî dináre* <sup>↗</sup> *kut-yàrxaxa*. <sup>↘</sup> 'We'll give you fifty dinars every month.' (A24:7)

When the speech reported by the verb 'to say' is placed following it in a separate intonation group, the clause with this verb regularly has minor juncture, e.g.

- (7) *qíméle móre qa-bnóne diye*: <sup>↗</sup> *bnòni* <sup>↗</sup> *wúðuli xa-čàra*. <sup>↘</sup> 'He said to his sons "My sons, cure me!"' (A24:2)

Minor juncture is typically used in clauses that occur in non-final position in a sequence, the final clause in the sequence being marked by a major juncture intonational contour. The clauses connected in this way may be temporally sequential, as in (8). The effect is to present the two events as closely linked together. Minor juncture is commonly used in clauses containing the verb *qym* (9) or a verb of movement (10–11). As we have seen in §18.3.1. and §18.3.2., these types of verbs also exhibit a tendency to be closely bound prosodically with what follows by being combined with a following verb in the same intonation group.

- (8) *málxa maxéla ʔaqláthe diye*, <sup>↗</sup> *t-áwe súsaxa mšaršòre*. <sup>↘</sup> 'He will get salt on his legs and will screech.' (A24:12)  
 (9) *qímela tlláθna t-bnóne diye* <sup>↗</sup> *ʔu-zílela*. <sup>↘</sup> 'The three sons of his set off and went on their way.' (A24:3)  
 (10) *zílela mátye gu-ðá mðíta*. <sup>↗</sup> *ʔo-gòra* <sup>↗</sup> *máre ʔána péšəxan lóxaxa gu-d-áyya mðíta*. <sup>↘</sup> 'They travelled and arrived in a certain town. The eldest one said "I shall remain here in this town."' (A24:4)  
 (11) *ʔo-zóra zílle b-ʔúrxaxa*. <sup>↗</sup> *zílle, zílle, zílle*, <sup>↗</sup> *ʔáštaxa šáwəwaxa yomàne*, <sup>↗</sup> *mťéle xa-náštaxa sàwaxa*. <sup>↘</sup> 'The young one went on the road. He went along for six or seven days and came upon an old man.' (A24:7)

In constructions such as those described in §18.4., in which a boundary is expressed in the discourse by repeating the content of a clause, the first clause has major juncture and the repeated clause, which is presented as the onset of a new section, has minor juncture, e.g.

- (12) *qímela ʔan-tre-xéne zíle*. <sup>↘</sup> *zílela ʔan-tre*. <sup>↗</sup> *ʔap-o-gawəyaxa* <sup>↗</sup> *mťéle ða-mðíta*. <sup>↗</sup> 'The other two went off. The two went off. Also the middle one came to a town.' (A24:5–6)

- (13) *t-yánnux xámšī dinàre kut-yàrxax. ↘<sup>1</sup> kut-yàrxax t-yánnux xámšī dinàre, ↗<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-plúx mən-d-àнна paloxáye. ↘<sup>1</sup>* 'I shall give you fifty dinars each  
 month. Each month I shall give you fifty dinars, now work with  
 these labourers.' (A24:5)

Clauses containing the existential particle that introduce a referent into the discourse frequently have minor juncture. This is because such clauses are closely connected with what follows in that they typically create the expectation that the ensuing clauses will elaborate further on the newly introduced referent, e.g.

- (14) *'iθwa xa-màlka. ↗<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale ↗<sup>1</sup> t-là bnóne. ↘<sup>1</sup>* 'There was once a king.  
 He had three sons.' (A24:1)

### 18.5.3. *Interrogative Clauses*

Interrogative clauses are uttered with a rise from a higher level of pitch than that of minor juncture (1–3). There is a short fall on syllables after the nucleus. The contour is represented here by the symbol  $\wedge$ . Negative interrogative clauses that function as a device for drawing attention to preliminary background material (§18.2.1.) typically have a lower level of pitch than the normal interrogative contour (4). To distinguish these two levels of pitch the symbol of the lower level is qualified by the numeral 1 whereas the symbol for the regular interrogative contour has the numeral 2:

- (1) *mò t-óðat? ↗<sup>2</sup>* 'What will you do?' (A24:4)  
 (2) *kəmà t-yátli? ↗<sup>2</sup>* 'How much will you give me?' (A24:5)  
 (3) *mòdila? ↗<sup>2</sup>* 'What are they?' (A24:11)  
 (4) *'ánna léla dmixe, ↗<sup>1</sup> 'o-rábbən múttalla 'áqle díye rš-áqəl baxta. ↘<sup>1</sup>* 'While  
 they were asleep, the monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman.'  
 (A16:11)

When a question is rhetorical and does not expect an answer, it may have a low fall intonation characteristic of major juncture, e.g.

- (5) *máre qá-mo là? ↘<sup>1</sup>* 'He said "Why not?"' (A24:7)

18.5.4. *Asseverative Clauses*

Clauses that are intended to make a forceful asseveration are uttered by speakers with a very high level of pitch, higher than the interrogative pitch contour. It includes a rise and fall. This will be represented as pitch level 3 by the symbol  $\wedge^3$ . This type of pitch is typically used, for example, in asseverations containing the negative particle *la* (cf. §17.2. and §17.7.14.2. iii):

- (1) *la-hóle mīða.* $\wedge^3$ <sup>31</sup> ‘He is indeed dead.’ (A17:2)  
 (2) A: *štélux čâyux?* $\wedge^2$ <sup>21</sup> B: *la-štèli!* $\wedge^3$ <sup>31</sup> ‘A: “Have you drunk your tea?”  
 B: “Indeed I have drunk it!”’

## CHAPTER NINETEEN

### SYNTACTIC SUBORDINATION OF CLAUSES

#### 19.1. RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses may be attributive and modify a head nominal or they may stand independently of a head nominal and have themselves the status of a nominal. We shall refer to these types as attributive relative clauses and nominal relative clauses respectively.

##### 19.1.1. *Attributive Relative Clauses*

Relative clauses that have attributive function are always placed after the nominal that they modify. They may be explicitly connected to the head nominal by the relative particle *D*, which is either prefixed to the first word of the clause or is suffixed to the end of the head nominal, e.g. *kut-yala t-aθe laxxa ~ kut-yalət ʔaθe laxxa* ‘Every child that comes here’. When the particle is prefix to the first word of the clause, the final /a/ vowel of the head noun is sometimes centralized to /ə/ as is the case when the particle is suffixed to it, e.g. *ʔəyya bráta šapirtə t-íla dmíxta kə̀sli* ‘this beautiful girl, who has fallen asleep with me’ (A26:6). The final /ə/ is occasionally elided, e.g. *ʔé-dān t-áθya kʰàlo* ‘at the time that the bride came’ (B8:32). A *D* particle is sometimes elided, but the final vowel of the head nominal remains /ə/ rather than /a/ as if it were still present, e.g. *ʔe-dértə zədyálux gáwa díya* ‘the enclosure in which you threw it’ (< *ʔe-dertət* A15:18).

Constructions with the particle *D* may be termed syndetic relative clauses. Attributive relative clauses may also be placed after the head nominal asyndetically, without the particle. The distribution of syndetic and asyndetic attributive relative clauses is conditioned to a large extent by the definiteness of the head nominal. A distinction should also be made between restrictive relative clauses, which limit the reference of the head noun, and non-restrictive ones, which present supplementary information concerning a nominal without limiting its reference. This difference in function sometimes gives rise to distinct syntactic structures.

19.1.1.1. *Definite Head Nominal*(i) *Restrictive Clauses*

When the head noun is definite, i.e. it has a specific identifiable referent or refers to an identifiable generic class, a restrictive relative clause is syndetic. The clause has the function of an attributive modifier that is embedded in the nominal phrase. It does not assert new information, as is the case with an independent clause, but rather expresses information that is presupposed to be known to the hearer. The clause supplies a description that allows the hearer to identify the referent of the head noun. The definite status of the head noun, therefore, is indissolubly bound with the relative clause. In principle such a definite head noun is introduced by an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun. This is usually the default demonstrative pronoun, the basic function of which is to signal that the referent of the noun is identifiable in the context to which it is anaphorically linked. The restrictive relative clause, which is intended to provide the means of identifying the referent, is sometimes the only source of identification. The anaphoric link, therefore, is clearly internal to the nominal phrase, e.g.

- (1) *ʔan-suráye t-wáwa gu-Türkiya<sup>1</sup> zilla l-ʔIrán.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran.’ (B2:8)
- (2) *šādla,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-a-ʔára t-báyyat mattátte.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You put the sapling in the land that you like.’ (B5:103)
- (3) *ʔé-baxta t-àθya<sup>1</sup> báyyan gawrànna<sup>1</sup> lázəm mtanyáli ða-qəşəttá.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The woman who comes and I shall marry must tell me a story.’ (A36:1)

In these constructions it can be said that the demonstrative is a correlative with the relative particle. The demonstrative binds the head noun tightly with the relative clause. This is because the interpretation of the noun with the demonstrative depends on the relative clause and it cannot be interpreted successfully without it.

In some cases the referent of the head noun has been mentioned in the preceding context. Even here, however, the restrictive relative clause, with which the head noun is syntactically linked, can be regarded as the primary anaphor of the demonstrative and here also it has a correlative function, e.g.

- (4) *ʔé-bratət malušwala jülle<sup>1</sup> t-odúwala ʔax-kàlo.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They made the girl whom they dressed in clothes like a bride.’ (B7:2)

- (5) *ʔé-dértə zədyálux gáwa díya kúlla genàwela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(As for) the enclosure in which you threw it, they are all robbers.’ (A15:18)

The relative clauses in (4) and (5) can be interpreted as restrictive, in that the head noun requires further description to ensure that the correct referent is distinguished from other possible members of the set of items named by the noun that are associated in some way with the context and are, therefore, available as possible referents for the noun. The purpose of the relative clause, therefore, is not to supply further information but rather to assist in the identification of the referent. The anaphoric demonstrative, which invites the hearer to seek the identification of the referent of the noun in the surrounding context, would naturally be interpreted in the first instance as linked to the relative clause that is embedded in the nominal phrase.

Restrictive relative clauses are used also after head nouns that have an adverbial function, e.g.

- (6) *ʔé-šetət méθi qəm-yawálla xa-bróna zòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘In the year they would die he gave them a small son.’ (A4:57)
- (7) *ʔáp-ana y-aθéwa b-rèšì hátxaʔ ʔo-yómə t-ínwa zòra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would come into also my head when (literally: in the day that) I was young.’ (A26:12)
- (8) *ʔé-gət damàxwa, ʔlathà yomáθaʔ ʔu-ʔlathà leláwáθa háwe dmíxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When (literally: at the time that) he slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights.’ (A29:2)
- (9) *ʔé-dān t-áθya k’álo, ʔyawíwala mèsxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When (literally: at the time that) the bride came, they would give her oil.’ (B8:32)
- (10) *hál ʔo-yómət mèθənʔ har-ʔúrxət ʔálaha dóqən b-ìðì.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Until the day I die I shall always keep to God’s way.’ (A15:21)

In some cases the head noun of a restrictive relative clause has a speaker deixis demonstrative, e.g.

- (11) *ʔána ʔap-díyaʔ ʔáyya ʔúrxa t-ín ʔána zála bíya díyaʔ lè-y manšánna hál yomət-màwθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall not give up until the day I die the way I am following now.’ (A21:35)
- (12) *qímli zílli šqílli ʔáwwa júlla t-íle gu-púmmət mziðət pràge.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I went and took the cloth that is in the mouth of the bag of millet.’ (A23:23)
- (13) *xzi-ʔánna ʔla-nàšəʔ t-íla primálla tàwra, ʔlathna hon-yíwtalla móʔəd.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Take note that the three people who slaughtered the ox—I have made an assignation with the three of them.’ (A22:21)



In cases such as (11)–(13) the speaker deixis demonstrative should be interpreted as having an anaphoric rather than an ostensive, i.e. ‘pointing’, function. As shown in §14.3.2., the speaker deixis demonstrative is often used with an anaphoric function where the speaker wishes to present the referent in question with close perspective. The relative clause is restrictive since it expresses presuppositional information that is intended to assist with the identification of the head noun.

The correlative function of demonstrative pronouns in restrictive relative clause constructions whereby they are linked by anticipatory anaphora to the following relative clause (14) is likely to have been modelled on nominal relative clauses (15):

(14) *ʔo-gáwra t-íle gu-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘The man who is in the house’

(15) *ʔo-t-íle gu-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘He who is in the house’

In nominal relative clauses such as (15), which are always restrictive, the demonstrative occurs as the obligatory head of the clause, which cannot stand independently. The construction (14) can be regarded as an internal expansion of (15), whereby the nominal head is an extension of the pronominal head.

(ii) *Non-restrictive clauses*

Non-restrictive relative clauses following definite head nouns are semantically closer to independent clauses than attributive modifiers. Their purpose is to supply an additional description of a referent that is assumed to be already identifiable. They are, therefore, assertive rather than presuppositional, though the syntactically subordinate structure has the effect of presenting the information as backgrounded. Examples:

(1) *móre tla-žine*<sup>1</sup> *t-báyéla Mǎmo*<sup>1</sup> ‘He said to Zine, whom Mǎmo loved’ (A26:64)

(2) *zìlele*<sup>1</sup> *mùklalla táwre t-wéwa zráya*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went and stopped the oxen, which were ploughing.’ (A9:5)

(3) *qínle b-zdáya m-xálme diye t-wéwa xàzyalle*<sup>1</sup> ‘He began to be afraid of his dream, which he had dreamt.’ (A8:19)

(4) *ʔu-ʔup-báxte diye*<sup>1</sup> *t-íle gwèralla*<sup>1</sup> *rába hawnàntela*<sup>1</sup> ‘Also his wife, whom he had married, was very clever.’ (A17:21)

It can be seen that in some cases the relative clause is separated from the head noun by an intonation group boundary. This feature, however, is not

exclusive to non-restrictive relative clauses, as can be seen in (13) in section (i) above, where it occurs in a construction with a restrictive clause.

In (5) it is separated from the head not only by an intonation group boundary but also by intervening components of the clause:

- (5) *námu ʔáyya bárke d-ènila<sup>1</sup> t-it-ʔáti sxáya gâwa.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Whose is this pool in which you are swimming?’ (A25:61)

The non-restrictive relative clauses in constructions such as (1)–(5) may express information that is familiar to the hearer, but, crucially, the speaker is presenting them as assertions, albeit in some cases recapitulatory, rather than as presuppositions. Sentences with an embedded non-restrictive relative clause, therefore, contain two assertions, the truth of which can be assessed independently of one another. In (1), for example, there are two assertions, viz. (i) ‘He said to Zine’ and (ii) ‘Māmo loved Zine’. In a sentence with an embedded restrictive relative clause, on the other hand, there is only one assertion. Example (i 1), for instance, only asserts ‘The Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran’. It does not entail the assertion ‘The Christians were in Turkey’. If an unidentified head noun requires further delimitation in order for its referent to be identified, it is natural to link it with a description based on a familiar, presupposed proposition (‘There were Christians in Turkey’) rather than one based on an as yet unknown proposition. When the head noun is identifiable in that it occurs in a context where there is judged to be no possible confusion with other members of the set of items named by the noun, any further description must be assertive. As remarked, however, the syntactically subordinate status of this assertion in the non-restrictive relative clause presents it as background information. The informativeness of the clause may, indeed, be very low, as in (4), where the hearer would naturally assume that if a man has a wife, he would have married her! The construction can, however, be interpreted as the assertion of an event that is added as an afterthought, which would be equivalent to a sequence of clauses such as ‘He married a woman. His wife was also very clever’.

The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives is based on the availability of other potential referents for the head noun in the particular context in which the construction occurs. In (6), for example, the clause can be interpreted as restrictive and presuppositional, since it occurs in a context where other girls are on the scene. In (7), on the other hand, there is only one basket on the scene, so the relative should be interpreted as non-restrictive and assertive.

- (6) *'é-bratət malušiwala jülle' t-ođiwala 'ax-kàlo.*<sup>1</sup> 'They made the girl whom they dressed in clothes like a bride.' (B7:2)
- (7) *hat šmítle 'é-sála t-wéwa zqiralla.*<sup>1</sup> 'Until the basket which he had woven was shattered.' (A20:4)

In the context preceding (7), it has already been stated that the character in question wove the basket. The assertion of the relative clause, therefore, must be expressing recapitulatory backgrounded information. An assertion with such a low degree of informativeness appears, indeed, to be closely related pragmatically to a presupposition. It is, no doubt, for this reason that a relative construction is used to express both types of clauses. Moreover the less informative the relative clause is, the more it serves as a device to recapitulate and refresh the identification of the noun, the closer it is in function to that of a restrictive relative clause. The pragmatic relationship between a presupposition and an assertion can be regarded as a continuum rather than a clear dichotomy, which one can represent thus:

Presupposition > Recapitulatory backgrounded assertion > backgrounded assertion > foregrounded assertion

It follows, therefore, that the relationship between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is a continuum rather than a distinct dichotomy.

A feature that is distinctive of many non-restrictive clauses is the absence of a correlative demonstrative on the head noun that binds the head to the relative clause. In examples (1)–(4) the head has no demonstrative. In some cases the head noun has a demonstrative, but this cannot be interpreted as having a correlative function. Consider the following cases:

- (8) *xziǵəm' 'áyya bráta šapirtə t-íla dmíxta kàslí.*<sup>1</sup> 'Look at this beautiful girl, who has fallen asleep with me.' (A26:6)
- (9) *'u-déréle rəš-d-ó-sela t-íle níra xóθe xamíma.*<sup>1</sup> 'They put it on the grid-dle, under which there is fire (and which is) hot.' (B6:47)
- (10) *hat šmítle 'é-sála t-wéwa zqiralla.*<sup>1</sup> 'Until the basket which he had woven was shattered.' (A20:4)

In (8) the speaker deixis demonstrative is ostensive and points to the referent in the speech situation, the relative clause supplying an additional description of the girl, which is not essential for identifying the referent of the noun. In (9) and (10), already considered above, the head noun

has been mentioned previously and there are no competing referents in the context. The default demonstratives, therefore, can be interpreted as binding the noun anaphorically to the preceding context. Since, however, in both cases the relative clauses are low in informativeness and recapitulate information that has already been given, it can be said that they play a role of refreshing the identification of the head noun, especially since the head nouns have no other attributes that assist in identification. The demonstratives would, therefore, have some kind of anaphoric relationship also with the relative clause as well as with the mention of the noun in the preceding context.

In (11) the head noun has the demonstrative + indefinite article construction (*ʔan-xa*), which links the noun anaphorically with an earlier conversation in the memory of the interlocutor (§14.3.5.). The relative is non-restrictive, since the noun refers to the entire class and does not extract a sub-set of ‘washing-boards’ that is in contrast to another sub-set. As in (9) and (10), the content of the relative clause is recapitulatory in nature and is intended to assist refreshing the identification of the referent:

- (11) *qəm-qaʔlile b-xaʔoryàθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔan-xá xaʔoryáθa t-ínwa màrəllux<sup>1</sup> mási jùlle bíya.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with.’ (B19:9)

The head of a non-restrictive relative may be an adverbial expression, as in constructions such as (12) and (13):

- (12) *ʔadyo t-íla mìθta,<sup>1</sup> hótu pšàma ʔilla díya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Today, when it has died, you are sad about it.’ (A5:10)
- (13) *díya<sup>1</sup> t-xzéle málka dúnye ráya pàre<sup>1</sup> zawn-šláméle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Now that the king has seen it raining lambs, it is the time of peace.’ (A1:26)

A non-restrictive relative clause sometimes has the form of a nominal relative clause, with a pronominal head, placed in apposition to the antecedent noun, e.g.

- (14) *ʔina bráta d-o-Xáno Lapzèrin,<sup>1</sup> d-o-t-wéwa bányá Dəmdəma,<sup>1</sup> bəyáwa ta-brən-málka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But the daughter of that Xano the Golden Hand, who had built Dəmdəma, loved the son of the king.’ (A11:17)
- (15) *ʔθyεle ʔo-gàwra díya,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-wéwa mùθyalla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘That husband of hers came back, the one who had brought her.’ (A12:53)

- (16) *máre tla-xuláme diye<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-wéwa ʔáθya mən-šəda<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said to his servant, who had come from the hunt’ (A25:54)
- (17) *m-yəmmīn šmítalla ʔáyya,<sup>1</sup> m-bnōn-mámi ʔan-t-wéwa gòre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I heard this from my mother, from my cousins, who were older.’ (B8:5)

These types of construction typically occur where the referent of the head noun is unambiguously identifiable due to the noun being a proper noun (15) or a noun that is delimited by a pronominal suffix (16–17). The head noun is, therefore, not dependent on the relative clause either for primary identification (restrictive) or for a refreshment of identification as in (9) and (10) described above. The relative clause, therefore, can be said to be pragmatically more independent from the head nominal than is the case with restrictive constructions and constructions such as (9) and (10). This greater degree of pragmatic independence is reflected by a greater degree of syntactic independence, in that the nominal relative is potentially a free-standing item, which is in apposition to the preceding noun. An attributive relative clause without this opening demonstrative, on the other hand, is a dependent modifier and is linked indissolubly to the antecedent noun.

Note that in (14) and (15) the antecedent noun has a demonstrative, which refers anaphorically to the preceding context. In (14) the genitive particle that is attached to the head noun (*d-o-Xáno Lapzèrin*) is repeated on the appositive relative phrase (*d-o-t-wéwa bónya Dəmdəma*). For this phenomenon in other appositional constructions see §14.7.

In (18) an appositive type of non-restrictive relative clause follows a head noun whose referent is a generic class and so is assumed to be identifiable:

- (18) *béna ʔiθ linyàθa,<sup>1</sup> line,<sup>1</sup> linyáθa ʔan-t-íla ʔaxḏar.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There were pots, pots, pots, which are green.’ (B10:75)

In some cases clauses expressing supplementary background information which could be translated idiomatically into English by a non-restrictive relative clauses are presented as an independent clause juxtaposed asyndetically after a definite noun, e.g.

- (19) *šléla yómat tré<sup>1</sup> ʔal-fàqih,<sup>1</sup> ʔíle dəkkàna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She went down the next day to the jurist, who had a shop.’ (A22:16)
- (20) *módi bəd-manáyə d-áyya ṭasa<sup>1</sup> dəwa,<sup>1</sup> šqilálən m-àxxa,<sup>1</sup> nəblálən gu-d-yáha dērtá.<sup>2</sup>* ‘What about the meaning of that golden bowl, which we took from here and took away to that house enclosure?’ (A15:17)

19.1.1.2. *Indefinite Head Nominal*

When the head nominal is indefinite, an attributive relative clause may be syndetic or asyndetic.

(i) *Restrictive Clauses*

When the relative clause after an indefinite head noun is restrictive, the construction is usually syndetic. Only an indefinite noun with a non-specific referent can have a restrictive relative clause. The restrictive relative clause does not assist in identification of the referent, since indefinite nominal phrases in principle have an unidentified referent. Rather the clause narrows the extension of the set denoted by the noun. In many cases the indefinite noun has a universal quantifier (*kut*, *kull*). The verb in the relative clause is either in a realis form (1–3) or in an irrealis form (4–6):

- (1) *kú-dukə t-ila məθθilali.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Bring her to me wherever she is.’ (A4:8)
- (2) *xáðrəx xázexi xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> t-ile palàxa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-t-yáxla ʔlle diyə.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s look and find a man who is a hard worker and give her to him.’ (A21:3)
- (3) *kú-məndi t-ítley t-yáwi ʔllux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They will give you everything that they have.’ (B7:7)
- (4) *ku-náša<sup>1</sup> ʔawə;<sup>1</sup> ku-xayúθət ʔawər gu-d-ay-wàdi<sup>1</sup> ʔánna šəkwáne t-axlila.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Any person who enters, every living thing that enters in this valley, the ants will eat it.’ (A14:55)
- (5) *hátxa xazəxwale<sup>1</sup> ku-dükθa t-awéwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would see him wherever he could be.’ (B9:29)
- (6) *kúl-naša<sup>1</sup> t-awéle xa-bróna,<sup>1</sup> ... ʔi-nablile l-ʔumra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Anybody who has a son, ... they take him to the church.’ (B6:35)

The difference between the constructions with the realis form and those with the irrealis form relates to commitment of the speaker to the existence of the class denoted by the nominal phrase. As remarked, in all cases the nominal has a non-specific referent. When the realis is used, the speaker is committed to the existence of at least one referent in the class denoted by the phrase, although he is not referring to one particular member of this class. In (1) the speaker is committed to the existence ‘a place where she is’, i.e. that there is some place where she is to be found. In (2) the implication is that there is some man who is a hard worker, though the speaker is not referring to anyone particular in this class. In (3) the implication is that the people in question have some possessions that they can give. When, on the other hand, the irrealis is used, the speaker is not committed to the existence of any referent in the class. The existence

of such a referent is only hypothetical and the class may be empty.<sup>1</sup> In (4) the speaker is not committed to the existence of a person who enters the valley, but presents it as a hypothetical possibility. It is, therefore, equivalent to the hypothetical conditional construction ‘If a person were to enter...’. In (5) the speakers are not committed to the existence of any place where the man in question is to be found, i.e. he has disappeared. In (6) the speaker presents the birth of a son to a person as a possibility (= If somebody has a son...) rather than a certainty (= When somebody has a son...). It is presented as a hypothetical case with regard to one representative individual of the set.

It should be noted that in some cases, particularly in subordinate clauses, the *qatəl* or *qatəlwa* forms are used in a habitual indicative sense and so are not formally distinguished from their irrealis usage (§15.1.1.3., §15.1.2.2.). The realis or the irrealis meaning of the verb in the relative clause must, therefore, be deduced from the context. In a construction such as (7), for example, where there is an explicit statement of the existence of referents of the class, the verb must be interpreted as realis:

- (7) *ʔθwa baxtáθa t-yǎði t-yàpi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were women who knew how to bake.’ (B5:16)

The use of the realis copula in the relative clause modifier of the predicative noun in (8) commits the speaker to the fact that the person was a good man who brought the coins. What he is denying is that he became such a man of his own accord:

- (8) *let-ʔáti wíya xoš-náša t-it-múθyalla ʔánna zùze.*<sup>1</sup> *záwna wíyεle t-šláma ʔáp-ati píšlux nášət šláma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You have not become a good man who has brought those coins. Time became one of peace and so also you became a man of peace.’ (A2:26)

A *t-* prefix attached to an initial /ʔ/ verb that has a future sense could, in principle, be interpreted as the future verbal prefix or the relative particle, e.g.

- (9) *ku-béθa t-àzeti ʔáni t-yawilux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Every home that you go to will give you something.’ (B7:7)

<sup>1</sup> This may be compared to the use of the subjunctive in relative clauses in Romance languages such as French (cf. Kleiber 1987: 69–75).

- (10) *t-áwðat b-xàbri,<sup>1</sup> kú-məndi t-amrənnux.<sup>2</sup>* 'Will you act on my word, everything that I tell you?' (A15:5)

Occasionally the relative particle is omitted before a restrictive relative clause that modifies an indefinite head noun, e.g.

- (11) *kút-dukθa 'áza 'ávra<sup>1</sup> 'áp ya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.<sup>1</sup>* 'Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to follow after her.' (B12:2)
- (12) *kút-dana sanqíwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqliwa mən-d-ε-tútun.<sup>1</sup>* 'Whenever they needed it, they took some of that tobacco.' (B7:18)
- (13) *xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bába la-yámma la-'áp-xa,<sup>1</sup> 'áw y-amrile<sup>1</sup> lítle náše.<sup>1</sup>* 'A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody, they say that he has no relatives.' (A17:17)
- (14) *ku-brónat bār-naša 'áθe l-d-áy jázira qamàye,<sup>1</sup> 'ávwa t-áwe málka diyèxu.<sup>1</sup>* 'Whichever person comes to the island first, he will be your king.' (A14:46)

In some cases such an asyndetic clause occurs after a class term in predicative position, e.g.

- (15) *məjwale gu-míya šaxine,<sup>1</sup> pəšíwa dāwwe<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa bušàla bíya díya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kótəl dāwke bíya díya.<sup>1</sup>* 'They crushed it in hot water and it became yoghurt water, with which they would make stew and yoghurt pasties.' (B7:23)

#### (ii) *Non-Restrictive Clauses*

Unlike restrictive relative clauses, non-restrictive relative clauses may occur both after indefinite nouns with specific referents and also after those with non-specific referents.

In the text corpus there are numerous occurrences of indefinite nouns with a specific referent followed by a clause that can be rendered into English by a non-restrictive relative clause. In such constructions the non-restrictive clause is, in principle, juxtaposed asyndetically to the noun, e.g.

- (1) *'íθwa<sup>1</sup> xa-ràbbən,<sup>1</sup> tíwewa gu-xa-gəppiθa.<sup>1</sup>* 'There was once a monk who lived in a cave.' (A15:1)
- (2) *'íθwa xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> gu-ða-màθa,<sup>1</sup> rába rába duglàna-wewa.<sup>1</sup>* 'There was a man in a village who was a great liar.' (A48:1)
- (3) *'íθwa xa-gəppa gáwe díye 'arbi hambišáye.<sup>1</sup>* 'There was a cave in which there were forty giants.' (A24:54)



- (4) *ʔiθwa xa-bustāna, ʔiθwa xabūše gáwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was a garden, in which there were apples.’ (A24:24)
- (5) *ʔiθwa xa-ʔága gu-Bèrwæ, ʔámme Rašid-bek.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was an agha in Barwar whose name was Rašid Bek.’ (B19:1)
- (6) *qəm-xazéle xa-nāša miθa nabólalle mʔamòrælle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He saw a dead person, whom they were taking to bury.’ (A17:1)
- (7) *hon-dáryælle gu-xa-čále ʔamúqta lá-ʔaməš čü-ga čü-ga pàlæt.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I put him in a deep hole from which he could never come out.’ (A22:41)
- (8) *ʔina hóla xá-qayəmθa kθiwta tàma, málka Šlémun kθiwælla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They found there an inscribed monument, which king Solomon had written.’ (A14:55)
- (9) *šqiltæla xa-čánta hátxa mliθela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She took a basket that was full like this.’ (A22:13)
- (10) *hón mquwálta m-xa-tèla qəm-xaláši m-nəmra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have given a promise to a fox who has saved me from a tiger.’ (A47:7)

In the light of this pattern of construction, the *t*-particle on the verb in (11) is best identified not as the relative particle but rather as a reduced form of *bəd-* in a *bəd-qəʔæhwa* functioning as a sequential habitual (§15.1.6.3.):

- (11) *ʔiθ xá ʔawálta xéta t-amriwala ʔòrta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There is another game, which is called ʔòrta.’ (B11:25)

If the non-restrictive relative clause is a copula clause, the copula is sometimes omitted, which is a reflection of the semantic dependence of the clause on what precedes (§17.6.1.), e.g.

- (12) *hóle θéle xa-nāša, rába qále basìma.*<sup>1</sup> ‘A man has come, whose voice is very beautiful.’ (A25:46)

### 19.1.1.3. *Synopsis of Attributive Relative Structures*

The predominant trends in the distribution of the various attributive relative structures may be summarized as follows, where AN = Antecedent Noun, S = relative clause, *D* = relative particle:

- (i) AN—*D*—S

Definite AN+ restrictive S  
 Definite AN + non-restrictive S  
 Indefinite AN + restrictive S

(ii) AN—<sup>o</sup>-D—S

Definite AN + non-restrictive S

(iii) AN—S (asyndetic)

Indefinite AN + non-restrictive S

Indefinite AN + restrictive S

Definite AN + non-restrictive S

It can be seen that connection with *D* (i) and asyndetic connection (iii) are used for both definite and indefinite antecedent nouns. A connection with a demonstrative pronoun <sup>o</sup>-*D* (ii) is available only for structures with a definite antecedent. The tendency to use a synthetic connection with *D* as opposed to an asyndetic connection depends on the definiteness of the antecedent and on the restrictiveness of the relative. There is a greater tendency to use the synthetic connection with the antecedent when it is definite than when it is indefinite and there is a greater tendency to do so when the relative is restrictive than when it is non-restrictive. These tendencies may be represented thus:

Definite > Indefinite  
Restrictive > Non-restrictive

The operation of these tendencies results in the fact that the synthetic connection may be used with an indefinite antecedent, but this is limited to restrictive relatives. With definite antecedents, on the other hand, the synthetic connection has a wider distribution and may be used also with non-restrictive relatives. The appositional type of connection with <sup>o</sup>-*D* is available only for non-restrictive relatives with a definite antecedent. The distribution of the various connection strategies may be represented in the following table, in which the line running to the right of an item (—|) indicates the extent of the distribution of this item:

	Restrictive	>	Non-restrictive
Definite AN:	D—		<sup>o</sup> -D   Ø
Indefinite AN:	D—		Ø—

From a comparative point of view, it is worth noting that the appositional type of relative clause with <sup>o</sup>-*D* has a wider distribution in some NENA

dialects. In J. Arbel, for example, this type of structure is frequently used to express restrictive as well as non-restrictive relatives, e.g.

- (1) *héleq 'o-t-la-yáŕwa, 'ítwa našé xe'tíwa ta-ǵér našé.* 'Anyone who did not know (how to sew)—there were people who sewed for others.' (Khan 1999: 387)
- (2) *kré 'o-t-lošílu* 'The suits that they wear' (Khan 1999: 388)
- (3) *'íyyá mǎndíxanòx 'o-t-mírox baqí.* 'Here are the things of yours that you asked me for.' (Khan 1999:388)

The situation in C. Barwar, in which the appositional construction is restricted to non-restrictive relatives may be regarded as typologically more archaic. As remarked above, the looser syntactic connection of the appositive nominal relative corresponds iconically to the looser pragmatic connection of the non-restrictive relative to the antecedent noun. In J. Arbel the apposition construction has been generalized from non-restrictive to restrictive clauses. This has come about, no doubt, due to the aforementioned lack of clear pragmatic dichotomy between the two types of relatives.

### 19.1.2. *Nominal relative clauses*

Relative clauses that do not modify a head nominal but are themselves referential expressions with the status of a nominal can be classified as follows.

#### 19.1.2.1. *Demonstrative Pronoun as Head*

A nominal relative clause that contains the relative particle *D* in principle must have some kind of pronominal head. The particle *D* itself, although historically a pronoun in origin, no longer functions as a pronoun and cannot act as the head of the relative clause. Nominal relative clauses often take pronominal heads in the form of an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun placed before the *D* particle. This is usually the default series of demonstratives, though occasionally speaker deixis demonstratives are used in this way. The anaphoric pronoun refers proleptically to the referent described in the relative clause and is not dependent on mention in the preceding context. All such constructions are restrictive relatives:

- (1) *'o-t-íle plíxa 'áw b't-áxəl.* 'He who has worked will eat.' (A21:15)
- (2) *'ó-t là pálx 'lè y-áxəl.* 'He who does not work will not eat.' (A21:13)

- (3) *ʔo-t-táyən nàše,<sup>1</sup> táyən m̀̀ndi,<sup>1</sup> ʔáw y-amrile hammála.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Somebody who carries people, carries something, he is called a porter.’ (A22:36)
- (4) *ʔo-t-ítile dawèra<sup>1</sup> mášle dawère.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Whoever had a pack animal, would bring down his pack animal.’ (B5:120)
- (5) *ʔa-t-íla t̀̀lálí<sup>1</sup> ʔawdánna trè-qəsmé.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The one that is for me I’ll divide into two parts.’ (A21:28)
- (6) *ʔan-t-íla qam-tára t̀̀áθi gawàye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The ones that are outside come inside.’ (B11:9)
- (7) *ràbbən<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa t̀̀i-sàxəð l-ʔálaha<sup>1</sup> ʔu-t-i-m̀̀šàle-u<sup>1</sup> lé-y-ʔaxal bàsra-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘A monk (is) somebody who worships God, who prays and does not eat meat.’ (A15:4)
- (8) *ʔanna t̀̀-íla gawàye<sup>1</sup> plítela qam-gùtta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The ones who are inside went out after the ball.’ (B11:11)
- (9) *ʔanna kùlla t-wiðili qámux<sup>1</sup> ðilux módila.<sup>1</sup>* ‘All these things that I have done in front of you—do you know what they are?’ (A23:20)

In (10) the pronominal head is combined with a partitive expression:

- (10) *ʔo-mənnéxu t-dàqər<sup>1</sup> b-Mámó,<sup>1</sup> m-áxxa hál qəsrət-mira<sup>1</sup> t-odáxle dəmma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Whoever of you touches Mámó, we shall scatter his blood from here until the palace of the prince.’ (A26:68)

#### 19.1.2.2. Indefinite Pronoun as Head

The cardinal particle *xá* may be used as an indefinite pronoun at the head of a relative clause. In such cases it generally refers to a human referent (‘anybody’, ‘somebody’). As is the norm with indefinite antecedents, the construction is syndetic if the referent is non-specific (1) but asyndetic if it has a specific referent (2)–(3):

- (1) *léle šwíqa xá t-xayáple ʔimət m̀̀yəθ.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He has not left anybody who would wash him when he dies.’ (D2:77)
- (2) *ʔíθwa xá Pətto-wəwa šámme.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was somebody whose name was Pətto’ (B19:5)
- (3) *ʔíθwa xa-honána-wəwə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘There was a person who was wise.’ (A14:8)

In a similar manner, the quantifier *raba* can be used pronominally as an indefinite head, as in (4):

- (4) *ʔiθwa rába ʔi-zǎríwala čèri.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were many who sowed it in Autumn.’ (B5:15)

### 19.1.2.3. *Quantifier kut as Head*

A nominal relative may be introduced by the quantifier *kut*, which has generic reference (‘whoever...’). This is derived historically from the phrase *\*kul-xa-d < \*kull-had-d* ‘each one that’, which contains both the head of the relative clause *\*had* ‘one’ and also the relative particle:

- (1) *kút la-pálax<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áwwa bèθa<sup>1</sup> ʔixála lè y-áxal.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever does not work in this house will not eat food.’ (A21:13)
- (2) *kút ʔáθe gu-ʔúpra dìyi<sup>1</sup> lázəm ʔáwəð ʔaskariya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever comes to my land, must serve in the army.’ (A17:22)
- (3) *kút maṭéwa qamáya jáldalle<sup>1</sup> məθèwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever was the quickest and reached it first would bring it back.’ (B5:154)
- (4) *kút šaqəlwale<sup>1</sup> ʔaw-qrimwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever picked it up would win.’ (B15:33)
- (5) *kút-ile ferássa ʔáθe ʔəxxane.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever is a warrior, let him come here.’ (A29:59)
- (6) *kut-bāyət<sup>1</sup> t-yánnəx ʔille diye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever you love, I’ll give you to him.’ (A26:88)
- (7) *kut-məθela ʔána t-yánne zūze.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whoever brings her back, I’ll give money to him.’ (A27:30)
- (8) *ʔalpá-dáwe bəd-yáwəl tla-kút ʔamərre mòdile xálme.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He will give a thousand gold pieces to whomsoever tells him what his dream is.’ (A1:12)
- (9) *ʔu-sáprət kut-áθe láxxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Wait for whoever comes here.’ (A22:23)

In (10) a nominal relative is used independently in a street call:

- (10) *qréli hátxa kut-záwəm tàwra.*<sup>21</sup> ‘I cried out like this “(Is there) anybody who will buy an ox?”’ (A22:7)

### 19.1.2.4. *Interrogative Particle as Head*

A relative clause can be introduced by the interrogative particle *mo/modi* ‘what’. When linked to a following relative clause, this produces a nominal phrase that refers to a class of entities. In a similar type of structure, the head of the clause may be an adverbial interrogative, such as *ʔeka* ‘Where?’ which forms subordinate clauses with an adverbial function. Relative clauses with interrogative particles as heads often have a generic reference (‘whoever, whatever, wherever, etc.’), especially when they are placed at the beginning of the sentence.

(i) *mo/modi*

- (1) *mo-bt-amrálux bt-àwðat.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You must do what she says.’ (A8:92)  
 (2) *mšaróyela kθàwa<sup>1</sup> bεθwáθθt nàše<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mo-t-itlèy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They start registering the houses of people and what they have’ (B1:16)

When such relative phrases are in clause initial position, they are sometimes resumed by a correlative element. In (3) and (4) this is the anaphoric adverbial *hàðax*. In (5) the correlative has the form of another interrogative pronoun:

- (3) *málka<sup>1</sup> mo-t-ámərrey t-óðí hàðax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whatever the king tells them they should do.’ (A8:9)  
 (4) *mo-t-ámrat wúð hàðax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do whatever you think best (literally: you say).’ (A8:17)  
 (5) *módit snìqa<sup>1</sup> mo-t-óðaxxa tlàlux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whatever you want, (that is) what we shall do for you.’ (A6:9)

In (1) and (5) the construction is asyndetic whereas in (2) it is syndetic. When the verb in the relative clause is an initial /ʔ/ verb used in a future sense, as in (3), (4) and the second phrase of (5), the status of the *t-* is ambiguous, in that it may be interpreted either as the relative particle or the future particle.

Similar inclusive classes of entities can be expressed with relative phrases introduced by the word *məndi* ‘thing’, which is often combined with the universal quantifier *ku-* ‘every’. These constructions are either synthetic or asyndetic, e.g.

- (6) *ʔu-məndi-t pàγəð<sup>1</sup> ʔasərta xa-rámša xülle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whatever is left eat in the evening for dinner.’ (A42:4)  
 (7) *kú-məndi-t báγət wúðli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do to me whatever you want.’ (A25:14)  
 (8) *ku-məndi báγi xoš-ʔòðí.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They may do whatever they want.’ (A14:46)  
 (9) *mεθíwa ləxma<sup>1</sup> yán bàsra, yán ku-mət-ʔile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They would bring bread or meat, or whatever there was.’ (B15:87)

(ii) *ʔeka*

The attested examples of this include both synthetic constructions with the *D* subordinator and also asyndetic ones without this particle, e.g.

- (1) *gu-d-ε-dàna, ʔékεγεwa mùtye<sup>1</sup> pòlgət yòma<sup>1</sup> táma y-axlúwa kùlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘At that time, wherever they had got to, at midday they all ate.’ (B5:62)

- (2) *'éka šàtqa' tàma zǎréti.*<sup>1</sup> 'Wherever it (the dog) squats, there you should cultivate.' (A30:4)
- (3) *y-azíwa nablíwale' l-šaқиθa' yán l-hàmmam,*<sup>1</sup> *'ékát 'íle.*<sup>1</sup> 'They went and took him to a channel or a wash house, wherever it was.' (B15:74)

A similar sense is expressed by relative clauses headed by the phrase *ku-dana* 'every time, any time':

- (4) *ku-dána sànqat,*<sup>1</sup> *maqððtla,*<sup>1</sup> *'ána t-áθyən làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Whenever you need (me), burn them and I shall come here' (A24:49)

#### 19.1.2.5. *No Head*

Nominal relatives with no explicit syntactic expression of the head are mainly found either after existential particles or in naming constructions with the verb *'mr*. In all cases the zero head has the sense of an indefinite pronoun with a specific referent ('some', 'something') and the relative clause is non-restrictive. In most cases the relative clause is asyndetic and is not introduced by the particle:

##### (i) *Existential Constructions*

These mainly refer to plural groups:

- (1) *'íθwa zamríwa díwàne.*<sup>1</sup> 'There were some who would sing *díwane*.' (B5:11)
- (2) *'íθwa báyéwa deréwa gǎlla gáwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'There were some who liked to put herbs in it.' (B5:167)
- (3) *'íθwa gu-'áθya har-šuléy 'àwwεwa.*<sup>1</sup> 'There were some in the country whose job was (to do) this.' (B5:168)

In (4) and (5) the referent is singular:

- (4) *'íθ páłta zúrta.*<sup>1</sup> *'ε-zúrta 'áy zadíwala.*<sup>1</sup> 'There was something (of the tobacco) that came out (as) small (pieces). This small stuff—they threw that away.' (B7:17)
- (5) *'áw brōn-málka rába šapírele' 'u-hawnánele,*<sup>1</sup> *'ína 'íθ 'ax-díye 'áp-ay šapírta-w hawnánta brátət málkət ma'árwa t-ámrx.*<sup>1</sup> 'That son of a king is very good-looking and clever, but there is someone who is good-looking and clever like him, the daughter of the king of the West, let's say (i.e. we shall give her this name for the sake of the story).' (A4:3)

In (6) the relative clause is syndetic, with the particle *D*:

- (6) *ʔiθwa t-īwéwa šálye ḥabbaniyya*<sup>1</sup>...*múθye makàyan*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were some who had gone down to Ḥabbaniyya...and brought back machines.’ (B10: 45)

(ii) *Naming Constructions*

The name of the item in question takes the nuclear stress and is placed either in the default position after the verb or is fronted before the verb to give it added prominence:

- (1) *deréwa t-amrǎxxa guttāθa*<sup>1</sup> ‘They put (on it) what we call “balls.”’ (B5:39)  
 (2) *béna náše y-áwa múθye táma halbát t-amrǎxxe kàde*<sup>1</sup> ‘People would have brought there what we call *kade*.’ (B5:59)  
 (3) *ʔanna ʔila prista y-amrǎwala ʔé-ga*<sup>1</sup> ‘These things are what were called at that time “a spread.”’ (B5:201)  
 (4) *ʔiθwa hambišāye y-amrǎxla*<sup>1</sup> ‘There were what we call “giants.”’ (A24:54)

If the asyndetic relative phrase is the complement of a preposition, the preposition remains on the noun it relates to, even when this noun is not at the front of the phrase, e.g.

- (5) *kút-xa y-áwe gu-bèθe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-heywáne y-áwa mánne diye*<sup>1</sup> *har-gu-gòma y-amrǎxxe*<sup>1</sup> ‘Everybody is in his home and his animals are with him, in what we call “the basement stable.”’ (B5:116)  
 (6) *ʔaw ʔo-t-ítte qàmxa*<sup>1</sup> *nabólle t-ámraḫ l-tanùra*<sup>1</sup> ‘Somebody who has flour takes it to what we call the oven.’ (B5:117)

When the item that is named has been mentioned previously and is definite, it takes a demonstrative pronoun as the head of the relative phrase, e.g.

- (7) *qa-t-lá-šala miya gàwe*<sup>1</sup> *d-ó t-ámraḫ huðála*<sup>1</sup> ‘so that the water does not go down into what we call a fodder stack.’ (B5:114)

(iii) *Other Cases*

Asyndetic nominal relatives are sporadically found in other contexts, e.g.

- (1) *gu-máθa θéla mṯéla l-be-ʔabònewa*<sup>1</sup> ‘They came to the village and went to what was the house of the bishop.’ (B1:17)



- (2) *Bəlbəl Hazər' ʔile mütəyalla ləle ʔurza.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Bəlbəl Hazar—the one who brought her who was not a man.’ (A8:84)

### 19.1.3. *The Internal Structure of Relative Clauses*

In syndetic relative clauses, which open with the particle *D*, the enclitic copula is regularly attached to the particle. Ample illustration of this can be found among the examples that are cited above. The copula is always in its enclitic form. The emphatic copula is avoided in this syntactic context (§15.3.3.). The phenomenon whereby the copula is attached to the relative particle can be linked to the practice of moving the copula onto prominent items in main clauses (§15.4.1.4.1., §17.1.1.2.). The item may be a prominent focus of new information or may be topically prominent, in that it is the central concern of the speaker. In relative clauses it is the latter type of prominence that is involved. The referent of the antecedent noun, represented by the *D* particle in the embedded clause, is the main topical concern of the clause.

On some occasions the copula bears the nuclear stress of the intonation group, e.g.

- (1) *ʔu-dīʔele ʃályele rəš-d-è-ʔəna,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔə-ʔəna t-ile ʔəθya qamáye rəša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went back down to the spring, the spring to which he had come previously.’ (A26:32)
- (2) *ʔə-yōm t-ile plīta<sup>1</sup> bróne dīye mīθele.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The day that he went out, his son died.’ (A4:32)

If the relative clause is asyndetic, on the other hand, the copula is not placed in initial position. In the attested examples of these constructions, the copula is normally either attached to the predicate, e.g. §19.1.1.2. ii (1, 2, 8, 9), §19.1.2.2. (2, 3), or is omitted, e.g. §19.1.1.2. ii (5). An exceptional case is (3), in which the copula is placed at the front of the clause, as in syndetic constructions:

- (3) *hadīya mtánənnux ɖa-qəʃəttə<sup>1</sup> tunīθa<sup>1</sup> ʔile ʃəmma dīya<sup>1</sup> tála ʔu-làqləq.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Now I shall tell a story, a story whose name is “The fox and the stork.”’ (A45)

When a syndetic relative clause contains a verb, this is regularly placed immediately after the relative particle *D*, with a subject or any other constituent following it, e.g.

- (4) *ʔé-dān t-áθya k'álo, 1 yawíwala mǝšxa. 1* 'When (literally: at the time that) the bride came, they would give her oil.' (B8:32)
- (5) *ʔo-mǝnnéxu t-dǝqǝr 1 b-Mǝmo 1* 'whoever of you touches Mǝmo...' (A26:68)

When the referent of a definite antecedent noun has the role of direct object in the relative clause it is resumed by a pronominal object pronoun, whether the clause is restrictive or non-restrictive, e.g.

- (6) *ʔé-bratǝt malušwala julle 1 t-ođíwala ʔax-kǝlo. 1* 'They made the girl whom they dressed in clothes like a bride.' (B7:2)
- (7) *mǝre tla-žǝne, 1 t-bǝyéla Mǝmo 1* 'He said to Zine, whom Mǝmo loved' (A26:64)

The resumptive pronoun may be in a clause embedded within the relative clause, e.g.

- (8) *ʔé-baxta t-àθya 1 bǝyan gawrǝnna 1 lázǝm mtanyáli ǝa-qǝšǝtta. 1* 'The woman who comes and I shall marry must tell me a story.' (A36:1)

In the relative clause of (9) the clause embedded under the verb *bǝyat* 'you want' that would have contained the resumptive pronoun has been elided:

- (9) *šǝdla, 1 gu-d-a-ʔǝra t-bǝyat mattǝtle. 1* 'The sapling—you put it in the land that you want (to put it in).' (B5:103)

When the antecedent noun is indefinite with a non-specific referent and the relative clause is restrictive, there is generally no resumptive pronominal direct object, e.g.

- (10) *hálli xǝ-mǝndi t-ǝxlǝn. 1* 'Give me something to eat (literally: that I may eat).' (A26:57)
- (11) *kú-mdit t-yáwǝl tǝlǝx 1 ʔǝp ta-šwáwux t-yáwǝl trǝ. 1* 'Everything that he gives to you, he will give also to your neighbour, twofold.' (A3:4)
- (12) *kú-mǝndit bǝyat, 1 módi mǝrád tǝbbux 1 t-ođǝnne. 1* 'Whatever you want, whatever your heart's desire is, I shall do it!' (A33:11)
- (13) *ʔáwǝwa kú-mdit mǝsawǝθwa Čǝxo, 1 Čǝxo, 1 Čǝxo. 1* 'Everything that he spoke (= on every occasion that he spoke) (people would say) Čǝxo, Čǝxo, Čǝxo.' (A7:1)

When the interrogative pronoun *mo* ‘what’ functions as an indefinite pronoun at the head of a restrictive relative, there is likewise no resumptive object pronoun, e.g.

- (14) *mo-t-ámrat wúð hādax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do whatever you say (= whatever you think best).’ (A8:17)

When, on the other hand, an indefinite antecedent noun has a specific referent and the following clause is non-restrictive, a pronominal object suffix is used, e.g.

- (15) *qam-xazéle xa-nāša<sup>1</sup> miθa<sup>1</sup> nabólalle māmòralle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He saw a dead person, whom they were taking to bury.’ (A17:1)
- (16) *’ína hóla xá-qayamθa kθiwta tàma,*<sup>1</sup> *málka Šlémun kθiwəlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They found there an inscribed monument, which king Solomon had written.’ (A14:55)
- (17) *’illən xá-məndi báyx t-oðáxxe tläləx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We have something (in mind) which we want to do for you.’ (A4:48)

This distribution of resumptive pronominal suffixes can be interpreted as reflecting the different syntactic status of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. In restrictive clauses the head nominal, or at least the relative particle *D*, is treated as the direct object of the verb in the clause. Since indefinite objects in principle do not take object agreement suffixes (§15.13.2.2.), there is no resumptive agreement suffix on the verb. The occurrence of the pronominal suffix in non-restrictive clauses reflects the fact that they have the status of independent clauses. Since, on the other hand, definite direct objects in principle regularly co-occur with pronominal agreement suffixes, this distinction in structure is not reflected in the suffixes and the pronominal suffix occurs in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.

If the referent of the head nominal is the complement of a noun in the relative clause, it is obligatorily represented by a resumptive pronoun, e.g.

- (18) *’iθwa xa-’ága gu-Bèrwə,*<sup>1</sup> *šəmmə Rašid-bek.*<sup>1</sup> ‘There was an agha in Barwar whose name was Rašid Bek.’ (B19:1)
- (19) *’axtu kúlləxu čdetu<sup>1</sup> l-bəθət málka<sup>1</sup> t-íla Gozáli ’u-Nozáli gu-bəθ-díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You are all invited to the house of the king, in whose house Gozali and Nozali are staying.’ (A8:89)

When the antecedent noun has the syntactic relation of an adverbial in the relative clause that could be expressed without a preposition, there is generally no pronominal resumption when the clause is restrictive. This is the case with temporal adverbials (20–22) and the destination of verbs of movement (23) (§14.13.):

- (20) *hál ʔo-yómət mēθəm<sup>1</sup> har-ʔúrxət ʔálaha dóqən b-íði.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Until the day I die, I shall always keep to God’s way.’ (A15:21)
- (21) *ʔé-gət ʔan-yomáθa t-awéwa ràba séra<sup>1</sup>...jámíwa kúlla ʔúrze,<sup>1</sup> jwànqe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘On days when there was a lot of moonlight...all the men and youngsters gathered together.’ (B11:3)
- (22) *hót m-ó-yomə t-ix ʔaxni-zíle ʔáti dóryalle gu-zəndána.<sup>1</sup>* ‘From the day that we went away you have held him in prison.’ (A26:76)
- (23) *ku-béθa t-àzeti<sup>1</sup> ʔáni t-yawílux<sup>1</sup> là tarðílux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Every home that you go to will give you something.’ (B7:7)

If the role of the head in the relative clause would be normally expressed by a locative preposition in an independent clause, the preposition is sometimes still omitted when the clause is restrictive. This is found where the locative role would be expected to be expressed by the preposition *gu-*, *b-* or *mən-*, e.g.

- (24) *hátxa xazəxwale<sup>1</sup> ku-dúkθa t-awéwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would see him wherever he could be.’ (B9:29)
- (25) *xulása ʔálaha mutəpəqalle gu-d-a-mđita t-íla ʔε-bráta d-o-málka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was.’ (A4:11)
- (26) *də-púš ləxxa<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ay-šwíθa t-wewa-dmíxa xónəx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Stay here, in the bed in which your brother slept.’ (A8:68)
- (27) *hon-dóryalle gu-xa-čále ʔamúqta lá-ʔaməš čü-ga čü-ga palət.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I put him in a deep pit from which he could never come out.’ (A22:41)

In some cases, however, the preposition is used in a restrictive relative clause with a pronominal suffix resuming the head, e.g.

- (28) *ʔε-dértə zədyálux gáwa díya kúlla genəwela.<sup>1</sup>* ‘(As for) the enclosure in which you threw it, they are all robbers.’ (A15:18)
- (29) *mťele gu-tárət ʔó-béθa t-íla-wírta gəwe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He reached the door of the house in which she had entered.’ (A34:11)

- (30) *'ána 'ap-díya<sup>1</sup> 'áyya 'úrxa t-ín 'ána zála bíya díya<sup>1</sup> lè-y manšónna hál yomat-màwθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'I shall not give up until the day I die the way I am following now.' (A21:35)

If the clause is non-restrictive, a preposition with resumptive pronoun is regularly used, e.g.

- (31) *'íθwa xa-gáppa gáwe díye 'àrbi hambišáye.*<sup>1</sup> 'There was a cave in which there were forty giants.' (A24:54)

A preposition is regularly used in all types of clauses if this is other than the locative prepositions *gu-* or *b-*, e.g.

- (32) *dáryele 'an-bāṭaniye xoθa-díya t-wewa-dmíxa Gozáli rēša.*<sup>1</sup> 'He placed under her the blankets that Gozali had slept on.' (A8:69)

A resumptive pronoun may be in a clause embedded within the relative clause, e.g.

- (33) *qəm-qaṭlile b-xaṭoryàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *'an-xá xaṭoryáθa t-ínwa màrəllux<sup>1</sup> mási julle bíya.*<sup>1</sup> 'They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with.' (B19:9)

When the head nominal has the function of locative adverbial in the relative clause, it is occasionally resumed by the adverb *tama*, e.g.

- (34) *t-lá marəwàθele 'o-márga<sup>1</sup> t-it-súsux daryəlle tàma?*<sup>pl</sup> 'Is the meadow in which you have put your horse without owners?' (A25:60)
- (35) *wíðele 'a-dúkθa nišànqa,*<sup>1</sup> *'a-dúkθa t-wéwa 'o-dídwa wíra tàma.*<sup>1</sup> 'He made a sign in that place, the place where the fly had entered.' (A11:10)

When the head nominal of a relative clause is a predicate in a clause with a 1st or 2nd person subject and the referent of the head nominal is the subject of the relative clause, the verb of the relative clause is inflected in the 1st or 2nd person, in agreement with the subject of the main clause, e.g.

- (36) *'ána 'o-xà qása<sup>1</sup> t-ín 'áθya gu-Ṭiyàre.*<sup>1</sup> 'I am that priest who came to the Ṭiyare.' (B17:15)
- (37) *let-'áti wíya xoš-náša t-it-múθyalla 'ánna zùze.*<sup>1</sup> 'You have not become a good man who has brought these coins.' (A1:26)

## 19.2. INDIRECT QUESTIONS

19.2.1. *Polar Question*

Indirect polar questions (i.e., yes—no questions) are asyndetic with no explicit syntactic marker, e.g.

- (1) *xázəx mášət t-amrátli módin xázya b-xəłmi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s see whether you can tell me what I saw in my dream.’ (A1:7)  
 (2) *xázən<sup>1</sup> màšən<sup>1</sup> t-ódən xa-čàra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I shall see whether I can find a solution.’ (A33:6)

In (3) the indirect question is negated:

- (3) *xázəx lá-mšət mamtátla ’iθáθux hátxa gđàðe.*<sup>2</sup> ‘Let’s see whether you can (literally: cannot) bring your hands together like this.’ (A28:15)

If the indirect question consists of two alternatives, these may be presented asyndetically (4–5) or the second alternative may be introduced by the conditional particle *’ən* (6), e.g.

- (4) *’o-mándi la-ðile sùsa-wewa<sup>1</sup> náša-wewa l-xàše.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He did not know whether that thing was a horse or whether there was a man on its back.’ (A29:21)  
 (5) *’áwwa táwrat wála lán-ða’a módi ’áθya biye,<sup>1</sup> npilele b-’isàra,<sup>1</sup> ’awwa xà-məndile qíθa biye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I don’t know what has happened to that wild ox, whether it has fallen on a rock or whether a thing such as that has happened to him.’ (A12:52)  
 (6) *léla dá’a módi bràya,<sup>1</sup> hadiya péša kəpa<sup>1</sup> ’ən la-péša kəpa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She did not know what was happening, whether she would now turn to stone or not turn to stone.’ (A8:73)

In (7) the conditional particle introduces a second indirect question that is an expansion of the first rather than an alternative:

- (7) *léðən b-xáyən<sup>1</sup> ’ən-b-déřən t-xazənnəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not know whether I shall live, whether I shall return and see you.’ (A8:56)

The alternative question may be reduced to the negative particle *la* (*la’a*). This is introduced by *lo* or *’ən*, resulting in the forms *lo-la* and *’əlla* (< *’ən-la*), e.g.

- (8) *xázax mhayrili lo-làʔa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let’s see whether they will help me or not.’ (A48:2)
- (9) *ʔaw léðe cǎdrat bábe díyila ʔlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He does not know whether it is his father’s tent or not.’ (A28:33)

### 19.2.2. *Questions Introduced by an Interrogative Particle*

Various subordinate clauses that are introduced by interrogative particles may be classified as indirect questions. These are embedded under verbs such as ‘to know’, ‘to see’, ‘to show’, ‘to say’ and ‘to write’, e.g.

- (1) *yǎðat ʔékən dǎryalle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Do you know where I put him?’ (A22:44)
- (2) *lá maxzátle ʔlli ʔéka pǎlǎt.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Won’t you show me where it comes out?’ (A24:38)
- (3) *xáze mòdila qǎşşat.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He sees what the problem is.’ (A22:43)
- (4) *làn-ðáʔa mo-qaríwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not know what they called him.’ (A12:20)
- (5) *ga-léðax... ʔénila ʔurxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But we do not know... which is the road.’ (A26:18)
- (6) *ʔina ʔána léyðən b-éni dána t-àðe xáwwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But I do not know at what time the snake will come.’ (A24:39)
- (7) *síqele l-bεθ-qòra,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-qawràða,*<sup>1</sup> *xáze ʔénila qáwra xàða.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He went down to the cemetery and among the graves he saw which (of them) was a new grave.’ (A25:89)
- (8) *múr ʔèni-mənnən<sup>1</sup> biş-şapirtela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Say which of us is the most beautiful.’ (A25:17)
- (9) *xzi-kəmà t-ázal ʔáwwa táwra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘See how much this ox will go for.’ (A22:1)
- (10) *báyən t-yǎðən ʔána ʔiman mèðena.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want to know when I shall die.’ (A16:1)
- (11) *léla kθiwe<sup>1</sup> ʔimə t-íle bənya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They have not written when it was built.’ (B6:31)

If an indirect question clause that is introduced by an interrogative particle contains a subject nominal or independent subject pronoun, this is often placed before the particle, e.g.

- (12) *ʔup ʔaláha la-yǎðe ʔáti ʔiman mèðéti.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Even God does not know when you will die.’ (A16:11)
- (13) *ʔaw xzèle ʔo-dídwa ʔéka wǎrre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He saw where the fly entered.’ (A11:9)
- (14) *ʔu-şákrax şəmmət márya ʔaláha xázax ʔurxa ʔékela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall pray to the Lord God that we may find where the road is.’ (A26:17)

- (15) *ʔan-lá galə̀tli<sup>1</sup> róxux gu-mòdila<sup>1</sup> ʔu-dáx-it xyàʔa<sup>1</sup> ʔána xà-yoma káslux la-péšən.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘If you do not reveal to me in what your spirit lies and how you live, I shall not stay with you a single day longer.’ (A12:40)

The subject may be raised and made the object of the main verb. This process is reflected by the pronominal object in (16) and (17) and the object agreement pronoun in (18):

- (16) *ʔan-šūrùt<sup>1</sup> lázəm yăđə̀tla mòdila.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You should know what these conditions are.’ (A24:10)  
 (17) *ʔə̀ni ʔùlexu t-náše t-mási mšáwθi mənna<sup>1</sup> xazéla màtola?<sup>1</sup>* ‘What people do you have who can speak with her and find out how she is?’ (A4:13)  
 (18) *t-áθe t-yăđéla ʔánna mòdila<sup>1</sup> ʔu-módi lèla<sup>1</sup> xo-d-áwəwa jùlla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He will come and will know what these are (Literally: what these are and are not) under this cloth.’ (A25:49)

A constituent that does not have the role of subject is occasionally extraposed before the interrogative particle, e.g.

- (19) *yába t-ázəx xàzəx<sup>1</sup> ʔe-bratə̀ni mà mánna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Let’s go and see what has become of that daughter of ours.’ (A21:25)

In (20) the embedded interrogative clause is introduced by the complementiser *qa-t*:

- (20) *xzə̀wali qa-t-ʔó-fə̀lsa ʔéka npille.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I saw where the coin fell.’ (B15:34)

Interrogative particles are also used to express embedded exclamations, e.g.

- (21) *xzi-kəméle lxìma!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Look how fit he is!’ (A15:13)  
 (22) *xzi-ʔánna yále kəmà šə̀tránela!<sup>1</sup>* ‘Look how beautiful the children are!’ (A8:16)

Some speakers have the practice of introducing new information that is regarded as worthy of particular attention by an interrogative word, to which the new information supplies the answer. This question and answer structure may sometimes be blended together and put in the same intonation group, with the result that the whole construction is most easily interpreted as an assertion, e.g.



- (23) *ʔáy y-ámri má dánət pláila qyámta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘What do they call this?—the time when the resurrection has come (= ‘They call this the time when the resurrection has come).’ (B5:54)

We should mention here a few isolated cases in which the interrogative particle *ʔeni* is idiomatically translated as an indefinite pronoun or a relative particle. These appear to have arisen by a blend between an interrogative and another construction, e.g.

- (24) *ʔánaʔ kut-dax-t-íla bràti, báyan ʔeni méθela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whatever has happened to my daughter, I want somebody to bring her back (I want—who will bring her back?).’ (A27:18)
- (25) *škíra šmmux, márya ʔálaha, ʔéni qəm-mεθéli láxxa býi bə-b-sùsi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘May your name be praised, Lord God, who have brought me here together with my horse (who has brought me?).’ (A26:22)

### 19.3. SUBORDINATE CONTENT CLAUSES

A variety of subordinate clauses that are embedded as components of a higher clause will be brought together in this section under the broad classification of ‘content clauses’. These function either as direct object complements of a verb or are governed by clausal conjunctions consisting of prepositions, adverbials and quantifiers. In a large proportion of cases these subordinate clauses are introduced by the subordinating particle *D*, though this is omitted in some circumstances. As is the case with relative clauses, in this type of subordinate clause the enclitic copula is regularly attached to the subordinating particle *D* at the front of the clause.

#### 19.3.1. *Direct Irrealis Complement*

When a clause that is the direct complement of a verb expresses an event that is unrealized, its verb is in the *qaṭəl* or *qaṭəlwa* form. The clause may be juxtaposed asyndetically to the main verb or it may be connected to it by the subordinating particle *D*. Some aspects of these constructions have been described in §15.1.1.8. and §15.1.2.5. Here we shall restrict ourselves to some remarks concerning the word order attested in irrealis complement clauses of the text corpus.

When the complement clause contains a subject nominal, this is placed before the verb and before the subordinating particle *D*, if this is used:

- (1) *bǎyən ʔálahá t-yawǎlli mándi zǎwda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want God to give me something more.’ (A3:1)
- (2) *la-bǎyən ʔáyya bráta t-in-múthyalla t-yǎǎ qá-t tliba díya hóle mǐθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died.’ (A4:33)

A direct object nominal is placed in various positions. It is found after the verb of the complement clause, e.g.

- (3) *bǎyi t-ǎxli xa-rámša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They want to eat dinner.’ (A2:2)
- (4) *bǎyən ʔalbǎnna brátux tla-xòni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want to ask for the hand of your daughter for my brother.’ (A32:11)

It is sometimes placed before the verb of the complement clause and the *D* particle but after the main verb. In such cases the object has topical status due to its connection with what precedes (5) or due to its being set up as a contrastive topic with another item in an adjacent clause (6):

- (5) *ʔána bǎyən ʔánna déwe maxǎnna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want to attack these wolves.’ (A14:52)
- (6) *bǎyən mǎnnux<sup>1</sup> hélma t-yáwət b-rèši<sup>1</sup> ʔu-be-mǎna tizux yawǎtle l-gùda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I want you to blow breath on me and—excuse me<sup>2</sup>—turn your bum to the wall.’ (A25:12)

The object may also be fronted before the main verb. In the attested examples of this the object is the complement of the particle *ʔap* and has focal prominence, e.g.

- (7) *ʔap-béθi bǎyət ʔatmǎtle.*<sup>2</sup> ‘Do you want to destroy my house as well?’ (A23:39)
- (8) *ʔap-xa la-qáblət t-áwər gu-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You should not allow anybody to come into the house.’ (A23:25)

In (9) an irrealis clause stands in apposition to a demonstrative pronoun that refers to the propositional content of the clause. The whole construction is presented in a single intonation group:

<sup>2</sup> Literally: without meaning.

- (9) *le-y-bárya 'áyya 'o-šúla 'oðàxle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This is not possible—we do such a thing (= it is not possible for us to do such a thing).’ (A8:10)

### 19.3.2. *Direct Factive Complement*

Direct complement clauses may also be of factual content. These are typically found as complements of verbs such as ‘to say’, ‘to know’, ‘to remember’, ‘to swear’, ‘to forget’. Various constructions are attested.

#### 19.3.2.1. *Zero Marking*

The factive complement clause may be embedded under the verb without any marking of subordination. This is regularly the case after the verb ‘to say’ when the clause expresses reported speech and is frequently found also after other verbs, e.g.

- (1) *hóla màra<sup>1</sup> xzítalle xa-bronət-xà-malka.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She says that she saw the son of a king.’ (A4:12)
- (2) *'ána hon-màra<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa rěš<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xá-yoma pràma<sup>1</sup> bəd-<sup>2</sup>iθáθa dīyux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I say that this head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands.’ (A14:35)
- (3) *lá-màre<sup>2</sup>xu 'áyya qušárta hóla b-<sup>2</sup>úrxa.*<sup>21</sup> ‘Did you not say that this cooking pot is on the way (to giving birth)?’ (A5:5)
- (4) *'ána lán-mirəllux be-bàxət-iwət.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-lán-mira qatòlɛwət.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-lán-mira xòš-našɛwət.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-lán-mira lebàɛwət.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I did not say that you are dishonest. I did not say that you are a murderer. I did not say that you are a good man. I did not say that you are a trickster.’ (A1:21)
- (5) *yáðána mbádla qatáll<sup>1</sup> 'aw-màlka.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I know that the king will kill me in the morning.’ (A14:3)
- (6) *'áw lèle ðiya málkɛle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He did not know that he was the king.’ (A4:31)
- (7) *'áxč b-txàrən hal-hadīya tre-<sup>1</sup>lá-gaye mamxəxwala gánən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘But I remember until now that we would have ourselves tapped (on the head) two or three times.’ (B15:24)
- (8) *'áni xášwi 'áti 'ànən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They will think that you are me.’ (A7:18)

#### 19.3.2.2. *D*

The clause may be introduced by the subordinator *D*, e.g.

- (1) *'ánna yáð<sup>1</sup>i t-ile duglana.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They know that he is a liar.’ (A48:3)
- (2) *'ay-xá-yoma har-t-yáð<sup>1</sup>a t-ile miθa brònən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She will surely know one day that our son is dead.’ (A4:39)
- (3) *nášya-wewa qásu t-wéwa yómət-tre rùta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The priest had forgotten that the next day would be Friday.’ (A2:4)

- (4) *ʔay-lèða t-ile gáwɾa diya žáre.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The poor thing did not know that he was her husband.’ (A12:67)
- (5) *ʔáti m-èka-yǎðat t-ix xonǎwàθa.*<sup>2</sup> ‘How do you know that we are brothers?’ (A39:6)
- (6) *pšámən ràba<sup>1</sup> t-in-màrəlləxu<sup>1</sup> qušartéxu mìθtela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I am very sorry to tell you that your cooking pot is dead.’ (A5:10)

### 19.3.2.3. *Raising of Subject*

In some cases the subject component of the embedded clause is raised into the main clause where it functions as the direct object of the verb. This is attested in (1)–(3), in which a pronominal copy of the subject of the subordinate clause is attached as an object suffix to the main verb:

- (1) *ʔu-yǎðanne xónəx hole-gòtəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I know that your brother is by your side.’ (A8:79)
- (2) *m-èka qəm-yǎðáti ʔáti t-íwən Gozáli.*<sup>2</sup> ‘How did you know that I am Gozali?’ (A8:41)
- (3) *bálki yǎðálux ʔáti t-it-Gozáli.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps she knows that you are Gozali.’ (A8:49)

### 19.3.3. *ʔiman*

When the interrogative particle *ʔiman* ‘when?’ is used as the governor of a subordinate content clause, it has a temporal adverbial function. The combination of *ʔiman* + *D* is often reduced phonetically to *ʔimət*. The subordinate clause is normally placed before the main clause and, in most cases, is uttered in a separate intonation group from that of the main clause.

The main clause may express an action that is temporally sequential to the action in the subordinate clause or one that overlaps with it temporally.

#### 19.3.3.1. *Temporally Sequential*

When the verb of the subordinate clause has a perfective aspect, expressing a complete event, the main clause denotes an event that is sequential to this, e.g.

- (1) *ʔimət-t mǎla túnte diye,<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-nàša,<sup>1</sup> qəm-šaqa<sup>1</sup>lla ʔe-túnte diye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When its fruit became ripe, a man came and took its fruit.’ (A17:33)
- (2) *ʔiman t-àθyət,<sup>1</sup> ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When you come back, I’ll give you another purse like that one.’ (A4:16)

Similarly a sequential relation exists between clauses expressing a habitual series of events, e.g.

- (3) *ʿiman-t y-aθéwa dwára qúrba l-màθa, ʿy-asqíwa beríye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When they came to the pasture land near the village, milkmaids would come up.’ (B5:159)

In narratives a temporal clause opening with *ʿiman* is often used to repeat the mention of an event that has already been narrated before narrating an event that is sequential to it. The informational status of the clause, therefore, may be compared to that of a topical referent. The purpose of ‘heavy’ coding of topical information at the front of a sentence is generally to mark some kind of boundary in the narrative. This is, indeed, the function of the construction under discussion since it is used to signal the onset of a section. It is a device used by the narrator to present an activity as a new event with a degree of independence from what precedes. This may involve a temporal separation, as in (4), or may simply be a result of the staging of the narrative. Note that in (5) the verb in the main clause is combined with the auxiliary verb *qym*, which is also a device for expressing the onset of a new event:

- (4) *qúmela ʿap-o-t-tré p̄rimalle, ʿxilalle. ʿímət xilla ʿap-o-t-trè, ʿpísla xà-šabθa, ʿtré šabbàθa, ʿk̄p̄inna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They slaughtered also the second one and ate him. After they had eaten the second one, a week, two weeks went by and they became hungry.’ (A20:9)
- (5) *m̄xéla l-ğ̄ðàðe ʿha-t-ṭl̄áθna m̄illa. ʿímət m̄illa ṭl̄aθnè, ʿqúmtela p̄θíxtela t̄ára ʿína léla šm̄áya qálət ʿùp-xa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘They beat one another until the three of them died. When the three of them died, she opened the door and did not hear the voice of anybody.’ (A22:35)
- (6) *ʿu-políse q̄m-makl̄ila bába-w ȳmma, ʿu-šaq̄l̄ila ʿan-tre-yále. ʿímət q̄m-šaq̄l̄ila políse ʿan-tre-yále, ʿan-políse wéla pyáša b-xammè.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The police stopped the father and mother (screaming) and took the two children. When the policemen took the two children, the policemen began to become worried.’ (A8:10)

In (7) the main clause expresses an imperfective state rather than a dynamic perfective event, so it cannot be considered to be sequential to the *ʿiman* clause. The purpose of the construction, however, is to denote that the discovery of this state is sequential to the arrival of the father-in-law on the scene. This is reflected by the use of the deictic copula *hole*:

- (7) *qúmele xamyána diyé ʿzille k̄s-m̄alka. ʿímə zille k̄s-m̄alka, ʿdiwənt m̄alka hóle m̄líθa náše ràbe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘His father-in-law went to the king. When he went to the king, the audience chamber of the king was full of many people.’ (A17:31)

A new event in a narrative sequence may be presented in a subordinate *'iman* clause. The purpose of this strategy is to downgrade the prominence given to this event and, as a result, give greater prominence to the event in the following main clause. The subordinate clause is non-assertive and presents the event as something that is presupposed to be known or inferable from the context. This applies to (8), in which the act of waking is presented as less important than the act of becoming disturbed and worried:

- (8) *málka xzéle b-xólme dīye<sup>1</sup> mára 'áwwa náša fǎqira<sup>1</sup> t-awéle xá bronà<sup>1</sup> 'áw páyǎš málka šawpət brónux.<sup>1</sup> lé-y-awe brónux málka.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ímət řišle mən-šmθa málka<sup>1</sup> rába šxišle-u<sup>1</sup> rába pšimle-u.<sup>1</sup>* 'The king saw in his dream that they said "This poor man will have a son and he will become king instead of your son. Your son will not become king." When the king woke from his sleep, he became very shaken and became very sad.'  
(A8:3–4)

#### 19.3.3.2. *Temporally Overlapping*

When the action of the main clause overlaps temporally with that of the *'iman* clause, the verb of the *'iman* clause can generally be interpreted as having imperfective aspect without expressing any clear temporal boundaries, e.g.

- (1) *'imə t-íle zmàra,<sup>1</sup> bulbúle jmá'ela l-qàle.<sup>1</sup>* 'When he sings, nightingales gather at his voice.' (A25:46)  
 (2) *'imə t-ìn prámalle,<sup>1</sup> xzáyən nəθyàθe<sup>1</sup> 'ina t-hewàne.<sup>1</sup>* 'When I was slaughtering it, I saw that its ears were those of animals.' (A23:38–39)  
 (3) *fa-'iman-t y-awíwa bēθa,<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa mǎřòye.<sup>1</sup>* 'When (the mules) were at home, we would go and graze them.' (B5:128)  
 (4) *'u-'iman garšíwa sùla,<sup>1</sup> deréwa xāš-dawèra.<sup>1</sup>* 'When they transported manure, they would put them (the panier baskets) on the back of a mule.' (B5:136)

On some occasions, however, the verb is clearly perfective, as in the future verb in (5),

- (5) *t-yánna 'árbi bnàθi<sup>1</sup> fła-'árbi bnònux,<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'iman t-aθítu láxxa řalòbe,<sup>1</sup> lá damxítu lá gu-kàrma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá gu-màrga<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá gu-qàšra.<sup>1</sup>* 'I shall give my forty daughters to your forty sons, but when you come here to seek their hands in marriage, you must not sleep in an orchard, in a meadow or in a palace.' (A12:2)

Other cases of perfective verbs in the *'iman* clause are (6) and (7). In (6) the verb denotes a habitual event, but should be interpreted as expressing one perfective representative action of the habitual activity. In each case, the *'iman* clause denotes an event that has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse and the main clause gives supplementary details on this event rather than advancing the discourse. In (7) the elaborative main clause has a syntactic structure that is characteristic of clauses expressing supplementary information and temporally overlapping activity, in that it lacks the copula (§17.6.1.) and is introduced by the connective *w* (§18.1.1.):

- (6) *'i-mbaqárwala nâše<sup>1</sup> lèketu zála.<sup>2</sup>... 'imət 'i-mbaqə̀rwa-ʔatxa,<sup>1</sup> ɣ-amárwala-sògun.<sup>1</sup> x̣tiθèxula.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He would ask the people “Where are you going?” ... When he asked them in this way, he would say “Don’t go! It is a pity for you, for if you go” (A8:24–26)
- (7) *'u-kúlla ʔáskar qlíbelá píše náše xa-ga-xèta.<sup>1</sup> 'iman ṭ-ila-píše nâše,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kút-xa ṣáxa b-o-xèna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘All the army returned and became men once again. When they had become men, they were all shouting at one another.’ (A8:83)

On some occasions the *'iman* clause is placed inside or after the main clause rather than before it. In constructions where it is placed inside the main clause, another topical constituent is placed at the front of the construction (8–10). If it is placed after the main clause without any topical item being placed in initial position, the construction has close pragmatic cohesion with what precedes (11–13):

- (8) *'o-dewàrrás<sup>1</sup> 'imə ṭ-ile-máxyalle táwrət wàla<sup>1</sup> ʔišele<sup>1</sup> mgunə̀gzele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The vagabond, when he (the other man) struck the wild ox, felt it and shivered.’ (A12:52)
- (9) *ḳ'ə̀lo<sup>1</sup> 'iman ṭ-aθyàwa<sup>1</sup> páθa díya mkusèθa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The bride, when she came, her face was covered.’ (B5:35)
- (10) *fa-l-gàre<sup>1</sup> 'iman ṭ-aryáwa ḍumye<sup>1</sup> 'iθwalən mandòrta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘On the roof, when it rained, we had a roller.’ (B5:145)
- (11) *masyòθe-wewa<sup>1</sup> 'imə ṭ-wewa-mára ṭla-ʔUmmo<sup>1</sup>* ‘He was listening when he said to Ummo...’ (A23:25)
- (12) *ṭ-óya malákhə̀θa b-šópi 'imən-ṭ-ána mèθən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She will be queen in my place when I die.’ (A4:39)
- (13) *xaddámθa díya<sup>1</sup> šléla 'imət qəm-xazyàle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Her maid-servant came down when she saw him.’ (A25:56)

The subject of the *'iman* clause is sometimes extraposed before the subordinating particle. This applies to (14), in which the initial referent is clearly extracted from the subordinate clause and plays no role in the main clause. Note also that the extraposed subject and the subordinate clause are uttered together in the same intonation group:

- (14) *sáb dúnye 'iman-t-àrya,¹ b-sàtwa,¹ 'áni lítla xàm.¹* ‘Since, when it rains in winter, they have no concerns.’ (B5:120)

A temporal sentence with an initial subordinate *'iman* clause may be in turn embedded under a subordinating conjunction. This is attested in purposive constructions with the subordinating conjunctions *qa-D* or *ta-D*. Note that these are repeated (sometimes abbreviated to *D-*) before the main clause of the temporal construction, e.g.

- (15) *mandrì gáre¹ qa-t-qàwe¹ qa-t-'ima t-áθya 'aryàna-w¹ t-áθe tàlga¹ qa-t-lá-šala dalòpe.¹* ‘They roll the roof so that it becomes tough, so that when the rain comes and the snow comes, leaking water does seep down (into the house).’ (B5:194)
- (16) *'u-'iθwale tànga¹ y-asrìwale,¹ 'u-bár gamàya¹ qá-t 'ima t-ásəqwa tura¹ t-lá 'o-qurtána jawəjwa¹ šaləwa napəlwa tənə.¹* ‘and it had a strap, which they would tie, and (a belt known as) “the front end”, so that when they went up into the mountains, the cloth would not move and the load fall off.’ (B5:127)
- (17) *maláxe holá-əθye tíwe l-kàwe.¹ hólá spára l-kàwe,¹ tá-t 'imət párqə dāna,¹ tá-t mattíle 'o-yàla¹ tá-t šaqílile nəšmèy.¹* ‘The angels have come and have sat by the window. They are waiting by the window so that when the time finishes, they (the parents) would put down the child and they (the angels) would take away their soul.’ (A4:59)

#### 19.3.4. 'ax, max, dax

The comparative prepositions *'ax* and *max* ‘like, as’ and the interrogative particle *dax* ‘how?’ are used as heads of comparative content clauses, e.g.

- (1) *méθən 'ax-t-ila-əanna míθe.¹* ‘I shall die like these people have died.’ (A14:73)
- (2) *banətli xa-bèθa,¹ xa-bürj,¹ 'áx-t 'ána báýən.¹* ‘Build me a house, a tower, as I like.’ (A14:97)



- (3) *ʔax-t-ít-ʔáti šətya,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔaw hādax.*<sup>1</sup> ‘As you drank, he also (was treated) in the same way.’ (A26:33)
- (4) *kut-méthela ʔana t-yánne zùze*<sup>1</sup> *ʔax-t-in-híwalle xa-béna xèta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I’ll give money to whoever brings her back, as I gave money before.’ (A27:30)
- (5) *ʔina léwa ʔax-t-íwa náše kθiwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘but it was not like those people wrote.’ (B1:19)
- (6) *max-t-íla brátux mšuyðanta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-àw,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-lá-ʔazən mšəyðən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Just as your daughter has gone mad, he also, if I do not go back, will go mad.’ (A4:27)
- (7) *ʔana mathyánne*<sup>1</sup> *dax t-in-muθéθalla ʔa-béna xèta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔay-béna ʔana mathyánna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Just as I brought her before, so this time I shall bring her.’ (A27:30)
- (8) *dax-t-íwət ʔáti hátxa mšəqàlta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔaw daxwàθax-ile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Just as you are pretty, so he is like you.’ (A8:67)

In (9) the subject of the clause is placed in front of the *D* subordinator:

- (9) *ʔax-ʔaxni zóre t-ix-šmìye*<sup>1</sup> ‘As we small children heard...’ (B4:3)

The clause may be given generic scope by prefixing the universal quantifier *kut*, e.g.

- (10) *ʔana*<sup>1</sup> *kut-dax-t-íla bràti,*<sup>1</sup> *báyən ʔəni méθela.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Whatever has happened to my daughter, I want somebody to bring her back.’ (A27:18)

The subordinating particle *D* is occasionally omitted, e.g.

- (11) *ʔax-ʔana paqðəmmux ʔəyyela ʔúrxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘As I instruct you, so is the road (= I shall instruct you as to the road that you should take).’ (A8:46)
- (12) *dax-qúmmət* Everèst-ile,<sup>1</sup> *hátxa ramàna.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Just as the summit of Everest is, so high (is it).’ (A8:21)

When the clause denotes an unreal situation, the *qaʔəl/qaʔəkwə* form is used and the particle has the sense of ‘as if’, e.g.

- (13) *mattəxwa məndiyáne kúlla dax-t-óya kʔàlo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would put on her all kinds of things, as if she were a bride.’ (B16:2)

A subordinate content clause governed by the comparative preposition *ʔax* sometimes has the function of a temporal ‘when’-clause. Such clauses

are typically placed before the main clause, which expresses a sequential rather than a temporally overlapping event, e.g.

- (14) *'ax-t-ila plítta Səttiye,<sup>1</sup> xziðalle<sup>1</sup> xriwəle ləbba diya.<sup>1</sup>* 'When Səttiye came out, she saw him and her heart was broken.' (A26:30)
- (15) *'ax-t-ila mətye,<sup>1</sup> Səttiye mēθa.<sup>1</sup>* 'When they arrived, Səttiye died.' (A25:86)
- (16) *'ax-t-ile qūma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šuryela pláša m-gđàðe,<sup>1</sup> 'àwəwa<sup>1</sup> maxəle<sup>1</sup> səpe<sup>1</sup> l-qđála d-o-Dəwa Žār<sup>1</sup> 'u-šále kəndála.<sup>1</sup>* 'When he got up and they started fighting with one another, he struck his sword into the neck of that Dewa Zar and he went down the slope.' (A28:19)

In narrative they are often used to recapitulate a previously mentioned event as a device for marking the boundary of a section of discourse, e.g.

- (17) *maxéla skínta l-d-ó-gəldət wéwa xítəlle m-gəwə<sup>1</sup> 'u-pələt.<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-ile plítta 'o-simárxa prixele,<sup>1</sup> zila.<sup>1</sup>* 'He struck the knife into the skin that he had sewn from inside and came out. When he came out, the *simarxa* bird flew away.' (A14:69)
- (18) *'ó-yala zóra məre b-rəxme!<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-ile mīra 'o-zóra b-rəxme,<sup>1</sup> 'ámər b-rəxme l-bàbux<sup>1</sup> l-yəmmux.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mánna xámši šanne xéne xəyèla.<sup>1</sup>* 'The little boy said "Bless you!" When the little one said "Bless you," he (the angel) said "Bless your father and mother. May each live another fifty years."' (A4:60)

Subordinate temporal clauses may also be introduced by the interrogative particle *dax*, e.g.

- (19) *dax-t-ile xəzyəlla θàya,<sup>1</sup> hádəx šàxa-w<sup>1</sup> xumθàne,<sup>1</sup> Čuxo riqele,<sup>1</sup> plíttele gu-màθa.<sup>1</sup>* 'When he saw them coming, shouting and angry, Čuxo ran out into the village.' (A7:16)
- (20) *'ánna zilela<sup>1</sup> xà-šeta.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna dax-t-ila zile,<sup>1</sup> Mámə doryəlle gu-zəndàna.<sup>1</sup>* 'They went away for a year. When they had gone, he put Mámə into prison.' (A26:74)
- (21) *xa-bəna<sup>1</sup> brátət málka<sup>1</sup> plíttele l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> dax-t-ila plítta l-gàre,<sup>1</sup> 'o-simárxa mxíθəlla gána 'əlla diya 'u-muθəθəlla-w<sup>1</sup> kəs-Mərza Pəmət.<sup>1</sup>* 'Then the daughter of the king went out onto the roof. When she went out onto the roof, the *simarxa* bird made towards her and brought her back to Mərza Pəmət.' (A27:15)

The subordinating particle *D* may be omitted, e.g.

- (22) *ʔaw dax-pálat gu-tára<sup>1</sup> xáze ʔina béθat Qára Teždin qáða.<sup>1</sup> ‘When he went out into the doorway, he saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning.’ (A26:54)*

The comparative prepositions are also used before infinitives, e.g.

- (23) *xa-béna xázya ʔθyεle xa-xúwwe<sup>1</sup> ʔax-pràxa.<sup>1</sup> ‘Then he saw a snake come, as if flying.’ (A14:31)*
- (24) *máme díye t-wéwa max-qtàlèlle<sup>1</sup>* ‘his paternal uncle who was as if killing him (= almost killed him)’ (A25:70)

### 19.3.5. kəma, ma

When the quantifier particle *kəma* governs a subordinate content clause, it generally quantifies the proposition in the embedded clause and expresses the sense of ‘as much as’ or ‘however much’, e.g.

- (1) *xúl kəma-t-bəyət.<sup>1</sup> ‘Eat as much as you want.’ (B15:56)*
- (2) *γawúwale kəma-t daqə.<sup>1</sup> ‘They would pay him however much it cost.’ (B5:182)*
- (3) *kəmət t-árqena<sup>1</sup> tópe har-ṭəpyàli.<sup>1</sup> ‘However much I run, a gun will still reach me.’ (B9:3)*

In some constructions that contain a noun argument in the embedded clause, the quantification of the proposition is semantically equivalent to the quantification of the noun, e.g.

- (4) *mqawólən kəmə-t-in šqila zúze<sup>1</sup> məθónna pālónna.<sup>1</sup> ‘I promise however much I have taken money (= however much money I have taken), I shall bring it and divide it.’ (A1:18)*
- (5) *kəmə t-ilá-ʔəθye nàše,<sup>1</sup> kəmə t-ilá-ʔəθye šazáde-u jwànqe,<sup>1</sup> lén θiθa ʔu-le-γ-ʔəθyan.<sup>1</sup> ‘However much people came (= however many people came), however much princes and young men came (= however many princes and young men came), I did not come, and I shall not come.’ (A8:94).*

The subordinating particle *D* is occasionally omitted, e.g.

- (6) *kəma mašəwá<sup>1</sup>* ‘as much as they can’ (B5:3)
- (7) *kəma ʔiθwále məšəθa<sup>1</sup>* ‘as far as they have ability’ (B5:8).

The particle can have an exclamatory sense, in which case it is usually abbreviated to *ma*, e.g.

- (8) *'ánna ma-t-íla xmíle b-ǰðàðe!* 'How happy they were together!' (A4:50)

This is most frequently used as a correlative in constructions such as the following:

- (9) *ma-t-wéwa 'áθye nàše! çannakérət Mšixa,* *ma-t-wéwa ràbe!* *Mar-Yuhánna lá-mšele kút-xa dréle qáwewat míya b-rèše.* 'So many people came around Christ, so many, that Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody.' (B6:10)
- (10) *b-léle rúmxe díye hóla mxáya kizəkke,* *ma-t-íle 'o-náša rába xelána.* 'In the night his spear was giving off sparks, so powerful was that man.' (A12:9)
- (11) *'u-ťlyela!* *ma-t-wáwa kčxe.* 'They slept, so tired were they.' (A14:43)
- (12) *qəm-maqəddla mǎhálle,* *ma-t-wéwa šumána.* 'He burnt his neighbourhood, so delinquent was he.' (A14:7)
- (13) *ma-t-γ-aθéwa tálga,* *γ-aθéwa,* *lá-mšiwá 'əp-'axxa palťíwa.* 'So heavily did the snow fall that, when it came, people could not go out even to here.' (B16:27)
- (14) *hállí ma-t-kàlena?* 'Give it to me, shall I wait so long? (= I cannot wait any longer).' (A38:13).

The particle is used before a subordinate copula clause as a device for switching attention to a different topical referent ('as for...'), e.g.

- (15) *kámá t-íle Rústam,* *'áw mbaqórəlle Tátar-i Slemán-i Səndi.* 'As for Rustam, he asked for Tatar-i Sleman-i Səndi.' (A28:24)
- (16) *kəmət-wawá yámme díye,* *mǰurməla.* 'As for his mother, she understood.' (A28:29)

Occasionally the particle is used to introduce a temporal clause. It is attested in this function in both its full form and its abbreviated form *ma-*. The temporal clause may have generic ('whenever') or specific reference ('when'), e.g.

- (17) *kəmət 'áwəð náša xəlmətta,* *hár béna xarəye!* *mxáyəlle l-máre díye.* 'Whenever a man does a service, always in the end he strikes the man performing the service.' (A47:2)

- (18) *ma-t-wéwa brôn-málka qóryalle 'o-kθàwa, 'máre spáy.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When the son of the king had read the letter, he said “Good!”’ (A11:18)

### 19.3.6. *hatxa*

The particle *hatxa*, which can function as a modifier of a nominal in the sense of ‘such a’ (§14.9.15.), occasionally governs a content clause, e.g.

- (1) *šuréla mšawòthe<sup>1</sup> hátxa t-ix-mšawóthe 'àxni.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She began to talk just as we are speaking.’ (A19:2)

### 19.3.7. *qam*

Clauses that are complements of this particle contain the irrealis verb forms *qatəl* and *qatəlwa*, since they refer to an event that has not yet taken place from the perspective of the verb in the main clause. The subordinate clause may be placed either before or after the main clause. Examples:

- (1) *qam-t-àθi, 'mpálətə mən-hàbsa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Before they return, release him from prison.’ (A26:72)
- (2) *qam-šeríwa bnàya, 'y-azíwa y-odíwa 'atína.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Before they began buildings, they went and set up a furnace.’ (B5:182)
- (3) *'áy y-óya muttəθa gu-tára qam-t-óra k'əlo.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This is placed at the door before the bride enters.’ (B5:40)
- (4) *gu-góma mpalətxwale<sup>1</sup> qam-zəříwa náše rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We took it out of the stable basement, before people sowed the rice.’ (B5:134)

In (5) *qam* is connected to the clause by *ma*:

- (5) *'ən-'ítla mója zəra<sup>1</sup> qám-ma xalwála, 'mămışála xàčə-w<sup>1</sup>* ‘If it has a small calf, before she (the milkmaid) milks it, she allows it to give suck (to the calf) a little.’ (B5:175)

### 19.3.8. *baθər*, (*m-*)*bar*

Subordinate content clauses introduced by the preposition *baθər* ‘after’ or its shorter variant (*m-*)*bar* are generally placed before the main clause, e.g.

- (1) *m-bár t-y-óði núra gəwə, 'xáyəm rəba.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After they put fire in it, it heats up a lot.’ (B6:48)

- (2) *m-bar-t-y-àxli*,<sup>1</sup> *méθe dawèra*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After they eat, they bring a mule.’ (B5:37)
- (3) *qiméle*<sup>1</sup> *báθar t-ile príqa mən-’ixàla*,<sup>1</sup> *qiméle*<sup>1</sup> *šqilele xa-’árba xamsà bé’e*.<sup>1</sup> ‘When he had finished the food, he took four or five eggs.’ (A23:6)
- (4) *bár t-ila-đíta qa-t-’àyyela θíθa kəsle-díye*,<sup>1</sup> *muxábla gđàðe*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After she realized that she had come to him, they fell in love with each other.’ (A4:4)
- (5) *háðax m-bar-t-gwírra*,<sup>1</sup> *’aláha qəm-γawálla xa-bróna*.<sup>1</sup> ‘So after they married, God gave them a son.’ (A4:57)
- (6) *’u-bár t-àzəl*,<sup>1</sup> *dérax l-bèθa*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After he goes away, we shall return to the house.’ (A30:41)

The subordinating particle *D* is often omitted in verbal forms, e.g.

- (7) *bar-pišla spáy*,<sup>1</sup> *zilla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After she had got better, she went on her way.’ (A20:5)
- (8) *’u-báθar príqálən qəş-šəttən*<sup>1</sup> *réšux pərməxle*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After we have finished our story, we shall cut off your head.’ (A24:51)
- (9) *yómə řlàθa*<sup>1</sup> *m-báθar ’ána zilli šùla*<sup>1</sup> *qimla šléla knəša*.<sup>1</sup> ‘On the third day, after I went to work, she went down (to the basement) to sweep.’ (A21:38)
- (10) *’ina m-báθar maqđàli*<sup>1</sup> *’aw-qəťma*<sup>1</sup> *šaqlitule*<sup>1</sup> *mcamitule*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After she burns me, take the ashes and keep them.’ (A26:85)
- (11) *w-ánna báθar šmítəlla*,<sup>1</sup> *šiqela gù-rəš-ťura*.<sup>1</sup> ‘After they had defeated them, they went up into the mountain.’ (A14:55)

The subordinate clause is occasionally placed after the main clause, e.g.

- (12) *ziltəla bár t-ile-béθa príqa*<sup>1</sup> *’áza xázya jùlla*.<sup>1</sup> ‘She went off after the house was finished, in order to go to find her clothes.’ (A14:99)

In (13) the clause introduced by the preposition *bar* has a causal sense:

- (13) *bár qəm-amrətla ’anna-xabráne ’əlli*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-paqđəlli*<sup>1</sup> *hátaxa t-óðən b-xàbrux* ‘Since you have said these things to me and have given me instructions, I’ll do as you say.’ (A8:50)

### 19.3.9. hal, ha-

When these two particles govern subordinate content clauses, they have the same functions, but their syntax is different, in that *ha-* is regularly

combined with the subordinator *D*, but this is generally omitted after *hal*. Their functions can be classified as follows. The form *ha-* is most likely a shortened form of the Arabic particle *ḥattā* and *hal* has developed by combining *ha-* with the preposition *l-*.

### 19.3.9.1. 'until'

In most cases subordinate clauses with these particles express an action that marks the endpoint of an action expressed in a preceding main clause and is to be translated by English 'until', e.g.

- (1) *mxéla l-gǝǝðe' ha-t-ṭláθna mǝlla.*<sup>1</sup> 'They beat one another until the three of them died.' (A22:35)
- (2) *péšət kásli lǝxxa, 'u-mxamánnux ha-ṭ-áθya tajrúθət bábux lǝxxa xá-ga xèta.*<sup>1</sup> 'Stay with me here and I shall look after you until the merchants of your father come here again.' (A14:61)
- (3) *kazúwa prámalla har-palṭiwa, 'hál plítla hǝtxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up, until they grew like this.' (A38:15)
- (4) *zúlela hal-mátyela l-qǝsra, 'rǝš-qǝsra.*<sup>1</sup> 'They went until they arrived at the palace, on top of the palace.' (A24:49)

If the preceding action is a perfective, punctual event, the 'until'-clause explicitly signals that its event is temporally posterior to what precedes, e.g.

- (5) *'o-qamáya miràle, 'o-t-tré miràle, 'ha-t-mṭéle gárra 'álle díye.*<sup>1</sup> 'The first one told him (his case), the second one told him, until his turn came.' (A17:31)

In some cases the preceding action does not necessarily end with the action of the 'until'-clause but only reaches a particular point in its progression, e.g.

- (6) *ṭéle tǝlga, 'ṭéle, ṭéle, ṭéle, 'há-t kléle zǝga' t-rǝš-čǝdra.*<sup>1</sup> 'More and more snow fell, until the bell that was over the tent stopped (ringing).' (A25:41)

Conversely, after a negated clause, the 'until'-clause marks the point at which the action that was negated finally takes place. Note that the *ṭ-* prefix after *hal* in (8) should be interpreted as the future particle rather than the homophonous subordinating particle, e.g.

- (7) *là hummánne.<sup>1</sup> ha-t-xazèla<sup>1</sup> bráta θàya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He did not believe it, until he saw the girl coming.’ (A26:79)
- (8) *là-paltət,<sup>1</sup> hal-t-amránnu<sup>1</sup> plùtgena.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Do not come out, until I say to you “Come out!”’ (A14:67)

The particle *hal* is often combined with adverbial temporal expressions such as *’ε-gət* ‘the time that’, *’ε-danət* ‘the time that’, *’o-yomət* ‘the day that’, e.g.

- (9) *’u-’áyya har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíšē<sup>1</sup> mattàwa<sup>1</sup> ’olla dìya<sup>1</sup> hál ’é-gət qəm-qatlála.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her.’ (A19:6)
- (10) *ya-’álaha,<sup>1</sup> háwe šáxi hál-’ε-gət ’ána mátyən ’álle dìye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Oh God, let him be well until I reach him.’ (A26:80)
- (11) *mən-d-’ε-danət brèla<sup>1</sup> hál d-ε-dánət m’éla l-yàla,<sup>1</sup> wéla bxàya.<sup>1</sup>* ‘From the time she was born until the time that she came to the boy she wept.’ (A25:4)
- (12) *pálxət kásli hal-d-o-yómə qárya tðkē.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Work with me until the day when the *tðkē* bird sings.’ (A30:3)

### 19.3.9.2. ‘before’

When the event in the main clause is perfective and is completed before the inception of the event in the subordinate clause, the appropriate translation of the particle is sometimes ‘before’ rather than ‘until’. The crucial factor is the information status of the subordinate clause. If the subordinate clause is assertive the translation is ‘until’. If, however, it is factive, i.e. it is presupposed that the hearer accepts it as a fact, it is more idiomatically translated by ‘before’. In many cases such factive clauses are placed before the asserted main clause, e.g.

- (1) *ha-t-’áθe ’o-náša qamàya<sup>1</sup> máte l-’èna<sup>1</sup> ’áθe xa-náša sàwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before the first man reached the spring, an old man came.’ (A15:3)
- (2) *ha-t-’íle ’əθya,<sup>1</sup> mpuláttela fāqih.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Before he came back, she took out the jurist.’ (A22:39)
- (3) *zìlela násət màθa,<sup>1</sup> ’ína ha-t-’íla zìle násət máθa,<sup>1</sup> ’o-núra čmyele.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The people of the village went (to help), but before the people of the village arrived, the fire was put out.’ (A48:3)

Occasionally the factive subordinate clause is placed after the main clause, e.g.



- (4) *ʾən-θéla píšla xàṭar ʾállux qúrba,<sup>1</sup> dríla ʾan-bóçe l-ʾára,<sup>1</sup> qémi tre-xóre t-ásqət rěša<sup>1</sup> párqət xàyux,<sup>1</sup> bálki ʾən-šállá hal-ʾε-gə-máta ʾàrye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If danger comes near to you, put these two seeds in the ground and two poplar trees will grow up, which you can climb and perhaps save your life before the lions arrive.’ (A18:14)

### 19.3.9.3. ‘until when’

Occasionally the clause introduced by the particle is presented as being connected in sense to a greater degree with what follows it. The effect of this is that it expresses an action that is the endpoint of what precedes but at the same time the starting point of what follows. In such contexts the appropriate English translation is often ‘until when...’, e.g.

- (1) *klèle<sup>1</sup> hal-tímle t-láθa yomàθa<sup>1</sup> Rustámo řìšle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He stood until when three days had passed, Rustam awoke.’ (A29:22)
- (2) *há-t-íla přiqe<sup>1</sup> šályela gu-galliya-w<sup>1</sup> Pátto dóryele tòpe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Until when they had finished coming down the valley, Pætto fired his gun.’ (B19:7)
- (3) *kut-yáwna maxətla.<sup>1</sup> máxətla yàwna,<sup>1</sup> ʾaw-yašila xéna xadər-əllux.<sup>1</sup> mára há-t ʾánna šáwwa yawnáθa qaṭlətla,<sup>1</sup> mára qáşra kále.<sup>1</sup>* ‘“Hit each dove. Hit a dove and another corner will turn round towards you.”’ He said “Until when you have killed the seven doves, the palace will stop.”’ (A12:25)
- (4) *lā-paltət,<sup>1</sup> hal-t-amrənnux plūtgena<sup>1</sup> ʾε-ga páltət.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Do not come out, until when I say to you “Come out!”, at that time you should come out.’ (A14:67)

### 19.3.9.4. Purpose

The particle *ha-* is sporadically used with a purposive sense, as in (1), in which it is combined with the particle *qa-*:

- (1) *ʾiθwale xa-kārma.<sup>1</sup> zříymwale b-iθàθi<sup>1</sup> ʾu-rábənwā kčixa bíye dīye.<sup>1</sup> ha-t-qa-mamťanna túnte dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He had an orchard. (He said) “I had cultivated it with my hands and toiled greatly in it in order to make it produce its fruit.”’ (A17:32)

## 19.3.10. tla-, ta-

### 19.3.10.1. Purpose and Result

Subordinate clauses introduced by this preposition generally have a deontic modality and express purpose, their action being presented as unrealized from the perspective of the main clause, e.g.

- (1) *mšaxnánne ʿixàla<sup>1</sup> ta-t-áxlax ʿána-w ʿáti m-gǝǝðe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall heat the food so that you and I may eat together.’ (A22:31)
- (2) *dóryele xèla<sup>1</sup> ta-t-šaràtla gáne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He struggled in order to release himself.’ (A26:81)
- (3) *ʿáwwa ʿéni páyaš nʿira<sup>1</sup> ta-t-čú-mdi là-ʿaθe bíye diye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This saddle bag will be guarded so that nothing will happen to it.’ (A7:9)

Occasionally the *D* subordinator is omitted. This is attested mostly where the preposition has its longer form *tla*, e.g.

- (4) *Kárim zille bar-xmáre diye<sup>1</sup> tla-méθéwa xmáre diye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Karim went after his donkey, in order to fetch his donkey.’ (A14:17)

In (5), where the purposive particle is placed before a conditional sentence, the subordinator *D*, which belongs with the *ta-*, occurs both before the whole sentence and also before the main clause:

- (5) *bnáya gúda ʿu-dráya rášàš,<sup>1</sup> tá-t ʿáp-ʿan maxíle màdǝa<sup>d</sup> t-là-taləxwa gúda.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He built the wall and put lead into it, so that, even if it was hit by artillery, it would not be destroyed.’ (A11:13)

On some occasions a *ta*-clause denotes the final outcome or result of a preceding action, whereby the speaker presents the chain of events from the viewpoint of this outcome, e.g.

- (6) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi,<sup>1</sup> méθóye diwáqalla ʿürxi<sup>1</sup> ta-t-lá-mšən šálan be-xàli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Why have you done this to me, bringing (snow) and blocking my road, so that I cannot go down to the house of my maternal uncle?’ (A25:42)
- (7) *šláya,<sup>1</sup> šályá šátya miya,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-qàlba xá-bena xéna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She went down to drink water and then finally returned again.’ (A33:8)

### 19.3.10.2. ‘until’

It is sometimes appropriate to translate *tla-/ta-* ‘until’, in which case the realis *ʿi-qatəl(wa)* form may be used in habitual contexts, e.g.

- (1) *xalləxwa ʿamáne bíye ʿu-hànnə<sup>1</sup> ta-t-y-awéwa šəwma.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We would wash vessels in it and so forth, until it was the fast.’ (B16:8)
- (2) *ʿu-mtašóyalla gána hàtxa<sup>1</sup> tá-t brátət málka t-ásqa rəš-gàre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She hid herself until the daughter of the king went onto the roof.’ (A27:13)

- (3) *mára dā-klīgān.<sup>1</sup> pāl̄tān m-gáwe.<sup>1</sup> móre là<sup>1</sup> ta-t-ódān qáḅax ḅp ḥla-réšax,<sup>1</sup> baḥḍēn pāl̄tāt.<sup>1</sup>* ‘She said “Stop! I (want to) get out of it.” He said “No, not until I make a lid also for your head, then you come out.”’ (A20:3)

### 19.3.10.3. *Direct Complement*

A content clause introduced by *ḥla-/ta-* sometimes functions as a factive object complement of verbs such as ‘to say’, ‘to know’, ‘to inform’. This is related to its use as an object marker of object nominals (§16.3.4.).

- (1) *ḥḥyax ta-t-mēḍāxlēxu<sup>1</sup> ta-t-m-dīya ḅarpā-saḅte<sup>1</sup> gārāg kūlla nášāt máḥa pāl̄ti m-gu-máḥa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘We have come to let you know that in four hours from now all the people of the village must leave the village.’ (B1:13)

### 19.3.11. *qa-*

#### 19.3.11.1. *Purpose and Result*

Clauses introduced by this particle generally are deontic in modality and express purpose, e.g.

- (1) *xánē ḥ-amrānna qalūta<sup>1</sup> qa-t-pārqa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I’ll tell it to you quite quickly so that it will finish.’ (A4:5)
- (2) *ḥráxēle qa-t-šāma<sup>1</sup> brátāt mālka.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He is shouting so that the daughter of the king hears.’ (A21:16)
- (3) *bānyāt-alla ḥḥtāx tāma,<sup>1</sup> qá-t mabásma kūt-yom xā.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You have built her a room there in order for her to entertain somebody everyday.’ (A4:52)

Occasionally it expresses result without deontic modality, e.g.

- (4) *ḅn-maxéwa xa-xēna,<sup>1</sup> ḅp-ḅaw xónāt Leliḥēwa,<sup>1</sup> xaḥmēwa<sup>1</sup> qa-ḥ-axēlwale.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If he had struck again—he was the brother of Leliḥa—he would heal and (as a result) would eat him.’ (A52:25)
- (5) *qínle b-zḍáya m-brónē dīye<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lā-ḅamā.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He was afraid of his son and (as a result) did not tell (= He was afraid to tell his son).’ (A8:17)

In (6) the verb of such a result clause is in the realis *ḥi-qaḥl* form:

- (6) *xzólī xa-darmána qa-ḅēni,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-y-ámšān xázān bāḥ-našūḥa māndi ḥāle.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Find a remedy for my eyes, so that (as a result) I can see people and the things around me.’ (A24:2)

In (7) it is used as a complement of an expression of ‘keeping vigil’:

- (7) *šahárta qa-t-qyàmta pálta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘(They keep) vigil for/until the resurrection comes out.’ (B5:54)

### 19.3.11.2. *Direct Complement*

A content clause introduced by *qa-* sometimes functions as a factive object complement. Note that in (1) the copula is placed on the initial pronoun on account of its focal prominence rather than on the subordinating particle *D*:

- (1) *bár t-ila-ðíta qa-t-’áyyela θíθa kásle-diye,*<sup>1</sup> *muxábla gðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘After she realized that she had come to him, they fell in love with each other.’ (A4:4)  
 (2) *la-báÿæn ’áyya bráta t-in-múθyalla t-yáða qá-t tliba díya hóle mìθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died.’ (A4:33)  
 (3) *dawáqa dawəqwa ’iðə-diye<sup>1</sup> qá-t ’ó-məndi wəle.*<sup>1</sup> ‘He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.’ (B5:10)

Such a clause may be the complement of an existential particle in constructions such as (4):

- (4) *líθwa qá-t mbaqríwa bráta.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It was not the practice to ask the girl.’ (B5:2)

In (5) the main verb takes a 3fs. pronominal suffix, which can be regarded as a type of anticipatory raising, in that it refers to the propositional content of the embedded clause:

- (5) *’áwəwa maxzóyalla qá-t hāwáli ’álpa-w ’arbà-mma<sup>1</sup> sənne<sup>1</sup> t-ile píša bənya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This shows that it was built about one thousand four hundred years ago.’ (B1:7)

Such object complement clauses may also have deontic force, e.g.

- (6) *múr tla-xònx<sup>1</sup> qa-t ’ədyo<sup>1</sup> ’áwði təgbir<sup>1</sup> ’ásqi l-səda.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Tell your brother that today they should make a plan to go out hunting.’ (A26:43)  
 (7) *b-xáðexi qá-t mxaθəxθəxxa xəzmayùθa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would be very happy to renew the family relationship.’ (B5:4)

The particle is also used to introduce a clause that is the direct complement of other expressions, e.g.

- (8) *rāba ʿebèle-lli qa-t kúlla ʿanna-jwánqe xéne šoqánna kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘It would be a great shame for me to leave all these other young men stone.’ (A8:81)
- (9) *ʿm-ʿati mwáfqat qa-t-goránne Gozàli,<sup>1</sup> brónux b-tàrəš.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you agree for me to marry Gozali, your son will be cured.’ (A8:95)

19.3.12. *mən*

On some rare occasions the preposition *mən* governs a content clause rather than a nominal. This is attested where the preposition has a causal sense (§16.5.4.). The embedded clause is not introduced by the subordinator *D*:

- (1) *ʿýyya təkθa... t-xaddámθa nčille<sup>1</sup> mən-qəm-xazyále šapira.*<sup>1</sup> ‘The waist cord of the maid-servant snapped, because she saw that he was handsome.’ (A25:56)

19.3.13. *xatər*

Causal subordinate clauses are occasionally formed by the particle *xatər* followed by the subordinator *D*, e.g.

- (1) *ʿlā-bnone xilili,<sup>1</sup> báxta xilāli,<sup>1</sup> xatər t-ínwa mḵonədrəlla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I have eaten the three children, I have eaten the wife, because I rolled her (down the hill).’ (A20:12)

19.3.14. *ka-*

There are some marginal attestations in the text corpus of subordinate clauses introduced by the particle *ka-* ‘while, when’, which appears to be related to earlier Aramaic *kad*. It is found at the head of reduced predications from which a copula element has been omitted. In some cases it is combined with the *D* subordinator, in the form *ka-t* (1–2), in other cases the *D* is not used (3):

- (1) *dax ʿýyya bráta wiðálux brátat béθa<sup>1</sup> ʿu-paláxta-w<sup>1</sup> mbašðle<sup>1</sup> ʿu-xyàpa-w<sup>1</sup> mšàya-w<sup>1</sup> knàša-w<sup>1</sup> mbašðle<sup>1</sup> ʿu-kúl-xa mándi wàða,<sup>1</sup> ká-t gu-béθi qímta briθela,<sup>1</sup> léla plixta-w<sup>1</sup> ʿu-hál ʿádyo yóma.<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> ‘How have you made this girl a housewife, hard-working, cooking, washing, polishing, sweeping,

- cooking and doing everything, while brought up my house (from the day) she was born without having worked until today?’ (A21:34)
- (2) *báyan t-yāðan<sup>1</sup> ’áwewa bəṛ-nāša mōdile,<sup>1</sup> dāx mšéle ’áyya bráta qam-’awádlā b-palxánat bēθa,<sup>1</sup> ’u-ká-t brátat málka,<sup>1</sup> ’u-lípta har-dmàxa-w xála.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I want to know what (kind of person) this man is, how could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife, while (she is) the daughter of the king and is used to only sleeping and eating.’ (A21:32)
- (3) *mbúrxállan t-ğōððe<sup>1</sup> ka-xóna ’u-xàθa,<sup>1</sup> lá ka-gáwra-w bāxta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They have wed us together while (we are) brother and sister, and not while (we are) husband and wife.’ (A16:8)

### 19.3.15. *Adverbial Content Clauses with No Introductory Particle*

Subordinated content clauses with a temporal adverbial function are occasionally used without an introductory particle. This is attested in (1) in the second of two *’iman* (‘when’)–clauses, where the omission of the particle may be explained as having arisen by gapping:

- (1) *mandrīle gáre<sup>1</sup> qa-t-qàwe<sup>1</sup> qa-t-’ima t-áθya ’aryàna-w<sup>1</sup> t-áθe tàlga<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-šala dalòpe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They roll the roof so that it becomes tough, so that when the rain comes and the snow comes, leaking water does not seep down (into the house).’ (B5:194)

In some cases, however, the omission of the *’iman* particle is not conditioned by gapping. This is attested both in clauses that provide temporal background either to what follows (2) or to what precedes (3):

- (2) *’u-t-athéwa sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> zónəxwa ’ərwə,<sup>1</sup> xámša réše ’ərwə,<sup>1</sup> hənna.<sup>1</sup> ’ərwə zonəxwala<sup>1</sup> ’u-perməxwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘When winter came, we bought sheep, five head of sheep or so. We would buy sheep and slaughter them.’ (B16:27)
- (3) *’m-wéla biš-βθìθa,<sup>1</sup> y-ámrxəxa dārpa,<sup>1</sup> yá’ni šàlya,<sup>1</sup> t-áθe sàtwa<sup>1</sup> t-áθya tàlga mándi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If it (the space between the beams) were to become wider, (the roof) would collapse, as we say, that is it would come down, when it was winter and the snow arrived.’ (B5:189)

This lack of relational particles in temporal adverbial clauses can be compared to the frequent omission of prepositions before nominals in temporal adverbial phrases (§14.13.).

19.3.16. *Content Clauses Complements of Single Constituents*

In some cases a content clause introduced by the subordinator *D* is the complement of an operator phrase or pronominal element that stands alone and functions as a main clause predication. This applies to constructions such as the following:

- (1) *jurábli ʔána<sup>1</sup> qa-t-ʔána xazónwa hàwnəx dāx-wewa<sup>1</sup> là t-la-bǎyónwaləx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I tested you to see how clever you are. It was not that I did not love you.’ (A40:16)
- (2) *ʔo-t-là pāləx<sup>1</sup> na-múmkan t-áxəl gu-bèθi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Whoever does not work, (it is) impossible for him to eat in my house.’ (A21:40)
- (3) *ʔáy t-ix-ʔəθye kǎxe<sup>1</sup> hádəx qam-ʔənəx mubyónna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘It is because we were tired that it appeared like that to your eyes’. (A4:36)

The initial constituent may be interpreted as a reduced predication: ‘(It is) not...’, ‘(It is) impossible’, ‘(It is) this...’

## 19.4. CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS

A cleft construction involves the splitting of a simple clause into two components that are linked in a predicative relationship, with part of the contents embedded in a subordinate clause. In English this syntactic restructuring is often used to express narrow focus on one constituent, e.g. *I want food* > *What I want is food* ~ *It is food that I want*. In the C. Barwar dialect cleft constructions are generally not used to express focus on a constituent in this way. Rather narrow focus is usually conveyed by the movement of the nuclear stress and/or the copula without the embedding of the non-focal material in a subordinate clause (see §15.4.1.4.1. i), e.g.

- (1) *brónux-ile xíla xabúša.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Your son has eaten an apple (= It is your son who has eaten an apple).’
- (2) *brónux xílle xabúša.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Your son has (just) eaten an apple (= It is your son who has (just) eaten an apple).’

Sporadically, however, a fully cleft construction is used with the non-focal material embedded under the subordinator *D*, e.g.

- (3) *t-áθya t-óya 'áxxa kàsləx'... ta-t-lá-pəlxət 'áti' 'áy-ila t-pálxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'She will come and be with you here... so that you will not work. It is *she* who will work' (A34:26)

A number of other cleft type constructions can be identified in the text corpus. The majority of these lack an explicit copula element that links the embedded clause to the other constituent or contain a copula but no explicit subordinating particle introducing the embedded clause. They are, therefore, better termed quasi-cleft constructions.

One form of quasi cleft structure is illustrated in (4) and (5)

- (4) *'íθwa skínta mánne' 'o-nàra mánne díye.*<sup>1</sup> *'a-skínta t-wéwa gráða dúša bíya,*<sup>1</sup> *xpírre, xpírre, xpírre.*<sup>1</sup> 'He had a knife with him, (and had also) the axe. He scraped the honey with the knife (literally: The knife [is that] which he scraped honey with), digging, digging and digging.' (A14:25)
- (5) *'áp-<sup>2</sup>aw qyáməle' táwa xásət suse díye-w' sláya.*<sup>1</sup> *sláya,*<sup>1</sup> *sláya*<sup>1</sup> *'ax-t-ile pqiðalle.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa t-wéwa sláya l-márzət xa-yàma,*<sup>1</sup> *'ax-t-ile pqiðalle.*<sup>1</sup> 'He sat on his horse and went down. He went down a long way, as he had instructed him. He went down to the shore of the sea (literally: He [is the one] who was going down to the shore of the sea), as he had instructed him.' (A12:30)

In constructions such as these the cleaving of the clause does not have the function of putting narrow information focus on the initial constituent. Rather the initial constituent has topical status, in that it has been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, and the new information is expressed in the predicate. This may be compared to constructions in which a copula is attached to an initial element to express its topical prominence (§15.4.1.4.1. ii), as in the second clause in (6):

- (6) *'áti rába wíðət spayùθa' 'u-<sup>2</sup>átit pqiðəllən.*<sup>1</sup> 'You did a lot of good and you instructed us.' (A8:87)

The purpose of the shift in the copula onto topical prominent items in constructions such as (6) is to enhance their topical prominence as a strategy to signal a boundary in the discourse. The occurrence of a topical constituent in initial position by its nature typically marks a discourse boundary and the enhancement of this topical status marks the clause off more distinctly from what precedes. One motivation for this distinctness is to give prominence to the content of the clause. This is the case in (6)



and it appears also to be the motivation in the quasi cleft constructions (4) and (5), in that these are presented as pivotal or climactic events. In (4) the act of scraping with the knife leads to the escape of the protagonist from his imprisonment. The clause in (5) marks the endpoint of a long journey. The quasi-cleft construction (4) and (5) resemble the copula shifting constructions also structurally and prosodically. The only difference is the presence of the *D* particle in (4) and (5) and its absence in (6).

A further example of this type of quasi-cleft construction is (7). Here the clause following it has a topical subject with a copula attached to it (*ho-nášela ʔəθye*<sup>1</sup>). Both of the constructions mark off distinct sections of discourse. In this case the motivation appears to be to present the two activities as taking place in parallel rather than being linked in a sequence.<sup>3</sup>

- (7) ʔo-pəlxána t-ile plixəlle<sup>1</sup> ho-nášela ʔəθye<sup>1</sup> kəsle dıye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qımela sıqe.<sup>1</sup> ‘He did the work (literally: The work [is that] which he did). People came to him and went away.’ (A16:5)

A quasi cleft construction with a topical subject can also be identified in (8), in which the subject is an asyndetic nominal relative. The fact that the phrase *t-wéwa rəbe* ‘those who were many’ lacks a demonstrative head indicates that it should be construed as predicative. The discourse boundary marking function of the construction here is used to signal the onset of elaborative, background material:

- (8) xətxəwa məstıke ʔəxni,<sup>1</sup> b-ıðən xətxəwa.<sup>1</sup> b-mašına xətxəwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔıtəwala mašına t-wéwa rəbe.<sup>1</sup> ‘We used to sew mosquito nets. We sewed them by hand. We sewed them by machine. (The ones who) had a machine (were those families) that were large.’ (B10:59)

In (9) and (10) the quasi-cleft construction has the pronominal adverbials *hatxa* and *hadəx* in the initial topically prominent position. The main purpose of the construction in these cases is to give prominence to the clause as a whole:

<sup>3</sup> A further conditioning factor for the types of cleft constructions illustrated in (4), (5) and (7) may have been the use in Kurdish of quasi cleft constructions with the so-called ‘deictic *izafə*’ to express the present progressive and the perfect (MacKenzie 1961: 205, 210–211).

- (9) *léka hátxa t-ít-mxùmla-w*<sup>1</sup> ‘Where (are you going) while so festively dressed? (literally: [It is] so much that you are festively dressed).’ (A35:5)
- (10) *hádax t-ítwa mčòkàbna támml.*<sup>1</sup> ‘You were so well decked out yesterday (literally: [It is] so much that you are decked out yesterday).’ (A35:18)

Quasi-cleft constructions can be identified also in cases where a content clause introduced by the subordinator *D* is the complement of an operator phrase that stands alone and functions as a main clause predication. This applies to constructions such as follows:

- (11) *dàx t-ile-dús.*<sup>2</sup> ‘How is it that he is right?’ (A17:8)
- (12) *xázax màto-t-ítwa wíra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Let us see how it is that you entered.’ (A47:4)
- (13) *bálki t-íla mìtha,*<sup>1</sup> *bálki t-íle xa-mánda θíθα bíya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Perhaps she is dead (literally: Perhaps [it is] that she is dead). Perhaps something has happened to her.’ (A21:25)
- (14) *’ána kàmà dána t-in-mšalóye tla-márya ’álahal ta-t-yawállil ’amma dáwe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins (literally: [It is] so many times that...).’ (A6:10)

These can be analysed as quasi-cleft constructions in that the initial constituent could be regarded as having the status of a reduced predicate, without a copula element, with the content clause as a constituent.

A further example of a quasi-cleft with a reduced predicate taking a content clause as a constituent is (15), in which a temporal adverbial is in focus:

- (15) *’áwewa maxzóyalla qá-t háwáli ’álpa-w ’arbà-mma’ šanne’ t-íle píša bñya.*<sup>1</sup> ‘This shows that (it was) about one thousand four hundred years ago that it was built.’ (B1:7)

In (16) an initial temporal adverbial is linked to the rest of the clause by a copula, though there is no explicit embedding of the subsequent material under a subordinate particle:

- (16) *mən-yárxat t-là’ ’íle náše mšèri’ plàxa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘From the third month it is that people begin to work.’ (B5:107)

The function of the construction is not to put narrow focus on the adverbial, since the verbal predicate is equally informative. Rather the purpose is to enhance the topical prominence of the adverbial, giving it ballast to mark a boundary of a discourse section. A similar interpretation can be applied to (17), in which the initial relative phrase has a cleft structure without a subordinate particle:

- (17)  $\text{ʔo-t-} \dot{\text{u}}\text{le } \text{y-ax} \dot{\text{a}}\text{lwala } \text{bn} \dot{\text{o}}\text{nax}^1 \text{ h} \dot{\text{o}}\text{le } \text{q} \dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{i}}\text{l} \dot{\text{a}}\text{lle}^1$  ‘The one who is [the one who] was eating your children—he has killed him.’ (A24:47)

## 19.5. CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Conditional constructions consist of two components, the protasis clause, which presents the condition, and the apodosis clause, which expresses the consequent to the condition. The protasis is normally placed before the apodosis, though in some circumstances this is reversed and a condition of an event or situation is added after the latter has been expressed.

In most cases the protasis is introduced by the conditional particle  $\text{ʔm}$  (‘if’). Occasionally it is introduced by other particles such as *madam* (§19.5.7.) or  $\text{ʔe-ga}$  (§19.5.8.). In what follows, we shall classify the conditional constructions with  $\text{ʔm}$  according to the verb form of the protasis and the apodosis.

### 19.5.1. *Protasis*

#### 19.5.1.1. *qaṭəl*

The *qaṭəl* form is commonly used in a protasis referring to a future situation the occurrence of which the speaker believes is a real possibility. The form is perfective, since it presents actions delimited with a start and end point or at least with a start point., e.g.

- (1)  $\text{ʔm-} \dot{\text{a}}\text{mr} \dot{\text{a}}\text{nnux } \text{ʔ} \dot{\text{a}}\text{p-} \dot{\text{a}}\text{ti } \text{b-} \dot{\text{s}} \dot{\text{a}}\text{n} \dot{\text{a}}\text{t}^1$  ‘If I tell you, you will faint.’ (A11:2)
- (2)  $\text{ʔm-} \dot{\text{a}}\text{z} \dot{\text{x}} \text{ ʔ} \dot{\text{a}}\theta\text{r} \dot{\text{a}}\text{t } \text{b} \dot{\text{a}}\text{bux}^1 \text{ y} \dot{\text{a}}\dot{\text{d}} \dot{\text{a}}\text{t} \text{le}^{\text{?}}$  ‘If we go to the land of your father, will you recognize it?’ (A14:90)
- (3)  $\text{ʔm-} \text{p} \dot{\text{a}}\text{l} \dot{\text{s}} \dot{\text{x}} \text{ m} \dot{\text{a}}\text{n-} \text{d-} \dot{\text{a}}\text{n} \text{ i } \text{q} \dot{\text{a}}\text{ṭ} \dot{\text{i}}\text{l} \dot{\text{a}}\text{n}^1$  ‘If we fight with them, they will kill us.’ (A14:44)
- (4)  $\text{ʔm-} \dot{\text{a}}\text{n} \text{na } \text{m} \dot{\text{t}} \dot{\text{a}}\text{m} \dot{\text{a}}\text{m} \dot{\text{a}}\text{t} \text{la}^1 \text{ ʔ} \dot{\text{a}}\text{n} \text{a } \text{t-} \text{y} \dot{\text{a}}\text{n} \text{na-} \text{l} \text{lux}^1$  ‘If you fulfil these (conditions), I shall give them to you.’ (A12:2)

- (5) *ʔən-lá-ʔazən mšəyðən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I do not go, he will go mad.’ (A4:27)  
 (6) *ʔən-lá-ʔoðət b-xábrət ʔalàha,*<sup>1</sup> *b-talqèti.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.’ (A8:97)

In verbs denoting mental processes, which tend to avoid the compound progressive construction (§15.1.1.4.), the *qaṭəl* form is used imperfectively to express a possible situation in the present, e.g.

- (7) *ʔən-báyət ʔázət dɛ́rət ʔla-béθət bábəx,*<sup>1</sup> *támmal máðəṛənnəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you want to go and return to the house of your father, I shall send you back tomorrow.’ (A4:42)  
 (8) *ʔən báyətli,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔúθət báθri ʔap-ʔàti.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you love me, you should follow me.’ (A14:102)

#### 19.5.1.2. *qaṭəlwa*

This form is used where the protasis refers to a possible habitual situation in the past, e.g.

- (1) *ʔən-báyəxwa tuma,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔla-mbašàlta,*<sup>1</sup> *kəfəmile.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us.’ (B10:24)  
 (2) *bár hədəx*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən qəṭiwa xəyaləy*<sup>1</sup> *y-amriwa ʔəxni rəziyəx.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Afterwards, if they had made a decision, they would say “We agree.”’ (B5:4)

Sometimes it is used to refer to a real situation in the past. In such cases it is often appropriate to translate the conditional particle ‘when’, since it denotes a situation that the speaker knows to be true. The motivation to use a conditional construction here does not arise out of the degree of certainty regarding the event. Rather the construction is used here as a device to introduce the situation described in the protasis as a topical frame for what follows, it being a more powerful presentative device than a factive temporal clause, e.g.

- (3) *ʔən-parəqwa ʔĀšwut,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáw ʔsri-tmanyə yomáθa yan-ʔsri-ʔəçça yomànele,*<sup>1</sup> *y-azəxwa tura.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains (= As for when February was finished...).’ (B5:152)  
 (4) *fa-ʔən-maṭiníwale ʔiθwa xəwla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If they loaded it, there was a rope (= As for when they loaded it...).’ (B5:128)

The *qatəlwa* form may also be used in a protasis to express modal remoteness. It is used to refer to a counterfactual situation in the past, which the speaker knows did not take place in reality, or to a situation in the present or future that the speaker knows cannot or will not in reality take place. Such hypothetical conditions refer to a single event or an iterative event. The verb can be interpreted as expressing perfective aspect, presenting the action as an event delimited by a start and endpoint, or at least with a start point. In the case of iterative actions, the speaker uses the form that is appropriate to express each individual perfective occurrence of the iterated situation, e.g.

- (5) *ʔn-maxéwala xa-xéna xaθmàwa t-axlàwale.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If he had hit another (blow), she would have healed and eaten him.’ (A50:14)
- (6) *ʔn-mašéwa t-axəlwala, lèla xamúse.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If he could have eaten them, (he would not have said that) they were sour.’ (A43:4)
- (7) *ʔn-mašənwa, t-aθənwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I could, I would come.’
- (8) *ʔn-mbaqrətwa, t-yawənwalux zùze, bás là mbuqərrux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.’
- (9) *ʔn-yəðənwa manay-dīye mòdile, t-amrənwalux dīya, bas lèðən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I knew its meaning, I would tell you now, but I do not know.’
- (10) *ʔn-mašənwa, t-aθənwa, bás lè-y-mašən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I could, I would come, but I cannot.’

### 19.5.1.3. q̄ille / qəm-qatəl

The past perfective forms *q̄ille* and *qəm-qatəl* are commonly used in the protasis to denote a possible situation in the future, e.g.

- (1) *ʔn-kp̄inni, t-axlənne.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I get hungry, I shall eat it.’ (A23:5)
- (2) *ʔn-mp̄uq̄eli garšəli t̄la-gére mənne dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔn-là mp̄uq̄eli, ʔana p̄alxən b-réše bāl̄əš.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free.’ (A12:44)
- (3) *ʔn-šārət dīyi qəm-yəðətla, xo-b-gawrənnux.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔn-šārət dīyi là qəm-yəðətla, réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha káwe t-ila pyàša.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you know (the answer to) my challenge (literally: condition), I shall indeed marry you. If you do not know (the answer to) my challenge, I shall put your head in that opening that remains.’ (A25:62)
- (4) *ʔn-báxtux muθéla bràta ʔu-báxti muθéla bròna, brátux qa-bròni.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔn-báxti muθéla bràta ʔu-báxtux muθéla bròna, ʔa-brátì qa-brònux.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. If my wife gives birth to a daughter

and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son.’ (A25:2–3)

- (5) *ʔm-θèli<sup>1</sup> xó bàxtiwat.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔm-là-θèli,<sup>1</sup> kú-məndit ʔáwðət wùð.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I come back, then you are my wife. If I do not come back, do anything you want.’ (A25:66)
- (6) *qrèla!<sup>1</sup> ʔm-mjuwəbla,<sup>1</sup> xo-ʔənən ʔəθya káslax.<sup>1</sup> ʔm-là mjuwəbla,<sup>1</sup> ʔàtit θiθa káslí.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me.’ (A26:4)
- (7) *ʔm-θéle mbuqárré xa-nàša,<sup>1</sup> máre d-èni?<sup>1</sup> ʔámrat t-ʔájðən tēlɛla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If somebody comes and asks saying “Whose are they?”, say they belong to Ajðən the fox.’ (A32:20)

These past forms are also used in protases that refer to possible habitual situations in the present. Several examples are found in the description of games in text B11, e.g.

- (8) *ʔm-là-mxele ʔíde-lle,<sup>1</sup> w-áwwa théle dwiqle ʔo-qésa t-íle dúkθət mɔawálla,<sup>1</sup> xàsri.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If he does not strike him with his hand and he comes and holds the stick which is the place of the game, they lose.’ (B11:14)
- (9) *ʔm-là xsírrey<sup>1</sup> ʔánna-t qrimla<sup>1</sup> mšaxəlpí.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If they do not lose, the ones that have won change (place).’ (B11:9)
- (10) *ʔm-kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrèy<sup>1</sup> ʔáw qəm-dawqíle ʔo-qésa t-íle be-pàlga,<sup>1</sup> θèla<sup>1</sup> xá mən-d-ánna t-íla qam-tàra,<sup>1</sup> théle qəm-dawəqle,<sup>1</sup> xsírra ʔan-gawáye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If they break up all their group or seize the piece of wood that is in the middle, if one of those who are outside comes and seizes it, those inside lose.’ (B11:9)

#### 19.5.1.4. qɔɪlwale

This form is attested only rarely in the protasis. In (1) it refers to a habitual situation in the past:

- (1) *ʔm-twírwala tərna<sup>1</sup> t-xa mənney<sup>1</sup> y-awəlwala qa-t-wáha šaqəlwá mánne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If both (sides) of one of the eggs broke, he would give it to the other person to take it from him.’ (B5:59)

#### 19.5.1.5. Present Copula

The present copula is used in a protasis that denotes a possible situation in the present. The enclitic form of the copula is used and this is attached to the conditional particle *ʔm* rather than to the predicate of the clause. The explanation for this is probably that the construction *ʔm* + copula

has developed historically from  $\text{'}n + D + \text{copula}$  (e.g.  $\text{'}n\text{-}ile < \text{'}n\text{-}t\text{-}ile$ ). As we have seen, the subordinating particle  $D$  regularly attracts the copula enclitic. The conditional construction  $\text{'}n + D + \text{copula}$  is, in fact, the norm in several other NENA dialects. Examples:

- (1)  $\text{'}n\text{-}ile\ m\grave{u}\theta a,^1\ g\acute{a}\acute{r}\acute{a}g\ m\grave{e}\theta n.$  'If he is dead, I must die.' (A8:61)
- (2)  $\text{'}n\text{-}ile\ xwarz\grave{a}y\acute{i},^1\ t\text{-}\acute{a}\theta e\ t\text{-}y\acute{a}\acute{d}\acute{e}l a\ \text{'}\acute{a}nna\ m\acute{o}d\acute{i}l a.$  'If he is my nephew, he will come and he will know what these are.' (A25:49)
- (3)  $\text{'}n\text{-}ile\ \acute{u}rza\ g\acute{a}w\acute{r}a\ xos\text{-}q\acute{a}y\acute{a}m,^1\ mjarb\grave{a}nne.$  'If he is a brave man, let him get up and I shall test my mettle with him.' (A29:27)
- (4)  $\text{'}n\text{-}it\ xon\grave{e}ni,^1\ h\acute{a}y\acute{y}o\ tu\text{-}\acute{a}xxa\ k\acute{a}sl\grave{e}ni.$  'If you are our brother, come and sit here with us.' (A39:7)
- (5)  $\text{'}n\text{-}it\ \acute{s}y\acute{a},^1\ h\acute{o}'l a\ m\grave{y}a.^1\ \text{'}n\text{-}it\text{-}kp\grave{i}na,^1\ h\acute{o}'l e\ x\grave{u}l.$  'If you are thirsty, here is water. If you are hungry, here eat.' (A28:18)

Occasionally the present copula is omitted from the protasis, e.g.

- (6)  $\text{'}n\text{-}r\acute{e}\acute{s}\acute{a}t\ b\acute{a}b e\ d\acute{i}y e\ \acute{a}x\text{-}t\grave{u}r a,^1\ \acute{u}\text{-}h\acute{o}l e\ q\acute{t}\acute{i}l a\ l\text{-}T\acute{a}t\acute{a}r\text{-}i\ Slem\acute{a}n\text{-}i\ S\acute{a}n\acute{d}\acute{i},^1\ l\acute{e}k a\ b\acute{t}\text{-}\acute{a}z\acute{a}l.^1$  'If the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by T\acute{a}t\acute{a}r-i Sleman-i S\acute{a}n\acute{d}\acute{i}, where will he go?' (A28:8)

#### 19.5.1.6. Past copula

The past copula is sporadically used in the protasis to express a habitual situation in the past, as is the case in (1). Since the situation is known by the speaker to have taken place, the primary function of the construction should be regarded as being to present a topical frame:

- (1)  $\text{'}n\text{-}w\acute{e}w a\ \acute{s}\acute{e}r\text{-}D\grave{u}r e,^1\ k\acute{u}l l a\ n\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{e}\ \acute{o}\text{-}y\acute{o}m a\ y\text{-}a\acute{z}\acute{u}w a\ \acute{s}\acute{e}r\text{-}D\grave{u}r e.$  'If there was a saint's day festival in Dure, everybody on that day would go to Dure.' (B5:228)

#### 19.5.1.7. Existential Particle

The present existential particle is used to refer to possible situations in the present, either those that may actually exist or those that are habitual, e.g.

- (1)  $\text{'}n\text{-}\acute{i}\theta\ p\acute{a}w x a,^1\ \acute{i}\text{-}marm\acute{i}l e\ gu\text{-}h\acute{a}w a.$  'If there is wind, they raise it in the air.' (B5:97)
- (2)  $\text{'}n\text{-}\acute{u}l a\ m\acute{o}j a\ z\acute{o}r a\ q\acute{a}m\text{-}m a\ xalw\acute{a}l a,^1\ mam\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{a}l a\ x\acute{a}\acute{c}\acute{c}a\text{-}w.$  'If it has a small calf, before she (the milkmaid) milks it, she allows it to give suck (to the calf) a little.' (B5:175)

- (3) *ʾən-ʾitlux ferásse báyyat pàlšət, ʾhadíya ʾána hon-ʾəθya ʾtlába bràtux, ʾbáyyat yawə̀tla, ʾbáyyat pàlšət kə̀fix.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you have warriors and you want to fight—now, I have come to ask for the hand of your daughter, whether you want to give her or whether you fight is up to you.’ (A29:58)

The present existential particle, may have a past habitual function, as in (4). Alternatively the past existential particle may be used, as in (5):

- (4) *ʾən-ʾit-qáša táma mšalə̀wa-w ʾkúlley y-axlúwa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If a priest was there, they would pray and everybody would eat.’ (B5:68)
- (5) *ʾən-ʾitwə̀lən mənqal, ʾderə̀xwa gu-mənqal.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If we had a griddle, we would put it on the griddle.’ (B10:6)

#### 19.5.1.8. *Compound Verbal Forms with the Present Copula*

Compound forms consisting of the present copula + resultative participle or present copula + infinitive are occasionally used in a protasis to refer to a situation that possibly holds in the present. In some of the attested examples the copula element is attached to the conditional particle as expected (1–2), but in some cases it remains cliticized to the end of the verbal form (3–4):

- (1) *ʾən-in ʾána ʾəθya gu-šwíθax, ʾqrə̀gən xaddámə̀x.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If I have come to sleep in your bed, call your servants.’ (A26:4)
- (2) *ʾən-it ʾəθya šúlət qə̀hbùθa, ʾkəs-bábən Bə̀ku.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you have come to fornicate, then (lodge) with our father Bə̀ku.’ (A26:26)
- (3) *ʾən-ʾáyya ʾisə̀qθi xə̀rət, ʾən-túwət ʾisə̀qθi bdílele, ʾmšadrátla ʾárye t-àθa, ʾána gu-ʾawə̀qənən.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you watch this ring, if the diamond of my ring changes (in colour), send the lions so that they come (to me), for I am in trouble.’ (A18:13)
- (4) *ʾən-mə̀xóbət péšət ʾə̀xxa, ʾáti péšət maləkθa šə̀pi.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you would like to stay here, you will become queen in my place in this land.’ (A4:42)

In (5) the deictic copula is used with the resultative participle in a protasis referring to a representative case of an habitual event. The situation is certain to exist and the conditional particle could be appropriately translated ‘when’. The protasis, therefore, has a topic presentative function. This is reflected in the use of the deictic copula, which has a presentative, attention drawing function:



- (5) *ʔn-xá náša d̥iyux<sup>1</sup> ʔan-xá bráta d̥iyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maθa,<sup>1</sup> píše xəzme.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘If/when you have given somebody of your family or a daughter of yours to a certain village (in marriage), (the two families) become relatives.’ (B5:232)

#### 19.5.1.9. hawe

The form *hawe* is used in place of the present copula to refer to a situation in the present that the speaker regards as being unlikely to be realized, e.g.

- (1) *ʔn-háwε ʔəsrà t̥iyáre xéne<sup>1</sup> ʔaxwáθux hawənəne,<sup>1</sup> la-maťétuwa l-əwəwa ləxma.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘If ten other men from Tiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (miserable condition of begging for) bread.’ (B17:16)

It may be used in a protasis that refers to a present habitual situation, e.g.

- (2) *ʔn har-hóya talilta<sup>1</sup> har-qítla ʔíðux bíya díya xàčča,<sup>1</sup> kéma ʔíðət nəša,<sup>1</sup> ʔi-šəwə y-amrəxla.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If it is still wet, as soon as your hand touches it, the hand of the person (who touches it) becomes black, it is dyed, as we say.’ (B5:216)

It is used to refer to a future situation that the speaker assesses to be a realistic possibility, e.g.

- (3) *ʔn-hóya rázi šnna díya pālála,<sup>1</sup> pálga t̥la-d-áy ʔu-pálga t̥la-d-əw,<sup>1</sup> maqiməxle.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘If she will be happy to share her years, half for her and half for him, we shall resurrect him.’ (A4:46)
- (4) *ʔn-hawéli bráta<sup>1</sup> t-ʔánna qa-bronəxu.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son.’ (A25:8)
- (5) *ʔn-háwε t-tərtε ʔaqláθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔána b-zawənnε.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If it were two legged, I would buy it.’ (A22:5)
- (6) *ʔn-həwəwə<sup>1</sup> ʔəčči-u ʔəčča maqəlbənnə.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔn-həwəwə<sup>1</sup> ʔmma-w-xə-ži,<sup>1</sup> la-bəyənnə.<sup>1</sup>*  
 ‘If they are ninety-nine, I shall return them. If they are even one hundred and one, I don’t want them.’ (A6:1)

#### 19.5.1.10. hawewa

This form is used to express remote modality in a protasis. In (1) it has present time reference and denotes a situation that the speaker judges to be completely hypothetical and impossible to fulfil in the real world. In (2) it denotes a counterfactual situation in the past:

- (1) *ʔən-hawátwa gu-ʔáθra ðiyi, kú-māndi bǎyátwa t-yànwəlux.* 'If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted.' (A26:57)
- (2) *ʔána b-gáni ʔən-hawánwa tàma ta-t-taqlánwəle lə-mʂənwa taqlánwəle.* 'If I myself were there (and tried) to lift it, I could not have lifted it.' (A51:20)

#### 19.5.1.11. wela

In the protasis of (1) the *q̄tille* form of *hwy* is used to describe a possible punctual event in the future:

- (1) *sab-lá-hoya biš-pθiθa, ʔən-wéla biš-pθiθa, y-ámrxxa dārpa, yáni sàlya, t-áθe sətwa t-áθya tálga mándi.* 'This was because (the space) must not be wider. If it were to become wider, (the roof) would collapse, as we say, that is it would come down, when it was winter and the snow arrived.' (B5:189)

#### 19.5.1.12. hawewa q̄tíla

This compound verbal form is normally used in a protasis as a modally remote expression in order to denote a counterfactual perfective event in the past, e.g.

- (1) *ʔən-ʔána hawánwa q̄tíləlla ʔyáha ʔaq̄əwa, ʔáwəwa xúwwe t-awéwa q̄tíla tla-bròni.* 'If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son.' (A9:6)
- (2) *ʔən-hawéwa kálba zila qamàya, qatlíwa kálba.* 'If the dog had gone first, they would have killed the dog.' (C8:5)
- (3) *ʔən-hawétuwa daryəlli xáçça xéna biš-hódəx biš-ʔamòqta, táma mpul̄təlléxu mən-d-ànda pazesór b-ʔəlyàθa, hátxa b-qanàne.* 'If you had thrown me a little further along, (where it is) deeper, I would have brought out for you from there some of those big sheep with fat tails and horns (big) like this.' (A7:22)
- (4) *ʔo-səndóxa ʔən-hawewə qíθa biyi t-awátwa q̄tíləlli.* 'If that rock had hit me, you would have killed me.' (A1:25)
- (5) *ʔən-hawátwa mirəlli t-awənəwá-əθya t-amrənəwəla ʔən-sère.* 'If you had told me, I would have come to recite these poems.' (B1:14)
- (6) *ʔən-ʔána hawánwa wíða m-bàbi, ʔup-ʔati t-odətwa mónni.* 'If I had done a good service to my father, you also would have done a good service to me.' (A41:6)

It is occasionally used to denote a state resulting from a habitual action in the past, e.g.

- (7) *xéna ʔan-hawéwa bàsra,<sup>1</sup> ʔan-háwəxwa prime ʔarwe,<sup>1</sup> dèrəxwa bàsra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If there was meat, if we had slaughtered sheep, we would serve meat.’ (B10:19)

### 19.5.1.13. Compound Forms Containing *ṭ-awe*

A few marginal cases are attested in which the protasis contains a compound verbal form consisting of an infinitive or verbal noun and the future form *ṭ-awe* (< *bəd-hawe*), e.g.

- (1) *ʔan-ṭ-áwe jwàjta,<sup>1</sup> b-šàxən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If he moves (on one occasion), he warms up.’ (B11:16)
- (2) *màre báre xa-màndi<sup>1</sup> qa-d-áwəwa ʔáwəð xa-č̣èra,<sup>1</sup> ʔan-ṭ-áwe ràqa,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-ʔáwəð xa-č̣èra qa-gáne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “(In case) something happens,” so that he could find a way out (of trouble), so that, if he was fleeing, he could find for himself a way out (of trouble).’ (A18:17)

### 19.5.2. Apodosis

Apodosis clauses contain various types of verbal form. These include a number of forms that contain the prefixed particle *bəd-*.

#### 19.5.2.1. *bəd-qaṭəl*

This is the regular future form and is used as a future verb in apodoses that follow protases referring to the present or the future, e.g.

- (1) *ʔan-ile xwarzəyi,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-áθe t-yăðéla ʔanna mòdila.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If he is my nephew, he will come and he will know what these are.’ (A25:49)
- (2) *ʔan-kpinni,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-axlənne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I am hungry, I shall eat it.’ (A23:5)
- (3) *ʔan-hawéli bràta<sup>1</sup> t-yánna qa-bronəxu.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I were to have a daughter, I would give her to your son.’ (A25:8)
- (4) *ʔan-lá-ʔoðət b-xábrət ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> b-talqèti.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.’ (A8:97)

#### 19.5.2.2. *bəd-qaṭəlwa*

This form is used in the apodosis of conditional sentences that refer to a hypothetical condition in the past, which was not fulfilled (1), or to a hypothetical condition in the present or future, which the speaker assesses to be impossible to fulfil (2–3). It is perfective in aspect:

- (1) *ʔan-mbaqrətwa,<sup>1</sup> t-yawənwəlux zùze,<sup>1</sup> bás là mbuqərrux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you had asked, I would have given you money, but you did not ask.’

- (2) *ʔən-mašəmwə,<sup>1</sup> t-aθəmwə,<sup>1</sup> bás lè-y-mašənw<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I could, I would come, but I cannot.’
- (3) *ʔən-hawátwa gu-ʔáθra dīyī,<sup>1</sup> kú-məndi bāyátwa t-yànwəlux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted.’ (A26:57)

### 19.5.2.3. qatəl

This form is commonly used in apodoses after protases referring to possible events in the present or future, e.g.

- (1) *ʔən-pálšəx mən-d-áni qatəlilən.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If we fight with them they will kill us.’ (A14:44)
- (2) *ʔən-bāyət ʔázət déřət tla-béθət bəbəx,<sup>1</sup> təmməl mədərənnəx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you want to go and return to the house of your father, I shall send you back tomorrow.’ (A4:42)
- (3) *ʔən-mpūqəli<sup>1</sup> garšətli tla-gére mánne dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it.’ (A12:44)
- (4) *ʔən bāyətli,<sup>1</sup> ʔáθət báθri ʔap-ʔəti.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you love me, you should follow me.’ (A14:102)

### 19.5.2.4. ʔi-qatəl

This is attested in apodoses after protases that refer to a real habitual situation in the present, e.g.

- (1) *ʔən-ʔiθ pəwəxa,<sup>1</sup> ʔi-marmile gu-hàwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If there is wind, they raise it in the air.’ (B5:97)

### 19.5.2.5. qatəlwə

This form is attested in two types of constructions. It is used in apodoses that denote past habitual situations, e.g.

- (1) *ʔu-ʔən-íθən nášə ʔəθye m-məθwáθa xène,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa šáqəlwə xákma xəzmān-dīye,<sup>1</sup> masáqla kəsle-dīye tla-fjərtə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If there are people who have come from other villages, each person would take some of his relatives and take them up to his home for breakfast.’ (B5:60)

It also occurs in apodoses expressing counterfactual situations in the past, e.g.

- (2) *ʔən-háwə ʔəřə tīyáre xéne<sup>1</sup> ʔaxwáθux hawənəne,<sup>1</sup> la-matétuwa l-àwəwə ləxma,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔattitūwa ləxxa pəšitūwa hátxa sniqe.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If ten other men from Tiyare

were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (miserable condition of begging for) bread, you would not be sitting here and have become so poor.’ (B17:16)

#### 19.5.2.6. ʿi-qaṭəlwa

This is found in apodoses after protases with a topic presentative function that refer to a real habitual situation in the past, e.g.

- (1) *bár hādax<sup>1</sup> ʿən qāṭṭiwa xəyaləy<sup>1</sup> y-amriwa ʿaxni rəziyax.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Afterwards, if they had made a decision, they would say “We agree.”’ (B5:4)
- (2) *ʿən-parəqwa ʿƏšwut<sup>1</sup>, ʿáw ʿəsri-tmanyə yomáθa yan-ʿəsri-ʿəḏḏa yomànele,<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa ṭura.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains (= As for when February was finished...).’ (B5:152)
- (3) *ʿən-wéwa šer-Dùre,<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše ʿo-yóma y-azúwa šer-Dùre.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If there was a saint’s day festival in Dure, everybody on that day would go to Dure.’ (B5:228)

#### 19.5.2.7. qṭille / qəm-qaṭəl

The past perfective *qṭille* form and its functionally equivalent alternant *qəm-qaṭəl* are rarely used in apodoses. It is attested in (1) and (2), which refer to a habitual situation in the present:

- (1) *ʿən-ʿaxlənna kúlla,<sup>1</sup> pəriqla ṭawálta.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I eliminate (literally: eat) them all, the game is finished.’ (B11:22)
- (2) *ʿən-kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrəy<sup>1</sup> ʿáw qəm-dawqile ʿo-qésa ṭ-ile be-pálga,<sup>1</sup> θəla<sup>1</sup> xá mən-d-ánna ṭ-íla qam-tára,<sup>1</sup> θéle qəm-dawəqle,<sup>1</sup> xsirra ʿan-gawáye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If they break up all their group or seize the piece of wood that is in the middle, if one of those who are outside comes and seizes it, those inside lose.’ (B11:9)

#### 19.5.2.8. Copula

A form of the copula is used in the apodosis in various circumstances, e.g.

- (1) *ʿən-bəyáxwa ṭuma,<sup>1</sup> ṭla-mbašálta,<sup>1</sup> kəfənilə.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us.’ (B10:24)
- (2) *ʿən-ít šəya,<sup>1</sup> hólə mīya.<sup>1</sup> ʿən-ít-kpina,<sup>1</sup> hólə xúl.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you are thirsty, here is water. If you are hungry, here eat.’ (A28:18)
- (3) *ʿən-lá ʿəḏəṭ,<sup>1</sup> kliθā-llux-ila.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you do not do so, it is up to you.’ (A8:44)

- (4) *ʾm-lá zεranna Qũdus, 1 lēla qbīlta ḥajjīyūθi. 1* ‘If I do not visit Jerusalem, my pilgrimage is not accepted.’ (A2:1)

#### 19.5.2.9. *Existential Particle*

The existential particle is attested in the apodosis in (1) after a protasis expressing a habitual situation in the past, which has a topic presentative function:

- (1) *fa-ʾm-maṭintwale ʾiθwa xāwla. 1* ‘If they loaded it, there was a rope (= As for when they loaded it...).’ (B5:128)

#### 19.5.2.10. *Resultative participle + present copula*

The compound form *qtilele* with the present copula is attested in the apodosis of (1), the protasis of which denotes the possible evidence for the situation in the apodosis:

- (1) *qrēla. 1 ʾm-mjuwēbla, 1 xo-ʾānən ʾāθya kāsłax. 1 ʾm-lā mjuwēbla, 1 ʾātīt θiθa kāsli. 1* ‘Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me.’ (A26:4)

#### 19.5.2.11. *ʾ-awewa qṭila*

This form occurs in apodoses expressing the consequent of counterfactual events in the past, e.g.

- (1) *ʾm-ʾāna ḥawānwā qṭilēlla ʾāyāha ʾaqərwā, 1 ʾāwēwā xūwwe ʾ-awēwā qṭila ṭla-brōni. 1* ‘If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son’. (A9:6)
- (2) *ʾm-ḥawānwā mīrəlli 1 ʾ-awēwā-ʾāθya ʾ-amrānwāla ʾan-šēre. 1* ‘If you had told me, I would have come to recite these poems.’ (B1:14)

#### 19.5.2.12. *Imperative*

On several occasions the apodosis contains an imperative form:

- (1) *ʾm-ūt xonēni, 1 ḥāyyo tu-ʾāxxa kəslēni. 1* ‘If you are our brother, come and sit here with us.’ (A39:7)
- (2) *ʾu-ʾm-lā-θeli, 1 kú-məndūt ʾāwəḏət wūḏ. 1* ‘If I do not come back, do anything you want.’ (A25:66)
- (3) *ʾm-in ʾāna ʾāθya gu-šwiθax, 1 qrégən xaddāməx. 1* ‘If I have come to sleep in you bed, call your servants.’ (A26:4)

- (4) *ʿan-θéla píšla xāṭar ʿállux qúrba,<sup>1</sup> dríla ʿan-bóče l-ʿára.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If danger comes near to you, put these two seeds in the ground.’ (A18:14)

### 19.5.2.13. *Verb Omitted*

In some contexts the verb of the apodosis is omitted when it can be understood from the context, e.g.

- (1) *ʿan-báxtux muθéla bràta<sup>1</sup> ʿu-báxti muθéla bròna,<sup>1</sup> brátux qa-bròni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son.’ (A25:2–3)
- (2) *máre ʿéka péšən ʿàrxa.<sup>1</sup> mára ʿan-ít xoš-gàwəra<sup>1</sup> kəs-Qára Tēždin.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He said “Where can I lodge as a guest?” They said “If you are a good man, (you can lodge with) with Qara Teždin.”’ (A26:26)

### 19.5.2.14. *Apodosis Introduced by Particle*

#### (i) *xo-/xu-*

On some occasions the apodosis is introduced by the intensifying particle *xo-/xu-* (§17.9.2.), e.g.

- (1) *ʿan-šárət diyi qəm-yāðəlla,<sup>1</sup> xo-b-gawərànnux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed marry you.’ (A25:62)
- (2) *ʿan-θèli<sup>1</sup> xó bāxtiwət.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I come back, then you are my wife.’ (A25:66)
- (3) *qrèla!<sup>1</sup> ʿan-mjuwəbla,<sup>1</sup> xo-ʿànən ʿəṭya kásləx.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you.’ (A26:4)

#### (ii) *ʿap*

The connective particle *ʿap* is also used to introduce the apodosis when it opens with an independent topical subject pronoun. This can be identified with the discourse boundary marking function of *ʿap* (§18.1.3.1.), which is applied here to give added prominence to the apodosis, e.g.

- (1) *ʿan-ʿamrənnux ʿáp-ʿati b-šənət.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I tell you, you will faint.’ (A11:2)

### 19.5.3. *Protasis after the Apodosis*

A condition expressed in a protasis is occasionally placed after its consequent. The protasis in such cases generally has the status of a tag that elaborates on what precedes, sometimes as an afterthought, e.g.

- (1) *máṣət t-ódət rába mändiyáne mónne diyē,<sup>1</sup> ʾən-ila zawdâne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘You can make make many (other) things from them, if they are left over.’ (B5:219)
- (2) *m-bár taxnile,<sup>1</sup> páyaš qámxa,<sup>1</sup> masqile bəṯa,<sup>1</sup> ʾax-t-mári máṯālan ʾən-báyi t-yápi lāxma mǎnnéy zedāye,<sup>1</sup> mtárši mǎnnéy tǎlme.<sup>1</sup>* ‘After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house, as I said, if they want, for example, to bake pitta breads from it or make thin breads.’ (B5:99)
- (3) *ʾána b-zawənənnē<sup>1</sup> ʾína ʾən-háwe tǎl ʾaqláṯa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I shall buy it, but only if it has three legs.’ (A22:3)

#### 19.5.4. *Conditional after the Verb ‘to wait’*

A conditional clause introduced by the particle *ʾən* may be used as the complement of the verb *spr* ‘to wait’, e.g.

- (1) *sāpri<sup>1</sup> ʾən-háwe pāwxa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They wait for there to be wind.’ (B5:97)

#### 19.5.5. *ʾən-la and ʾəlla*

The negation of a protasis that is placed before the apodosis is expressed by combining the conditional particle with the negator in the uncontracted phrase *ʾən-lá* with stress on the negator. This is typically used in contexts where the clause expresses a negative alternative to a situation described in the preceding context. As a result, the remaining content of the clause is given or at least inferrable from what precedes and the main information prominence is on the negator rather than the clause content, e.g.

- (1) *ʾən-mpūqēli<sup>1</sup> garšāli tǎ-gére mǎnne diyē.<sup>1</sup> ʾu-ʾən-là mpūqēli,<sup>1</sup> ʾána pālxən b-réše bālāš.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free.’ (A12:44)
- (2) *ʾən-ṯēli<sup>1</sup> xó bāxūwət.<sup>1</sup> ʾu-ʾən-là-ṯēli,<sup>1</sup> kú-məndūt ʾáwḍət wūḍ.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If I come back, then you are my wife. If I do not come back, do anything you want.’ (A25:66)
- (3) *ʾú puqdánət ʾalāhēle.<sup>1</sup> ʾən-lá-ʾoḍət b-xábrət alāha,<sup>1</sup> b-talqēti.<sup>1</sup>* ‘This is God’s command (which you must obey). If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.’ (A8:97)

The content of the protasis clause indeed is sometimes gapped completely, e.g.

- (4) *rāpili m-an-képe t-ila tǎma,<sup>1</sup> ga-maxzǎnnux ʾúrxa šàlət.<sup>1</sup> ʾən-lá tǎma t-áwət.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Throw me the stones that are there, then I shall show you the way down. If not, you will remain there.’ (A14:70)



- (5) *ʿm-hóya rázi šónna díya pālàla*<sup>1</sup>...*maqimàxle*<sup>1</sup> *xáyi m-gòðàðe*<sup>1</sup> *tláθi šonne-w*<sup>1</sup> *méθi m-gòðàðe*<sup>1</sup> *ʿu-ʿm-là*<sup>2</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *har-ʿàxxa t-óya ʿšti šónne*<sup>1</sup> ‘If she is happy to share her years, ... we shall resurrect him. They will live together thirty years and die together. If not, she will stay here for sixty years.’ (A4:46)
- (6) *mqáwlat goràtle*<sup>1</sup> *t-yálla jùlla*<sup>1</sup> *ʿm-là*<sup>1</sup> *har-t-yálla jùllax b-kèfəx*<sup>1</sup> ‘If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them.’ (A14:83)

The particle *ʿšlla*, which is a contraction of *ʿm-la* with the stress on the conditional particle rather than the negator, is used in clauses that come after a negated main clause. The content of the clause introduced by *ʿšlla* has higher information value than a clause introduced by *ʿm-lá*. An *ʿšlla* clause is typically not given in the prior discourse whereas the preceding main clause is bound to the preceding context in some way, e.g.

- (7) *b-čù-ʿurxa ʿo-Dəmdəma lé šaqlitule*<sup>1</sup> *ʿšlla qāšitula míyət Dəmdəma*<sup>1</sup> ‘By no means will you capture Dəmdəma unless you cut off the water of Dəmdəma.’ (A11:17)
- (8) *xātna lə-y-axəl*<sup>1</sup> *ʿšlla qablile xà-məndi*<sup>1</sup> ‘The groom would not eat unless they pledged something to him.’ (B10:40)
- (9) *ʿána mirtəwən le-y-ʿáθyən b-xábrət čù-ʿurza*<sup>1</sup> *ʿšlla t-áθya báxta maθyāli*<sup>1</sup> ‘I said that I would not come by the word of any man, unless a woman came to fetch me.’ (A8:94)

Occasionally a postposed protasis with *ʿm-lá* has a content that is not given in the preceding context. In such cases, however, the clause generally still does not have the same informational prominence as clauses introduced by *ʿšlla*. This is seen in (10) where the protasis clause expresses an action that is circumstantial to the action of the main clause. The whole sentence may be paraphrased ‘We brought in sticks having broken them’:

- (10) *ʿáxni la-moráxwa xa-səryóqa gu-béθa ʿm-lá torəxwale*<sup>1</sup> ‘We would not bring a single twig into the house without breaking it (literally: if we did not break it).’ (B10:70)

On some occasions the content of a clause introduced by *ʿšlla* is given in the preceding context, but the speaker uses the construction to give the clause enhanced prominence. It is typically used when the speaker wishes to insist forcefully that something be done, e.g.

- (11) *ʿan-lá galátlí ʿánna šaqyáθa módi gu-réšux,<sup>1</sup> ʿánna brinánat mòdila<sup>1</sup>... ʿan-là galátlí,<sup>1</sup> ʿána lè-qešanne káwsux.<sup>1</sup>... là qešanne káwsux,<sup>1</sup> ʿállá t-amrátli ʿánna ma-brinànela gu-réšux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you do not reveal what these scars on your head are, what these wounds are from... if you do not reveal this to me, I shall not cut your hair... I shall not cut your hair, unless you tell me what these wounds are on your head.’ (A29:5–6)

Clauses expressing insistence that open with *ʿállá* are sometimes used independently of a preceding main clause, e.g.

- (12) *kízla býe diyé,<sup>1</sup> mára ʿállá gáwerat.<sup>1</sup>* ‘They tried (to persuade) him and said “You must marry.”’ (A16:6)
- (13) *máre lá b-àlaha,<sup>1</sup> ʿállá mašlónnax ʿána.<sup>1</sup>* ‘No, by God. I shall take you down.’ (A29:27)
- (14) *là<sup>1</sup> ʿána har-bt-àžen.<sup>1</sup> ʿállá xazyánne xòni.<sup>1</sup>* ‘No. I shall still go. I must see my brother.’ (A8:66)

In (15) it is combined with the expression of obligation *gāræg*:

- (15) *ʿállá gāræg ʿáyya bráta goránna.<sup>1</sup>* ‘I must marry this girl.’ (A12:55)

The construction is sometimes used in the context of oaths, e.g.

- (16) *la-málka màmi<sup>1</sup> hóle yámya b-rèš.<sup>1</sup> máttu jallàde<sup>1</sup> ʿállá b-qaṭàlli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Indeed the king my uncle has sworn on my head (to execute me). He will appoint executioners and (has sworn) he will kill me.’ (A25:36)

The particle *ʿállá* may be used to insist on the veracity of a factual statement, e.g.

- (17) *ʿu-ʿáwwa-ži huḏáya l-gàre<sup>1</sup> ʿállá,<sup>1</sup> ʿánna dáwe ʿàñen hiwállux.<sup>1</sup>* ‘But this Jew on the roof (said) “I insist that it was me who gave you these gold coins.”’ (A6:11)

Insistence on a prohibition may be expressed by using a construction opening with *ʿan-lá* independently of a main clause, paralleling the use of *ʿállá* to express insistence on a command, e.g.

- (18) *ʿá-šəpra ʿila ròxi,<sup>1</sup> ʿan-lá qatlíle ʿo-táwrət wàla,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíle ʿo-šəpra.<sup>1</sup>* ‘That sparrow is my spirit. They must not kill that wild ox and take that sparrow.’ (A12:41)

The insistent function of *ʔilla* is sometimes used to express the sense of ‘only if’, e.g.

- (19) *ʔána míθənwa l-márya ʔalàhaʔ ʔilla t-aθyáwa báxta bàθri,ʔ t-azànwa.ʔ* ‘I had sworn to the Lord God that only if a woman came after me would I go.’ (A8:94)

An alternative way of expressing ‘only if’ is to use the particle *ʔaxč* combined with *ʔm*, e.g.

- (20) *nablánnux l-ʔáθrət bàbux,ʔ ʔaxč ʔən-γăđálla ʔàθra.ʔ* ‘I shall take you to the land of your father, only if you know the land.’ (A14:89)

The particle *ʔilla* may be used to express exclusivity also in other contexts, including before a nominal (22–23):

- (21) *líθ bǎjáraʔ ʔilla bt-àzəx.ʔ* ‘There is no alternative but that we go.’ (A8:27)  
 (22) *w-ána hon-márta tla-Nozàliʔ ʔána lə-gáwerən ʔilla xóna díya Gozàli.ʔ* ‘I said to Nozali that I would only marry her brother Gozali.’ (A8:95)  
 (23) *díya ʔilla xá-màl dàwa báyi.ʔ* ‘Now they want only something made of gold.’ (B10:40)

It is used also as a clausal connective in the sense of ‘but’, ‘but rather’, e.g.

- (24) *ʔu-čú bəx-náša la-máte-lla ʔilla b-rzáyət gána-díya t-àθya.ʔ* ‘Nobody can reach her, but rather she comes of her own will.’ (A8:65)  
 (25) *ʔu-ʔəp-ati pészət mánən,ʔ ʔarpa xonăwàθəx.ʔ ʔilla b-šaqłənnaʔ xáθət Mir-žán-din barxənna-llux.ʔ* ‘You also should become (one) of us and (make) four brothers. But I must (first) take the sister of Mir Zandin to marry her to you.’ (A26:39)

#### 19.5.6. *Non-Conditional Uses of the Particle ʔən*

The particle *ʔm* is sometimes used outside of conditional contexts. These include the following.

##### 19.5.6.1. *Disjunctive Particle (‘either...or’)*

Several speakers use *ʔm* as a disjunctive between items. It is used either before each item *ʔm...ʔm* (‘either...or’) or only before the final item. The items may be clauses (1–2) or constituents of clauses (3–5)

- (1) *'ən-qatlǝnmux 'áyya bráta šaqłǝnna' 'ən-la-páltən m-àxxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Either I shall kill you and take this girl or I shall not go out from here.' (A29:28)
- (2) *là-barya' gànwi' 'ən-sálbi.*<sup>1</sup> 'They cannot steal or plunder.' (A29:39)
- (3) *'ána hon-yàmya' 'áyya bráta hon-'áθya nablǝnna' 'ən-b-našùθa,' 'ən-b-xèla,' nablǝnna tla-bàbi.*<sup>1</sup> 'I have taken an oath. I have come to take this girl either humanely or by force to my father.' (A29:65)
- (4) *xàrθa' 'áxni gu-maθwàθa' kúlleni jǝmáxxwa m-gǝáðe,' 'ən-qàša mǝnnən' 'ən-múxtarət màθa,' zavráxxwa 'eðáwàθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'Afterwards, all of us in the villages gather together, either with a priest with us or a head of the village, and we go around (offering) festival blessings.' (B6:13)
- (5) *xálya t-heywàne' t-'árwə 'ən-tawràθa,' xálya marəxθile.*<sup>1</sup> 'They boil the milk of animals, of sheep or cows.' (B6:37)

When the particle is used before a copula clause, the copula may be attached to it, as is the case when it has a conditional function (6), or the copula may remain in its normal position on the predicate (7–8):

- (6) *'óx 'áw gáwri m-jàlde hóle zila' lá-'əθya l-b'éθa žàre,' 'ən-ile-qtıla,' 'ən-ile xila.*<sup>1</sup> 'Oh, that husband of mine has gone out early and has not returned home, poor man. He has either been killed or he has been eaten (by wild animals).' (A39:17)
- (7) *y-azíwa be-k'álo.' 'ən-d-à-maθele.' 'ən-d-a-máθa xètele' y-azíwa y-atwíwa táma be-k'álo.*<sup>1</sup> 'They went to the house of the bride. Whether it was in the village or in another village, they would go and sit there in the house of the bride.' (B5:28)
- (8) *šávána modile?<sup>2</sup> kut-nášət 'itle 'árwə,' 'ən-'árwət xwàrela,' 'árwət kòmela,' yá'ni 'əzzela,' 'ən-wànela.*<sup>1</sup> 'What is a shepherd? Anybody who has small cattle, whether they are “white small cattle” or they are “black small cattle”, that is whether they are goats or are sheep.' (B5:109)

#### 19.5.6.2. *Interrogative Particle*

The particle *'ən* is sporadically used at the front of direct polar (yes–no?) question, e.g.

- (1) *'amrǝxlux 'úln xá zəqqa' ràba górtela.' y-ásqəx méθəx míya mən-d-áwàha túra.' ràba rəhqele 'o-túra.' ràba rəhqele.' 'ən mášət šaqłǝtla?<sup>2</sup>* 'We say to you that we have a water-skin that is very large. We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there. That mountain is very far away. It is very far away. Can you take it there?' (A39:9)

19.5.7. *Conditionals with madam*

On some occasions constructions that can be rendered into English as conditionals have the particle *madam* in the protasis rather than the usual conditional particle *ʔn*. The use of *madam* is restricted to clauses describing a situation that the speaker knows is true. For this reason the particle in the protasis clause can usually be appropriately translated also by an factive English subordinate clause such as ‘since (it is the case that)...’. The particle *madam* is generally connected to the following clauses by the *D* subordinator, though this is omitted in some cases, e.g.

- (1) *mádam hátxelá<sup>1</sup> t-ázən tǎyən báθər haqqùθa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-na-haqqùθa.* ‘If (the world) is like that, I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful.’ (A15:5)
- (2) *mádam t-íwət hátxa<sup>1</sup> háyyo láxxa t-awðánnux wǎzǔr.* ‘If you are like this, come here and I shall make you the vizier.’ (A21:41)
- (3) *mádam bráti wéla b-pǎlxána<sup>1</sup> ʔu-lípla pǎlxána<sup>1</sup> báyyən t-yǎðən<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa bər-náša mòdile,<sup>1</sup> dáx mǎsle ʔáyya bráta qəm-ʔawódla b-pǎlxánət bèθa.* ‘If my daughter has become hard-working and has learnt to work, I want to know what (kind of person) this man is, how could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife.’ (A21:32)
- (4) *ʔáwwa mádam ʔíθwale<sup>1</sup> bǎxta,<sup>1</sup> ʔíθwale bnòne,<sup>1</sup> ʔíθwale nǎše,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa lèle míθa.* ‘If he had a wife, he had sons, he had relatives, he is not dead.’ (A17:17)
- (5) *madam-t-íwət ʔáyya wiðalla kúlla,<sup>1</sup> si-méθili qəşşáttət Wérda-w Nèrgis.* ‘If you have done all of this, go and bring me the story of Wérda and Nèrgis.’ (A24:35)
- (6) *háyyo,<sup>1</sup> háyyo!<sup>1</sup> madam-t-íwət ʔàti,<sup>1</sup> háyyo!<sup>1</sup> là-ʔazət.* ‘Come, come. If it is you. Come, don’t go.’ (A24:36)

19.5.8. *Conditionals with ʔε-ga*

Similarly a clause introduced by the adverbial *ʔε-ga* referring to a situation that the speaker knows is true may sometimes be rendered idiomatically by an English conditional, e.g.

- (1) *ʔé-gət mən-d-ánna hàwe,<sup>1</sup> šúla bǔ-ázəl lǎ-qàma!<sup>1</sup>* ‘If there are these (gold pieces), the job will go ahead!’ (A4:15)

19.5.9. *Asyndetic Conditional and Temporal Constructions*

On a number of occasions the semantic relation between a series of clauses is that of condition and consequent, but they are juxtaposed asyndetically without a conditional particle. It is often appropriate to translate such clauses by an English conditional sentence. They often contain verbal forms that are characteristic of *ʔn* conditional constructions., e.g.

- (1) *ʔana támamal ʔàθena,<sup>1</sup> ʔáti mxazdàtli. 'If I come tomorrow, you will blame me.' (A21:43)*
- (2) *ʔàti<sup>1</sup> dīya ʔáθət gu-béθi la-pàlxət,<sup>1</sup> lè-yannux ʔixála. 'If you come now, come to my house and do not work, I shall not give you food.' (A21:36)*
- (3) *xàzən<sup>1</sup> màsən<sup>1</sup> t-óðən xa-čàra.<sup>1</sup> là-am.sən,<sup>1</sup> maqàtlu bróni,<sup>1</sup> mó t-óðèna.<sup>21</sup>* 'I shall see whether I can find a solution. If I cannot, have my son killed, what can I do?' (A33:6)
- (4) *maqáwət goràtli,<sup>1</sup> t-yállə jùlla. 'If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes.' (A14:83)*
- (5) *gúrza maxèlè<sup>1</sup> ʔáy bázər kùlla t-awádda mīya. 'If he struck with his club, he would make all of that town turn to water.' (A52:15)*
- (6) *léle jyàra,<sup>1</sup> šáyátli b-gùda. 'If he does not pass water, throw him against the wall.' (A30:40)*
- (7) *kút-dana ʔa-šəpra mittle,<sup>1</sup> ʔé-ga ʔana-mèθən. 'If ever that sparrow dies, then I shall die.' (A12:41)*
- (8) *támamal yámmi mùlla,<sup>1</sup> péšəx ʔana-w bəxti. 'If my mother dies tomorrow, we shall remain, myself and my wife.' (A21:42)*
- (9) *muθyále Bəlbəl Hazar,<sup>1</sup> péša kálθi. 'If he brings Bəlbəl Hazar back, she will become my daughter-in-law.' (A8:34)*

Such asyndetic conditional constructions are commonly found with the verb 'to want' in the protasis, e.g.

- (10) *báyət ʔəxlət,<sup>1</sup> xùl! 'If you want to eat, eat!' (A14:59)*
- (11) *ʔrwe hòla gu-ťura.<sup>1</sup> báyət,<sup>1</sup> se-mkàpəšla! 'The sheep are in the mountains. If you want, go and gather them up!' (A10:4)*
- (12) *báya péša,<sup>1</sup> péša ʔáy ʔaxxa,<sup>1</sup> b-šəpət brónən<sup>1</sup> t-óya malákθa b-šəpi ʔiman-t-ʔana mèθən.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-báyə déra l-béθət baba dīya,<sup>1</sup> mattánna xá-ga xèta,<sup>1</sup> ʔana mādəránna. 'If she wants to stay, let her stay here in the place of our son and she will be queen in my place when I die. But, if she wants to return to her father's house, I shall put her again (on a camel) and return her.' (A4:39)*

- (13) *bǎyət bǎyət.<sup>1</sup> là-bǎyət,<sup>1</sup> hóle Šaddám si-škì.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you want it, you want it (fine). If you do not want it, there is Saddam, go and complain (to him).’ (B1:22)

Such asyndetic conditional constructions generally have a rising intonation contour in the intonation group of the first clause, which typically expresses conjunction with what follows, e.g.

- (14) *súsux bǎye t-kále,<sup>1</sup> là-šoqət t-kále.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If your horse wants to stop, do not let him stop.’ (A24:11)

In (15) an asyndetic conditional is followed by a negative alternative condition that has the conditional particle, demonstrating the equivalence between the asyndetic and syndetic constructions:

- (15) *məθətta-llì,<sup>1</sup> šoqǎnnux t-àzət.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-la,<sup>1</sup> là-šoqən t-azítu.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you bring her here, I shall let you go. If not, I shall not let you go.’ (A12:21)

In (16) the presentative particle *ʔina* is used to introduce a protasis that lacks the conditional particle:

- (16) *ʔina ʔanna xonǎwàθì,<sup>1</sup> ʔarbi xonǎwáθì,<sup>1</sup> kúššət magúrət xà,<sup>1</sup> páyǎš ʔúmri tmàni šǎnne.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If each year you marry off one of these forty brothers of mine, I’ll be eighty years old (before I marry).’ (A12:1)

Conditional type constructions are sometimes expressed by imperative clauses, e.g.

- (17) *la-xzi<sup>1</sup> ʔu-la-xṯì.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you do not see, you will not sin.’ (D2:49)  
 (18) *wí mbaqràna,<sup>1</sup> t-áwət yaḏùwa.<sup>1</sup>* ‘If you are inquisitive, you shall be knowledgeable.’ (D2:11)

Expressions of a wish that appear unlikely to be fulfilled (‘if only...!’) use the *qaṯəlwa* verbal form, which is characteristic of protases denoting an improbable situation in the future, e.g.

- (19) *xuš-məθəm<sup>1</sup> bas-xáθì.Nozáli xazəmwala.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Let me die, but, if only I could see my sister Nozali.’ (A8:57)

An asyndetic conditional may lack verbal forms, especially in proverbial contexts, e.g.

- (20) *dárta l-yòma,*<sup>1</sup> *’árwe gu-gòma.*<sup>1</sup> *dárta l-sèra,*<sup>1</sup> *’árwe l-ṭèra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noon sun.’ (D2:15)
- (21) *tárra dwíra*<sup>1</sup> *qáda wíra.*<sup>1</sup> ‘If the door is closed, trouble passes by.’ (D2:47)

Asyndetic constructions are used also when a consequent follows a clause expressing a situation that is presupposed to be true and so has the function of a temporal ‘when’-clause, e.g.

- (22) *bábi màyæθ,*<sup>1</sup> *’ána bṭ-áwæn málka šöpe.*<sup>1</sup> ‘When my father dies, I shall be king in his place.’ (A14:88)
- (23) *ṭ-ámrx háyyo šlí Kārím ’áti gu-d-áwwa balú’a*<sup>1</sup>...*’aw-sále táma mrapáxle xáwla b-rése díye*<sup>1</sup> *’u-’áyya qápxata mattáxxa rəs-d-o-tárrat gəppa.*<sup>1</sup> ‘We shall say “Come Karim, go down into this conduit.”... When he goes down there, we shall throw the rope onto his head and shall put this cover onto the opening of the cave.’ (A14:16)
- (24) *’à-dana*<sup>1</sup> *’áyya nablàlux,*<sup>1</sup> *mapərxálux šawwà yamáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *mátət l-d-o-qásra.*<sup>1</sup> *mátət l-d-ò qásra,*<sup>1</sup> *háwət hášyər ’ina ’áyya sústa là marpátla.*<sup>1</sup> ‘She will take you, she will fly you over the seven seas and you will reach that palace. When you arrive at that palace, be careful not to let that horse go.’ (A12:29)

#### 19.6. CONCESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The syntactic expression of concession is rarely found in the text corpus. Where this occurs, it tends to take the form of a protasis clause introduced by phrases denoting literally ‘even if’ (*’ap-’ən / ’up-’ən, ham-’ən*), e.g.

- (1) *’úp-’ən-íwa xayúθa pšítta,*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna náše ráβewa xəðye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Although the life was simple, people were very happy.’ (B15:14)
- (2) *hám-’ən wídle hátxa ’àp-aw,*<sup>1</sup> *’áp ’axni-xiləxxwale táwre díye.*<sup>1</sup> ‘Although he did such a thing, (we should take into account that that) we had eaten his ox.’ (A7:20)



Note also the use of the Arabic conditional concessive *wā-law* in (3):

- (3) *wā-law t-ín ʿanna-xámša šānne zīla b-dūnye,<sup>1</sup> nāmu lat-ðāʿalli.<sup>2</sup>* ‘Although I have been away in the world for these five years, don’t you know me any more?’ (A12:65)

In these sentences, despite the conditional structure, the truth of the protasis is not in question. The concessive sense is that the situation described in the subordinate clauses might lead one to expect that the proposition of the main clause would be false but, in fact, this is not the case. A pure conditional ‘even if’ construction is related, in that it indicates that the situation of the main clause is not expected to follow from the condition but nevertheless will do so. The difference from a concessive construction is that the truth of the protasis is not certain. There are various ways of expressing pure conditional ‘even if’-clauses, including clauses introduced by a conditional and one of the inclusive particles *ʿap/ʿup*, *ham* and *-ži*, e.g.

- (4) *bnāya gūda ʿu-drāya rāšāš,<sup>1</sup> tā-t ʿáp-ʿm maxīle mādfa<sup>cl</sup> t-là-talaxwa gūda.<sup>1</sup>* ‘He built the wall and put lead into it, so that, even if it was hit by artillery, it would not be destroyed.’ (A11:13)
- (5) *hām-ʿm yawātli zūze,<sup>1</sup> lè-y-aθm.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Even if you give me money, I shall not come.’
- (6) *ʿm-hāwe dāwa-ži<sup>1</sup> ʿaxni t-yawāxla xa-b-ʿlāθa ʿille dīye.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (if it is lost).’ (A7:10)

In (7) it is expressed by a simple *ʿm* clause, but this is given prominence on a prosodic level by being uttered with a high pitch level:

- (7) *lā-b-alaha,<sup>1</sup> lá qešōnne rēšux,<sup>1</sup> ʿm-qatlātli.<sup>1</sup>* ‘No, by God. I shall not cut (the hair on) your head, even if you kill me.’ (A29:6)

A concessive relationship sometimes exists between clauses that are linked paratactically. In such cases the grounds for the reversed expectation, equivalent to the subordinate ‘although’ clause, is usually conjoined after the other clause with the connective particle *w*, e.g.

- (8) *mālka krīble<sup>1</sup> ʿu-b-gāne mālka mīrēwa ʿm-hawéli brāta<sup>1</sup> t-yānna qa-bronēxu.<sup>1</sup>* ‘The king became angry, although the king himself had said “if I have a daughter I shall give her to your son.”’ (A25:8)

- (9) *píšla dəžmànnə,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáni là-xəzɣe ǵǵáǵe,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-là-mʂuθe hátxa mǎndi.<sup>1</sup>* ‘So, they became enemies, although they had not met each other and had not said (to each other) any such a thing.’ (B19:2)

Concession may be expressed by an asyndetic conditional type construction, e.g.

- (10) *tú pč̣ila,<sup>1</sup> mʂáwəθ ḍùs.<sup>1</sup>* ‘Sit crooked (= even though you sit crooked), tell the truth.’ (D2:60)



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## CHAPTER TWENTY

### REMARKS ON THE LEXICON

#### 20.1. HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Many lexical items of Aramaic origin in the C. Barwar dialect have a meaning that corresponds directly to the meaning of their cognates in earlier forms of literary Aramaic. Several items, however, have undergone a semantic development from the meaning that was expressed by their literary cognates. It must be borne in mind, of course, that the NENA dialects are unlikely to be direct descendants of the classical Aramaic dialects and so some of the differences in meaning may have already existed in proto-NENA many centuries ago. It is, nevertheless, of interest to examine the types of semantic differences from the classical forms of the language that are exhibited by some of the lexical items in the dialect.

Lexical items in the dialect sometimes exhibit a meaning that is more specific than that of their cognates in Classical Syriac. In such cases, the basic meaning of the dialectal word is subsumed by the more general basic meaning of the Syriac word. This often arises since another lexical item is used in the dialect with a related meaning.

The word *'arxe* (pl. *'arxaθa*) in the C. Barwar dialect, for example, denotes specifically a 'water-mill', whereas the cognate in Classical Syriac *rahyā* (pl. *ṛhawātā*) refers to a 'mill' in general, including a hand-mill. The reason for the narrowing of the meaning range of *'arxe* in the dialect is likely to be the existence of another lexical item that denotes specifically a 'hand-mill', viz. *garosta* n.f. (pl. *garosyaθa*). The semantic range of the Syriac singular form *rahyā*, moreover, includes also the sense of 'millstone,' which is a component of the mill, whereas the dialectal word *'arxe* refers only to the mill as a whole. A 'millstone' in the dialect is expressed by the word *pānxa*.

The noun *'aspa* n.m. (pl. *'aspe*) 'loan' is related to the Classical Syriac root *yzp* 'to borrow'. Whereas the Syriac root is used to refer to borrowing in general, the form *'aspa* is used only to denote borrowing in kind, in most cases consumable items of food, e.g. *šqilli xātte b-'aspa* 'I borrowed wheat'. The act of borrowing money must be expressed by a form of the root

*dyn*, e.g. *mudýánni zúze tla-Gwirgis* 'I became indebted in money to Gwirgis' (= I borrowed money from Gwirgis).

The cognate of Syriac *sa'rā* 'hair' (in general) is *sera*, but the dialectal word is restricted in sense to 'goat's hair'. Other words are used to refer to hair in general, viz. *kawsa* (collective), *mazze* (sing. *masta*).

According to the Syriac dictionaries the nouns *'arbālā* and *mehhaltā* (variant *mahholtā*) both mean 'sieve'. The reflexes of these words in the dialect have a more specific meaning, in that they denote sieves with different sizes of hole, viz. *'arbala* n.f. (pl. *'arbale*) sieve with medium sized holes and *mxilta* n.f. (pl. *mxilyatha*) sieve with small holes (for flour).

The adjective *šammīnā* in Syriac has a range of meaning including the senses of 'physically fat' and 'fertile', e.g. *'ānā šammīnātā* 'fat sheep', *'ar'ā šammīnā* 'fertile land'. In the dialect the word *šamina* is restricted to the more abstract sense of 'fertile', e.g. *'āra šaminta* 'fertile land'. The narrowing of the semantic range of the adjective in the dialect has arisen due to the existence of another adjective *trisa*, which is used to express the sense of physically fat, e.g. *'arwe trise* 'fat sheep'.

The verb *xll* II 'to wash' is more restricted in usage than its Syriac cognate *hallel*. The dialectal verb *xll* II is used to express the washing of individual parts of the body (such as hands, feet etc.) and various objects but not clothes. The Syriac verb, by contrast, is used to express also the washing of clothes. In the dialect another verb is used to express specifically the washing of clothes, viz. *msy*. To wash oneself by covering the body in water, in a bath or a shower, is expressed in the dialect by the verb *xyp* I.

Several verbs in the dialect that are restricted in their usage to activities relating to animals had a more general application in Syriac. The Syriac verb *hsl*, for example, was used to express 'weaning' both of animals and of humans, whereas the cognate dialectal form *xsl* is used only to denote the weaning of animals. The weaning of humans is expressed by phrases such as *qt' mən-māmoše* 'to cut off from sucking' or *qt' mən xəlyā* 'to cut off from milk'. The Syriac verb *yld* 'to give birth' was used in relation to all living creatures, humans and animals, including the laying of eggs. The dialectal reflex of this *ydl*, however, is used only in relation to the birth of animals and the laying of eggs. The birth of humans is expressed by forms of the verbal *bry*. The verb *dwr* in the dialect is used to denote specifically the dwelling of sheep in a rest area during the summer. This appears to be the reflex of the verb *dwr* in Syriac and other literary Aramaic dialects, which has the generic sense of 'to dwell'.

In other cases, by contrast, a dialect word has a meaning that is wider than that of the Classical Syriac cognate and subsumes it. This has often arisen as a result of additions or losses in related areas of the lexicon.

The semantic range of the verb *xzy* in the dialect, for example, includes both the sense of 'to see' and 'to find', whereas the cognate in Syriac *hzy* denotes only 'to see'. This has arisen, no doubt, due to the loss of the Syriac verb *'eškah* 'to find' in the dialect. A modern reflex of *'eškah* can be identified in the verb form *m-čx* III, which is occasionally used by some speakers, but this is likely to be a loan from the C. Urmi dialect, where it is regularly used.

The verb *dy* is used in the C. Barwar dialect as a general word for 'to put', whereas the cognate verb in Syriac has the sense of 'to sprinkle, scatter'. It appears that the expression of the transference of location that was a semantic component of the Syriac verb became the dominant feature and the verb came to be used more generally without being associated with a specific manner of action. The specific action of 'scattering' is now expressed by other verbs, such as *bđq* or *bzq*. The verb *sym*, the cognate of which in Syriac is a general verb 'to put', has come to be restricted in the dialect to the sense of 'to ordain (a priest)' in stem I and to the fixed collocation with the object *bala* with the sense of 'to pay attention' in stem III. The verb *m-ty*, the irregular stem III for of *'tw*, is largely restricted to the sense of placing a stable object on a horizontal surface.

In some cases the shift in meaning involves an extension of control by the subject of a verb, i.e. an increase in transitivity. The verb *dbq* in Syriac, for example, means 'to stick to, to adhere' whereas the dialectal derivative of this *dwaq* denotes the activity of 'holding' or 'keeping', which typically involves greater control over the object referent. This is reflected by the fact that the dialectal verb *dwaq* 'to hold, to keep' takes a direct object, whereas the Syriac verb *dbq* 'to adhere' is connected to its complement by a preposition *b-* or *l-*. The verb *fy* in Syriac has the sense of 'to wander, to go astray', whereas the dialectal reflex *ty* normally has the more purposive sense of 'to search for', in which the subject has greater control over the action.

A further type of semantic change is where the basic meaning of the dialectal word does not directly subsume nor is subsumed by the basic Syriac meaning but rather is associated with some aspect of the contextual usage of the Syriac cognate. This is a broad category that includes various types of development, some examples of which are the following.

In the C. Barwar dialect word *'umra* denotes 'a church'. This is the reflex of Syriac *'umrā*, which included the semantic range 'life, way of life, monastic life, monastery'. The sense of 'church', i.e. a place of worship, is clearly associated with 'monastic life' and 'monastery'. In the dialect, however, the word *'umra* is no longer used in the sense of 'monastery', which is expressed rather by the noun *dera*.

The word *səmmala* in the dialect denotes a 'small bundle of grass or produce'. It is the reflex of the Syriac word *semṡālā* 'left, left hand'. The association of 'small bundle' with the 'left hand' was that during harvesting people typically held a tool such as a sickle (*magla*) in the right hand and collected the produce in the left. The sense of 'left hand' is now expressed in the dialect by the Kurdish loanword *çappe*.

The word *xəgga* in the dialect refers to a type of dance that is associated with a festivity, whereas the Classical Syriac cognate *ḥaggā* denotes simply 'festivity or feast.'

The word *boya* 'hole' appears to be cognate with the C. Qaraqosh form *burga* of the same meaning, the \**r* and \**g* having been elided (*boya* < *bo'a* < *boġa* < *burga*). In Syriac *burga* means 'tower, turret; pigeon-cote' (< Greek *purgos*). The association here seems to be that such structures contained holes through which pigeons entered. The word then came to denote a pigeon-hole, i.e. a part of the original whole, and subsequently 'hole' in general.

The noun *šəxda* in the dialect has the sense of 'good news', whereas its Syriac cognate *šuhdā* means 'bribe' or 'gift'. The semantic association is the transitional meaning of 'gift for the (good) news of arrival' which is attested in some NENA dialects (cf. Maclean 1901: 303).

The noun *xusəra* 'dew' appears to be historically related to the Syriac root *ḥsr* 'to decrease, to diminish'. The semantic association evidently is that dew typically diminishes and evaporates. The Syriac root *ḥsr* has not survived as a verb in the dialect, which uses rather the verb *ḥsr* to express the sense of 'to diminish'.

The adjective *xlima* in the dialect means '(physically) thick', whereas Syriac *ḥlīmā* denoted 'sound, firm, strong' in both a physical and spiritual sense. The feature of 'thickness', which is typically associated with an object that is physically robust, has become the basic meaning of the word.

The Syriac verb *pšḥ* has the basic meaning of 'to rejoice', whereas its reflex in the C. Barwar dialect *pšx* is generally used to denote the act of 'smiling', which is associated with joy. The sense of 'to rejoice, to become happy' is generally expressed by the verb *xəy*.

The Syriac verb *dʿk* has the sense of ‘to be extinguished’ and is used to denote that a fire has been put completely out. The dialectal reflex *dyx*, however, denotes the ‘dying down’ of a fire, which is a preliminary phase typically associated with the process of being extinguished. The sense of ‘to be extinguished’ is expressed in the dialect by the verb *čmy*.

The Syriac verb *šly* has the meaning of ‘to incline, to lean towards’, whereas in the dialect the verb *šly* denotes ‘to descend’. The Syriac meaning is associated with the dialectal meaning in that it constitutes a typical preliminary phase of the act of descending.

The verb *jwaja* ‘to move’ is cognate with the Syriac root *šwš*, which has the sense of ‘disturbing’. Some kind of movement is typically associated with the act of disturbing. In the dialect *jwaja* is now used to denote ‘moving’ in general, irrespective of whether it involves disturbance or not.

In some cases the association between the dialectal word and its Syriac cognate is metaphorical. The word *maqora*, *meqora* in the dialect, for example, denotes a ‘hole dug out of the middle of a dish of stew to hold syrop’. The earlier Syriac form *māqōrā* denoted a ‘canal’ or ‘cistern’ dug in the ground. The verb *qrx* in the dialect has the senses of ‘to become white, to make white’ and ‘to knock off (twigs, buds, blossoms)’. Both of these have a metaphorical association with the cognate Syriac root *qrh* ‘to become bald’.

The meaning of a word sometimes shifts to the extent that it denotes a completely distinct meaning from the one denoted by the Syriac cognate, though in the same semantic field. This generally arises due to the use of another lexical item to express the meaning of the Syriac cognate.

The word *xalwa*, for example, denotes the ‘fatless curds of boiled yoghurt water’ rather than ‘milk’, which is the sense of the Syriac cognate *halbā*. ‘Milk’ in the dialect is expressed by the word *xəlyā* (< \**halyā* ‘sweet’). The word *dəbbora* in the dialect means ‘hornet’, whereas its Syriac cognate *debburtā* normally has the sense of ‘bee’. A ‘bee’ is referred to in the dialect by the term *dabaša* (literally: ‘honey-maker’).

The verb *xml* in the dialect has the meaning ‘to make merry’ whereas its Syriac cognate *hml* means ‘to withhold, to restrain’. This remarkable difference in meaning appears to have arisen by the following semantic shifts. The activity of withholding first developed into senses such as enduring, waiting, standing, which are attested for this verb in some NENA dialects. This then came to mean withholding sleep and waiting up in the night. The diverting social interaction of chatting and merriment that was the typical activity associated with such waiting up at night then became the



basic meaning. A parallel semantic develop may explain the semantic relationship between Arabic *smr* ‘to chat at night’ and Hebrew *šmr* ‘to keep, guard’, which from their form appear to be cognate.

Some nouns are derivatives of nouns or verbs which do not exist in the current state of the dialect but have been replaced by forms from other roots. The noun *karaxa* ‘irrigation manager’, for example, appears to be derived from a noun *\*karxa* ‘irrigation basin’, which in turn is a development of Syriac *karxa* ‘enclosure, enclosed area’. The word *karxa* in this sense is still used in some NENA dialects (e.g. C. Shiyuz), but not in C. Barwar, where irrigation basins are denoted by the term *māššara*. The noun *samxa* ‘post supporting a vine’ is in origin an active participle of a verbal root *\*smx*, cognate with Syriac *smk* ‘to support’. In the current state of the dialect, however, the activity of physically supporting is expressed by the verb *snd*, which is a loan from Arabic.

An interesting semantic development is exhibited by the adjectival form *kosa* ‘beardless’. This appears to be derived from the noun *kawsa* ‘hair’, but is used to denote the lack of hair rather than its presence. A similar development has occurred with the Kurdish word ‘qoç’ ‘horn’. This has been borrowed in the C. Barwar dialect as an adjectival attribute (*koçā*) denoting ‘hornless’, e.g. *’mwe koçe* ‘hornless sheep’. Note also the adjective *lंगा* ‘crippled in the leg (i.e. legless)’ which in origin is the Kurdish noun ‘ling’ ‘leg’.

With regard to verbal roots, certain phonetic developments reflect the emergence of two separate roots from an original single root. This is seen in distinct developments of the *bgdkpt* consonants. In principle one particular reflex of these consonants becomes a fixed radical throughout all inflections of a root (§1.4.1.), e.g. /θ/ in *kθw* ‘to write’: *kathwa* ‘she writes’, *kθawa* ‘book’, *kathawa* ‘writer’. Cases where the reflex of a *bgdkpt* consonant differs across verbal inflections of an original root should be interpreted as indicating that such inflections have come to be treated as separate roots. This splitting of a root is conditioned by the development of a clear semantic gap between inflections, e.g. Syriac *gby* ‘to collect’ > C. Barwar *gwy* I ‘to beg’ and *gby* II ‘to elect’, Syriac *qby* ‘to collect (liquid)’ > C. Barwar *qwy* I ‘to scoop’ and *qby* II ‘to swell’, Syriac *brk* > C. Barwar *brk* I ‘to kneel’ and *brx* II ‘to bless’, Syriac *zbn* > C. Barwar *zwn* I ‘to buy’ and *zbn* II ‘to sell’.

Phonetic developments in the dialect can lead to the homophony of two verbal roots or two lexical items, e.g. *prx* ‘to crush’ (< \**prk*) and *prx* ‘to fly’ (< \**prh*), *damma* ‘blood’ (< \**dma*) and *damma* ‘tear’ (< \**dām’a*). In some cases such a development of homophony appears to have been the motivation for replacing one of the pair. For example, the introduction of the verbal root *qrn* II to express ‘to grow up’ in place of \**rwy* (cf. Syriac *rby*), which is found in some other NENA dialects, may have been conditioned by the fact that after the development of the fricative \**b* to /*w*/ in \**rby*, the root would be homophonous with *rwy* ‘to get drunk’. Conversely, dialects that retain the root *rwy* in the sense of ‘to grow up’, express ‘to get drunk’ by a different verb, e.g. C. Qaraqosh *rwy* ‘to grow up’: *skr* ‘to get drunk’.

As already shown by Krotkoff (1985: 124–126), a number of lexical items in the NENA dialects, especially those relating to agriculture, can be traced back beyond Classical Aramaic to Akkadian or even Sumerian. These include words in the C. Barwar dialect that are found also in other NENA dialects such as *səkθa* ‘ploughshare’ (Syriac *sekkəta*, Akkadian *sikkatu*), *maṛa* ‘spade’ (Syriac *marrā*, Akkadian *marru*, Sumerian *mar*) and *bədra* ‘threshing floor’ (<*be* + ‘*ədra*: Syriac ‘*eddara*, Akkadian *idru*). The C. Barwar dialect also contains at least one such word that cannot be traced in earlier literary Aramaic, namely *māššara* ‘paddy field basin’, which is cognate with Akkadian *mūšaru* ‘flower, vegetable bed, garden plot’.<sup>1</sup>

## 20.2. LOANWORDS

The loanwords in the C. Barwar dialect can be divided broadly into two categories: (i) words borrowed from other NENA dialects and (ii) words borrowed from other languages, mainly Kurdish and Arabic. In the lists of semantic fields and in the glossaries the origin of the loans from other languages is indicated where this has been possible to identify. In some cases the origin of a word is uncertain and its background is left unmarked.

### 20.2.1. Loans from Other NENA Dialects

The loanwords from other NENA dialects originate mainly in the C. Urmi dialect and the dialects of Ṭiyare. The villagers of Barwar came

<sup>1</sup> Black et al. (1999: 220).

into contact with the C. Urmi dialect when they were refugees in Urmi during the troubles of the First World War. The C. Urmi dialect furthermore became the basis of the koine that was used by refugee Christians who settled in Baghdad and the northern Iraqi cities. The inhabitants of Barwar had close contact with these cities during the 20th century, especially during the Kurdish uprising in the North during the 1960s. The lexical loans from C. Urmi do not completely replace the corresponding C. Barwar forms, but rather are used alongside them. Some examples that are attested in the recorded text corpus are the following:

C. Barwar	C. Urmi	
<i>fīarta</i>	<i>tamta</i>	‘breakfast’
<i>xyr I</i>	<i>gšq II</i>	‘to look’
<i>mbadla</i>	<i>qedamta</i>	‘morning’
<i>zilele, zalēle</i>	<i>xışēle. xašēle</i>	‘he went, he is going’
<i>čučəkθa</i>	<i>šəpra</i>	‘sparrow’
<i>gota</i>	<i>dəpna</i>	‘side’
<i>twarā</i>	<i>šmaṭa</i>	‘to break’

There were connections between the Christians of Barwar and the Ṭiyare region over many centuries. This is reflected in the close relationship in the general structure of the dialect with the Ṭiyare dialects, particularly those of Lower Ṭiyare (see introduction). Some lexical items of Ṭiyare origin, however, are used alongside the more usual C. Barwar forms. These are mainly found in the popular songs that were sung in the Barwar communities but were composed originally in Ṭiyare, e.g.

C. Barwar	Ṭiyare	
<i>xāčča, xanči</i>	<i>čemma</i>	(C1:5) ‘a small amount’

### 20.2.2. *Loans from Kurdish and Arabic*

The C. Barwar dialect contains numerous loanwords from Kurdish and Arabic, those from Kurdish clearly being in the majority. Such loans are attested in all grammatical categories, though most are nouns. They are found in all semantic fields. Their number is, however, very small in the core areas of the lexicon, such as parts of the body (§21.1), family relations (§21.2.), basic attributes and activities (§21.18., §21.20.1.), with a greater concentration being found in fields relating to cultural artefacts, especially clothes and fabrics (§21.10.).

As has been described in §10.11., many nouns borrowed from Kurdish are adapted to the nominal inflectional morphology of NENA. Loaned verbs are inflected according to the NENA verbal morphology. In general Kurdish loanwords are not used alongside NENA words with the same meaning. In some cases, however, a borrowed Kurdish word does not supplant an existing NENA word with the same meaning, but rather the meaning of the Kurdish word is adapted in some way to complement the NENA vocabulary. Kurdish *poz* ‘nose’, for example, is loaned into C. Barwar in the form *poza*. The latter, however, is not used in the sense of ‘nose’ in general, as in Kurdish, but denotes specifically the ‘snout’ of an animal. The dialect retains the NENA form *naxira* for ‘nose’. Kurdish *dest* ‘hand’ comes into the dialect as *dasta*, which has the sense of ‘bunch, handful’, rather than ‘hand’, which is expressed by the NENA form *’ida*. Kurdish *řezvan* ‘caretaker or guardian of an vineyard’ appears in the dialect in the form *razwana*, which is used in the sense not of a human caretaker but of a ‘machine to frighten away birds in a vineyard’. A guard or guardian of a field or property is expressed by NENA *nařora*. Kurdish *řeng* ‘palm, handful’ comes into the dialect as *řanga* with the meaning ‘leather gloves used in harvesting’, the NENA word for ‘palm’ (*lappa*) being retained. The same applies to Kurdish *’qoř* ‘horn’ and *’ling* ‘leg’, which, as remarked above, in the dialect are used as adjectives in the senses of ‘hornless’ and ‘crippled in the leg’ rather than substituting the NENA words for ‘horn’ (*gana*) and ‘leg’ *’aqla*.

In some cases the original meaning of the loan is supplied by another loanword in the dialect. This is the case, for example, with Kurdish *stewl* ‘stable’, the meaning of which is expressed by the loanword *goma* ‘general animal shelter’ (Kurdish *gom* ‘sty, pen’). The word *stewl*, nevertheless, comes into the dialect in the form *stavla/stawla* and takes on the meaning of ‘a wooden frame for carrying loads on pack animal’, which presumably has some kind of figurative association with the structure of a stable. Kurdish *kewt* ‘army’ comes into the dialect as *kawta* with the meaning ‘flock (of sheep)’, the meaning of ‘army’ being expressed by the Arabic loanword *’askar*.

In a few cases a Kurdish noun that expresses an abstract activity is used in a concrete sense. Kurdish *bêrî* ‘sheepmilking’, for example, comes into the dialect as *beriya* in the sense of ‘milkmaid’.

The C. Barwar dialect exhibits a number of calques of Kurdish. Some of these are expressions consisting of a fixed collocation of verb and noun. In such cases the noun is typically a loanword whereas the verb is the NENA equivalent of the verb in the corresponding Kurdish expression, e.g.

C. Barwar	Kurdish	
<i>mxaya çappe</i>	çepî dan	‘to clap hands in applause’
<i>dwaqa rəqqi</i>	rik girtin	‘to be stubborn’
<i>dwaqa qadra</i>	qedir girtin	‘to respect, honour’

Another type of calque is where the semantic range of a NENA word is extended in imitation of a corresponding Kurdish word. This applies for example to the verb *mx*, which, in addition to its original meaning of ‘to strike’, is also used in the sense of ‘to play (a musical instrument)’. This is no doubt due to the fact that the Kurdish verb ‘to hit’ *lêdan* also has this range of meaning. The verb *şql* means not only ‘to take’, its original historical meaning, but also ‘to obtain, to buy’. This is an imitation of the meaning range of the Kurdish verb *standin*.

Of particular interest are some cases of calques where a NENA expression imitates not only the meaning of a Kurdish expression but also its phonetic form. This applies, for example, to the idiom *draya xela* ‘to attempt, exert oneself’, which corresponds to Kurdish *hewl dan*. The two expressions have no etymological connection, but there is a clear phonetic similarity between the two. Another case is *gambəl-axre* ‘dung beetle’ (literally: roller of dung) which has a certain phonetic similarity to the corresponding Kurdish name for the insect *gûgilêrk*.

In some cases it is not completely clear whether a word is a calque or a loan since it resembles a Kurdish form of the same meaning while also having a possible Aramaic etymology. One case of this is the word *gora* ‘big’, which resembles phonetically the Kurdish word *gûr* (variants *gur*, *gir*) ‘big, large’ but could also be derived from the Aramaic root *gbr*. The latter is, in fact, more likely since there is a corresponding verb *gwaṛa* ‘to become big’ (< \**gbārā*). Another case is the adjective *glola*, which *prima facie* could be interpreted as the Kurdish form *gilol* ‘round’, which has an Iranian etymology (cf. Chyet 2003: 212–213). It could, however, also be a derivative of the Aramaic root *gll* (cf. Syriac *glilā* ‘round’) with the adjectival pattern *CCoCa* (§11.2. no. 9). It can be said that in both of these cases the form of the lexical item has arisen by multiple causation.

The Kurdish loanword *gana* ‘soul’ is used with suffixes to express the reflexive pronoun (§7.6.), but in the Kurdish dialects of the region the reflexive pronoun has the form *xô/xwa* (MacKenzie 1961: 173). The use of *gana* in the Aramaic dialect appears to be a calque of the Aramaic word *roxa* ‘soul, spirit’, which is used in more conservative NENA dialects such as C. Qaraqosh to express the reflexive pronoun (Khan 2002: 84).

The feminine gender of a number of nouns of Aramaic stock that are masculine in Syriac has probably arisen by influence of the feminine gender of the corresponding nouns in Kurdish, e.g.

C. Barwar	Kurdish	
ʿ <i>rbala</i> f.	mifsik (etc.) f.	‘sieve’
ʿ <i>ilana</i> f.	dar f.	‘tree’
<i>barða</i> f.	teyrok f.	‘hail’
<i>mātra</i> f.	baran f.	‘rain’
<i>šmša</i> f.	roj f.	‘sun’

With regard to Arabic elements in the dialect, some unadapted Arabic words that occur in the speech of informants can be regarded as the result of code-switching and do not constitute loanwords in the lexicon of the dialect. This is shown by the fact that in many such cases an Aramaic equivalent is available and has not been supplanted by the Arabic word. Most informants have lived during some period of their life in Arabic speaking Iraqi cities and those who went to school in Iraq would have received an education in Arabic. They would, therefore, be accustomed to speaking Arabic and occasional code-switching is inevitable.

Arabic loans that are adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology and also those that have entered the dialect through Kurdish tend to be absorbed to a greater extent into the lexicon and they have generally taken the place of Aramaic lexical items of the same meaning. In some cases the supplanting of the Aramaic equivalents is of relatively recent occurrence, since informants still remember the original Aramaic word being used in their lifetime in the speech of the older generation of the community. This applies, for example, to the adapted Arabic loanword *xādaya*, which is now the most common word for ‘lunch’ in the C. Barwar dialect. This has replaced the original Aramaic word for this meal *šaruθa*, which is still remembered by some informants.

In some cases adapted Arabic loanwords have shifted in meaning. The adjective *bāxila*, for example, means not only ‘miserly’, as in Arabic, but also ‘envious’. In Arabic *xabar* means ‘news’, ‘message’, but in the dialect the adapted loan *xabra* is used with the sense of ‘word’. The word *mazaxa* denotes specifically the ‘area below millstones in a water-mill onto which the flour falls’. This appears to be an adaptation of the Arabic *masāḥa*, which denotes ‘area’ in general. The verb *xjl* I means ‘to become terrified’, whereas the Arabic source *xajila* denotes ‘to be shy, timid’.

Some Arabic words that entered the dialect through Kurdish had already undergone such semantic shifts in Kurdish. This is the case, for example, with the words *kulfət*, *kulpət* ‘family, wife’ (< Arabic *kulfa* ‘trouble, inconvenience’) and *šart*, which in addition to the original meaning of ‘condition’ also has the sense of ‘agreement’ and ‘test, ordeal’. Both of these Arabic loanwords occur in Kurdish with the same range of meaning.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

### SEMANTIC FIELDS

In this chapter a selection of the lexical items of the C. Barwar dialect are arranged according to semantic fields. A full glossary of the lexical items of the dialect that I have gathered in the course of my fieldwork follows the chapter. This is divided into a glossary of verbs arranged according to verbal root and a general glossary, which contains all other items. The glossaries are followed by a series of sketches illustrating various artefacts and structures that were found in the Barwar villages.

#### 21.1. THE HUMAN BODY

- paxra* n.m. (pl. *paxre*) body  
*gālda* n.m. skin  
*rēša* n.m. (pl. *rēšāwaθa*) head  
*qarqurθa* n.f. (pl. *qarqurpyaθa*) skull  
*kawsa* n.m. hair  
*māsta* n.f. (pl. *māzze*) a hair  
*pārčm̄ta* n.f. (K.) forelock, front of hair  
*baska* n.m. (pl. *bāske*) (K.) lock of hair; tress of hair  
*šošiθa* n.f. (pl. *šošiyaθa*) plait, lock of hair  
*jinika* n.m. (pl. *jinike*) (K.) sideburn, side-whisker  
*mayuθa* n.f. crown of the head  
*yalma* n.m. (pl. *yalme*) face  
*paθa* n.f. (pl. *paθwaθa*) face  
*qr̄m̄ta* m. (pl. *qr̄m̄te*) wrinkle  
*ʿena* n.f. (pl. *ʿene*) eye  
*be-ʿena* n.m. forehead  
*be-gwina* n.m. (pl. *be-gwine*) eyebrow  
*garət ʿena* eyelid  
*tālpa* n.m. (pl. *tālpaḩe*) eyelash  
*bibət ʿena* n.m., *bibəltət ʿena* n.f. pupil of the eye  
*naxira* n.m. (pl. *naxire*) nose; nostril  
*lota* n.f. (pl. *lotaθa*) cheek



- naθa* n.f. (pl. *naθyaθa*) ear  
*pumma* n.m. (pl. *pummāwaθa*) mouth  
*kaka* n.m. (pl. *kake*) tooth  
*niwa* m. (pl. *niwe*) canine tooth  
*garosta* n.f. (pl. *garosyaθa*) molar tooth  
*səpθa* n.f. (pl. *səppaθa*) lip  
*səmbele* n.pl. moustache  
*šəmmaxta* n.f. palate  
*dawranət kake* n.pl. gums (of mouth)  
*lawusta* n.f. jaw  
*lama* n.m. lower jaw  
*dəqqənθa, dənnaqθa* n.f. (pl. *dəqqənyəθa*) chin  
*qðala* n.m. (pl. *qðale*) neck  
*ruša* n.m. (pl. *rušane*) shoulder; upper arm; arm  
*drana* n.m. (pl. *dranane*) lower arm  
*xo-ruša* n.m. (pl. *xo-rušane*) shoulder-blade  
*čəčča* n.m. (pl. *čəčče*) (K.) shoulder-blade  
*xo-šxawθa* n.f. (pl. *xo-šxawyaθa*) armpit  
*quršəlta* n.f. (pl. *quršəlyəθa*) elbow  
*bra-qðala* n.m. (pl. *bra-qðale*) back of the neck  
*ʾiða* n.f. (pl. *ʾiθaθa, ʾiðawəθa*) hand  
*šabota* n.f. (pl. *šaboyaθa*) finger  
*šabota gořta* n.f. thumb  
*šabota zurta* n.f. little finger  
*šabota gawεθa* n.f. middle finger  
*măšixət šərmət kθayəθa* n.m. little finger (literally: the tester of the behind of chickens)  
*təpra* n.f. (pl. *təpraθa, təppəryəθa*) fingernail, toenail  
*gušma* n.m. (pl. *gušme*) fist  
*gučča* n.m. (pl. *gučče*) (K.) fist  
*gozəkət ʾiða* wrist  
*lappa* n.m. (pl. *lappəpe*) palm of hand, sole of foot  
*xəřtatət ʾiða* lines of the hand  
*čəčča* n.f. (pl. *čəččəwaθa*) breast  
*rešət čəčča* n.m. nipple  
*xəša* n.m. (pl. *xəše*) back  
*kətəra* n.m. middle of the back  
*kurtəxta* n.f. (pl. *kurtəxyəθa*) lower back, pelvis  
*be-təkke* n.f. waist  
*šadra* n.m. chest

- šarθa* n.f. (pl. *šaryaða*) navel  
*šarma* n.f. (pl. *šarmaθa*) buttocks  
*tiʒa* n.m. (pl. *tiʒe*) bottom, fundament  
*buʒa* n.m. (pl. *buʒe*) penis  
*šakθa* n.f. (pl. *šakkaθa*, *škaθa*, *šakke*) testicle  
*quʒa* n.m. (pl. *quʒe*) virginal  
*səbba* n.m. hair of crotch  
*ʔaqla* n.f. (pl. *ʔaqlaθa*) leg, foot  
*xaʒət ʔaqla* top of the foot  
*ʔārdət ʔaqla* bottom of foot  
*gozāka* n.m./f. (K.) ankle  
*kəppa* n.m. (pl. *kəppe*) (K./A.) ankle, anklebone  
*kəpθa* n.f., *kəppəkθa* n.f. arch of the foot  
*ʔqba* n.f. (pl. *ʔqbaθa*) heel  
*šaqola* n.m. (pl. *šaqole*) lower leg  
*šaq* n.m. (pl. *šaqe*) lower leg  
*bərka* n.f. (pl. *bərkake*) knee  
*šabunət ʔaqla* kneecap  
*nəka* n.m. (pl. *nəke*) thigh  
*germa* n.m. (pl. *germe*) bone  
*čakka* n.m. (pl. *čakke*) (K.) joint (of bones)  
*xabūs paθa* cheek-bone (literally: apple of the face)  
*ʔuʒqe* n.pl. pelvis bones  
*kāmaxe* n.pl. (K.) pelvis bones  
*wariða* n.m. (pl. *wariðe*) vein/artery  
*damma* n.m. blood  
*moxa* n.m. brain  
*balota* n.f. (pl. *baloyaθa*) throat  
*kərkəroka* n.m. (K.) adam's apple, larynx  
*paqərta* n.f. (pl. *paqəryaθa*) tonsil  
*čāčət balota* n.m. tonsil  
*be-xənxə* n.f. oesophagus  
*tāreθa* n.f. oesophagus  
*raθa* n.f. (pl. *raθa*, *raθe*, *raθyaθa*) lung  
*kasa* n.f. (pl. *kasaθa*) stomach  
*ləbba* n.m. (pl. *ləbbe*) heart  
*kawda* n.f. (pl. *kawdaθa*) liver  
*taħela* n.m. spleen  
*kənθa* n.f. (pl. *kənnəne*) kidney  
*kliθa* n.f. (pl. *kəlyaða*) kidney

*miyora* n.m. (pl. *miyore*) small intestine  
*jidoqa* n.m. (pl. *jidoqe*) large intestine  
*bla-jorta* n.f. (pl. *bla-joryaθa*) bladder  
*mararta* n.f. gall bladder

## 21.2. FAMILY RELATIONS

*urza* n.m. (pl. *urze*) man, male  
*gawra* n.m. (pl. *gure*) (married) man, husband  
*baxta* n.f. (pl. *baxtaθa*) woman, wife  
*baba* n.m. (pl. *babāwaθa*) father  
*yamma* n.f. (pl. *yammaθa*) mother  
*ʼawahaθa*, *ʼawahe* n.pl. parents  
*marāwaθa*, *marwaθa* n.pl. parents  
*brona* n.m. (pl. *bone*) son  
*brata* n.f. (pl. *naθa*) daughter  
*xona* n.m. (pl. *xonāwaθa*) brother  
*xaθa* n.f. (pl. *xaθwaθa*) sister  
*yala* n.m. (pl. *yale*) child  
*bra-qaple* n.m./f. (pl. *bra-qagle*) baby; babe in arms  
*bašpora* n.m. (pl. *bašporə*) young child (under 10 years)  
*bašpurta* n.f. (pl. *bašpuryaθa*) young girl (under 10 years)  
*yalunka* n.m. (pl. *yalunke*) youth (6–14 years)  
*jwanqa* n.m. (pl. *jwanqe*) youth  
*xamθa* n.f. (pl. *xamaθa*) young woman  
*xəmyana* n.m. father-in-law  
*xmaθa* n.f. mother-in-law  
*nawaga* n.m. (pl. *nawage*) grandson  
*nawagta* n.f. (pl. *nawagyathā*) granddaughter  
*nawagga* n.m. (pl. *nawagge*) great-grandson  
*nawagta* n.f. (pl. *nawagyaθa*) great-granddaughter  
*nawərəkka*, *nawərĭka* n.m. (pl. *nawərĭke*, *nawərĭke*) great-great-grandson  
*nawərĭkta* n.f. (pl. *nawərĭkyaθa*) great-great-granddaughter  
*jaməkka* n.m. (pl. *jaməkke*) twin  
*mama* n.m. (pl. *mamāwaθa*) paternal uncle  
*ʼamta* n.f. (pl. *ʼamtaθa*) paternal aunt  
*xala* n.m. (pl. *xalāwaθa*) maternal uncle  
*xalta* n.f. (pl. *xaltaθa*) maternal aunt

- bronət mama* n.m. (pl. *bronət mamāwaθa*) cousin (first degree)  
*bratət mama* n.f. (pl. *bratət mamāwaθa*) cousin f. (first degree)  
*brət-ama* n.m. (pl. *brət-amwaθa*) cousin (second degree and more distant)  
*bratət ama* cousin f. (second degree and more distant)  
*xətna* n.m. (pl. *xətnāwaθa*) son-in-law; father-in-law; any husband of a relative,  
 e.g. husband of paternal or maternal aunt (= *gawrət ʔamta*, *gawrət xalta*)  
*kalθa* n.f. (pl. *kalaθa*) daughter-in-law  
 ʔəḏma n.m. (pl. ʔəḏmāwaθa) brother of husband  
 ʔidamta n.f. wife of brother of husband, sister of husband; pl. ʔidamyatha  
 wives of brothers  
*xwarzaya*, *xwarza*, *xurzaya* n.m. (pl. *xwarzaye*) nephew (son of sister) (NB  
 nephew, son of brother = *bronət xona*)  
*xwarzeθa*, *xurzeθa* n.f. (pl. *xwarzayaθa*) niece (daughter of sister)  
*barəxmaya* n.m. (pl. *barəxmaye*) brother of wife  
*barəxmεθa* n.f. (pl. *barəxmayaθa*) sister of wife  
*yaʔisa* n.m. (pl. *yaʔise*) husband of the sister of a wife  
*dada* n.f. (Dure *deda*) sister or wife of a paternal uncle  
*zər-baba* n.m. stepfather  
*baxtət baba*, *bāxət baba* n.f. stepmother  
*xurga* n.m. (pl. *xurge*) stepson  
*xurəgθa* n.f. (pl. *xurgaθa*) stepdaughter  
*kulfət*, *kulpət* n.f. (pl. *kulfatte*, *kulpatte*) family, wife  
 ʔojəx n.m. (pl. ʔojaxe) extended family  
 ʔaširət n.f. (pl. ʔaširatte) (A./K.) tribe, community  
 ʔarəmla n.m. (pl. ʔarəmlə) widower  
 ʔarməlθa n.f. (pl. ʔarməlyatha) widow  
*yatuma* n.m. (pl. *yatume*) orphan  
*yākana*, *yeḱana* n.m. only son  
*yākanta*, *yeḱanta* n.f. only daughter  
*buxrət beθa* firstborn in the family  
*baspora* n.m. (pl. *baspore*) only child; baby  
*baspurta* n.f. baby  
*boni* n.m. my little son (familiar form of *broni*)  
*bati* n.f. my little daughter (familiar form of *brati*)  
 ʔarθa n.f. (pl. ʔaraθa) rival wife (only used in oaths)

## 21.3. BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

21.3.1. *Houses and Their Appurtenances*

- bəθa* n.m. (pl. *bəθāwaθa*, *bate*) house  
*qasra* n.m. (pl. *qasre*) large house consisting of two storeys  
*darta*, *derta* n.f. (pl. *daryaθa*) courtyard, residential enclosure  
*gare* n.m. (pl. *garāwaθa*) roof  
*qariθa* n.f. (pl. *qariyaθa*) beam  
*nira* n.m. (pl. *nire*) and *qarša* n.m. (pl. *qarše*) small wooden strip made of juniper laid across beams in a roof  
*kežurta* n.f. (K.) fine pieces of wood put on roof after *nire/qarše*  
*sərsarra* n.m. layer of powdered white clay put on roof  
*swana* n.m. (pl. *swanane*) overhanging eaves of roof  
*səppaθət swana* the lips of the eaves (of a house)  
*sorəkke* n.f. (pl. *sorəkyāθa*) (K.) gutter of roof  
*marzūwa* n.m. (pl. *marzūwe*) (K.) gutter  
*mandorta* n.m. (pl. *mandoryaθa*) roller for flattening roof  
*guda* n.m. (pl. *gudane*) wall  
*pəθət guda* front of wall facing outwards  
*kepət pəθa* stones of the facing (small white stones used to cover outer wall of house)  
*bātāna* n.m. inside of wall facing into the house  
*gyatta* n.f. edge of house with protruding stones  
*tāra* n.m. (pl. *tāre*, *tārane*) door; leaf of door  
*tāreθa* n.f. (pl. *tārayaθa*) small door  
*ʾiddət tāra* n.f. handle of a door  
*darga* n.m. (pl. *darge*) (K.) main door (with two leaves)  
*qətrā* n.m. (pl. *qətre*) door arch; stone door frame  
*squpθa* n.f. (pl. *squpyaθa*) lintel  
*dawra* n.m. (pl. *dawre*) wooden bolt  
*xsipta* n.f. (pl. *xsiptyaθa*) wooden door lock  
*qulqulta* n.f. (pl. *qulqulyaθa*) rods in wooden door lock  
*hezara* n.m. (pl. *hezare*) wooden beam used to lock a door  
*qəđilta* n.f. (pl. *qəđilyaθa*) key  
*qəpla*, *qəfla* n.m. (pl. *qəple*, *qəfle*) metal lock  
*kilon* n.f. (pl. *kilone*) (K.) metal lock of a door  
*panjāra*, *panjāriya* n.f. (pl. *panjāriyaθa*) (K.) window  
*kawe* n.f. (pl. *kawaθa*) small window without glass  
*barbehn* n.m. (pl. *barbehne*) window  
*parda* n.m. (pl. *parde*) (K.) curtain; cloth blind

- doše* n.pl. balcony, low structure attached to outside of house for people to sit on
- bawa* n.m. (pl. *bawe*) open balcony of house
- barbēn, barbena* n.f. (pl. *barbene*) open space in front of house
- ṭabəq, ṭabaq* n.m. (pl. *ṭabāqe, ṭabaqe*) (A.) storey
- ʿarda* n.f. (pl. *ʿardaθa*) floor
- ʿasās* n.m. (pl. *ʿasase*) (A.) foundation
- lābna* n.m. (pl. *lābne*) mud brick
- be-lāye* n.f. (pl. *be-lāwaθa*) upper room, room on first floor of a house
- be-xtaye* n.f. (pl. *be-xtaye*) lower floor in a house, basement
- bərzoma* n.m. (pl. *bəzome*) cool room for storage in the basement of a house
- boyaṭ bərzoma* n.m. hatch giving access to storage room
- stərra* n.m. (pl. *stərre*) storeroom for food
- goma* n.m. (pl. *gome, gomāwaθa*) basement stable
- gomiθa* n.f. (pl. *gomiyaθa*) small basement stable
- mola* n.m. (pl. *mole*) partitioned storage area in a *goma* (basement stable)
- ʿotax, ʿotaxa* n.f./m. (pl. *ʿotaxe*) (K./T.) room
- manzəl* n.f. (pl. *manzale*) room
- manzəl tawa* sitting room
- kučke* n.f. living room; hearth
- čačma* n.f. (pl. *čačmaθa*) bathroom, toilet
- ḥammam* n.m./f. (pl. *ḥammame, ḥammamaθa*) bath, bathroom
- semalta* n.f. (pl. *semalyaθa*) ladder
- dāraje* n.f. (pl. *dārayaθa, dārayj*) flight of steps, staircase
- mēs, mēz* n.m. (pl. *mezāwaθa, mezāwāt*) table
- došāka, došakka* n.m. (pl. *došāke, došakke*) mattress
- došəkθa* n.f. (pl. *došəkyaθa*) cushion
- kursa, kursiya* n.m. (pl. *kursāwaθa, kursiye*) chair
- qānāpa, qānāfa* n.f. (pl. *qānāpe, qānāfe, qānāpāt*) armchair, sofa, couch
- šwiθa* n.f. (pl. *šəwyaθa, šwiyaθa*) bed; bedding
- barāšta, berāšta* n.f. (pl. *barāšyaθa, berāšyaθa*) pillow, cushion
- qarawət* n.f. (pl. *qarawatte*) metal bed
- taxta* n.f. (pl. *taxtaθa*) wooden bed
- ʿərzala* n.f. (pl. *ʿərzale*) portable bed
- məstik* n.m. (pl. *məstike*) mosquito net
- šupa, šopa* n.f. (pl. *šupāwaθa, šupe, šopaθa*) stove
- buxeri, buxeriya* n.m. (pl. *buxeriye*) stove, smoke duct
- gunga* n.m. (pl. *gunge*) chimney pipe
- qursəltət gunga* n.f. bend in chimney pipe on the roof (to prevent rain and snow entering)
- šopiθa* n.f. (pl. *šopiyaθa*) outhouse, shed

*saršoye* n.f. place for washing oneself; large basin for washing dishes, usually in an outhouse (*sopiθa*)  
*gariθa* n.f. (pl. *gariyaθa*) small roof over outhouse  
*tanura* n.m. (pl. *tanure*) oven (for baking bread)  
<sup>2</sup>*entət tanura* n.f. (pl. <sup>2</sup>*enyaθa*) airhole of oven  
*kanuna* n.m. (pl. *kanune*) hearth consisting of stones used for cooking  
*māštaxa* n.m. (pl. *māštaxe*) area where fruit and vegetables were spread out to dry

### 21.3.2. *Church and Its Appurtenances*

<sup>2</sup>*umra* n.m. (pl. <sup>2</sup>*umre*, <sup>2</sup>*umrane*) church  
*be-qanke* n.f. chancel  
*madəbxa* n.m. altar  
*šxinta* n.f. sanctuary, altar  
*gorna* n.f. (pl. *gornaθa*) baptismal font  
*kawət punde* holes in the wall in which burning wicks (*punde*) were placed  
*qətra* n.m. arch, dome  
*suline* n.pl. interlocking sections of dome  
*naxira* n.m. (pl. *naxire*) projecting structure with a small orifice on the tower of a church  
*kasa* n.m. (pl. *kase*) chalice  
*pərma* n.m. (pl. *pərme*) thurible  
*raza* n.m. (pl. *raze*) mass  
*qurbana* n.m. holy communion; host  
*kuraza* n.m. sermon, preaching  
*bəšra* n.m. Gospel  
*buxra* n.m. blessing  
*bεθ-gora* n.m. (pl. *bεθ-qore*, *bεθ-qorāwaθa*, *bεθ-qorayaθa*) cemetery  
*qawra* n.f. (pl. *qawre*, *qawraθa*, *qorāwaθa*) grave

### 21.3.3. *Water-Mill*

<sup>2</sup>*arxe*, <sup>2</sup>*ərxe* n.f. (pl. <sup>2</sup>*arxaθa*, <sup>2</sup>*ərxaθa*) water-mill  
*pənxa laya* n.m. upper grindstone  
*pənxa xtaya* n.m. lower grindstone  
*nāreθa* n.f. (pl. *nāreyaθa*) piece in shape of an axe at the end of the rotating shaft that fits into the upper grindstone  
*qatota* n.f. break in an irrigation channel to divert water into the water-mill

- kotāla* n.m. (pl. *kotāla*) raised tank attached to a water-mill which fills with water from a channel and releases water flow at a high pressure to drive the mill.
- bašwele* n.f. lower section of water-mill containing driving wheel and shaft.
- boṭa* n.m. (pl. *boṭe*) large wooden channel that carries water at high speed to drive water-mill
- masrəqṭa* n.f. (pl. *masrəqyaṭa*) comb for filtering the water passing along the *boṭa*
- pozəkke* n.f. (pl. *pozəkyaṭa*) nozzle at end of *boṭa*
- parwana* n.m. propeller
- parrane* n.pl. blades of propeller
- dulaba* n.m. wooden wheel to which propellers are attached
- šabuḏat ʿərxe* n.m. driving rod that is turned by the propellers
- marmana, marimana* n.m. lever for engaging *dulaba* with the grindstones
- dawla* n.m. open box over a water-mill containing wheat, with a hole in the bottom through which wheat comes out onto the grindstone.
- čakčaka* n.m. wooden wheel shaking and dispensing slowly grain to be ground by a water-mill
- balotat pənxə, ʿenəkṭat balota* n.f. hole of a grindstone into which grain is introduced
- sorəkṭa* n.f. lip in the ridge of the lower grindstone of a water-mill where sesame oil pours off
- mazaxa* n.m. area below the grindstones in a water-mill onto which the flour falls
- qačamiṭa* n.f. waste grains from a water-mill which do not fall onto the *mazaxa*
- napaxta* n.f. a large hollow measure for corn in the form of an open oblong wooden box
- mučəkṭa* n.f. (pl. *mučəkyaṭa*) dry measure in the form of a small bowl (used by the owner of the water-mill to measure out his share of the flour for his fee)

#### 21.3.4. Churn

- guḏa* n.m. (pl. *guḏe*) skin bag used for churning
- mayoya* n.m. (pl. *mayoye*) long wooden rod running the length of the frame carrying the churn bag
- lawlaba* n.m. (pl. *lawlabe*) wooden stick at the two ends of the frame carrying the churn bag
- šarafta* n.f. (pl. *šaraftyaṭa*) rope attached to the shafts (*mayoye*) of the frame



21.3.5. *Cradle*

*dudiya* n.f. (pl. *dudiyaθa*) cradle

*bānude* n.pl. swaddling bands

*šabuqta* n.f. (*šabuqtaθa*) metal bar on the side of a cradle (to which the swaddling bands are tied)

*xmarət dudiya* n.m. round top of cradle

*qusriya* n.m. (pl. *qusriye*) pot for collecting urine and excrement of baby

*bəllorta* n.f. (pl. *bəlloryaθa*) pipe for taking away urine of baby

21.3.6. *Other Structures*

*ʔatuna* n.m. (pl. *ʔatune*) furnace, kiln

*ʔore* n.f. (pl. *ʔorəwaθa*) manger

*badəkka* n.m. (pl. *badəkke*) hut

*be-tune* n.f. store for straw

*duna* n.m. (pl. *dune*) pen for sheltering sheep and goats in winter

*hawše, ھاوše* n.f. (pl. *hawšaθa*) (K.) sheep-fold, animal pen

*koləkθa* n.f. (pl. *koləkyaθa*) chicken coop

*kosta* n.f. (pl. *kosyaθa*) pen for young lambs in basement stable

*koxa* n.m. (pl. *koxe*) (K.) hut

*kullixa* n.m. (pl. *kullixe*) (K.) hut

*kuḫrana* n.f. (pl. *kuḫranane*) wooden trellis affording cover, standing separately in field or built over roof of outhouse (*gariθa*)

*kura* n.m. (pl. *kure*) furnace, kiln

*māšwanəkke* n.f. (pl. *māšwanəkke*) beehive (the cover of the cylindrical baskets known as *sälmaške* in which the bees are kept)

*qare* n.f. (pl. *qareyaθa*) chicken coop

*sälmaške, süllamməš, süllamməš, sallamžš* n.f. (pl. *sälmaške*) beehive, cylindrical compartment of beehive (made of basket)

*šwanəkke* n.f. (pl. *šwanəkke*) small booth covering beehives

*xəllepa* n.m. (pl. *xəllepe*) beehive

*zoma* n.m. (pl. *zoməwaθa*) summer hut in the mountains

## 21.4. CONTAINERS

21.4.1. *Miscellaneous Vessels*

- badiya* n.m. (pl. *badiye*) brass vessel (for water and *dawwe*)
- baṭila* n.m. (pl. *baṭile*) horn container used to carry *čita* (butter) as a lubricant for sharpening implements on a *māšna* (whetstone)
- burra* n.m. (pl. *burre*) pot for preserving yoghurt (submerged in water to keep cool) or for storing date syrup (*nepoxta*) and yeast (*xmira*)
- čalləkθa* n.f. (pl. *čalləkyaθa*) earthenware pot (for milk or yoghurt)
- danθa* n.f. (pl. *danyaθa*) water jar
- darpoše* n.f. (pl. *darpošyaθa*) (K.) pan for cooking
- dərvana* n.m. (pl. *dərvane*) (K.) frying-pan
- jarra* n.m. (pl. *jarre*) (K./A.) jar
- jawda* n.m. (pl. *jawde*) water skin
- juwiθa* n.f. (pl. *juwiyathā*) (K.) pot that is buried in the ground to make jajək
- julləkθa* n.f. (pl. *julləkyaθa*) pail for milk or yoghurt
- kawaza* n.f. (pl. *kawaze*) earthenware pot for water
- kawara, kwera* n.m. (pl. *kware*) storage bin for corn
- lagāna* n.m. (pl. *lagāne*) brass container for food
- lina* n.m. (pl. *line*) large conical-shaped pot
- linta* n.f. (pl. *linyathā*) small conical-shaped pot
- majma* n.m. (pl. *majme*) (A.) tray
- majo* n.f. (pl. *majowaθa*) wide bowl for kneading dried yoghurt cakes (*qaške*)
- maqla* n.f. (pl. *maqlāwaθa*) (K./A.) cooking pot
- marəgla* n.m. (pl. *marəgle*) brass pan for heating water
- margalta* n.f. (pl. *margalyathā*) small pan
- markən* n.m. (pl. *markane*) storage pot
- masina* n.f. (pl. *masine*) earthenware pot with spout
- mučəkθa* n.f. (pl. *mučəkyaθa*) small dry measure in the form of a small bowl (used by the owner of water-mill to measure out his share of the flour for his fee)
- piḫa* n.m. (pl. *piḫe*) cage for partridge chicks made from a gourd
- qadalta* n.f. (pl. *qadalyathā*) earthenware pot
- qoqa* n.m. (pl. *qoqe*) water pot
- qoqta* n.f. (pl. *qoqyathā*) small water pot
- qušarta* n.f. (pl. *qušarathā, qušariyathā*) cooking pot

- qušriya* n.m. (pl. *qušriye*) pot for collecting urine and excrement of baby under a cradle  
*rapəkθa* n.f. (pl. *rapəkyaθa*) cup measure for grain  
*rawiya* n.m. (pl. *rawiye*) large leather water bottle  
*saṭla* n.f. (pl. *saṭlaθa*) brass bucket  
*saxara* n.m. (pl. *saxare*) large brass dish used for *gərdo* stew  
*senike, senəkke* n.f. (pl. *senike*) (K./A.) metal plate  
*seniya* n.f. (pl. *seniye*) (K./A.) metal tray  
*səndana* n.m. (pl. *səndane*) large pot for *jajək*  
*stavla, stawla* n.m. (pl. *stavle*) wooden frame for carrying loads on pack animal  
*šarba* (pl. *šarbe*) earthenware jug  
*šuša* n.m. (pl. *šuše*) bottle  
*talma* n.m. (pl. *talme, talmane*) water pot  
*taləmθa* n.f. (pl. *taləmyaθa*) small water pot  
*tannəkka* n.m. (pl. *tannəkke*) tin  
*ṭasa* n.f. (pl. *ṭase*) small bowl  
*ṭašta, ṭašte* n.f. (pl. *ṭaštaθa, ṭašyaθa*) (K.) brass bowl (for kneading dough)  
*xumša* n.m. (pl. *xumše*) large box (for storing grains)  
*zawarta* n.f. (pl. *zawariyaθa*) earthenware container for water for cooking in house or carrying on a journey  
*bambula* n.m. (pl. *bambule*) spout (on a pot)

#### 21.4.2. *Cups and Glasses*

- glās* n.m. (pl. *glase*) (K./E.) glass  
*kasa* n.m. (pl. *kase*) chalice (in church)  
*kuba* n.m. (pl. *kube*) (A.) cup  
*panjana* n.m. (pl. *panjane*) (K./A.) glass; cup  
*stākana* n.m. (pl. *stākane*) (K.) glass  
*tārare* n.f. (pl. *tārare*) (K.) small aluminium cup

#### 21.4.3. *Bags and Baskets*

- ʾarəkθa* n.f. (pl. *ʾarəkyaθa*) bag (of rice)  
*ʾəllaga* n.f. bag  
*ʾasra* n.f. (pl. *ʾasraθa*) large storage basket  
*boqča* n.m. (pl. *boqče*) (K.) knapsack (made of finer fabric than *parzun*)  
*čanta* n.f. (pl. *čanaθa*) (K.) shoulder bag  
*guða* n.m. (pl. *guðe*) skin bag (for churning or carrying liquids)

- guḍanta* n.f. (*guḍanyaθa*) small skin bag  
*guniya* n.f. (pl. *guniyaθa*) sack (made of flax)  
*jareta*, *jarreta* n.f. (pl. *jarreyaθa*) food bag  
*juwala* n.m./f. (pl. *juwale*) (K.) sack (made of animal hair)  
*juwelta* n.f. (pl. *juwelyaθa*) small sack  
*juwiθa* n.f. (pl. *juwiyaθa*) pot (buried in ground to make jajək, covered with fig leaf [*tarpət tena*] and a small piece of fabric [*čngərta*])  
*kista* n.f. (pl. *kisyathā*) small bag  
*mziḍa* bag for storing grain (made of sheepskin)  
*paṛuna* n.m. (pl. *paṛune*) sheepskin bag for clothes  
*parzūn*, *parzuna* n.m. (pl. *parzune*) (K.) woolen knapsack worn by women  
*pista* n.f. (pl. *piyaθa*) leather bag (for carrying jajək and yoghurt)  
*qalta*, *qalθa* n.f. (*qalaθa*, *qalyaθa*) basket (made of palm leaves made in towns)  
*qərta* n.f. (pl. *qərta*) pannier bag on the back of an animal  
*qərta* n.f. (pl. *qərta*) small pannier bag  
*qəθurta* n.f. (pl. *qəθuryaθa*) knapsack (= *boqča*)  
*qupa* n.m. (pl. *qupe*) wicker basket used for storage  
*qupiθa* n.f. (pl. *qupyaθa*) small basket  
*sala* n.m. (pl. *sale*) storage basket used for dairy products  
*salla* n.f. (pl. *sallaθa*) basket  
*sallθa* n.f. (pl. *sallaθa*) basket (for keeping bees or catching fish)  
*šalila* n.m. (pl. *šalile*) large basket used for transporting straw from the threshing floor (*bədra*) to the storage bin (*zənja*)  
*xurja* n.m. (pl. *xurje*) saddle-bag  
*zəqqa* n.f. (pl. *zəqqe*, *zəqqaθa*) (A.) waterskin

## 21.5. MISCELLANEOUS INSTRUMENTS AND TOOLS

- badoda* n.m. (pl. *badode*) long wooden poker for stirring up the fire of an oven  
*barxošta* n.f. (pl. *barxošyaθa*) big stirring spoon, ladle  
*byata* n.m. (pl. *byate*) pickaxe  
*čakala* n.m. (pl. *čakale*) pruning hook; tool used for pulling down fruit and nuts from trees  
*čakalta* n.f. (pl. *čakalyaθa*) small pruning hook  
*čakuč* n.m./f. (pl. *čakuče*) (K.) hammer  
*čakučta* n.f. (pl. *čakučyaθa*) (K.) small hammer  
*čamča* n.f. (pl. *čamče*) (K.) spoon (made of wood); flat trowel

- čangəl* n.f. (pl. *čangale*) (K.) fork  
*garoma* n.m. (pl. *garome*) large stone rolling pin  
*garomta* n.f. (pl. *garomyaθa*) small stone rolling pin  
*garosta* n.f. (pl. *garosyaθa*) handmill  
*garšo* n.f. (pl. *garšowaθa*) tool used to stir up the mud in the water when planting rice in the paddy fields  
*garθa* n.f. (pl. *garaθa*) large sledge for transporting sticks and fodder on snow  
*gazza* n.m. tongs  
*gera* n.m. (pl. *gere*) long thin rolling pin  
*gərəkθa* n.f. (pl. *gərəkyaθa*) (K.) handmill used to remove husks from rice  
*gilandi, gilanda* n.m. (pl. *gilandiye, gilande*) (K.) scythe  
*gubbān* n.m. (A.) spirit-level  
*jawətta* n.f. (pl. *jawəttaθa*) wood chopper  
*kanoša* n.m. (pl. *kanoše*) broom  
*kanošta* n.f. (pl. *kanošyaθa*) small broom, brush  
*karrəkka* n.m. (pl. *karrəkke*) (K.) sheep shears  
*kawčō* n.f. (pl. *kawčē*) (K.) ladle  
*kəlbəttən* n.m. (pl. *kəlbəttane*) (K./A.) pincers  
*kulənga* n.m. (pl. *kulənge*) (K.) pickaxe  
*kuwəkka* n.m. (pl. *kuwəkke*) (K.) funnel  
*kupala* n.f. (pl. *kupale*) (K.) shepherd's stick; walking stick  
*magla* n.m. (pl. *magle*) sickle  
*magəlla* n.f. (pl. *magəlyaθa*) small sickle  
*magreta* n.f. (pl. *magreyaθa*) shaving knife  
*maloka* n.m. (pl. *maloke*) tool for hewing rock (smaller than a *murja*, which is used for the same purpose)  
*mandorta* n.m. (pl. *mandoryaθa*) roller for flattening roof  
*maqara* n.m. (pl. *maqare*) gouge, chisel  
*maqəsta* n.f. scissors, shears  
*maqərxana* n.m. (pl. *maqərxane*) brush for whitewashing  
*maɾa, mərə* n.m. (pl. *maɾe, mərə*) metal spade  
*maɾuθa* n.f. (pl. *maɾuwaθa*) wooden spade for moving snow  
*marzaq* n.m. (pl. *marzaqe*) wooden stick covered in wool used to stick bread to the oven  
*masəxθa* n.f. (pl. *masəxyaθa*) metal poker for fire; branding iron;  
*massa* n.m. (pl. *masse*) ox goad; pole  
*mawəlka* n.m. (K.) type of small sledge hammer with fine head, smaller than a *murja*

- maxətwa* n.m. (pl. *maxətwe*) awl (with wooden handle)  
*məlxawa* n.m. (pl. *məlxawe*) winnowing fork  
*məšna* n.f. (pl. *məšnaθa*, *məšne*) whetstone for sharpening blades  
*məşpyana* n.m. (pl. *məşpyane*) strainer  
*mtarəksana* n.m. (pl. *mtarəksane*) wooden poker  
*murja* n.m. (pl. *murje*) type of sledge hammer, larger than a *maloka* which is used for the same purpose  
*nəra* n.m. (pl. *nəre*) axe  
*nasarta* n.f. (pl. *nasaryaθa*) saw  
*qalwa* n.m. (pl. *qalwe*) wooden mold in which fabric is pressed  
*qaṭita* n.f. (pl. *qaṭiyaθa*) walking-stick  
*qaṭiya* n.m. (pl. *qaṭiye*) stick, goad; whip  
*qurşalla* n.f. (pl. *qurşalyaθa*) square (instrument used in carpentry)  
*randuš* n.f. (pl. *randušyaθa*, *randuše*) plane (of carpenter)  
*razwana* n.m. (pl. *razwane*) (K.) machine to frighten away birds in a vineyard or orchard  
*sanoya* n.m. (pl. *sanoye*) poker for a fire  
*sariqana* n.m. (pl. *sariqane*) rake  
*šapra* n.m. (pl. *šapre*) (A.) large knife  
*ṭarpana* n.m. (pl. *ṭarpane*) scythe  
*xapro* n.f. (pl. *xaprowaθa*) small metal trowel for digging up vegetables  
*xəšina* n.f. (pl. *xəšine*) axe  
*xəšola* n.m. (pl. *xəšole*) hand-held grinding stone for grinding rice or wheat  
*xəšolla* n.f. (pl. *xəšolyaθa*) grinding base with hole in centre in which *xəšola* is turned  
*xəṭorta* n.m. (pl. *xəṭoryaθa*) washing board  
*xayota* n.m. (pl. *xayote*) sewing machine

## 21.6. AGRICULTURE

### 21.6.1. Cultivated Land

- ʔəra, ʔarra n.f. (pl. ʔəraθa) ground, land  
 ʔaqara n.m. (pl. ʔaqare) area of open farmland  
 ʔupra n.m. (pl. ʔuprane) soil, ground; land  
*bura* n.m. (pl. *burane*) field cultivated without irrigation  
*čamma* n.f. (pl. *čammane*) large field near river; plantation  
*gawana*, *gewana* n.m. (pl. *gawanane*, *gewanane*) boundary; strip between fields with no cultivation marking boundary

*gənθa* n.f. (pl. *gənnane*) small garden  
*karma* n.m. (pl. *karme*, *karmane*) vineyard; orchard  
*marga*, *mērga* n.m. (pl. *marge*, *margane*) meadow  
*margəšta* n.f. (pl. *margəšyathā*) small meadow  
*praza* n.f. (pl. *prazane*) stubble field  
*txuma* n.m. (pl. *txume*) boundary  
*xaqla* n.f. (pl. *xaqlathā*) field (with irrigation)  
*zruta avi* irrigated cultivation  
*zruta dēm* unirrigated cultivation

### 21.6.2. *Paddy Fields*

*barju* n.f. (pl. *barjuwaθa*) (K.) channel connecting sections (*sadde*) of a paddy field  
*hərike* n.pl. (K.) soft mud made in preparation for cultivation of rice  
*məššara* n.f. (pl. *məššare*) section of a paddy field, paddy field basin  
*sadda* n.m. (pl. *sadde*) (A.) dammed section of paddy field consisting of a row of basins (*məššare*)  
*garšo* n.f. (pl. *garšowaθa*) tool used to stir up the mud in the water when planting rice

### 21.6.3. *Irrigation*

*məxra* n.m. (pl. *məxre*, *məxrare*) small water channel carrying water across field boundaries (*gewanane*)  
*qaṭota* n.f. and *dārawa* n.m. (pl. *dārawe*) (K.) dam put in an irrigation channel (*šaqiθa*) to stop or redirect the flow of water  
*šaqiθa* n.f. (pl. *šaqiyaθa*, *šaqyaθa*) irrigation channel  
<sup>ʔ</sup>*ənət xaqla* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ənəθət xaqla*) aperture for irrigation water in a field boundary  
*naḏorta* n.f. (pl. *naḏoryaθa*) pipe running out from an irrigation channel (*šaqiθa*)  
*karaxa*, *karraxa* n.m. (pl. *karaxe*) irrigation administrator, who was concerned principally with regulating the flow of water in water channels (*šaqyaθa*).

### 21.6.4. *Harvest and Storage*

*xzatta* n.f. harvest  
*bədra* n.f. (pl. *bədraθa*) threshing floor  
*darza* n.m. (pl. *darze*) large tied bundle of grass or produce (usually wheat)

- dwara* (*dwr*) threshing of grains by animals on the threshing floor  
*garuwa, garruwa* n.m. stack of twigs and leaves for animal fodder in winter  
*garuta, garruta* n.f. (pl. *garryaθa*) small stack of twigs or leaves for animal fodder in winter, built against a tree  
*gəddišta, gdišta* n.f. (pl. *gəddiŷaθa*) stook of corn, especially millet (*prage*), sorghum (*xroriye*) and sesame (*ŷiŷme*)  
*grawəzna* n.m. (pl. *grawəzne*) load of harvested rice carried on the back in a piece of cloth  
*huðala* n.m. (pl. *huðale*) stack of bundles of grass  
*dry* II *m-dry* (*mdare, mdurele, mdaroye*) to thresh, to winnow  
*puwa* n.m. hay from millet (*prage*)  
*puwuš* n.m. hay from fibres of rice plant  
*qanaθe* n.pl. metal finger covers worn by harvesters  
*čanga* n.m. (pl. *čange*) (K.) leather gloves used to grasp thorny plants when harvesting  
*qapla* n.m. (pl. *qaple*) armful, bundle of produce  
*sar-gera* n.m. leading ox on the threshing floor  
*səmmala* n.f. (pl. *səmmale*) small bundle of grass or produce  
*tarpa* n.m. gathering of leaves for winter  
*taxa* n.m. (pl. *taxe*) pile, untied bundle of grass and leaves  
*zənja* n.m. (pl. *zənje*) storage bin for straw

#### 21.6.5. *Plough and Ploughing*

- bzara* n.f. (pl. *bzare, bzaraθa*) plough  
*klama* n.m. (pl. *klame*) wooden collar of ox  
*qaṭira* n.m. wooden beam joining oxen together  
*bawsa* n.m. (pl. *bawse*) piece of matting (*xašira*) connecting *qaṭira* to remainder of the plough  
*nira* n.m. yoke (*klama + qaṭira + bawsa*)  
*ʔipta* n.f. (pl. *ʔipyathā*) strap made of gut connecting yoke of animals to the plough  
*šəryoxe* n.pl. strands used to tie collar of oxen that are pulling the plough  
*mašana* n.f. (pl. *mašane*) (K.) beam connecting yoke to the main body of the plough  
*xapa* n.m. (pl. *xape*) wooden peg used to connect the main body of a plough to the beam (*mašana*)  
*sarmajanke, sarmažanke* n.f. (pl. *sarmajanke, sarmažanke*) (K.) small hook of wood connecting *bawsa* to *mašana*  
*səkθa* n.f. (pl. *səkke, səkake*) ploughshare



- kawša* n.m. (pl. *kawše*) handle of plough  
*lata* n.f. (pl. *lataθa*) furrow  
*lena* n.m. (pl. *lenane*) furrow made by plough used as outline marks to guide the ploughing  
*zrʾ* I (*zāre, zrile, zraʾa*) to plough  
*ʾqr* I (*ʾaqə; qirre, qara*) to plough  
*tny* I (*tane, tnele, tnaya*) to plough a second set of furrows, perpendicular to the first set  
*šapna* n.f. (pl. *šapnaθa*) instrument made of oak twigs (*taqanət p̄arma*) for smoothing ground after ploughing and sowing

#### 21.6.6. Sieves and Sieving

- mxilta* n.f. (pl. *mxilyaθa*) sieve with small holes (for flour)  
*ʾrbala* n.f. (pl. *ʾrbale*) sieve with medium sized holes  
*sarada* n.m. (pl. *sarade*) (K./A.) sieve with large holes (for corn)  
*qammota* n.f. dirt and stones remaining in sieve after sieving  
*parta, p̄arta* n.f. husks remaining in sieve after sieving  
*naxla* n.m. sieved grain; flour that falls through a fine sieve (*mxilta*)

### 21.7. SEWING, WEAVING AND SPINNING

#### 21.7.1. Sewing

- xyt* I (*xayət, xitle, xyta*) to sew  
*xayaša* n.m. (pl. *xayaše*) tailor  
*xayoša* n.m. (pl. *xayoše*) sewing machine  
*xmaša* n.f. (*xmašaθa*) needle  
*ʾurədxə* n.f. (pl. *ʾurədxə, ʾurədxəθa*) long needle  
*qatwa* n.m. (pl. *qatwe*) large wooden needle  
*sənjəq, sənjaqa* (pl. *sənjaqe*) crotchet-hook  
*bra-šəppa* n.f. (pl. *bra-šəppe*) thimble  
*gədda* n.m. (pl. *gədde, gədde*) thread  
*šadda* n.m. (pl. *šaddə*) spool for thread made of cotton (*ktana*) or gut (*gədde*)  
*kundərəs, kunderəs* n.f. chain stitch  
*ʾamədyana* n.m. Amedia stitching, cross-stitch  
*šəkloka* n.m. (pl. *šəkləke*) loose stitch used to join pieces of fabric together in a preliminary fashion before they are sewed with the final stitching

21.7.2. *Weaving*

- zqr* I (*zaqar, zqirre, zqara*) to weave, to knit  
*zaqara* n.m. (pl. *zaqare*) weaver  
*zəqqora* n.m. (pl. *zəqqore*) woven product  
*zəqra* n.m. (pl. *zəqre*) weaving, woven product  
*šty* III *m-šty* (*mašte, muštele, maštoje*) to arrange the warp (weaving)  
*štya* n.m. warp  
*xanuθa* n.f. (pl. *xanuyathā*) loom for weaving  
*makuk* n.m. (pl. *makuke*) shuttle on loom  
*xewa* n.m. (pl. *xewe*) hook used to adjust threads when weaving

21.7.3. *Spinning*

- ʔzl* I (*ʔazəl, zille, zala*) to spin (wool)  
*ʔzla* n.m. (pl. *ʔzle*) yarn  
*xarnəsa* n.m. (pl. *xarnəse*) hand-held distaff  
*kuša* n.m. (pl. *kuše*) spindle (hanging from a distaff)  
*čarməkθa* n.f. (pl. *čarməkyathā*) leather strap along which the spindle (*kuša*) is run to start it spinning  
*gədda* n.m. (pl. *gədde, gəðde*) string; thread  
*masərqə* n.m. (pl. *masərqe*) large comb for carding wool  
*msarbəs* n.m. (pl. *msarbise*) wooden spool on which balls of wool are wound  
*gəgla* n.m. (pl. *gəgle*) skein (of wool, thread) spun on a spool (*msarbəs*)  
*taqa* n.m. (pl. *taqe, taqane*) strand (of wool)  
*kurənja* n.m. (pl. *kurənje*) long stick used for carding flax or wool  
*bərgawa* n.m. inferior quality wool  
*ləva* n.f. (K.) lamb's wool  
*məlgə* n.m. wool plucked from sheepskin  
*kurənja* n.m. (pl. *kurənje*) (K.) long stick used for carding flax or wool

## 21.8. HUNTING

- qəšta* n.f. (pl. *qəštaθa*) bow; sling  
*darjəma* n.f. (pl. *darjəme*) (K.) screen behind which hunters (shooting birds) hide  
*suta* n.f. (pl. *sutaθa*) trap for partridges (*qəqwane*), consisting of trap doors over walls made of stone  
*gərkawe* n.f. (K.) hunting of partridges

- qola* n.m. (pl. *qole*) metal sprung animal trap  
*qulta* n.f. (pl. *qulyaθa*, *qultaθa*) metal sprung animal trap  
*ṭāpākke*, *ṭāpākθa* n.f. (pl. *ṭāpākke*, *ṭāpākyaθa*) (K.) trap for small birds (such as sparrows)  
*čaldevana* n.m. (K.), *qulčiva* n.m. (K.) trigger in the trap known as *ṭāpākke*, *ṭāpākθa*  
*jallākθa* n.f. (pl. *jallākyaθa*) rabbit trap  
*dabuqana* n.m. birdlime  
*nāšiva* n.m. bird trap consisting of loops (*xarbuqyaθa*) of horse hair suspended on pruning hooks (*čakalyaθa*)

## 21.9. FIRES

- nura* n.m. fire  
*ṭapoya* n.m. kindling (for fire)  
*ššmanta* n.f. sesame grass used as kindling for a fire  
*šmmašta* n.f. bark from juniper (*daṭprana*) or vine (*daliθa*) used as tinder  
*manquš* n.m. (pl. *manquše*) metal instrument for striking fire on flint  
*barziva* n.m. flint used to strike fire with metal instrument known as *manquš*  
*lata* n.f. pl. (*lataθa*) flame  
*bāšliša* n.m. (pl. *bāšliša*) small flame  
*čezākka* n.m. (pl. *čezākke*) (K.) spark  
*tanna* n.m. smoke  
*palla* n.m. (pl. *palle*) (K.) ember of burning wood  
*pallākθa* n.f. (pl. *pallākyaθa*) (K.) small ember  
*šmra* n.m. soot  
*šaxra* n.m. charcoal; soot  
*sanoya* n.m. (pl. *sanoye*) poker for a fire  
*masaxθa* n.f. (pl. *masaxyaθa*) metal poker for fire  
*badoda* n.m. (pl. *badode*) long wooden poker for stirring up the fire of an oven  
*mtarəksana* n.m. (pl. *mtarəksane*) small wooden poker  
*kanuna* n.m. (pl. *kanune*) stones used for cooking; fireplace, hearth  
*dəgdin* n.m. (pl. *dəgdine*) metal frame for cooking over a fire (with three legs);  
*lhy* I (*lāye*, *lele*, *lhaya/lāya*) to burn, to be kindled, III *m-lhy* (*malhe/māle*, *mulhele/mūlele*, *malhoye/māloye*) to kindle  
*ṭhy* I (*ṭape*, *ṭpele*, *ṭpaya*) to kindle, II *m-ṭhy* (*mṭape*, *mṭupele*, *mṭapoye*) to kindle, III *m-ṭhy* (*matpe*, *mutpele*, *matpoye*) to kindle

- dry* I (*dare, drele, draya*) *nura b-* to set fire to  
*qǫx* I (*qaǫx, qǫxle, qǫaxa*) to kindle, to spark by striking flints or knocking a stone with a fire steel (*manquš*)  
*lwx* I (*lawax, lwixle, lwaxa*) to catch fire, to blaze  
*prpr* Q *m-prpr* (*m̄parp̄ar, m̄purp̄arre, m̄parp̄ore*) to blaze up  
*ʔqǫ* I (*ʔaqǫǫ, qidle, qaǫa*) to burn (intr.), III *m-qǫ* (*maqǫǫ, muqǫdle, maqǫǫe*) to burn (tr.)  
*qmy* I (*game, qmele, qmaya*) to scorch (clothes) (tr. and intr.)  
*xrx* I (*xarax, xrixle, xraxa*) to singe  
*šyr* I (*šayar, šurre, šyara*) to stoke (fire)  
*trks* Q *m-trks* (*mtarkas, mturk̄asle, mtarkose*) to build up embers of a fire to keep it burning  
*bdd* II *m-bdd* (*mbǫǫǫ, mbǫǫǫdle, mbǫǫǫde*) to stir a fire with a poker  
*dyx* I (*dayax, dixle, dyaxa*) to die down (fire), III *m-dyx* (*madyax/mǫǫdix, mudyaxle/mǫǫdixle, madyoxe/mǫǫdoxe*) to dampen down (fire)  
*čmy* I (*čame, čmele, čmaya*) to be extinguished, III *m-čmy* (*mačme, mučmele, mačmoye*) to extinguish (tr.).

## 21.10. CLOTHES AND FABRICS

### 21.10.1. General Clothes

- beǫǫalta* n.f. (pl. *beǫǫalyaǫa, beǫaǫa*) sleeve  
*bǫrvana* n.m. (pl. *bǫrvane*) apron (for cooking)  
*bra-qǫǫala* n.m. (pl. *bra-qǫǫale*) collar  
*brǫǫaǫa* n.pl. (sing. *bra ʔida* f.) gloves  
*gǫrwe* n.pl. (sing. *gǫrwiǫa, gruǫa, gǫrwa* f.) socks  
*gubba* n.m. (pl. *gubbe*) inner pocket  
*gugiya* n.m. (pl. *gugiyē*) (K.) tassel  
*jeba, jǫba* n.m. (pl. *jēbe, jebane*) pocket  
*jǫrziya* n.m. (pl. *jǫrziyē*) jersey; sweater  
*kenapka* n.m. (pl. *kenapke*) (K.) press-stud (to fasten clothes)  
*pǫškoža* n.f. (pl. *pǫškože*) (K.) tassel, decorative stud, bead  
*šudra* n.f. (pl. *šudraǫa*) shirt, blouse  
*šala, šǫl* n.m. (pl. *šale*) (A.) shawl, kerchief; sash wrapped around waist  
*šarpa* n.m. wrap worn around the neck, extending over front of body, usually with tassles (*gugiyē*)  
*šǫbbaqa* n.m. (pl. *šǫbbaqe*) belt (leather or woven)  
*šǫppola* n.m. (pl. *šǫppole*) edge of clothing

*tarəqta* n.f. (pl. *tarəqyaθa*) button  
*toṭiθa* f. (pl. *toṭiyaθa*) button  
*xalqa* n.m. (pl. *xalqe*) fastener, press-stud  
*xərxasa* n.m. (pl. *xərxase*) thick sash belt  
*ziqa* n.m. neck of a shirt

### 21.10.2. Men's Clothes

*'abaya, 'abbaya* n.m. (pl. *'abaye, 'abbaye*) cloak  
*kāpāna* n.m. (pl. *kāpāne*) (K.) thick woolen cloak of shepherd  
*bərmalta* n.f. (pl. *bərmalyaθa*) long jacket worn over other clothes  
*šalla* n.m. (K.) trousers made from wool  
*šərwala* n.m. trousers made from cloth  
*təkθa* n.f. (pl. *təkke, təkka*) cord for trousers  
*qayış, qayışa* n.m./f. (pl. *qayışe*) (K.) leather belt  
*lawandiye* n.pl. long sleeves  
*šudrət lawandiye* n.f. shirt with long sleeves  
*'ilakka* n.m. (pl. *'ilakke*) (T.) waistcoat  
*qutana* n.f. (pl. *qutane*) shirt  
*qaba* n.m. (pl. *qabe*) (K.) waistcoat (= *'ilakka*)  
*šala* n.m. (pl. *šale*) (K.) sash wrapped around waist  
*kosiθa* n.f. (pl. *kosyaθa*) hat  
*šaqa* n.m. (pl. *šaqe*) legging (covering lower leg)

### 21.10.3. Women's Clothes and Jewelry

*gardāna* n.m. (pl. *gardāne*) (K.) necklace  
*habriya* n.m. (pl. *habriye*) (K.) festive headscarf  
*kāmāra* n.f. (*kāmāre*) (K.) belt  
*ḡunnəkθa* n.f. (pl. *ḡunnəkyaθa*) (K.) woman's headscarf  
*mriya* n.m. (pl. *mriye*) bangle, decoration  
*pošiya* n.f. (pl. *pošiyaθa*) (K.) festive headscarf  
*šala, šāl* n.m. (pl. *šale*) (K.) shawl, kerchief  
*ḡappurta* n.f. (pl. *ḡappuryaθa*) (K.) waistcoat (worn by women)  
*maxmore* n.pl. jewels  
*šəbbərθa, šəbbərta* n.f. (pl. *šəbbəryaθa*) bracelet  
*qulba* n.m. (pl. *qulbe*) (A.) bracelet  
*xalaqta* n.f. (pl. *xalaqyaθa*) earring  
*xəzzəmta* n.f. (pl. *xəzzəmyaθa*) nose-ring  
*xəlxale* n.pl. (sing. *xəlxalta*) (K./A.) anklets

- tanura* n.m. (pl. *tanure*) section of women's blouse (*šudra*) that covers the legs  
*tita* n.f. (pl. *titiye*, *tite*) silver tassel decorating head of the woman; little chain hanging from belt or bracelet  
*wasta* n.f. (pl. *wastiyatha*) chest section of women's blouse  
*qutna* n.m. (pl. *qutne*) woman's vest  
*xəppo* n.f. (pl. *xəppowatha*) bridal veil  
*yalaxta*, *yalaxθa* n.f. (pl. *yalaxyatha*) handkerchief; scarf (waved around in *xəgga* dance, usually with decorative tassles)  
*yubqa* n.f. (pl. *yubqatha*) skirt

#### 21.10.4. *Shoes*

- čaroxe*, *čeroxe* n.pl. (sing. *čaroxta*) leather boots (worn in Spring)  
*čəkkalle* n.pl. (sing. *čəkkalta* f.) (K.) slippers  
*kədde* n.pl. (sing. *kədda*) snow shoes  
*kere* n.pl. (sing. *kera*) (K.) wooden snow shoes  
*lastike* (sing. *lastikta*) rubber shoes  
*pəmpule* n.pl. (sing. *pəmpulta*) large shoes  
*pilawe* n.pl. (sing. *pilawta*) (K.) plastic shoes  
*qundäre* n.pl. (sing. *qundarta*) (K./T.) leather shoes with heels  
*šawle* n.m. (sing. *šawəlta*) leather shoes  
*šəryoxa* n.m. (pl. *šəryoxe*) shoe-lace  
*zərgule* n.pl. (sing. *zərgulta*) sheep skin boots (worn in Winter)

#### 21.10.5. *Fabrics*

- bəgəbəgi* n.m. multicoloured embroidered fabric  
*bəra* n.m. (pl. *bəre*) (K.) sheet  
*bərakθa* n.f. (K.) (small) sheet  
*barora* n.m. (pl. *barore*) roll (of fabric)  
*baza* n.m. type of fabric  
*beza* n.f. muslin fabric  
*čəngərta* n.m. (pl. *čəngərre*) (K.) piece of fabric  
*čəngərta* n.f. (pl. *čəngəryatha*) (K.) small piece of fabric (put on mouth of pot containing *jəjək*)  
*čita* n.m. (pl. *čite*) (K.) type of embroidered fabric  
*čuxa* n.f. (K.) broadcloth, thick woolen fabric  
*grawa* n.m. (K.) off-white cotton fabric  
*habresəm* n.m. silk  
*hašya* n.m. (pl. *hašye*) woven lace

- jurjēt* n.m. type of velvet fabric  
*lāhefa* n.m. (pl. *lāhefe*) (K./A.) duvet  
*malapa* n.m. (pl. *malape*) sheet  
*manṭo* n.m. type of fabric  
*maydani* n.m. type of red fabric  
*mxallana* n.m. (pl. *mxallane*) cleaning cloth  
*naqša* n.m. embroidery  
*parča* n.m. (pl. *parče*) piece of cloth  
*prasa* n.m. (pl. *prase*) cloth spread on floor on which food is laid  
*prista* n.f. spread, covering for floor (such as rug or carpet)  
*ṭaṭiya* n.f. (pl. *ṭaṭiyaṭha*) mat made of compressed wool  
*xaliya* n.f. (pl. *xaliye*, *xaliyaṭha*) (K.) carpet  
*xasira* n.f. (pl. *xasire*) (A.) mat  
*xiyota* n.m. (pl. *xiyote*) sewn fabric  
*zargəf* n.m. (K.) type of fabric  
*zəqqora* n.m. (pl. *zəqqore*) woven fabric  
*zəqra* n.m. (pl. *zəqre*) woven fabric

#### 21.11. ROPES AND TIES

- xawla* n.m. (pl. *xawle*) rope  
*xawəltā* n.f. (pl. *xawəlyəṭha*) short rope  
*qəčča* n.m. (pl. *qəčče*) (K.) short rope tethering an animal to a stake, shorter than a *xawəltā*  
*qəččəṭha* n.f. (pl. *qəččəyāṭha*) small piece of rope  
*šlawā* n.m. tether to tie an animal to a post  
*šlawiṭha* n.f. small tether  
*qmaṭa* n.m. (pl. *qmaṭe*) rope used for tightening, e.g. the two shafts of a stone roller (*mandorta*)  
*sarapsəra*, *sarbsara* n.m. (pl. *sarapsəre*) (K.) rope for leading an animal  
*ʔafsara* n.m. (K.) rope for leading an animal  
*gadda* n.m. (pl. *gədde*, *gədaḏe*) string; thread  
*šəryoxa* n.m. (pl. *šəryoxe*) shoe-lace, cord  
*tasma* n.m. (pl. *tasme*) shoe-lace, tie  
*taniṭha* n.f. (pl. *tanyəṭha*) line (for hanging things)  
*yasora* n.m. (pl. *yasore*) tether  
*qəṭṭra* n.m. (pl. *qəṭṭre*) knot  
*xarbuqta* n.f. (pl. *xarbuqyāṭha*) knot (joining two pieces of rope)

## 21.12. NATURAL WORLD

21.12.1. *Mountains and Hills*

- tura* n.m. (pl. *ture*, *turane*) mountain  
*ʔqrət tura* the foot of the mountain  
*talana* n.m. side of mountains that remains in the shade at sunrise  
*ba-roža* n.f./adv. (K.) side of the mountains on which the morning sun shines  
*ʔisara* n.m. (pl. *ʔisare*) large rock; cliff  
*qaṭra* n.m. (pl. *qaṭre*) rock, boulder  
*ṭapaya* n.m. slope (of a mountain)  
*ṭapeṭa* n.f. small slope (of a hill)  
*saka* n.m (pl. *sake*) mountain ridge  
*gərgara* n.m. (pl. *gərgare*) (K.) smooth steep slope  
*leta* n.f. (pl. *letaṭa*) ridge on a mountain side  
*rəzda* n.m. scree, row of rock debris on the side of a mountain  
*stanga* n.m. (pl. *stange*) (K.) narrow mountain path  
*dola* n.m. (pl. *dole*) (K.) deep valley, canyon  
*ṣuwarta* n.f. (pl. *ṣuwaryaṭa*) wide mountain pass  
*täreṭa* n.f. (pl. *tārayaṭa*) small mountain pass  
*gāliya*, *galliya*, *galli* n.m. (pl. *galliye*) (K.) valley  
*lawora* n.m. (pl. *lawore*) valley  
*lawurta* n.f. (pl. *lawuryaṭa*) small valley  
*rawola* n.m. (pl. *rawole*) ravine  
*rawulta* n.f. (pl. *rawulyaṭa*) small ravine  
*wala* n.m. wide valley between mountains  
*gāra*, *gəra* n.m. (pl. *gārare*, *gārere*) (K.) hill  
*gārəkṭa*, *gərəkṭa* n.f. (pl. *gārəkyaṭa*) hillock, small hill; mound  
*roma* n.m. (pl. *rome*) hill  
*romta* n.f. (pl. *romyaṭa*) small hill  
*kanda* n.m. (pl. *kande*) hillock  
*gəzra* n.m. (pl. *gəzre*) mound, pile (of stones)  
*bər-gare* n.f. (pl. *bər-garāwaṭa*) plateau  
*ʔašiṭa* n.f. (pl. *ʔašiyaṭa*) avalanche  
*tiya* n.m. (pl. *tiyaye*) (K.) mountain peak; hilltop  
*čulla* n.m. (pl. *čulle*) (K.) large broad mountain peak  
*čullənta* n.m. (pl. *čullənyaṭa*) (K.) small sharp mountain peak  
*zənnara* n.m. (pl. *zənnare*) (K.) cliff, precipice  
*lata* n.f. (pl. *lataṭa*) mountain path



21.12.2. *Water*

- ʾareta* n.f. (pl. *ʾarayatha*) algae and detritus floating on stagnant water  
*ʾena* (pl. *ʾenatha*, *ʾenāwatha*) spring of water  
*bālo* n.f. (pl. *bālowatha*) whirlpool  
*garra* n.m. (pl. *garre*, *garrere*) (K.) pool in river created by constructing a dam  
*nabuwwa* n.m. (*nabuwwa*) large spring of water  
*nera* n.m. (pl. *nerāwatha*) river  
*sela* n.m. stream, river  
*swire* n.f. (pl. *swiriyatha*) (K.) stream, small tributary of a river  
*šallala* n.m. (pl. *šallale*) waterfall  
*šamšuma* n.m. (pl. *šamšume*) large waterfall  
*šaršura* n.m. (pl. *šaršure*) small waterfall  
*šallela* n.m. (pl. *šallele*) waterfall  
*yama* n.f. (pl. *yamaθa*) sea; lake  
*yamta* n.f. (pl. *yamtaθa*) lake  
*zəmzama* n.m. (pl. *zəmzame*) deep natural pool  
*zəmzūma* n.m. (pl. *zəmzūme*) waterfall

21.12.3. *Celestial Bodies*

- šmša* n.f. sun  
*kaxwa* n.m., *kxuθa* n.f. (pl. *kaxwe*) star  
*sera* n.m. moon  
*šamšat sera* moonlight  
*ʾewa* n.m. (pl. *ʾewe*) cloud  
*dəgdin* n.m. Orion  
*gebare*, *gabbare* n.pl. the constellation Orion  
*kima* n.f. the Pleiades  
*dəbba* n.f. the Great Bear

21.12.4. *Weather*

- xamma* n.m. heat  
*kəlkāla* n.m. (K.) intense heat (of summer)  
*mətra* n.f. (pl. *mətraθa*) rain  
*ʾaryana* n.f. rainfall, rain storm  
*pāra* n.m. first rain in autumn  
*tawpana* n.m. deluge

*bərqa* n.m., *bərqiya* n.m. lightning  
*gargome* n.pl. thunder  
*xəpuθa* n.f. fog  
*talga* n.m. snow  
*qurša* n.m. frozen snow  
*makrəb* *çuçane* n.f. late snow falling at the beginning of March (literally: the one that angers the magpies)  
*mkase qərtale* n.f. late snow falling at the end of March (literally: the coverer of panniers)  
*pašxa rase* n.f. late snow falling in April (literally: breaker of *rasa* grass)  
*pəšpəšyaθa* n.pl. the first flakes of snow that fall in a snow storm  
*gərgəra* n.m. light snow falling in small round grains  
*məžməža* n.m. (K.) light snow  
*šrape* n.pl. sleet  
*dərədyə* n.m. (pl. *dərədye*) pile of snow that has fallen from a roof  
*barða* n.m. hail; *barða b-qanane* heavy hail  
*qarθa* n.f. cold  
*ʔəşər* n.f. intense cold (of winter)  
*gðila* n.m. ice  
*səllər* n.f. frost  
*pəwəxa* n.m. (pl. *pəwəxe*) wind  
*patlo* n.f. (hot) whirlwind  
*bəlbəllizək* n.f. (K.) whirlwind, hurricane  
*kerova* n.m. (K.) snow storm  
*bahogər, buhugar* n.f. blizzard (of snow)

### 21.13. FLORA

#### 21.13.1. *Wild Species of Flowers and Plants*

*warda, wərda* n.m. (pl. *warde, wərde*) flower  
*gəlla* n.m. (pl. *gəllale*) plant; herb; grass  
*ʔədda* n.m. weed; weeds  
*ʔenir* n.m. aromatic lily  
*bajoniya* n.m. (pl. *bajoniye*) red lycium barbarum berry  
*balazeze* n.pl. (sing. *balazeza* f.) yellowy white Spring flowers  
*barmiya* n.m. water weed (growing in rice paddy fields)  
*bar-xəlyə* n.m. fennel  
*baybuna* n.m. (pl. *baybune*) yellow and white flower

- bibla* n.m. (pl. *bible*) camomile  
*bizər* n.m. herb put *jajək*  
*bukina* n.m. (pl. *bukine*) red anemone flower  
*dambus* n.f. type of herb resembling tail of horse  
*harun* n.m. type of herb  
*haşya* n.m. herb put in *jajək* and cheese (like chive)  
*hemza* n.m. edible herb with pungent root and white sap  
*kerapso* n.f. edible herb pungent to the taste  
*kəskəna* n.m. yellow flower  
*kətwa bloka* n.m. type of herb  
*kəwara, kiwəra* n.m. thorny plant  
*kizikizo* n.f. edible herb  
*kuspa dəbbe* n.m. plant with large leaves used for wrapping the filling of *dolma*  
*kuza* n.m. edible red herb  
*lagna* n.m./f. (pl. *lagne*) thorny plant producing seeds known as *şəşse*  
*ləxmət maθ-Maryam* n.m. St. Mary's bread (name of herb)  
*luwəş* n.m. edible herb (used in *dolma* dish)  
*mamačučək* n.m. edible herb sweet to the taste  
*marqəšta* n.f., *marquza* n.f. (pl. *marqəşe, marquşyaθa, marquze*) yellow narcissus flower  
*nuta* n.f. edible herb (small form of *nuwa*)  
*nuwa* n.m. edible herb  
*pa tiroke* n.f. edible herb  
*poθa* n.f. madder  
*purəpxina* n.m. purslane (put in *jajək*)  
*qaqna* n.f. (pl. *qaqne*) thorny plant producing gum (*deθa*)  
*qārəma* n.f. edible herb fed to sheep to make them give more milk  
*quraşina* n.m. (pl. *quraşine*) nettle  
*saθra* n.m. herb put in yoghurt  
*şəbbət* n.m. (K./A.) dill  
*şəmmaðra* n.m. (pl. *şəmmaðre*) violet  
*sərke* n.pl. herb put in *jajək* (similar to mint)  
*sərmo* n.f. herb put in *jajək* and cheese (like chive)  
*šoşanθa* n.f. (pl. *šoşanne*) lily  
*şwalta* n.f. edible herb (producing glue)  
*tawuzra* n.f. edible herb with wide leaves, which is boiled and mixed with sumac berries (*smoqe*)  
*warde žeri* n.m. wild flowers  
*wardət dəbba* n.m. large red flower

- wardoniθa* n.f. (pl. *wardonyathā*) type of small flower consisting of four petals  
*xamiṣoke* n.f. bitter herb  
*xanqa-xona* n.m. (pl. *xanqa-xone*) small white flower  
*xarəḍla* n.m. mustard  
*xəbloke* n.f. a type of green herb that is eaten by partridges  
*yāsmīn, yāsmīna* n.f. (pl. *yāsmīne*) jasmine (yellow or white)  
*yunja* n.m. (pl. *yunje*) type of green herb that is fed to animals

### 21.13.2. *Cultivated Crops*

- daxla* n.m. (pl. *daxle*) (K./A.) corn plant  
*xətte* n.pl. wheat (sing. *xəttiθa* a wheat grain) | Four types of wheat: *xwaraθa*, *huwedi*, *mərwəš* and *koča* (without long hairs)  
*səre* n.pl. barley  
*prage* n.pl. pearl millet  
*kurize* n.pl. a type of millet that ripens slowly  
*xroriye* n.pl. sorghum  
*xəttət romaye, xəttə romaye, xə-romaye* n.pl. maize  
*xəttət šəmaye* n.pl. maize  
*šišme* n.pl. sesame  
*tūtun, tutun* n.f. (K.) tobacco

### 21.13.3. *Fresh and Dried Grasses*

- gərgəra* n.m. type of grass that is fed to sheep  
*kəxra* n.m. grass fodder for animals  
*puwa* n.m. hay from millet (*prage*)  
*puwəš* n.m. hay from fibres of rice plant  
*qanθa* n.f. wild grass eaten by sheep  
*qāratiθa, qarratiθa* n.f. (pl. *qāratyathā*) pieces of *rasa* grass fed to young lambs in a pen (*kosta*)  
*rasa* n.m. (pl. *rase, rasane*) tall thick grass used as animal fodder  
*šišmanta* n.f. sesame grass  
*tuna* n.m. straw from wheat (*xətte*)

### 21.13.4. *Fruits and Vegetables*

- feka, peka* n.m. (pl. *feke, peke*) (A.) fruit  
*mewa* n.m. (K.) fruit

- ʿanjasa* n.m. (pl. *ʿanjase*) wild plum  
*ʿanwa* n.m. (pl. *ʿanwe*) grape | *ʿanwe kome* black grapes; *ʿanwə baširana* type of grapes that are slow to ripen; *ʿanwe tefi/tepi* type of long grapes; *ʿanwe zarrək* type of yellow grape  
*bajalla, baqalla* n.m. (pl. *bajalle, baqalle*) broad bean  
*banjana koma* n.m. (pl. *banjane*) aubergine  
*banjana smoqa* n.m. (pl. *banjane*) tomato  
*baqla* n.m. (pl. *baqle*) red bean  
*bašila* n.m. (pl. *bašile*) long melon  
*bərtaqala* n.m. (pl. *bərtaqale*) orange  
*bəšla* n.m. (pl. *bəšle*) onion  
*fašuli* n.m. (pl. *fašuliye*) (A.) white bean  
*gasosa* n.m. (pl. *gasose*) wild green bean  
*gezara* n.m. (pl. *gezare*) carrot  
*gəndore* n.pl. (sing. *gəndorta*) melons  
*gəngəryasa* n.f. (pl. *gəngəryase*) lime  
*gərsəkka* n.m. (pl. *gərsəkke*) wild pear  
*gərsəkθa* n.f. (pl. *gərsəkke, gərsəkyaθa*) small wild pear  
*gilasa* n.m. (pl. *gilase*) cherry  
*haluka, halukka, halučakka, halurašša* n.m. (pl. *haluke, halukke, halučakke, halurašše*) (K.) black plum  
*halwasna* n.m. (pl. *halwasne*) raspberry  
*harmiya, hermiya* n.m. (pl. *harmiye, hermiye*) pear  
*harmone* n.pl. (sing. *harmonta*) pomegranates  
*käläma* n.m. (pl. *käläme*) (K.) cabbage  
*lablabi* n.m. (A.) hyacinth bean  
*lubyä* n.m. (pl. *lubye*) bean growing in pods (*šənqe*)  
*maše* n.pl. black beans  
*mata* n.f. (pl. *mayatha, mataθa*) grape  
*məšməšša* n.m. (pl. *məšməšše*) (K./A.) apricot  
*pätate* n.pl. potatoes  
*patorta* n.f. (pl. *patoryaθa*) mushroom  
*qazba* n.m. (pl. *qazbe*) (K.) date  
*rəzza* n.m. (pl. *rəzzane*) rice  
*sparəgla* n.m. (pl. *sparəgle*) quince  
*šalgəmme* n.pl. (sing. *šalgəmta* f.) turnips, swedes  
*šəftiya* n.m. (pl. *šəftiye*) (K.) watermelon  
*səlqa* n.m. chard  
*šošine* n.pl. (sing. *šošinta*) azerole berries  
*təna* n.f. *tənta/tənta* n.f. (pl. *təne*) fig

*tlawxe* n.pl. lentils (red or green)  
*tuθa* n.f. (pl. *tuθe*, *tuθyaθa*) mulberry fruit | Types of berry include: *tuθe xware* white mulberries and *tuθe kome* black mulberries (the latter type is also know as *tuθa šemaye* or *tuθa šemi* Syrian mulberries.  
*tuma* n.m. garlic  
*xabuša* n.m. (pl. *xabuše*) apple  
*xabušət ʿupra* n.m. sweet potato  
*xarṭmane* (sing. *xarṭamta*, *xarṭamiθa*) chickpea  
*xawxa* n.m. (pl. *xawxe*) peach  
*xiyara* n.m. (pl. *xiyare*) cucumber  
*yamiša* n.m. (pl. *yamiše*) rubbarb

### 21.13.5. *Trees and Shrubs*

*ʿilana* n.f. (pl. *ʿilane*, *ʿilanane*) tree  
*ʿilanta* n.f. (pl. *ʿilanyaθa*) tree, small tree  
*ṭarraša* n.m., *ṭarraša* n.f. (pl. *ṭarraše*) bush, shrub  
*dala* n.m. (pl. *dale*) thicket, undergrowth  
*derubər* n.m. (pl. *derubere*) wood, forest  
*tərða* n.m. thick bush, vegetation  
*bənduqqa* n.m. (pl. *bənduqqe*) chestnut, chestnut tree  
*bəṭma* n.f. (pl. *bəṭmaθa*) terebinth tree  
*čiqā* n.m. thick cane; bamboo  
*daliθa* n.f. (pl. *dalyaθa*) vine  
*daṭrana* n.m. (pl. *daṭrane*) juniper bush  
*dəlba* n.m. (pl. *dəlbe*) plane tree  
*gawza*, *gawzana* n.m. (pl. *gawzane*) walnut tree  
*gawzəlta* n.f. (pl. *gawzəlyəθa*) small walnut tree  
*gəngəryasa* n.f. (pl. *gəngəryase*) lime tree  
*jullajena* n.m. type of thorny shrub  
*jwanna* n.m. (pl. *jwanne*) thorn tree  
*kaža* n.m./f. (K.) pine tree  
*korašina* n.m. shrub with small green leaves  
*məša* n.f. (pl. *məše*) type of oak tree  
*ṭarṃa* n.m. (pl. *ṭarṃe*) type of oak  
*ṭarzena* n.m. type of thorn tree  
*qərda* n.m. tragacanth shrub  
*sunniθa* n.f. (pl. *sunniyaθa*) thorny bush bearing raspberries (*halwasne*)  
*šalma* n.m. (pl. *šalme*) small bush with small leaves and small sweet red berries

*šamərma* n.f. (pl. *šamərme*) thorn-bush with small edible berries  
*šošinta* (pl. *šošine*) azerole tree  
*šakroke* n.f. bush with thorny pods  
*šangabi* n.m. (K.) weeping willow  
*tena* n.f. (pl. *tene*) fig tree  
*turka* n.m. (pl. *turke*) (K.) pollarded mulberry tree  
*tuθa* n.m. mulberry tree | Types of tree include: *tuθa qazbi* large white berry, *tuθa turka* small yellow mulberry, *tuθa čuwa* smooth mulberry  
*xelapa* n.m. (pl. *xelape*) willow tree  
*xura, xurta, xorta* n.m. (pl. *xure, xuriyaθa, xoriyaθa*) white poplar  
*zala* n.m. (pl. *zale*) thin cane, reed  
*zerābi* n.f. (K.) tall cane used to weave baskets  
*zadyana* n.m. (pl. *zadyane*) a type of oak tree

#### 21.13.6. *Components of Flora*

*ʼaqra, ʼəqra* n.m. (pl. *ʼaqrare, ʼəqrare*) trunk of a tree; stem of plant  
*bar-xoxa* n.m. (pl. *bar-xoxe*) thorny pod  
*bola* n.m. (pl. *bole*) seed head of millet (*prage*), sorghum (*xroriya*) or rice  
*bubra* n.m. (pl. *bubre*) thorny pod  
*čələkka* n.m. (pl. *čələkke*) small leaf stem; small twig  
*čərkanna* n.m. (pl. *čərkanne*) kernel (of an onion)  
*dalya* n.m. (pl. *dalye*) tendril of a vine  
*dasiya* n.m. (pl. *dasiye*) (K.) awn, beard of head of corn  
*dəsqa* n.m. (pl. *dəsqe*) (K.) stem of fruit  
*goja* n.m. (pl. *goje*) (K.) stock of tree; large root of a tree  
*gojiθa* n.f. (pl. *gojiyaθa*) (K.) small stock of tree  
*gujma* n.m. (pl. *gujme*) bunch (of grapes, nuts)  
*kälama* n.m./f. (pl. *kälame*) (K.) long thorn of *parzena* or *jwanna* tree  
*kata* n.m. (pl. *kate*) leaf sprouting on felled tree or severed branch  
*kətwə* n.m. (pl. *kətwə*) spike, thorn  
*kulliya* n.m. (pl. *kulliyə*) (K.) head of maize  
*parpīte* n.pl. brushwood taken from bushes (*tarrāšə*)  
*pəqxa* n.m. (pl. *pəqxe*) blossom  
*pəškoža* n.f. (pl. *pəškože*) (K.) bud  
*qalpa* n.m. bark; peal  
*qantopa* n.m. (pl. *qantope*) bunch  
*qəsāla* n.m. (pl. *qəsāle*) stem of corn plant  
*qesa* n.m. (pl. *qese*) wood; piece of wood  
*qəllora* n.m. (pl. *qəllore*) head of maize

- qəθrət šeta* annual growth ring of tree  
*qodəšta* n.f. (pl. *qodəšyaθa*) small bunch of grapes, section of a *gujma* (large bunch)  
*sənnorta* n.f. (pl. *sənnoryaθa*) shoot (of corn)  
*šaka* n.m. (pl. *šake*) shoot of a vine growing from the tendrils (*dalye*)  
*šəbbəlla* n.f. (pl. *šəblaθa*, *šəble*) head of wheat or barley  
*šəlloxta* n.f. (pl. *šəlloxyaθa*) husk of grain  
*šənqa* n.m. (pl. *šənqe*) pod containing seeds (*boče*)  
*šira* n.m. (K.) sap (of tree), resin (of plants)  
*taqa* n.m. (pl. *taqe*, *taqane*) branch  
*taqta* n.f. (pl. *taqyaθa*) twig, sprig  
*tarəpθa* n.f. (pl. *tarpe*, *tarpaθa*, *tarəpyaθa*) leaf  
*tarxa* n.m. (pl. *tarxe*) new shoot in a plant or tree  
*ṭaya* n.m. (pl. *ṭayane*) leaf (of a plant); leafy branch (of a tree)  
*tura* n.m. (pl. *ture*) pliable twig  
*ṭurxa* n.m. (pl. *ṭurxe*) branch  
*warīða* n.m. (pl. *warīðe*) root  
*zolala* n.m. (pl. *zolale*) (K.) tendril of a plant; vein within a leaf

#### 21.13.7. *Nuts, Seeds and Galls*

- ʔapša* n.m. (pl. *ʔapše*) gallnut of oak tree (*məša*)  
*ʔinta* n.f. (pl. *ʔine*) small edible nut (small terebinth nut *bəṭəmθa*)  
*baluṭa* n.m. (pl. *baluṭe*) acorn (fruit of oaks *məša*, *ṭarṃa*)  
*bəṭme* n.pl. (sing. *bəṭəmθa*) terebinth nut  
*bibər* n.f. pepper; *bibər smoqta* red pepper  
*fəlfəl* n.m. (pl. *fəlfəle*) pepper  
*fəstəq* n.f. (pl. *fəstəqe*) (K./A.) pistachio  
*gawza* n.m. (pl. *gawze*, *gawzane*) walnut  
*gərse* n.pl. crushed wheat  
*gisəkyəθa* n.pl. (sing. *gisəkθa*) black pepper  
*gullira* n.m. (pl. *gullire*) (K.) round oak apple gall  
*qaṭu* n.f. (pl. *qaṭwaθa*) spiky type of oak gall  
*zərmaziya* n.m. (pl. *zərmaziye*) small spiky type of oak gall  
*šəšše* n.pl. seeds of the *lagna* plant  
*šəða* n.m. (pl. *šəðe*) almond



21.13.8. *Dried and Preserved Fruits*

*kəčkəje* n.pl. dried fruits (especially dried apples)

*məžməžoke* n.pl. dried mulberries

*qaysi*, *qaysiya* n.f. dried apricots

*xərroza* n.m. (pl. *xərroze*) string of dried fruit (e.g. figs, dates)

*nəpoxta*, *nəpoxta* n.f. raisin or date syrup

*xošave* n.pl. sweet drink made of raisins

## 21.14. FAUNA

21.14.1. *Sheep and Goats* (ʔərwət xware ʔu-ʔərwət kome)21.14.1.1. *Stages of Growth of Male Goat*

1. *gəðya* newborn

2. *gisqa* (K.) one- to two-year old

3. *kura* (K.) two- to three-year old

4. *sayəssa* (K.) three-year old

5. *neriya* (K.) adult

21.14.1.2. *Stages of Growth of Female Goat*

1. *naqta* newborn

2. *gisəqθa* (K.) one- to two-year old

3. *tuštirta* (K.) two- to three-year old

4. ʔəzza adult

21.14.1.3. *Varieties of Goats*

*koča* n.m. (f. *koče*, pl. *koče*) hornless goat

*kərra* n.m. (pl. *kərre*) (K.) goat with short ears

*xanana* n.m. (pl. *xanane*) goat with a brown face

*qadaša* n.m. goat with dewlap

*poše* n.f. goat with a white spot on the head

*čura*, *čurra* n.m. (K.) angora goat (with long, silky hair known as *marrəs*)

*čurrəkθa* n.f. (pl. *čurrəkyaθa*) female angora goat

*bəṛ-gawəra* n.m. (pl. *bəṛ-gawəre*) young goat

21.14.1.4. *Stages of Growth of Male Sheep*

1. *paṛa* lamb; *bečya* (K.) young lamb (one–three weeks old)

2. *kavərri* (K.) one- to two-year old

3. *šakka* (K.) two-year-old (gelding)
4. *hogáčča, gujja, gaza* (K.) three-year-old
5. *barana* (K.) adult

#### 21.14.1.5. *Stages of Growth of Female Sheep*

1. *paṛṭha* lamb
2. *ḱavarta* (K.) one- to two-year old
3. *wana* adult

#### 21.14.1.6. *Varieties of Sheep*

- balla* n.m. (f., pl. *balle*) (K.) sheep with erect ears  
*bṛ-gawṛa* n.m. (pl. *bṛ-gawṛe*) young sheep  
*hamdān, hamdani* n.m. (pl. *hamdane*) sheep with long hanging ears  
*kṛra* n.m. (pl. *kṛre*) (K.) sheep with short ears  
*kočā* n.m. (f. *koče*, pl. *koče*) hornless sheep  
*paṛesor* n.pl. (K.) large red eared sheep  
*pṛxla* n.m. (pl. *pṛxle*) young sheep that has not yet been castrated

#### 21.14.1.7. *Nurturing of Sheep and Goats*

- šāvana* n.m. (pl. *šāvane*) (K.), *ṛiya* n.m. (pl. *ṛiye*) shepherd  
*malgori* n.m. (K.) assistant of a shepherd  
*kupala* n.f. (pl. *kupale*) (K.) shepherd's stick  
*ḱāpāna* n.m. (pl. *ḱāpāne*) thick woolen cloak of shepherd  
*māṛiya* n.m. (pl. *māṛiye*) pasture place  
*koza* n.m. (pl. *koze, kožāvathā*) sheltered place for pasturing sheep and goats  
 in inclement weather in Spring  
*dvaṛa* n.m. (pl. *dvaṛe*) rest area for sheep and goats in the mountains  
 (under the shade of trees)

#### 21.14.2. *Oxen* (tawre)

1. *moja* (K.) calf
2. *pṛxla* n.m. (pl. *pṛxle*) young calf that has not yet been castrated
3. *nula, lula* (K.) young ox
4. *tawra* adult ox

#### 21.14.3. *Cows* (tawriyaṭha)

1. *mojanta* (K.) heifer
2. *nulta/lulta* (K.) young cow
3. *tawṛta* adult cow

21.14.4. *Horses* (susāwaθa)

*kurra* (K.) foal  
*nawžina* (K.) foal  
*mozina* (m.), *mozinta* (f.) (K.) foal  
*susa* m. *susta* f. adult horse

21.14.5. *Mules* (dawere)

*dawera* n.m./f. (pl. *dawere*) mule (generic)  
*kawadna* n.m. (pl. *kawadne*) male mule  
*kodanta* n.f. (pl. *kodanyaθa*) female mule  
*jaxša* n.m. (pl. *jaxše*) (K.) young male mule  
*jaxša* n.f. (pl. *jaxšyaθa*) (K.) young female mule

21.14.6. *Other Mammals*

*'arya*, *'erya* n.m. (pl. *'arye*, *'erye*) lion  
*'ariθa* n.f. (pl. *'ariyaθa*) lionness  
*'aqubra* n.m. (pl. *'aqubre*) mouse  
*'azzat wala* wild goat, ibex  
*baqurka* n.m. (pl. *baqurke*) piglet  
*bra-gđoða*, *bə-gđoða* n.m. (pl. *bra-gđođe*, *bə-gđoða*) hedgehog  
*dabba* n.f. (pl. *dabbe*, *dabbaθa*) bear  
*dewa* n.m. (pl. *dewe*) wolf  
*dewta* n.f. (pl. *dewyaθa*) female wolf  
*garo* n.f. (pl. *garowaθa*) rat  
*gumla* n.m. (pl. *gumle*) camel  
*gurya* n.m. (pl. *gurye*) pup of dog  
*harnuwa* n.f. (pl. *harnuwe*) rabbit  
*kalba* n.m. (pl. *kalwe*, *kalbe*) dog  
*kalabθa* n.f. (pl. *kalabyaθa*) bitch  
*kuddina* n.m. (pl. *kuddine*) animal cub  
*kuddinta* n.f. (pl. *kuddinyaθa*) female cub  
*nəmra* n.m. (pl. *nəmre*) tiger  
*parxa lele*, *parxa b-lele*, *parxət lele*, *parxətət lele*, *parxantət lele* n.f. (pl. *parxa lele*,  
*parxanyaθət lele*) n.f. bat  
*qaṭa* n.m. (pl. *qaṭe*) cat, tomcat  
*qaṭu* n.f. (definite *qaṭuθa*) (pl. *qaṭwaθa*) female cat  
*quja* n.m. (pl. *quje*) (K.) marten

*qurrabaška* n.m. (pl. *qurrabaške*) (K.) badger  
*səmmora* n.m. (pl. *səmmore*) squirrel  
*sixurra* n.m. (pl. *sixurre*) (K.) water-rat  
*šəməwla* n.f. (pl. *šəməwle*) squirrel  
*tela* n.m. (pl. *tele*) fox  
*tulla* n.m. (pl. *tulle*) (K.) hound  
*tulləkθa* n.f. (pl. *tulləkyaθa*) (K.) small hound  
*toriya* n.f. (pl. *toriyaθa*) hyena  
*xalda-kora* n.m. (pl. *xalde-kore*) mole  
*xmara* n.m. (pl. *xmare*) ass  
*xmarta* n.f. (pl. *xmaryaθa*) she-ass  
*xzura* n.m. (pl. *xzure*) pig

#### 21.14.7. Reptiles

*rəjba* m. (pl. *rəjbe*) crawling creature, reptile  
*xuwwə* n.m. (pl. *xuwwawə, xuwwəwəθa, xuwwəθa*) snake | types of snake:  
*xuwwə təḏya, xuwwə koma, xuwwə balakšənka*  
*xuwwiθa* n.f. (pl. *xuwwiyəθa*) small snake  
*šəlyə* n.m. (pl. *šəlye*) viper  
*məša-ʿəzze, məšəntat ʿəzze* n.f. (pl. *məša-ʿəzze, məšənat ʿəzze*) lizard  
*kəmkəmma* n.m. (pl. *kəmkəmmə*) large lizard  
*čəlluri* n.f. (pl. *čəlluriyaθa*) small lizard

#### 21.14.8. Birds

*ṭəra* n.m. (pl. *ṭere*) bird  
*bulbul* n.f. (pl. *bulbule, bulbulyaθa*) nightingale  
*buma* n.f. (pl. *bumaθa*) owl  
*čara* n.m. (pl. *čare*) (K.) type of black bird  
*čəgə* n.m. (K.) type of bird  
*čərkəmma* n.m. type of small sparrow  
*čiqəlka* n.m. (pl. *čiqəlke*) young cock  
*čučəkka* n.m., *čučəkθa* n.f. (pl. *čučəkke*) sparrow  
*čuka* n.m. (pl. *čuke*) chick  
*čukta* n.f. (pl. *čukyaθa*) young chicken  
*čučəna* n.m. (pl. *čučəne*) magpie  
*dəda* n.f. (pl. *dədaθa*) hawk  
*diga* n.m. (pl. *dige*) cock  
*gesərri* n.m. (K.) type of large sparrow

*hapupka* n.m. (pl. *hapupke*) (K.) hoopoe bird  
*jalla nune* n.m./f. fish-eating bird with long beak  
*jarguma* n.m. (pl. *jargume*) type of large dove  
*kθεθα* n.f. (pl. *kθayaθa, kθaye*) chicken  
*kθεθət miya* n.f. (pl. *kθayaθət miya*) moorhen  
*laqləq* n.m. (pl. *laqlaqe*) (A.) stork  
*nama* n.f. (pl. *name*) ostrich  
*naqro* n.f. (pl. *naqrowaθa*) woodpecker  
*nəšra* n.m. (pl. *nəšre*) eagle  
*qaza* n.m (pl. *qaze*) (K.) goose  
*qəlle* n.f. (pl. *qəllaθa*) hawk  
*qəqwana* n.m. (pl. *qəqwane*) partridge  
*qulənga* n.m (pl. *qulənge*) (K.) crane (bird)  
*quppe* n.f. (pl. *quppaθa, quppeyaθa*) brooding-hen  
*qurta* n.m. (pl. *qurte*) (K.) vulture  
*sivanoka* n.f. (pl. *sivanoke*) (K.) type of small sparrow  
*sona* n.f. (pl. *sonaθa*) type of duck  
*snoniθa* n.f. (pl. *snoniyaθa*) swallow  
*šenəkka* n.m (pl. *šenəkke*) a bird of prey  
*šəqraqa* m./f. (pl. *šəqraqe*) small green bird that eats bees  
*šupšupina* n.f. (pl. *šupšupine*) type of dove (grey in colour)  
*ṭaražoke* n.f. (pl. *ṭaražokāwaθa*) small green bird  
*ṭera t-malka Šlemun* n.m. hoopoe bird  
*totənta* n.f. (pl. *totənyaθa*) type of small sparrow  
*tuštūš* n.f. (pl. *tuštūše*) type of sparrow  
*yawna* n.f. (pl. *yawne, yawnaθa*) dove, pigeon

#### 21.14.9. *Water Fauna*

*nune* n.pl. (sing. *nunta*) fish  
*pəqqa, pəqqe* n.f. (pl. *pəqqe, pəqqaθa, pəqqaqe*) frog  
*qraqəpta* n.f. (pl. *qraqəpyaθa*) small turtle  
*qraqipa* n.m. (pl. *qraqipe*) turtle  
*sarəṭlana* n.m. (pl. *sarəṭlana*) crab, lobster  
*xərzət pəqqa* n.m. (pl. *xərze*) frog-spawn, tadpole

#### 21.14.10. *Insects*

*bəjbaja* n.m. (pl. *bəjbaje*) insect  
*ʾaqərwa* n.f. (pl. *ʾaqərwe*) scorpion  
*ʾaxulka* n.m. (pl. *ʾaxulke*) small fly that bites

- baqa* n.m. (pl. *baqe*) gnat  
*baqta* n.f. small gnat  
*baṭibato* n.f. (sing. and collective, or pl. *baṭibaṭowaṭa*) (K.) firefly  
*bəṛ-qatta* n.f. (pl. *bəṛ-qatte*, *bəṛ-qatyathā*) small white worm (found in butter and cheese)  
*čena* n.f. (pl. *čene*) mosquito  
*čəlməsta* n.f. (pl. *čəlməsyathā*) small louse  
*dabaša* n.m. (pl. *dabaše*) bee  
*dəbbora* n.m. (pl. *dəbbore*) hornet  
*dəbburta* n.f. (pl. *dəbburyathā*) horsefly  
*didwa* n.m. (pl. *didwe*, *didwane*) fly  
*gambəl-ʔaxre* n.m. (pl. *gambəl-ʔaxre*) dung beetle  
*jubarrək* n.f. (pl. *jubarrəkke*) mite that eats rice and flour  
*kərməkṭha* n.f. (pl. *kərme*) worm  
*madala* n.m. (pl. *madale*) millipede  
*parxonitha* n.f. (pl. *parxonyathā*) butterfly  
*pərtəna*, *pərtana* n.m. (pl. *pərtene*, *pərtana*) flea  
*qalma* n.f. (pl. *qalme*) louse  
*qamša* n.m. (pl. *qamše*) grasshopper  
*sənnək* n.m. insect that eats wheat  
*sustət ʔabona* n.f. ladybird  
*šəšra* n.f. (pl. *šəšrathā*, *šəšre*) cockroach  
*šəkwanə* (sing. *šəkwana* m., *šəkwantā* f.) ants  
*ṭabuwana* n.f. (pl. *ṭabuwane*) tick  
*taqla-šəkke* n.f. (pl. *taqla-šəkke*) spider  
*tūtūr*, *tuttur* n.f. (pl. *tūtūr*, *tuttur*) caterpillar  
*zaqra-qode* n.f. (pl. *zaqra-qode*) spider  
*zarəqta* n.m. (pl. *zarəqte*) wasp  
*zarzar* n.f. type of large red ant(s)  
*zarzaritha* n.f. type of small brown ant(s)  
*zeruwa* n.m. (pl. *zeruwe*) (K.) leech  
*zənzare* n.pl. type of fly

#### 21.14.11. *Parts of the Body of Animals*

- gurba* n.m. (pl. *gurbe*) torso (of an animal)  
*ʔamra* n.m. wool  
*ʔeliṭha* n.f. (pl. *ʔelyathā*) fat tail of sheep; fat of the tail  
*ʔəšraya* n.m. (pl. *ʔəšraye*) udder  
*bəšra* n.m. (pl. *bəšre*) dewlap of goat  
*čəččət tawərtā* n.f. teat of a cow

- čemma* n.m. (pl. *čemmame*) (K.) cloven hoof  
*dambusta* n.f. (pl. *dambusyaθa*) small tail  
*danwa* n.m. (pl. *danwe*) tail  
*gasta* n.f. (pl. *gasyaθa*) fleece of sheep  
*gulpa* n.m. (pl. *gulpane*) wing  
*kāmaxe* n.pl. (K.) rump, buttocks of an animal  
*lamakka* n.m. (pl. *lamakke*) jaw (of an animal)  
*lamakθa* n.f. (pl. *lamakyaθa*) jaw (of an animal)  
*lappakθa* n.f. (pl. *lappakyaθa*) paw (of small animal)  
*ləva* n.f. (K.) lamb's wool  
*maruta* n.f. (pl. *maruyaθa*) fur (of animal)  
*məssukta* n.f. (pl. *məssukyaθa*) craw, gizzard (of a bird)  
*naqrusa* n.m. (pl. *naqruse*) beak (of birds); proboscis (of flies, wasps, bees, etc.)  
*nar̥toma* n.m. snout (of an animal)  
*parra* n.m. (pl. *parre, parrane*) (K.) feather  
*parranta* n.f. comb of a bird  
*pištamasī* n.m. (K.) long chine of meat on the back of sheep in the shape of a fish  
*poza* n.m. (pl. *pozaze*) (K.) snout, nostrils (of a sheep)  
*qana* n.f. (pl. *qanane*) horn  
*qalpət nune* n.m. scales of a fish  
*qolaxine* n.m. (sing. *qolaxina* n.m.) (K.) pelvis bones of an animal, above the rump (*kāmaxe*)  
*səmma* n.m. (pl. *səmmame*) (K.) hoof of an animal  
*seṛa* n.m. hair of a goat  
*šaša* n.m. (pl. *šaše*) comb of a bird  
*šalloxta* n.f. (pl. *šalloxyaθa*) shed skin of a snake  
*tata* n.f. (pl. *tataθa*) crest (of bird), cock's comb  
*taksa* m. (pl. *takse*) sting (of a bee)  
*xərza* n.m. (pl. *xərze*) oviduct of a chicken  
*zəpra* n.m. animal fat

#### 21.14.12. *Groups of Animals*

- kawtət 'ərwe, bərrət 'ərwe* flock of sheep (*kawta* n.m., *bərra* n.m.)  
*bəqrət tawre* herd of cattle (*bəqra* n.m.)  
*kallət gameše* herd of buffaloes (*kalle* n.f.)  
*pθanət tawre* pair of oxen (*pθana* n.m.)  
*šawade* n.pl. domesticated animals (usually sheep and goats)  
*qənyane* n.pl. domesticated animals; cattle

*rapət tere* flock of birds (*rapa* n.m.)  
*šəlxət dabaše* a swarm of bees (*šəlxə* n.m.)

#### 21.14.13. *Animal Dung*

*kursəlle* n.pl. dung of horses, asses and mules (sing. *kursəltə* a piece of dung)  
*paṭoxa* n.m. (pl. *paṭoxe*) flattened piece of cattle dung used for fuel  
*paškəlle* n.pl. (sing. *paškəltə*) (K.) droppings of goats or sheep that have not  
 been broken up by trampling  
*posa* (pl. *pose*) dry cow dung  
*purta* n.f. sheep's dung broken up by the trampling of their feet  
*šəre* n.pl. wet cattle dung  
*sula* n.m. dung, manure

#### 21.14.14. *Appurtenances and Accoutrements of Animals*

*ʔafsara* n.m. rope for leading mule  
*ʔaqolta* n.f. (pl. *ʔaqolyaṭa*) rope lock used to tighten a rope holding the burden  
 on the back of mule  
*bar-qamaya* n.m. front strap for securing loads  
*bar-xaraya* n.m. back strap for securing loads  
*juwarre* n.f. (pl. *juwariyaṭa*) (K.) nosebag  
*ləxxawa* n.m. (pl. *ləxxawe*) bit (of horse), harness  
*nala* n.m. (pl. *nale*) horse-shoe  
*qəčča* n.m. (pl. *qəčče*) (K.) short rope tethering an animal to a stake  
*qəṭtala* n.f. (pl. *qəṭtale*) pannier bag on the back of mule  
*qurṭana* n.m. (pl. *qurṭane*) blanket put on the back of mule  
*rkewa* n.m. (pl. *rkewe*) stirrup  
*sarapsəra* n.m. (pl. *sarapsere*) harness of an animal  
*sarga, serga* n.m. (pl. *sarge, serge*) saddle  
*sarpəšta* n.m. (pl. *sarpəšyaṭa*) soft under-blanket, put under the *qurṭana*  
*ṭanga* n.m. (pl. *ṭange*) (K.) saddle-girth for securing cloth  
*xasla* n.m. (pl. *xasle*) cover put over mouth of small animals when they are  
 weaned to prevent them from sucking  
*xatma* n.m. (pl. *xatme*) muzzle



## 21.15. MINERALS

21.15.1. *Stones*

- baqloša* n.m. (pl. *baqloše*) pebble, small stone  
*barziwa* n.m. flint  
*baste* n.f. (pl. *bastāwaθa*) expanse of stones in a river  
*bəsqa* n.m. (pl. *bəsqe*) small stone (in a river)  
*fālāke* n.pl. (K.) stones of rapids in a river  
*kepa* n.m. (pl. *kepe*) stone  
*mrariya* n.f. (K./A.) marble  
*parāšta* n.f. (pl. *parāšyaθa*) small flat stone  
*parša* n.m. (pl. *parše*) large flat stone  
*parušta* n.f. (pl. *parušyaθa*) smooth pebble  
*šəndoxa* n.m. (pl. *šəndoxe*) large smooth stone  
*šənduxta* n.f. (pl. *šənduxyaθa*) small smooth stone  
*šišəlla* n.f. (pl. *šišəlaθa*, *šišəlyəθa*) row of terraced stones (to prevent subsidence of earth)  
*tafša* n.m. (pl. *tafše*) small stone put in cement (*jabla*)

21.15.2. *Metals*

- dawa* n.m. gold  
*poləθ* n.m. (K./A.) steel  
*prəzla* n.m. iron  
*sema* n.m. silver

## 21.16. FOOD

21.16.1. *Meals and Dishes*

- fłarta* n.f. (pl. *fłaryaθa*) breakfast  
*xādaya* n.f. (pl. *xādayaθa*) (A.) lunch  
*šaruθa* n.f. (pl. *šaryyaθa*) lunch  
*kawuθra* n.f. (pl. *kawuθre*, *kawuθraθa*) lunch  
*xa-ramša* n.f. (pl. *xa-ramšaθa*) dinner  
*basəsta* n.f. crushed wheat  
*burrəš* n.m. dish consisting of meat and grains  
*bušala* n.m. stew

- čaplapəske* n.f. type of stew  
*čiče* n.pl. dish consisting of meat, millet (*prage*) and yoghurt  
*gərdə* n.f. dish consisting of yoghurt and cracked wheat  
*jəlja* n.m. (pl. *jəlje*) slice of meat that is hung in the sun to dry  
*kepəye* n.pl. (sing. *kepəya*) stuffed sheep's stomachs  
*kətəl* n.m. (K.) meat pasty  
*kubbe* n.pl. (sing. *kubba*) meat-balls  
*kutəlθa* n.f. (pl. *kutlaθa*) cutlet  
*mazza* n.m. (pl. *mazze*) (K.) snack before meal  
*pača* n.m. (T.) dish consisting of the head and legs of an animal  
*paqota* n.f. dish consisting of wheat dumplings and meat  
*qadida* n.m. (pl. *qadide*) dried salted meat (usually lamb)  
*qalya* n.m. cooked meat and fat preserved for winter  
*qawurma* n.m. (T.) fried meat dish  
*qəsqəsta* n.f. fine crushed rice  
*šorba* n.f. (K./A.) stew (with beans)  
*xəššə* n.pl. boiled wheat  
*xumša* n.m. dish consisting of meat, rice and turnips  
*xwiša* n.m. wheat flour mixed with butter and egg  
*yarqa* n.m. vegetable stew  
*zwaða* n.m. (pl. *zwaðe*) provision for journey

#### 21.16.2. *Bread and Baking*

- ləxma* n.m. (pl. *ləxme*) bread  
*ləša* n.m. dough  
*xmira* n.m. yeast  
*gusta* n.f. (pl. *gusyathə*) ball of dough  
*parša* n.m. (pl. *paršə*) large flat stone for flattening dough  
*tanura* n.m. (pl. *tanure*) oven  
*tanurta* n.f. (pl. *tanuryathə*) small oven  
*'entət tanura* n.f. (pl. *'enyathə*) airhole of oven  
*səryoqe* n.pl. stalks of leaves burnt in oven as fuel  
*marzaq* n.m. (pl. *marzaqe*) wooden stick covered in wool used to stick bread to the oven  
*sela* n.m. concave metal iron griddle for making bread  
*ṭaryanta* n.f. flat bread basket  
*'apəθa* n.f. (pl. *'apayathə*) cloth put over bread when it is stored  
*qəllora* n.m. (pl. *qəllore*) (K.) large loaf made from flour of maize (*xəttə romayə*), sorghum (*xroriya*) or *prage* (millet); head of maize

- baksāma* n.m. (pl. *baksāme*) big loaf made from flour of wheat  
*taxərta* n.f. (pl. *taxraθa*) small pitta bread cooked on the side of oven  
*ṭalma* n.m., *ṭl̄mθa* n.f. (pl. *ṭalme*) large thin flat bread made on a griddle  
 (*sela*)  
*ṭaṭṭapa* n.m. (pl. *ṭaṭṭape*) small round unleavened bread on a griddle  
 (*sela*)  
*lawāša* n.m. (pl. *lawāše*) large thin bread baked in an oven  
*zēḍaya* n.f. (pl. *zēḍaye*) round thick flat bread baked in an oven, made from  
 wheat  
*samuna* n.m. (pl. *samune*) loaf of bread  
*čəlloxe* n.pl. (sing. *čəlloxta*) crispy pieces of baked bread remaining on the  
 wall of the oven  
*kada* n.m. (pl. *kade*) sweet pastry (made for festivals)  
*kuleča* n.m. (pl. *kuleče*) small cake (made at festivals)

### 21.16.3. Dairy Products

- xwaruθa* n.f. dairy products  
*rečəl* n.m. dairy products  
*xəlyā* n.m. milk  
*gupta* n.f. (pl. *gupyaθa*) cheese  
*gupta m̄tumarta* cheese buried in the ground to mature  
*masta* n.f. yoghurt  
*xumšət masta* n.m. sour remainder of yoghurt  
*grušta, qərrušta* n.f. (pl. *grušyaθa*) crust (of yoghurt, milk)  
*čita* n.f. butter made from yoghurt  
*māšxa* n.m. vegetable oil; clarified butter  
*karra* n.m. (P.) hard butter (brought from towns)  
*dawwe* n.pl. (K.) yoghurt mixed with water  
*qaška* n.m. (pl. *qaške*) (K.) dried cake of yoghurt  
*məjja* n.m. yoghurt paste made by dissolving dried yoghurt cakes (*qaške*)  
*jəjək* n.m. (K./T.) yoghurt mixed with water (*dawwe*) and the herbs *sərmo*,  
*hašya*, *purəpxina* or *bizər*  
*xalwa* n.m. fatless curds of boiled yoghurt water  
*marəθa* n.f. rennet  
*m̄soθa* n.f. extract from the stomach of a young goat used as rennet for  
 cheese

## 21.17. ILLNESSES

- māra, marra* n.m. (pl. *māre, marre*) illness  
*šaθa* n.f. fever  
*ṭali* n.m. (pl. *ṭaliye*) viral illness  
*baroqa* n.m. (pl. *baroqe*) shooting pain in back  
*gazgoze* pl. (sing. *gazgozta*) goose pimples  
*gərra* n.m. leprosy, psoriasis  
*gərrəsta* n.f. dandruff  
*jalṭa* n.m. (A.) stroke, blood clot  
*mawθana* n.m. plague  
*pukta* n.f. hiccups  
*rapoṭta* n.f. rash on skin  
*saxora* n.m. (pl. *saxore*) sty, inflammation in the eye  
*šalqo* n.f. smallpox  
*šalqo t-miya* chickenpox  
*šanə parxe* n.m. chickenpox  
*šəxna* (pl. *šəxne*) inflammation, boil  
*xānāqiθa* n.f. whooping cough  
*xəmxəma* n.m. rash  
*xərsa* leprosy; mange; eczema  
*zəṭe* n.pl. measles

## 21.18. BASIC ATTRIBUTES

- goṛa* big  
*zora* small  
  
*rixa* long  
*kərya* short  
  
*rama* high  
*kopana* low  
  
*pəθya* wide  
*ʿiqa* narrow  
  
*trisa* fat (person)  
*zābun* thin (person)

*xlima* thick (stick)  
*naqiða* thin (stick)  
*daqıqa* fine (flour)

*xelana* strong  
*zābun* weak

*yaqura* heavy  
*qalula* light

*rakixa* soft  
*quwya* hard

*spay* good  
*xərba* bad

*xəðya* happy  
*xasšana* sad

*kəpina* hungry  
*şiya* thirsty

*xəlyə* sweet  
*marıra* bitter

*çüwa* smooth  
*xarsupana* rough

*talıla* wet  
*brıza* dry

*şəxtana* dirty  
*tāməz* clean

*xamuşa* sour  
*şaruşa* spicy hot (food)

*ʾamuqa* deep  
*laṭṭa* shallow

*šapira, šətrana, šəklana* beautiful (person)  
*šəklana, taza* beautiful (thing)

*yaqurta* pregnant (woman)  
*xəθa* (woman) who has given birth  
*qirθa* barren (female animal)  
*baxta t-ɛ maθya yale* a barren woman (literally: a woman who does not bear children)

*kāixa* tired  
*šənθi θaya* I am sleepy

## 21.19. COLOURS

*xwara* white  
*koma* black  
*smoqa* red  
*milana* green, blue  
*kaska* (K.) green  
*zāra* (K.) yellow  
*qahwayi* (A.) brown  
*gawra* (K.) grey, off-white  
*šənxurri* grey  
*rəzyana* dark in colour (especially colour of walnut peel)

## 21.20. ACTIVITIES

### 21.20.1. *Basic Activities*

*bry* I (*bare, brele, braya*) to be born  
*ryš* I (*rayəš, rišle, ryaša*) to wake up  
*tʔ* I (*tāle, tʔile/tʔele, tʔaʔa/tʔaya*) to sleep  
*dmx* I (*daməx, dmixle, dmaxa*) to lie down  
*qym* I (*qayəm, qimle, qyama*) to rise  
*xyʔ* I (*xayəʔ, xiple, xyapa*) to bathe (immerse the whole body), to have a shower

- xll* II *m-xll* (*mxaləl/mxäləl*, *mxuləlle/mxüləlle*, *mxalole/mxälole*) to wash (an item)
- msy* I (*mase*, *msele*, *msaya*) to wash (clothes)
- lws* I (*lawəs*, *lwišle*, *lwaša*) to dress (oneself)
- šlx* I (*šaləx*, *šlixle*, *šlaxa*) to undress (oneself)
- zwn* I (*zawən*, *zwinne*, *zwana*), *šql* I (*šaqəl*, *šqille*, *šqala*) to buy
- zbn* II (*mzabən*, *mzubənnə*, *mzabone*) to sell
- ʔtw* III *m-ty* (*matu*, *muttule*, *mattoye*) to put (on solid surface)
- dry* I (*dare/dere*, *drele*, *draya*) to put (on non-solid surface)
- šql* I (*šaqəl*, *šqille*, *šqala*) to take
- nbl* III (*nabəl*, *nubəlle*, *nabole*) to take (so./sth. to some place), to take away
- txr* I (*taxə*, *txirre*, *txara*) to remember
- nšy* I (*našə*, *nšele*, *nšaya*), III *m-nšy* (*manše*, *munšele*, *manšoye*) to forget
- ty* I (*täye*, *tele*, *täya*) to search
- xzy* I (*xaze*, *xzele*, *xzaya*) to find
- šwθ* II *m-šwθ* (*mšawəθ/mšäwəθ*, *mšuwətle*, *mšawoθe*) to speak
- qrn* II *m-qrn* (*mqärən*, *mqürənnə*, *mqärone*) to grow up

### 21.20.2. Cutting and Tearing

- čkčk* Q *m-čkčk* (*mčakčək*, *mčukčəkle*, *mčakčəke*) to prick
- člp* I (*čaləp*, *čliple*, *člapa*) to split; to tear apart; to tear (meat) from the bone
- člx* I (*čaləx*, *člixle*, *člaxa*) to tear apart
- dqdq* Q *m-dqdq* (*mdaqdəq*, *mduqdəqle*, *mdaqdoqe*) to chop into small pieces
- grč* I (*garəč*, *gričle*, *grača*) to scratch (with fingernails drawing blood)
- jlx* I (*jaləx*, *jlixle*, *jlaxa*) (K.) to cut (skin)
- jrđ* I (*jarəd*, *jrđle*, *jrada*) (A.) to peel, to strip off (leaves)
- jrɣ* I (*jarəx*, *jrɣle*, *jraxa*) (K.) to scratch; to scrape
- jyq* I (*jayəq*, *jyqle*, *jyaqa*) (K.) to tear
- klč* II *m-klč* (*mkaləč*, *mkuləčle*, *mkaločə*) (K.) to peel; to strip
- ksx* I (*kasəx*, *ksixle*, *ksaxa*) to prune (a tree, a vine); to cut (a vein/artery)
- lkz* I (*lakəz*, *lkizle*, *lkaza*) to stab, to prick
- ngr* I (*nagə*, *ngirre*, *ngara*), II *m-ngr* (*mnagə*, *mnugərre*, *mnagore*) to bite (meat from a bone)
- ngz* I (*nagəz*, *ngizle*, *ngaza*) to bite
- nsr* I (*nasə*, *nsirre*, *nsara*) to saw
- nšt* I (*našət*, *nšitlə*, *nšaťa*) to flay, to skin (an animal)
- nys* I (*nayəs*, *nisle*, *nyasa*) to bite, to sting

*pčpč* Q *m-pčpč* (*mpačpáč, mpučpáčle, mpačpoče*) to chop into pieces; to mince (meat)

*pr* I (*päre, prile/prele, pra'a/praya*) to cut off; to burst

*prm* I (*param, primle, prama*) to cut; to slaughter

*pšx* I (*pašax, pšixle, pšaxa*) to cut down, to break

*qč* I (*qáčč, qčile/qčele, qča'a/qčaya*) to cut; to pick (fruit)

*qčp* I (*qačəp, qčiple, qčapa*) to pick, to cut down

*qdd* II *m-qdd* (*mquadəd/mqädəd, mqudədle/mqüdədle, mqadode/mqädode*) to cut up (meat)

*qdqd* Q *m-qdqd* (*mquadqəd, mqudqədle, mqadqode*) to cut up finely

*qlm* II *m-qlm* (*mqäləm, 3fs. mqäləma, mqüləmlə, mqälome*) to crop protruding branches (*qälame*) of a tree

*qlp* I (*qaləp, qliple, qlapa*) to peel, II (*mqaləp, mquləple, mqalope*) to peel, to strip

*qrčp* Q *m-qrčp* (*mqarčəp, mqurčəple, mqarčope*) to cut down, to harvest (fruit)

*qrč* I (*qarət, qričle, qrača*) to bite; to gnaw; to trim (trees); to be tough

*qrčp* Q *m-qrčp* (*mqartəp, mqurtəple, mqartope*) to break off

*grx* I (*qarax, qrixle, qraxa*) to knock off (twigs, buds, blossoms) | *mátra qəm-qarxála pəqxe*<sup>1</sup> The rain has knocked off the blossoms.

*qšr* II *m-qšr* (*mqašəx, mqušərre, mqašore*) to peel

*qsy* I (*qase, qsele, qšaya*) to cut (bread, fruit)

*qt* I (*qáčte, qtile/qtele, qta'a/qtaya*) to cut

*qt* I (*qatəp, qtiple, qtača*) to pick, to harvest (grapes)

*qtqt* Q *m-qtqt* (*mqatqət, mqutqətle, mqatqote*) to cut into small pieces

*qys* I (*qayəs, qišle, qyaša*) to cut (with scissors) | *qəm-qayəšle káwse diye*<sup>1</sup> He cut his hair (A29:3)

*srt* I (*sarət, sričle, srača*) to tear (paper, cloth etc. with ones hands)

*šlx* I (*šaləx, šlixle, šlaxa*) to split (wood), II *m-šlx* (*mšaləx, mšuləxle, mšaloxe*) to split (wood)

*šmt* I (*šamət, šmičle, šmača*) to break, to shatter

*šry* I (*šare, šrele, šraya*) to rend, to cut open

*štp* I (*šačəp, ščiple, štača*) to split in two

*xrz* I (*xarəz, xrizle, xraza*) to stab, to thrust

### 21.20.3. *Hitting and Harming*

*bls* I (*baləs, blisle, blasa*) to damage; to make jagged

*člbx* Q *m-člbx* (*mčalbəx, mčulbəxle, mčalboxe*) to beat with a stick

*dmdm* Q *m-dmdm* (*mdamdəm, mdumdəmlə, mdamdome*) to beat up

*dqš* I (*daqəš, dqišle, dqaša*) to butt, to gore



- drbn* Q *m-drbn* (*mdarbən, mdurbəne, mdarbone*) to injure, to wound  
*dxdx* Q (*mdaxdx, mduxdxle, mdaxdoxe*) to prod  
*gmgm* Q *m-gmgm* (*mgamgəm, mgungəmle, mgamgome*) to strike hard  
*gnš* I (*gaməš, gmišle, gmaša*) to butt (with horns)  
*gm̄x* I (*gaməx, gm̄ixle, gm̄axa*) to knock in, to punch in  
*mxy* I (*maxe, mxele, mxaya*) to hit  
*nqj* I (*naqj, nqjle, nqaja*) to pinch, to nip  
*qr̄pč* Q *m-qr̄pč* (*mqar̄pəč, mqur̄pəčle, mqar̄počē*) to hit, to beat  
*qr̄px* Q *m-qr̄px* (*mqar̄pəx, mqur̄pəxle, mqar̄poxe*) to slap, to hit hard  
*qrs* I (*qarəs, qrisle, qraša*) to pinch; to burn (partially), to catch (food)  
*qr̄sn* Q *m-qr̄sn* (*mqar̄sən, mqur̄səne, mqar̄sone*) to sting (nettle)  
*qtl* I (*qatəl, qtille, qtala*) to kill  
*qyθ* I (*qayəθ, qille, qyaθa*) to hit; to knock; to touch  
*ryp* I (*rayəp, riple, ryapa*) to attack  
*šrbq* Q *m-šrbq* (*mšarbəq, mšurbəqle, mšarboqe*) to whip  
*šrbt* Q *m-šrbt* (*mšarbət, mšurbətle, mšarboṭe*) to whip, to strike (animal) with a pliant stick (*šarbətana*)  
*tlx* I (*taləx, tlilxle, tlaxa*) to collapse; to destroy, II *m-tlx* (*mtaləx, mtuləxle, mtaloxe*) to destroy, to devastate  
*tptp* Q *m-tptp* (*mṭaptəp, mṭuptəple, mṭaptəpe*) to tap, to bang; to knock bread dough against hands alternately  
*tqtq* Q *m-tqtq* (*mṭaqtəq, mṭuqtəqle, mṭaqtəqe*) to knock (at the door)  
*ttx* Q *m-ttx* (*mtaxtəx, mtuxtəxle, mtaxtoxe*) to prod  
*xrw* III *m-xrw* (*maxru, muxrule, maxrowe*) to damage, to destroy; to do mischief  
*xtr* I (*xatəx, xṭirre, xṭara*) to bang clothes on a washing board (*xatorta*); to batter

#### 21.20.4. *Breaking and Crushing*

- dyq* I (*dayəq, diqle, dyaqa*) to crush  
*grs* I (*garəs, grisle, grasa*) to grind; to crush  
*mrč* I (*marəč, mričle, mrača*) to crush, to squash  
*mrs* I (*marəs, mrisle, mrasa*) to squash (grapes)  
*mr̄x* I (*marəx, mr̄ixle, mr̄axa*) to crush  
*myj*, *myč* I (*mayj, mijle, myaja*) to knead and crush (dried yoghurt in hands)  
*nčl* I (*načəl, nčille, nčala*) to pull apart; to tear off; to be torn off, to snap; to pick  
*nqr* I (*naqəx, nqirre, nqara*) to bore; to knock in, to stab; to inscribe; to dress (stone)

*pq*<sup>ʔ</sup> I (*pāqe*, *pqile/pqe*, *pqaʔa/pqaya*) to split (intr.), to explode (intr.); to burst (intr.). II *m-pq*<sup>ʔ</sup> (*mpāqe*, *mpūqe*, *mpāqoye*) to split (tr.); to inflate (tr.); to explode (tr.), to blow up (tr.).

*prps* Q *m-prps* (*mparḗs*, *mpurḗsle*, *mparḗse*) to scatter; to pull apart

*prpt* Q *m-prpt* (*mparḗt*, *mpurḗtle*, *mparḗte*) to pluck (a chicken); to pull out (hair); to tear up

*prs* I (*paras*, *prisle*, *prasa*) to tear apart

*prt* I (*parat*, *pritle*, *prata*) to tear; to wear out; to cut off

*prtx* Q *m-prtx* (*mpartax*, *mpurtaxle*, *mpartoxe*) to break up; to crumble

*prx* I (*parax*, *prixle*, *praxa*) to crush (by rubbing together)

*qrmx* Q *m-qrmx* (*mqarmax*, *mqurmæxle*, *mqarmoxe*) to crush, to crumble (in hands)

*qs* I (*qasḗ*, *qsifl*, *qsafā*) (A.) to shatter, to cut to pieces

*slx* I (*šalax*, *šlixle*, *šlaxa*) to uproot; to strip

*šrqṭ* Q *m-šrqṭ* (*mšarqat*, *mšurqatle*, *mšarqote*) to break off heads of millet (*prage*); to crack open (an egg)

*twr* I (*tawar*, *twirre*, *twarā*) to break

*zP* I (*zāle*, *złile/zlele*, *zlaʔa/zlaya*) to crack, to split

#### 21.20.5. Sounds

*ʔrt* III *m-rt* (*mārḗt*, *mūrḗtle*, *māroṭe*) to break wind noisily

*bqḅq* Q *m-bqḅq* (*mbaqḅq*, *mbuqḅqle*, *mbaqḅqye*) to gurgle (water)

*brbr* Q *m-brbr* (*mbarḅar*, *mburḅarre*, *mbarḅore*) to bleat (sheep); to low (cattle)

*brdm* Q *m-brdm* (*mbardam*, *mburdamle*, *mbardome*) to mumble, to mutter

*bwby* Q *m-bwby* (*mbawbe*, *mbubele*, *mbawboye*) to howl (wolf)

*čkčk* Q *m-čkčk* (*mčakčak*, *mčukčakle*, *mčakčoke*) to chatter; to clatter

*člwł* Q *m-člwł* (*mčalwəl*, *mčulwəlle*, *mčalwəle*) to wail

*čnčn* Q *m-čnčn* (*mčančən*, *mčunčəne*, *mčančone*) to whine; to buzz

*črčr* Q *m-črčr* (*mčarčar*, *mčurčarre*, *mčarčore*) to screech

*čwčy* Q *m-čwčy* (*mčawče*, *mčučele*, *mčawčoye*) to chirp

*čzčz* Q *m-čzčz* (*mčazčaz*, *mčuzčəzle*, *mčazčoze*) to crackle (frying food)

*dndn* Q *m-dndn* (*mdandən*, *mdundəne*, *mdandone*) to hum; to ring (ears)

*drdr* Q *m-drdr* (*mdardar*, *mdurdarre*, *mdardore*) to natter, to gossip

*fšfš* Q *m-fšfš* (*mfušfəs*, *mfušfəsle*, *mfušfəse*) to snivel, to sniffle

*glj* II *m-glj* (*mgalj*, *mgulajle*, *mgaloje*) to prattle, to talk nonsense

*grgm* Q *m-grgm* (*mgargəm*, *mgurgamle*, *mgargome*) to thunder; to buzz

*gʔr* II *m-gʔr* (*mgawar/mgāwər*, *mgawarre*, *mgawore*) to belch

*hrgm* Q *m-hrgm* (*mhargəm*, *mhurgamle*, *mhargome*) to bang, to make a loud sound; to roar (lion)

- kʃkʃ* Q *m-kʃkʃ* (*mkaʃkəʃ*, *mkuʃkəʃle*, *mkaʃkoʃe*) to hiss
- klkl* Q *m-klkl* (*mkalkəl*, *mkulkəlle*, *mkalkole*) to ululate
- klkll* II *m-klkll* (*mkaləl/mkäləl*, *mkuləlle/mkülälle*, *mkalole/mkälole*) to ululate
- kʀkʀ* Q *m-kʀkʀ* (*mkarkəʀ*, *mkurkəʀre*, *mkarkore*) to bleat (goats); to cluck (hen)
- kʃkʃ* Q *m-kʃkʃ* (*mkaʃkəʃ*, *mkuʃkəʃle*, *mkaʃkoʃe*) to make threatening noises before fight (dogs); to shoo away (chickens, birds)
- lʃlʃ* Q *m-lʃlʃ* (*mlaʃləʃ*, *mluʃləʃle*, *mlaʃloʃe*) to squelch, to produce a squishing sound (when wet)
- mɛny* Q *m-nɛny* (*mnawne*, *mnunele*, *mnawnoye*) to meow (cat)
- nznz* Q *m-nznz* (*mnaznəz*, *mnuznəzle*, *mnaznoze*) to make sucking noises
- qmqm* Q *m-qmqm* (*mqamqəm*, *mqumqəmle*, *mqamqome*) to have flatulence; to buzz
- qrdʃ* Q *m-qrdʃ* (*mqardəʃ*, *mqurdəʃle*, *mqardoʃe*) to make a clattering noise; to shatter (with a loud noise)
- qʃqʃ* Q *m-qʃqʃ* (*mqaʃqəʃ*, *mquʃqəʃle*, *mqaʃqoʃe*) to creak, to crack
- qʃqʃ* Q *m-qʃqʃ* (*mqaʃqəʃ*, *mquʃqəʃle*, *mqaʃqoʃe*) to rustle (leaves)
- qɔwɔ* Q *m-qɔwɔ* (*maqawɔe*, *mquqele*, *maqawɔoye*) to bark (fox)
- qɔwɔ* III *m-qɔwɔ* (*maqawəx*, *muqwəxle*, *maqwoxe*) to make a noise
- ʃll* II *m-ʃll* (*mʃaləl/mʃäləl*, *mʃuləlle/mʃüləlle*, *mʃalole/mʃälole*) to become sober; to neigh
- ʃrʃr* Q *m-ʃrʃr* (*mʃarʃəʀ*, *mʃurʃəʀre*, *mʃarʃore*) to splash, to plash (sound made by flowing water)
- ʃrʃr* Q *m-ʃrʃr* (*mʃarʃəʀ*, *mʃurʃəʀre*, *mʃarʃore*) to whimper, to twitter; to howl, to screech (animals); to swish
- ʃrx* I (*ʃarəx*, *ʃrixle*, *ʃraxa*) to shout; to scream; to cry
- ʃwʃ* I (*ʃawəʃ*, *ʃwiʃle*, *ʃwəʃa*) to twitter; to swish
- ʃwʃy* Q *m-ʃwʃy* (*mʃawʃe*, *mʃuʃele*, *mʃawʃoye*) to twitter, chirp
- tlpʃ* Q *m-tlpʃ* (*mtalpəʃ*, *mtulpəʃle*, *mtalpoʃe*) to whisper
- tmtm* Q *m-tmtm* (*mtamtəm*, *mtumtəmle*, *mtamtome*) to stutter
- tqtq* Q *m-tqtq* (*mtaqtəq*, *mtuqtəqle*, *mtaqtəqe*) to laugh loudly, to cackle
- tʃtʃ* Q *m-tʃtʃ* (*mtaʃtəʃ*, *mtuʃtəʃle*, *mtaʃtoʃe*) to whisper (secrets)
- vrvr* Q *m-vrvr* (*mvarvəʀ*, *muvrəʀre*, *mvarvore*) to croak (frog)
- wɛwɛn* Q *m-wɛwɛn* (*mwanwən*, *mwanwənnə*, *mwanwone*) to twitter, to chirp (birds, insects)
- wɔwɔ* Q *m-wɔwɔ* (*mwaqwəq*, *mwuqwəqle*, *mwaqwoqe*) to croak (frogs)
- wɔwɔ* Q *m-wɔwɔ* (*mwarwəʀ*, *muvrəʀre*, *mwarwore*) to roar
- wɔwɔ* Q *m-wɔwɔ* (*mwaswəʃ*, *mwaswəʃle*, *mwaswoʃe*) to twitter (birds)
- wɔwɔ* Q *m-wɔwɔ* (*mwaswəʃ*, *mwaswəʃle*, *mwaswoʃe*) to squeak (mouse)
- xrxr* Q *m-xrxr* (*mɔarxəʀ*, *mɔurxəʀre*, *mɔarxore*) to snore

- zmzm* Q *m-zmzm* (*mzamzəm, mzumzəmle, mzamzome*) to hum, to splash (water); to ring; to whistle (wind)
- zngr* Q *m-zngr* (*mzangər, mzungərre, mzangore*) to ring (bell); to sound (musical instrument); to echo
- znzn* Q *m-znzn* (*mzanzən, mzunzəne, mzanzone*) to buzz; to throb (wound)
- zqzq* Q *m-zqzq* (*mzaqzəq, mzuqzəqle, mzaqzoqe*) to twitter (birds)
- zrzr* Q *m-zrzr* (*mzarzər, mzurzərre, mzarzore*) to bray (donkey); to lose flavour

## 21.21. PHRASES USED IN SOCIAL INTERACTION

### 21.21.1. Greetings

- šlāma-llux!*<sup>1</sup> Greetings!
- qedāmtux brixta!*<sup>1</sup> Good morning!
- qedāmtux t̄awa!*<sup>1</sup> Good morning!
- kawúθrux brixta!*<sup>1</sup> Good afternoon!
- kawúθrux t̄awa!*<sup>1</sup> Good afternoon!
- rámšux t̄awa!*<sup>1</sup> Good night!
- rámša brixà-llux!*<sup>1</sup> Good night!
- b-šēna θélux!*<sup>1</sup> You are welcome!
- xáðyewəm b-xzèθux.*<sup>1</sup> I am pleased to see you.
- dāx-iwət?*<sup>1</sup> / *mātoiwət?*<sup>2</sup> How are you?
- spà-y-in.*<sup>1</sup> I am well.
- škìra-ʔalaha!*<sup>1</sup> Thanks be to God!
- ʔitli híwi t̄-áwət sáx ʔu-sālaməttùθa.*<sup>1</sup> I hope you will be fine and in good health.
- dri šlāma l-bàbux.*<sup>1</sup> Give my regards to your father.
- yáwət šlāma l-bàbux.*<sup>1</sup> Give my regards to your father.
- pús b-šēna.*<sup>1</sup> Goodbye.
- ʔalaha t̄-áwe m̀nnux.*<sup>1</sup> May God be with you.

### 21.21.2. Expression of Thanks

- basíma ràba!*<sup>1</sup> Thank you!
- basímta ràba!*<sup>1</sup> Thank you (said to a woman)!
- t̄-áwət basíma!*<sup>1</sup> Thank you!
- basíma ràba! le-dàqra.*<sup>1</sup> Thank you! Don't mention it.

*hon-tyána mánta mǎnnux*<sup>1</sup> / *'ána tǎnánat mǎntǎwǎn*<sup>1</sup> You have done me a favour  
(I am much obliged to you).  
*škirá-ʔalaha!* Thanks be to God!

### 21.21.3. *Expressions Relating to Health*

*ʔalaha mbasǎmlux*<sup>1</sup> May God cure you.  
*ʔalaha yawǎllux basimútha*<sup>1</sup> God grant you good health.  
*b-rǎxme!*<sup>1</sup> Bless you! (said to somebody who sneezes)  
If somebody has a lot of work, you say:  
*qúwǎt t-ǎwǎlux*<sup>1</sup> May you have strength.  
To which the reply is:  
*(gu-)pardǎsa bábux ʔu-ǎmmux*<sup>1</sup> May your father and mother be in paradise.

### 21.21.4. *Bereavement*

If there is a death in the family, you say:  
*rǎšux t-ǎwe basima*<sup>1</sup> May you (literally: your head) be healthy (said to a  
person who has been recently bereaved).  
Then when leaving the house of the bereaved, you say:  
*ʔalaha manǎxle (gu-nóhra ʔu-pardǎsa)*<sup>1</sup>. May God grant him rest (in light and  
paradise).

### 21.21.5. *Hospitality*

When a guest is at your table, you say:  
*xmáthux báǎlǎlux*<sup>1</sup> Feel at home (eat as much as you can) (literally: Your  
mother-in-law loves you).  
When a guest has eaten a meal, he says to his host:  
*ʔalaha mazyǎdle*<sup>1</sup> May God increase it (the food).  
*ʔalaha dére burkátha gu-bǎthux*<sup>1</sup> May God bestow blessings on your house.  
The host replies:  
*nanǎlux!*<sup>1</sup> Enjoy it!  
After finishing a drink you say:  
*(gu-)pardǎsa bábux ʔu-ǎmmux*<sup>1</sup> (May) your father and mother be in paradise.

### 21.21.6. *Congratulations*

*brǎxa!*<sup>1</sup> Congratulations!  
*brǎxe!*<sup>1</sup> Congratulations (on your new clothes)!

ʔəðux brìxa!<sup>1</sup> Happy festival!  
 brìxa be-yàldux!<sup>1</sup> Happy Christmas!  
 réšət šétux brìxa!<sup>1</sup> Happy New Year!  
 xáyət!<sup>1</sup> Bravo!  
 xáyə gànux!<sup>1</sup> Bravo!  
 gànux bàsma!<sup>1</sup> básma gànux!<sup>1</sup> Well done!

After somebody washes, you say:

bríxta hammàmux.<sup>1</sup> I hope you feel better after your wash

#### 21.21.7. *Polite Requests*

ʔn-zámət la-háwya ʔəllux!<sup>1</sup> hálli kθàwa.<sup>1</sup> If it is not difficult for you, give me the book (= Please give me the book).

ʔn-lá-hoya zámət,<sup>1</sup> mačmíle bərqə.<sup>1</sup> Please turn off the light.

If A requests something from B, B replies:

dáx lítlux xətə;<sup>1</sup> rēš-ʔəni.<sup>1</sup> Of course, by all means.

#### 21.21.8. *Apologies*

paxàlta!<sup>1</sup> Sorry!

lítla-xam.<sup>1</sup> That is fine.

mo-bt-àwe.<sup>1</sup> mo-ʔi-ba.<sup>1</sup> That is fine, that is nothing.

### 21.22. PERSONAL NAMES USED IN BARWAR VILLAGES

#### 21.22.1. *Names of Men*

Full name	Hypocoristic
ʔAðam	
ʔAndreus	ʔAndo
ʔAšur	ʔAšo
ʔAweraham	ʔAzero
ʔAxiqar	ʔAxo
ʔƏsxəq	ʔƏqqo
ʔIšo	
ʔOdišo	
ʔUšana	Čana
Bənyamən	Bənno, Nono
Daniʔel	Danno

<i>Dawið</i>	<i>Dodo</i>
<i>Galyana</i>	<i>Gallo</i>
<i>Gwīrgis</i>	<i>Ĵajjo, Ĵajji, Ĵaggo, Gaggo, Gičo</i>
<i>Hormuz</i>	<i>Humče</i>
<i>Lazar</i>	<i>Ĵajo</i>
<i>Mišayel</i>	
<i>Mixayil</i>	<i>Mixo, Nixo</i>
<i>Nisən</i>	
<i>Pəθyo</i>	
<i>Putrus</i>	<i>Patto</i>
<i>Sanxero</i>	<i>Sanxo</i>
<i>Sargun</i>	<i>Saggo</i>
<i>Šeba</i>	
<i>Šəmšun</i>	
<i>Šəmʻon</i>	<i>Šəmo</i>
<i>Šəmona</i>	
<i>Šlemun</i>	
<i>Ṭemo</i>	
<i>Warda</i>	
<i>Xaməs</i>	
<i>Xošāba</i>	<i>Čābo, Šābo, Xawšo</i>
<i>Yaqo</i>	
<i>Yawsəp</i>	<i>Čope, Čočo</i>
<i>Yūwanəs</i>	<i>Nanəs</i>
<i>Yūwarəš</i>	<i>ʻAšo</i>
<i>Yuwəl</i>	
<i>Yuxanna</i>	<i>Kanno</i>
<i>Žaraduš</i>	
<i>Žāya, Žayya</i>	<i>Žeko, Čāyo</i>

### 21.22.2. *Names of Women*

Full name	Hypocoristic
<i>ʻAsmar</i>	
<i>ʻAsyət</i>	
<i>ʻEləšwa</i>	<i>ʻAššo</i>
<i>Bibe</i>	
<i>Gawere</i>	
<i>Guzze</i>	

<i>Helene</i>	<i>Nene, Nane</i>
<i>Kasno</i>	
<i>Layya</i>	
<i>Marta</i>	
<i>Maryam</i>	<i>Mayyo, Malle</i>
<i>Naze</i>	
<i>Sarra</i>	
<i>Šazo</i>	
<i>Šmoni</i>	
<i>Surma</i>	
<i>Xamme</i>	
<i>Xanna</i>	
<i>Xawa</i>	
<i>Xanzada</i>	<i>Xəzzo</i>
<i>Xošebo</i>	<i>Bebo</i>

21.23. NAMES OF ANIMALS<sup>1</sup>21.23.1. *Nanny Goats* (ʔəzze) *and Female Sheep* (wane)

<i>Kemere</i>	White-striped one
<i>Kočē</i>	Hornless one
<i>Kxuθa</i>	Star
<i>Nune</i>	One with smooth skin like a fish
<i>Pošē</i>	One with a white spot on the head
<i>Xanne</i>	Chestnut coloured one

21.23.2. *Oxen* (tawre)

*Bazo*  
*Čavrašo*  
*Čawraš*  
*Niso*  
*Rášo*

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<sup>1</sup> Individual domestic animals were known by names in Barwar.



*Xāmo*

*Xāyo*

21.23.3. *Cows* (tawriyaθa)

*Ġazale*

*Nisane*

21.23.4. *Male Mules* (kawədne)

*Kurdo*

21.23.5. *Female Mules* (koðənyaθa)

*ʿAsmāre*

*Gurje*

*Ġazale*

*Surme*

*Xāje*

*Xande*

21.23.6. *Asses* (xmare)

*ʿInšāro*

## GLOSSARIES



## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GLOSSARIES

**I** = stem I verb  
**II** = stem II verb  
**III** = stem III verb  
**Q** = quadriliteral verb

A. = Arabic  
adj. = adjective  
adv. = adverb  
annex. = annexation  
anton. = antonym  
C.Syr. = Classical Syriac  
cs. = common gender singular  
cst. = construct state  
E. = English  
f. = feminine  
fs. = feminine singular  
I. = Italian  
imper. = imperative  
interj. = interjection

intr. = intransitive  
invar. = invariable  
K. = Kurdish  
m. = masculine  
mod. = non-attributive modifier  
ms. = masculine singular  
n. = noun  
num. = numeral  
obj. = object  
P. = Persian  
part. = particle  
pl. = plural  
pl.tan. = pluralis tantum  
prep. = preposition  
pron. = pronoun  
synon. = synonym  
tr. = transitive  
Ṭiy. = Ṭiyare dialects  
Urm. = Christian Urmi dialect



## GLOSSARY OF VERBS

/ʔ/

<sup>ʔ</sup>*by* **III** *m-by* (*mabe/mābe, mubele/mūbele, maboje/māboje*) **to swell; to cause to swell, to inflate** | *məxyallux<sup>1</sup> há-t-ila múbyalle gòldux<sup>1</sup>* They beat you, until they made your skin swell (A2:10); *ʔo-gáldə mùbyəlle<sup>1</sup>* They inflated its skin (A28:26)

<sup>ʔ</sup>*čm* **I** (*ʔačəm, čimle, čama*) **to close** → *čym* | *qəm-ʔačməle tára<sup>1</sup>* She closed the door (A19:4).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*jb* **III** *m-jb* (*majəb/mājəb, müjəble/ʔüjəble, mājobe*) **to be astonished, to be amazed** (*b- at*) | *náše mājóbe biyèy<sup>1</sup>* People were amazed at them (A8:6).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*mđ* **I** (*ʔaməđ, midle, mađa*) **to be baptized** | *ʔíman midle<sup>ʔ1</sup>* When was he baptized?; *šqille mađa<sup>1</sup>* He received baptism. **III** *m-mđ* (*maməđ/māməđ, mǎmədle, mǎmòde*) **to baptize**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*mr* **I** (*ʔaməʔ, məre, mara*) **to say**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*mš* **I** (*ʔ-aməš*) (§8.16.5.) **to be able** → *m,šy*

<sup>ʔ</sup>*qđ* **I** (*ʔaqəđ, qidle, qađa*) **to burn (intr.)** | *ʔídux lá-darət gu-nùra<sup>1</sup> t-là-ʔaqđa<sup>1</sup>* Do not put your hand in the fire lest it burns (D1:8); *béθi qidle<sup>1</sup>* My house has burnt down (A48:2); *mən-lábbe díye qíđa<sup>1</sup> dére xèla<sup>1</sup> načəlle ʔo-šəryóxa<sup>1</sup>* Out of his fervour, he applied force and pulled the tether apart (A28:19); *ʔáw p̄riqle m-ṭawálda<sup>1</sup> qídle<sup>1</sup>* He is finished with the game, he is out (B11:8). **III** *m-qđ* (*maqəđ, muqədle, maqəde*) **to burn (tr.)** | *maqđánnux gu-šəmšət šməyya<sup>1</sup>* I shall burn you in the sun of the sky (A12:28); *qəm-maqədda mǎhǎlle<sup>1</sup>* He burnt down his neighbourhood (A14:7).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*qr* **I** (*ʔaqəʔ, qirre, qara*) **to dig up, to dig out; to plough; to cost, to be expensive** | *zille qára ʔára<sup>1</sup>* He went to plough the land; *maqára šále gu-qésa ʔ-qərrre<sup>1</sup>* A gouge goes down into the wood and digs it out.

<sup>ʔ</sup>*rml* **Q** *m-rml* (*marməl, murmälle, marmole*) **to become a widow/widower**

<sup>ɾ</sup>ɾɪ **I** (<sup>ɾ</sup>arəq, riqle, raqa) **to run; to flee; to lose a game.** (1) **to run, to flee** | Čúxo riqele,<sup>1</sup> plítete gu-màθa<sup>1</sup> Čuxo ran out into the village (A7:16); kút-yum xá-<sup>ɾ</sup>arəwən y-arəqwa y-ásəq qám d-o-dəwa<sup>1</sup> Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf (A10:5); riqən qam-màmi<sup>1</sup> I have run away from my paternal uncle (A25:42); qú ruq-m-tàma.<sup>1</sup> Get up and be gone from there! (A37:16); <sup>ɾ</sup>u-xákma píšla riqe-u<sup>1</sup> píšla qítle<sup>1</sup> Some (were forced to) flee and were killed (B1:2). (2) **to lose a game** | šúryela mṭawóle b-šətrənjàne.<sup>1</sup> tḷá-gaye mṭuwàlla,<sup>1</sup> riqle Mír-Žān-din.<sup>1</sup> They began playing chess. They played three times and Mír-Zandin lost. (A26:63) **III** m-rq (mārəq, mūrəqle, mārəqe) **to kidnap; to cause to lose a game.** (1) **to kidnap, to steal away** | <sup>ɾ</sup>o-t-ile mūrəqalla brāti rába gabbàra-wewa<sup>1</sup> The person who kidnapped my daughter was a great warrior (A29:43); šqiltəlla masrəqta dīya<sup>1</sup> <sup>ɾ</sup>u-murəqtəlla<sup>1</sup> (The crow) took her comb and stole it away (A34:2). (2) **to cause to lose a game** | <sup>ɾ</sup>əy<sup>1</sup> qəm-qatḷáli <sup>ɾ</sup>u-marəqəli<sup>1</sup> She has killed me and made me lose (A26:66).

<sup>ɾ</sup>ɾl **Q** m-rql (marqəl, murqəlle, marqole) **to be late**

<sup>ɾ</sup>ršn **Q** m-ršn (maršən, muršənne, maršone) **to become mirky; to make mirky (water); to become numb.** (1) **to become mirky; to make mirky (water)** | xa-máršən qáma-qamat rəzzux<sup>1</sup> Somebody stirs up mud in the water in front of your rice (as you are planting out a paddy field). (2) **to become numb** | muršənna <sup>ɾ</sup>əy-dükθi<sup>1</sup> This place here on me has become numb (A18:29).

<sup>ɾ</sup>rṭ **I** (imper. ṭur) **to break wind noisily** | only used in the imperative form ṭur in exclamations: ṭur <sup>ɾ</sup>Āšwut!<sup>1</sup> θéle <sup>ɾ</sup>Āðar<sup>1</sup> To hell with (literally: fart!) February. March has come (B5:153); ṭur Hòrmuz!<sup>1</sup> To hell with Hormuz! **III** m-rṭ (mārəṭ, mūrəṭle, mārəṭe) **to break wind noisily** → <sup>ɾ</sup>urṭiθa

<sup>ɾ</sup>ry (i) **I** (<sup>ɾ</sup>are, rele, raya) **to rain** | dúnje hóla rəya<sup>1</sup> It is raining (A26:46); dúnje wéla rəya<sup>1</sup> It started raining (A28:6); təmmal rítela<sup>1</sup> Yesterday it rained; bṭ-àrya<sup>1</sup> It will rain; xá-gaya y-asqəxxwa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ɾ</sup>aryàwa dúnje<sup>1</sup> Sometimes we went up and it rained (B10:58); xzélux b-xəlmux<sup>1</sup> dúnje rəya tèle<sup>1</sup> You saw in your dream that it was raining foxes (A1:6).

<sup>ɾ</sup>ry (ii) **I** (<sup>ɾ</sup>are, rele, raya) **to seize; to curdle.** (1) **to seize** | qəm-<sup>ɾ</sup>aryála pašmànta<sup>1</sup> Sorrow seized her (A49:5). (2) **to curdle** | másta rəla<sup>1</sup> The yoghurt has set. **III** m-ry (mare, murele, maroye) **to patch; to cause to curdle.** (1) **to patch, to repair clothes** | qəm-marənne <sup>ɾ</sup>o-bóya

*t-wéwa gu-jùlli*<sup>1</sup> I patched the hole that was in my clothes. (2) **to cause to curdle, to set with rennet** | *mšaxnîwa xálya dîya-w<sup>1</sup> marêwale-u<sup>1</sup>* They would warm its milk and set it with rennet (B5:173).

<sup>ʔsq</sup> **I** (*ʔasəq, siqle, saqa*) **to go up; to go towards; to go off; to be descended (by genealogy)**. (1) **to go up** | *xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> siqewa<sup>1</sup> l-tùra<sup>1</sup>* A man had gone up into the mountains (A31:1); *ʔaskar t-léwi siqta gu-ʔEn-Nùne<sup>1</sup>* The Levy army went up to ʔEn-Nune (B8:21); *siqe<sup>1</sup>le xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra<sup>1</sup>* Some of the soot went up (A4:60); *siqela rəs-d-ay-ʔilána m-zdùtha<sup>1</sup>* They climbed the tree out of fear (A13:11). Up country (northwards): *t-ásqəx tápqəx b-xóni gu-Nînwé<sup>1</sup>* Let us go up (from Babylon) and meet my brother in Nineveh (A13:1). (2) **to go towards** | *ʔu-nášt mátha kùlla<sup>1</sup> siqe mparóje biyèy<sup>1</sup>* All the people of the village would go to look at them (B7:4); *ʔáwəwa-ži siqe<sup>1</sup>le tíwa tàma<sup>1</sup>* He approached and sat there (A14:30); *də-sùq!<sup>1</sup>* Off you go there! (A12:63); *y-ásəq ʔu-šàle<sup>1</sup>* He goes back and forth. (3) **to be descended (by genealogy)** | *kθiwəlle kəmélə siqe bar-d-əw-xona<sup>1</sup>* He wrote down how many are descended from that brother (B8:2). **III** *m-sq* (*masəq, musəqle, masoqe*) **to take up; to bring towards; to load (a gun)**. (1) **to take up** | *masqúwale l-tùra<sup>1</sup>* The would take him up the mountain (A14:10). (2) **to bring towards** | *šqiləlla<sup>1</sup> mùsqəlla<sup>1</sup> híwəlla tla-Čalkäze<sup>1</sup>* He took it, brought it (down the mountain) and gave it to Čalkäze (A12:51); *másqula láxxa màqðula!<sup>1</sup>* Bring them here and burn them! (A12:70). (3) **to load (a gun)** | *musəqle pišánga gu-tòpe<sup>1</sup>* He loaded a bullet into the gun.

<sup>ʔsr</sup> **I** (*ʔasə, sirre, sara*) **to tie** | *siqela bálam dîyey táma b-ðà ʔilána<sup>1</sup>* They tied their boat there to a tree (A14:39); *y-áwa siqe b-gðàðe<sup>1</sup>* They were tied together (B5:84); *xáθi sirətəlle reš<sup>1</sup>* My sister bound my (injured) head (B5:132).

<sup>ʔsy</sup> **I** (*ʔase, sele, sayə*) **to resist, to get stuck** | *ʔékəla šiθa gu-xà-tura<sup>1</sup> gu-xà-gəppa<sup>1</sup>* (You know) where she is shut away in a mountain, in a cave (A8:65). **III** *m-sy* (*maše/māše, muše/müşe, mašoye/māšoye*) **to fortify** | *b-čü-ʔurxa léwa mšáya málka t-əwəwə šaqólle Dəmdəma<sup>1</sup>*, *ma-t-wéwa mùšyəlle<sup>1</sup>* Yet by no means could the king enter to capture Dəmdəma, so well had he (Xano) fortified it (A11:16).

<sup>ʔšq</sup> **I** (*ʔasəq, šiqle, šaqa*) (A.) **to fall in love**

<sup>ʔtw</sup> **I** (*ʔatu, tiwə, tawa*) **to sit; to dwell; to be situated; to settle; to drop**. (1) **to sit** | *léðe gu-d-éni kúrsi ʔatu<sup>1</sup>* He does not know in which chair he should sit (A40:14); *mbádla tíwa xáše dîye ʔu-pliṭele<sup>1</sup>* In the



morning he sat on its back and went out (A12:66); *maláxe holá-ʔəyε tíwe l-kàwe*<sup>1</sup> The angels have come and have sat by the window (A4:59); *mšuxántela ʔu-tíwele rəša*<sup>1</sup> It (the chicken) was heated and he sat down to (eat) it (A2:5); *tu-tíwa*<sup>1</sup> Sit down! (A8:43); *de-tíwe*<sup>1</sup> Sit down (pl.!) (A21:28). (2) **to dwell** | *tíwewa gu-xa-gəppíθa*<sup>1</sup> He was dwelling in a small cave (A15:1); *šáttət mətə-wewə tíwa ʔo-xóna fǽqíra málka tíwa gu-rəšət máθa*<sup>1</sup> The poor brother lived at the bottom of the village. The king lived at the top of the village (A25:1). (3) **to be situated** | *matwáθa gu-Bérwər tíwela gu-ṭuràne*<sup>1</sup> The villages in Barwar are situated in the mountains (B11:31); *árba xámša sádde y-atwíwa gu-ḏà-xaqla*<sup>1</sup> Four or five dammed sections (of a paddy field) would be situated in one field (B7:10). (4) **to settle** | *ʔánna xéne kúlla hólá tíwəta tos-əlla* Dust had settled on all the others (A8:56); *kúlle ína ṭ-átu rəš-rəzza*<sup>1</sup> All the mud settles on the rice. (5) **to drop, to fall** | *míya tíwəla*<sup>1</sup> The water dropped (B6:20); *ʔqli tíwəla š-əqlət bəxta*<sup>1</sup> My leg fell on the leg of the woman (A16:11); *gúttə y-átwa ʔu-rəma*<sup>1</sup> The ball drops and rises (= bounces); *ʔən-lé-matti ʔisàrta, gúda y-ātu*<sup>1</sup> If they do not lay down gravel (in the foundations), the wall would subside. **III m-ty (mattu, muttule, mattoye) to place; to lay down, to shed; to set up; to lay out; to put aside.** (1) **to place, to put** | *ʔa-zórta muttáθəlla gu-d-é qušártət šwəwe*<sup>1</sup> She put the small one in the cooking pot of the neighbours (A5:4); *ʔaw mattóyəlla gáne dīye*<sup>1</sup> He positions himself (A12:49); *mattoye nəšwe* to lay bird traps. (2) **to lay down, to shed** | *mattúla kàrte*<sup>1</sup> He lays down his load (A15:3); *ʔəwəwa dómma mattúle*<sup>1</sup> He sheds this blood (A11:20). (3) **to set up** | *bábi muttúle táma bəθa*<sup>1</sup> My father set up home there (B8:10); *muttəθa margálta* She set up the pan (on the fire) (A34:1); *mattúli xá-šəmma xəna*<sup>1</sup> Give me another name! (A7:2). (4) **to lay out** | *muttále yaləxθa*<sup>1</sup> He laid out the handkerchief (A4:16); *múttə-wewə dalyáθa ʔu-xabúše* It (the orchard) was laid out with vines and apple-trees (A17:30). (5) **to put aside** | *m-bár t-ráxəθ ʔo-xəlyə*<sup>1</sup> *mattúwəle hal-qayərwə xánčī*<sup>1</sup> After the milked boiled, they put it aside until it cooled slightly (B5:164). (6) Idiom: *lá qəm-mattúla qəm-málka*<sup>1</sup> He did not yield to the king (i.e. he did not obey the king) (A27:1).

<sup>ʔəy</sup> **I** (*ʔəθe, θele, θaya*) **to come; to come back; to come to (do sth. eventually); to happen; to be told.** (1) **to come** | *θéle málka*<sup>1</sup> A mullah came (A22:3); *mòt ʔəθya Qatína*<sup>2</sup> Why have you come Qatína?<sup>2</sup> (A50:11); *hon-θíθa bəθra dīya*<sup>1</sup> I have come looking for it (A5:9); *háyyo ləxxa*<sup>1</sup> Come here! (A13:6); *hay-wür*<sup>1</sup> Come in! (A27:23); *bálki ʔəθe*

*xa-yóma* 'ε-bráta kërba mánni<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a day will come when that girl will be angry with me (A14:98); *xàrθa*<sup>1</sup> γ-αθέλεσι 'èða<sup>1</sup> 'èðat be-yàlda<sup>1</sup> Then we have a festival (literally: a festival comes to us), the festival of Christmas' (B6:12); *θέλε tálga xa-θέθα*<sup>1</sup> Snow fell heavily (A25:41); *brôn-dìye*<sup>1</sup> *θέλε sánthe dìye*<sup>1</sup> His son became sleepy (A9:1); 'ábelá myáθa 'yú-'áy<sup>1</sup> Death befalls her also (A26:89). (2) **to come back, to return** | *t-ázan 'asárta t-àθan*<sup>1</sup> I shall go and come back in the evening (A14:65); *yála θέλε mán-zrùta*<sup>1</sup> The young man came back from working in the fields (A21:8); *qam-tarádle θέλε zille<sup>1</sup> be-'ámte dìye*<sup>1</sup> He drove him away and he went back to his aunt's house (A23:33). (3) **to come to (do sth. eventually)** | 'áθε mталáxlux 'áw<sup>1</sup> He will eventually destroy you (A14:65); 'ína 'áxni kúbba 'áxxa θélan dráya<sup>1</sup> But here we have come to put meat balls (in the *duxwa*) (B10:13). Impersonal subject: 'u-t-áθε gáwra l-xa-xèna<sup>1</sup> She will marry somebody else (A26:78). In passive constructions (§15.9.4.-5.): *résat bábe dìye t-žálo<sup>1</sup> θέλε twíra ràbe gáye*<sup>1</sup> The head of his father Zāl was broken many times (A29:39); *har-Dúre lè-'aθya l-man'sòye*<sup>1</sup> Dure will never be forgotten (B2:7); 'áwwa rèsì<sup>1</sup> t-áθε xá-yoma pràma<sup>1</sup> bád-'iθáθa dìyux<sup>1</sup> This head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands (A14:35). (4) **to happen** | *bálki t-íle xa-mándi θíθa bìya*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps something has happened to her (A21:25). (5) **to be told, related** | 'áyya hóla θàya,<sup>1</sup> hóla màra<sup>1</sup> It (the story) goes (like this) (A1:1). **III m-θy (mεθε/μεγε, muθele, μεθoye) to bring; to bring back; to collect (taxes); to give birth to.** (1) **to bring** | *mεθíwala xadamyáθa díya 'ixála*<sup>1</sup> Her servants would bring her food (A21:1); 'áwwa Mār-Múše qam-mayéla 'áyya biyéxu<sup>1</sup> St. Muše has brought this upon you (B18:7). (2) **to bring back** | *kùt-yum<sup>1</sup> šaléwa gàwra<sup>1</sup> l-šùqa<sup>1</sup> msawòqe<sup>1</sup> 'u-čù-mándi lé mεθèwa*<sup>1</sup> Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping, but would bring nothing back (A22:1); *só mèθole!*<sup>1</sup> Go and fetch it! (B5:154); *b-d-ó-qesa nabláxwala-w mεθáxwala*<sup>1</sup> With this piece of wood we would move it (the roller) to and fro (B5:145). (3) **to collect (taxes)** | *mšáderra t-ázi méθi xàrje*<sup>1</sup> Send them off to collect taxes (A26:72). (4) **to give birth to** | 'an-báxtux muθéla bràta<sup>1</sup> 'u-báxthi muθéla bròna,<sup>1</sup> brátux qa-bròni<sup>1</sup> If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to a boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son (A25:2).

'wð **I** ('awəð, wíðle, waða) **to do, to make; to treat (wound); to move, to put; to pick, to collect** | (1) **to do, to make** | *mùt wáða?*<sup>2</sup> What are you doing? (A23:7); *hon-wáða 'ixála*<sup>1</sup> I am making food (A21:27); 'áti lat-wáða b-xàbrì<sup>1</sup> You are not acting according to my

word (A21:43); *kú-māndit 'áwðat wùð'* Do anything you want (A25:66). Sound: *wíðele pàθyo!*<sup>1</sup> He went “achoo!” With *b-* expressing disadvantage: *ɬla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?*<sup>2</sup> Why have you done this to me? (A15:14); *hátxa 'òðéti b-náše!*<sup>1</sup> That is how you should treat people! (A22:47). With *ta-/ɬla-* or *mən* expressing benefit: *'úllən xá-māndi báýəx ɬ-òðáxxe ɬláləx'* There is something that we want to do for you (A4:48); *wíúð ða-spayúθa mənni'* Do me a favour (A7:17); *làn wíða m-bábi'* I have not done a good service to my father (A41:6). (A4:60). (2) **to treat (wound)** | *'a-'áqla díya lílla 'áp-xa wadəlla'* She had nobody to treat her leg (A33:8). (3) **to move, to put** | *'òðále rúše hátxa'* She moves its shoulder like this (A12:53); *'ay-m-rə́hqa hóla wádəlla 'a-yaləxθa hátxa qam-'éna díya'* She waves the handkerchief before her eyes from a distance like this (A4:17); *súsa θáya wáða naθyáθe hátxa'* The horse came moving his ears like this (A12:64); *'a-pállá t-wawa-rəs-qalúnka' wíðtəlla hátxa ɬlìθela'* She moved the burning coal that was in the pipe like this and it fell (A11:21); *'áwəð 'íðe xo-d-ð képa'* He put his hand under the stone (A12:30); *'ap-ɬóte 'awədla qráb báθre díye'* He put also his grandmother after him, splash! (A7:25). (3) **to pick, to collect** | *wíðtəla 'o-gəlla'* She picked that plant (A34:18); *wíðəxwa tré halúke'* We had picked two plums (B8:19); *ɬ-òðəx qə̀se'* We shall collect wood (A14:9); *'u-kut-šéta xa-gáya y-òðəxwa mən-d-o-'úpura'* and once every year, we would collect this mud (B10:68).

<sup>2</sup>*wr* **I** (*'awə, wirre, wara*) **to pass; to enter.** (1) **to pass, to pass by** | *wírre mən-'əsri-w-xamšà-šə́nne'* He has passed twenty-five years (= more than twenty-five years old) (A8:33); *wíra b-šə́nne'* advanced in years (A8:43); *y-oráwa xa-dána bíš-hòdəx'* Further time would pass (B5:6). (2) **to enter** | *wírela gu-béθa'* They entered the house (A15:7). **III** *m-wr* (*maɬwə, muwərrə, maɬwore*) **to bring in; to pass (time).** (1) **to bring in** | *maɬwíle kəs-Səttiye'* They brought him into the presence of Səttiye (A25:80); *'u-gríšle míya m-túra'... muwərrə gu-Dəmdəma'* He drew water from the mountain... and brought it into Dəmdəma (A8:14). (2) **to pass (time)** | *moríwa dána b-d-àwəwa mándi'* They passed time in (doing) this thing (B15:72).

<sup>2</sup>*xl* **I** (*'axəl, xille, xala*) **to eat** | *báýət 'əxlət, xùl'* If you want to eat, eat! (A14:59); *'ó t-là páləx' lè y-áxəl'* Whoever does not work does not eat (A21:13). Idioms: *xilli ləbbux'* You are dear to me (A39:12); *xázəx mə́ndi-yáne bráya, 'u-lá-'axləx xámma d-áyya bələd, la-bàrya'* If we see things happening and do not care for this country, it is not right (A18:8).

**III** *m-xl* (*maxəl, muxəlle, maxole*) **to let eat, to feed** | *'éka 'iθwa dükθa basímta maxlāxwale*<sup>1</sup> We would let it (the mule) eat wherever there was a good place (for feeding) (B5:129); *'ádyo p'éša 'áy maxóle tla-náše*<sup>1</sup> Today *she* has begun to feed people (A21:32); *'u-susáwàθa*<sup>1</sup> *la-maxlúla*<sup>1</sup> Do not feed the horses (A25:9); *léle múxlalle ču-'ixàla*<sup>1</sup> He did not feed him any food (A34:31).

*ʔyd* **I** (*'ayəd, yidle, yada*) **to weed** | *y-azíwa baxtáθa yàda*<sup>1</sup> Women would go to weed (the rice paddy-fields) (B5:78).

*ʔyq* **I** (*'ayəq, yiqle, yaqa*) **to become narrow, to become tight; to become distressed.** (1) **to become narrow, to become tight (clothes)** | *díya júlli yiqla*<sup>1</sup> My clothes have become tight. (2) **to become distressed, straitened** | *xayúθi yiqla*<sup>1</sup> My life has become difficult.

*ʔzl* (i) **I** (*'azəl, zille, zala*) **to go; to go along, to flow; to go by (time); to go for (be sold); to perish.** (1) **to go, to travel** | *'ána qémən 'ázən 'umra*<sup>1</sup> I shall go to church (A37:2); *y-azəl 'u-qaləb* He goes back and forth; *qunáxət tláθa yomáθa qəm-azólle b-xamšà daqíqe*<sup>1</sup> He travelled a stage of three days (journey) in five minutes (A8:39). (2) **to go along, to flow** | *zila níxa níxa wíra gu-d-a-màθele*<sup>1</sup> He went along slowly and entered the village (A14:58); *zilla b-šaqíθa, zilla-w zilla-w zilla*<sup>1</sup> They went along in the stream, along, along and along (A8:12); *'áy šaqíθa bt-áza* The stream will flow along (A8:11). (3) **to go by (time)** | *zilla láxxa tre-tlā-yarxe*<sup>1</sup> *'arbà-yarxe*<sup>1</sup> *móre xa-béna xéta mjarbànnna*<sup>1</sup> Two or three months, four months passed. He said 'I'll test them again' (A48:4); *xáčča xéna léla zilta*<sup>1</sup> *'áθyεle xa-kálba*<sup>1</sup> Not long passed before a dog came (A35:3). (4) **to go for (be sold)** | *xzi-kamà t-ázəl 'ávwa táwra*<sup>1</sup> See how much this ox will go for (A22:1); *'u-zille hāramāt*<sup>1</sup> It went for nothing (A22:9). (5) **to perish** | *brónəx zille*<sup>1</sup> Your son has perished (A38:16); *brōn-málka*<sup>1</sup>... *t-ázəl*<sup>1</sup> The son of the king will perish (A8:42); *zille yála mənna*<sup>1</sup> She lost a baby (by miscarriage); *'ána zála har-zilən bīya*<sup>1</sup> I am finished! (A14:25).

*ʔzl* (ii) **I** (*'azəl, zille, zala*) **to spin (wool)** | *y-azlāxwa kúša*<sup>1</sup> We would spin (wool on a) spindle (B10:46).

/ʕ/

ʕz **II** (*m'ajəz, m'ujəzle, m'ajoze*) (A.) **to become senile** | *šuréle 'ajòze*<sup>1</sup> He began to get senile (A15:19).

ʕm **II** *m-ʕm (m'āqəm, m'ūqəmle, m'āqome)* (A.) **to sterilize** | *mɔalləxxwale m'āqəməxxwale-w*<sup>1</sup> We would wash it and sterilize it (B10:77).

ʕn **II** *m-ʕn (m'ayən, m'uyənnə, m'ayone)* (A.) **to help**

/B/

*bdd* **II** *m-bdd (mbädəð, mbüdəðle, mbädode)* **to stir a fire with a poker** | *mbädəðle nūra b-badoda*<sup>1</sup> Stir the fire with the poker! → *badoda*

*bdl* **I** (*badəl, bdille, bdala*) **to fade; to change (colour)** | *gáwna bdille*<sup>1</sup> The colour has faded; *kəxwe mšuréla bdála qam-šəmša*<sup>1</sup> The stars began to fade in the sun; *m-šətro badli dukane* the places fade (into the background) on account of the beautiful one (C2:56); *'ən-túwət 'isəqθi bdilele*<sup>1</sup> *mšadrátla 'árye t-àθa*<sup>1</sup> If the gem of my ring changes (in colour), send the lions so that they come (to me) (A18:13).

*bdy* **I** (*bade, bdele, bdaya*) (A.) **to begin**

*bđq* **I** (*bađəq, bđiqle, bđaqə*) **to scatter (seed)** | *bađqíwa rəzza*<sup>1</sup> They would scatter the rice (B5:78).

*bđr* **I** (*bađə, bđirre, bđara*) **to scatter; to spill** | *bđirle miya*<sup>1</sup> He spilt the water. **II** *m-bđr (mbađə, mbuđərrə, mbađore)* **to scatter; to spill**

*bhrn* **Q** *m-bhrn (mbahrən, mbuhrənle, mbahrone)* **to shine**

*bjbj* **Q** *m-bjbj (mbajbəj, mbujbəjle, mbajboje)* **to move, to budge** | *'ide mbujbəjle*<sup>1</sup> His hand moved.

*bp* **I** (*bəle, blile/blele, bla'a/blaya*) **to swallow**

*blbl* **Q** *m-blbl (mbalbəl, mbulbəlle, mbalbole)* **to ruffle, to dishevel** | *páwxa qəm-mbalbəlle kəwse*<sup>1</sup> The wind ruffled his hair; *kəwse mbulbəlle qam-páwxa*<sup>1</sup> His hair was ruffled by the wind.

*blby* **Q** *m-blby (mbalbe, mbulbele, mbalboye)* **to search (inside a container)** | *mbulbéle 'órə susāwəθa*<sup>1</sup> He searched in the horses' manger (A38:14).

*blq* **II** *m-blq* (*mbalaq, mbulaqle, mbaloqe*) **to stare; to fix (eyes)** | *la mbalqáttla* 'ènuux!<sup>1</sup> Do not stare!; *mbulqíle* 'ène!<sup>1</sup> He stared.

*bls* **I** (*balas, blisle, blasa*) **to damage; to make jagged** | *képa qəm-balásle púmmat nàra*<sup>1</sup> The stone damaged (and made jagged) the blade of the axe; *skinta blista* knife with damaged, jagged blade. **II** *m-bl* (*mbälas, 3fs. mbälasa, mbülásle, mbälose*) **to tear apart with teeth or hands (food)**

*bly* **I** (*bale, blele, blaya*) **to wear out** | *kutáne blèla*<sup>1</sup> His shirt became worn out (A37:13).

*bny* **I** (*bane, bnele, bnaya*) **to build; to stack up** | *hóla bniðalle 'o-qásra külle b-qarqupyàða*<sup>1</sup> She has built all that palace with skulls (A25:53); 'áw *tárpa kúlla mjámwale*<sup>1</sup> *banéwale bar-ðà 'ilána*<sup>1</sup> They gather up all the leaves and stack them behind a tree (B5:119). **II** *m-bny* (*mbane, mbunele, mbanoye*) **to prepare food for serving (without cooking)**. **III** *m-bny* (*mabne, mubnele, mabnoye*) **to cause to build, to cause to be built** | *hóle mubányalle qásra góra trè tabáqe*<sup>1</sup> He had built a large villa with two storeys (A27:3); 'áxni *qásra díyən mubnélən šétət xámš-i-w ṭḷàða*<sup>1</sup> We had our villa built in the year fifty-three (B1:20).

*bqbq* **Q** *m-bqbq* (*mbaqbəq, mbuqbəqle, mbaqboqe*) **to gurgle (water)**

*bqr* **II** *m-bqr* (*mbaqəx, mbuqərre, mbaqore*) **to ask** | *baqrəxlə*<sup>1</sup> Let's ask her (A4:46); *mboqərre mən-d-o-qamāya*<sup>1</sup> He (the king) asked the first one (A17:31); *mbáqrena bud-šúla*<sup>1</sup> I shall inquire about a job (A24:6); 'áw *mbaqórəlle Tātár-i Slemán-i Səndi*<sup>1</sup> He is asking for Tātár-i Slemán-i Səndi (A28:24).

*brbq* **Q** *m-brbq* (*mbarbəq, mburbəqle, mbarboqe*) **to shake**

*brbr* **Q** *m-brbr* (*mbarbəx, mburbərre, mbarbore*) **to bleat (sheep); to low (cattle)**

*brbt* **Q** *m-brbt* (*mbarbət, mburbətle, mbarboṭe*) **to shudder**

*brbz* **Q** *m-brbz* (*mbarbəz, mburbəzle, mbarboze*) **to scatter; to be scattered** | *mšúryela mbarbōze*<sup>1</sup> They started to disperse (after a party) (A7:4); *bur-bázzele kúlla dukàne*<sup>1</sup> They were dispersed to all places (B3:17).

*brd* **I** (*barəd, bridle, brada*) **to rub; to scour** | *brúdlə qušárta tàza*<sup>1</sup> Scour the pot well!<sup>1</sup>

*brdm* **Q** *m-brdm* (*mbardm, mburdəmle, mbardome*) **to mumble, to mutter**

*brk* **I** (*barək, brikle, braka*) **to kneel** | *kúlla wéla bráka tlibla*<sup>1</sup> They all knelt and made a request (A11:18); *briķewa rāš-bārke*<sup>1</sup> He had knelt down on this knees (A29:48).

*brq* **I** (*barəq, briqle, braqa*) **to shine**. **III** *m-brq* (*mabrəq, mubrəqle, mabroqe*) **to cause to shine**

*brtl* **Q** *m-brtl* (*mbartəl, mburtəlle, mbartote*) **to bribe**

*brt* **II** *m-brt* (*mbarət, mburətle, mbarote*) **to roll over (in sleep)**

*brx* **II** *m-brx* (*mbarəx, mburəxle, mbaroxe*) **to bless; to sanctify a marriage, to marry; to greet**. (1) **to bless** | *barxíle qáše šamáše*<sup>1</sup> The priests and deacons bless him (B6:9); *mbarxáxwale 'édət nāše*<sup>1</sup> We would offer festival blessings to people (B6:14). (2) **to sanctify a marriage, to marry** | *'áni b-xéla báyi mbarxíla 'əlli*<sup>1</sup> They want to marry her to me by force (A7:18); *mbaróxəlla Bəlbəl Hazār l-Gozālī*<sup>1</sup> They married Bəlbəl Hazar to Gozali (A8:98). (3) **to greet** | *mbürxəlla*<sup>1</sup> They greeted her (A27:22).

*brxš* **Q** *m-brxš* (*mbarxəš, mburxəšle, mbarxoše*) **to mix; to stir** | *šuréθa mbarxóše 'ixála*<sup>1</sup> She began to stir the food (A22:32)

*bry* **I** (*bare, brele, braya*) **to be born; to grow; to separate from; to happen; to be possible**. (1) **to be born, to come into being, to grow** | *'ána báryən gu-'Ēn-Nūne*<sup>1</sup> I was born in 'Ēn-Nūne; *mən-yóma qamáyə brəla*, *'atxa-jwànqe-wəwa*<sup>1</sup> From the first day (after) they were born, they were so beautiful (A8:6); *mšére bráya 'o-rəzza*<sup>1</sup> The rice begins to grow (B5:78); *mən-báze bára bazbúze 'u-m-bazbúze bára bəze*<sup>1</sup> From great people little insignificant ones grow, and from insignificant ones great ones grow (D2:57); *'íman t-árya dūnye*<sup>1</sup> *báre tina*<sup>1</sup> When it rains, there is mud. (2) **to leave, separate from** | *lā-barən mánne*<sup>1</sup> I shall not leave him; *də-yamyannux... m-gōađe t-la barəxwa* I swear to you... that we shall never leave one another (C2:25). (3) **to happen, to take place** | *módi brəle?*<sup>1</sup> What has happened?; *xzi mo-bàre*<sup>1</sup> See what happens (A13:6); *lē-yāđət módi bárya?*<sup>1</sup> Don't you know what has happened? (A4:31); *bàrya 'áθe tálga rāba*<sup>1</sup> It sometimes happens that a lot of snow falls (B5:108); *'ədāwáθət baríwa gu-Bārwer*<sup>1</sup> The festivals that took place in Barwar (B6:1). (4) **to be possible** | *lā bárya*<sup>1</sup> That is not possible; *dáx bárya 'ayya?*<sup>1</sup> How could this be possible? (A8:9);

*dáx bàrya*<sup>1</sup> *'ána pészən ləxxa*<sup>1</sup> *'u-ʔáti t-àsqət*<sup>2</sup> How can it be possible for me to stay here and you to go up? (A28:15). **III** *m-bry* (*mabre, mubrele, mabroye*) **to give birth** | *báxta yaqúrta*<sup>1</sup> *'i-màbra*<sup>1</sup> A pregnant woman will give birth (A24:13); *mùt kálba mubrèθa*<sup>1</sup> *'áti*<sup>2</sup> What dog have you given birth to? (A11:20); *'éni baxtela mubrèθa*<sup>2</sup> Which woman has given birth? (A25:6); *wítela dánət mabròye*<sup>1</sup> The time of giving birth arrived (A25:4).

*brz* **I** (*barəz, brizle, braza*) **to become dry** | *pészúwa xa-yóma trè*<sup>1</sup> *hál barəzwa*<sup>1</sup> It took one or two days until it became dry (B5:167); *brizli mən-šəwa*<sup>1</sup> I am parched with thirst. **II** *m-brz* (*mbarəz, mburəzle, mbaroze*) **to dry (tr.); to drain** | *mbürzəlla*<sup>1</sup> *dóryəlla gu-xa-təna*<sup>1</sup> He dried them and put them in a saddle bag (A7:5); *bár mbarzúwa miya*<sup>1</sup> *'y-azúwa xazdúwale*<sup>1</sup> After draining the water (from the paddy field), they would go and harvest it (the rice) (B5:79). **III** *m-brz* (*mabrəz, mubrəzle, mabroze*) **to dry (tr.)**

*bsm* **I** (*basəm, bsimle, bsama*) **to be pleasant, pleasing; to be healthy, to be cured; to become sharp.** (1) **to be pleasant, pleasing** | *xóni basəmwale dúša*<sup>1</sup> My brother used to like honey (B8:12); *xəlme dīye lá qəm-basəmlə*<sup>1</sup> His dream did not please him (A8:5). (2) **to be healthy, to be cured** | *'ána bsiml*<sup>1</sup> I am cured (A4:20), *ta-t-máxən ʔáp-ʔana b-ʔeni*<sup>1</sup> *bəsmi*<sup>1</sup> so that I also can put it in my eyes, so that they will be cured (A24:10); *básma gənux*<sup>1</sup> Well done! (literally: May you be well). (3) **to become sharp** | *skínta muxərpáli*<sup>1</sup> *'u-bsimla*<sup>1</sup> I have sharpened the knife and it has become sharp. **II** *m-bsm* (*mbasəm, mbusəmlə, mbasome*) **to cure; to make fit, to prepare.** (1) **to cure** | *'áp-xa ləle-mšáya mbasəmla*<sup>1</sup> Nobody can cure her (A4:12); *'álaha mbasəmlux*<sup>1</sup> May God cure you (said to a sick person). (2) **to make fit, to prepare** | *qarəθa mbasmila tla-miyya*<sup>1</sup> They prepare the pumpkin for (receiving) water. **III** *m-bsm* (*mabsəm, mubsəmlə, mabsome*) **to enjoy o.s.; to cause to enjoy, to entertain** | *mubsəmlux*<sup>1</sup> You enjoyed yourself (A2:10); *bányət-əlla ʔótəx təma*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t mabəsma kút-yom xə*<sup>1</sup> You have built her a room there for her to entertain somebody everyday (A4:52).

*bsty* **Q** *m-bsty* (*mbaste, mbustele, mbastoye*) **to become an ally; to feel comfortable, to feel at home** | *léle mbastóye t-ámər xa-šəwθa*<sup>1</sup> He does not feel comfortable saying anything. → *bista*

*bšlš* **Q** *m-bšlš* (*mbašləš, mbušləšle, mbašləše*) **to shine, to glow** | *xəzyəlla ʔən tre-yələ*<sup>1</sup> *mbašləše*<sup>1</sup> He saw the two children, glowing (with beauty)



(A8:14); *hátxa bašlóse gu-lóbbət náša*<sup>1</sup> (They) glow in the heart of man (= they captivate one's heart) (A8:16).

*bšr* **I** (*bašəx, bširre, bšara*) **to diminish, to become less, to deteriorate** | *mšixáye mšuréla bšàra*<sup>1</sup> 'u-mušəlmanúθa zyàda<sup>1</sup> The Christians began to diminish (in number) and Islam began to increase (B1:2); 'u-'éni-žigən hóla bšire<sup>1</sup> and my eyes have also deteriorated (A24:10). **III** *m-bšr* (*mabšəx, mubšərre, mabšore*) **to cause to diminish, to reduce, to subtract**

*bšl* **I** (*bašəl, bšille, bšala*) **to cook (intr.)** | *hédi hédi bašəlwa 'ixála*<sup>1</sup> The food cooked slowly (B10:87); 'i-bašəlwa y-awəxtwa tūwe mbarxòše<sup>1</sup> It cooked while we sat stirring it (B10:12). **II** *m-bšl* (*mbašəl, mbušəlle, mbašole*) **to cook (tr.)** | *málla Našrádin xá-ga bəyéwa mbašəlwa pača*<sup>1</sup> Once mullah Našradin wanted to cook *pača* (A5:1).

*btt* **II** *m-btt* (*mbatət/mbätət, mbutətle/mbütətle, mbatote/mbätote*) **to investigate** | *mbütətəle 'áxxa-w tamma*<sup>1</sup> He investigated here and there (A16:1).

*btl* **I** (*baətəl, btille, btala*) **to stop (intr.); to become idle, unproductive** | *kúlla btilla*<sup>1</sup> Everything stopped (producing) (A38:1). **II** *m-btl* (*mbaətəl, mbutəlle, mbaətəle*) **to cause to stop; to eliminate, to get rid of** | 'ána bəyən mbaətəlne 'áwəwa náša mən-šüle<sup>1</sup> I want to stop this man working at his job; *mən-kúl-xa mən-d-àнна*<sup>1</sup> *lázəm xa-mbätlət*<sup>1</sup> You must get rid of one of each of these (C8:2).

*bwby* **Q** *m-bwby* (*mbawbe, mbubele, mbawboye*) **to howl (wolf)**

*bxl* **II** *m-bxl* (*mbaxəl, mbuxəlle, mbaxole*) **to become jealous, to envy** (*b-* s.o.) | 'ána mbáxlən biye<sup>1</sup> I am envious of him; 'áyya buxəlla biye<sup>1</sup> She became jealous of him (B15:80).

*bxr* **I** (*baxəx, bxirre, bxara*) **to steam** | *míya hóla bxàra*<sup>1</sup> The water is steaming.

*bxy* **I** (*baxe, bxele, bxaya*) **to weep** | *baxìwala rába*<sup>1</sup> They would weep for her a lot (B7:3).

*by* **I** (*bəye, bele, bəya*) **to want, to need; to love, to like.** (1) **to want** | *mò bəyət?*<sup>1</sup> What do you want? (A26:73); *lá-bəyən dèrən*<sup>1</sup> I do not want to return (A4:43); *kut-dúkət bəyət nablənnux*<sup>1</sup> I'll take you to any place you want (A4:15); 'ax-bəyitu<sup>1</sup> as you want (A24:52); 'ay-hádəx biš-bəya<sup>1</sup> She prefers this (A8:75). (2) **to need** | *šərwala təkθa bəye* Her trousers need a cord (C2:46); 'ána hírən b-gàni<sup>1</sup> *mò bəyən t-odəna*<sup>1</sup> I am

confused as to what I need to do (A17:33). With impersonal subject: *'áwáha t-ile xóðe díye báyéle bàxta!* 'That man who is alone needs a wife (A27:7); *báyéle xáčča dána gá-t-taxàrre!* 'He needs some time to remember it; *hadiya báye mpal!tìtle!* 'Now you must take him out (A26:77). Verb agreeing with complement: *'áw báyále xa-sèta!* 'That requires one year (B5:104); *klòš' lá báyáwala rába xyàtta!* 'A skirt did not require much sewing (B10:45). (3) **to love, to like** | *'áw màlka' rába báyewale 'aw-bróne díye!* 'The king loved his son very much (A8:2); *har-xáthe 'i-báyela!* 'He still loves his sister (A18:16); *'u-bèla 'álle díye!* 'She fell in love with him (A27:16); *bìðállèla!* 'She fell in love with him (A4:12); *hon-báyállux!* 'I like you (A14:78).

*byč* **III** *m-byč* (*mabyač/mābič, mubyāčle/mūbičle, mabyoče/māboče*) **to give birth to a bastard** → *biča*

*byn* **II** *m-byñ* (*mbayən, mbuyəñne, mbayone*) **to appear** | *m-xó-t 'ilána gáwze trè mbéni!* 'From under the tree only two walnuts can be seen (D2:2). **III** *m-byñ* (*mabyən/mābin, mubyəñne/mūbinne, mabyone/mābone*) **to appear; to cause to appear; to come to visit** | *mabyóne túra gu-čól ramànele!* 'It seems it is a high mountain in the countryside (A8:70); *mábyən! mabyánət!* (Come and) visit (us)!

*byx* **I** (*bayəx, bixle, byaxa*) **to overflow** | *míya bixla!* 'The water overflowed; *dréle míya gu-'amána hal-bixle!* 'He put water in the vessel until it overflowed.

*byz* **I** (*bayəz, bizle, byaza*) **to pour, to spill** | *míya t-tépi b-réša bezila!* 'They pour off the water that comes to the top (B6:42); *bízla nepúxta gu-bèða!* 'The date syrup spilt into the room (A23:20); *'úrxa 'úrxa bízle!* 'It (the ash) spilt along the way (A34:17).

*bz'* **I** (*bāze, bzile/bzele, bz'a/bzaya*) **to cleave, to make a hole; to be punctured, pierced** | *bzú xa-bóya gu-d-áwwa qèsa!* 'Make a hole in this wood!; *júlle díye kúlla bāzyalla!* 'He put holes in all his clothes (A25:33); *bāzéla jullákθa m-xòθa!* 'He pierces the vessel from below (A30:21); *'áw bāze, 'šámət!* 'It was pierced and broke (A23:20); *qunjyáðe díye! d-áy mandórta! y-áwa bāzye!* 'The ends of the roller are bored (with holes) (B5:193).

*bzmr* **Q** *m-bzmr* (*mbazmər, mbuzmərre, mbazmore*) **to nail** → *bəzmarə*

*bzq* **I** (*bazəq, bzikle, bazaqa*) **to scatter (seed)**

/č/

- čfl* **I** (*čfał, čfille, čfala*) (A.) **to be startled** | *'arwe čfile zdiyela*<sup>1</sup> The sheep were startled and afraid (B18:6)
- čkbn* **Q** *m-čkbn* (*mčakbən, mčukbənnə, mčakbone*) (K.) **to arm (with weapons); to deck out** | *hádəx t-ítwa mčokəbna támmał*<sup>1</sup> You were so well-decked out (with festive clothes) yesterday (A35:18).
- ččk* **Q** *m-ččk* (*mčakčək, mčukčəkle, mčakčəke*) **to chatter; to clatter; to prick** → *čakčaka*
- člms* **Q** *m-člms* (*mčalməs, mčulməsle, mčalmose*) **to be sore, to sting (eyes)**
- člwl* **Q** *m-člwl* (*mčalwəl, mčulwəlle, mčalwole*) **to wail** | *qálat maymùne*<sup>1</sup> *šràxa,*<sup>1</sup> *mčalwòle*<sup>1</sup> the sound of monkeys crying and wailing (A14:43).
- čmbl* **Q** *m-čmbl* (*mčambəl, mčumbəlle, mčambole*) (K.) **to hook (sth. onto sth.)**
- čnčl* **Q** *m-čnčl* (*mčančəl, mčunčəlle, mčančole*) **to egg on (a straggler)**
- čngl* **Q** *m-čngl* (*mčangole, mčungəlle, mčangole*) (K.) **to roll; to roll over;** | *zədyəlle b-tárat gáppa-w šəlyəle,*<sup>1</sup> *mčonəgla mčonəgla*<sup>1</sup> He threw him from the entrance of the cave and he went down, rolling over as he went (A29:30); *qəm-mčangəlle kəpa*<sup>1</sup> He rolled the stone over.
- črčr* **Q** *m-črčr* (*mčarčə, mčurčəre, mčarčore*) **to talk garrulously; to screech** | *simérxa θiθela.*<sup>1</sup> *θiθela čarčore šràxa.*<sup>1</sup> The *simérxa* came. She came, screeching and crying. (A24:47)
- črk* **II** *m-črk* (*mčarak, mčurəkle, mčaroke*) **to surround** | *čríkəlle 'aw-bəθa*<sup>1</sup> They surrounded the house (A4:53)
- črqy* **Q** *m-črqy* (*mčarqe, mčurqe, mčarqoye*) **to fire (gun); to spring (a trap)** | *mčurqéle qúłta*<sup>1</sup> He set off the trap; *qúłta mčurqəθa*<sup>1</sup> The trap is sprung; *tópe mčàrqila!* Fire the gun!
- črx* **I** (*čarəx, črixle, čraxa*) **to go around; to take around** | *xa-čarxona črixwala*<sup>1</sup> She took a short turn around (A51:12); *čərxìwala máθa*<sup>1</sup> They would take her (the bride) around the village (B10:34).
- čwčy* **Q** *m-čwčy* (*mčawčə, mčučəle, mčawčoye*) **to chirp**
- čx* **III** *m-čx* (*mačəx/máčəx, mčučəle, máčəxe*) (Urm.) **to find** | *bálki máčəxət šùla*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps you will find work (A39:1).

čxs **II** *m-čxs* (*mčaxəs, mčuxəsle, mčaxose*) **to insult**

čy **I** (*čäye, čele, čäya*) **to become tired**

čyd **I** (*čayəd, čidle, čyada*) **to invite** | *y-azəlwa čyada, b'éθa b'èθa*<sup>1</sup> He would go to invite (people to the wedding) from house to house (B5:20); *čidetu xlúlb brōn-fállən b-flàn-yoma*<sup>1</sup> You are invited to the wedding of the son of so-and-so on such-and-such a day (B5:21); *čidle zóre-w gòre*<sup>1</sup> He invited young and old (A7:3); *brátux hóla čittəllux t-ázət kəsl'ən*<sup>1</sup> Your daughter has invited you to come to us (A40:9); *tə'la čidle 'árxa qa-làqləq*<sup>1</sup> The fox invited the stork as a guest (A45:1).

čyk **I** (*čayək, čikle, čyaka*) **to jam; to wedge forcibly (into a tight space); to pierce** | *čúkle gəwe*<sup>1</sup> Jam it in!; *čayəkwa xmáta b-šərme dīye*<sup>1</sup> He pricked a needle into his buttocks (A30:39).

čyl **I** (*čayəq, čiqle, čyqa*) **to sprout. III** *m-čyl* (*mačyəl/máčil, mučyalle/mučille, mačyole/máčole*) **to sprout, to grow; to cause to sprout** | *tá-t máčili pərr*<sup>1</sup> so that my feathers grow (A24:48).

čyr **I** (*čayəš, čurre, čyara*) **to turn away in anger, to be offended, annoyed; to become alienated** | *'əyya*<sup>1</sup> *Nàze, 'ə-gòrtela, čirra*<sup>1</sup> Naze, the eldest, turned away in anger (offended by a remark) (A25:19).

čz **III** *m-čz* (*máčəz, müčəzle, máčoze*) **to vex, to be vexed** | *müčəzəlla xəyàli*<sup>1</sup> He annoyed me (A17:7); *la-báyən máčəzənnə xəyaləxu*<sup>1</sup> I don't want to bore you.

čzčz **Q** *m-čzčz* (*mčəzčəz, müčzčəzle, mčəzčəze*) **to crackle (frying food)**

/č/

člbx **Q** *m-člbx* (*mčəlbəx, mčəlbəxle, mčəlbəxe*) **to beat with a stick**

člp **I** (*čəlap, čliplə, člapa*) **to split; to tear apart; to tear (meat) from the bone** | *čəlpənnə pəmmux*<sup>1</sup> I shall split your mouth!

člx **I** (*čələx, člixle, člaxa*) **to tear apart** | *čəlxítula m-gòðəde*<sup>1</sup> You should tear her apart (A27:33)

čmč **I** (*čəməč, čmičle, čmača*) **to shrink, to shrivel**

čmy **I** (*čəme, čmele, čmaya*) **to be extinguished** | *'o-núra čəmyele*<sup>1</sup> The fire was extinguished (A48:3). **III** *m-čmy* (*mačme, mučmele, mačmoye*) **to**

**extinguish (tr.); to close** | *qəm-mačməle nùra*<sup>1</sup> He extinguished the fire; *múčməlla ʔéne dīye*<sup>1</sup> He closed his eyes (A24:50).

*čnčn* **Q** *m-čnčn* (*mčančən, mčunčənne, mčančone*) **to whine; to buzz** | especially with reference to the sound of mosquitoes (*čene*)

*čřy* **Q** *m-čřy* (*mčarče, mčurčele, mčarčoye*) **to dirty, to soil** | *móšxa qəm-mčarčéla jùlli*<sup>1</sup> The oil has soiled my clothes.

*čwɹ* **I** (*čawɹ, čwirre, čwara*) **to spin; to roll (eyes); to rave** | *ʔénux hóla čwàrà*<sup>1</sup> Your eyes are rolling (through tiredness).

*čwɹn* **Q** *m-čwɹn* (*mčawɹən, mčwɹənnə, mčawɹone*) **to be sleepy; to doze**

*čy* **III** *m-čy* (*mače/máčče, mučele/mučele, mačoye/máčoye*) **to smooth**

*čym* **I** (*čayəm, čümle, čyama*) **to close (without locking)** | *čümle tára bàrux*<sup>1</sup> Close the door behind you (A22:26). **III** *m-čym* (*mačyəm/máčim, mučyəmle/mučimle, mačyome/máčome*) **to close**

/D/

*dbdb* **Q** *m-dbdb* (*mdabdəb, mdubdəble, mdabdobe*) **to beat (heart)** | *lǝbbi hóle mdabdòbe*<sup>1</sup> My heart is beating.

*dbq* **I** (*dabəq, dbiqle, dbaqa*) **to fall in, to cave in** | *gáre dbiqle*<sup>1</sup> The roof fell in; *ʔára dbiqla*<sup>1</sup> The earth caved in. **II** *m-dbq* (*mdabəq, mdubəqle, mdaboqe*) **to press down** | *mdabòqəlla*<sup>1</sup> He presses it (the mat) down (A12:49).

*dbr* **II** *m-dbr* (*mdabə, mdubərrə, mdabore*) (A.) **to manage, to look after; to fabricate (story)** | *hóle mdabóre šúle dīye*<sup>1</sup> He is managing his affairs; *m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabórra*<sup>1</sup> *mخالóše xàye dīye*<sup>1</sup> He made this up himself to save his life (A39:6).

*dbš* **I** (*dabəš, dbišle, dbaša*) **to stick to; to urge.** (1) **to stick to** (*b-* to) | *tabawáne ʔi-dabšúwa b-ʔrba*<sup>1</sup> Ticks would stick to a sheep; *har-dbiše b-bronəy*<sup>1</sup> They were constantly attached to their son (A15:17). (2) **to urge, to press** (*b-* s.o.) | *dbišla bábe-w yámme biye*<sup>1</sup> *mára ʔilla magurəxlux*<sup>1</sup> His father and mother pressed him and said ‘We must marry you’ (A16:5). **II** *m-dbš* (*mdabəš, mdubəšle, mdaboše*) **to stick, to join (tr.), to press down** | *malhéwa pùnda,*<sup>1</sup> *mattúwale kəs-reše-dīye*<sup>1</sup> *mdabəšwale*<sup>1</sup> He would light a tallow candle and put it by his (the dead person’s)

head and press it (down on the grave) (B5:57); *mdabšála ʿalle-dīye<sup>1</sup> kōpa<sup>1</sup> gawàye<sup>1</sup> hal sàməq<sup>1</sup>* She presses (the dough) onto it (the flat bread), down below, inside, until it becomes brown (B5:102).

*dgl* **II** *m-dgl* (*mdagəl, mdugəlle, mdagole*) **to tell a falsehood, to lie; to make lie** | *thélux mdagóle t̄l̄ali<sup>1</sup>* You came lying to me (A1:23); *dīya gu-pàthux<sup>1</sup> mdāgəl<sup>1</sup>* He will now lie to your face (A6:11); *mdagəlwa mən-nāšē<sup>1</sup>* He would tell lies about people (A48:1); *máto mdagl̄anna ḡani.<sup>2</sup>* How can I make myself lie? (A26:12)

*dlk* **I** (*dalək, dlikle, dlaka*) **to press down, to flatten**

*dll* **II** *m-dll* (*mdaləl/mdäləl, mduləlle/mdüləlle, mdalole/mdälole*) **to plant crops with spaces in between; to spoil, pamper**

*dlp* **II** *m-dlp* (*mdaləp, mduləple, mdalope*) **to leak; to drip** | *m-xo-mətra xo-dalòpe<sup>1</sup>* (He came into the house) from under the rain (but found himself) under leaking (water from the roof) (D2:31).

*dmdm* **Q** *m-dmdm* (*mdamdəm, mdumdəmle, mdamdome*) **to beat up; to cause to cry out**

*dmx* **I** (*daməx, dmixle, dmaxa*) **to lie down; to sleep; to become still (water-mill)**. (1) **to lie down** | *har-dmixle rēša dīya hātxa<sup>1</sup>* He has just lain down on her like this (A25:90). (2) **to sleep** | *dmixele xá-bena r̄ayəs<sup>1</sup>* He went to sleep, then woke up (A14:30). (3) **to become still (water-mill)** | *makipátte marimàna,<sup>1</sup> ʿrxe dàmxa<sup>1</sup>* You lower the lever and the water-mill becomes still. **III** *m-dmx* (*madməx, mudməxle, madmoxe*) **to cause to lie down, to put to sleep; to make still (water-mill)**. (1) **to cause to lie down, to put to sleep** | *brōn-dīye<sup>1</sup> théle šnthe dīye,<sup>1</sup> qəm-madməxle<sup>1</sup>* His son became sleepy and he laid him down to sleep (A9:1); *ta-t-kút-yom xà-mašla kásla dīya,<sup>1</sup> madmxa kásla<sup>1</sup>* in order that she could bring somebody to her every day and cause him to lie with her (A4:51). (2) **to make still, to stop (water-mill)** | *mádməx ʿərxe.<sup>1</sup>* Stop the water-mill.

*dmy* **I** (*dame, dmele, dmaya*) **to resemble; to appear** | *ʿáy ʿi-dámya l-xàthi<sup>1</sup>* She resembles my sister; *dmáyele l-xa-rámšət baqàra<sup>1</sup>* It resembles a cowherd's dinner (i.e. it is a hotchpotch—the cowherd's wife used to collect various different items of food from people around the village); *ʿu-ʿáwəwa xəlmi p̄alət hóle dmàya<sup>1</sup>* My dream is coming true, it appears (A8:19). **II** *m-dmy* (*mdame, mdumele, mdamoye*) **to resemble** | *ʿən-qáləx mdáme ʿəlləx<sup>1</sup> xa-xéna lit-daxwəthəx<sup>1</sup>* If your voice resembles you

(in beauty), there is none other like you (A49:3). **III** *m-dmy* (*madme, mudmele, madmoye*) **to compare** | *hàtxa madmüwaléy*<sup>1</sup> They would compare them to this (A8:6).

*dndl* **Q** *m-dndl* (*mdandəl, mdundəlle, mdandole*) **to dangle**

*dndn* **Q** *m-dndn* (*mdandən, mdundənnə, mdandone*) **to hum; to ring (ears)** | *'ən xa-náša taxərrux,*<sup>1</sup> *náθux mdanədna*<sup>1</sup> If somebody mentions you, your ear rings.

*dqdq* **Q** *m-dqdq* (*mdaqdəq, mduqdəqle, mdaqdoqe*) **to chop into small pieces**

*dqr* (i) **I** (*daqəx, dqirre, dqara*) **to be worth** | *'áp-ʔana dāqrəm*<sup>1</sup> *'ax-déwa kəra*<sup>1</sup> I am worth the same as a blind wolf (A10:1); *xá dáqər 'əlpa.*<sup>1</sup> *'əlpa lá-daqri xà.*<sup>1</sup> One is worth a thousand. A thousand does not cost one. (D2:54); *basíma rəba.*<sup>1</sup> *lɛ-dəqra.*<sup>1</sup> Thank you. Don't mention it. **III** *m-dqr* (*madqəx, mudqərre, madqore*) **to cause to be worth, to evaluate** | *qəm-madqəriłe külle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔláθa 'əlpe dinəre*<sup>1</sup> They valued it (the house) all as three thousand dinars (B1:21); *bíš qəm-madqərre mən-d-ó déwa t-axəlwa 'ərbe dýe*<sup>1</sup> He considered him worth more than the wolf that ate his sheep (A10:13).

*dqr* (ii) **I** (*daqəx, dqirre, dqara*) **to touch** (*b-* sth./so.) | *lá dáqrət biyi*<sup>1</sup> Do not touch me (A15:21); *mərx 'áti là-daqrət b-Mämo*<sup>1</sup> We said you should not touch Mämo (A26:76).

*dqš* **I** (*daqəš, dqišle, dqəša*) **to butt, to gore**

*drbn* **Q** *m-drbn* (*mdarbən, mdurbənnə, mdarbone*) **to injure, to wound** | *süsux*<sup>1</sup> *'aqláθe mdurbənnəla*<sup>1</sup> The legs of your horse have become wounded (A24:12).

*drdr* **Q** *m-drdr* (*mdardəx, mdurdərre, mdardore*) **to natter, to gossip; to protract, to procrastinate** | *hóle mdardórəlle šüla*<sup>1</sup> He is spinning out the job (unnecessarily).

*dymn* **Q** *m-dymn* (*mdarəmən, mdurəmənne, mdarəmonə*) **to treat with medicine** | *mdarəmnánnux 'əna*<sup>1</sup> I shall treat you with medicine (A27:38)

*drp* **I** (*darəp, driple, drapa*) **to collapse (roof)**

*drs* **III** *m-drs* (*madrəs, mudrəsle, madrose*) (K.) **to straighten**

*drš* **I** (*darəš, drišle, draša*) **to discuss** | *tərtə beriye xaša m-an šawaθa b-draša* Two milkmaids were walking, discussing some words (C2:17)

dry **I** (*dare/dere, drele, draya*) **to put; to serve (food); to throw; to shoot; to camp; to produce.** (1) **to put** | *šqile ʔo-qəṭma, kulla daryalle gu-xa-julla* They took the ashes, put them all in a cloth (A26:87); *driṭa xəppo b-réša* She put a veil on her head (A19:2); *xoš-žine mšaqlàla gána, darya dáwa b-gána* Let Zine make herself elegant, put gold on her (A26:77); *dérət ʔidux xo-d-ò-kepa* You should put your hand under the stone (A12:27). (2) **to propose, to predict** | *ʔima-t mšeráxwa syáma, deráxwa yómət Mar-Sàwa, ʔáni ʔo-yòma basimele, ʔewele, tálgele* When we began fasting, we would predict on the day of Mar Sawa that the (Christmas festival) day would be fine, cloudy or snowy (B5:150). (3) **to serve (food)** | *dréle ʔixála qa-t-àxəl* He served food for him to eat (A45:1); *drili xa-glás miya* Pour me a glass of water. (4) **to throw** (*b- at*) | *deréle gu-žàwa* They throw him in the Zab (A7:19); *deréle ʔo-šandòxa b-xùwwe* He threw the stone at the snake (A1:15); *héywan drèle* The animal miscarried; *susyáṭa kulla drèla* All the horses miscarried (A52:13). (5) **to shoot** | *ʔu-xa-béna Xošába dérele tòpe* Then Khoshaba shot his gun (C7:8); *t-la-xazáwala t-lá deráwa-ʔabba qatlüwa* so that they would not find people and shoot them and kill them (B14:3); *mən-táma dèrəx* From there we shoot (the marbles) (B11:21). (6) **to camp** | *hóla darye náše táma* Some people have set up camp there (A12:6). (7) **to produce** | *ʔide díye doryalla dáwa* He produced his hand out of gold (A11:3). (8) Idioms: *draya nura b-* **to set fire to** | *doryele táma nura býa* He set fire to them (A48:2); *draya šwiṭa* **to make a bed** | *doryalle šwiṭa* He made him up a bed (A16:9); *draya xela* **to apply force, to struggle, to attempt** | *doryele xèla ta-t-šarəṭla gáne* He struggled to release himself (A26:81); *dári xèla di-di-dí šaqilile* They applied force then took it away (A14:14); *draya šlama* **to greet** | *dréle šlama ʔille díye, šlama llèxu* He greeted him (saying) ‘Greetings to you!’ (A16:4); *draya buxtən l-* **to slander, to accuse falsely** | *dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xèna* (He was) slandering this one and that one (A48:5); *draya hawər* **to yell in anguish** | *mšuryele mxáya gu-réše dráya hawər* He began beating his head yelling in anguish (A7:10); *draya bas-* **to discuss, to talk about** | *ʔáyya leš-dáre bas-díya* He would never again talk about that (A8:97). **II** *m-dry* (*mdare, mdurele, mdaroye*) **to thresh, to winnow** | *bar-hàdax, ʔ-aṭéwa mdarəwale qa-t-lá-hawa píše šəxte* Then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain (B5:86). **III** *m-dry* (*madre, mudrele, madroye*) **to cause to put, to cause to throw** | *mtuxmánne t-áwəð nxilṭa tla-madréla b-xerəṭta* He thought of doing a mischievous trick to make her throw it (the cheese) down in her excitement (A49:2).



*drz* **I** (*darəz, drizle, draza*) (K.) **to repair; to be repaired** | *kúlla šulánəx dərzi*<sup>1</sup> All your affairs will be put right (A38:2)

*dštn* **Q** *m-dštn (mdaštn, mduštəne, mdaštəne)* (K.) **to level, to flatten**

*dw* **III** *m-dw (madu, mudule, madowe)* **to manage to; to have leisure to** | *la-mádwan t-áθən təmməl*<sup>1</sup> I shall not manage to come tomorrow; *xúwwe ʔáxčile múdwa rìqa*<sup>1</sup> The snake just managed to escape (A1:15); *qa-t-ʔáθya ʔàxla mánne*<sup>1</sup> *šále gu-ʔəna*<sup>1</sup> *qa-d-áv mádu ʔərəq*<sup>1</sup> so that when she comes to eat it, it will go into her eyes and he will manage to escape (A18:23); *ʔáwəwa ləle múdwa*<sup>1</sup> *ja-jálde pθixəlle tára*<sup>1</sup> He did not linger and quickly opened the door (A17:27).

*dwoq* **I** (*dawəq, dwiqle, dwaqa*) **to hold; to seize, to catch; to engage; to be in charge of; to keep; to bear fruit; to fill, to jam.** (1) **to hold** | *dawqánnux rəš-ʔiθàθi*<sup>1</sup> I shall hold you in my hands (A27:41); *dwiqəlle tára*<sup>1</sup> He held the door fast (A12:66); *ʔida hámánta doqiwala*<sup>1</sup> They would hold (the ceremony of) the ‘trusted hand’ (B5:6). (2) **to seize, to catch** | *mxáðrən bərux*<sup>1</sup> *dawqánnux*<sup>1</sup> I shall search for you and catch you (A25:64); *ʔo-t-dáwəq nùne*<sup>1</sup> *tárya qùne*<sup>1</sup> One who catches fish gets his buttocks wet (D2:26); *dwiqtəlle šàθa*<sup>1</sup> He caught a fever (A28:4). (3) **to engage, to recruit** | *ʔana doqánnəx xa-xadəmθa*<sup>1</sup> I shall take on a servant girl for you (A34:26); *ʔu-dwiqle bəna ʔaskar*<sup>1</sup> Then he recruited an army (A11:14). (4) **to be in charge of** | *gáwəra dawəqle bəθa*<sup>1</sup> The man is in charge of the house (A40:1). (5) **to keep** | *dwiqle xəzzíne mənđiyáne mīya*<sup>1</sup> They kept the water in tanks and the like (A11:18); *har-ʔúrxət ʔálaha dóqən b-ði*<sup>1</sup> I shall always keep to the way of God (A15:21). (6) **to bear fruit** | *šétət ʔərbe*<sup>1</sup> *xabúšta dòqa*<sup>1</sup> In the fourth year the apple tree produces fruit (B5:104). (7) **to fill, to pack, to jam, to block, to compact** | *kúlla mđíta dwiqle mīya*<sup>1</sup> The whole town became filled with water (B6:17); *bəθa dwiq*<sup>1</sup> *qarávət dīya*<sup>1</sup> The house was filled by her bed (A21:7); *ʔu-čánte dīye dwiqle ziwəðe*<sup>1</sup> She packed his bag with provisions (A21:22); *ʔurxa dwiqtəla*<sup>1</sup> The road is blocked; *ʔu-dúnye šurəθəla dwiqta rāya*<sup>1</sup> It began to be overcast (with clouds) and rain (A26:45); *dánət talila y-áwe*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe dwiq*<sup>1</sup> When it (the pile of leaves) is fresh, it is compact (B5:119); *ʔm-xáčča*<sup>1</sup> *xáčča xa-bəna ʔaryəwa-dunye*<sup>1</sup> *deréwa xáčča tūna*<sup>1</sup> *biš-dawùqwa*<sup>1</sup> If it rained a little, they put down a little straw, so that it (the roof) became more compact (B5:146). (8) Idioms: *dwiqle rəqqi*<sup>1</sup> She insisted (A5:7); *xákma dwáqa xáše dīye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xákma darqúle dīye*<sup>1</sup> Some supported him and others were

against him (A7:20); *qəm-dawáqle qádra dīya*<sup>1</sup> He showed them respect (A12:37); *ʔáp-ʔən xáltən gáwa*,<sup>1</sup> *la-dawqítula-lli*<sup>1</sup> Even if I make mistakes, do not hold it against me; *dwiqǎlle ʔíde dīye*<sup>1</sup> They shook (literally: held) his hand (A8:89); *kút-yom dawáqwala ʔúrxe b-ʔíde*<sup>1</sup> Every day he went the same way (A34:29); *doqáxwa bâte*<sup>1</sup> We would visit the houses (of the village to offer festival greetings) (B5:150). **III** *m-dwq* (*madwəq*, *mudwəqle*, *madwoqe*) **to cause to hold** | *yáwəxley xáçça kèke*<sup>1</sup> *madúqəx b-idəy*<sup>1</sup> We shall give them some cakes, making them hold them in their hands (A8:11); *maduqíla xát-na-w k'álo gotə-gǎðə*<sup>1</sup> They put the groom and bride together side by side (B5:50).

*dwr* **I** (*dawə*, *dwiṛre*, *dwarə*) **to close; to thresh.** (1) **to close** | *dúr tǎra*<sup>1</sup> Close the door!; *ʔu-ʔsri mánnə dwiṛre-wawa*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔθixən-əlla*<sup>1</sup> Twenty of them (the rooms) were closed and I opened them (A24:34). (2) **to thresh; to turn on the threshing floor** | *məθe-táwre doríla*<sup>1</sup> They bring oxen to thresh it (the wheat) (B5:96). In the process known as *dwarə* oxen are tied together and they walk round on the threshing floor (*bədra*), trampling the corn and rice to release the grain (B5:82ff.). **II** *m-dwr* (*mdawə*, *mduwərre*, *mdawore*) **to thresh**

*dwr* **I** (*dawə*, *dwiṛre*, *dwarə*) **to rest, to dwell (sheep in a rest area)** | *ʔíθ háwše t-túra*,<sup>1</sup> *mtwásta xa-dúkθa gu-túra*,<sup>1</sup> *képe y-áwa zədyalla*,<sup>1</sup> *muráxmalla qa-t-ʔrwe dáwri tǎma*<sup>1</sup> There is a mountain sheep-fold, a place made in the mountains, in which they have removed the stones and which they have made suitable for the sheep to dwell in.

*dwx* **I** (*dawəx*, *dwiṛre*, *dwaxə*) **to sacrifice, to dedicate** | *y-áwa dwíxe gʻanəy*,<sup>1</sup> *dwíxe xa-nišánqa tla-ʔumra*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-xəllət*<sup>1</sup> They would have dedicated themselves, dedicated some symbolic item to the church, a gift (B5:69).

*dxdx* **Q** (*mdaxdəx*, *mduxdəxle*, *mdaxdoxe*) **to tickle, to prod**

*dxy* **II** *m-dxy* (*mdaxe*, *mduxele*, *mdaxoye*) **to brand (animal)** | *zílle b-ríxət kǎbábe*,<sup>1</sup> *xzéle mdaxoye xmàre*<sup>1</sup> He went after the smell of kebabs, but he found the branding of asses (D2:30).

*dyl* **I** (*dayəl*, *dille*, *dyála*) **to have vision, to see** | *léle dyála*<sup>1</sup> He does not see (he is blind); *ʔéni başòrela*,<sup>1</sup> *lán dyála rǎba*<sup>1</sup> My eyes are faint, I do not see much; *babéy léle dyála m-áxxa l-àxxa*<sup>1</sup> Their father did not see from here to here (A24:26); *hóli dyála*<sup>1</sup> I can see (I am not blind); *rǎba píşle zǎbun nérət ʔéne*,<sup>1</sup> *b-xələle dyála*<sup>1</sup> His sight has become very weak, he can hardly see.

*dyn* (i) **I** (*dayən, dinne, dyana*) **to judge** | 'álaha b-dayənnə! God will judge them (A15:18).

*dyn* (ii) **III** *m-dyn* (*madyən/mädin, mudyənnə/müdinne, madyone/mädone*) **to owe (money); to borrow (money)** | *mudyənni zúze tla-Gwirgis!* I became indebted in money to Gwirgis (= I borrowed money from Gwirgis).

*dyp* **I** (*dayəp, diple, dyapa*) **to fold; to bend** | *gáre šəlmanáte kúlla dipla!* All the iron bars of the roof bent (A52:8).

*dyq* **I** (*dayəq, diqle, dyaqa*) **to crush**

*dyr* **I** (*dayər, dirre, dyara*) **to return** | *bár tlaθa-yóme dirre!* After three days he returned (A3:6); *gárəg déřən 'ána l-tàma!* I must return there (A14:86); *Ĥasan 'Áğa spárəle ta-t-dəřa!* Ĥasan Ağa waits for her to return (A27:26).

**III** *m-dr* (*mädər, müdəřre, mädore*) **to return (tr.); to vomit** | *xá-ga xéta mädəřátte nəšma diyə!* You should return to him again his soul (A8:8); *lá-karmi ləle-mädore!* 'u-la-ħáqqət kàrmi ləle-yáwa! He does not return my orchard nor does he pay the price of the orchard (A17:30); *mädəřəmwalə b-rəše!* I put it (the tape) back to the beginning (C4:3).

*dys* **I** (*dayəs, disle, dyasa*) **to thrust**

*dys* **I** (*dayəš, dišle, dyaša*) **to tread down, step on**

*dyθ* **I** (*dayəθ, diθle, dyaθa*) **to sweat**

*dyx* **I** (*dayəx, dixle, dyaxa*) **to die down (fire)** | *dixle núra!* The fire died down. **III** *m-dyx* (*madyəx/mädix, mudyəxle/müdixle, madyoxe/mädoxe*) **to dampen down (fire)**

/F/

*fdy* **I** (*fade, fdele, fdaya*) (A.) **to ransom, to sacrifice** | 'áyya gáni fadənnə qa-brónux t-áwe spáy! I shall ransom myself in order for your son to get better (A8:36).

*ffl* **Q** *m-ffl* (*mfulfəl, mfulfəlle, mfulfole*) **to become very hot**

*frq* **I** (*farəq, friqle, fraqa*) (A.) **to leave** | *lə-farqənnèy!* I shall not leave them (A8:18).

*ʃʃʃ* **Q** *m-ʃʃʃ* (*mʃʃʃʃ, mʃʃʃʃʃle, mʃʃʃʃʃe*) **to snivel, to snifle** | *naxíre hóle mʃʃʃʃʃe*<sup>1</sup> His nose is siffling.

*ʃʃl* **II** *m-ʃʃl* (*mʃʃʃal, mʃʃʃalle, mʃʃʃole*) (A.) **to cut out**

*ʃʃr* **I** (*ʃʃar, ʃʃirre, ʃʃara*) (A.) **to have breakfast**

*ʃʃd* **I** (*ʃʃayəd, ʃʃidle, ʃʃyada*) (A.) **to be of use** | *lè ʃʃedáwale*<sup>1</sup> It was no use for him (C4:1)

## /G/

*gʳr* **II** *m-gʳr* (*mgawər/mgǎwər; mguwərre, mgawore*) **to belch**

*gby* (i) **I** (*gabe, gbele, gbaya*) **to froth, to foam**

*gby* (ii) **II** *m-gby* (*mgabe, mgubele, mgaboye*) **to choose, to elect** | *xazáda là-wele,*<sup>1</sup> *máglá mgubèle*<sup>1</sup> He has not harvested anything, but he has chosen his sickle (D2:27), i.e. a bad workman blames his tools; *gu-béθət mùxtər,*<sup>1</sup> *tíwla lùjna,*<sup>1</sup> *mgubéla ṭḷà-naše xéne*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp-ʔani ṭ-áwa mən-lùjna*<sup>1</sup> The committee sat in the house of the village head and elected three other people to be members of the committee (B1:18); *deréwa ṭarpa réše diyé,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔna m-ó mgùbya*<sup>1</sup> They would place the leaves on this, (using only) those that were selected (for good quality) (B5:190).

*gadʃ* **I** (*gadəʃ, gdišle, gdašə*) **to build stooks of corn; to strike, to gore (animal)** | *táwra qəm-gadəšle b-dəqšé*<sup>1</sup> The ox gored him with butts.

*gðl* **I** (*gəðəl, 3fs. gadla, gðille, gðala*) **to plait; to wrestle** | *gadliwala qamáye b-səyòqe*<sup>1</sup> They would weave it (the wash hut) first with twigs (B10:65); *xá-bena xéta gðilela*<sup>1</sup> They wrestled again (A20:10). **III** *m-gðl* (*magðəl, mugðalle, magðole*) **to freeze; to cause to freeze; to set** | *míya mugðalla*<sup>1</sup> The water has frozen; *mɔaməxwale magðəlwa qa-sətwa*<sup>1</sup> We would keep it (the cooked meat fat) to set for the winter (B5:139).

*gʃgʃ* **Q** *m-gʃgʃ* (*mgəjgəj, mgujgəjle, mgəjgəje*) **to shuffle along, to move slowly**

*glgl* **Q** *m-glgl* (*mgəlgəl, mgulgəlle, mgəlgole*) **to separate husks and dirt from grains by moving grains around by hand** | *hóle mgəlgóle dàxla*<sup>1</sup> He is cleaning the corn.

*glj* **II** *m-glj* (*mgəljə, mguləjle, mgəloje*) **to prattle, to talk nonsense** | *bássa mgəljə!*<sup>1</sup> Stop talking nonsense!

*gly* **I** (*gale, glele, glaya*) **to reveal; to be revealed** | *la-gàlyat!* Don't tell! (A5:2); *'o-sàrr 'alàha yàðéle bás.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-maláxa yàðé! bás léle gláya qa-nàše.*<sup>1</sup> Only God knew that secret. Also the angel knew it, but he did not reveal it to people. (A8:25); *'ina dùs galítu!* Tell me the truth (A27:37). **II** *m-gly* (*mgale, mgulele, mgaloye*) **to uncover, reveal (a physical object)** | *'ay-là mgalóyalla páθa ta-t-xazéla 'áw!* She did not uncover her face so that he saw her (A34:28); *'áp-xa là mgaléwala!* Nobody uncovered her (the bride) (B10:32).

*gmbl* **Q** *m-gmbl* (*mgambal, mgumballe, mgambole*) **to roll; to roll along**

*gmgm* **Q** *m-gmgm* (*mgamgam, mgungamle, mgangome*) **to strike hard**

*gmpr* **Q** *m-gmpr* (*mgampar, mgumparre, mgampore*) **to be arrogant**

*gmr* **I** (*gamar, gmirre, gmara*) **to tan (leather); to compress** | *gálda gam-ríwale bíyat 'àpsa!* They would tan skin with gallnut; *kusiθa,*<sup>1</sup> *har-'ámra-wewa,*<sup>1</sup> *gamríwa gmàra!* A hat was only wool, they pressed it (they did not knit it) (B10:50); *'áxni gamrəxwa!* *'u-'ay-mtəpyàwa!* We would press it (the bread dough) down and she (the baker woman) would stick it (onto the oven) (B10:95).

*gmš* **I** (*gamaš, gmišle, gmaša*) **to wring (wet clothes)** | *'u-gamšítla 'anna míyat párra! b-rešə!*<sup>1</sup> *tàza!* *'u-bàsmeti!* Then wring out well the water of the feather upon them (the eyes) and you will be cured (A24:27); *qá-t kámá-t 'iyéwa míya gawə-díye!* *gamšúwa!* in order to squeeze out whatever water it had in it (B5:166).

*gmš* **I** (*gamaš, gmišle, gmaša*) **to butt (with horns)**

*gmx* **I** (*gamax, gmixle, gmaxa*) **to knock in, to punch in** | *tannákka qəm-gaməxle!* He knocked in the tin; *la-mšáwəθ t-lá gamxənne naxirux!*<sup>1</sup> Don't speak or I'll knock your nose in!

*gndr* **Q** *m-gndr* (*mgandar, mgundarre, mgandore*) (K.) **to roll**

*gngz* **Q** *m-gngz* (*mgangəz, mgungəzle, mgangoze*) **to shiver (in fright), to squirm (in disgust)** | *rìšele!* *mgunəgzəle!* He felt (it) and shivered (A12:52); *mgángəz mənnux!* He is disgusted by you.

*gnw* **I** (*ganu, gnule/gnùwle, gnawa*) **to steal, to rob** | *báθar t-gnùw Mar-Qayòma,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-dawrile tára!* After (the church of) St. Qayoma was plundered, they closed the door (D2:66); *'áθyele 'áwəwa 'afrit gnùwəlli!* This demon came and stole me away (A13:14); *'u-b-ay- góta xéta gnù gánux!* Hide yourself elsewhere (A13:6); *qíməle hedi-hédi gnùwəlla gáne díye,*<sup>1</sup> *zúla!* He

slowly went along, stealthily (A51:13); *qəm-ganwàle šnθa,¹ t̄lile¹* Sleep stole him away and he slept (A26:19).

*gny I* (*gane, gnele, gnaya*) **to set (sun); to lean.** (1) **to set (sun)** | *šmša gnèla* The sun set; *m̄t̄àye¹la¹ yóma gn̄àye¹le¹* They arrived when the sun was setting (A12:4); *gu-gn̄éθ̄at yóma ʹáyya r̄íqt̄ela w̄irt̄ela gu-q̄àšra¹* At sunset, she ran away and entered the palace (A12:61). (2) **to lean, to relax** | *gn̄éle l-²il̄àna¹* He leant on the tree; *gúda gn̄èle¹* The wall leant over; *ber̄šyáθ̄a š̄úf y-od̄ūwa¹ matt̄iwa dormad̄ár náše gan̄ūwa¹* They would make cushions of wool and laid them around for people to lean on (B10:80).

*gpgp Q* *m-gpgp (mgap̄ḡəp, mgup̄ḡəple, mgap̄ḡope)* **to boast**

*gr² I* (*ḡäre, grille/grele, graʹa/graya*) **to shave** | *d̄əqn̄áy ḡäréwale br̄íza m-àxxa¹* He would shave their beard (while it was) dry from here (A11:14).  
**II** *m-gr² (mḡäre, mḡürele, mḡäroye)* **to strip off (twigs and branches)**  
→ *garuwa, garuta*

*grč I* (*gar̄ač, gričle, grača*) **to scratch (with fingernails drawing blood).**  
**II** *m-grč (mgar̄ač, mgar̄ačle, mgaroče)* **to scratch (with fingernails drawing blood)**

*grð I* (*gar̄əð, gridle, graða*) **to scrape; to scratch off; to scrub** | *gridle t̄ina m̄ən-ḡəld̄e¹* He scraped the mud from his skin; *ʹa-sk̄inta t-wéwa gr̄aða d̄úša b̄iya¹* The knife was what he was scraping honey with (A14:25).

*grgm Q* *m-grgm (mgarḡəm, mgurḡəmle, mgarḡome)* **to thunder; to buzz** | *d̄únye h̄óla mgarḡòme¹* It is thundering.

*grgr Q* *m-grgr (mgarḡə, mgurḡəre, mgarḡore)* **to hull (rice); to make a noise** | *músq̄alle dáwla-w z̄òrna-w¹ h̄ósa ʹu-garḡarta¹* They brought him up (with) drum and pipe, and with clamour and shouting (A4:25).

*grm I* (*gar̄əm, grimle, grama*) **to flatten (with a rolling pin known as garoma)** | *gr̄úm ḡàwux.¹* Shut up (keep it to yourself)!

*grmz Q* *m-grmz (mgarm̄əz, mgurm̄əzle, mgarmoze)* **to shrink** | *p̄árča mgurm̄əzle gu-m̄iya xam̄ime¹* The material shrank in the hot water.

*grp I* (*gar̄əp, griple, grapa*) **to sweep up, to remove by sweeping** | *xáθi garp̄átte q̄ətm̄a¹* Sister, sweep up the ash (A34:16); *ʹu-b-ày¹ garp̄iwa ḡàre,¹ yáʹni z̄ep̄iwa t̄alga¹ qa-t-lá paȳášwa b-ḡàre¹* With this they would shovel the roof, that is they would push off the snow, so that it did not remain on the roof (B5:196).

*grs* **I** (*garəs, grislə, grasa*) **to grind; to crush**

*grš* **I** (*garəš, grišlə, graša*) **to pull; to pull away; to transport; to smoke; to pass (time); to distill.** (1) **to pull, to draw, to drag** | *grišlə səpa*<sup>1</sup> He drew his sword (A13:9); *garšále nablále gu-čäčma*<sup>1</sup> He dragged him and took him to the bathroom (A17:26); *grišälle kürsət taləbùθa*<sup>1</sup> He pulled up the chair of suit (A32:11); *garšüwa ʔupra gu-məššara b-gàršo*<sup>1</sup> They used to drag up the mud in the paddy field basin with a dragging tool; *grišlə míya m-tùra*<sup>1</sup> He drew water from the mountain (A11:14); *grasa bəna* to draw breath, inhale. (2) **to pull away; to withdraw** | *ʔati grüş gánux*<sup>1</sup> Take yourself away! (i.e. withdraw!) (A12:10); *y-odəxwa nùra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwəəl ma-t-ràxəθ*<sup>1</sup> *garšəxla qəse*<sup>1</sup> *pəšüwa pàlle*<sup>1</sup> We made a fire. As soon as it boiled, we pulled away the wood and it became embers (B10:87). (3) **to transport** | *garšəxwa qəse m-túra qa-sətwá*<sup>1</sup> We would transport wood from the mountains for winter (B5:133). (4) **to smoke** | *garəšüwa tútun qalünke*<sup>1</sup> He used to smoke pipe tobacco (A10:9); *Rustámo qalünke díye grišlə*<sup>1</sup> Rustam smoked his pipe (A29:47). (5) **to pass (time)** | *bàr*<sup>1</sup> *ʔarbá-saʔəte grišla*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla máθa kθiwàla*<sup>1</sup> After four hours had gone by, they had registered the whole village (B1:19). (6) **to distill** | *garšəxwa ʔəraq*<sup>1</sup> We used to distill arak.

*grw* **I** (*garu, grule/grüwle, grawa*) **to become ravenous, very hungry**

*gry* **I** (*gase, gsele, gsaya*) **to vomit, to eject from stomach** | Only used in reference to animals: *xúwwe gséle páqqa mən-kàse*<sup>1</sup> The snake ejected the frog from his stomach.

*gšq* **I** (*gašəq, gšiqle, gšaqa*) and **II** *m-gšq* (*mgašəq, mgušəqle, mgašoqe*) **to look** (Urm.) | *gášəq làxxa*<sup>1</sup> Look here!; *mòt mgašoqe bíyi*<sup>2</sup> Why are you looking at me? (A25:39); *ʔina gu-panjára gášqa xəzya*<sup>1</sup> *módile*<sup>1</sup> *módi lèle*<sup>1</sup> She could look and see what was happening through the window (A27:13).

*gwr* **I** (*gawər, gwirre, gwara*) **to marry** | *ʔəlla gáwərət*<sup>1</sup> You must marry (A16:6); *ʔána gorənnə*<sup>1</sup> I shall marry her (A7:18); *gwèrtət*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-t-la-gwàra*<sup>2</sup> Are you married or are you unmarried? (A25:83). With *l-* before complement: *ʔu-t-áθe gáwra l-xa-xəna*<sup>1</sup> She will marry somebody else (A26:78); *gwírela l-gódáðe*<sup>1</sup> They married one another (A17:21). **III** *m-gwr* (*magwər/magur, mugwərre, magwore*) **to give in marriage, to cause to marry (tr.)** | *qəm-magwərrəy*<sup>1</sup> They married them (A4:56); *magurəxla ʔla-brənnən*<sup>1</sup> We shall marry her to our son (A8:24); *ta-t-magurəxla Mərza Pámət*<sup>1</sup> in order for us to marry her to Mərza Pámət (A27:12).

*gwr* **I** (*gawər, gwirre, gwara*) **to become big. III** *m-gwr* (*magwər/magur, mugwərre, magwore/magore*) **to make big, to make proud** | *magúrwa gʷān-diye*<sup>1</sup> He would act pompously (B5:33); *qa-mót magóre gànux*<sup>2</sup> Why are you being so arrogant?

*gwy* **I** (*gawe, gwele, gwaya*) **to beg**

*gxk, ghk* **I** (*gaxək, gxikle, gxaka*) **to laugh; to be merry** | *la-gáxkət biyi*<sup>1</sup> Do not laugh at me!; *gxiklux biyi*<sup>1</sup> You have mocked me (A12:39); *gxàkela mánne diye*<sup>1</sup> She was merry with him (A22:18). **III** *m-gxk, m-ghk* (*magxək, mugxəkle, magxoke*) **to make laugh, to entertain** | *t-aθéwa náše magəhkile*<sup>1</sup> People would come and entertain him (A40:1). → *xkk*

*gyð* **I** (*gayəð, gidle, gyaða*) **to finish; to finish off** | *gídla xzátta*<sup>1</sup> They finished harvesting; *gídla zqarta* They finished knitting; *xayáta gyádalla şúdra*<sup>1</sup> The tailor is putting a finishing seam to the shirt; *banáye gyádalle gúda*<sup>1</sup> The builders are putting the finishing top edge (*gyatta*) to the wall.

*gys* **II** *m-gys* (*magyəs/măgiš, mugyəsle/măgišle, magyoše/măgoše*) **to fumble to find; to feel by touch**

*gyžn* **Q** *m-gyžn* (*mgeyžən, mgyžənne, mgeyžone*) (K.) **to be dizzy** | *mgyžənne*<sup>1</sup> *lá-mšaya kále p-àqle*<sup>1</sup> He became dizzy and could not stand on his feet (B15:60).

*gzgz* **Q** *m-gzgz* (*mgazgəz, mguzgəzle, mgazgoze*) **to shiver; to tremble** | *mguzgázla lásše diye zdile*<sup>1</sup> His body trembled and he was afraid (A29:43).

*gžgž* **Q** *m-gžgž* (*mgažgəž, mgužgəžle, mgažgože*) **to pelt down (rain)** | *mátra hóle mgažgəže*<sup>1</sup> It is pelting with rain.

## /H/

*hdy* **II** *m-hdy* (*mhăde/mhadde, mhüdele/mhuddle, mhădoye/mhaddoye*) (A.) **to calm down (tr.)** | *ʔawwa qəm-mhaddèle*<sup>1</sup> He calmed him down (A8:43).

*hlhl* **Q** *m-hlhl* (*mhalhəl, mhulhəlle, mhalhole*) **to ululate, to celebrate**

*hmzm* **Q** *m-hmzm* (*mhamzəm, mhuzəmle, mhamzome*) (Urm.) **to speak**

*hnds* **Q** *m-hnds* (*mhandəs, mhundəsle, mhandose*) (A.) **to practice engineering**



*hny* **I** (*hane, hnele, hnaya*) **to please** | *dáx hanèle*<sup>1</sup> as it pleases him; *la-hanéli qaṭlānnux*<sup>1</sup> I do not care to kill you (A29:28); *la-hanéli t-amrānnux*<sup>1</sup> I do not care to tell you; *dáx hanélux máxət bāxtux!*<sup>2</sup> How could you hit your wife!?

*hqy* **II** (*haqe, huqe, haqoye*) (Urm.) **to tell** | *mnáxət bábi haqèwa*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-sáwi y-awúḏwa tjarúḏa*<sup>1</sup> *mən-ʔAsiḥa*<sup>1</sup> My late father used to tell how my grandfather would conduct trade with Ashitha (B3:4).

*hrgm* **Q** *m-hrgm* (*mhargəm, mhurgəmle, mhargome*) **to bang, to make a loud sound; to roar (lion)** | *pauxa...gu-quprana mhurgəmle* the wind...roared in the hut (C2:50).

*hrk* → *hrk*

*hrw* → *rhw*

*hwy* **I** (*hawe, wele, waya*) **to be, to become; to be born** (§15.3.9.). (1) **to be, to become** | *háwət hášyər ʔilən jənnə*<sup>1</sup> Be careful, we have jinn (A22:26); *hammáše míya gǎrəg háwa ʔalle díye*<sup>1</sup> Water must be on it constantly (B5:78); *ʔáw qəqwána gu-túra y-áwe*<sup>1</sup> The partridge is in the mountains (B5:147); *mó-t-oya ʔəyya*<sup>2</sup> What will become of her? (A4:38); *mòdi wéle*<sup>2</sup> What has happened? (A8:9); *là-wi ʔášəbi*<sup>1</sup> Do not be hot-headed (C7:6). (2) **to be born** | *Žál wéle ʔalle díye bróna*<sup>1</sup> A son was born to Zāl (A28:2); *šets-tálləθ wítela*<sup>1</sup> *Səttiye*<sup>1</sup> In the third year Səttiye was born (A25:25); *qəm-hawéla xáḥa yaqánta*<sup>1</sup> An only sister was born to them (literally: was to them) (A18:1). (3) Idioms: *mo-bt-áwe*<sup>1</sup> That's fine, no problem. *la hoya* it is not allowed: *lá-hoya yóma qamáya xátna t-xazéla k'álo*<sup>1</sup> It is not allowed for the groom to see the bride on the first day (A4:36).

*hymn* **Q** *m-hymn* (*mhaymən/mhēmən/mheymən/mhāmən, mhuymənnə/mhümənnə, mhaymone/mhēmone/mheymone/mhāmone*) **to believe; to trust** (§8.15.2. ii) | *mhuymənnə b-alàha*<sup>1</sup> He believed in God; *náše là hāmənáwa ʔalle díye*<sup>1</sup> People did not believe him (A48:1); *mhuymənni-llux* I trust you (A1:18).

*hyr* (i) **II** *m-hyr* (*mhayər/mhǎyər, mhǎyərre, mhayore*) (K.) **to help** | *múrra tóti t-áḥya mhərāli*<sup>1</sup> Tell my grandmother to come and help me (A7:25); *ʔəp-aw səlyele mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa*<sup>1</sup> He went down to help the old man (A14:77).

*hyr* (ii), *hyr* **I** (*hayər, hirre, hyara*) (A.) **to be confused; to be perplexed** | *ʔána hiran b-gāni*<sup>1</sup> *mò báyyən t-oḏéna*<sup>1</sup> I am confused as to what I should do

(A17:33); *málka hírre b-gáne díye bíya díya*<sup>1</sup> 'The king was at his wits end regarding her (A21:2). **II** *m-hyr* (*mhayǣs, mhuyǣrre, mhayore*) **to confound** | <sup>2</sup>*u-málka hóle mhuyàra*<sup>1</sup> 'The king is confounded (A12:55).

## /Ḥ/

*ḥkm* **I** (*ḥakəm, ḥkimle, ḥkama*) (A.) **to judge, arbitrate** | <sup>2</sup>*áwəwa ḥákəm béni*<sup>2</sup>*u-bènæx*<sup>1</sup> 'He will arbitrate between me and you (A47:3).

*ḥrk, hrk* **II** *m-ḥrk, m-hrk* (*mḥarræk, mḥurrækle, mḥarroke*) (A.) **to move**

*ḥsl* **II** *m-ḥsl* (*mḥaşəl, mḥuşəlla, mḥaşole*) (A.) **to give birth to** | *báxtə d-ó náša fāqūra*<sup>1</sup> *píšla b-<sup>2</sup>úrxa*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t mḥaşəlla yàle*<sup>1</sup> 'The wife of the poor man was on the way to giving birth to children (A8:5).

*hyr* → *hyr* (ii)

## /J/

*jbl* **I** (*jabəl, jbillə, jbala*) (A.) **to make cement mix out of mud and straw known as jabla** | *hón jbála jàbla*<sup>1</sup> 'I am making cement.

*jgr* **II** *m-jgr* (*mjagǣs, mjugǣrre, mjagore*) (K.) **to contend; to emulate** | *mjagra m-kima bahurta* 'She contends with the resplendent Pleiades (C2:74).

*jld* **I** (*jaləd, jlidle, jlada*) (A.) **to execute, to behead** | *b-jáldi réšət Fàrxo*<sup>1</sup> 'They would behead Farxo (A25:32).

*jlg, jrg* **I** (*jaræg, jrígə, jraga*) (K.) **to snatch, to take away** | *ləbbi jligle-w nubəlle* 'He snatched my heart and took it away (C2:64). **II** *m-jrg, m-jlg* (*mjaræg, mjarəgle, mjaroge*) **to snatch**

*jlw* **I** (*jalu, jlule/jliwle, jlawa*) **to kidnap, to abduct** | *xáθət sáwən Tòma*<sup>1</sup> *jliwàle*<sup>1</sup> 'He kidnapped the sister of grandfather Toma (A52:1); *xáθux Nasimo jliwətela l-<sup>2</sup>arabàye*<sup>1</sup> 'Your sister Nasimo has been kidnapped by Arabs (A37:5). **III** *m-jlw* (3fs. *majəlwə/majliwə, mujlula, majlowe*) **to elope (woman)** | *mujlúla báθər xa-<sup>2</sup>úrza xèna*<sup>1</sup> 'She eloped with another man.

*jlx* **I** (*jaləx, jlixle, jlaxa*) (K.) **to cut (skin)** | *jlaxta* a cut (in the skin); a scar.

*jly* **II** *m-jly* (*mjale, mjulele, mjaloye*) **to prize up (roots)**

*jm*<sup>3</sup> **I** (*jāme, jmile/jmele, jmaʼa/jmaya*) (A.) **to collect, to gather (intr.)** | *hóla susāwàθaʼ jəmye b-rése díye*<sup>1</sup> The horses are gathered over him (A25:13); *bulbúle jmáʼela l-qàle*<sup>1</sup> Nightingales gather at his voice (A25:46). **II** *m-jm*<sup>3</sup> (*mjāme, mjūmele, mjā moye*) **to gather (tr.)** | *júmyela zúze*<sup>1</sup> They gathered money (A14:10); *hal-é-gə mjáméla qése*<sup>1</sup> until he gathers the wood (A23:13).

*jngn* **Q** *m-jngn* (*mjangən, mjungənnə, mjangone*) **to jangle; to shake** | *mjunəgníla hátxa*<sup>1</sup> She jangled them (the gold coins) like this (A4:15).

*jngr* **Q** *m-jngr* (*mjangəŋ, mjungəŋre, mjangore*) (K.) **to rust**

*jnjr* **Q** *m-jnjr* (*mjanjəŋ, mjunjəŋre, mjanjore*) (K.) **to torture; to be exhausted**

*jnn* **I** (*janən/jayən, jninne, jnana*) **to sing a dirge** | *ʼu-šurəla hátxa jnána bíye díye*<sup>1</sup> She began to lament over him like that (A26:84).

*jrb* **II** *m-jrb* (*mjarəb, mjurəble, mjarobe*) (A.) **to try; to test; to challenge** | *mjarbu méθu náše duxtùre*<sup>1</sup> Try to bring doctors (A8:32); *qémən mjarbənne*<sup>1</sup> I shall test him (to see if he is true to his word) (A6:2); *kú-t-ile ferássa ʼáθe ʼàxxane*<sup>1</sup> *mjarəbla gáne*<sup>1</sup> Whoever is a warrior, let him come here and test out his mettle (A29:59); *ʼən-ʼile ʼúrza gáwya xoš-qəyəm*<sup>1</sup> *mjarbənne*<sup>1</sup> If he is a brave man, let him get up and I shall challenge him (A29:27).

*jrd* **I** (*jarəd, jridle, jrada*) (A.) **to peel, to strip off (leaves)** | *jridle ʼilána*<sup>1</sup> He stripped the tree of leaves.

*jrg* → *jlg*

*jrṭ* **I** (*jarəṭ, jrṭle, jrata*) **to slip** | *ʼáni hóla jrəṭa*<sup>1</sup> They are slipping (B19:7); *qámθa y-amrúwa*<sup>1</sup> *t-náše xáčča ʼáglej jrṭṭela*<sup>1</sup> *npilela-w néra nùbálley*<sup>1</sup> Formerly they used to say that if the foot of people slipped a little, they would fall and the river would carry them away (B3:9). **III** *m-jrṭ* (*mjarəṭ, mujrəṭle, majroṭe*) **to slip; to cause to slip**

*jrx* **I** (*jarəx, jrṭxle, jraxa*) (K.) **to scratch; to scrape**

*jry* **I** (*jare, jrele, jrya*) (A.) **to flow, leak** | *wáha ʼamána jrəyele*<sup>1</sup> That vessel is leaking; *naxíri jrəya*<sup>1</sup> My nose is running. **III** (*majre, mujrele, majroye*) **to shed, to leak** | *hóle majrəye dəmme*<sup>1</sup> He is shedding tears; *naxíri hóle majrəye*<sup>1</sup> My nose is running; *lína díyən majrəyele*<sup>1</sup> Our pot is leaking.

*jss* **II** *m-jss* (*mjasəs, mjusəsle, mjasose*) (A.) **to spy**

*jvʔ* **I** (*javəʔ, jviʔle, jvəʔa*) **to stick up; to shift, to budge**

*jwəb* **II** *m-jwəb* (*mjawəb/mjǎwəb, mjuwəble, mjawobe*) (A.) **to reply** | *xzi-mò b-mjawəʔblux málka*! See what the king replies to you (A17:30).

*jwəd* **II** *m-jwəd* (*mjawəd, mjuwədle, mjawode*) (A.) **to argue** | *qímle mjawòde mən-ʔága*! He started arguing with the agha (C7:6); *šuréla mjawóde m-gǎðde*! They started arguing together (A26:2).

*jwəj* **I** (*jawəj, jwǐjle, jwəjə*) **to move (intr.); to walk** | *léš mašítu jawǐjtu*! You will no longer be able to move (A8:28); *lá-jawəjət mən-kəs-xəlux*! Do not move from the home of your uncle (A25:73); *qá-t ʔíma t-ásəqwa tura t-lá ʔo-qurtána jawəjwa*! so that when they went up into the mountains, the cloth (on the back of the mule) would not move (B5:127); *xazǐtwalə qnyáne ʔé-gət y-aθiwa*,<sup>1</sup> *kulléy jwəjə m-gǎðde*! You would see the cattle when they came back, all walking along together (B15:44); *lá-juj pǎndux*!<sup>1</sup> Don't walk so slowly!; *xa-čérək sáʔət b-jwəjə*! a quarter of an hour on foot. **III** *m-jwəj* (*majwəj, mujwǐjle, majwoje*) **to cause to walk, to move (tr.)** | *majwoje reša* to shake the head; *majwajət reša* a shake of the head; *t-la-ʔáθi láppət míya qa-t-majujila*! so that waves of water would not wash it away (B15:17).

*jyʔ* **I** (*jəyəʔ, jille, jyala*) (A.) **to go around, to go for a walk**

*jyq* **I** (*jəyəq, jiqle, jyəqa*) (K.) **to tear**

*jyr* **I** (*jəyər, jirre, jyara*) **to urinate** | *qátu kríbla*,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-jarála gu-núra*! The cat was angry and urinated in the fire (A34:8); *béna ʔurxa-ʔurxa*! *qəm-jəyərweala*! Now, on the way, he had urinated (A30:46); *jirile gu-šərwále žáre faqúra*! The poor wretched man urinated in his trousers (A31:8).

**III** *m-jyr* (*majyər/mǎjür, mujyərre/mǐjürre, majyore/mǎjore*) **to cause to urinate** | *ʔáwəwa yalúnka brónən zóra mpaltǐtte majirǐtle b-lələ*! Take out this young boy, our young son, and make him pass water at night (A30:39).

*jzy* **II** *m-jzx* (*mjaze, mjuzele, mjazoye*) (A.) **to tax**

/K/

*kbs* **I** (*kabəs, kbisle, kbasa*) **to scold, to reprimand**

*kčx* **I** (*kačəx, kčixle, kčaxa*) **to tire (intr.); to toil** | *xárθa kčixtela*<sup>1</sup> In the end she became tired (A14:91); *rábənwa kčixa bíye diye*<sup>1</sup> I had very greatly toiled in it (the orchard) (A17:32). **III** *m-kčx* (*makčəx, mukčəxle, makčəxe*) **to tire (tr.)**

*kɤf* **Q** *m-kɤf* (*mkaɤf, mkuɤfle, mkaɤfo*) **to hiss**

*klbč* **Q** *m-klbč* (*mkalbəč, mkulbəčle, mkalboč*) (K./A.) **to put on handcuffs**  
→ *kalabča*

*klč* **II** *m-klč* (*mkaləč, mkuləčle, mkaloč*) (K.) **to peel; to strip** | *xa-šaḡòlele*<sup>1</sup> *mkùlčele*<sup>1</sup> One (piece) was a shank, which was stripped (of its meat) (A30:30); *barziwa xáčča mkalčəwala*<sup>1</sup> When they (the logs) had dried a little, they would strip them (of their bark) (B5:187).

*klf* **II** *m-klf* (*mkaləf, mkuləfle, mkalof*) (A.) **to cost** | *kulífele ʾállən šawwà-ʾalpe dínár*<sup>1</sup> It cost us seven thousand dinars (B1:20).

*klkl* **Q** *m-klkl* (*mkalkəl, mkulkəlle, mkalkole*) **to ululate**

*kl* **II** *m-kl* (*mkaləl/mkäləl, mkuləlle/mkùləlle, mkalole/mkälole*) **to ululate**

*kly* **I** (*kale, klele, klaya*) **to stop, to stand; to wait, to stay; to refrain.**  
(1) **to stop** | *klá klá lāxxa*<sup>1</sup> Stop, stop here! (A14:91); *hát kléle zàḡa*<sup>1</sup> *t-rəš-čàdra*<sup>1</sup> until the bell that was over the tent stopped (A25:41); *xáze ʾərxe klèla*<sup>1</sup> He saw that the water-mill had stopped (A22:42); *ʾimə zamrənwala*<sup>1</sup> *kalèwa*<sup>1</sup> When I sang it, he stopped (crying) (C4:2); *klèle pláša*<sup>1</sup> The war stopped (B17:9). (2) **to stand** | *kályele gu-tárət béθa ʾáw ʾu-ʾáy*<sup>1</sup> He stood at the door of the house together with her (A4:55); *ʾiθwa dúkθa ta-t-kalèwa*<sup>1</sup> There was space for him to stand (A22:30). (3) **to wait, to stay** | *klí mtaxəmnən*<sup>1</sup> Wait, let me think about it (A3:5); *t-àzən*<sup>1</sup> *ʾána lə-kalən lāxxa*<sup>1</sup> I shall go, I shall not stay here (A8:43); *míya kálye gu-sàlla*<sup>2</sup> Can water stay in a basket? (A16:10). (4) **to refrain, to forebear** | *báye qatəlwale*<sup>1</sup> *xá-ga xéta klèle*<sup>1</sup> He wanted to kill him, then he refrained (A10:3-4). (5) Idioms: *kliθà-llux-ila*<sup>1</sup> It is up to you (A8:44); *kliθéla ʾahwáltə d-ò naša*<sup>1</sup> It depends what the condition of the man is (B5:8). **III** *m-kly* (*makle, muklele, makloye*) **to cause to stop; to cause to stand; to cause to stay.** (1) **to cause to stop** | *mùk-ləlla táwre t-wéwa zráya*<sup>1</sup> He stopped the oxen, which were ploughing (A9:5); *tálbi mən-ʾálaha qa-t-ʾawwa*<sup>1</sup> *fəyaḏʾán maklèle*<sup>1</sup> They ask for God

to stop this flood (B6:19). (2) **to cause to stand** | *maklilən qamàye*<sup>1</sup>  
They make us stand first (at the front) (B15:82). (3) **to cause to stay** | *'ap-míya muklèle gu-d-ε-sálla*<sup>1</sup> He made even water stay in the basket (A16:10).

*kmbx* **Q** *m-kmbx* (*mkambəx, mkumbəxle, mkamboxe*) **to collapse, to be utterly destroyed**

*kml* **I** (*kaməl, kmille, kmala*) (A.) **to become complete** | *heš-léla kmilta šímša*<sup>1</sup> The sun has not completely risen (A26:37). **II** *m-kml* (*mkaməl, mkumalle, mkamole*) **to complete** | *'āxcā' soqətlən' 'āxni' t-ázəx 'ay-wəjəbúθa mkamləxla*<sup>1</sup> Just let us go to complete this task (A12:14).

*knkš* **Q** *m-knkš* (*mkankəš, mkunkəšle, mkankoše*) **to drag**

*knš* **I** (*kanəš, knišle, knaša*) **to sweep; to wipe** | *kúlla-lampən y-awéwa kniše*<sup>1</sup>  
All our lamps were swept out (B10:85); *mən dəmmət 'eni pišli knaša* I began to wipe away the tears of my eyes (C3:8).

*kpn* **I** (*kapən, kpinne, kpana*) **to become hungry**

*kps* **I** (*kapəš, kpišle, kpaša*) **to gather (intr.); to collect (tr.)** | *kpišela maymúne b-<sup>2</sup>alpəye*<sup>1</sup> The monkeys gathered in thousands (A14:53); *kúlla kpiše támá*<sup>1</sup> Everybody gathered there (A13:2); *'an-baxtəθa' kapšəwale*<sup>1</sup> The women gathered it (the rice hay) (B5:85). **II** *m-kps* (*mkapəš, mkupəšle, mkapoše*) **to gather (tr.), to collect (tr.)** | *hár mkapəštət kisyəθət dəwela tótó*<sup>1</sup> The old woman is all the time collecting bags of gold (A4:22); *kupəšlux 'əlli kurtəxyəθa* You have gathered to me pelvises (of women) (A52:26).

*kpy* **II** *m-kpy* (*mkape, mkupele, mkapoye*) **to cover; to shelter** | *mkúpyele gáne mən-mətra*<sup>1</sup> He took shelter from the rain.

*krb* **I** (*karəb, krible, kraba*) **to become angry** | *málka krìble*<sup>1</sup> *bud-hətxa mənđiyáne*<sup>1</sup>  
The king became angry about these things (A25:8); *krìblun mən-qáša*<sup>1</sup>  
They were angry with the priest (B1:17). **III** (*makrəb, mukrəble, makrobe*) **to make angry** | *makrəb čučəne* n.f. snow falling at the beginning of the month of March (literally: the one that angers the magpies)

*krbð* **Q** *m-krbð* (*mkarbəð, mkurbəðle, mkarboðe*) **to grasp, to grapple with** | *qəm-karbəðle*<sup>1</sup> He grasped him (in a fight).

*krkr* **Q** *m-krkr* (*mkarkər, mkurkərre, mkarkore*) **to bleat (goats); to cluck (hen)**

*krmš* **Q** *m-krmš* (*mkarmāš, mkurmāšle, mkarmošē*) **to shrink, to shrivel** | *xabúša mkurmāšle*<sup>1</sup> The apple has shrivelled.

*krx* **I** (*karax, krixle, kraxa*) **to bend** | *kraxa ʾiθaθa* to fold one's arms; *kraxa ʾaqlaθa* to fold, retract legs when sitting. **II** *m-krx* (*mkarax, mkuraxle, mkaroxe*) **to shroud** | *ma sēpa mkaraxət ganux* Oh sword, you shroud yourself (A52:21)

*kry* (i) **I** (*kare, krele, kraya*) **to become short. III** *m-kry* (*makre, mukrele, makroye*) **to make short** | *ʾUsman mukreli zawne* I have shortened the time of Usman (C7:13).

*kry* (ii) **I** (*kare, krele, kraya*) **to strike, to attack** | *kréle gu-d-a-ʾàskar*<sup>1</sup> He smote the army (A29:56).

*krz* **III** *m-krz* (*makraz, mukrazle, makroze*) **to preach; to announce**

*ks* **III** *m-ks* (*makas, mukasle, makose*) **to close (tr. and intr.)** | *də-mākas tāra*<sup>1</sup> Close the door! (A39:19); *ʾiman šarət kulcūwa*<sup>1</sup> *qóla ʾi-mākas*<sup>1</sup> When the trigger is sprung, the trap closes.

*ksr* **I** (*kasar, ksirre, ksara*) (A.) **to be shattered, to be exhausted**

*ksx* **I** (*kasax, ksixle, ksaxa*) **to prune (a tree, a vine); to cut (a vein/ artery)** | *ʾáyya zámjir ʾáwra ʾanna waridat qðàle*<sup>1</sup> *kaxàla*<sup>1</sup> The chain went into the veins of his neck and cut them (A26:81).

*ksy* **II** *m-ksy* (*mkase, mkusele, mkasoye*) **to cover** | *har-mkusèθalla páθa*<sup>1</sup> She kept her face covered (A34:28).

*kškš* **Q** *m-kškš* (*mkaškāš, mkuškāšle, mkaškošē*) **to make threatening noises before fight (dogs); to shoo away (chickens, birds)**

*kšp* **I** (*kašap, kšiple, kšapa*) **to collapse (building)** | *kšiple bεθa rāš-marāwabe* The house collapsed over its owners; *kšiple bεθa qam-talga* The house collapsed on account of the snow.

*ktp* **I** (*katap, ktiple, ktapa*) **to stop flowing, to dry up (source of water, mother's milk)** | *ʾan-miya kàtpi*<sup>1</sup> The water dried up (A12:47).

*kθw* **I** (*kaθu, kθule/kθiwle, kθawa*) **to write; to register** | *mšaróyela kθāwa*<sup>1</sup> *bεθwáθat nāšē*<sup>1</sup> They begin to register the houses of the people (B1:16). **III** *m-kθw* (*makθu, mukθule, makθowe*) **to register** | *mukθúli gu-Lèvi*<sup>1</sup> I registered in the Levies.

*kʷən* **II** (*mkaʷən, mkuʷənnə, mkaʷone*) (A.) **to form, to constitute** | *qínlən mkaʷóne gánən gu-maθwàθa*<sup>1</sup> We began to form ourselves into villages (B4:5).

*kʷər* **II** *m-kʷər* (*mkaʷər/mkǎʷər, mkuʷərre, mkaʷore*) **to distil (tr. and intr.)** | *ʔáraq mkuʷərra*<sup>1</sup> The arak has distilled; *ʔən-lá mkàwra*<sup>1</sup> *lè-pəša ʔáraq*<sup>1</sup> If it does distill, it does not become arak.

*kʷəš* **I** (*kawəš, kwišle, kwaša*) **to pack tightly** | *kwišli rába mändiyáne gu-juwàla*<sup>1</sup> I packed many things into the sack.

*kʷey* **I** (*kawe, kwele, kawaya*) **to scorch, to sear**

*kxl* **I** (*kaxəl, kxille, kxala*) **to blacken with kohl**

*kyl* **I** (*kayəl, kille, kyala*) **to measure** | *də-yátla rapə̀kθux*<sup>1</sup> *kelónna zùzi*<sup>1</sup> Give (me) your grain measure so that I can measure my money (A32:8); *kyála páwxa b-kusiðe*<sup>1</sup> He is measuring the wind with his hat (D2:51), i.e. he is doing pointless work; *kú-məndit ʔodə̀tle bad-páyəš kila-ʔəllux*<sup>1</sup> *kílat kelə̀tle bad-páyəš kila-llux*<sup>1</sup> Everything that you do will be measured against you. The measure you measure will be measured against you (A45:4).

*kym* **I** (*kayəm, kimle, kyama*) **to become black.** **III** *m-kym* (*makyəm/măkim, mukyəmle/mükimle, makyome/măkome*) **to make black**

*kyp* **I** (*kayəp, kiple, kyəpa*) **to bow, to bend over; to be lowered; to throw.** (1) **to bow, to bend over** | *kípa qam-málka*<sup>1</sup> He bowed to the king (A14:45). (2) **to be lowered** | *marimána kəyəp*<sup>1</sup> The lever is lowered. (3) **to throw** | *xázəx b-šəndóxe t-wátwa kípa biyi*<sup>1</sup> Let's look at the stones that you threw at me (A1:18). **III** *m-kyp* (*makyəp/măkip, mukyəple/mükiple, makyope/măkope*); *m-kp* (*makəp, mukəple, makope*) **to lower, to bow (tr.); to knock down; to throw, to shoot (gun)** | *makipátle marimána*<sup>1</sup> You lower the lever; *rəšən măkipə̀xwala hátxa*<sup>1</sup> We would bow our head like this (B16:24); *hóle dwáqəlle réšət xórta makyə̀pəlle*<sup>1</sup> He was holding the top of a poplar tree and bending it down (A29:16); *mükípli ʔəbbe*<sup>1</sup> I knocked him down; *ʔáy qəm-šaqlála xa-gürza*<sup>1</sup> *mukpála l-Qaṭina*<sup>1</sup> She took a club and threw it at Qaṭina (A50:11); *mukpále gu-be-ʔəne*<sup>1</sup> He shot it (the gun) at his forehead (A31:7).

*kyr* **I** (*kirre* defective) **to attempt to achieve a goal by doing something but without success** | used in combination with *kyz*: *kizli*



*ʔu-kírri bíye qa-t-kalèwa,*<sup>1</sup> *bas-là-klele*<sup>1</sup> I did my best with him (to persuade him) to stop, but he did not stop.

*kys* **I** (*kayāš, kišle, kyaša*) **to deflate.** **III** *m-kys* (*makyāš/mākīš, mukyašle/mākīšle, makyoše/mākoše*) **to burst, deflate (tr. and intr.); to defray (a debt).** (1) **to burst, deflate** | *qəm-mākīšən gúða*<sup>1</sup> We deflated the skin bag; *gúða mukīšle* The skin deflated. (2) **to defray (a debt)** | *kúlla déne díye qəm-mākīšla*<sup>1</sup> He paid off all his debts.

*kyz* **I** (*kaze, kizle, kyaza* §8.16.12.) **to try, to attempt; to try to persuade (s.o.) without success.** (1) **to try, to attempt** | *kizle qràya*<sup>1</sup> He tried calling (A48:5); *kizle mxàya*<sup>1</sup> *goyáθət sùsa,*<sup>1</sup> *sùsa la-jwìjle*<sup>1</sup> He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move (A28:33); *kazúwa prámalla har-paltùwa*<sup>1</sup> They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up (A38:15); *ʔaw-kizle b-lqàṭa*<sup>1</sup> *čú-màndi là-mṭele*<sup>1</sup> He (the stork) tried to peck at it (the food), but did not reach anything (A45:2). With *qa-*: *kázən qa-šàrxən*<sup>1</sup> I tried to shout (B15:40). Followed by direct speech: *kizle málka*<sup>1</sup> *mòdila qóššət*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati kli*<sup>1</sup> The king tried (to ask) ‘What is happening?’ ‘You stop (asking questions)’ (A4:23). (2) **to try to persuade without success** (*b-* s.o.) | *kizla bíye díye*<sup>1</sup> They tried to persuade him (A16:6); *kizla bróni lá-wuð hátxa màndi*<sup>1</sup> She tried (to persuade him by saying) ‘Son, don’t do such a thing’ (A14:6). Combined with *kyr*: *kizli ʔu-kírri bíye qa-t-kalèwa,*<sup>1</sup> *bas-là-klele*<sup>1</sup> I did my best with him (to persuade him) to stop, but he did not stop.

/ḳ/

*kndr* **Q** *m-kndr* (*mḳandəṛ, mḳundəṛre, mḳandore*) **to roll along** | *qəm-kandórra gúttá*<sup>1</sup> He rolled the ball along; *xátəṛ t-ínwa mḳonəṛdrala*<sup>1</sup> ‘because I had rolled her (down the hill) (A20:12).

/L/

*lʔm* **II** *m-lʔm* (*mlawəm/mláwəm, mluwəmlə, mlawome*) **to weld; to solder**

*ldm* **I** (*ladəm, ldimle, ldama*) **to compress**

*ldy* **III** *m-ldy* (*malde, muldele, maldoye*) **to cheat**

*lgz* **I** (*lagəz, lgizle, lgaza*) **to gesture, to make a sign** (*l-* to) | *lgizli ʾille qá-t ʾazəhwa*<sup>1</sup> I made him a sign to go.

*lhð* **I** (*lahəð, lhidle, lhaða*) **to pant (animal)**. **III** *m-lhð* (*malhəð, mulhədle, malhəðe*) **to pant (animal)**

*lhy* **I** (*läye, lele, lhaya/läya*) **to burn, to be kindled** | *xzéle xa-núra lháya gu-xa-gəppa*<sup>1</sup> He saw a fire burning in a cave. (A39:2); *hóle xázax xa-ləmpa lháya*<sup>1</sup> We can see a lamp burning (A33:1); *ʾina-tópe díye lhàya*<sup>1</sup> His gun was smoking (A31:9). **III** *m-lhy* (*malhe/mäle, mulhele/mütele, malhoye/mälöye*) **to kindle; to turn on (electricity, motor)** | *málhəxwa şəpa*<sup>1</sup> We would light the stove (B10:71); *malhéwa púnda*<sup>1</sup> He would kindle a wick (B5:57); *bəð-málhən ʾatnabəli*<sup>1</sup> I shall start my car.

*ljlj* **Q** *m-ljlij* (*mlajlaj, mlujlajle, mlajloje*) **to smart (tongue)**

*lkk* **I** (*lakəx, lkixle, lkaxa*) **to lick**. **III** *m-lkk* (*malkəx, mulkəxle, malkoxe*) **to cause (sheep) to lick (salt)** | *malkəxəxwala ʾərwə qa-t-áwe básra díya qüwəya*<sup>1</sup> We caused our sheep to lick (salt) so that their flesh would be hard.

*lkz* **I** (*lakəz, lkizle, lkaza*) **to stab, to prick** (sth. *l-* into) | *lkizli l-táwra zəqtət mäsə*<sup>1</sup> I stuck the point of the goad into the ox.

*lmş* **I** (*laməş, lmişle, lmaşa*) **to suck; to absorb** | *tabuwáne ʾi-lam.şəwa mən-dómmət ʾərwə*<sup>1</sup> Ticks would suck the blood of the sheep; *julla lmişa miya* a cloth soaked in water. **II** *m-lmş* (*mlaməş, mluməşle, mlamoşe*) **to absorb**

*lplp* **Q** *m-lplp* (*mlapləp, mlupləple, mlaplope*) **to twinkle**

*lqlq* **Q** *m-lqlq* (*mlaqləq, mluqləqle, mlaqlöqe*) **to be loose; to waver, to totter** | *ʾáwəwa kúrsi léle drəst*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mlaqlöqe*<sup>1</sup> This chair is not right, it is swaying.

*lqt* **I** (*laqət, lqitle, lqata*) **to pick; to peck up; to embroider**. (1) **to pick (fruit)** | *zülle lqáta xabúşe*<sup>1</sup> He went to pick apples; *čeri y-ázi laqítla*<sup>1</sup> In the Autumn they would go and pick them (the walnuts) (B5:216). (2) **to peck up (grains)** | *kθéθa lqítla pərdə*<sup>1</sup> The chicken pecked up grains; *ʾaw-kízle b-lqáta*<sup>1</sup> *čú-məndi là-məte*<sup>1</sup> He (the stork) tried to peck at it (the food), but did not reach anything (A45:2). (3) **to embroider** | *zaqrəxwa həşye*<sup>1</sup> *laqtəxwa*<sup>1</sup> We would knit pieces of lacework and embroider them (B10:85). **III** *m-lqt* (*malqət, mulqətle, malqote*) **to lay grains for birds to peck; to peck (at grains)**

*lsls* **Q** *m-lsls* (*młasłs, młusłsle, młasłose*) **to squelch, to produce a squish-ing sound (when wet)** | *śawlux hóla młasłòse*<sup>1</sup> Your shoes (are wet and) are squelching.

*lty* **I** (*latę, łtele, łtaya*) **to lap**

*lwš* **I** (*lawəs, lwışle, lwaša*) **to put on clothes, to wear (clothes)** | *’ána t-lăwšən*<sup>1</sup> I shall dress up (A27:27); *lwışla julla*<sup>1</sup> They got dressed (A14:83); *’ăti<sup>1</sup> lawšătle ’ăwewa gəlda<sup>1</sup> l-gănəx<sup>1</sup>* You put this skin on you (A27:11); *’ăθyēle xá-naša xəna<sup>1</sup> lwışa lwışta smòqta<sup>1</sup>* Another man came, dressed in red clothing (A12:9); *’ánna suráye dīyən țiyarāye<sup>1</sup> lwışe zargùle<sup>1</sup>* Those Țiyare Christians of ours were wearing sheepskin boots (B19:4). **III** *m-lwš* (*malwəs, mulwəsle, malwəše*) **to dress; to put on (clothes)** | *malwəšítwale jull-dīye<sup>1</sup>* They would dress him in his clothes (B5:26); *dīya-méθu julli malušula<sup>1</sup>* Now bring my clothes and put them on (me) (A4:20).

*lwx* **I** (*lawəx, lwixle, lwaxa*) **to catch fire, to blaze** | *lwixele Dəmdəma*<sup>1</sup> Dəmdəma burst into flames (A11:21); *t-lóxi ’ánna qəse<sup>1</sup>* so that the wood would catch fire (B15:23); *lă lóxət!*<sup>1</sup> Do not be angry! (Calm down!).

*lxm* **I** (*laxəm, lximle, lxama*) **to be suitable; to fit; to take shape, to be composed** | *kú-benət laxmàwa<sup>1</sup>* whenever it was convenient (B5:133); *léla lxáma hadīya<sup>1</sup>* It is not suitable now; *’áy lxímle š-lışáni<sup>1</sup>* This just tripped off my tongue (A32:31). **III** *m-lxm* (*malxəm, mulxəmle, malxome*) **to compose (song, poem); to deck out** | *mulxəmle šere<sup>1</sup>* He has composed poems; *moləxmáli... ’áyya zmárta býye dīye<sup>1</sup>* I composed this song about him (C4:2); *muləxme... b-čakka-ži<sup>1</sup>* decked out also with weapons (A8:54).

*lym* **I** (*layəm, limle, lyama*) **to blame**

*lyp* **I** (*layəp, liple, lyapa*) **to learn** | *kú-mdit layəp náša yála zòra<sup>1</sup> ’áyya pyəša gu-réšət náša<sup>1</sup>* Everything that a person learns as a young child, this remains in the mind of person (B8:20); *’áy hár-lipta dnəxa<sup>1</sup> ’u-xála<sup>1</sup>* She learnt only how to sleep and to eat (A21:1); *kúlla ’ərbe hóla lípe ’alla dīya<sup>1</sup>* All the small cattle follow her lead (C7:4). **III** *m-ly* (*maləp/mələp, müləple, málópe*) **to teach** | *bábi maləpwalən slòθa<sup>1</sup>* My father taught us prayers (B8:16).

*lyq* **I** (*layəq, liqle, lyaqa*) **to become caught, to become stuck; to be connected** | *hóla liqta ’arnúwəwa gu-qúlla<sup>1</sup>* A rabbit is caught in the trap; *liqley<sup>1</sup> b-xákma taqyáθət xeləpe ’iθwa təma<sup>1</sup>* They became caught on

some branches of willows that were there (A8:13); *hám liqta b-əyyela*<sup>1</sup>  
It is also related to this (A8:20).

*lys* **I** (*layəs, lisle, lyasa*) **to chew**

*lyš* **I** (*layəš, lišle, lyəša*) **to be spoilt, to be ruined.** **III** *m-lyš* (*malyəš/māliš, mulyəšle/mūlišle, malyoše/māloše*) **to spoil, to ruin**

*lyš* **I** (*layəš, lišle, lyəša*) **to knead (dough)**

*lyt* **I** (*layət, liṭle, lyəta*) **to curse**

*lyz* **III** *m-lyz* (*malyəz/māliz, mulyəzle/mūlizle, malyoze/māloze*) (K.) **to hurry**

/M/

*mčmč* **Q** *m-mčmč* (*mmačmáč, mmučmáčle, mmačmočé*) **to suck, to kiss**

*mḏy* **I** (*maḏe, mḏele, mḏaya*) (A.) **to sign, to authorize**

*mlg* **I** (*maləg, mligle, mlaga*) **to pluck (wool from a sheepskin)**

*mly* **I** (*maḷe, mḷele, mḷaya*) **to fill, to become full; to be sufficient.** (1) **to fill, to become full** (d.o./mən with) | *máḷaxxa čántux zùze*<sup>1</sup> We shall fill your bag with money (A39:14); *ʿaw-məlyále tópe dýe spà*<sup>1</sup> He loaded his gun well (A31:7); *dášta malyáwa rakáwe ʿarabáye*<sup>1</sup> The plain filled with Arab horsemen (A37:2); *ʿo-béθa mḷèle mənney*<sup>1</sup> The room was filled with them (A23:21). (2) **to be sufficient** | *ḷla-ḏà-šeta malílan*<sup>1</sup> They are enough for us for one year (A12:6).

*mndr* **Q** *m-mndr* (*mmandər, mmundərre, mmandore*) **to flatten (the roof); to be flattened** | *mandórta*<sup>1</sup>... *mandrále gäre*<sup>1</sup> a roller... flattens the roof (B5:193); *gäre qa-t mandərwa*<sup>1</sup> so that the roof became flattened (B5:146) → *mandorta*

*mny* **I** (*mane, mnele, mnaya*) **to count** | *pišela mnáyalla l-xà-xa*<sup>1</sup> They began counting them one by one (A6:3); *manéwa hal-əšra*<sup>1</sup> They would count up to ten (B7:13).

*mr*<sup>ʿ</sup> **I** (*märe, mrile/mrele, mraʿa/mraya*) **to be ill; to hurt** | *ʿən-la-šemáxla mārəx*<sup>1</sup> If we do not fast, we shall become ill (B16:12); *ʿálaha də-là-ʿawəḏ*<sup>1</sup> *ʿən mrili*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi t-oditu*<sup>2</sup> God forbend, if I became ill, what would you do? (A27:37); *hòla ʿaqli mráʿa*<sup>1</sup> My leg hurts (A13:3); *lan-mrəʿa*<sup>1</sup> I am not hurt (B9:18).

*mrč* **I** (*marəč, mričle, mrača*) **to crush, to squash** | *ta-t-ʔazi marčile*<sup>1</sup> so that they (the horses) will go and crush him (A25:9).

*mrđn* **Q** *m-mrđn* (*mmardən, mmurdənnə, mmardone*) **to become cultured**

*mrs* **I** (*marəs, mrisle, mrasa*) **to squash (grapes)**

*mrx* **I** (*marəx, mrixle, mrxaxa*) **to crush** | *ʔən muttúlən pínxət kəpa,*<sup>1</sup> *marəxle kúlla-w páyəš qámxa*<sup>1</sup> If we installed a stone grind wheel, it would crush everything and it would become flour (B5:92).

*msy* **I** (*mase, msele, msaya*) **to wash (clothes)** | *ʔána masyànwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xáθi mpar-pyàwa*<sup>1</sup> I washed (the clothes) and my sister used to rinse (B10:69); *qəm-xəpàle,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-masyàle*<sup>1</sup> She bathed him and washed his clothes (A40:5).

*mšy* **I** (*maše, mšele, mšaya*) **to be able; to prevail** (§15.1.1.4., §18.3.3.). (1) **to be able** | *mášəx t-àmrx*<sup>1</sup> We can say (B4:3); *lá-mšən mtanənnəx kúlla*<sup>1</sup> I cannot tell you everything (A14:33); *lán-mšaya jiwəja*<sup>1</sup> I cannot move (A24:2); *lā-mšeli muθyáli*<sup>1</sup> I could not bring her (A8:55); *léla-məšye wíde čü-məndi*<sup>1</sup> They could not do anything (A8:65); *bráta lān-mšaya t-in-múθyalla*<sup>1</sup> I could not bring back the girl (A29:8). (2) **to be able to prevail** (*b-* against) | *b-čü-ʔurxa léle mšaya biye.*<sup>1</sup> He cannot prevail against him in any way (A12:13); *dəxi mášəx biye díye?*<sup>1</sup> How shall we be able to prevail against him? (A12:37).

*mškn* **Q** *m-mškn* (*mmaškən, mmušškənnə, mmaškone*) **to be covered with mud (brought by rains)** | *ʔára mmušškənnə*<sup>1</sup> The ground has become covered with mud.

*mšmš* **Q** *m-mšmš* (*mmašməš, mmušməšle, mmamošə*) **to sniff; to sniff about (animals, when searching for food)**

*mšn* **I** (*mašən, mšinne, mšana*) **to sharpen (intr. and tr.) on a whetstone (məšna)** | *t-la mášxa skinta lā mášna*<sup>1</sup> Without grease a knife does not sharpen.

*mšx* **I** (*mašəx, mšixle, mšaxa*) **to rub** | *qumtux la mšuxla b-qumti* Do not rub your body against mine (C2:69).

*mšy* **I** (*maše, mšele, mšaya*) **to wipe; to polish**

*mtl* **II** *m-mtl* (*mmatəl, mmutalle, mmatole*) **to tell, to narrate** | *mmátli mətle*<sup>1</sup> They tell witty sayings.

*mṭr* **I** (*maṭar; mṭirre, mṭara*) **to rain** | *māṭra mṭárela rāba*<sup>1</sup> There is a lot of rain.

*mṭy* **I** (*maṭe, mṭele, mṭaya*) **to arrive, to reach; to become ripe, mature.**

(1) **to arrive, to reach** | *ʿo-rābbān zille mṭéle l-Kārkuk*<sup>1</sup> The monk went (on his way) and arrived in Karkuk (A16:3); *mṭyēle xa-gəḥḥa*<sup>1</sup> He came to a cave (A30:1); *mṭéle gárre diye*<sup>1</sup> His turn came (A1:7); *har-díya máṭyan t-àḥyan*<sup>1</sup> I'll be there and back at once (A4:17); *ʿana t-ásqan rúta maṭānməxu*<sup>1</sup> I shall come up on Friday and catch you up (A25:85); *dáqne diye mṭáya l-āra*<sup>1</sup> His beard reaches to the ground (A15:13); *ʿap-réšə lišáne la-mṭele-ʿəlle*<sup>1</sup> Even the tip of his tongue did not reach it (A45:1); *gu-Môšul*<sup>1</sup> *ʿəxre léla mṭáya b-ʿida*<sup>1</sup> In Mošul dung is not available (A7:14); *qá-t ʿap-xānci mətəwaləy*<sup>1</sup> so that they would gain a little (extra income) (B5:135). (2) **to become ripe (fruit), mature (people)** | *b-čeri*<sup>1</sup> *ʿiman t-māti*<sup>1</sup>, *y-amrila güjme*<sup>1</sup> In the Autumn, when (their nuts) become ripe, (they have) what are called bunches (of fruit) (B5:220); *mšére bráya ʿo-rəzza*<sup>1</sup>, *hál maṭéwa t-rayəmwə*<sup>1</sup> The rice would start to germinate, until it matured and grew high (B5:78); *Qaṭina mqürānne mṭéle gəwəra*<sup>1</sup> Qaṭina grew up and became a man (A52:3). **III** *m-mṭy* (*mamṭe, mumṭele, mamṭoye*) **to convey; to cause to produce (fruit).** (1) **to convey, to bring** | *mamṭátla ʿəlla diya*<sup>1</sup> Convey them to her (A4:16); *xázax lá-mšət mamṭátla ʿiḥáḥux hátxa gəḍəde*<sup>21</sup> Let's see whether you can bring your hands together like this (A28:15). (2) **to cause to produce (fruit)** | *ha-t-qa-mamṭánna tunte diye*<sup>1</sup> in order to make it produce its fruit (A17:32).

*mxy* **I** (*maxe, mxele, mxaya*) **to hit; to put; to cover; to wipe (eyes); to play (a musical instrument).** (1) **to hit, to strike** | *qəm-maxèle*<sup>1</sup> *ʿəsrə-jalde*<sup>1</sup> He struck him ten lashes (A30:14); *kú-rešət xúwwe ḥèle*<sup>1</sup>, *qəm-maxèle*<sup>1</sup> He struck every head of the snake that came (towards him) (A24:40); *maxátile sépux l-gəḍaləy*<sup>1</sup> You should strike your sword into their neck (A24:13); *ʿu-maxéla ʿáqle diye ʿəlla*<sup>1</sup> He kicks her (A20:4). Complement with *ṭla-*: *bāyi máxi ṭla-d-an-maymune*<sup>1</sup> They want to strike the monkeys (A14:44). Complement with *l-*: *xárḥa mšúrela mxáya l-nāšə*<sup>1</sup> Then they started beating people (A25:80); *šəmša mxíḥa l-ṭurāne*<sup>1</sup> The sun has struck the mountains (A26:37). Complement with *gu-*: *mšúryele mxáya gu-réše* He started hitting his head (A7:10). (2) **to put, to apply** | *maxéla l-tanura*<sup>1</sup> They put them in the oven (B6:51); *máxewa darṃána l-šəwle*<sup>1</sup> He used to put polish on shoes (A16:1); *ʿarbe máxe l-gəḍəde*<sup>1</sup> He gathers the sheep together (A25:27); *máxe ʿarba stúne*

*gu-ʔāra*<sup>1</sup> They put four posts into the ground; *ʔāna máxən qǎláma xòθa*<sup>1</sup> I'll draw a line with a pen under it; *hóle mxáya lenàne*<sup>1</sup> He is marking out furrows; *bǎyi dǎmma t-tèla*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-dámmət Leliθa*<sup>1</sup>... *t-maxéle b-brónət málka*<sup>1</sup> They want the blood of a fox and the blood of Leliθa... to inject it into the son of the king (A32:21). (3) **to cover** | *ʔu-máxyəxalla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma* We have covered all our village with blue and black (A4:32). (4) **to wipe (eyes)** | *bxàya*<sup>1</sup> *mašlóyele dǎmme*<sup>1</sup> *mxáyele ʔéne dǎye*<sup>1</sup> weeping, shedding tears and wiping his eyes (A37:11). (5) **to play (a musical instrument)** | *ʔi-máxe šabiba*<sup>1</sup> He plays a pipe; *ʔAšəbaṭalo*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwəwa máxe b-zòrna*<sup>1</sup> Ašəbaṭalo plays the pipe (A25:26); *máxi musìqa*<sup>1</sup> They play music. (6) Idioms: *plítle mxéle l-tùra*<sup>1</sup> He went off to the mountains (A27:1); *har-máxəx b-dùnye*<sup>1</sup> Let's just go away (A30:41); *ʔo-simárxa mxiθəlla gána ʔəlla díya* The *simarxa* bird made towards her (A27:15); *málka máxyele ʔide l-gàne*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-zìlele*<sup>1</sup> The king set off and went on his way (A4:10); *tré qəqwáne b-xà-kepa maxəwa*<sup>1</sup> He would kill two birds with one stone (A8:35); *qímle xáčča lǎbbe-díye mxàya*<sup>1</sup> His heart started pounding slightly (A8:55); *mxiθəlle ʔəna*<sup>1</sup> She winked at him (A22:13); *máxa čǎppe*<sup>1</sup> They clap hands (in applause) (B5:9); *mxéla šəmša* The sun came out; *qímle jáldə madánxa t-la-mxàya*<sup>1</sup> He rose early while the dawn was not breaking (= before dawn broke) (A8:51). **III m-mxy (mamxe, mumxele, mamxoye) to cause to strike, to cause to be struck** | *tre-ṭlá-gəye mamxəxwala gánən*<sup>1</sup> We used to cause ourselves to be struck two or three times (B5:84).

*my*<sup>ʔ</sup> **I (mǎye, míle/mele, myaʔa) to churn**

*myč* → *myj*

*myj*, *myč* **I (mayəj, mijle, myaja) to knead and crush (dried yoghurt in hands)** | *məjəwa qáska b-míya šaxine*<sup>1</sup> They would knead and crush the dried yoghurt cake in warm water.

*myl* **III m-myl (mamyəl/mǎmil, mumyǎlle/mǔmille, mamyole/mǎmole) to become green/blue; to make green/blue** | *mšurəla xaqláθa mamyòle*<sup>1</sup> The fields began to become green; *mǎmilǎnne gəldux*<sup>1</sup> I shall make you (black and) blue! (threat).

*myn* **I (mayən, minne, myana) to become watery**

*mysr* **Q (mmaysə; mmuysərre, mmaysore) (A.) to bind (so) with a magic spell** | *maysərənnux*<sup>1</sup> I shall bind you with a spell.

*mys* **I** (*mayəs, mişle, myaşa*) **to suck** | *kút-yom mayəşwa xa-sabòta*<sup>1</sup> Every day he would suck a finger (A34:11). **III** *m-mys* (*mamyəs/mămiş, mumyəşle/mŭmişle, mamyoşe/mămoşe*) **to cause to suck, to give suck, to nurture** | *qímela zîle*<sup>1</sup>... *mămóşe pàre*<sup>1</sup> They went to make lambs suck (from their mothers) (A25:26); *yámmi mumşáli gu-ʔĒn-Nŭne*<sup>1</sup> My mother nursed me in ʔĒn-Nune (B8:7); *qəm-qātále m-mămòşe*<sup>1</sup> She weaned him.

*myθ* **I** (*mayəθ, mittle, myaθa*) **to die; to be ‘out’ (in a game)** | *méθət ʔax-d-an-t-ıla miθe tàma*<sup>1</sup> You will die like those who have already died there (A14:70); *npiltela miθta šópa díya*<sup>1</sup> She fell off from there and died on the spot (A30:37); *mitli m-kəþna*<sup>1</sup> I am dying of hunger (A14:75); *ʔap-ʔáwəwa mąyəθ*<sup>1</sup> He also is “out” (of the game) (B11:8). **III** *m-myθ* (*mamyəθ, mumyətle, mamyoθe*) **to cause to die** | *xá-yoma mumiθále gáne b-dúgle*<sup>1</sup> One day he pretended to be dead (A27:40).

*myx* **I** (*mayəx, mixle, myaxa*) **to smell, to sniff** | *mayəxle rixə d-o-xámra*<sup>1</sup> It will smell the odour of the wine (A12:47). **III** *m-myx* (*mamyəx/mămix, mumyəxle/mŭmixle, mamyoxe/mămoxe*) **to let (s.o.) smell (sth.)**

*mzʔ* **I** (*măze, mzîle/mzele, mzaʔa/mzaya*) **to mix liquids** | *mzîle ʔaraq ʔu-mŭya*<sup>1</sup> He mixed arak and water.

*mžl* **III** *m-mžl* (*mamžəl, mumžəlle, mamžole*) **to delay, to postpone (intr. and tr.)** | *həygo, lá mamžəllən*<sup>1</sup> Come one, don’t delay us!; *xáčə xéna mumžəlla*<sup>1</sup> She delayed a little (A18:21).

/N/

*nʔl* (i) **II** *m-nʔl* (*mnawəl/mnăwəl, mnuwəlle, mnawole*) **to shoe (a horse)** | *kúlla náşe meθíwa dawére táma mnalıwala*<sup>1</sup> Everybody brought mules there for them to shoe (B4:12).

*nʔl* (ii) **II** *m-nʔl* (*mnawəl/mnăwəl, mnuwəlle, mnawole*) **to curse** | *bábux mnalənne*<sup>1</sup> I curse your father (A35:13).

*nbl* **III** (*nabəl, nubəlle, nabolé*) **to take, to take away** | *ʔálpa dáwe xá-ga xéta nùbləlla*<sup>1</sup> *ta-báxte díye*<sup>1</sup> He again took the thousand gold pieces to his wife (A1:16); *nábəlla ıla-be-şwàwən*<sup>1</sup> Take it to the neighbours’ house (A5:3); *nùbləlla Čəlkáze*<sup>1</sup> He took Čəlkáze away (A12:34); *b-d-ó-qəsa nabləxwala-w meθəxwala*<sup>1</sup> With this piece of wood we would move it (the roller) to and fro (B5:145).



*nčl* **I** (*načəl, nčille, nčala*) **to pull apart; to tear off; to be torn off, to snap; to pick.** (1) **to pull apart; to tear, to tear off** | *nčiləlla čante diye*<sup>1</sup> He pulled his bag apart (A25:33); *nčiltəlle rəše-w<sup>1</sup> rüşe-w<sup>1</sup>* She pulled apart its (the sparrow's) head and its shoulder (A12:53); *qəm-daryəle gu-xa-guniya<sup>1</sup> šitta diya nčilta<sup>1</sup>* She put it in a sack the bottom of which was torn (A34:17). (2) **to be torn off, to snap** | *'áwəwa xálqa nčille<sup>1</sup>* This button was torn off (A25:29); *'áyya təkθa... t-xaddámθa nčille<sup>1</sup>* The waist cord of the maid-servant snapped (A25:56). (3) **to pull down; to pick** | *nčille gáwze b-čakàla<sup>1</sup>* He picked walnuts with a pruning hook.

*nčp* **I** (*načəp, nčiple, nčapa*) (§1.4.6.) **to drip** | *načpìwa miya mənney<sup>1</sup>* The water would drip down from it (B7:22); *'áyya hanafyya hóla nčəpa<sup>1</sup>* This tap is dripping.

*nđr* **I** (*nəđə, nđirre, nđara*) **to dedicate; to make a charitable gift (to the church)**

*nđy* **I** (*nəđe, nđeje, nđaya*) **to leap** | *'áy hár mšeyðone<sup>1</sup> šwára nđaya gu-d-án 'otáxe šluxəθa<sup>1</sup>* She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around naked in the rooms (A4:17); *Qařina nđeje xo-bərqiyət šməyya<sup>1</sup>* Qařina jumped up under the lightning of the sky (A50:11).

*nf<sup>2</sup>, np<sup>2</sup>* **I** (*nəfə, nfile, nfa'a/nfaya*) (A.) **to benefit, to be of use** | *sí 'at-là-nəfəlli<sup>1</sup>* Go, you are of no use to me! (A30:14); *ta-čú-mdi la-nəfə<sup>1</sup>* It is of no use for anything (B5:93).

*ngl* **III** *m-ngl* (*mangəl, mungəlle, mangole*) **to hop, to limp**

*ngr* **I** (*nagə, ngirre, ngara*) **to bite (meat from a bone).** **II** *m-ngr* (*mnagə, mnugərre, mnagore*) **to bite (meat from a bone)** | *hóle mnagóre gərme<sup>1</sup>* He is tearing meat from the bones; *bassa mnagərre gərma<sup>1</sup>* Stop biting the bone!; *qařúθi bəd-mnagrəlux<sup>1</sup>* My cat will gnaw you (A37:16).

*ngz* **I** (*nagəz, ngizle, ngaza*) **to bite**

*njh* **I** (*nəjəh, njihle, njaha*) (A.) **to succeed, to be successful**

*njr* **II** (*mnəjə, mnujərre, mnəjore*) **to work as a carpenter; to craft, to dress (stone)** | *'i-banéwa bəte b-képa mnújra<sup>1</sup> mnújra bəd-řida<sup>1</sup>* They would build houses with dressed stone, dressed by hand.

*nmy* **I** **to please** | *nanelux* May it please you! (< *hanelux* → *hny*). This is said when offering s.o. food (= Bon appetit!) and as a response to an expression of thanks such as *basima raba* (= You are welcome).

*npʷ* → *nfʷ*

*npl* **I** (*nəpəl, npille, npala*) **to fall; to occur; to be situated.** (1) **to fall** | *npille tēla*<sup>1</sup> The fox fell (A20:10); *npille-ʷāra gáwza*<sup>1</sup> The walnut has fallen on the ground (A1:5); *ʷina rāba zdáa*<sup>1</sup> *t-lā-naplən gu-d-a-yáma*<sup>1</sup> I was very afraid that I would fall into the sea (A11:7). (2) **to occur** | *musārde*<sup>1</sup> *nəpəl*<sup>1</sup> *təbbəx*<sup>1</sup> (The festival) of Musarde occurs in August (B6:8). (3) **to be situated** | Resultative participle: *ʷĒn-Nūne npilta bəl-túra l-túra*<sup>1</sup> ʷĒn-Nune lies between one mountain and another (B5:147). (4) Idioms: *npúlu bəθra*<sup>1</sup> Follow them! (A14:57); *léla npilta l-páθi m-jálde*<sup>1</sup> She has not come my way recently (literally: She has not fallen at my face) (A38:5); *ða ʷurxa npilta l-bali* A way has come to my mind (A50:9). **III** *m-npl* (*manpəl, munpəlle, manpole*) **to cause to fall, to drop; to fell (tree)** | *manpəllile qésət gáwza ʷəššəta*<sup>1</sup> *ta-bazzúne t-odúwa qānəpāt*<sup>1</sup> They fell the walnut wood this year to make couches next year (B10:80)

*npš* **I** (*napəš, npišle, npəša*) **to shake** | *ʷilána napšila l-xətna*<sup>1</sup> They shake the tree for the groom (A8:25); *napšənna kúlla b-réše diyə*<sup>1</sup> I'll shake them (the hornets) all over him (A10:10).

*npš* **I** (*napəš, npišle, npəša*) **to tease, to disentangle (wool, cotton); to spread out** | *ʷáw napšəwala ʷan-rəzza*<sup>1</sup> It (the winnowing fork) would spread out the rice (B5:87). **II** *m-npš* (*mnapəš, mnuəpəšle, mnapəše*) **to tease, to disentangle (wool, cotton)**

*npəx* **I** (*napəx, npixle, npəxa*) **to blow; to boast.** (1) **to blow, inflate** | *npixle b-núra*<sup>1</sup> He blew on the fire; *npixle gúða*<sup>1</sup> He inflated the skin; *npixle bla-jórta*<sup>1</sup> He inflated the bladder; *nəpəx mən-d-an-dáwwe b-rəša*<sup>1</sup> We blow some of the *dáwwe* onto them (B14:11). (2) **to boast** | *bássa npùx*<sup>1</sup> Stop boasting!

*nqj* **I** (*naqəj, nqjile, nqəja*) **to pinch, to nip; to peck at seeds** | *nqəja baxtaθa* the thumb and index finger (literally: pinching women). **III** *m-nqj* (*manqəj, munqəjle, manqəje*) **to cause (a hen) to peck at seeds, to feed seeds**

*nql* **I** (*naqəl, nqille, nqala*) **to separate (water from dirt)** | referring to the process whereby dirt in water settles to the bottom and the water becomes clear: *šúq ʷánna míya nəql*<sup>1</sup> Let the water clear.

*nqñq* **Q** *m-nqñq* (*mnaqñəq, mnuqñəqle, mnaqñəqe*) **to knock back (drink)** | *hóle mnaqñəqe štəya*<sup>1</sup> He is knocking back the drink.

*nqr* **I** (*naqəṣ, nqirre, nqara*) **to bore; to knock in, to stab; to inscribe; to dress (stone)** | *naqrálla spèna*<sup>1</sup> You knock in the wedge; *bəzmára nqirre!*<sup>1</sup> Knock in the nail!; *kepe nqire* dressed stones; *gu-úpra nqira*<sup>1</sup> dug into the ground (B3:20). **II** *m-nqr* (*mnaqəṣ, mnuqərre, mnaqore*) **to scrap, to fight**

*nqṣ* **I** (*naqəṣ, nqiṣle, nqaṣa*) (A.) **to decrease** | *mšuréla míya nqəṣa-w*<sup>1</sup> The water began to subside (B6:20)

*nqš* **I** (*naqəš, nqišle, nqaša*) **to inscribe, to embroider.** **II** *m-nqš* (*mnaqəš, mnuqəšle, mnaqəše*) **to embroider; to decorate** | *ʔitle xa-yaláxta mnuqəšta*<sup>1</sup> He has an embroidered handkerchief (A37:11); *ʔilaneni t-xabušta m-reša-w šatta mnaqəšta* Our apple tree is decorated from top to bottom (B8:29).

*nqt* **II** *m-nqt* (*mnaqət, mnuqətle, mnaqote*) **to drip**

*nrrr* **Q** *m-nrrr* (*mnarnəṣ, mnurnərre, mnarnore*) **to make threatening noises before fight (animals).**

*nsr* **I** (*nasəṣ, nsirre, nsara*) **to saw; to chop** | *m-éka mēθánnux nasárta*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-nas-ránnux qèse?*<sup>2</sup> From where should I bring you a saw so that I could saw for you the wood? (A17:3); *mēθíwa xa-gállá y-amrile sərmo.*<sup>1</sup> *nasríwale ʔu-xoṭíwale.*<sup>1</sup> They would fetch a herb called *sərmo*. They chopped it up and mixed it (with the yoghurt) (B14:1). **III** *m-nsr* (*mansəṣ, munsərre, mansore*) **to saw (with a two-man saw)** (§8.17.2.)

*nšh* **II** *m-nšh* (*mnašəḥ, mnušəḥle, mnašoḥe*) (A.) **to advise**

*nšw* **I** (*našu, nšule/nšiwle, nšawa*) **to plant (in ground)**

*nšm* **I** (*našəm, nšimle, nšama*) **to breath, to inhale**

*nšp* **I** (*našəp, nšiple, nšapa*) **to leak; to drain off** | *talíle b-xa-sákθa hal-é-gət míye díye kúlla nəšpi*<sup>1</sup> They hang it (the bag of yoghurt water) on a peg until all its water drains away (B6:42). **III** *m-nšp* (*mansəp, munsəple, mansope*) **to let (water) drip**

*nšq* **I** (*našəq, nšiqle, nšaqa*) **to kiss** | *qəm-našqile m-ay-góta l-áyya*<sup>1</sup> They kissed him on this side and on that (A8:87). **III** *m-nšq* (*mansəq, munsəqle, mansoqe*) **to allow (so.) to kiss** | *mansəqle qđaləx xwara* Let him kiss your white neck (C2:12).

*nšt* **I** (*našət, nšitle, nšaṭa*) **to flay, to skin (an animal)** | *ʔána yáđən dax-naštánne gálde díye*<sup>1</sup> I know how to flay off his skin (A28:25).

*nšw* **I** (*našú, nšúle, nšawa*) **to hunt birds with a bird trap known as a *nəšwa*** | *zilli nšawa*<sup>1</sup> I went hunting.

*nšy* **I** (*naše, nšele, nšaya*) **to forget** | *'ána 'áxxa nšéli xa-màndi*<sup>1</sup> But I have forgotten something here (B5:35); *nšya-weewa qáša t-wéwa yómat-tre rùta*<sup>1</sup> The priest had forgotten that the next day would be Friday (A2:4).

**III** *m-nšy* (*manše, munšele, manšoye*) **to forget** | *'awwa*<sup>1</sup> *munšile zúze díye*<sup>1</sup> He forgot his money (A15:1).

*nty* **III** *m-nty* (*mante, muntele, mantoye*) **to succeed; to grow strong; to cause to succeed** | *'álaha mànte*<sup>1</sup> May God grant success; *xabúše muntéwala bíya díya*<sup>1</sup> They were successful with apples (B5:75); *'ap-xáčča xéna šóga tla-mòja*<sup>1</sup>...*qa-t-mànte*<sup>1</sup> She leaves a little more (milk in the udder) for the calf... so that it will grow strong (B5:175).

*ntp* **I** (*natəp, ntiple, ntapa*) **to drip. III** *m-ntp* (*mantəp, muntəple, mantope*) **to drip; to cause to drip**

*ntɪ* **I** (*natəɪ, ntirre, ntara*) **to guard; to watch; to wait.** (1) **to guard** | *'áčč' m-yáwəl ḡámàn' šèx'*<sup>1</sup> *'awwa ténì páyās ntira*<sup>1</sup> only if the sheikh gives a guarantee that this saddle bag of mine will be guarded (A7:9). (2) **to watch** | *ntirre 'alla-díya*<sup>1</sup> He watched her (A18:4). (3) **to wait** | *'ána ntarənnəx kəma-dána*<sup>1</sup> I have been waiting for you for a long time (A30:54).

*nθɪ* **I** (*naθəɪ, nθirre, nθara*) **to fall (leaves, grains, hair)** | *'u-táɪpət derúbər hóla b-nθára*<sup>1</sup> The leaves of the wood are falling (A25:46); *xálsɪ grawəzna t-lá-naθər rəzɪzə*<sup>1</sup> They tie up the load tightly so that the rice does not fall out.

*nw'* **I** (*náwe, nwile, nwa'a/nwaya*) **to emerge, to well up** | *'itlən xa-nəra,*<sup>1</sup> *nérət Bè-xelape t-amrile.*<sup>1</sup> *'i-náwe mən-Bèdo*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'Óra.*<sup>1</sup> We have a river, it is called the river Be-xelape. It springs from Bedo and Ora. (B11:32); *'Èn Nune kəma nawwa!* How the Spring of Fishes springs up! (C2:8); *hole nwile gu-dwara* Behold he has appeared on the plain (C4:9).

*nwny* **Q** *m-nwny* (*mnawne, mnunele, mnawnoye*) **to meow (cat)**

*nwɪ* **I** (*nawəɪ, nwirre, nwara*) **to shy away**

*nwx* **I** (*nawəx, nwixle, nwaxa*) **to bark**

*nxl* **I** (*naxəl, nxille, nxala*) **to sieve, to sift**

*nxp* **I** (*naxəp*, *nxiple*, *nxəpa*) **to be ashamed** | *lat-nxəpa!*<sup>1</sup> Are you not ashamed!? (A26:48). **III** (*manxəp*, *munxəple*, *manxope*) **to shame (tr.), to make s.o. feel ashamed** | *'u-ləwəx naše t-manxope* We are not people to be shamed (C1:14).

*nxs* **III** *m-nxs* (*manxəs*, *munxəsle*, *manxose*) **to rebuke** | *qa-módit manxòsəlle!*<sup>1</sup> Why are you rebuking him?

*ny* **I** (*nəye*, *nele*, *nəya*) **to breath last breath; to dawn** | *mbadlɛla 'u-ha-ga-nəya* It is morning and the dawn is about to break (C2:82). **III** *m-ny* (*mane/māne*, *munele/mūnele*, *manoye/mānoye*) **to dawn**

*nyd* **I** (*nayəd*, *nidle*, *nyada*) **to move, to shake** | *'əp-'aw nayədwa rúše díye!*<sup>1</sup> He also shook his shoulder (A12:53).

*nym* (i) **I** (*nayəm*, *nimle*, *nyama*) **to doze**

*nym* (ii) **I** (*nayəm*, *nimle*, *nyama*) **to become damp**

*nys* **I** (*nayəs*, *nisle*, *nyasa*) **to bite, to sting** | *xúwwe qəm-nayəsl!*<sup>1</sup> The snake has bitten me; *kálba qəm-nayəsl!*<sup>1</sup> The dog has bitten me.

*nyšn* **Q** *m-nyšn* (*mneyšən*, *mnyušəne*, *mneyšone*) **to hit a target**

*nyx* **I** (*nayəx*, *nixle*, *nyaxa*) **to have rest, relief; to die; to be obliterated** | *nixlən m-Čúxo!*<sup>1</sup> We have got rid of Čuxo (A7:19); *har-néxəx m-ánna xəye t-ix-gəwa!*<sup>1</sup> We shall be relieved of this life that we are in (B9:17); *tré-mənnə tlíxela nixela!*<sup>1</sup> Two of them (the churches) were destroyed and obliterated (B1:5); *šúqle rəzza náyəx gu-qušarta!*<sup>1</sup> Leave the rice to stand in the pan. **III** *m-nyx* (*manyəx/mānix*, *munyəxle/mūnixle*, *manyoxe/mānoxe*) **to rest; to cause to rest** | *šlithela munixtela xa-dúkθa!*<sup>1</sup> She went down and rested somewhere (A14:91); *túwle manyòxe!*<sup>1</sup> He sat down to rest (A15:3); *babi 'alaha manixle* my father, God grant him rest.

*nzl* **III** *m-nzl* (*manzəl*, *munzəlle*, *manzole*) **to fester; to leak pus** | *'idi mšuréle manzòle!*<sup>1</sup> My hand has begun to fester → *nəzla*

*nznz* **Q** *m-nznz* (*mnaznəz*, *mnuznəzle*, *mnaznoze*) **to make sucking noises, to drool; to breath last breath** | *bas naznəzi b-dudíyaθa* Stop drooling over the cradles (C7:12).

/p/

*pʻr* **II** *m-pʻr* (*mpaɞwɞr/mpǎwɞr, mpuɞwɞrre, mpaɞwore*) **to yawn**

*pčkn* **Q** *m-pčkn* (*mpačkən, mpučkənnə, mpačkone*) **to be useless; to lose (in gambling)**

*pčpč* **Q** *m-pčpč* (*mpačpáč, mpučpáčle, mpačpoče*) **to chop into pieces; to mince (meat)**

*pčl* **I** (*pačəl, pčille, pčala*) **to become bent, crooked.** **III** *m-pčl* (*mapčəl, mupčəlle, mapčole*) **to bend**

*pčlm* **Q** *m-pčlm* (*mpačləm, mpučləmle, mpačlome*) **to bend**

*pdm* **II** *m-pdm* (*mpadəm, mpuđəmlə, mpadome*) **to stop up (hole)** → *pəddoma*

*pkpk* **Q** *m-pkpk* (*mpakpək, mpukpəkle, mpakpoke*) **to chatter; to boast**

*pP* **I** (*pǎle, plile/plele, plaʻa/playa*) **to divide; to share** | *mqaɞwələwən,*<sup>1</sup> *ʻap-ʻan-zúze kulla t-in šqiləlla*<sup>1</sup> *pǎlnna pǎlge*<sup>1</sup> I promise, I'll divide into half also all the money that I took (A1:17); *ʻən-hóya rázi šanna díya pǎlala,*<sup>1</sup> *pǎlga tla-d-áy ʻu-pǎlga tla-d-àw,*<sup>1</sup> *maqiməxlə*<sup>1</sup> If she will be happy to share her years, half for her and half for him, we shall resurrect him (A4:46); *plùla ʻáyya gǎzǎliya.*<sup>1</sup> Divide up this gazelle! (A42:1). **II** *m-pP* (*mpǎle, mpùlele, mpǎloye*) **to share, to distribute** | *ʻina gáwɞra díya mpǎloye gu-d-an-dáwe*<sup>1</sup> (She saw) her husband sorting out the gold coins (A10:13); *mpǎlitula qa-d-ánna heywàne*<sup>1</sup> Distribute her (dismembered body) to these animals (A27:33).

*plm* **I** (*paləm, plimle, plama*) **to become bent, crooked.** **II** *m-plm* (*mpaləm, mpuləmlə, mpalome*) **to bend (tr.)**

*plš* **I** (*paláš, plišle, plaša*) **to fight** | *kut-báye pásəš mǎnni pásəš mǎnni*<sup>1</sup> Whoever wants to fight with me, let him fight with me (A12:60). **III** *m-plš* (*mapláš, muplášle, maploše*) **to make fight; to knock together** | *maplášáxwa bʻe smóqe b-ğəðəde*<sup>1</sup> We would knock red eggs together (B15:4).

*plt* **I** (*palət, plitlə, plata*) **to go/come out; to appear; to turn out (as, like); to be realized.** (1) **to go/come out** | *xá-ga xéta plitləla Leliθa*<sup>1</sup> Again Leliθa came out (A51:12); *ʻáwɞwa plitləle gu-ða-dúnnye xéta*<sup>1</sup> He came out into another world (A14:26); *plitləla*<sup>1</sup> *gu-màθa*<sup>1</sup> It (what had happened) got about in the village (A7:14); *qu-plit m-àxxa.*<sup>1</sup> Get out of here! (A16:11); *m-bár pásət qurbàna*<sup>1</sup> After the communion mass has finished (literally: after the communion has come out, i.e.

the host has been distributed among the worshippers) (B5:58). (2) **to appear** *mxáyalle nàra,¹ plítle xa-qəršá¹* He strikes the axe, and a lid appeared (A14:12). (3) **to turn out (as, like)** | *pišela mnáyalla l-xà-xa.¹ plítla ʔəçčá-u ʔəçčá¹* They began counting them one by one. They turned out to be ninety-nine. (A6:3); *ʔaw plítle l-bàbe¹* He has turned out like his father; *qušárta xsípla l-pùmma¹ bráta plítla l-yàmma¹* A pot has been turned upside down—the girl has turned out like her mother (D2:35). (4) **to be realized, to become true** | *ʔu-málka mšuréle zdáya xáččá¹... xəlme díye pàləť¹* The king began to be rather afraid... that his dream would come true (A8:6). **II m-plt (mpaləť, mpuləťle, mpalote) to take out; to produce; to take off; to eliminate.** (1) **to take out** | *ʔawwa yalúnka brónən zóra mpaləťte majirátile b-lèle¹* Take out this young boy, our young son and make him pass water at night (A30:39); *mpuləťtela xa-zənjir¹* She took out (of the box) a chain (A13:13). (2) **to produce** | *ʔaraq mpaləťxla¹ m-yabiše¹* We produce arak from raisins (B5:12); *mpaləťla zùzi.¹* Produce my money! (i.e. Give it back) (A15:3). (3) **to take off** | *mpúləťla ʔisəqyáða díya¹* They took off their rings (A13:13). (4) **to eliminate** | *ʔáyya qəm-mpaləťxla¹ piše trè-məndiyane xéne¹* We have eliminated this one (from the list of conditions) and two things remain (A39:8).

*plx I (paləx, plixle, plaxa) to work; to function; to serve (in worship).* (1) **to work, to labour** | *ʔó-t là paləx¹ lè y-áxə¹* He who does not work will not eat (A21:13); *mò palxéti.²¹* What work do you do? (A23:11). (2) **to work, to function** | *mākína hóla plàxa¹* The machine is working; *ʔrxə¹ ʔi-pálxa b-míya¹* A mill operates by water (B6:53). (3) **to serve (in worship)** | *ʔax-ʔarbi-šənne t-it-ʔáti plíxa qa-ʔalàha¹* as you have served God for forty years (A15:20). (4) Idioms: *ʔaqli plàxa¹, kási plàxa¹* I have diarrhoea. **III m-plx (mapləx, mupləxle, maploxe) to cause to work; to use** | *ʔu-plóx gáwe díye ʔu-mápləx nəše¹* Work in it and employ people (A21:41); *mapəlxəťli.²¹* Will you employ me? (A24:4); *ʔawwa súla mapəlxíwa ʔla-rəzza¹* They used to use this manure for (the cultivation of) rice (B5:138).

*ply I (pale, plele, playa) to remove lice* | *xa-báxta xámθa xámθa xámθa tíwta pláya qálme díye¹* A very beautiful woman was sitting removing his lice (A34:10).

*pqʔ I (pāqe, pqile/pqe, pqəʔa/pqaya) to split (intr.), to explode (intr.); to burst (intr.)* | *ʔawwa sadánət Məsr-ži lá pāqe¹* This anvil of Egypt will not split (A12:42); *ʔay ləwə pqíθa¹* That did not blow up (B3:21); *ʔawwa náša ləbbe pqile¹* The heart of that man burst (= He was terrified)

(A32:2). **II** *m-pq'* (*mpǎqe, mpǔqe, mpǎqoye*) **to split (tr.); to inflate (tr.); to explode (tr.), to blow up (tr.)** | *'é-ga t-íwa mpúqalle 'ùmra,*<sup>1</sup> *'ay-píštewa tàma*<sup>1</sup> When they blew up the church, that (the baptismal font) remained (B3:21).

*pqð* **II** *m-pqð* (*mpaqəð, mpuqəðle, mpaqəðe*) **to command; to instruct** | *'ána pəqðənnexu*<sup>1</sup> I'll give you instructions (A8:27); *de-pàqəð malákθa*<sup>1</sup> Please do so, queen (A14:35); *páqəð tù*<sup>1</sup> Please sit down! (A16:4); *páqədu tùwe*<sup>1</sup> Please sit down (pl.)! (A15:8).

*pqx* **I** (*paqəx, pqixle, pqaxa*) **to blossom**

*pqž* **II** *m-pqž* (*mpaqəž, mpuqəžle, mpaqəže*) **to clean**

*pr'* **I** (*pǎre, prile/prele, pra'a/praya*) **to pay; to cut off; to burst.** (1) **to pay** | *doqíwa šǎvǎna*<sup>1</sup> *pǎřewale*<sup>1</sup> They would hire a shepherd and pay him (B5:158). (2) **to cut off** | *prí miyət šaqíθa b-qa'tota*<sup>1</sup> Cut off the water of the water channel with a stone dam! (3) **to burst** | *qəm-pǎréla 'ene*<sup>1</sup> He burst his eye (A16:2); *préle xáčča 'áqla diya*<sup>1</sup> He burst (the swelling of) her leg a little (A33:11).

*prčm* **Q** *m-prčm* (*mparčəm, mpurčəmle, mparčome*) **to rivet**

*prð* **I** (*parəð, pridle, praða*) **to flee (sleep)** | *prídla šənθi*<sup>1</sup> I could not sleep. **II** *m-prð* (*mparəð, mpurəðle, mparəðe*) **to cause (sleep) to flee** | *θela ða 'əzzət wala, šənθət mbadla mpurðala* A wild goat came and disturbed my morning sleep (C2:53).

*prj* **II** *m-prj* (*mparj, mpurjle, mparoje*) (A.) **to look** (*b-* at) | *hóle mparoje biyux*<sup>1</sup> He is looking at you.

*prm* **I** (*parəm, primle, prama*) (A.) **to cut; to slaughter.** (1) **to cut** | Body or parts of a body: *prümle*<sup>1</sup> *m-áxxa-w bar-təxti*<sup>1</sup> Cut it (the body) from here downwards (A14:67); *'ati parmátte réši*<sup>1</sup> You will cut off my head (A14:35); *prímalla šošiyàθa*<sup>1</sup> They cut their locks (A31:10). Wood: *taqənè*<sup>1</sup> *hammáše pərməxwala*<sup>1</sup> We would always cut down their branches (B5:207). Stones: *'án kepe-xwáre pərmixwala*<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwa zóre zòre*<sup>1</sup> They cut these white stones, making them very small (B5:180). (2) **to slaughter** | *prímlla 'ərbe*<sup>1</sup> They slaughtered sheep (A25:86); *prímalle táwre díye*<sup>1</sup> He slaughtered his ox (A7:3); *díya t-áθi pərmilən*<sup>1</sup> Now they will come to slaughter us (A4:54); *záwnət qə'tla-w dǎmma-w pràma*<sup>1</sup> a time of killing, blood and slaughter (A1:24).



*prpl* **Q** *m-prpl* (*m̄parpəl, m̄purpəlle, m̄parpole*) **to supplicate, to entreat** | *kizən m̄purəplən biyə ta-šawəqlən*<sup>1</sup> I entreated him to leave us (A12:20).

*prpr* **Q** *m-prpr* (*m̄parpəx, m̄purpərrə, m̄parpore*) **to plead; to blaze; to brandish.** (1) **to plead** | *hón m̄parpóre biyux m̄herəlli*<sup>1</sup> I am pleading with you to help me; *hón m̄parpóre b-ələha*<sup>1</sup> I am pleading to God (for help). (2) **to blaze up (fire)** | *ʔəyya látət nura hola m̄parpóre*<sup>1</sup> This flame of the fire is blazing up. (3) **to wave, to brandish** | *kunnəkθa m̄parəpawə* She was waving her head-scarf (C2:45).

*prps* **Q** *m-prps* (*m̄parpəs, m̄purpəsle, m̄parpose*) **to scatter; to pull apart** | *kúlla m̄purpəssela*<sup>1</sup> *biyət pləšə*<sup>1</sup> They were all scattered by wars (B4:5); *dīya hola m̄purəpsəlle Fərxo*<sup>1</sup> By now they have pulled Farxo apart (A25:12).

*prpt* **Q** *m-prpt* (*m̄parpət, m̄purpətle, m̄parpoṭe*) **to pluck (a chicken); to pull out (hair); to tear up** | *hola m̄parpoṭe kθəθa*<sup>1</sup> She is plucking a chicken; *šərrət qəte gu-gòmela, ʔarpəttəla*<sup>1</sup> It was a cat fight in the basement stable, (in which) they were tearing at each other (A30:25); *julle dīye kulle m̄purəpte*<sup>1</sup> All his clothes were torn (A35:18).

*prpy* **Q** *m-prpy* (*m̄parpe, m̄purpele, m̄parpoye*) **to rinse** | *ʔána masyànwə*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xáθi m̄parpyàwə*<sup>1</sup> I washed (the clothes) and my sister used to rinse (B10:69).

*prq* **I** (*parəq, priqlə, praqa*) **to finish** | *hal-xá-ga xéta priqla miyèy*<sup>1</sup> until their water ran out again (A11:18); *m̄šawθitu m-gòðəde, ʔa-t-túra ja-jálde parəq*<sup>1</sup> You should speak with one another, so that the mountain (journey) would finish quickly (A17:18); *parqənne šuli*<sup>1</sup> I shall finish my work (A16:4); *bar-priqla kulla nášə šqilla ʔarəəq*<sup>1</sup> after all the people had finished taking provisions (B17:12). With *mən*: *báθər ʔ-ile priqa mən-ixála*<sup>1</sup> when he had finished the food (A23:6); *ta-t-pàrqəx mənne dīye*<sup>1</sup> so that we can finish him off (A12:37). With *b-*: *štáyela-w práqela biya dīya*<sup>1</sup> They drink and finish with it (the drink) (A17:25). **II** *m-prq* (*m̄parəq, m̄purəqle, m̄parəqe*) **to save, to rescue; to rid** | *θéla qəm-m̄parqili m-gu-ʔiθàθux*<sup>1</sup> They came and rescued me from your hands (B17:15); *m̄parqənnux m-əyya qəšəət*<sup>1</sup> I shall rid you of this business (A14:1).

*prr* **III** *m-prr* (*maprəx, muḫprərrə, maprəre*) **to open up (space), to widen** | *hóle maprórəlla ʔurxa*<sup>1</sup> He is widening the road.

*prs* **I** (*parəs, prisle, prasa*) **to tear apart**

*prsm* **Q** *m-prsm* (*m̄paršəm, m̄puršəmlə, m̄paršəme*) **to smile, to grin**

*pršn* **Q** *m-pršn* (*m̄paršən, m̄puršənnə, m̄paršone*) **to smile, to grin**

*prš* **I** (*parəš, prišle, praša*) **to separate (tr. and intr.)** | *paršəxla m-ğđàđe*<sup>1</sup> Let's separate them from one another (A25:26); *parši m-ğđàđe*<sup>1</sup> They (the wheat and the chaff) separate from one another (B5:97); *prəšela T̄yare xtéθa mən-B̄erwər*<sup>1</sup> They (the mountains) divide lower T̄yare from Barwar (B1:4).

*pršn* **Q** *m-pršn* (*m̄paršən, m̄puršənnə, m̄paršone*) **to lay flat stones, to pave**  
→ *parša*

*prtl* **Q** *m-prtl* (*m̄partəl, m̄purtəlle, m̄partole*) **to stagger, to twist; to throw** | *m̄purtəl̄li xa-kəpa*<sup>1</sup> I threw a stone.

*prtn* **Q** *m-prtn* (*m̄partən, m̄purtənnə, m̄partone*) **to winnow (corn)** | *sáre xašlāxwala b-xašùlta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-m̄partənəxwala*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-qašrəxwala*<sup>1</sup> We would crush barley in a mortar, we winnowed it and removed the peel (B10:12).

*prtr* **Q** *m-prtr* (*m̄partər, m̄purtərre, m̄partore*) **to stagger, to totter** | *wáha náša hóle m̄partòre*<sup>1</sup> That man is tottering.

*prtx* **Q** *m-prtx* (*m̄partəx, m̄purtəxle, m̄partoxe*) **to break up; to crumble** | *m̄parətxəxwale*<sup>1</sup> *derəxwale gu-d-o-ğùpta*<sup>1</sup> We crushed it (the herb) and put it in the cheese (B16:26).

*prt* **I** (*parət, pritle, prata*) **to tear; to wear out; to cut off** | *prút bəbe*<sup>1</sup> Cut off his father! (curse); *prīt-dina* destroyed of religion = irreligious (A30:28), *prīt-baba* destroyed of father = bastard (C7:11). **II** *m-prt* (*m̄parət, m̄purət̄le, m̄parote*) **to destroy, to cut off** | *bába díya m̄partənnə* I shall destroy her father (= to Hell with her father) (A30:37); *m̄partənnə bəbux*<sup>1</sup> I shall cut off your father (= to Hell with you).

*prtm* **Q** *m-prtm* (*m̄partəm, m̄purtəmle, m̄partome*) **to graft**

*prx* (i) **I** (*parəx, prixle, praxa*) **to crush (by rubbing together)** | *kerápsə parxíla b-smòqe*<sup>1</sup> They crush the *kerapsə* herb together with sumac berries; *báθər barzáwa tūtun*<sup>1</sup> *qémi šaqlíwala deréwa rəš-xa-bāṭānīya*<sup>1</sup> *parxíwala táza*<sup>1</sup> After the tobacco dried, they took it, put it on a blanket and crushed it thoroughly (B7:17).

*prx* (ii) **I** (*parəx, prixle, praxa*) **to fly; to fly away** | *xa-béna xəzya ʔəθyele xa-xùwewé*<sup>1</sup> *ʔax-prəxa*<sup>1</sup> Then he saw a snake come, as if flying (A14:31); *ʔo-simárxa prixele*<sup>1</sup> The *simarxa* bird flew away (A14:69). **III** *m-prx* (*maprəx, muprəxle, maproxé*) **to cause to fly** | *mapərxálux šawwə yamáθa*<sup>1</sup> She will fly you over the seven seas (A12:29).

*pry* **I** (*pare, prele, praya*) **to get light, to dawn; to channel (water)** | *dúnye prèla' / préle pùrya'* It became light (i.e. dawn came).

*prz* **II** *m-prz* (*mparəz, mpurəzle, mparoze*) **to spread out (bread)** | *'i-mpárzət zəðáye ta-t-qèrì'* You spread out flat breads so that they cool.

*pšx* **I** (*pašəx, pšixle, pšaxa*) **to smile; to rejoice**

*pšm* **I** (*pašəm, pšimle, pšama*) **to become sad, sorry** | *pšámən rəba' t-in-màr-allexu' qušartəxu miðtela'* I am very sorry to tell you that your cooking pot is dead (A5:10); *'áwəwa məškəna rəba pšimle'* He, poor man, became very sad (A4:5). **II** *m-pšm* (*mpašəm, mpušəmle, mpašomə*) **to become sad, to regret; to make sad, to upset.** **III** *m-pšm* (*mapšəm, mupšəmle, mapšomə*) **to cause to be sad; to cause to regret**

*pšpš* **Q** *m-pšpš* (*mpašpəš, mpušpəšle, mpašpošə*) **to whisper**

*pšq* **I** (*pašəq, pšiqle, pšaqa*) **to stretch (material); to lie stretched out** | *pšiqtela' miðtela'* She fell flat and died (A30:37). **II** *m-pšq* (*mpašəq, mpušəqle, mpašoqe*) **to stretch out; to explain** | *mpušəqle pəxre'* He stretched out his body; *mpašqəxle ʔəllux'* We shall explain it to you.

*pšr* **I** (*pašər, pširre, pšara*) **to melt (intr.); to dissolve (intr.).** **II** *m-pšr* (*mpašər, mpušərre, mpašore*) **to melt (tr.), to dissolve (tr.); to digest.** (1) **to melt (tr.), to dissolve (tr.)** | *'áwəwa xə-ga xəta dərəle gu-miyya,' mpašrile'* They put it (the dried yoghurt cake) again in water and dissolve it (B6:44); *məšxa mpušra* clarified butter. (2) **to digest, to chew the cud (cows)** | *báθər t-y-áwa tawriyáða xile,' y-áða manixi,' mpàšrì'* After cows have eaten, they come and rest and chew the cud.

*pšt* **I** (*pašət, pšitlə, pšata*) **to stretch out; to fit into; to set (s.o.) on a journey.** (1) **to stretch out** | *pšitlə 'ida-diya l-šmāyya'* She stretched her hand to heaven (A8:82); *pšitlə 'əqlux' qəðər bərkəθux'* Stretch your legs according to your cloth (D1:6). (2) **to fit into** | *'u-dráyəlla 'ida diya 'əlle diye,' léla pšata,' sab-bóya zərəle'* She (the bear) put her paw into it, but it did not fit in, since the hole was small (A20:6). (3) **to set (s.o.) on a journey** | *'u-qəm-paštəle b-ʔirxa-w* She set him on the way (A21:23). **III** *m-pšt* (*mapšət, mupšətəle, mapšoṭe*) **to set (s.o.) on a journey** | *mupəštəlla 'an-nəše' 'u-tlibela xətər mənney'* The people escorted them (out of the town) and bade them farewell (A29:66).

*pšx* **I** (*pašəx, pšixle, pšaxa*) **to cut down, to break** | *pašxa rase* (f.) late snow in the month of April (literally: breaker of *rasa* grass).

*pšy* **II** *m-pšy* (*mpaše, mpušele, mpašoye*) **to break wind silently**

*ptpt* **Q** *m-ptpt* (*mpatpat, mputpatle, mpatpote*) **to become rags, to fall apart (clothes); to tear apart** | *kréle gu-d-a-àskar<sup>1</sup> qam-mpatpàtla<sup>1</sup>* He smote the army and tore it apart (A29:56).

*ptš* **I** (*patəš, ptišle, ptaša*) **to mark, to soil** | *šarwáli hóle ptiša tina<sup>1</sup>* My trousers have been soiled by mud.

*pθl, ptl* **I** (*paθəl/patəl, f. patla, pθille/ptille, pθala/ptala*) **to spin, to twist; to make a round** | *ʔilla xa-qásra pətəl<sup>1</sup>* She has a palace that spins round (A12:24); *pθiltəlle xá məm-káwsa diya<sup>1</sup>* She twisted off one of her hair locks (A12:42); *ʔayya pθiltəlle xa-garra<sup>1</sup>* She took a turn around (A51:10); *patlaxxa dukáne* We take her (the bride) around various places (B5:38).

*pθx* **I** (*paθəx, pθixle, pθaxa*) **to open; to release** | *pθúx tára<sup>1</sup>* Open the door! (A23:26); *ʔéne pθixtela<sup>1</sup> bas-tliya hóle<sup>1</sup>* His eye is open, but he is asleep (A31:6); *náše paθxíwala míya gu-ʔára<sup>1</sup>* People would release water onto the land. **II** *m-pθx* (*mpaθəx, mpuθəxle, mpaθoxe*) **to open out, to spread out** | *mattáxwale gu-bàdra<sup>1</sup>, mpaθəxwale<sup>1</sup>* We would put it (the harvested rice) on the threshing floor and spread it out (B5:82).

*pθy* **II** *m-pθy* (*mpaθe, mpuθele, mpaθoye*) **to spread out** | *y-oðále guttáθa qamàye<sup>1</sup>, ʔu-mpaθyále tàza<sup>1</sup>* First she makes it (the dough) into balls and then spreads it out well (B5:101).

*pxl* **II** *m-pxl* (*mpaxəl, mpuxəlle, mpaxole*) **to forgive; to forgo, to relinquish** | *paxlətli rába<sup>1</sup>* I am very sorry (A1:11); *paxàlta<sup>1</sup>* Forgive me!; *puxlɛwət<sup>1</sup>* You are forgiven; *xa-zawónwala ʔamərwə<sup>1</sup> ʔána puxlâli tálálux<sup>1</sup>* One would buy it and say 'I relinquish it (and give it back) to you' (Said by a buyer of an item from the wedding tree when he returns it to the groom so that he can sell it again B8:38)

*pxpx* **Q** *m-pxpx* (*mpaxpəx, mpuxpəxle, mpaxpoxe*) **to snooze (with light snoring)**

*pyč* **I** (*payəč, pičle, pyača*) **to squash** | *pičle gəwze<sup>1</sup>* He crushed walnuts.

*pyð* **I** (*payəð, pidle, pyaða*) **to pass; to pass by, to cross** | *ʔanna pidela mánne diye<sup>1</sup>* They passed by him (A15:13); *ʔan-tre-maláxe... θéla pyáða táma táma<sup>1</sup>* Those two angels... came passing by (A4:44); *ʔanna šáwewa yamáθa pəðətla<sup>1</sup>* You should cross those seven seas (A12:25); *ʔáp ʔo-túra pəðətla<sup>1</sup>* You should cross also that mountain (A24:12); *míya pəði*

*rəš-parránat ʔarxe, 1 le-pátla* The water passes over the propellers of the watermill and it does not turn; *pídla dána* Time passed (A46:2); *ʔáp-ʔani pídla* He got away also with these (lies) (A32:17). **III** *m-pyð (mapyað, mupyadle, mapyoðe)* **to cause to cross** | *mupíðella b-hüdüd* They took them over the border (B5:161).

*pyš I (payaş, pišle, pyša)* **to remain; to remain alive; to continue; to become; to begin; to pass (period of time)** (§15.8.). (1) **to remain** | *pěši xátna-w k'álo tàma hal-xušəba* The groom and bride stay there until Sunday (B5:51); *pišla tla-yàrxel* They stayed three months (A14:84). (2) **to remain alive** | *ʔu-xarəye tliba diya qam-šaqləxle, ʔay pišla* In the end we took her betrothed but she remained alive (A4:45). (3) **to continue** | *pištela bxəya* She continued weeping (A4:44); *pišla béna grəša kúllət yóma mən-d-o-düşa ʔál ʔaşərtal* All day they continued to draw out that honey, until evening (A14:15). (4) **to become** | *m-bár taxnile, 1 páyaş qámxa masqile bəθa* After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house (B5:99); *ʔana pišli bəxtux* I have become your wife (A25:65); *mállal pišla quşarta ta-mállal* As for the mullah, the cooking pot became the mullah's (A5:10). Onset of phases of time: *pišle yómal hár wewa-xðàral* Day came and he was still searching about (A14:24). (5) **to begin** | *ʔu-táwra pišle mangóle ʔaxxa l-tàmma* The ox began to limp back and forth (A22:3). (6) **to pass (period of time)** | *pišele xə-yarxal máлка xzéle xa-xəlmə xənal* A month passed and the king had another dream (A1:9); *pěšawa xa-yóma trə, 1 hál barəzwal* One or two days would go by until it became dry (B5:167). (7) Idioms: *ʔana hóle piša ləbbi* I am angry; *ʔanna pišla gu-ləbbe diye kúllal* All these (words) weighed on his heart (A38:13). **III** *m-pyš (mapyaş, mupyaşle, mapyoşə)* **to cause to remain; to leave behind** | *mupíşəlle b-šənal* They bid him farewell (A14:91); *tłàθnal xonəwáθət Qara Teždin mopíşəlle ləbbəy* Today the three brothers of Qara Teždin became angry.

*pyx I (payax, pixle, pyaxa)* **to cool** | *gərag xáčca pəxa dınyel* The weather must be somewhat cool (B5:177).

/p/

*p! II m-p! (mpəle, mpülele, mpəloye)* **to imitate** | *ʔaw-máşe mpəle bəbi b-şawθe diye* He can imitate my father with his voice.

*ḫrm* **I** (*ḫarəm, ḫrimle, ḫrama*) **to understand** | *ʔána ḫrimli módile qə̀s̄s̄ət*<sup>1</sup> I understand what the situation is (A8:44).

*ḫrmy* **Q** *m-ḫrmy* (*mḫarḫe, mḫurḫele, mḫarḫoye*) **to understand** | *ḫurmèlux*<sup>2</sup> *hè*<sup>1</sup> *ḫurmèli*<sup>1</sup> Do you understand? Yes, I understand.

## /Q/

*qbl* **I** (*qabəl, qbille, qbala*) **to permit; to accept; to agree; to donate, to dedicate.** (1) **to permit** | *ʔána qáblən t-áwər*<sup>1</sup> I permit him to enter; *ʔáp-xa la-qáblət t-áwər gu-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> You should not allow anybody to come into the house (A23:25); *lá-qabə́lwa ʔáxni saxə́xwa*<sup>1</sup> He did not allow us swim (A25:20). (2) **to accept, to recognize, to tolerate** | *ʔap-ʔáyya qbiláli*<sup>1</sup> I accept also this (A15:17); *ʔu-là-qbilla*<sup>1</sup> *baxt-xàli*<sup>1</sup> The wife of my uncle did not tolerate this (A23:36); *ʔən-qablála şabòta*<sup>1</sup> *yáni dánəla qá-t deréla marèθa*<sup>1</sup> If the finger tolerated (the heat of the milk), it meant that it was time to add the rennet (B5:164). (3) **to agree** | *qbillən xázəx ġòðə*<sup>1</sup> We agreed to see each other; *lá qabláwa t-oráwa k'əlo*<sup>1</sup> The bride did not agree to enter (B10:35). (4) **to donate, to dedicate (to a saint)** | *flan-gəwza*<sup>1</sup> *qablə́nne*<sup>1</sup> *ʔla-Màr-Žaya*<sup>1</sup> I shall donate such-and-such a walnut tree to St. Zaya (A31:3); *báyyəx xá-məndi gu-tára qablítula*<sup>1</sup> We want you to pledge her something on the doorstep (B10:36). **II** *m-qbl* (*mqabəl, mqubə́lle, mqabole*) **to receive, to accept** | *ʔúp-xa mənnə́xu là-mqabə́lle šláme*<sup>1</sup> None of you should accept his greeting (A25:47); *mqubə́ltə́lle šláme díye rə́š-rə́ša*<sup>1</sup> She accepted his greeting over her head (i.e. did not acknowledge it) (A26:42).

*qby* **II** *m-qby* (*mqabe, mqubele, mqaboye*) **to swell, to blister** | contrast *m-by* (*maboye*), which denotes swelling without the accumulation of pus and blood.

*qč*<sup>?</sup> **I** (*qăčə, qčile/qčele, qčəʔa/qčaya*) (§1.4.6.) **to cut; to pick (fruit)**

*qčp* **I** (*qačəp, qčiple, qčəpa*) (§1.4.6.) **to pick, to cut down**

*qdd* **II** *m-qdd* (*mqadəd/mqădəd, mqudə́dle/mqŭdə́dle, mqadode/mqădode*) **to cut up (meat)**

*qdd* **Q** *m-qdd* (*mqadqəd, mqudqə́dle, mqadqode*) **to cut up finely**

*qdr* **II** (*mqadər/mqaddər, mqudərre/mquddərre, mqadore/mqaddore*) (A.) **to reckon, to assess** | *mqaddər̀wale kəmà daqráwa*<sup>1</sup> He would calculate how

much they were worth (B15:52); *'axni 'ax-t-mqadrəxla'* according to our reckoning (B6:31).

*qđš* **II** *m-qđš* (*mqađəš, mqadašle, mqadoše*) **to sanctify**

*qđl* **I** (*qađəl, qđille, qđala*) **to lock**

*qđx* **I** (*qađəx, qđixle, qđaxa*) **to kindle, to spark (by striking flints or knocking a stone with a metal *manquš*)** | *mánquš qáđəx nùra,<sup>1</sup> márpe čezəkke<sup>1</sup>* A *manquš* strikes fire and makes sparks; *qđixəlla 'an-tre-pàrre<sup>1</sup>* He kindled the two feathers (A24:55).

*qđy* **I** (*qađe, qđele, qđaya*) (A.) **to spend (time)** | *'u-'áy-ži qđiθəlle 'ó-ləla díya tàma<sup>1</sup>* She also spent the night there (A8:69); *'u-qađəxwa yóma qamáyat 'əđa,<sup>1</sup> baráxtət 'éđa xa-d-o-xəna<sup>1</sup>* We would spend the first day of the festival offering festival blessings to one another (B15:8).

*qhr* **II** *m-qhr* (*mqahə, mquhərre, mqahore*) **to grieve** | *'aw-bxéle 'u-mquhərre<sup>1</sup>* He wept and grieved (A37:6); *mquhərre l-bábe díye t-weewa mīθa<sup>1</sup>* He grieved for his father who had died.

*qlb* **I** (*qaləb, qlible, qlaba*) **to turn over (intr.); to turn round (intr.); to return** | *qlibele málka,<sup>1</sup> 'əθya zína qám Bəlbəl Hazər<sup>1</sup>* The king turned round and went and stood before Bəlbəl Hazar (A8:93); *kut-y-ázəl le-y-qáləb b-ay-ürxa<sup>1</sup>* Everybody who goes on that road does not return (A8:34); *káze qlüb<sup>1</sup> móre là<sup>1</sup>* He tried (to persuade him and said) 'Go back!' He said 'No' (A29:18). **III** *m-qlb* (*maqləb, muqləble, maqlobe*) **to turn over (tr.); to turn away; to send back, to return (tr.)** | *báyənnə muqləbta hátxa<sup>1</sup>* I want her turned over like this (A27:33); *maqəl-bəwale l-áy-gota xəta<sup>1</sup>* They turned it (the stone) in the other direction (away from the sight of the other team) (B11:6); *maqəlbüle!<sup>1</sup>* Send him back! (A2:9); *'ən-həwa<sup>1</sup> 'əččə-u 'əččə maqəlbənnə<sup>1</sup>* If they (the coins) are (only) ninety-nine, I shall return them (A6:1); *turáne maqlóbəlle qálət tōpe* The mountains are echoing back the sound of the guns.

*qlbz* **Q** *m-qlbz* (*mqalbəz, mqulbəzle, mqalboze*) **to turn over (intr. and tr.); to roll over (intr. and tr.)** | *juwíθa mqaləbzíla réša xtəya<sup>1</sup>* They turn the pot upside down; *mqaləbzəxxe gu-sətta<sup>1</sup>* We shall roll him over into the river (A30:48); *t-la-mqaləbzətí<sup>1</sup> 'sálət 'àti<sup>1</sup>* so that you do not roll down (A30:50).

*qlm* **II** *m-qlm* (*mqələm, 3fs. mqələma, mqələmle, mqələme*) **to crop protruding branches (*qələme*) of a tree** | *mqələmíla xúrta<sup>1</sup>* They remove the protruding branches of the poplar.

*qlp* **I** (*qaləp, qliple, qlapa*) **to peel. II** (*mqaləp, mquləple, mqalope*) **to peel, to strip** | *náša mülpa<sup>1</sup> max-qésa mqülpa<sup>1</sup>* A man who has been taught and is like a stripped piece of wood (D2:22), i.e. his education is worthless.

*qlsn* **Q** *m-qlsn* (*mqalsən, mqulsənne, mqalsone*) **to smart (due to sting or prick of a thorn)**

*qly* **I** (*qale, qlele, qlaya*) **to fry** | *ʔelíθa qaləxwa<sup>1</sup>* We used to fry the sheep's tail fat (B10:1); *qlíθalla gu-màšxa<sup>1</sup>* She fried them in oil (A21:30).

*qmqm* **Q** *m-qmqm* (*mqamqəm, mqumqəmle, mqamqome*) **to have flatulence; to buzz** | *mqumqəmle kâsi<sup>1</sup>* I had flatulence in my stomach; *mqumqəmle nàθi<sup>1</sup>* My ear buzzed (said when people are speaking about you).

*qmq* **I** (*qamət, qmiṭle, qmaṭa*) **to tie up, to bind up (wound); to tighten** | *qamṭála ʔaqle dīye<sup>1</sup>* She tied up his legs (A50:7); *qmiṭalla xáse ʔu-zilele<sup>1</sup>* He tied them (the sticks) onto his back and went off (A30:22).

*qmy* **I** (*game, qmele, qmaya*) **to scorch (clothes) (tr. and intr.)** | *qméla šùdri<sup>1</sup>* My shirt has scorched; *núra qəm-qaméla šùdri<sup>1</sup>* The fire has scorched my shirt.

*qntl* **Q** *m-qntl* (*mqantəl, mquntəlle, mqantole*) **to mate (animals)** | *kálwe mqanəṭlli<sup>1</sup>* Dogs mate.

*qny* **I** (*qane, qnele, qnaya*) **to gain, to earn; to possess** | *qanéwa ʔərwe<sup>1</sup>* They possessed sheep.

*qnz* **I** (*qanəz, qnizle, qnaza*) **to become crooked (old man); to bend over into a humped or crooked position, to hunch**

*qpl* **I** (*qapəl, qpille, qpala*) **to carry (a child, a load) in one's arms**

*qps* **II** *m-qps* (*mqapəs, mqupəsle, mqapose*) **to compress, to push down (pile)**

*qpx* **I** (*qapəx, qpixle, qpaxa*) **to cover, to possess (evil spirit)** | *saṭána qpixəlle<sup>1</sup>* The devil has possessed him; *qəm-qaqxála šədda<sup>1</sup>* A demon has possessed her; *y-ámri ʔm-xáyər b-séra ràba,<sup>1</sup> qapxále xwərθe<sup>1</sup>* They say that if he looks at the moon a lot his companion spirit will possess him.

*qpy* **I** (*qape, qpele, qpaya*) **to catch; to block (the flow of water)** | *qápela gùtta<sup>1</sup>* He catches the ball; *ṭárpe qpáyalla miya<sup>1</sup>* The leaves are blocking the water.



*qrb* **I** (*qarəb, qriple, qrapa*) **to approach, to become near**

*qrbn* **Q** *m-qrbn* (*mqarban, mqurbənne, mqarbone*) **to approach** | *lé-y-maşəxwa şabrəxwa ʔazəxwa<sup>1</sup> qarbanəxwa ʔalləy<sup>1</sup>* We did not dare approach them (B15:10).

*qrčp* **Q** *m-qrčp* (*mqarčəp, mqurčəple, mqarčope*) **to cut down, to harvest (fruit)**

*qrdš* **Q** *m-qrdš* (*mqardəš, mqurdəšle, mqardoše*) **to make a clattering noise; to shatter (with a loud noise)** | *qātu wirtəla, ʔpīlta gu-d-ən panjəne<sup>1</sup> mqurədxela<sup>1</sup> ʔanna rišela<sup>1</sup>* A cat came in, fell into the glasses, they shattered and they woke up (A4:53).

*qrm* (i) **I** (*qarəm, qrimle, qrama*) **to win; to beat** | *bálki qarman<sup>1</sup>* Perhaps I shall win (A1:4); *qəm-qarəmla* He has won it (the egg) (B5:59); *qəm-qarmənnux<sup>1</sup>* I have beaten you. **II** *m-qrm* (*mqarəm, mqurəmlə, mqarome*) **to cause to win; to lose (a game)** | *ʔan-t-ila mqürme<sup>1</sup> péšī gawəye<sup>1</sup>* Those who have lost remain inside (B11:7). **III** *m-qrm* (*maqarəm, muqrəmlə, maqrome*) **to cause to win, to lose (a game)**

*qrm* (ii) **I** (*qarəm, qrimle, qrama*) **to cover** | *qrúšta qrimla l-màsta<sup>1</sup>* A crust covered the yoghurt; *qrántat šərma darmánat bušála<sup>1</sup>* The cover of the buttocks (= the fat of a sheep's tail) is the substance of the stew (D1:13); *qarməxla páθən ta-t-là nesilan dabáše<sup>1</sup>* We cover our faces so that the bees do not sting us (B14:10).

*qrmč* **Q** *m-qrmč* (*mqarməč, mqurməčle, mqarmoče*) (§1.4.6.) **to crumple**

*qrmṭ* **Q** *m-qrmṭ* (*mqarməṭ, mqurməṭle, mqarmoṭe*) **to crumple; to tie in a bundle** | *mqárməṭle b-xəwla<sup>1</sup>* Tie it up with rope!

*qrmx* **Q** *m-qrmx* (*mqarməx, mqurməxle, mqarmoxe*) **to crush, to crumble (in hands)**

*qrn* **II** *m-qrn* (*mqārən, mqūrənne, mqārone*) **to grow up, to become big; to bring up** | *Qaṭina mqūrənne mṭéle gəwəra<sup>1</sup>* Qaṭina grew up and became a man (A52:3); *hóli mqūrənəlle<sup>1</sup>* I have brought him up.

*qrnz* **Q** *m-qrnz* (*mqarnəz, mqurnəzle, mqarnoze*) **to shiver (from cold or fever)**

*qrp* **I** (*qarəp, qriple, qrapa*) **to throw, to fling** | *qripəlle təməha<sup>1</sup>* He flung it away (A27:43).

*qrpč* **Q** *m-qrpč* (*mqarəpəč, mqurəpəčle, mqarəpəče*) **to hit, to beat**

*qrpx* **Q** *m-qrpx* (*mqarḫax, mqurḫaxle, mqarḫoxe*) **to slap, to hit hard**

*qrqr* **Q** *m-qrqr* (*mqarqar, mqurqarre, mqarqore*) **to squeak** | *qarqarte diyela*<sup>1</sup> He made a squeaking noise (with the plough) (A30:9).

*qrqz* **Q** *m-qrqz* (*mqarqaz, mqurqazle, mqarqoze*) **to prepare; to put in order**

*qrr* **II** *m-qrr* (*mqārax, mqūraxle, mqāraxe*) (A.) **to decide**

*qrš* **I** (*qarax, qrišle, qraša*) **to pinch; to burn (partially), to catch (food)**

*qršn* **Q** *m-qršn* (*mqaršax, mquršaxne, mqaršaxe*) **to sting (nettle)** → *qurašina*

*qrš* **I** (*qarax, qrišle, qraša*) **to cover; to roof (a house)** | *gare diye 'i-qaršile*<sup>1</sup> They build a roof on it; *bnéli gudānət bēθa*<sup>1</sup> *pyāša qraša*<sup>1</sup> I have built the walls of the house, the roofing remains to be done. → *qarše*

*qrṭ* **I** (*qarax, qrišle, qraša*) **to bite; to gnaw; to trim (trees); to be tough.**

(1) **to bite, to gnaw** | *hóle qráta ṭḫrāθe*<sup>1</sup> He is biting his nails; *bārye m-'aqúbre qarṭi mziðe*<sup>1</sup> Those born of mice gnaw storage bags (D2:78).

(2) **to trim (trees)** | *gu-qéṭa qarṭaxwala 'ilanāne*<sup>1</sup> In the summer we used to trim the trees. (3) **to be tough** | *'anna 'nwe qarṭi*<sup>1</sup> *lēla bšile bšāla*<sup>1</sup> These grapes are tough, they have not ripened fully. | **III** *m-*

*qrṭ* (*maqrax, muqraxle, maqraxe*) **to cut with scissors (maqaxta); to clip** | *maqraxwa káwsat Žālo*<sup>1</sup> He used to cut the hair of Zāl (A29:3); *'u-lútun 'imat ḫešāwa gōrta*<sup>1</sup> *maqarṭiwala*<sup>1</sup> When the tobacco became big, they would clip it down (B7:16).

*qrṭn* **Q** *m-qrṭn* (*mqarṭax, mqurṭaxne, mqarṭaxe*) **to put a blanket on the back of animal** → *qurṭana*

*qrṭp* **Q** *m-qrṭp* (*mqarṭax, mqurṭaxle, mqarṭaxe*) **to break off**

*qrw* **I** (*qaru, qrule/qriwle, qrawa*) **to approach; to take communion.** (1)

**to approach** | *qrula kásle diye*<sup>1</sup> They approached it (A14:42); *'é-ga ṭ-ila-qriwta 'šlla*<sup>1</sup> *...xácča biš-slēla*<sup>1</sup> When she came near to her... she became a little calmer (A4:17). (2) **to take communion** | *'azáwa 'umra qa-t-qarwāwa*<sup>1</sup> *dášta maḫyáwa rakáwe 'arabāye*<sup>1</sup> She went to church to take communion and the plain filled with Arab horsemen (A37:2).

**II** *m-qrw* (*mqaru, mqurele, mqarowe*) **to approach** | *'áp-xa lá-biš-ile-mšaya mqarōw-alla diya*<sup>1</sup> Nobody was able to go near her at all (A4:6).

- qrx* (i) **I** (*qarəx, qrixle, qraxa*) **to become white; to make white** | *káwsət sáwa qrixle*<sup>1</sup> The hair of the old man became white; *mút qraxəlla kákux*<sup>2</sup> Why are you showing your teeth (grinning)? **III** (*maqrax, muqraxle, maqroxə*) **to whiten; to whitewash; to polish (brass)** | *hóle maqroxə gudàne*<sup>1</sup> He is whitewashing the walls (with white clay) → *maqərxana*
- qrx* (ii) **I** (*qarəx, qrixle, qraxa*) **to knock off (twigs, buds, blossoms)** | *mə́tra qəm-qarxála pə̀qxe*<sup>1</sup> The rain has knocked off the blossoms.
- qry* **I** (*qare, qrele, qraya*) **to call; to read; to study.** (1) **to call** | *qáryəlle xəmyáne diyə*<sup>1</sup> He called his father-in-law (A17:29). With *b-*: *qréle b-wázír diyə*<sup>1</sup> He called his minister (A21:2); *qréla b-o-gáwra diyə*<sup>1</sup> She called her husband (A14:101). (2) **to read** | *ktháwa qriθəlle*<sup>1</sup> She read the letter (A25:72). (3) **to study** | *y-aθéwa ʔən-Núne qarəwa*<sup>1</sup> They used to come to ʔən-Nune to study. **III** *m-qry* (*maqre, muqrele, maqroye*) **to cause to read, to teach**
- qsm* **II** (*mqasəm, mqusəmlə, mqasome*) (A.) **to divide** | *ʔiθ xa-dàšta*<sup>1</sup> *mqusəmta*<sup>1</sup> *xaqlàθa* There is a plain divided into fields (B4:1); *mqasmúwala qa-məššəre*<sup>1</sup> They would divide them (the fields) into paddy field basins (B7:10).
- qsd* **I** (*qaşəd, qsidle, qşada*) (A.) **to move towards, to make for (l-)** | *θáya qşáda l-béθe diyə*<sup>1</sup> (It) was coming towards his house (A8:90).
- qsf* **I** (*qaşəf, qşiflə, qşafə*) (A.) **to shatter, to cut to pieces**
- qsqs* **Q** *m-qsqs* (*mqaşqəş, mqušqəşlə, mqaşqəşə*) **to creak, to crack** | *gáre məşoréla mqaşqəşə*<sup>1</sup> The roof began to creak.
- qsy* **I** (*qasə, qşele, qşaya*) **to cut (bread, fruit)** | *ʔaw-xabúša qşələ*<sup>1</sup> He cut the apple (A4:16).
- qšmr* **Q** *m-qšmr* (*mqaşmə, mqušmərrə, mqaşməre*) **to mock, to make fun of** | *la mqaşmərrə!*<sup>1</sup> / *la mqaşmərrə t̪l̪l̪i!*<sup>1</sup> Do not make fun of me!
- qşqš* **Q** *m-qşqš* (*mqaşqəş, mqušqəşlə, mqaşqəşə*) **to rustle (leaves)**
- qšr* **II** *m-qšr* (*mqaşə, mqušərrə, mqaşore*) **to peal** | *sáre xaşl̪xwala b-xašl̪ta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mpartənəxwala*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-qaşəxwala*<sup>1</sup> We would crush barley in a mortar, we winnowed it and removed the peal (B10:12).
- qtʔ* **I** (*qāṭe, qṭile/qtele, qtaʔa/qtaya*) **to cut; to be cut; to finish; to decide.** (1) **to cut, to be cut** | *kúlla waridəx qāṭəmma*<sup>1</sup> I shall cut all your roots (A25:64); *qāṭiwa t̪arpe* They would cut down leaves (B5:118); *b-čü-ʔurxa ʔo-Dəmdəma lé šaqlitule*<sup>1</sup> *ʔilla qāṭitula miyət Dəmdəma*<sup>1</sup> By no means will you capture Dəmdəma unless you cut off the water of Dəmdəma

(A11:17); *qəm-qātāle m-māmōse<sup>1</sup> / qəm-qātāle m-xəlyā<sup>1</sup>* She weaned him; *mən-ədyo<sup>1</sup> malkūtha<sup>1</sup> m-bnónux qāta<sup>1</sup>* From today the kingship will be cut off from your sons (A8:96). (2) **to finish** | *qam-qātiwa mətrátha<sup>1</sup>* before the (season of) rains finished (B10:58). (3) **to decide** | *qtēli 'áθən lāxxa<sup>1</sup>* I decided to come here; *'ána 'u-'áti qtēlən l-d-áwra šūla<sup>1</sup>* You and I decided on this matter. With obj. *xəyala* thought: *qtīla xəyála dīya<sup>1</sup>* She has made up her mind (A8:49); *xəyálexu mù-qtīla<sup>2</sup>* What decision have you made? (B5:2); *'o-yóma qātiwa nəqda<sup>1</sup>* On that day they would decide on money (B5:8). **II m-qt<sup>2</sup> (mqāte, mqūtele, mqātoye) to separate stones from grains by tossing grains in the air**

*qtl I (qatəl, qtīlle, qtala) to kill* | *qatlənna yáha 'aqərwa dīya<sup>1</sup>* I'll kill that scorpion right now (A9:3); *'ap-qtála bāyənwa qatlənwale<sup>1</sup>* I even wanted to to kill him (A1:17). **III m-qt<sup>1</sup> (maqətəl, muqtālle, maqtōle) to cause to kill, to cause to be killed** | *'áwra náša sáwa tla-mó qəm-maqatlatle biyi<sup>2</sup>* Why did you cause that old man to be killed by me? (A15:18).

*qtp I (qatəp, qtīple, qtaba) to pick, to harvest (grapes); to separate (liquids)* | *raxθiwa dāwwe<sup>1</sup> šogəxwala qatpīwa<sup>1</sup>* The yoghurt boiled and we let it separate (from the water) (B10:9).

*qtqt Q m-qtqt (mqatqət, mquqtqətle, mqatqote) to cut into small pieces; to cluck (hen)*

*qtr I (qatər, qtirre, qtara) to build an arch (of a bridge)* | *hóle qtára qətra<sup>1</sup>* He is building an arch; *kəmət baníwale ta-t-qatərwa 'o-gəsrá,<sup>1</sup> lə qatərwa<sup>1</sup>* However much they built the bridge in order for its arch to be completed, its arch was not completed (C8:1).

*qθr I (qatəθ, qθirre, qθara) to tie a knot; to be tied* | *ləbbət kačče bət-qatəθ* the heart of the girl will be tied up (C2:71).

*qwd II m-qwd (mqawəd, mquwədle, mqawode) to put on handcuffs, to fetter*

*qwl I (qawəl, qwille, qwala) to complain* | *hár y-awewa-qwála m-xayúθe dīye<sup>1</sup>* He was always complaining about his life (A3:1); *qwála tla-'aláha<sup>1</sup>* He was complaining to God (A14:23); **II m-qwl (mqawəl/mqāwəl, mquwəlle, mqawole) to promise** | *mqawələwən<sup>1</sup> 'ap-an-zúze kúlla t-in šqiləlla<sup>1</sup> pālənna pəlge<sup>1</sup>* I promise I'll divide into half also all the money that I took (A1:17); *'ána mquwáltən mənne<sup>1</sup>* I have promised him (A14:86); *námu lat-mqúla mənni<sup>2</sup>* Have you not promised me? (A15:14).

*qwm II m-qwm (mqawəm/mqāwəm, mquwəmlə, mqawome) to happen, to befall* | *mquwəmlə 'állən xa-məndi<sup>1</sup>* Something has happened to us; *módi mqúma 'əllux<sup>2</sup>* What has befallen you? (A17:31).

*qwoy* **Q** *m-qwoy* (*mqaowoqe, mquqele, mqaowoye*) **to bark (fox)**

*qwr* **I** (*qawəṣ, qwirre, qwara*) **to bury**. **II** *m-qwr* (*mqaowəṣ, mquwərrre, mqaowore*) **to bury**

*qwx* **III** *m-qwx* (*maqwəx, muqwəxle, maqwoxe*) **to make a noise**

*qwy* (i) **I** (*qawe, qwele, qwaya*) **to become strong, to become tough** | *mandrile gáre<sup>1</sup> qa-t-qàwe<sup>1</sup>* They roll the roof so that it becomes tough (B5:194). **III** *m-qwy* (*maqwe, muqwele, maqwoye*) **to strengthen**

*qwy* (ii) **I** (*qawe, qwele, qwaya*) **to scoop** | *tíwta b-qwaya b-qawwa* She is sitting scooping with a scoop (C2:8).

*qy* **I** (*qǎye, qele, qǎya*) **to be blunt**

*qym* **I** (*qayəm, qimle, qyama*) **to rise, to get up; to grow; to begin; to be descended (by genealogy); marker of onset of action**. (1) **to rise, to get up** | *'ay-qìmtela<sup>1</sup>, wíðta qàwa<sup>1</sup>* She got up and made coffee (A26:31); *qu-pégəm kàde<sup>1</sup>* Get up and bake *kade* cakes! (A30:41); *brónux b-tàràṣ<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-qàyəm<sup>1</sup>* Your son will be cured and will get up (off his sickbed) (A8:95); *Mămo qimle rəṣ-gàne<sup>1</sup>* Mămo stood up (A26:5); *lá-qemət 'allèy<sup>1</sup>* You will not rise against them (A8:95); *y-oráwa xá-sa'<sup>2</sup>at biz-zòda<sup>1</sup>, qayəmwə<sup>1</sup>* After another hour had passed, the resurrection would be celebrated (literally: He [Christ] would rise) (B5:54). (2) **to grow (tall)** | *'u-mtăməzúwale rəzza<sup>1</sup>, nixa nixa<sup>1</sup>, hál qayəmwə<sup>1</sup>* They cleared the rice (of weeds) until it gradually grew (tall) (B5:79). (3) **to begin** | *qimla zra'a xabùṣe<sup>1</sup>* They began to cultivate apples (B5:75). (4) **to be descended (by genealogy)** | *'áxni yǎðəx<sup>1</sup> hal-díya kəmèla qime<sup>1</sup>* We know how many offspring there have been until now (B8:1). (5) **marker of the onset of an action or situation** (§18.3.1.) | *qimela tíwela<sup>1</sup>, wíðela tàgbir<sup>1</sup>* They sat down and made a plan (A26:2); *qimele píṣele mǎjbur<sup>1</sup>, Mămo dīrele<sup>1</sup>* Mămo was forced to return (A26:38). **III** *m-qym* (*maqyəm/mǎqim, muqyəmle/mūqimle, maqyome/mǎqome*) **to raise, to resurrect; to bring up; to appoint; to remove** (1) **to raise, to resurrect** | *maqiməxle<sup>1</sup>* We shall resurrect him (A4:46). (2) **to bring up** | *yəmmi qəm-mǎqimǎley<sup>1</sup>, qəm-maguràla<sup>1</sup>* My mother brought them up and married them off (B8:13). (2) **to appoint, to install** | *'u-'áxni-ži lǎx muqime m-báθre díye málka<sup>1</sup>* We have not installed (another) king after him (A4:32). (3) **to remove, to deport, to evacuate** | *b-é-ṣeta píṣla Dúre muqyànta-w<sup>1</sup> kúlla máθwaθət Bèrəwəṣ<sup>1</sup>, sáma zóda t-maθwàθa<sup>1</sup> píṣla moqime<sup>1</sup>* In that year Dure was evacuated and all the villages of Barwar, or most of the villages, were evacuated (B1:8).

*qyp* **I** (3fs. *qeþa, qipla, qyapa*) **to brood (hen)** | *kθεθα qipta* brooding hen

*qyr* **I** (*qayæ, qirre, qyara*) **to cool, to become cold** | *xùl!<sup>n</sup> dànεla,<sup>1</sup> qirra<sup>1</sup>* Eat! It is time. It has got cold. (B5:34); *qəm-xǎðíla hátxa t-la-qεalèy<sup>1</sup>* They wrapped them (in clothes), like this, so that they would not be cold (A8:12). **III** *m-qyr* (*maqyær/mǎqir, muqyærre/mǎqirre, maqyore/mǎqore*) **to cool (tr.)**

*qyʂ* **I** (*qayæʂ, qiʂle, qyaʂa*) **to cut (with scissors)** | *qəm-qayáʂle káwse ðiye<sup>1</sup>* He cut his hair (A29:3).

*qyx* **I** (*qayæx, qixle, qyaxa*) **to fade, to become yellow (grass)**

*qyθ* **I** (*qayæθ, qítle, qyatha*) **to hit; to knock; to touch** (*b-* sth./s.o.). (1) **to hit; to knock** | *bálki<sup>1</sup> képa qítle b-gàwza<sup>1</sup> npille-ʔúra gáwza<sup>1</sup>* Perhaps the stone has hit the walnut, and the walnut has fallen on the ground (= Perhaps I am in luck) (A1:5); *ʔáqli qítla b-kanðšta<sup>1</sup>* My foot hit the broom (A20:10); *qáyæθ b-o-t-íle ðəpne<sup>1</sup>* He knocked into the one next to him (A22:34); *nǎla rēʂ-déwa<sup>1</sup> qíθa tǎmàha<sup>1</sup>* He (the lion) tore off the head of the wolf and knocked it away (A42:2). (2) **to touch** | *ʔána la-qéθən b-čù mǎndi<sup>1</sup>* I shall not touch anything (i.e. I shall not eat) (A14:59).

*qzd* **II** *m-qzd* (*mqazəd, mquzədle, mqazode*) (K./A.) **to approach; to pick a fight with, to challenge** | *xwárza mquzədle kəs-xála<sup>1</sup>* The nephew went over to the uncle (A25:50); *qzídεle ʔílla ðiya t-axəlwála<sup>1</sup>* He (the lion) made towards her (the rabbit) in order to eat her (A46:3).

*qždr* **Q** *m-qždr* (*mqazždər, mquzždərre, mqazždore*) **to take control of, to seize; to interfere** | *qužždərre b-xəθəy<sup>1</sup>* They seized their sister (B3:13); *mqáždrən gu-šúla ðiyux<sup>1</sup>* I shall interfere in your affairs.

*qzqz* **Q** *m-qzqz* (*mqazqəz, mquzqəzle, mqazqəze*) **to prepare; to put in order** | *ʔána mquzqəztən b-èθa<sup>1</sup>* I have put the house in order (A21:15)

/R/

*rʂ* **II** *m-rʂ* (*mrawəð/mrǎwəð, mruwəðle, mrawəðe*) **to quake (earth)**

*rdy, rðy* **III** *m-rdy* (*marðe/marðe, murðele/murðele, marðoye/marðoye*) (A.) **to satisfy; to reconcile**

*rgd* **I** (*ragəd, rgidle, rgada*) **to tremble, to shiver.** **III** *m-rgd* (*margəd, murgədle, margode*) **to tremble, to shiver**

*rgrg* **Q** *m-rgrg* (*mragrag, mrugrəgle, mragroge*) **to quiver, to shake (out of old age)**

*rĥq* **I** (*rahəq, rĥiqle, rĥaqa*) **to become distant, to move away** | *ʔanna rĥiqla mənney*<sup>1</sup> They moved away from them (B9:22).

*rĥw* **I** (*haru, rhule/rĥiwle, rhawa/hrawa*) (§8.16.8.) **to speak; to speak agitatedly, angrily** | *mára kʔəle brónux?*<sup>1</sup>... *léle hǝwǝ*<sup>1</sup> She says 'Where is your son?'... He does not speak (A4:36); *málka rĥiwa xǝbra t-ǝzi šéda*<sup>1</sup> The king announced that they would go hunting (A13:4); *ʔu-tǝra la-hǝru*<sup>1</sup> The bird will not speak (in protest) (A24:18); *la-hérwǝt mǝnni*<sup>1</sup> Do not speak angrily with me (A1:18).

*rjm* **I** (*rajəm, rjümle, rjama*) (A.) **to stone**

*rkw* **I** (*raku, rkule/rkivle, rkawa*) **to ride; to copulate with**

*rĥx* **I** (*raĥəx, rĥixle, rĥaxa*) **to become soft** | *xǝčǝ ʔi-rǝĥxa dúka*<sup>1</sup> The place becomes quite soft (B5:95). **III** *m-rĥx* (*markəx, murkəxle, markoxe*) **to cause to become soft** | *rǝzǝa xǝ-yoma qam-dána ʔiyéwa murǝĥxa gu-juwǝla*<sup>1</sup> The rice one day beforehand was softened in a sack (with water) (B5:78).

*rmy* **I** (*rəme, rmele, rmaya*) **to grieve; to put ash on (oneself out of grief)** | *mšǝryela bxǝya*<sup>1</sup>, *mǝǝya l-ganəy*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rmǝya ganəy*<sup>1</sup> They began weeping, beating themselves and putting ash on themselves (A4:37); *spéli ʔu-rmèli*<sup>1</sup> I have grasped (ash) and put in (on myself) = I am in grief; *rmyǝθa hawetǝwa*<sup>1</sup> May you (fpl.) be cursed ones (A26:27).

*rprp* **Q** *m-rprp* (*mraprǝp, mruprǝple, mraprope*) **to hover; to palpitate** | *ʔéni hóla mraprǝpe*<sup>1</sup> My eye is quivering.

*rpy* **I** (*rape, rpele, rpayā*) **to become weak, to droop; to throw down; to cast** | *rǝpyelǝlla*<sup>1</sup> He threw it (the bag) down (A25:33); *rapéle ʔo-kǝpa*<sup>1</sup> He threw down the stone (A9:5); *ʔǝrta yoma gnele panya talana rpele* In the evening the sun set and cast a shadow on the shadow side of the mountain (C2:5). **II** *m-rpy* (*mrape, mrupele, mrapoye*) **to release; to throw; to throw away; to lay (an egg); to let hand down; to produce; to divorce.** (1) **to release** | *sǝse dǝye hóle mǝrǝpyǝlle gu-mǝrga*<sup>1</sup> He released his horse in the meadow (A25:56); *yamyannux... ʔida t-la mrapyan mǝnne* I swear... I will not release him (C2:19). (2) **to throw**

| *mrúpyalla qáme diyē*<sup>1</sup> He threw them before him (A12:18); *rápili m-an-képe t-íla tàma*<sup>1</sup> Throw me the stones that are there (A14:70). (3) **to throw away** | *rápíle qðàle-diyē*<sup>1</sup> Throw away its neck! (A14:67). (4) **to lay (an egg)** | *kθéθa mrupéla bèta*<sup>1</sup> The chicken laid an egg. (5) **to let hang down, to let grow down** | *mrápyala tre baskone* She lets two tresses grow down (C2:80). (6) **to produce** | *'awwa-gállá mrápe wárde*<sup>1</sup> This plant produces flowers. (7) **to divorce** | *qəm-mrapéla bàxte*<sup>1</sup> He divorced his wife. **III** *m-rpy* (*marpe, murpele, marpoje*) **to let go; to let droop, hang down** | *háwət hášyər 'ína 'áyya sústa là marpátla*<sup>1</sup> Be careful not to let that horse go (A12:29); *márpo m-gòðade*<sup>1</sup> Leave go of each other! (A26:46); *marpáxxe bèθa*<sup>1</sup> We shall abandon the house (A30:41); *kut-šáwwa yomàne*<sup>1</sup> *xúwwe marpélən mīya*<sup>1</sup> Every seven days a snake releases water for us (A24:38); *b-záwna qamáya kúlla marpéwala daqnyē*<sup>1</sup> In the old days everybody would let their beard grow down.

*rpθ* **I** (*rapəθ, rpille, rpaθa*) **to quiver; to blink, to wink** | *básri hóle rpàθa*<sup>1</sup> My skin is quivering; *'éni hóle rpàθa*<sup>1</sup> My eye is winking.

*rqđ* **I** (*raqəđ, rqidle, rqađa*) **to dance** | *'u-'áti də-ráqđət šešátla gənəx*<sup>1</sup> You should dance and shake yourself (A27:11). **III** *m-rqđ* (*marqəđ, murqədle, marqode*) **to make dance** | *'u-'ána*<sup>1</sup> *marəqđənnəx*<sup>1</sup> I shall make you dance (A27:11).

*ršm* **I** (*rašəm, ršimle, ršama*) **to draw; to make a sign; to make the sign of the cross** | *qam-'ixala 'u-báθər 'ixála rášməx šliwa*<sup>1</sup> Before food and after food we make the sign of the cross; *'i-rášəm hátxa gu-réšət nàše*<sup>1</sup> He (the priest) makes a sign like this on the heads of the people (B6:3). **II** *m-ršm* (*mrašəm, mrušəmlə, mrašome*) **to make a sign of the cross** | *mrašəmwala*<sup>1</sup> He made a sign of the cross on them (B8:43).

*rsm* **II** *m-rsm* (*mrasəm, mrusəmlə, mrasome*) (A.) **to make a sign of the cross**

*rθx* → *rxθ*

*rwy* **I** (*rawe, rwele, rwaya*) **to become drunk** | *mən-d-ó-xamra b-ràwe*<sup>1</sup> It will become drunk from the wine (A12:47).

*rxm* **I** (*raxəm, rximle, rxama*) **to love; to copulate with** | *rximtanwale tla xewa* I fell in love with him for a weaving hook (C2:61); *rximəlla*<sup>1</sup> He copulated with her. **II** *m-rxm* (*mrxəm, mruxəmlə, mrxome*) **to take pity** (*l-* on) | *mrxəmət-əlli*<sup>1</sup> *'álaha mrxəm-əllux*<sup>1</sup> If you take pity on me, God will take pity on you (A14:75). **III** *m-rxm* (*marxəm, murxəmlə, marxome*) **to**



**make friendly, to make welcoming, comfortable** | *muráxmälla dúktha qá-t 'árwe dàwri táma*<sup>1</sup> They have made the place suitable for the sheep to dwell in.

*rxq* **I** (*raxəq, rxiqle, rxaqa*) **to become far, to move far away** | *kmá-t sàprət 'árweux b-ràxqi*<sup>1</sup> The longer you wait, the further your sheep will move away (D2:29), i.e. do not procrastinate.

*rxš* **I** (defective, no present base: *xišle, xaša*) **to go** (Urm.); **to walk** | *xišle l-bəθa*<sup>1</sup> He went home (A1:9); *'ána har-ʔa-díyi zála xišta*<sup>1</sup> I am done for (A14:29); *xásən b-šere*<sup>1</sup> I am continuing with the poems (B1:15).

*rxθ, rθx* **I** (*raxəθ, rxitle, rxaθa*) **to boil (intr.); to ferment** | *míya hóla rxàθa/rθàxa*<sup>1</sup> The water is boiling; *raxθíwa dàwwe*<sup>1</sup> The yoghurt water used to boil (B10:9). **III** *m-rxθ, m-rθx (marxəθ, murxətle, marxəθe)* **to boil (tr.)** | *xálya marəxθile*<sup>1</sup> They boil the milk (B6:37); *'an-dáwwe díye marəθxíwala*<sup>1</sup> They would boil that yoghurt water (B7:22).

*ryð* **I** (*rayəð, ridle, ryada*) **to darn**

*rym* **I** (*rayəm, rimle, ryama*) **to rise up; to overspread, to cover** | *qáyəm qədəmta 'ína xepùθa' ryáma mən-ʔara*<sup>1</sup> He got up in the morning and saw that a mist was rising from the ground (A25:43); *míya mšurəla ryàma*<sup>1</sup> The water began to rise (B6:17); *gútta y-átwa 'u-rəma*<sup>1</sup> The ball bounces; *'ithwa xa-mánda rayámwa rəše, 'y-amrəxxa šəlluxta*<sup>1</sup> There was something that covered them, which we call the 'husk' (B16:30). **III** *m-rm (marəm/märəm, mürəmlə, mārəme)* **to raise** | *qəm-marmála 'ida-díya rəs-kulləy*<sup>1</sup> She raised her hand over all of them (A8:84); *'é-gəla hüdúde mürme, 'gu-Türki músqe*<sup>1</sup> At that time the borders were raised, they were moved up to Turkey (B9:21).

*ryp* **I** (*rayəp, riple, ryapa*) **to attack** | *šawwə xonəwáθa, 'ripe b-rəše díye b-mère*<sup>1</sup> Her seven brothers, attacked his head with spades (A34:15); *ripeləlle kúlla*<sup>1</sup> They all attacked him (A35:21).

*ryq* **I** (*rayəq, riqle, ryaqa*) **to spit**

*rys* **I** (*rayəs, risle, ryasa*) **to sprinkle** | *míyət warde resəxle* Let us sprinkle him with rose water (B8:24). **III** *m-rys (maryəs/märis, muryəsle/mürisle, maryose/märose)* **to sprinkle** | *náše kúlla pälti' xa-maryöse 'o-xréna míya*<sup>1</sup> All the people go out and sprinkle water on each other (B6:10).

*ryθ* **I** (*rayəθ, ritle, ryaθa*) **to inherit**

*ryx* **I** (*rayax, rixle, ryaxa*) **to become long.** **III** *m-ryx* (*maryax/mărix, muryaxle/mŭrixle, maryoxe/măroxē*) **to make long** | *lá mărīxaxla gu-bərrāne*<sup>1</sup> We shall not dwell longer on (the game) *bərrane* (B11:9).

*ryz* **III** *m-ryz* (*maryaz/măriz, muryazle/mŭrizle, maryoze/măroze*) (K.) **to stand in a row; to put in a row** | *ʔu-murīzela mbádla jálde*<sup>1</sup> They lined up early in the morning (A4:35); *hóla muryázze tāmā*<sup>1</sup> They are lined up there (A8:47); *y-áwa mrīze kúlla mexòlta*<sup>1</sup> They would have lined up all the food (B5:67).

*rzg* **I** (*razag, rzigle, rzaga*) **to be ready; to finish.** | *rzúgu šàlax*<sup>1</sup> Get ready, we are going down (A12:6); *Rustāmo qalúnke díye grīšle*<sup>1</sup> *rzigle*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-mattúle hátxa l-ʔāra*<sup>1</sup> Rustam smoked his pipe. He finished it and put it on the floor. (A29:47); *rázgi mbádla dāna*<sup>1</sup> They finish (eating) in the early morning (B5:36). **II** *m-rzg* (*mrazag, mruzagle, mrazoge*) **to make ready, to prepare** | *mrazagli xa-súsa xwàra*<sup>1</sup> Prepare a white horse for me (A8:62); *mrazgat gānux*<sup>1</sup> Prepare yourself (A6:4); *y-áwa mrūzge xumša*<sup>1</sup> They would have prepared *xumša* (B5:36).

*rzl* **II** *m-rzl* (*mrazal, mruzalle, mrazole*) **to be paralysed**

## /R/

*ry* **I** (*rāye, rele, rāya*) **to graze; to crush.** **III** *m-ry* (*māre, mŭrele, mārōye*) **to pasture, to graze (tr.)**

*rys* **I** (*rayaš, rišle, ryaša*) **to wake; to be aware; to feel.** (1) **to wake** | *ʔlaθā yomáθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔlaθā lelāwáθa y-áwe dmíxa le-řāyāš*<sup>1</sup> He would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake (A29:19); *dmíxele xá-bena řāyāš*<sup>1</sup> *ina mò řāyāš*<sup>1</sup> He went to sleep, then woke up, but what (a surprise when) he woke! (A14:30). (2) **to be aware** | *hóle říša biyèy*<sup>1</sup> He has been aware of them (of what they said) (A30:52). (3) **to feel** | *mattí ʔída ʔalle*<sup>1</sup> *řéši qá-t ʔáwxa mändi*<sup>1</sup> *hóle xmiya*<sup>1</sup> They place a hand on it and feel that it is leavened (B5:100); *řišele*<sup>1</sup> *mgunəgzəle*<sup>1</sup> He felt (it) and shivered (A12:52); *ʔo-ʔixála kúlla b-xá-daqiqa t-axlənne*<sup>1</sup> *la-řéšm gāni*<sup>1</sup> I shall eat all the food in one minute without an effort (literally: while I do not feel myself). **III** *m-rys* (*māřaš, mŭřašle, mārōše*) **to wake** | *də-māřašúle Barzəkkō*<sup>1</sup> Wake Barzəkkō! (A12:8).

/s/

- sʻd* **II** (*msaʻad, msuʻadde, msaʻode*) (A.) **to help** | *bas-msaʻadli xáçca*<sup>1</sup> but help me a little (A22:19).
- sjl* **II** (*msajəl, msujəlle, msajole*) (A.) **to register, to record** | *xabúše kúlla msujliley*<sup>1</sup> They registered all the apple trees (B1:18).
- slb* **I** (*sabəb, slible, slaba*) (A.) **to plunder** | *slibíle ʻarwəy*<sup>1</sup> He plundered their sheep (A52:1).
- sly* **III** *m-sly* (*masle, muslele, masloye*) **to despise; to abuse** | *qa-módit masløyəlli*?<sup>2</sup> Why do you despise me? With *l-* before a noun: *la-máslət l-nàše*<sup>1</sup> Do not despise people.
- smq* **I** (*saməq, smiqle, smaqa*) **to become red, to blush; to become brown** | *bustanàne*<sup>1</sup> *t-xabùše*<sup>1</sup> *xazátwala kúlla smiqe*<sup>1</sup> *nþíle l-ʻarra*<sup>1</sup> *xabùše*<sup>1</sup> In the apple orchards you would see the apples all red and fallen on the ground (B15:50); *bar-sáməq*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámraç dān-t xzattela*<sup>1</sup> After it (the rice) becomes brown, we say that it is harvest time (B5:79); *mdabšála ʻəlle-diyə*<sup>1</sup> *kəpa*<sup>1</sup> *gawəy*<sup>1</sup> *hal sàməq*<sup>1</sup> She presses (the flat bread) onto it (the oven), down below, inside, until it becomes brown (B5:102).
- smý* **I** (*same, smele, smaya*) **to become blind** | *sáwən Tóma smèle*<sup>1</sup> Grandfather Toma has become blind (A50:1); *sméli*<sup>1</sup> *ləš-in xzəya*<sup>1</sup> I have become blind, I can no longer see (A24:2).
- snd* **I** (*sanəd, snidle, snada*) (A.) **to lean; to support o.s.; to become strong, to recuperate** | *snidle l-gúda*<sup>1</sup> He leant on the wall; *ʻáw lá snidíle ʻáqle diyə*<sup>1</sup> His legs did not support him (B9:24); *ʻáxlət qá-t sàndət*<sup>1</sup> You should eat to become strong.
- sndl* **Q** (*msandəl, msundəlle, msandole*) **to be disorientated; to be detached** | *módit msandole*?<sup>2</sup> Why are you so detached (not listening to me)?
- snq* **I** (*sanəq, sniqle, snaqa*) **to need** (*l-* sth.) | *sanqəxwa ʻəlle diyə*<sup>1</sup> We needed it (B5:206); *ʻímə sánqi nəše*<sup>1</sup> *l-dəwwe*<sup>1</sup> when people need yoghurt water (B6:44); *ku-dánə sənqət*<sup>1</sup> *maqðəlla*<sup>1</sup> *ʻána t-áþyən ləxxa*<sup>1</sup> Whenever you have need, burn them and I shall come here (A24:49).
- snsł* **Q** (*msansəl, msunsəlle, msansole*) **to trickle (liquid); to nod (head when dozing)** | *hóle msansóle rəše*<sup>1</sup> He is (dozing and) nodding his.
- sny* **I** (*sane, snele, snaya*) **to hate**

*spq* **I** (*sapəq, spiqle, spaqa*) **to become empty. II** *m-spq* (*msapəq, msupəqle, msapəqe*) **to empty; to empty out** | *súla msapqətwale*<sup>1</sup> You would empty out the manure (B5:137).

*spr* **I** (*sapə, spirre, spara*) **to wait; to expect. (1) to wait** | *spírra spírra*<sup>1</sup> *bróna díya là théle*<sup>1</sup> She waited and waited, but her son did not come (A14:21); *ʔu-sáprət ku-t-áthe làxxa*<sup>1</sup> Wait for whoever comes here (A22:23); *ʔána spárən ʔəllux*<sup>1</sup> I am waiting for you (A25:83); *spárele ta-t-dəra*<sup>1</sup> He is waiting for her to come back (A27:26); *səprə*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-háwe pəwxa*<sup>1</sup> They wait for there to be wind (B5:97); *y-awəxwa spára ʔiman parqíwa rəze*<sup>1</sup> We would wait for the mass to finish (B15:3). **(2) to expect** | *ʔo-t-léle plíxa là sáprət t-áxə*<sup>1</sup> He who has not worked should not expect to eat (A21:15). **III** *m-spr* (*maspə, muspərrə, maspore*) **to cause to wait** | *lá maspərxləx bi-zəwda*<sup>1</sup> We shall not make you wait more (A4:41).

*sps* **I** (*sapəs, spisle, spasa*) **to wear out; to rot**

*spy* **I** (*sape, spele, spaya*) **to grasp** | *spéli ʔu-rməli*<sup>1</sup> I have grasped (ash) and put it (on myself) = I am in grief. **II** *m-spy* (*msape, msupele, msapoye*) **to hand over, to deliver** | *ʔálaha léwa msapóyalla l-iθaθəxu*<sup>1</sup> God was not delivering her into your hands (B9:22).

*sqð* **I** (*saqəð, sqidle, sqada*) **to become annoyed** (with *mən*); **to be have had enough** | *sqidlux*<sup>21</sup> Have you had enough; *kúlla sqidela mənne díye*<sup>1</sup> They were all fed up with him (A27:39). **III** *m-sqð* (*masqəð, musqədle, masqəðe*) **to annoy; to harry** | *hóle masqóðe yálat madràsa*<sup>1</sup> He is annoying the children of the school (A14:6); *kút-yom t-áθi masqəðilən*<sup>1</sup> They will come every day to harry us (B3:15).

*srb* **II** *m-srb* (*msarəb, msurəble, msarobe*) **to argue; to contest** | *ʔáw msurbənne mənni*<sup>1</sup> I argued with me.

*srb*s **Q** *m-srb*s (*msarbəs, msurbəsle, msarbose*) **to wind up (wool)** → *msarbəs*

*srg* **II** *m-srg* (*msarəg, msurəgle, msaroge*) **to saddle** | *xmárte díye msúrgəlla-w wíðəlla təza*<sup>1</sup> He had saddled his donkey and groomed it well (A6:6) → *sarga*

*srp* **I** (*sarəp, srípə, srəpa*) **to suck noisily, to slurp** | *srípə bəta*<sup>1</sup> He sucked the egg; *srípə šərba*<sup>1</sup> He slurped up the sauce; *ʔáwwa qəm-mattúle naqrúze díye kúlla gáwa qəm-sarəpə*<sup>1</sup> He (the stork) put his beak in and sucked it all up (A45:3).

*srq* **I** (*saraq, sriqle, sraqa*) **to comb; to strip leaves down to their stalks** (→ *saryoqe*) | *nafšəxxwale,<sup>1</sup> sarqəxxwale hátxa tâza<sup>1</sup>* We would tease it (the wool) and comb it (until it was) so beautiful (B10:49); *sqiddla nášə<sup>1</sup> ma-t-ıla sriqe mbáddla hal-diya<sup>1</sup>* The people are fed up with combing so much from morning until now (A32:7); *ʔrwe hóla sriqalla tárpe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-pišela saryòqe<sup>1</sup>* The sheep have stripped the leaves and they have become stalks. **II** *m-srq* (*msaraq, msuragle, msaroqe*) **to pour out, to empty out** | *msarqəxxwala-w<sup>1</sup> derəxxwa qəṭma<sup>1</sup> mxalləxxwala tâza<sup>1</sup>* We emptied them (the cans) out, we put ash (in them) and cleaned them well (B10:62).

*srt* **I** (*sarat, sriṭle, sraṭa*) **to tear (paper, cloth etc. with ones hands)** | *mšurəla sraṭa julla mšeyðone<sup>1</sup>* She began to tear her clothes out of madness (A4:6).

*srw* **I** (*saru, srule/sriwle, srawa*) **to deny, to reject** | *díya gu-pəṭux<sup>1</sup> mdàgə<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sàru<sup>1</sup>* Now he will lie to your face and deny it (A6:11).

*srx* **I** (*sarəx, srixle, sraxa*) **to defile, to corrupt** | *be-palge sarxi damma* Blood defiles its middle (A52:22).

*sw<sup>1</sup>* **I** (*səwə, swile, swaʔa/swaya*) **to be sated** | *swili<sup>1</sup>* I am sated; *kəmət qawya la-sawwa* However much she scoops, she is not satisfied (C2:8).

*swq* **II** *m-swq* (*msawəq, msuwəqle, msawoqe*) (A.) **to go shopping** | *kùt-yum<sup>1</sup> šaləwa gəwəra<sup>1</sup> l-šūqa<sup>1</sup> msawòqe<sup>1</sup>* Everyday he would go down to the market to do shopping (A22:1).

*sxbr* **Q** *m-sxbr* (*msaxbər, msuxbərre, msaxbore*) **to visit**

*sxð, sgð* **I** (*saxəð/saqəð, sxidle/sgidle, sxada/sgaða*) **to worship** | *hál xámšī-w xámša šənnə<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa sxáda ʔalaha<sup>1</sup>* For fifty-five years they were worshipping God (A15:17); *ʔani sagðíwa sənəme<sup>1</sup>* They used to worship idols (B6:28). Object complement with *l-*: *ʔawwa t-i-səxəð l-ʔalaha<sup>1</sup>* one who worships God (A15:4).

*sxsy* **Q** *m-sxsy* (*msaxe, msuxsele, msaxsoye*) **to examine; to investigate; to test**

*sxy* **I** (*saxe, sxele, sxaya*) **to swim; to bathe, to wash o.s.** (1) **to swim** | *ʔana hon-sxáya gəwa.<sup>1</sup> báyyat t-əṭyət səxyət.<sup>2</sup> də-háyyo sxà<sup>1</sup>* I am swimming in it. Do you want to swim? Come and swim! (A25:61). (2) **to bathe, to wash o.s.** | *t-ázən səxyən,<sup>1</sup> lóšən jüllí<sup>1</sup>* I'll go to wash and put on my clothes (A4:21). **II** *m-sxy* (*msaxe, msuxele, msaxoye*) **to swim** | *y-azəxxwa msaxəxxwa gu-d-anna gərre<sup>1</sup>* We would go to swim in these pools

(B15:31). **III** *m-sxy* (*masxe, musxele, masxoye*) **to cause to bathe; to bath (tr.)** | *màsxola,¹ malušúla jùlla-díya¹* Bath her and, dress her in her clothes (A4:22).

*sy²* **I** (*sāye, síle/sele, sya²a*) **to build a fence**

*syl* **I** (*sayəl, sílle, syala*) **to copulate**

*sym* **I** (*sayəm, símle, syama*) **to ordain. III** *m-sym bala* (*masyəm/māsím, musyəmle/mūsímle, masyome/māsome*) **to pay attention; to look after** | *másyəm bála.ª* *másyəm bálux¹* Pay attention!; *másyəm bála l-gànux!* Look after yourself!; *¹anna gáræg xamə̀xla-w¹ masíməx bála ²əlla¹* We must care for them and look after them (A8:15).

*syw* **I** (*sayu, syiwle, syawa*) **to become old**

*syx* **I** (*sayəx, síxle, syaxa*) **to surround with a fence or hedge** | *²i-səxíla síta¹* They build a fence around the partridge trap.

*szgr* **Q** *m-szgr* (*msazgər, msuzgərre, msazgore*) **to reconcile o.s., to agree** | *hóla msazgóre m-ğđàðe¹* They are becoming reconciled with one another.

/š/

*šʔr* **II** *m-šʔr* (*mšawər/mšāwər, mšuwərre, mšawore*) **to curse; to scold; to insult** | *qəm-šarə̀nne¹* I scolded him (A17:8); *mšuwərri ²ille díye¹* I scolded him (A17:9); *šurə̀la¹ jnàna¹ ²u-bxàya¹ ²u-mšawóre ʔla-xóna-w Bakürko¹* She started mourning and weeping and cursing her brother and Bakürko (A26:83).

*šbr* **I** (*šabər, šbirre, šbara*) **to dare** (§18.3.4.) | *la-šabrəx ʔ-òrəx¹* We do not dare enter (A14:40); *lá šbírra mšuwə̀tla¹* She did not dare to speak (A24:40); *²áp-xa lá-šbirre ²asə̀gle¹* Nobody dared to go up (and do) it (A33:4).

*šll* **II** *m-šll* (*mšaləl/mšāləl, mšulə̀lle/mšülə̀lle, mšalole/mšälole*) **to become sober; to neigh**

*šlw* **I** (*šalu, šlule/šliwle, šlawə*) **to tether (an animal); to tie a rope** | *súse díye šlíwə̀llele tàma¹* He tethered his horse there (A28:23); *²iman ʔ-íx nabóle ²an-tàwre,¹ šalwə̀xwala¹* When we took the oxen, we would tether them (B5:83); *šlíwə̀lla ²iθaθə̀y¹* They tied their hands (B5:161).

*šlx* **I** (*šalax, šlixle, šlaxa*) **to split (wood)**. **II** *m-šlx* (*mšalax, mšulaxle, mšaloxe*) **to split (wood)**

*šly* (i) **I** (*šale, šlele, šlaya*) **to go down; to alight; to lodge**. (1) **to go down** | *'anna 'i-šáli dāšta' šaxinta háwi b-šätwa'* They go down to the plain in order to be warm in Winter (B18:1); *liθan dārāje, ' ta-šáli gu-gōma.*' There are not steps for them to go down into the basement stable (A22:10); *šléla māttra'* Rain fell (A11:18). To go down country (southwards): *'o-t-Nīnwe máre šáln 'ána tápqan b-xóni gu-Bābā'* The (king) of Nineveh said 'I shall go down and meet my brother in Babylon' (A13:3); *'áwwa t'éra šále gu-šätwa'* This bird migrates (south) in the winter. Referring to combing down of hair: *'a-t-wáwa máre káwsa là šaléwa šábu,*' *'ina deríwa 'úpre'* As for a woman who had (long) hair, which would not comb down (literally: go down) with soap, they would apply mud (B10:67); *la-šále b-čú masrəqθa'* He cannot be combed down with any comb (D2:76). (2) **to alight (from horseback)** | *θéle xa-náša swariya'* *rakáwa.*' *šléle rəš-xa-'əna.*' A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring. (A15:1); *šlí m-xāš-sūsux.'* Get off your horse! (A14:67). (3) **to lodge, to stay** | *báyan šáln kas-xáli'* I want to stay with my maternal uncle (A25:42). **II** *m-šly* (*mšale, mšulele, mšaloye*) **to cause to go down** | *'u-mšálax tla-yámme díye 'áwwa qurtánat xmàra'* We shall take down to his mother this donkey blanket (A14:16). **III** *m-šly* (*mašle, mušlele, mašloye*) **to cause to go down; to deduct; to take away**. (1) **to cause to go down, to take down** | *'əθyan 'áti mašlōnnax'* I have come to take you down (A29:26); *'ε-kusiθa múslālla gu-'éne díye t-Čuxo'* He lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes (A7:19). (2) **to deduct** | *'ána māsšēn' 'šra dinàre'* I shall deduct ten dinars (B5:8). (3) **to take away** | *'an-'əmma dáwe mašlīla tla-bābux'* Take those hundred gold coins to your father (A14:64).

*šly* (ii) **II** *m-šly* (*mšale, mšulele, mšaloye*) **to pray** | *'ána kəmə dána t-in-mšaloye tla-márya 'álaha' ta-t-yawálli 'əmma dáwe'* I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins (A6:10); *lā-mšaləwa qa-'álaha'* They did not pray to God (A15:17).

*šmr* **I** (*šaməš, šmürre, šmara*) **to inundate, to flood** | *šamrətla məššára miya'* You inundate the paddy field basin with water.

*šmṭ* (i) **I** (*šaməš, šmitle, šmaṭa*) **to ache from the cold** | *šəppáθi šmátəla mən-qārθa'* My fingers ache from the cold.

*šmṭ* (ii) **I** (*šaməš, šmitle, šmaṭa*) **to fit together stones with cement known as šəmṭa**

*ʃnn* **I** (*ʃanən/ʃayən, ʃninne, ʃnana*) **to burn (food)**

*ʃnʃ* **I** (*ʃanəs, ʃniʃle, ʃnaʃa*) **to emit smell (food)**

*ʃplp* **Q** *m-ʃplp* (*mʃapləp, mʃupləple, mʃaplope*) **to ache severely; to feel severe pain (in joints)** | *ʔáqlī mʃaplòpela*<sup>1</sup> My leg aches; *xási mʃaplòpele*<sup>1</sup> My back aches.

*ʃpsp* **Q** *m-ʃpsp* (*mʃapʃəp, mʃupʃəple, mʃapʃope*) **to feel severe pain (in joints)**

*ʃpy* **I** (*ʃape, ʃpele, ʃpaya*) **to be pure** | *xáçça ʃápi mýa*<sup>1</sup> Shortly the water will become pure (A24:43). **II** *m-ʃpy* (*mʃape, mʃupele, mʃapoye*) **to purify, to strain** | *mʃapàwale-u*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-deréwa gu-quʃxàne*<sup>1</sup> They used to strain it (the milk) and put it in a pan (B5:164).

*ʃql* **I** (*ʃaqəl, ʃqille, ʃqala*) **to be decorated. II** *m-ʃql* (*mʃaqəl, mʃuqalle, mʃaqole*) **to decorate; to dress up; to put on make-up** | *ʔáy ʔílana mʃaqlìwala*<sup>1</sup> They would decorate the tree (as part of wedding celebrations) (B5:39); *xətneni mʃuqla l-yəmme* Our groom is dressed up by his mother (C1:5); *hóla mʃuqàlta*<sup>1</sup> She is wearing make-up, she is glamorous.

*ʃqt, ʃtq* **I** (*ʃaqət, ʃqitle, ʃqata*) **to squat; to sit (chickens)** | *kθayáθa ʃatqi gu-qáre rəʃ-məʃtəq*<sup>1</sup> Chickens sit in a chickcoop on sitting places.

*ʃrby* **Q** *m-ʃrby* (*mʃarbe, mʃurbele, mʃarboye*) **to drench** | *ʔlaθá dèwe*<sup>1</sup> *tré-məmma qtiləlla*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔo-xéna mʃurbíyalle gu-dəmma*<sup>1</sup> (There were) three wolves, it (the guard dog) killed two and drenched the other in blood (B15:49).

*ʃrf* **I** (*ʃarəf, ʃrifle, ʃrafà*) (A.) **to spend** | *ʔáw ʔíle ʔúmna dináre gu-jèbe díye*<sup>1</sup> *léle ʃrifəlla*<sup>1</sup> He has the hundred dinars in his pocket, he has not spent them (A24:22). **II** *m-ʃrf* (*mʃarəf, mʃurəfle, mʃarofè*) **to spend**

*ʃrp* **I** (*ʃarəp, ʃrippe, ʃrapa*) **to sting, to sear, to smart** | *ʔíman t-áxlət nùta*<sup>1</sup> *liʃánux ʃarəp*<sup>1</sup> When you eat the *nuta* herb, your tongue smarts.

*ʃrsr* **Q** *m-ʃrsr* (*mʃarʃər, mʃurʃərre, mʃarʃore*) **to whimper, to twitter; to howl, to screech (animals); to swish** | *mólxa maxéla ʔaqláθe díye*<sup>1</sup> *t-áwe súsa mʃarʃòre*<sup>1</sup> Salt will strike his legs and the horse will screech (A24:12); *mʃarʃòrəlle sépe díye*<sup>1</sup> He makes his sword swish.

*ʃrx* **I** (*ʃarəx, ʃrixle, ʃraxa*) **to shout; to scream; to cry** | *lā-ʃarxət*<sup>1</sup> Don't scream! (A4:4); *ʃliθela ʔaríθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʃráxela, ʃràxa*<sup>1</sup> The lioness came down, yelling (A33:10); *čarčòre ʔu-ʃráxela čənnəçèra*<sup>1</sup> She screams and cries all around (A51:15).



*ʃry* **I** (*ʃare, ʃrele, ʃraya*) **to rend, to cut open**

*ʃtm* **I** (*ʃaʃam, ʃʃimle, ʃʃama*) **to devastate** | *ʃʃimlux bɛ̀θi*<sup>1</sup> You have devastated me; *mu-ʃʃimlux bɛ̀θi*<sup>2</sup> Why have you ruined me? (A15:14); *hot-ʃʃimalle bɛ̀θat xalux*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-bɛ̀θi báyat ʃaʃmàtle*<sup>2</sup> You have ruined your uncle. Do you want to ruin also me? (A23:39); *ʃimle ʔu-ʃʃimle*<sup>1</sup> He has suffered a devastating tragedy.

*ʃʃp* **I** (*ʃaʃap, ʃʃiple, ʃʃapa*) **to split in two** | *ʃʃiple qésa b-spəna*<sup>1</sup> He split the wood in the middle with a wedge; *ʔawwa gúda hóle ʃʃipa*<sup>1</sup> This wall is cracked.

*ʃʃq* → *ʃqt*

*ʃʃy* **I** (*ʃate, ʃʃele, ʃʃaya*) **to dart, to swoop** | *ʃʃtyele bára diya*<sup>1</sup> He swooped after her (A24:56).

*ʃw*<sup>2</sup> **I** (*ʃáwe, ʃwile, ʃwaʔa/ʃwaya*) **to colour, to paint, to dye; to become coloured, to become dyed** | *ʔi-ʃáwúwa bɛ̀e*<sup>1</sup> They used to paint eggs (at Easter) (B5:52); *kéma ʔidat náʃa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-ʃáwa* The hand of person becomes black, it becomes dyed (B5:216).

*ʃwʃ* **I** (*ʃawəʃ, ʃwiʃle, ʃwəʃa*) **to twitter; to swish** | *xa-čeri mare ʃwəʃa* a swishing sash (C1:20)

*ʃwʃy* **Q** *m-ʃwʃy* (*mʃawəʃe, mʃuʃele, mʃawəʃoye*) **to twitter, chirp**

*ʃwθ* **II** *m-ʃwθ* (*mʃawəθ/mʃáwəθ, mʃuwətle, mʃawoθe*) **to speak** | *báyən mʃáwəθən mənəx*<sup>1</sup> I want to speak with you (A4:40), *mʃawθitu m-gòðàðe*<sup>1</sup> You should speak with one another (A17:19); *lɛ-ʔáðe mʃawòθe*<sup>1</sup> It cannot be talked about.

*ʃxlx* **Q** *m-ʃxlx* (*mʃaxləx, mʃuxləxle, mʃaxloxe*) **to feel pains of an incipient fever**

*ʃxwən* **Q** *m-ʃxwən* (*mʃaxwən, mʃuxwəne, mʃaxwone*) **to become clear (sky)**  
→ *ʃəxwa*

*ʃxy* **II** *m-ʃxy* (*mʃaxe, mʃuxele, mʃaxoye*) **to become clear (sky)** | *ʃmáyya mʃuxələ*<sup>1</sup> The sky has become clear. → *ʃəxwa*

*ʃy* **I** (*ʃáye, ʃele, ʃáya*) **to become thirsty** | *ʃele miya*<sup>1</sup> He became thirsty for water (A14:24).

*ʃy*<sup>2</sup> **I** (*ʃáye, ʃile/ʃele, ʃyaʔa*) **to get stuck** | *ʔu-ʔide diye ʃiθela gáwe*<sup>1</sup> His hand got stuck in it (A23:7).

*syd* **I** (*sayəd, sidle, syada*) **to hunt. II** *m-syd* (*mşayəd/mşəyəd, mşayədle, mşayode*) **to hunt**

*sym* **I** (*sayəm, şimle, syama*) **to fast, to enter a state of fasting** | *xámšī yóme şimila' qurbáne t-la qriwila'* She fasted for fifty days without taking communion (A37:4); *y-azúwa məθóye mándi ta-bêθa' 'áni şime'* They would go and bring things for the house, while they were fasting (B16:17).

*syn* **I** (*sayən, şinne, syana*) **to burn, to spoil (food)** | *dri-bálux t-la-şáyən'* Make sure it (the food) does not burn.

*syr* **I** (*sayə; şirre, syara*) **to prepare ground for cultivation**

*syθ* **III** *m-syθ* (*maşyəθ/măşitθ, muşyətle/müşitle, maşyøθe/măşøθe*) **to listen** (*t-* to) | *másəθ 'əlli'* Listen to me!; *píšle... maşyóθe t-béθət bábe dýe'* He remained... listening (for news) about his father's family (A18:12).

*syx* **III** *m-syx* (*maşyəx/măşix, muşyəxle/müşixle, maşyoxe/măşoxe*) **to check (sth.); to visit (the sick). (1) to check, to examine** | *báyən măşixənnē* I want to check it. (2) **to visit a sick person** (comment introduced by *mən*) | *zülle maşyóxe mən-şwáwa màrya* He went to visit a sick neighbour; *t-ázəx maşyáxəx m-brōn-dýe'* 'u-brōne dýe *şoqáxle bäsəm'* We shall go and visit his son and we shall make his son get better (A8:85).

/š/

*šbθ* **II** *m-šbθ* (*mşabəθ, mşubədle, mşabodē*) **to enslave**

*šbx* **II** *m-šbx* (*mşabəx, mşubəxle, mşaboxe*) **to glorify; to praise**

*šdl* (i) **I** (*şadəl, šdille, šdala*) **to plant (seedling); to implant, to insert; to be implanted, inserted** | *mədre' šadləxwala y-amráxxa' šədle'* We would plant them again (and they would become) what we call saplings (B5:208); *čēne šádli naqruzéy gu-gáldət heywáne'* Mosquitoes stick their proboscis into the skin of animals; *kátwe d-áyya 'ilána šádli gu-'iðux'* The thorns of this tree penetrate your hand.

*šdl* (ii) **II** *m-šdl* (*mşadəl, mşudəlle, mşadole*) **to sing a lullaby** (*šadla, šaddəlta*) | *qáša qəm-şadəlle-w'* The priest sang him a lullaby (B17:4).

*šdr* **II** *m-šdr* (*mşadər, mşudərre, mşadore*) **to send** | *mşodərre bəθre dýe'* He sent for him (A11:2); *mşádrule t-əθe'* Send for him to come (A12:59).

*šḏy* **I** (*šaḏe, šḏele, šḏaya*) (1) **to card (wool or flax)** | using a large comb (*masərqa*) or an instrument known as a *kurənyja* or *šaḏaya*. (2) **to clear (snow from fodder)** | *šḏele tálga m-rəš-gəlla*<sup>1</sup> He cleared the snow from the (fodder) grass. **II** *m-šḏy* (*mšaḏe, mšḏele, mšaḏoye*) **to card (wool)**

*šḡš, šxš* **I** (*šḡaš, šḡišle, šḡaša*) **to be flustered, disturbed** | *ʿu-ʿimat rišle mən-šanḡa málka<sup>1</sup> rába šxišle-u<sup>1</sup> rába pšimle-u<sup>1</sup>* When he woke from his sleep, he became very shaken and became very upset (A8:4); *šḡišele háwəna-diya<sup>1</sup>* Her mind was confused (A8:73).

*šhr* **II** *m-šhr* (*mšahə, mšuhərre, mšahore*) **to make night vigil, to pray in the night**

*šhwṭ* **Q** *m-šhwṭ* (*mšahwəṭ, mšuhwəṭle, mšahwəṭe*) **to desire**

*šhy* **II** (*mšahe, mšuhele, mšahoye*) (A.) **to have an appetite** | *mšahéwa šahiya<sup>1</sup>* They had an appetite (B10:91).

*škl* **I** (*šakəl, škille, škala*) **to suit** | *xoni b-šaklile čakke* The weapons (of the groom) will suit my brother (C5:22); *šaklila* They suit her (C2:2).

*šklk* **Q** *m-šklk* (*mšaklək, mšukləkle, mšakloke*) **to sew by hand with large loose stitches known as šakloke (as a trial run in making something)**

*škr* **I** (*šakar, škirre, škara*) (A.) **to thank; to bless; to praise** | *ʿu-šakrəx šəmmət márya ʿálaha xázəx ʿúrxa ʿəkela<sup>1</sup>* We shall pray to the Lord God for us to find where the road is (A26:17).

*šky* **I** (*šake, škele, škaya*) (A.) **to complain** | *šakən ʿəllux<sup>1</sup>* I shall make a complaint about you (A22:46); *qiməle zila šəkyā<sup>1</sup> qa-málka<sup>1</sup>* He went and complained to the king (A25:30).

*šll* **II** *m-šll* (*mšaləl/mšäləl, mšuləlle/mšüləlle, mšalole/mšälole*) **to sew a row of stitches**

*šlp* **I** (*šaləp, šliple, šlapa*) **to pull off, to slip off; to produce ears of seed.** (1) **to pull off, to slip off** | *šlípəlla julla<sup>1</sup>* They slipped off their clothes (A14:81); *gu-ħamməme<sup>1</sup> šliple<sup>1</sup>* In the washroom they stripped off (B10:69). (2) **to produce ears of seed** | *hál maṭəwa t-rayəmwə,<sup>1</sup> qám... šaləpwa<sup>1</sup>* until it (the rice) matures and grows high, but before it produces ears of seed (B5:78).

*šlq* **I** (*šaləq, šliqlə, šlaqa*) **to boil** | *qimtela,<sup>1</sup> šliqta<sup>1</sup> bə'e<sup>1</sup>* She boiled some eggs (A17:11).

*šlqn* **Q** *m-šlqn* (*mšalqən, mšulqənnə, mšalqone*) **to boil**

*šlš* **II** *m-šlš* (*mšaləš, mšuləšle, mšaləše*) **to try (to do sth.)** | *hón mšaləše 'oðənnə<sup>1</sup>*  
I am trying to do it.

*šltn* **Q** *m-šltn* (*mšaltən, mšultənnə, mšaltone*) **to take control**

*šlx* (i) **I** (*šaləx, šlixle, šlaxa*) **to uproot; to strip, to undress.** (1) **to uproot (plant), to pull out (hair)** | *'an-šədle<sup>1</sup> šalxəwala mən-táma<sup>1</sup>* They uprooted the seedlings from there (B7:11); *šlixəlla xórta<sup>1</sup>* He uprooted the poplar tree (A29:18). (2) **to strip, to flay** | *gəldəx šalxənnə<sup>1</sup>* I shall strip off your skin (A27:8). (3) **to undress** | *'i-šaləx julle* He undresses; *šawléy šalxəwala<sup>1</sup>* They would take off their shoes (B5:202). **II** *m-šlx* (*mšaləx, mšuləxle, mšaləxe*) **to strip** | *t-la-mšalxile<sup>1</sup>* so that they would not strip him (of his money) (A39:16).

*šlx* (ii) **I** (*šaləx, šlixle, šlaxa*) **to swarm (bees)** | *šaləx šəlxə b-áwəwə yərxə<sup>1</sup>* A swarm forms in this month.

*šly* **I** (*šale, šlele, šlaya*) **to calm down** | *xáčča biš-šləla<sup>1</sup>* She became a little calmer (A4:17).

*šm'* (i) **I** (*šəme, šmile/šmele, šma'a/šmaya*) **to hear; to obey.** (1) **to hear** (*b-* about) | *šmile qələ<sup>1</sup>* He heard its voice (A14:31); *Səttiye<sup>1</sup> šmila<sup>1</sup> baba dīya hóle mütta<sup>1</sup> jallədə<sup>1</sup>* Səttiye heard that her father had appointed executioners (A25:32); *málka šmile b-əyya<sup>1</sup>* The king heard about this (A8:7); *šmila bud-dīye<sup>1</sup>* They heard about him (A21:4). (2) **to obey** (*l-* s.o./sth.) | *kúlla šmilə-lle<sup>1</sup>* They all obeyed it (the decision) (A8:86); *šmú 'əlli!* Obey me! **III** *m-šm'* (*mašme, mušmele, mašmoye*) **to listen; to cause to hear; to announce.** (1) **to listen** (*l-* to) | *mášmi 'əlli!* Listen to me!; *mašmòyət.<sup>2</sup>* Are you listening? (2) **to cause to hear** | *mašmola margayaθa* Let the women of Marga hear (C7:12); *mašmóye 'əlla dīya<sup>1</sup>* (He was saying this) for her to hear (= it was for her ears) (A21:13). (3) **to announce** | *'i-mašməwala<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa 'áxni bəyax<sup>1</sup> talbáxxa bratəxu<sup>1</sup> qa-d-ó bronəm<sup>1</sup>* They would make an announcement to them saying 'We want to ask (for the hand of) your daughter for our son' (B5:1).

*šm'* (ii) **II** *m-šm'* (*mšəme, mšumele, mšəmoye*) **to apply wax (to a crack in a pot)** | *qəm-mšáméle pəqqa gu-lina<sup>1</sup>* He applied wax to the crack in the water pot. → *šəma*.

*šmš* **II** *m-šmš* (*mšaməš, mšuməšle, mšamoše*) **to perform burial rites; to hold a memorial ceremony for the dead** | *qáša qəm-mšaməšle*  
The priest performed for him the last rites; *y-azúwa mšamšúwa beθ-qòra*<sup>1</sup>  
They would go and hold a (memorial) ceremony for the dead in the cemetery (B10:3).

*šmšm* **Q** *m-šmšm* (*mšamšəm, mšumšəmle, mšamšome*) **to fall (water in a waterfall)** → *šamšuma*

*šmṭ* **I** (*šamaṭ, šmiṭle, šmaṭa*) **to break, to shatter; to be defeated.** (1) **to break, to shatter** | *ʿu-hállle šàle*<sup>1</sup> *šamaṭ qðále diye*<sup>1</sup> Let him go down and break his neck (A15:13); *lúnta šmiṭla*<sup>1</sup> The jar shattered (A23:22); *ʿína kupáli pišla šmiṭta*<sup>1</sup> *ʿu-piláwe pišla šmiṭe*<sup>1</sup> My stick has broken and my shoes have broken (A37:17). (2) **to be defeated** | *xa-béna déwe šmiṭela*<sup>1</sup> Then the wolves were defeated (A14:55); *kúlla ʿáskar diye*<sup>1</sup> *šmiṭla*<sup>1</sup> All his army was defeated (A28:36). (3) Idioms: *gàwze*<sup>1</sup> *šmiṭe*<sup>1</sup> cracked (i.e. shelled) walnuts (A25:48); *ʿene šmiṭe* (he is) frightened, intimidated.

*šny* **I** (*šane, šnele, šnaya*) **to faint; to be anaesthetized** | *ʿən-ʿamrənnux ʿáp-ʿati b-šànaṭ*<sup>1</sup> If I tell you, you will faint (A11:2); *pille šnèle*<sup>1</sup> He fell unconscious (A14:87). **II** *m-šny* (*mšane, mšunele, mšanoye*) **to move, to transfer, to change place** | *ʿən ʿàmər*<sup>1</sup> *túra mšanéle m-àxxa*<sup>1</sup> *mšanéle tāmàha*<sup>1</sup> If he says he will move a mountain from here, he will move it there (A16:3); *ʿu-gu-d-a-dána*<sup>1</sup> *ʿi-mšanúwa zála l-be-xətna*<sup>1</sup> At that time they move to the house of the groom (B5:38). **III** *m-šny* (*mašne, mušnele, mašnoye*) **to anaesthetize**

*špl* **I** (*šapəl, špille, špala*) **to become paralysed**

*šplp* **Q** *m-šplp* (*mšapləp, mšupləple, mšaplope*) **to shiver, to shudder**

*špn* **I** (*šapən, špinne, špana*) **to level the ground with the instrument known as šapna**

*špr* **II** *m-špr* (*mšapər, mšupərre, mšapore*) **to praise sycophantically**

*šprn* **Q** *m-šprn* (*mšapərən, mšupərəne, mšaprone*) **to praise sycophantically**

*špšp* **Q** *m-špšp* (*mšapšəp, mšupšəple, mšapšope*) **to feel weakened, to feel intimidated**

*šql* **I** (*šaqəl, šqille, šqala*) **to take; to receive; to take away, to remove; to take in marriage; to buy.** (1) **to take** | *ʿáp-aw qíməle šqiləlle tawra*<sup>1</sup> *šəlyele*<sup>1</sup> *mzabònalle*<sup>1</sup> So, he took the ox and went down to sell it (A22:2); *də-šqúl ʿanna-zúze*<sup>1</sup> Take these coins! (A1:27); *bróna diye šaqəl*

*šáwpe díye*<sup>1</sup> *bar-d-àw*<sup>1</sup> His son would take his place after him (A8:2); *y-oráwa šaqláwa dàna*<sup>1</sup> It would take time (B5:3). (2) **to receive, to obtain** | *'áxni šáqləx háqqət 'əjàra mánne díye*<sup>1</sup> We shall receive wages from him (A14:15). (3) **to take away, to remove** | *wítəla qədəmta,*<sup>1</sup> *jónne 'əθyela,*<sup>1</sup> *šqiləlla Žine*<sup>1</sup> In the morning, the jinn came and took Zine away (A26:8); *'e-šállóxte díye šaqləxwala*<sup>1</sup> We would remove that husk (B16:30); *'áwwa kóma šàqəl*<sup>1</sup> Let the black be taken away (A4:34); *'áti xa-béta hot-šqiləlla mən-šàbθa' píše 'áštà-yome*<sup>1</sup> You have taken an egg away from the week and they have become six days (A17:15); *šqul-gànux*<sup>1</sup> Be off with you! (A23:32). (4) **to take in marriage** | *xáθət Mir-Žándin-ile šqila Qára Təždin*<sup>1</sup> Qara Teždin has married the sister of Mir-Zandin (A26:55). (5) **to buy** | *'áwwa sépi šqilənne b-əmmà-dawwe*<sup>1</sup> I have bought this sword of mine for a hundred gold coins (A26:69); *'áp-xa lá-θele šqaləlle-w*<sup>1</sup> Nobody came to buy it (A22:9). (6) Idiom: *šqala rixa* to smell | *'áyya šaqləwale rixət jülle*<sup>1</sup> She used to smell the clothes (A14:100).

*šqlq* **Q** *m-šqlq* (*mšaqləq, mšuqləqle, mšaqloqe*) **to boil; to scald (in hot water)**

*šqšq* **Q** *m-šqšq* (*mšaqšəq, mšuqšəqle, mšaqšoqe*) **to clatter**

*šqy* (i) **I** (*šaqe, šqe, šqaya*) **flee, run way** | *šqe b-dùnye*<sup>1</sup> He ran off aimlessly.

*šqy* (ii) **II** *m-šqy* (*mšaqe, mšuqe, mšaqoye*) (A.) **to joke, to have fun; to take trouble** | *máto mšuqəlux*<sup>2</sup> Why have you taken pains (to come)? (A18:18).

*šrbq* **Q** *m-šrbq* (*mšarbəq, mšurbəqle, mšarboqe*) **to whip**

*šrbt* **Q** *m-šrbt* (*mšarbət, mšurbətle, mšarboqe*) **to whip, to strike (animal) with a pliant stick** → *šarbətana*

*šrk* **II** (*mšarak, mšurakle, mšaroke*) (A.) **to participate; to be partners** | *'áti mšarkət mánni*<sup>1</sup> You will be my partner.

*šrmṭ* **Q** *m-šrmṭ* (*mšarmət, mšurmətle, mšarmote*) **to become tangled** | *'əzla mšurmətle*<sup>1</sup> The thread has become tangled.

*šrqṭ* **Q** *m-šrqṭ* (*mšarqəṭ, mšurqəṭle, mšarqote*) **to break off heads of millet (prage); to crack open (an egg)** | *mšárqəṭla bəta*<sup>1</sup> Crack the egg!

*šršr* **Q** *m-šršr* (*mšaršə, mšuršərrə, mšaršore*) **to splash, to plash (sound made by flowing water)**

*šršt* **Q** *m-šršt* (*mšaršat*, *mšuršatle*, *mšaršote*) **to be baggy (clothes)**

*šršy* **Q** *m-šršy* (*mšarše*, *mšuršele*, *mšaršoye*) **to be exhausted, to droop, to languish; to let droop, to loosen** | *mšuršeli m-kəpna*<sup>1</sup> I languished from hunger; *šaršiyanna dranani* I loosen my arms (C5:6).

*šrt* **I** (*šarət*, *šritle*, *šrata*) **to escape; to cause to escape; to spring (trap).**

(1) **to escape** | *ʿasrətla xa-dúkθa*,<sup>1</sup> *t-la-šarta-w ʿaza*<sup>1</sup> Tether her somewhere, so that she does not escape and go away (A12:29); *bas-ʿanən šrita*<sup>1</sup> Only I have escaped (B19:8); *šartən gu-ʿiθáθ d-áwwa naša*<sup>1</sup> that I may escape from the hands of this man (A31:3); *šritle qálama m-ʾði*<sup>1</sup> The pen slipped out of my hand. (2) **to cause to escape** | *dšryele xèla*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-šarətla gáne*<sup>1</sup> He struggled to release himself (A26:81). (3) **to spring (a trap)** | *ʿuman šarət kulčwa*,<sup>1</sup> *qóla ʿi-məkəs*<sup>1</sup> When the trigger is sprung, the trap closes. **II** *m-šrt* (*mšarət*, *mšurətle*, *mšarote*) **to escape** | *b-áyya ʿurxa mšartəx*<sup>1</sup> *m-áxxa*<sup>1</sup> By this road we shall escape from here (A14:51). **III** *m-šrt* (*mašrət*, *mušrətle*, *mašrote*) **to cause to escape, to rescue** | *báya t-yáða*<sup>1</sup> *dáx mašartála ʿayya-brata*<sup>1</sup> *t-málka*<sup>1</sup> She wanted to know how she could rescue that daughter of the king (A27:23).

*šrtx* **Q** *m-šrtx* (*mšartəx*, *mšurtəxle*, *mšartoxe*) **to die in masses (due to epidemic)**

*šry* **I** (*šare*, *šrele*, *šraya*) **to untie, to solve; to lodge.** (1) **to untie, to solve** | *ʿa-báxta šryalla ʿaqláθa diya*<sup>1</sup> He untied the legs of that woman (A10:11). (2) **to lodge** | *šryela gu-xa-ʿotèl*<sup>1</sup> They lodged in a hotel (A2:1). **II** *m-šry* (*mšare/mšäre*, *mšurele*, *mšaroye/mšäroye*) **to begin** (§8.13.4., §15.5.5.) | *šryela mətawóle b-šətrənjàne*<sup>1</sup> They started to play chess (A26:63); *šuréle lā-draya bála l-šətrənjàne*<sup>1</sup> He began not to pay attention to the chess (A26:66); *šuréla xritla*<sup>1</sup> She started to gouge it out (A19:6); *šuréle ta-t-ʾaxəl*<sup>1</sup> He began to eat (A21:12); *šoréla moθéla mīya*<sup>1</sup> She began by bringing water (A22:25). **III** *m-šry* (*mašre*, *mušrele*, *mašroye*) **to offer lodging** | *mašrəx mire ʿu-ʿağaye* We give hospitality to princes and aghas (C1:16).

*šrz* **I** (*šarəz*, *šrizle*, *šraza*) **to untie, to unravel; to unpick (stitching)** | *qəm-šarzánna gərwi*<sup>1</sup> I have unravelled my sock

*štq* **I** (*šataq*, *štiqle*, *štaqa*) **to become silent. III** *m-štq* (*maštəq*, *muštəqle*, *maštəqe*) **to make silent** | *ʿaw káze maštəqəlla*<sup>1</sup> *!la-šatqəwa*,<sup>1</sup> *la-štiqla*<sup>1</sup> He tries to silence her, so that she would be silent, but she did not become silent.

*štwhr* **Q** *m-štwhr* (*māštawhər, mštuhərre, mštawhore*) **to be proud** | *ʔána mštawhórən m-bnòni*<sup>1</sup> I am proud of my children; *ʔána bəd-māštawhárən m-bnòni*<sup>1</sup> I shall be proud of my children.

*šty* **I** (*šate, štele, štaya*) **to drink** | *míya šti*<sup>1</sup> Drink some water! (A14:59); *ʔa-štéθa šatéwala t-lá míya*<sup>1</sup> They drink that drink without water (B5:14). **III** *m-šty* (*mašte, muštele, maštóye*) **to give to drink; to irrigate; to arrange the warp (weaving)**. (1) **to give to drink** | *ʔdyo maštánnexu štéθa diyən*<sup>1</sup> Today I shall give you our drink to drink (B15:57); *maštóye susáwáθa míya*<sup>1</sup> giving the horses water (A12:57). (2) **to irrigate** | *záréwa wárde*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-maštéwala-w*<sup>1</sup> He planted flowers and watered them (A14:79); *ʔi-záríla t-là maštóye*<sup>1</sup> They cultivated it without irrigation (B5:94). (3) **to arrange the warp (weaving)** | *maštéwale štya b-xanúθa*<sup>1</sup> He would arrange the warp on the loom.

*štr* **II** *m-štr* (*mšaṭər, mšutərre, mšaṭore*) **to spoil, to pamper; to cherish; to consider beautiful** | *lá mšaṭərre*<sup>1</sup> Don't spoil him!; *hóle mšúṭra*<sup>1</sup> He is spoiled; *šətro mšúṭarta l-yamma* The beautiful girl is cherished by her mother (C2:76); *šətro šúṭarta lali* Beautiful one, sweet-heart of mine (C2:7).

*štx* **I** (*šəṭəx, šṭixle, šṭaxa*) **to spread out, to lay out** | *hóla šṭaxa jülle*<sup>1</sup> She is hanging out the washing. **III** *m-štx* (*mašṭəx, mušṭəxle, mašṭoxe*) **to spread out**

*šty* **II** *m-šty* (*mšaṭe, mšutele, mšaṭoye*) **to convey, to give**

*šθn* **II** *m-šθn* (*mšaθən, mšuθənne, mšaθone*) **to have a fever; to languish** | *xamaθa t-ləley rime mšaθni b-míya šaxine* The girls who have not gone up (to the summer camps) languish by warm waters (C2:54).

*šwq* **I** (*šəwəq, šwiqlə, šwaqa*) **to leave; to allow; to cause**. (1) **to leave** | *ʔána šoqənnux b-šəna*<sup>1</sup> I leave you in peace (= Goodbye) (A8:51); *šwiqáli táma-w θéli làxxa*<sup>1</sup> I have left it there and come here (formula marking the end of a narrative) (A26:91); *šúqla*<sup>1</sup> Stop it! Forget it!; *xa-mánda wídle*<sup>1</sup> *b-rəš-bnəθa*<sup>1</sup> *har-šúqla*<sup>1</sup> He has done something unmentionable to the girls (A25:30); *šúq-mən* except: *hərām-ile gáwəra ʔəlli*<sup>1</sup> *šúq mən-diyux*<sup>1</sup> Any man is forbidden to me except you (A12:35). (2) **to allow** | *šoqənnux t-əzəṭ*<sup>1</sup> I shall let you go (A12:21); *də-šúqlən dāmxx*<sup>1</sup> Allow us to us sleep (A15:8); *lə-šəwəqən máttu bəsrá*<sup>1</sup> *t-ʔəzza ʔə-Núne gu-pümme*<sup>1</sup> I shall not let him put the meat of the nanny-goat Nune in his mouth (C7:6). (3) **to cause** | *ʔu-bróne díye šoqəxle bəsəm*<sup>1</sup> We shall cause his son to get better (A8:85).



*šwr* **I** (*šawar, šwirre, šwara*) **to jump, leap; to cross (a river)**. (1) **to jump, to leap** | *šwiréle l-pàlga*<sup>1</sup> He jumped down into their midst (A6:4); *šawar 'up-o-xèna*<sup>1</sup> He jumps also the other one (B11:15); *šwara baze* to jump repeatedly; *šwarat barane* (game of) leap-frog (literally: jumping sheep). (2) **to cross** | *báyí šóri xa-šàtta*<sup>1</sup> They needed to cross a river (A30:49); *lá 'awòðáxle 'áwowa gəšra*<sup>1</sup> *šáwəx réša réša d-ánna mýa*?<sup>1</sup> Should we not make a bridge for it so that we can cross this water? (A17:3). **II** *m-šwr* (*mšawar/mšūwər, mšuwərre, mšawore*) **to cause to jump; to cause to cross; to smuggle** | *'ína 'arwe mšure l-xá-'aθra xèna*<sup>1</sup> but the small cattle had been smuggled to another country (B5:162). **III** *m-šwr* (*mašwər, mušwərre, mašwore*) **to cause to jump; to cause to cross** | *mašurála b-a-gòt-mýa* It takes it across to the other side of the water (A9:2).

*šwy* **I** (*šawe, šwele, šwaya*) **to spread out (bed)**. **II** *m-šwy* (*mšawe, mšuwele, mšawoye*) **to lay out bed; to furnish (with cushions and carpets); to dress (stone)** | *ðá-'otəx*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya mšuwèθa*<sup>1</sup> One room was furnished (B5:199); *'arət-béθa y-áwa mšūwya*<sup>1</sup> The floor of the house was furnished (B5:201); *mármər mšuwèθa*<sup>1</sup> dressed marble (A40:8)

*šxd* **III** *m-šxd* (*mašxəd, mušxədle, mašxode*) **to give good news; to congratulate** | *ya-ṭara de-mašxədli* Oh bird, give me happy news (C2:22); *θéli mašəxdənnux*<sup>1</sup> I have come to congratulate you.

*šxlp* **Q** *m-šxlp* (*mšaxləp, mšuxləple, mšaxlope*) **to exchange; to change** | *mšuxləpla b-isəqyàθa*<sup>1</sup> They exchanged rings (A4:5); *'áwowa šamma mšaxəlpüle*<sup>1</sup> Change this name! (A7:2); *bás 'aθra šuxləpwale*<sup>1</sup> But the country changed (B5:75); *pišla mšuxəlpə maθwáθət qurðaye mušəlmàne*<sup>1</sup> They were then changed into Muslim Kurdish villages (B1:2).

*šxn* **I** (*šaxən, šxinne, šxana*) **to become hot** | *šxinne qàlyə*<sup>1</sup> The meat fat became hot (A23:9). **II** *m-šxn* (*mšaxən, mšuxənne, mšaxone*) **to heat** | *mšaxnànne 'ixàla*<sup>1</sup> I shall heat the food (A22:31); *'áwowa qimele múttəlla kθéθa rəš-núra mšaxònəlla*<sup>1</sup> He put the chicken on the fire to heat it up (A2:5).

*šxrn* **Q** *m-šxrn* (*mšaxrən, mšuxrənne, mšaxrone*) **to make black (with smoke)**

*šxš* → *šgš*

*šxtn* **Q** *m-šxtn* (*mšaxtən, mšuxtənne, mšaxtone*) **to become dirty; to dirty** | *lá mšáxtən bèθa*<sup>1</sup> Don't dirty the house!

*šy*<sup>2</sup> **I** (*šäye, šile/šele, šya'a*) **to plaster; to smear** | *'áyya 'ótax hox-šyalla*<sup>1</sup> We have plastered this room (A23:18); *šäyáxle dúša 'o-dàqra*<sup>1</sup> We smear the stick with honey (B14:11); *léle jyàra, 'šäyátte b-gùda*<sup>1</sup> (If) he does not pass water, throw him (literally: plaster him) against the wall (A30:40).

*šyðn* **Q** *m-šyðn* (*mšeyðan, mšuyðanne, mšeyðone*) **to become mad; to behave madly** | *'áy hár mšeyððne, 'šwára ndáya gu-d-án 'otáxe šluxèða*<sup>1</sup> She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around naked in the rooms (A4:17).

*šyl* **I** (*šayal, šille, šyala*) **to cough**

*šym* **I** (*šimle*) **to be devastated** | *šimle 'u-štimle*<sup>1</sup> He has suffered a devastating tragedy.

*šyn* **I** (*šayan, šinne, šyana*) **to smart** | *káki hóla šyána m-mexólta xamùšta*<sup>1</sup> My teeth are smarting from the spicy food. **II** *m-šyn* (*mšayan/mšáyan, mšayanne, mšayone*) **to become tame** | *torte yawne t-xa-qanna, xa pñixla-w xa mšuyanna* Two doves of one nest, one flew away and one became tame (C2:28).

*šyp* **I** (*šayap, šiple, šyapa*) **to rub, to erase, to delete** | *kúlla-mdi t-ínwa kθíwa šipalla-w*<sup>1</sup> They deleted everything that I had written (B1:19).

*šyr* **I** (*šayar, šurre, šyara*) **to stoke (fire)**

*šyš* **I** (*šayas, šišle, šyasa*) **to rock, to shake** | *'u-'áti dā-ráqðat šešátla gānax*<sup>1</sup> You should dance and shake yourself (A27:11); *šyásle káki*<sup>1</sup> My tooth is loose.

/T/

*tfq, tpq* **I** (*tafəq/taḫəq, tfiqle/tpiqle, tfaqa/tpaqa*) **to meet** (*b-* s.o.); **to come the way** (*b-* of s.o.); **to come across, to find (by chance)**. (1) **to meet** | *tfiqle biye* He met him; *b-tápqan biye*<sup>1</sup> I shall meet him (A4:21). (2) **to come the way of so.** | *bálki xa-māndi táfəq biyi*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps something will come my way (A20:1); *b-'úrxa tfiqele xá-xuwwə biye*<sup>1</sup> On the road a snake crossed his path (A1:4). (3) **to come across, to find** | *'ána xá-bena tfiqan xa-kísa hátxa mðlyəwa dáwa*<sup>1</sup> Once I came across a bag that was full like this of gold (A35:12); *tfiqele raš-d-ó sadāna Məsr*<sup>1</sup> He found that anvil of Egypt (A12:44). **II** *m-tfq* (*mtafəq, mtufəqle, mtafoqe*) **to make an agreement** | *'áw 'u-báxte mtufəqla m-ğðàðe*<sup>1</sup> He and his

wife made an agreement together (A18:13). **III** *m-tfɔ* (*matfəq*, *mutfəqle*, *matfəqe*) **to cause to meet; to cause to come across** | *'u-<sup>2</sup>aláha qəm-matfəqli biya díya 'àxxa*<sup>1</sup> God caused me to find her here (A4:26); *'an-tre-maláxe... t-wéwa mutəpəqalla b-gòàðe*<sup>1</sup> those two angels who had caused them to meet each other (A4:44); *xulása 'aláha mutəpəqalle gu-d-a-mđíta t-íla 'e-bráta d-o-málka*<sup>1</sup> In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was (A4:11).

*tɔbr* **Q** *m-tɔbr* (*mtagbər*, *mtugbərre*, *mtagbore*) **to look after, to administer** | *mtágəbrən bnòne*<sup>1</sup> *mtágəbrən gànì*<sup>1</sup> I shall look after my children and look after myself (A1:8); *mtagəbráwa qonyàni*<sup>1</sup> She would look after my animals (A21:37); *šùqle-<sup>2</sup>əlli*<sup>1</sup> *'àna mtagəbránne*<sup>1</sup> Leave him to me, I'll deal with him (A12:36); *bíš-yáðe mtagbərri*<sup>1</sup> He knows best how to manage things (A30:2).

*tɔn* **II** *m-tɔn* (*mtajən*, *mtujənnə*, *mtajone*) **to crown**

*tɔr* **II** *m-tɔr* (*mtajər*, *mtujərre*, *mtajore*) **to conduct business**

*tlm* **II** *m-tlm* (*mtaləm*, *mtuləmlə*, *mtalome*) **to discipline** | *'áw léle mtúlma*<sup>1</sup> He is undisciplined, he is badly behaved.

*tlp* **II** *m-tlp* (*mtaləp*, *mtuləple*, *mtalope*) **to ruin, to destroy, to harm** | *là mtalpótle*<sup>1</sup> *là-daqrət bíye*<sup>1</sup> Do not harm him, do not touch him (A26:73).

*tlpš* **Q** *m-tlpš* (*mtalpəš*, *mtulpəšle*, *mtalpoše*) **to whisper**

*tlq* **I** (*taləq*, *tliqle*, *tlaqa*) **to be lost; to perish** | *tliqli*<sup>1</sup> I am lost; *kisti tliqla* My purse is lost; *tálqi b-ganèy*<sup>1</sup> They will perish by themselves (A8:11); *xáye-diye tàlqi*<sup>1</sup> His life will be lost (A8:42). **II** (*mtaləq*, *mtuləqle*, *mtaloeq*) **to lose (tr.); to get rid of** | *mtulqáli kisti*<sup>1</sup> I have lost my purse; *'àna gárəg mtalqánna 'anna-yàle*<sup>1</sup> I have to get rid of these children (A8:7).

*tlty* **Q** *m-tlty* (*mtalte*, *mtulte*, *mtaltoye*) **to hang** | *hóle mtaltóye mən-<sup>2</sup>ilàna*<sup>1</sup> He is hanging from the tree.

*tlx* **I** (*taləx*, *tlixle*, *tlaxa*) **to collapse; to destroy**. (1) **to collapse** | *gúda tlixle*<sup>1</sup> The wall collapsed; *'ax-t-šəša*<sup>1</sup> *la-tàlx*<sup>1</sup> When it shakes, it will not (necessarily) collapse (D2:56). (2) **to destroy** | *kúl máθa t-íla tlixta 'iθ 'umra gáwa*<sup>1</sup> *'umránə kúlla tlixəlla*<sup>1</sup> Every village that was destroyed and had a church in it, they destroyed all the churches (in them) (B6:34); *tré-mánna tlixela nixela*<sup>1</sup> Two of them (the churches) were destroyed and obliterated (B1:5); *bəd-<sup>2</sup>áwwa náša tàlxəx*<sup>1</sup> Let's destroy with regard

to this man (= let's get rid of this man) (A30:41). **II** *m-tlx* (*mtaləx*, *mtuləxle*, *mtaloxe*) **to destroy, to devastate** | 'áθe *mtaləxlux* 'àw' He will eventually destroy you (A14:65).

*tly* **I** (*tale*, *tlele*, *tlaya*) **to hang** | *taləxle zága b-qðála dīya*' Let us hang a bell on her (the cat's) neck (A44:2); *m-ánna mujawharāt' t-wéwa təlye b-qðála d-ε-bràta*' some of the jewels which were hanging on the neck of the girl (A29:24).

*tmm* **II** *m-tmm* (*mtaməm/mtāməm*, *mtuməmle/mtüməmle*, *mtamome/mtāmome*) **to complete; to fulfil** | 'ən-'ánna *mtāməmàtla*' If you fulfil (these conditions)... (A12:2).

*tmtm* **Q** *m-tmtm* (*mtamtəm*, *mtumtəmle*, *mtamtome*) **to stutter**

*tmz* **II** *m-tmz* (*mtäməz*, *mtüməzle*, *mtämoze*) (K.) **to clean** | 'áwəwa *mtüməzəlle sūse dīye*' He cleaned his horse (A12:65); *bar-'o-náša sáwa šəlyele mtäməzəlla čənnəkéra dīya*' When that old man went down to clean around it (the pool)... (A14:77)

*tndl* **Q** *m-tndl* (*mtandəl*, *mtundəlle*, *mtandole*) **to sling; to hang**

*tnn* **Q** *m-tnn* (*mtantən*, *mtuntənle*, *mtantone*) **to smoke**

*tntr* **Q** *m-tntr* (*mtantər*, *mtuntərre*, *mtantore*) **to shake; to crave** | 'ay-bràta *zúrta hóla mtantóre 'ixàla*' The young girl is craving food.

*tnts* **Q** *m-tnts* (*mtantəs*, *mtuntəsle*, *mtantose*) **to drizzle**

*tnx* **II** *m-tnx* (*mtanəx*, *mtunəxle*, *mtanoxe*) **to sigh; to sob**

*tny* **I** (*tane*, *tnele*, *tnaya*) **to repeat; to plough a second set of furrows.**  
 (1) **to repeat, to follow suit** | *tnīli xà-xena*' (Hit) me again with another (blow) (A50:14). (2) **to plough a second set of furrows** | 'àw 'i-zàre 'u-'i-tàne' He ploughs (the first set of furrows) and then ploughs the second set (perpendicular to them). **II** *m-tny* (*mtane*, *mtunele*, *mtanoye*) **to recount, to tell** | *píštəla mtanóye δa-qəšəšət' tla-qàtu*' She began to tell a story to the cat (A14:2); 'aw-*mtunéle 'aw-xəlma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin*' He told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand (A11:9).

*tpn* **I** (*tapən*, *tpinne*, *tpana*) **to become mouldy**

*tpq* → *tfq*

*tpr* **I** (*tapər*, *tpirre*, *tpara*) **to threaten, to be aggressive** (*b-* to) | *tpirre biyi*' He threatened me.

*tpθ* **I** (*tapəθ*, *tpiile*, *tpaθa*) **to sneeze**

*tql* **I** (*taqəl*, *tqille*, *tqala*) **to weigh; to lift up** | *tqilele rése dÿe*<sup>1</sup> He raised his head (A8:41); *tqilalle*,<sup>1</sup> *tinalle l-xàse*<sup>1</sup> He picked him up and put him on his back (A22:40); *ʔáp-xa là-m,se taqǎlla*<sup>1</sup> Nobody can lift it (B10:74); *kút-xa... hátxa taqǎlwale gâne*<sup>1</sup> Everybody stood up straight (B16:24).

*tqtq* **Q** *m-tqtq* (*mtaqtəq*, *mtuqtəqle*, *mtaqtəqe*) **to laugh loudly, to cackle; to become fizzy** | *taqtaqyaθət baxtaθa* the cackling of the women; *másta ʔiman-t xám,sa mtaqtəqa*<sup>1</sup> When yoghurt becomes sour, it becomes fizzy.

*trgl* **Q** *m-trgl* (*mtargəl*, *mturgəlle*, *mtargole*) **to trip** | *mturgáltela gána biye*<sup>1</sup> She made herself trip over him (A27:40)

*trjm* **Q** (*mtarjəm*, *mturjəmlə*, *mtarjəme*) (A.) **to translate**

*trks* **Q** *m-trks* (*mtarkəs*, *mturkəsle*, *mtarkose*) **to build up embers of a fire to keep it burning**

*trmz* **Q** *m-trmz* (*mtarməz*, *mturməzle*, *mtarmoze*) **to bruise (skin); to wilt** | *mturmázla ʔəqli*<sup>1</sup> My foot is bruised; *qá-t ʔan-márre la-ʔáθi ʔilla dÿya*,<sup>1</sup> *mtarəmza*<sup>1</sup> so that diseases do not afflict it (the apple tree), and it wilts (B5:106).

*trp* **I** (*tarəp*, *triple*, *trapa*) **to blink; to quiver** | *ʔéne hóla trəpa*<sup>1</sup> His eyes are blinking; *ʔénat yámne hóla trəpa*<sup>1</sup> His right eye is quivering.

*trpθ* **Q** *m-trpθ* (*mtarpəθ*, *mturpəlle*, *mtarpəθe*) **to blink** → *trəpəθa*

*trq* **I** (*tarəq*, *trigle*, *traqa*) **to button up** | *trúq zìqux*<sup>1</sup> Wrap up well!

*trqð* **Q** *m-trqð* (*mtarqəð*, *mturqəðle*, *mtarqəðe*) **to frolic, to gambol**

*trql* **Q** *m-trql* (*mtarqəl*, *mturqəlle*, *mtarqole*) **to stumble, to trip; to fail (to do sth.)**

*trsy* **Q** *m-trsy* (*mtarse*, *mtursele*, *mtarsoye*) **to sustain, provide sustenance for**

*trš* **I** (*tarəs*, *trışle*, *traša*) **to be cured; to be made.** (1) **to be cured; to recover** | *brónux b-tàrəs*<sup>1</sup> Your son will be cured (A8:95). (2) **to be made** | *bálki t-ila mən-tàma trása ʔanna xráwe*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is from here that all this devastation is being wrought (A29:55). **II** *m-trš* (*mtarəs*, *mturəsle*, *mtarəse*) **to repair, to cure; to prepare, to construct** | *ʔm-léle pláxa, ʔana mtaršənne*<sup>1</sup> If it is not working, I shall repair it; *ʔanna Derəškñəye... ʔani mtaršəwa nəre*<sup>1</sup> These people from Derəške... they used

to make axes (B5:142); *məlxáwa 'íwa mtúrša m-qèsa*<sup>1</sup> A winnowing fork was made out of wood (B5:87).

*trtx* **Q** *m-trtx* (*mtartəx, mturtəxle, mtartoxe*) **to be angry, irritated**

*try* **I** (*tare, trele, traya*) **to become wet** | *xà-mənnəxu b-taréwa*<sup>1</sup> 'o-xéna là taréwa<sup>1</sup> One of you would get wet and the other would not get wet (A17:18); 'o-t-dáwəq nùne<sup>1</sup> tárya qùne<sup>1</sup> One who catches fishes gets his buttocks wet (D2:26); *tréle qam-məfra*<sup>1</sup> He was soaked in the rain.

*tslm* **Q** *m-tslm* (*mtasləm, mtusləmle, mtaslome*) (A.) **to hand over** | *súse diyə mtaslóməlle tla-xulàma*<sup>1</sup> He hands over his horse to the servant (A12:8); *tá-t mtasəlmənnux tla-bàbux*<sup>1</sup> so that I can hand you over (safely) to your father (A14:61).

*tsy* **I** (*tase, tsele, tsaya*) **to copulate (birds)**

*tšbx* **Q** *m-tšbx* (*mtašbəx, mtušbəxle, mtašboxe*) **to praise**

*tšts* **Q** *m-tšts* (*mtaštəš, mtuštəšle, mtaštəše*) **to whisper (secrets)** | 'ána náše hóla *mtaštəše benaθəy*<sup>1</sup> These people are whispering among themselves.

*twb* **II** *m-twb* (*mtawəb/mtāwəb, mtuwəble, mtawobe*) **to repent** | *mtuwəble qam-ʔàlaha*<sup>1</sup> He repented to God.

*twn* **I** (*tawən, twinne, twana*) **to become numb** | 'idət qaríwa twinna The hand of the best man is numb (holding the wedding tree) (B8:26).

*twr* **I** (*tawəx, twirre, twara*) **to break** | *xéna 'ámrat malkəle*<sup>1</sup> lá-maša t-torile<sup>1</sup> You see, it was the order of the king and they cannot disobey it (A8:9).

*txmn* **Q** *m-txmn* (*mtaxmən, mtuxmənne, mtaxmone*) (A.) **to think, to consider** | *klí mtaxəmnən*<sup>1</sup> Wait, let me think about it (A3:5); 'ay-gu-gána *mtuxmənna*<sup>1</sup> She thought to herself (A21:19); *lat-mtaxmóne mən-nàše*<sup>2</sup> Do you not think of people? (A25:60); *lá taxmənən 'ána bəd-zəndàna*<sup>1</sup> I do not care about jail (A26:44).

*txr* **I** (*taxəx, txirre, txara*) **to remember; to mention** | *taxrána xàbre*<sup>1</sup> I remember the words (B9:33); 'ax-txàra<sup>1</sup> as far as I remember; 'ána b-gáni là-taxrən m-áy<sup>1</sup> I myself do not remember that (B10:82); 'ó qašə-t-ín b-txárən 'alle diyə<sup>1</sup> the priest whom I remember (B15:83); *Šóšət Xére txirəlx*<sup>1</sup> You mentioned Šošət Xere (A38:8). **III** *m-txr* (*matxəx, mutxərre, matxore*) **to remind; to commemorate** | *matəxrúli tawalyáθa xène*<sup>1</sup> Remind me of other games (B11:32); *náše mīθe*<sup>1</sup> kút-xa 'itle xəzmáne *matxərre šəmme*<sup>1</sup> The dead people, each had relatives whose name he would commemorate (B16:23).

*txtx* **Q** *m-txtx* (*mtaxtx*, *mtuxtəxle*, *mtaxtoxe*) **to prod, to tickle**

*tyk* **I** (*tayək*, *tikle*, *tyaka*) **to have a bad name; to give a bad name** | *'əbɛle<sup>1</sup> la-tùklən<sup>1</sup>* It's shameful. Don't give us a bad name! (B15:90).

*tym* **I** (*tayəm*, *timle*, *tyama*) **to finish** | *xzáyən xa-xəzəzìnət dáwe,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni litle tyáma<sup>1</sup>* I saw a treasure of gold, (immense) without end (A11:7); *'áti tùmlla<sup>1</sup> šáwəwa šənnux,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-yànná<sup>1</sup> žine 'əllux<sup>1</sup>* You finish your seven years (of service), and I shall give Zine to you (A25:24); *kúl 'askarwáθa d-o-málka qam-tayámlla<sup>1</sup>* He finished off all the armies of the king (A29:62).

/Ṭ/

*tlz* **II** *m-tlz* (*mṭaləz*, *mṭuləzle*, *mṭaloze*) (K.) **to indulge** | *'i-mṭələz gáne<sup>1</sup>* He indulges himself.

/Ṭ/

*ʔl* **II** *m-ʔl* (*mṭawəl/mṭəwəl*, *mṭuwəlle*, *mṭawole*) **to play** | *yále zóre mṭawóle b-čəkke* The young children were playing with anklebones (A25:87); *šúryela mṭawóle b-šətrəmjáne<sup>1</sup>* They started playing chess (A26:63).

*tb<sup>2</sup>* **I** (*tābe*, *tbile/ibe*, *tba'a/ibaya*) **to sink; to make sink** | *tbile gu-miya<sup>1</sup>* He sank in the water; *tābánnux šəleti<sup>1</sup> l-šəttət... t-yamàθa<sup>1</sup>* I shall make you sink and go down to the bottom of the seas (A25:63).

*tbq* **II** *m-tbq* (*mṭābəq*, *mṭūbəqle*, *mṭāboqe*) (A.) **to be compressed** | *'iθwalən pərsə,<sup>1</sup> trə,<sup>1</sup> xa-xóθa xa-rəša,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-tābəqəwa<sup>1</sup>* We had flat stones, one beneath and one above, so that it (the cheese) was compressed (B10:23).

*ʔl* **I** (*tāle*, *ʔlile/ʔlele*, *ʔla'a/ʔlaya*) **to sleep** | *mállá hóle tíwa gu-kúrsa ʔlile<sup>1</sup>* The mullah sat in a chair and fell asleep (A2:3); *béna 'aw-ʔāle,<sup>1</sup> xə-šabθa ʔāle<sup>1</sup>* When he used to sleep, he used to sleep for a week (A31:6). **III** *m-ʔl* (*maʔle*, *muʔlele*, *maʔloye*) **to put to sleep** | *muʔəlyə-gáne dīye<sup>1</sup>* He pretended to be asleep (A30:42).

*ʔlb* **I** (*ʔaləb*, *ʔlible*, *ʔlaba*) **to ask, to request; to request betrothal, to betroth**. (1) **to ask, to request** | *hər y-áwəwə ʔlaba mən-'álaha<sup>1</sup>* He was always making requests from God (A3:1); *mu-báyət bas-ʔlībən<sup>1</sup>* Whatever you want just ask (A8:38); *ʔalbənnə<sup>1</sup> masərqə dīye<sup>1</sup>* I shall ask him for his comb (A32:3). (2) **to request betrothal, to betroth** |

*'áyya talbæxlâ-llux*<sup>1</sup> We shall ask for her to be betrothed to you (A16:6); *'ána tlibtænwa l-brónæt màmí*<sup>1</sup> I was betrothed to my cousin (A13:14). (3) Idiom: *tlibæle xáṭer mænna*<sup>1</sup> He took his leave from her (literally: He sought respect from her) (A25:66). **II** *m-tlb* (*mṭaləb*, *mṭuləbble*, *mṭalobe*) **to perform marriage betrothal** | *y-azíwa tálòbe*<sup>1</sup> They would go to perform the betrothal (B5:6); *t-odéxi tálòbe*<sup>1</sup> Let us perform the betrothal (B5:6).

*ṭm*<sup>2</sup> **II** *m-ṭm*<sup>2</sup> (*mṭámə*, *mṭüməle*, *mṭámoye*) **to covet** | *náša gáræg lá mṭámə*<sup>1</sup> A man must not covet (A35:23).

*ṭmr* **I** (*ṭaməx*, *ṭmírre*, *ṭmara*) **to fill a hole in; to bury** | *baxyóna t-Šósət Xère*<sup>1</sup> *t-íla-qṭíltá*<sup>1</sup> *'u-ṭmírta gu-'órət susáwàṭa*<sup>1</sup> Weeping is for Šósət Xere, who has been killed and buried in the horses' manger (A38:7). **II** *m-ṭmr* (*mṭaməx*, *mṭumərre*, *mṭamore*) **to bury** | *hola-zála mṭamòrəlle*<sup>1</sup> They are going to bury him (A17:7); *'áwəwa náša nablátte ṭamərətli*<sup>1</sup> Take this man and bury him (A22:37); *'áy wəla-'á-brata xarəṭət mṭúmra gu-Düre*<sup>1</sup> That was the last girl who was buried in Dure (B1:12).

*ṭmš* **I** (*ṭaməš*, *ṭmišle*, *ṭmaša*) **to dip; to immerse** | *gu-d-an-míya ṭamšiwəla*<sup>1</sup> They (the priests) immersed them (the babies) in the water (of the baptismal font) (B8:43).

*ṭpṭp* **Q** *m-ṭpṭp* (*mṭaptəp*, *mṭuptəple*, *mṭaptope*) **to tap, to bang; to knock bread dough against hands alternately**

*ṭpy* **I** (*tape*, *ṭpele*, *ṭpaya*) **to catch up; to kindle (fire); to infect.** (1) **to catch up** | *ṭapéle xále díye*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-áy-maṭa*<sup>1</sup> He caught up with his uncle in that village (A28:11); *har-ṭapənne xlúla*<sup>1</sup> I shall reach the wedding (before it finishes) (A35:6); *kəmət t-árqena*<sup>1</sup> *tópe har-ṭapyáli*<sup>1</sup> However much I run, a gun will still reach me (B9:3). (2) **to kindle (fire)** | *mṭapəxwa núra bíye*<sup>1</sup> We would set fire to it (B5:153); *xzəla*<sup>1</sup> *'ína núra ṭəpya b-béṭe díye*<sup>1</sup> They saw that fire had been kindled in his house (A48:3). (3) **to infect, to afflict** | *ṭəpya xərsəle*<sup>1</sup> He is afflicted with leprosy (A32:21). **II** *m-ṭpy* (*mṭape*, *mṭupele*, *mṭapoye*) **to kindle (fire); to infect, to afflict.** (1) **to kindle (fire)** | *mṭapəxwa núra bíye*<sup>1</sup> We would set fire to it (B5:153). (2) **to infect, to afflict** | *mṭúpye xərsa* He is afflicted with leprosy; *mṭúpyəlle zárba b-Qaṭina*<sup>1</sup> He dealt a blow against Qaṭina (A52:17); *Yuwánəs mṭupyəle gúrza 'álle díye*<sup>1</sup> Yuwanəs struck him with his club (A52:19). **III** *m-ṭpy* (*matpe*, *mutpele*, *matpoye*) **to kindle (fire)** | *matpəxle béṭa*<sup>1</sup> We shall set fire to the house (A26:52).



*tqtq* **Q** *m-tqtq (mtaqtəq, mtuqtəqle, mtaqtəqe)* **to knock (at the door)** | *la-mtáqtəq l-tárət nàše<sup>1</sup> ta-t-náše la-mtáqtəqi l-táru<sup>1</sup>* Do not knock on people's door so that people do not knock on your door (D2:3).

*trð* **I** (*tarəð, tridle, trada*) **to drive away** | *'ána qəm-tarðil<sup>1</sup>* They drove me out (A2:11); *tarðáxle m-madrása<sup>1</sup>* We shall expel him from school (A14:6).

*trn* **I** (*tarən, trinne, trana*) **to twist** | *tarníwala hátxa trána<sup>1</sup>* They twisted it (the wick of the lamp) (B10:82).

*trp* **I** (*tarəp, triple, trapa*) **to seize, to catch (prey); to attack; to fling.** (1) **to seize, to catch (prey)** | *trípalla žime<sup>1</sup>* They seized Zine (A26:3); *qatúða trípala 'aqùbra<sup>1</sup>* The cat has caught a mouse. (2) **to attack** (*l-s.o.*) | *trípele<sup>1</sup> l-d-ò-kalba<sup>1</sup>* It (the wolf) attacked the dog (B15:38); *trípela l-gòðàðe<sup>1</sup>* They attacked each other (A20:10). (3) **to fling, to throw** | *šqiləle xa-šəndòxa<sup>1</sup> trípalle l-gota-diya<sup>1</sup>* He took a smooth stone and threw it at her (A30:37); *qəm-tarpáli gu-məššara<sup>1</sup>* She (the mule) threw me into the paddy field basin (B5:132).

*trs* **I** (*taras, trisle, trasa*) **to become fat** | *'ərwe mtagrəxwala qa-t-tarsíwa<sup>1</sup>* We would look after sheep so that they became fat (B5:139). **III** *m-trs (matras, mutrasle, matrose)* **to make fat**

*trtm* **Q** *m-trtm (mṭartəm, mṭurtəmlə, mṭartəme)* **to grumble** | *hár hole-mṭartəme 'u-łlaba<sup>1</sup>* He is always grumbling and asking (for things) (A3:2).

*trx* **I** (*tarax, trixle, traxa*) **to lie down flat; to flatten.** (1) **to lie down flat, to sprawl** | Typically used referring to somebody fast asleep: *hóle trixa<sup>1</sup>* He is fast asleep. (2) **to cause to lie flat, to flatten** | *páwxa qəm-tarəxla xətte<sup>1</sup>* The wind has blown down the wheat; *mátra hóla traxəlla xətte l-ə'ara<sup>1</sup>* The rain is flattening the wheat on the ground. **II** *m-trx (mṭarax, mṭurəxle, mṭarəxe)* **to card, to flatten wool by combing; to grow shoots** | *'ilána hóle mṭarəxe tərxe<sup>1</sup>* The tree is growing shoots.

*try* **I** (*tare, trele, traya*) **to drive; to lead; to ride (on an animal); to sail; to run.** (1) **to drive, to lead** | *hóle traya 'ərwe b-qəsa<sup>1</sup>* He is driving the sheep with a stick; *yáðət traya 'atnəbəl<sup>2</sup>* Do you know how to drive a car? (2) **to ride (on an animal)** | *hár hole-gu-čól b-traya<sup>1</sup>* He is still riding in the countryside (A8:40). (3) **to sail** | *gáni trithəla<sup>1</sup>* The boat sailed off (A14:38). (4) **to run** | *téla mo-tréle 'əlla<sup>1</sup>* How the fox ran to it! (A49:4). (5) Idiom: *mábsəm 'u-tare kəf<sup>1</sup>* He will enjoy himself and have a good time (A2:8). **III** *m-try (matre, mutrele, matroye)* **to ride (an animal)** | *hóle matroye sùsa<sup>1</sup>* He is riding a horse; *matréwa matroye xəlana<sup>1</sup>* He was riding hard (A8:39).

*tšy* **II** *m-tšy* (*mtaše, mtušele, mtašoye*) **to hide (tr. and intr.)** | *gu-bóye díye mtušyalla gáne díye*<sup>1</sup> It (the snake) hid itself in its hole (A1:15); *mtašálla gánux baràye*<sup>1</sup> You should hide outside (A22:22).

*twq* **II** *m-twq* (*mṭāwəq, mṭūwəqlə, mṭāwoqe*) (A.) **to encircle, to besiege** | <sup>2</sup>*Amedía mṭūwəqalla*<sup>1</sup> They encircled Amedia (A25:77).

*twx* **I** (*tawəx, twixlə, twaxa*) **to shatter** | *lišáne rixa*<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>*u-xáše twixa*<sup>1</sup> His tongue is long, but his back is broken (D2:67).

*twy* (i) **I** (*tawe, twele, twaya*) **to roast (intr.)** | *twèle lábba ’alle díye*<sup>1</sup> She felt sorry for him (A47:1). **II** *m-twý* (*mṭawe, mṭuwele, mṭawoye*) **to roast** | *mṭawáxwa bəsrá*<sup>1</sup> We used to roast meat (B10:6).

*twy* (ii) **I** (*tawe, twele, twaya*) **to be worth** | *la tawε bəske díya* Her locks are indeed valuable, are greatly valued (C2:41). → *tuwe*

*txn* **I** (*taxən, txinne, txana*) **to grind, to mill** | *masléwala ’ərxε,*<sup>1</sup> *taxnəwala,*<sup>1</sup> *péšī qámxa*<sup>1</sup> They would take it (the wheat *xətte*) down to the water-mill and grind it and it would become flour (B5:15).

*ty* **I** (*tāye, tele, tāya*) **to search; to wander.** (1) **to search** | *tāya ’əlla*<sup>1</sup> (She is) searching for her (A25:6); *tólexu xa-šúla* Search for a job for yourselves (A30:1); <sup>2</sup>*an-xéne pálti tāyi bəθra*<sup>1</sup> The others go looking for them (B11:14). (2) **to wander** | *riqlə mən-’Íran θèle,*<sup>1</sup> *tele gu-Ṭiyàre*<sup>1</sup> He fled from Iran and came and wandered in Ṭiyare (B6:29).

*tym* **I** (*tayəm, tímle, tyama*) **to taste.** **III** *m-ṭm* (*māṭəm, müṭəmle, māṭome*) **to cause to taste** | *qəm-māṭəmíle xəlyá*<sup>1</sup> They gave him a taste of milk (A28:31).

*tyn* **I** (*tayən, tinne, tyana*) **to load, to carry; to become pregnant** | *xamənnéxu tayənwá ’o-xəna*<sup>1</sup> One of you would carry the other (A17:18); *hóle tina kértət qəse*<sup>1</sup> *l-xəše*<sup>1</sup> He is carrying a load of wood on his back (A15:13); *qəm-tənáli xása díya*<sup>1</sup> She carried me on her back (A14:96); *tinna*<sup>1</sup> She became pregnant. **III** *m-ṭn* (*māṭən, müṭənnε, māṭone*) **to load**

*typ* **I** (*tayəp, tiple, tyapa*) **to float** | *míya ’i-tépi b-rəša*<sup>1</sup> The water floats on the top (of the yoghurt) (B6:42).

*tyš* **I** (*tayəš, tišle, tyáša*) **to besmear, to cover** | *ṭešəxle qurtánət xmára dəmma*<sup>1</sup> We shall besmear the donkey blanket with blood (A14:17); <sup>2</sup>*an-háwe pláṭa mən-’ərxε tīša qámxa,*<sup>1</sup> *lá hāmánət ’əlle*<sup>1</sup> If he comes out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him (D2:61).

## /v/

*vdy* **II** *m-vdy* (*mvǎde, mvudele, mvǎdoye*) **to move aside** | *mvǎdo mvǎdo!*<sup>1</sup> Move out of the way! (A39:12).

*vlvl* **Q** *m-vlvl* (*mvalvǎl, mvulvǎlle, mvalvole*) **to sprout**

*vrvr* **Q** *m-vrvr* (*mvarvǎr, mvurvǎrre, mvarvore*) **to croak (frog)**

## /w/

*wdy* **III** (*mawde, mudele, mawdoye*) **to confess, to make confession** | *túwǎxwa ʔána-w xóni mawdòye<sup>1</sup> qáša Wárda mawdòye<sup>1</sup>* I and my brother would sit and make confession, make confession to the priest Warda (B8:17).

*wfǫ* **II** *m-wfǫ* (*mwafǫq, mwufǫqle, mwafǫqe*) (A.) **to agree** | *ʔn-ʔáti mwǎfǫqǫt qat-gorǎnne Gozǎli,<sup>1</sup> brónux b-tǎrǎš<sup>1</sup>* If you agree for me to marry Gozali, your son will be cured (A8:95).

*wɛwɛn* **Q** *m-wɛwɛn* (*mwanwǎn, mwunwǎnne, mwanwone*) **to twitter, to chirp (birds, insects)**

*wqɛwq* **Q** *m-wqɛwq* (*mwɛqɛwǫq, mwuqɛwǫqle, mwɛqɛwǫqe*) **to croak (frogs)**

*wrθ* **II** *m-wrθ* (*mwarǎθ, mwurǎtle, mwaroθe*) (A.) **to inherit**

*wɛwɛr* **Q** *m-wɛwɛr* (*mwarwǎr, mwurwǎrre, mwarwore*) **to roar**

*wɛwɛs* **Q** *m-wɛwɛs* (*mwaswǎs, mwuswǎsle, mwaswose*) **to twitter (birds)**

*wɛwɛs* **Q** *m-wɛwɛs* (*mwaswǎs, mwuswǎsle, mwaswose*) **to squeak (mouse)**

## /x/

*xb* **III** *m-xb* (*maxǎb/mǎxǎb, muxǎble/mǎxǎble, maxobe/mǎxobe*) **to love; to fall in love; to like** | *muxǎbla gǎǎǎde<sup>1</sup>* They fell in love with each other (A4:4); *ʔn-mǎxǎbǎt pǎšǎt ʔǎxxa,<sup>1</sup> ʔáti pǎšǎt malǎkθa šǎpi<sup>1</sup>* If you would like to stay here, you will become queen in my place (A4:42).

*xbθ* **I** (*xǎbǎθ, xǎbidle, xǎbǎθa*) **to embrace. II** *m-xbθ* (*mǎxǎbǎθ, mxubǎdle, mxabǎθe*) **to bury (dead)** | *dǎrye qam-šǎmšǎ,<sup>1</sup> t-lǎ mǎmǎdǎre,<sup>1</sup> t-lǎ mǎxǎbǎθe<sup>1</sup>* They

(the corpses of the dead) are placed in the sun, without burial or funeral (B9:32).

*xbl* **II** (*mxabal, mxuballe, mxabole*) **to become cold**

*xbr* **III** *m-xbr* (*maxbær, muxbærre, maxbore*) **to telephone**

*xčxč* **Q** *m-xčxč* (*mxačxáč, mxučxáčle, mxačxočé*) (§1.4.6.) **to poke, to prod (the ground)** | *hóle mxačxóčé gu-<sup>2</sup>ára<sup>1</sup>* He is poking in the ground; *hóle mxačxóčé káke<sup>1</sup>* He is picking his teeth.

*xdm* **I** (*xadám, xdimle, xdama*) (A.) **to serve** | *'ána xdimli gu-<sup>2</sup>àskar<sup>1</sup>* I served in the army.

*xđp* **I** (*xǎđe, xđile/xđele, xđa<sup>2</sup>a/xđaya*) **to roll up, to wrap, to twist.** (1) **to roll up, to wrap** | *qəm-xǎđíla hátxa t-la-qerálèy<sup>1</sup>* They wrapped them (in clothes), like this, so that they would not be cold (A8:12). (2) **to twist** | *dalıθa xđíta-<sup>2</sup>alla síqta mlıθa 'ənwè<sup>1</sup>* A vine full of grapes had grown up and twisted around it (A43:2); *šađíθa 'i-xǎđàwa<sup>1</sup>* The stream twisted (A8:13); *'i-qéma xa-dalıθat xùwwe<sup>1</sup> 'i-xǎða l-án tre-xoríyàθa<sup>1</sup>* A wild vine grows up and winds around those two willow trees (A26:91).

*xđr* **I** (*xadər, xđirre, xđara*) **to go around; to wander; to search; to turn round; to turn into.** (1) **to go around, to turn round** | *xad්රáxewa bâte<sup>1</sup> 'u-ǰámáxwa mändiyàne<sup>1</sup>* We would go around the houses and collect various things (B5:156); *'aw-yaşıla xéna xadər-allux<sup>1</sup>* The other corner will turn round towards you (A12:25); *kúlla xđirta<sup>1</sup> 'Amedía<sup>1</sup>* Amedia was completely surrounded (A25:79). (2) **to wander** | *xà-yoma<sup>1</sup> dábba xđara-wawa gu-turàne<sup>1</sup>* One day a bear was wandering around the mountains (A20:1); *'u-xišele<sup>1</sup> b-ürxa<sup>1</sup> xđàra<sup>1</sup> m-máθa l-màθa<sup>1</sup>* He went on the road, wandering from village to village (A4:10). (3) **to search** (*baθər* for) | *hon-zála<sup>1</sup> xđara báθər báxta ta-bròni<sup>1</sup>* I am going looking for a wife for my son (A4:9). (4) **to turn round, to turn over** | *xđáranwa l-ày-goti<sup>1</sup> 'áqli tíwla š-<sup>2</sup>áqlət bàxta<sup>1</sup>* I was turning over to my (other) side and my leg settled on the leg of the woman (A16:11); *m-ða-gòta<sup>1</sup> zepátwala l-d-ó-geba xéna<sup>1</sup> qa-t xad්රíwa qərṭàle-u<sup>1</sup> síla msapqətwale<sup>1</sup>* You would push from one side to the other so that the baskets would turn round and so empty out the manure (B5:137). (5) **to turn into** (marginal) | *dámma la-xadər l-mìya<sup>1</sup>* Blood does not turn into water (D2:40). **III** *m-xđr* (*maxđər, muxđærre, maxđore*) **to cause to go around; to turn round** | *maxđríla 'a-k<sup>2</sup>àlo<sup>1</sup> qúrbət bèθa<sup>1</sup>* They take the bride around (the village) towards her house (B5:38); *màxđorra<sup>1</sup>* Turn it (the egg) round! (B5:59).

- xđy* **I** (*xaðe*, *xðele*, *xðaya*) **to rejoice, to be happy** | *xðələxu bíya*<sup>1</sup> You were happy with it (A5:10). **III** (*maxðe*, *muxðele*, *maxðoye*) **to cause to rejoice; to make happy**
- xjl* **I** (*xqəł*, *xjille*, *xjala*) (A.) **to be terrified** | *xjilli*<sup>1</sup> I am terrified. **III** *m-xjl* (*maxjəl*, *muxjəlle*, *maxjole*) **to terrify**
- xkk* **I** (*xakək*, *xkikle*, *xkaka*) **to laugh** | *xkikle bíyi*<sup>1</sup> He laughed at me (A22:8); *qa-mòdit xkàka*?<sup>1</sup> Why are you laughing? (A41:4). → *gxx*
- xlp* **III** *m-xP* (*maxle*, *muxlele*, *maxloye*) **to give a gift** | *maxloye xalleta* give a present
- xP* **I** (*xǎle*, *xlile*, *xlaʿa*) **to bend, to stoop** | *xəgga xliya* type of *xəgga* dance in which dancers bend their knees
- xldy* **Q** *m-xldy* (*mxalde*, *mxuldele*, *mxaldoye*) **to dig, to excavate**
- xll* **II** *m-xll* (*mxaləl/mxǎləl*, *mxuləlle/mxüləlle*, *mxalole/mxǎlole*) **to wash** | *mxüləltəlla ʿay-dükθa*<sup>1</sup> She washed that place (A17:27); *mxülləlla páθe dīye-w*<sup>1</sup> He washed his face (A21:15); *mxulálla ʿamàne*<sup>1</sup> She washed the dishes (A21:20).
- xlm* (i) **I** (*xaləm*, *xlimle*, *xlama*) **to become thick** | *bár mǧǎrníwa xalmíwa*<sup>1</sup> *xà-siʿa*<sup>1</sup> *yan-trè-siʿe*<sup>1</sup> *yan-!lā-siʿe*<sup>1</sup> after they had grown up and become one, two or three spans thick (B5:207). **III** *m-xlm* (*maxləm*, *muxləmle*, *maxlome*) **to make thick** | *ʿi-maxəlmíwa ʿúpra taqriban xamšī santíye*<sup>1</sup> They made the (layer of) mud about fifty centimetres thick.
- xlm* (ii) **I** (*xaləm*, *xlimle*, *xlama*) **to dream**
- xlp* **II** *m-xlp* (*mxaləp*, *mxuləple*, *mxalope*) **to exchange** | *mxoləplən ʿisəqyaθa* We exchanged rings (C2:20).
- xlq* (i) **I** (*xaləq*, *xliqle*, *xlaqa*) **to create** | *ʿána qəm-xaləqli ʿàlaha*<sup>1</sup> God created me (A25:14); *ʿàlaha qəm-xaləqli*<sup>1</sup> *yóma qamàya*<sup>1</sup> *rèš*<sup>1</sup> God has created for me on the first day a head (A25:14).
- xlq* (ii) **I** (*xaləq*, *xliqle*, *xlaqa*) (A.) **to lock, to close with a lock; to button up** | *xliqla tǎra*<sup>1</sup> She locked the door (A17:26).
- xlş* (i) **I** (*xaləş*, *xlişə*, *xlaşə*) (A.) **to finish; to save. (1) to finish** | *ʿu-ʿəm-lá muθyàle*<sup>1</sup> *ham-zille xlişli mənne-dīye*<sup>1</sup> If he does not bring her back, (it would) also (be good since) he would perish and I would be free of him (A8:34). (2) **to save** | *ʿati qəm-xalşətlí*<sup>1</sup> *mən-d-áwəwa mòθa*<sup>1</sup> You have saved me from death (A14:35). **II** *m-xlş* (*mxaləş*, *mxuləşle*, *mxaləşe*)

**to save** | *m-kās-gāne qām-mdabǝrra<sup>1</sup> mxalóse xāye díye<sup>1</sup>* He made this up himself to save his life (A39:6); *xákma mxulšála gána<sup>1</sup>* Some saved themselves (B6:18).

*xlš* (ii) **I** (*xalās, xliša, xlaša*) **to tighten, to squeeze** | *xá-šliwa xlištanne gu-<sup>2</sup>ǝdi<sup>1</sup> m-zdùθi<sup>1</sup>* I gripped a cross in my hand out of fear (B9:12).  
synon. *qmaṭa*

*xlt* **I** (*xalāt, xliṭle, xlaṭa*) (A.) **to err, to make a mistake** | *ʿaláha lā-xalāt<sup>1</sup>* God does not make a mistake (A6:3); *léwewa xliṭa<sup>1</sup>* He had not erred (A15:19).

*xlw* **I** (*xalu, xlule/xliwle, xlawe*) **to milk** | *qèdamta<sup>1</sup> xálwi tawǝrta<sup>1</sup>* Early in the morning they milk a cow (B5:111).

*xly* **I** (*xale, xlele, xlaya*) **to become sweet. III** *m-xly* (*maxle, muxlele, maxloye*) **to make sweet**

*xm<sup>2</sup>* **I** (*xǎme, xmíle/xmele, xma<sup>2</sup>a/xmayá*) **to ferment; to rise (dough)** | *deréwa xmíra gáwa díye<sup>1</sup> xǎmèwa<sup>1</sup>* They would put yeast in it (the dough) and it rose (B5:16). **II** *m-xm<sup>2</sup>* (*mxǎme, mxǎmele, mxǎmoye*) **to leaven (tr.)** | *déré xmíra gáwe díye<sup>1</sup> ʿu-mxǎmèle<sup>1</sup>* They put yeast in it and leaven it (B5:100).

*xml* **I** (*xaməl, xmílle, xmála*) **to enjoy oneself** | *ʿána w-áti xámləx hal-mbàdla<sup>1</sup>* You and I will enjoy ourselves until the morning (A8:50); *píšla ṭla-yǎrxə<sup>1</sup> ma-t-xmílla mən-d-o-yála<sup>1</sup>* They stayed three months, so much did they enjoy themselves with that young man (A14:84). **II** *m-xml* (*mxaməl, mxuməlle, mxamole*) **to put on festive clothes; to decorate festively** | *mxámli qa-xlùla<sup>1</sup>* They dress up for a wedding (B10:31); *mxamlála gána<sup>1</sup>* Let her adorn herself with festive clothes (A26:77); *méθe... kòðanta... mxamlíwala-w<sup>1</sup>* They bring a mule and decorate it (B5:37); *lwíše mxámle<sup>1</sup> júllət ʿaθurǎye<sup>1</sup>* They were dressed up festively in Assyrian clothes (B15:79). **III** *m-xml* (*maxməl, muxməlle, maxmole*) **to cause to be merry, to entertain** | *ʿáp-xa mǎnnéxu léle l-zmárta xa-màndi<sup>1</sup> maxmálleni hox-tíwe ʿàxxa?<sup>2</sup>* Is anyone of you for a song or something to entertain us while we sit here? (A35:7)

*xmq* **I** (*xaməq, xmiqle, xmaqa*) **to rot (food)**

*xmr* **I** (*xamə; xmirre, xmara*) **to ferment. III** *m-xmr* (*maxmə; muxmərre, maxmore*) **to cause to ferment**

*xmš* **I** (*xaməš, xmišle, xmaša*) **to go sour**

*xmxxm* **Q** *m-xmxxm* (*mxamxəm, mxumxəmle, mxamxome*) **to become hot, feverish**

*xmy* **I** (*xame, xmele, xmayə*) **to stay; to shelter; to dwell; to make a livelihood.** (1) **to stay** | *xámən gu-jàma*<sup>1</sup> I shall stay in the mosque (A17:5). (2) **to shelter** | *líθ ču-dúkθa xáme gawe-diye*<sup>1</sup> There was no place to shelter (B9:3). (3) **to dwell, to live** | *xméle gu-tùra*<sup>1</sup> He dwelt in the mountains (A27:2); *'u-náše xaméwa kúlla kúlfət m-gòàðe*<sup>1</sup> All the family lived together (B5:200). (4) **to make a livelihood** | *yawíwala xà-məndi, xà-ləxma, trè-ləxme, 'ap-'áyya xamyáwa biye-diye*<sup>1</sup> They gave her (the baker woman) something, a loaf of bread, two loaves, and she made a livelihood by this (B13:17). **II** *m-xmy* (*mxame, mxumele, mxamoye*) **to keep, to look after; to bury.** (1) **to keep, to look after** | *sátwa la-y-awéwa réčəl rəba*<sup>1</sup> *fa-'ánna mxaməwala*<sup>1</sup> In winter there were not many dairy products, so they kept them (for consumption in winter) (B6:167); *'áyya bəxta lá-mšela mxuməla 'ərwə*<sup>1</sup> The woman could not keep the sheep (A10:6); *'ən-mxamətti, pəšən xa-xulāma gu-béθux*<sup>1</sup> If you take me in, I shall become a servant in your home (A14:59); *'ánna gəřəg xaməxla-w' masiməx bala 'əlla*<sup>1</sup> We must care for them and look after them (A8:15). (2) **to bury** | *méθəx 'upra mxaməxla*<sup>1</sup> Let us bring soil and bury them (A37:19); *dúkθət xaməθət 'anide*<sup>1</sup> a place for burying the deceased (B3:19).

*xnq* **I** (*xanəq, xniqlə, xnaqa*) **to strangle; to drown (tr and intr.)** | *díya xanqənnəx*<sup>1</sup> I'll throttle you right now (B4:19); *Čúxo hox-xniqəlle*<sup>1</sup> We have drowned Čuxo (A7:21); *xniqlə gu-miya*<sup>1</sup> He has drowned in the water; *náše mšurəla xnəqa*<sup>1</sup> People began to drown (B6:18).

*xny* (i) **I** (*xane, xnele, xnaya*) **to honour; to be honoured, to be lucky** | *xnéli biyux*<sup>1</sup> I am honoured by you (i.e. I am honoured to meet you); *xnəla brati. 'an-'ərwə šime píšla d-əy*<sup>1</sup> My daughter is lucky. These numerous sheep have become hers (A32:16).

*xny* (ii) **III** *m-xny* (*maxne/məxən, muxnele, maxnoye*) (§8.14.4.) **to yearn for, to miss** | *'o-t-Bábəl muxəna mən-xóne diye gu-Ninəwe*<sup>1</sup> The one (i.e. the king) in Babylon missed his brother in Nineveh (A13:1).

*xnzr* **Q** *m-xnzr* (*mxanzəř, mxunzərre, mxanzore*) **to become fuming with anger, to make a scene**

*xpəq* **I** (*xapəq, xpīqlə, xpaqa*) **to embrace; to catch in one's arms** | *šwírre 'u-qəm-xapqənnə*<sup>1</sup> He jumped and I caught him in my arms.

*xpr* **I** (*xap̄ə̄, xp̄irre, xpara*) **to dig** | ʾən-báyət zārət̄le,<sup>1</sup> xap̄rət̄le šáwpe diyē<sup>1</sup> If you want to plant it, you dig its place (B5:103).

*xprp* **Q** *m-xprp* (*mxap̄rəp̄, mxup̄rəple, mxap̄rope*) **to dig about, to poke about**

*xpxp* **Q** *m-xpxp* (*mxap̄xəp̄, mxup̄xəple, mxap̄xope*) **to be faint** | hóle mxap̄xópe lābbi<sup>1</sup> My heart is faint.

*xpy* **I** (*xape, xpele, xpayā*) **to crouch, to huddle** | kθéθa xp̄íθele rās̄-bē<sup>1</sup> The chicken is sitting on the eggs; xa-šawə̄rwa<sup>1</sup> ʾo-xéna t-xap̄èwa<sup>1</sup> One person would jump and the other would crouch down (in game of šwara barane leap-frog).

*xqr* **I** (*xaq̄ə̄, xq̄irre, xq̄ara*) **to honour; to praise** | xáqr̄ən b̄iyux<sup>1</sup> I honour you; xáq̄ə̄r b-gàne<sup>1</sup> He is conceited. **II** *m-xqr* (*mxaq̄ə̄, mxuq̄ə̄rre, mxaq̄ore*) **to honour** | p̄àq̄ə̄ð bába ʾazíza,<sup>1</sup> xq̄ira,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áyya d̄umye mxùq̄ra<sup>1</sup> Welcome dear, esteemed father, honoured in this world (A40:12).

*xrbq* **Q** *m-xrbq* (*mxarbaq̄, mxurbəq̄le, mxarboqe*) **to knot together**

*xrdy* **Q** *m-xrdy* (*mxarde, mxurdele, mxardoye*) **to surround** | p̄išla mxurdéθa m-kúlla gewàna<sup>1</sup> It was surrounded on every boundary (B1:15)

*xrj* **I** (*xarə̄j, xr̄ijle, xr̄aja*) (A.) **to spend; to disburse**

*xrm* **I** (*xarəm, xrimle, xr̄ama*) **to be banned**. **III** *m-xrm* (*maxrəm, muxrəmle, maxrome*) **to ban, to forbid; to consider unclean**

*xrmš* **Q** *m-xrmš* (*mxarməš, mxurməšle, mxarmoše*) **to feed (to animals), to let (animals) feed on grass**

*xrp* **I** (*xarəp̄, xrip̄le, xrap̄ā*) **to become sharp**. **III** *m-xrp* (*maxrəp̄, muxrəp̄le, maxxrope*) **to sharpen** | ʾáθe maxrəp̄e<sup>1</sup> It is sharpened (B11:17).

*xrpš* **Q** *m-xrpš* (*mxarp̄əš, mxurp̄əšle, mxarpoše*) **to search (for food); to mix up, to confuse** | guđi t-ʾəz̄zi d-ε-poše gu-ṭalana mxarpoše My churn (made) from my goat called ‘white spotted,’ which looked for food on the shady mountain (C5:3); qa-módit mxarp̄òšəlla?<sup>1</sup> Why are you making such a mess?

*xršn* **Q** *m-xršn* (*mxaršən, mxuršənne, mxaršone*) **to be without fruit (tree); to wither** | ʾilaneni mxuršənna Our tree has withered (B5:26).

*xrṭ* **I** (*xarəṭ, xr̄iṭle, xr̄aṭā*) **to bore, to gouge; to chisel; to trim** | xarṭāxla ʾéne diyē<sup>1</sup> Let’s gouge out his eye (A24:25); m-ay-góta m-ay-góta<sup>1</sup> xr̄iṭā



*xa-bôya*<sup>1</sup> On one side and on the other side a hole is bored (B5:145).

**III** *m-xrɿ* (*maxrɿt*, *muxrɿtɿle*, *maxrɿte*) **to cause to bore, to chisel, to trim.**

*xrw* **I** (*xaru*, *xrule/xriwɿle*, *xrawa*) **to be destroyed, to be spoilt** | *xáru bɛ̀θax*,<sup>1</sup> *b-réšax xàru*.<sup>1</sup> May your house be destroyed, destroyed over your head! (A50:12); *qá-t 'an-márre la-'áθi 'álla díya*,<sup>1</sup> *mtarəmza*,<sup>1</sup> *yán tarpáθa díya xàrwɿ*,<sup>1</sup> *xabúšta xàrwa*<sup>1</sup> so that diseases do not afflict it, whereby it wilts or its leaves are spoilt and the apple tree is spoilt (B5:106); *màsta*<sup>1</sup> *'áxlɿ mánna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwa*<sup>1</sup> You should eat the yoghurt without the crust being spoilt (A30:5); *xríwɿla šnθi*<sup>1</sup> I could not sleep; *xríwɿle lɿbba díya*<sup>1</sup> Her heart was broken (out of love) (A26:30). **III** *m-xrw* (*maxru*, *muxrule*, *maxrowe*) **to damage, to destroy; to do mischief** | *'u-Dùre*<sup>1</sup> *píštɛla muqyàmta*<sup>1</sup> *muxràwta*<sup>1</sup> *šawwà gáye*<sup>1</sup> *l-xànpɿ qatòle*<sup>1</sup> *t-mušəlmàne*<sup>1</sup> Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murders of Muslims (B2:2); *'áti bɛ̀θi muxrùlux*.<sup>1</sup> You have destroyed my house! (A23:32); *m-xúwwe hon-muxərwəlla*<sup>1</sup> I have wrecked (my relationship) with the snake (A1:10); *'áyya kúlla qəm-maxərwála*<sup>1</sup> She has messed it all up (the room) (A23:19); *'u-zála maxròwe*<sup>1</sup> (You) are going and doing mischief (A25:81).

*xrx* **I** (*xarəx*, *xrixle*, *xraxa*) **to singe, to burn** | *pálgət pərčəmtɛ díye*<sup>1</sup> *xrixla qəm-yòma*<sup>1</sup> Half of his sideburns was singed by the sun (A50:11). **II** *m-xrx* (*mxarəx*, *mxurəxle*, *mxarəxe*) **to burn, to scorch** | *káwɿ-w ráθi mxurəxalax*<sup>1</sup> You burnt my liver and my lungs (A38:8); *'Usman mxurxile jarge* He burnt the viscera of Usman (C7:10).

*xrxč* **Q** *m-xrxč* (*mxarəxč*, *mxurəxčle*, *mxarəxčɛ*) **to scribble**

*xrxr* **Q** *m-xrxr* (*mxarəxɿ*, *mxurəxɿre*, *mxarəxɿre*) **to snore** | *málla mšúryɛle mxarəxɿre*<sup>1</sup> The mullah started snoring (A2:3).

*xry* **I** (*xare*, *xrele*, *xraya*) **to defecate** | *kút-ile xiləlla xa-rəmšɿ-məndi*<sup>1</sup> *gu-bɛ̀θi*<sup>1</sup> *'áθe xarəla gu-bɛ̀θi*<sup>1</sup> Everyone who has eaten my dinner or the like (i.e. any food) in my house, let him come and defecate in my house (A7:5).

*xrz* **I** (*xarəz*, *xrizle*, *xrazá*) **to stab, to thrust; to plant; to string together** | *qəm-xarəzla xánjər gu-kàse*<sup>1</sup> He stabbed the dagger into his stomach; *mɛ̀θɛwale šəlla*,<sup>1</sup> *xarziwale*.<sup>1</sup> *xarziɛle gu-d-é məššàra*.<sup>1</sup> They would bring a seedling and plant it. They would plant it in the paddy field. (B7:12)

*xrzp* **Q** *m-xrzp* (*mxarəzəp*, *mxurəzəple*, *mxarəzəpe*) **to push**

*xsl* **I** (*xasəl, xsille, xsala*) **to be finished; to wean (an animal)**. (1) **to be finished, to come to an end** | *ha-t-xásli ʔan-xət̪te, ʔan-šəkwáne t-áwε ðà-ða wára*<sup>1</sup> Until the wheat came to an end, the ants were going in one by one (A36:5). (2) **to wean** | *báyən xaslónne ʔáwwa pàra*<sup>1</sup> I want to wean this lamb.

*xsp* **I** (*xasəp, xsiple, xsapa*) **to turn upside down, to invert** | *xsíple rəš-púmme diye*<sup>1</sup> Turn it on its head!; *qušárta xsípla l-pùmma<sup>1</sup> bráta plítla l-yàmma<sup>1</sup>* A pot has been turned upside down—the girl has come to resemble her mother (D2:35). Cf. *maqlobe* turn over, not necessarily turn on its head, e.g. a coin, a page of a book.

*xsr* **I** (*xasə, xsirre, xsara*) **to lose** | *ʔaw-plítle m-tawálda, ʔaw-xsirre*<sup>1</sup> He leaves the game, he has lost (A25:24). **III** *m-xsr (maxsə, muxsəre, maxsore)* **to lose (a game)** | *ʔlâ-ʔiθaθa muxsəre Mămo*<sup>1</sup> Mămo lost three rounds (of chest) (A26:66).

*xsxs* **Q** *m-xsxs (mxasxəs, mxusxəsle, mxasxose)* **to grind (teeth)**

*xsy* **I** (*xasε, xsele, xšaya*) **to castrate**

*xš* **I** (*xišle, xaša*) → *rxš*

*xšk* **II** *m-xšk (mxašək, mxušəkle, mxašəke)* **to darken (tr.), to blind** | *ʔálaha qəm-mxašəkla ʔenəy*<sup>1</sup> God blinded their eyes (B9:6).

*xšl* **I** (*xasəl, xšille, xšala*) **to crush with a pestle and mortar (xašola-w xašolta); to throw down** | *sáre xašlaxwala b-xašolta*<sup>1</sup> We would crush barley with a mortar (B10:12); *šišme xšile*<sup>1</sup> crushed sesame (B10:18); *qəm-xašalle ʔàra*<sup>1</sup> He threw him on the ground (A28:36).

*xšw* **I** (*xášu xšule/xšwle, xšawa*) **to think; to opine**

*xšx* **I** (*xasəx, xšixle, xšaxa*) **to be necessary; to be suitable** | *dabáše ʔi-jámi módi xášəx ʔla-dùsa*<sup>1</sup> Bees gather what is necessary for honey; *xšixla-llan gaya* It is urgent for us (C2:82); *ʔáyya xášxa qa-xàla*<sup>1</sup> This is edible; *ʔánna míya xášxi ʔla-štàya*<sup>21</sup> Is this water drinkable? **III** *m-xšx (maxšəx, muxšəxle, maxšəxe)* **to decide** | *tráθna hátxa muxšəxla*<sup>1</sup> They both decided (to do) thus (A2:2).

*xšm* **I** (*xatəm, xšimle, xšama*) **to seal up**

*xšr* **I** (*xatə, xširre, xšara*) **to bang clothes on a washing board (→ xatorta); to batter** | *mxòle ʔu-xətrule*<sup>1</sup> Beat him and batter him! (A2:9).

*x̄t̄x̄t̄* **Q** *m-x̄t̄x̄t̄* (*m̄x̄at̄x̄at̄, m̄x̄ut̄x̄at̄le, m̄x̄at̄x̄ote*) **to plan**

*x̄ty* **I** (*x̄at̄e, x̄t̄ele, x̄t̄aya*) **to sin**

*x̄θm* **I** (*x̄aθ̄am, x̄θim̄le, x̄θama*) **to end, to seal, to finish; to heal.** (1) **to end, to finish, to seal** | *x̄aθ̄mitu k̄ēpa*<sup>1</sup> You will end up as stone (A8:28); *x̄θim̄alle*<sup>1</sup> He finished it (the weaving) (A20:4). (2) **to heal** | *br̄n̄ x̄θim̄la*<sup>1</sup> The wound healed; *ʔan̄-max̄éwala xa-x̄éna x̄aθ̄m̄awa*<sup>1</sup> If he were to hit her with another (blow), she would heal (A50:14).

*x̄θx̄θ* **Q** *m-x̄θx̄θ* (*m̄x̄aθ̄x̄at̄, m̄x̄uθ̄x̄at̄le, m̄x̄aθ̄x̄oθe*) **to renew; to be renewed** | *r̄aba b-x̄áð̄exi q̄á-t m̄x̄aθ̄x̄θ̄áxxa x̄az̄maȳùθa*<sup>1</sup> We would be very happy to renew the family relationship (B5:4); *naš̄úθa la-t̄al̄qa*<sup>1</sup> *m̄x̄aθ̄x̄at̄*<sup>1</sup> Humanity should not disappear but should be renewed (B5:233).

*x̄wq* **I** (*x̄aw̄aq, x̄wiq̄le, x̄waqa*) **to hug, to embrace**

*x̄w̄r* **I** (*x̄aw̄ar, x̄wirre, x̄wara*) **to become white. III** *m-x̄w̄r* (*max̄w̄ar, mux̄w̄arre, max̄w̄ore*) **to make white** | *ʔu-ʔé-ga max̄ur̄áx̄la ta-t-d̄âȳar*<sup>1</sup> We shall make it (the town) white when he returns (A4:32).

*x̄wš* **I** (*x̄aw̄as̄, x̄wiš̄le, x̄waša*) **to confine; to store.** (1) **to confine, to incarcerate** | *q̄am-x̄aw̄ás̄le t̄áwre d̄iye gu-ḡoma*<sup>1</sup> He confined his ox in the basement stable; *q̄am-x̄azȳále x̄a-n̄amra*<sup>1</sup> *x̄wiša gu-r̄ikka*<sup>1</sup> She saw a tiger incarcerated in a cage (A47:1). (2) **to store** | *ʔup-ʔani*<sup>1</sup> *n̄áše ʔi-x̄aw̄š̄wala*<sup>1</sup> People would store these (B15:19).

*x̄w̄t̄* **I** (*x̄aw̄at̄, x̄wit̄le, x̄wata*) **to mix** | *ʔi-x̄ot̄ila b-m̄ás̄xa*<sup>1</sup> They mix them with butter (B6:51); *x̄wit̄la ʔalli*<sup>1</sup> I am confused, flustered.

*x̄w̄x* **I** (*x̄aw̄ax, x̄wix̄le, x̄waxa*) **to mix (solids)**

*x̄wy* **I** (*x̄awe, x̄wele, x̄waya*) **to become faint; to become dark; to bring (animal) into shelter.** (1) **to become faint** | *x̄wéle l̄abbe* He fainted. (2) **to become dark** | *x̄úya x̄wéle*<sup>1</sup> It has become dark; *q̄am gn̄éθ̄at š̄amša*<sup>1</sup> *x̄wéθ̄at x̄īya*<sup>1</sup> before the setting of the sun and the coming of darkness (B5:110). (3) **to bring (animal) into shelter** | *x̄wéle t̄áwre d̄iye gu-ḡoma*<sup>1</sup> He brought his oxen into the basement stable.

*xy*(<sup>2</sup>) **I** (*x̄áye, xele, x̄yele, x̄yaʔa/xyaya*) **to live** | *l̄ás̄-maš̄ax x̄áyax l̄áxxa*<sup>1</sup> We cannot live here any more (B3:15); *x̄ýam gu-D̄ùre*<sup>1</sup> I lived in Dure (B1:1); *ʔáyya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔášt̄i-š̄anne x̄éne x̄áyála*<sup>1</sup> She will live another sixty years (A4:45); *ʔanna ʔammá-š̄anne hóle x̄īya*<sup>1</sup> He has lived for a hundred years (A41:2);

*kút-yum xá-tena qésa xäyítu biye*<sup>1</sup> Everyday you will make a living by a bundle of wood (A14:9). **III** *m-xy* (*mäxe, müxete, mäxoye*) **to cause to live, to give birth**

*xyk* **I** (*xayək, xikle, xyaka*) **rub, scratch (without drawing blood)**

*xym* **I** (*xayəm, ximle, xyama*) **to become hot** | *'o-séla 'i-xáyəm*<sup>1</sup> The griddle becomes hot (B6:45).

*xyp* **I** (*xayəp, xiple, xyapa*) **to wash; to bathe, to shower** | *'ánna 'áštá-yarxe léla xipta*<sup>1</sup> She has not washed for six months (A27:24). Washing of the groom: *xá-yoma qám dāna*<sup>1</sup> *y-amráxla xyáptət xətna*<sup>1</sup> *xepíwa 'ó-naša šadāsta 'o-yóma*<sup>1</sup> A day before there was what we call 'the bathing of the groom.' A group would wash the man on that day (B5:25). Washing of corpse: *léle šwíqa xá t-xayáple 'imət màyəθ*<sup>1</sup> He has not left anybody who would wash him when he dies (D2:77).

*xyr* **I** (*xayə, xirre, xyara*) **to watch; to look** (*b-* at, *gu-* into) | *w-ána qəm-maxèl*<sup>1</sup> *w-áti xyára biyi*<sup>1</sup> They beat me while you were looking at me (A2:10); *'áyya hóla mparəje*<sup>1</sup> *káza xyára hátxa*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-xazyále tliba diye*<sup>1</sup> She was watching, peering like this to see her betrothed (A4:35); *qamáye xírta b-áqlət sūsa diya*<sup>1</sup> *la-xírra gu-gəppa*<sup>1</sup> At first she looked at the legs of her horse, she did not look into the cave (A8:72); *'ina málka b-xáyər biyèxu*<sup>1</sup> *'áxtu pyáša b-šáwpe diye*<sup>1</sup> The king will watch you take his place (A8:88).

*xyt* **I** (*xayət, xitlə, xyata*) **to sew**

*xžbn* **Q** *m-xžbn* (*mxažbən, mxužbənnə, mxažbone*) **to make account, to calculate** | *'áyya kista*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mxožəbnalla max-xà*<sup>1</sup> He has reckoned this bag as (having the value of) one (coin) (A6:3).

*xzd* (i) **I** (*xazəd, xzidle, xzada*) **to harvest** | *bəher*<sup>1</sup> *b-yárxət xámša, 'əšta*<sup>1</sup> *'i-xazdìwala*<sup>1</sup> In Spring, in May or June, they would harvest it (the wheat) (B5:15).

*xzd* (ii) **II** (*mxažəd, mxuzədle, mxazode*) **to blame, to reproach, to shame** | *'ána tómməl 'àθena*<sup>1</sup> *'áti mxazdətli*<sup>1</sup> If I come tomorrow, you will blame me (A21:43); *Qatína*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-mxazdile*<sup>1</sup> They reproached Qatína (A50:1); *mxuzdəwən l-Tómən xali* I have been shamed by my uncle Toman (A50:9).

*xzgd, xzdg* **Q** *m-xzgd, m-xzdg* (*mxazgəd, mxuzgədle, mxazgode*) **to fail, to become corrupted** | *zrúta mxuzgədla* the crops have failed.

*xzy* **I** (*xaze, xzele, xzaya*) **to see; to find.** (1) **to see** | *pθixtalle t̄ara,<sup>1</sup> xziθalle b̄aba d̄iya<sup>1</sup>* She opened the door and saw her father (A21:26); *xzéle xanúra lh̄aya gu-xa-ḡəppa<sup>1</sup>* He saw a fire burning in a cave (A39:2); *ʔθyela x̄azye<sup>1</sup> ʔina t̄ena kulle m̄alya š̄axta<sup>1</sup>* They came and saw that the saddle bag was completely full of filth (A7:11); *xzi-k̄améle lx̄ima<sup>1</sup>* See how fit he is! (A15:13); *xzi-k̄amà t̄-ázəl ʔáwowa táwra<sup>1</sup>* See how much this ox will go for (A22:1); *xzi t̄-amr̄ənnux<sup>1</sup>* Look, I'll tell you (A15:17); *l̄et-xz̄áya b̄íye d̄íye t̄-íle m̄iθa.<sup>21</sup>* Don't you see that he is dead? (A17:2); *ʔáwowa m̄álka xz̄éle xa-x̄alma<sup>1</sup>* This king had a dream (A1:2). (2) **to find** | *xa-č̄ara xaz̄ena<sup>1</sup> qa-t̄-áyya br̄ati<sup>1</sup>* I should find a solution for this daughter of mine (A21:2); *ʔána xz̄éli d̄áwe<sup>1</sup>* I have found some gold coins (A10:12); *ʔu-xiš̄ele<sup>1</sup> b-ürxa<sup>1</sup> x̄d̄ara<sup>1</sup> m-máθa l-m̄aθa<sup>1</sup>... x̄áze ʔéka b-xaz̄éla<sup>1</sup>* He went on the road, wandering from village to village... to see where to find her (A4:10). (3) Idioms | Imperative *xzi: m̄eθ̄áwa ʔəb̄ála,<sup>1</sup> sar̄ada,<sup>1</sup> xzi mo-b̄áya<sup>1</sup>* They would bring a sieve, a large sieve, well, whatever you want (B7:17); *m̄eθ̄éwale l-m̄aθa,<sup>1</sup> xzi ʔékele b̄éθux t̄-it-bn̄áyalle<sup>1</sup>* They brought it to the village, wherever your house that you were building was situated (B5:184); *d̄úkθ̄a d-ó-gald̄at táwra,<sup>1</sup> lele-wiða ḡádda z̄ora.<sup>21</sup>* *xzi-k̄amá m̄ásaha d̄wiqle<sup>1</sup>* Since he had made it into a fine thread, the place (enclosed by) the ox skin covered a great area (A11:13) *xzi-k̄amá š̄anne<sup>1</sup> ʔo-br̄one d̄íye piš̄le ḡawra<sup>1</sup>* Now, after several years this son of his became a man (A28:2). 1pl. *xaz̄ax: x̄ázax ʔiθáθax t̄iše<sup>1</sup>* It seems that your hands are covered (in flour) (A21:27), *x̄ázax š̄ámáxla m̄òd̄ila<sup>1</sup>* Let's hear what it is (A25:52); *x̄ázax xz̄áyalle<sup>1</sup>* Let's see him (A4:36); *x̄ázax b-š̄andóxe t-w̄áθwa k̄ípa biyi<sup>1</sup>* What about the stones that you threw at me? (A1:18); *r̄ába xziθa ʔéne d̄íye<sup>1</sup> m-d-ò-m̄andi<sup>1</sup>* He had suffered a lot from that affair (A18:32). **III** *m-xzy* (*maxze, muxzele, maxzoye*) **to show**

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*yθ<sup>2</sup>* **I** (*ȳáðe, ðile, ðaʔa/ðaya*) **to know; to recognize; to understand.** (1) **to know** | *ʔáti ȳáðat ʔékele.<sup>21</sup>* Do you know where he is? (A25:74); *lá kulla-náše ȳáði t̄-oðila<sup>1</sup>* Not all people know how to make it (B10:22); *lan-ð̄aʔallux<sup>1</sup>* I do not know you (B17:14); *ʔanna m-éka q̄əm-ȳáðíle š̄mmi.<sup>21</sup>* How did they know my name (A26:24); *léðən, m̄iðən* I do not know; *léðiwa b̄íye d̄íye<sup>1</sup>* They did not know what was the matter with him (C4:1). (2) **to recognize** | *ʔáwowa ʔe-dánat q̄əm-xaz̄éle,<sup>1</sup> q̄əm-ȳáðéle<sup>1</sup>* When he saw him, he recognized him (A29:32). (3) **to understand** | *ðilux.<sup>21</sup>*

Do you understand?; *'áyya ðiyàli'* I have understood this (now) (A15:16).

**III m-ðy** (*mǎðe, müðele, mǎðoye* §8.14.5) **to cause to know, to inform** | *'ðthyax ta-t-mǎðxlɛxu'* *ta-t-m-ðiya 'arþà-sa'ate' gǎrag kulla nǎšət máða pǎlṭi m-gu-máða'* We have come to let you know that in four hours from now all the people of the village must leave the village (B1:13).

*yðl* **I** (3fs. *yadla, ðilla, ðala*) **to give birth (animals); to lay (eggs)** | *bɛhɛrìye'* *'árwɛ yadliwá'* In the Spring the sheep would give birth (B5:174); *šaliwá taweráða ðála'* They would go down (into the basement stable) when the cows were giving birth (B10:84); *kθéða ðilla bèta'* The hen laid an egg.

*yhw* **I** (*yawəl, hiwle/yiwle, yawa*) **to give; to pay; to bowl (ball); to turn; to allow.** (1) **to give** | *ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl tǎrte tawriyáða'* He will give to your neighbour two cows.' (A3:4); *ya-'aláha,* *'yawátlɛn xa-bróna'* Oh God, give us a son (A15:17); *hállule xa-súsa'* Give him a horse (A12:59); *'áyya 'ila yáwta qa-ðiyi'* She has been given to me (A25:39). (2) **to pay** | *'u-la-háqqət kǎrmi lele-yáwá'* nor does he pay the price of the orchard (A17:30); *yáwən ðeni'* I shall pay off my debts (A1:8). (3) **to bowl (ball)** | *xákma t-àθi' t-yáwi gúttá'* Some come to bowl the ball (B11:11). (4) **to turn (part of the body)** | *'enéy yawúwala l-túra'* *'u-xašéy l-gǎrra'* They turned their eyes to the mountain and their backs to the pool (B15:33). (5) **to allow** | *hálli banənni xa-béða'* Allow me to build myself a house (A11:10); *'u-hállle šàle' šáməṭ qðále ðiye'* Let him go down and break his neck (A15:13). (6) Idiom: *yawa hálma to blow* | *báyən mənnux' hálma t-yáwət b-rəšì'* I want you to blow on me (A25:12).

*ymy* **I** (*yame, mele, maya*) **to swear** | *hóle yámya b-rəšux'* He has sworn on your head (= he will kill you) (A25:37). **III m-my** (*mame/máme, mumele/múmele, mamoye/mámoye*) **to swear**

*ypy* **I** (*yape, pele, paya*) **to bake** | *t-yáþəx ləxma'* We shall bake bread (A34:12).

*yqr* **II m-yqr** (*myaqəṛ, myuqərre, myaqorə*) **to respect, to honour; to become heavy** | *'ani myaqriṭe tla-'éta'* They respect it (the festival) for the sake of the church (B5:72); *garþúwale 'o-tálga'* *ta-t-lá myáqri šəmṭi'* They sweep away the snow so that they (the beams of the roof) do not become heavy and break.

*ysq* **I** (*yasəq, siqle, saqa*) **to go up** | *qimta zoma t-yasqawa* She was preparing to go up to the summer camp (C2:23) → *'sq*

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*zbl* **II** (*m-zbl* (*mzabəl, mzubəlle, mزابوله*) **to lay manure**

*zbn* **II** (*mزابən, mzubəanne, mزابونه*) **to sell**

*zɒ* **I** (*zǎde, zɒdile/zdele, zɒaʔa/zɒaya*) **to fear** | *zǎdǎxwa mǎnnè*<sup>1</sup> We were afraid of them (B15:10); *qimle b-zɒaya m-xǎlme dıye* He began to be afraid of his dream (A8:19); *ʔána ʔǎllux-in zɒaʔa*<sup>1</sup> I am afraid for you (B9:27); *lən-zɒaʔa ʔap-dǎndǎkθa*<sup>1</sup> I am not afraid, even a little (B9:17); *ma-t-zɒdile t-axlǎle*<sup>1</sup> so afraid was he that she would eat him (A18:24); *hon-zǎla réšǎ d-ò gǎšra*, *ʔına rǎba zɒaʔa t-lǎ-naplǎn gu-d-a-yǎma*<sup>1</sup> I went over the bridge, fearing greatly that I would fall into the sea (A11:7); *qimle b-zɒaya m-bróne dıye*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-lǎ-ʔamər*<sup>1</sup> He began to fear to tell his son (A8:17). **III** *m-zɒ*<sup>P</sup> (*mazde, muzdele, mazdoye*) **to frighten** | *mǎzde qa-bróne dıye*<sup>1</sup> He frightens his son.

*zdl* **I** (*zadəl, zdille, zdala*) **to fear, to be afraid** | *zɒǎlǎx* We are afraid (A14:40).

*zdm* **I** (*zadǎm, zɒimle, zɒama*) **to be blocked; to be deafened (ears)** | *naxiri hóle zɒima*<sup>1</sup> My nose is blocked; *zɒimla naθyáθi b-qǎlat tǒpe*<sup>1</sup> My ears were deafened by a gunshot.

*zdr* **I** (*zadər, zdirre, zɒara*) **to shake (tr. and intr.); to tremble** | *ʔǎra zdirra*<sup>1</sup> The earth shook; *b-zadrǎnna gǎni*, *ʔǎli pǎrre mǎnni*<sup>1</sup> I shall shake myself and feathers will fall from me (A24:27).

*zdy* **I** (*zade, zdele, zɒaya*) **to throw** | *zadǎtle hátxa gu-yǎma*<sup>1</sup> You should throw it in the sea like this (A12:27); *ʔan-yalúnke zóre kùt-xa hóle zɒáyalle bar-ǎa-gotǎt dınye*<sup>1</sup> He was flinging the young children in all directions (A29:16); *kúlla zɒéla zayèy*<sup>1</sup> They (the horses) all miscarried their young (A52:13); *zɒòle*<sup>1</sup> Throw him out! (A25:12).

*zɒ* **I** (*zǎle, zǎile/zlele, zlaʔa/zlaya*) **to crack, to split** | *béta zǎlla...y-axǎlla nǎša*<sup>1</sup> An egg cracks...and a person eats it (D1:4); *zǎlle madǎnxa t-l-zlǎya*<sup>1</sup> He went before day-break; *qimli madǎnxa zliya* I got up when the dawn had broken (C2:18).

*zlm* → *zlm*

*zllq* **III** *m-zllq* (*mazlǎq, muzlǎqle, mazloqe*) **to shine; to polish** | *ʔáwra pǎrčè dıye t-dǎwa*, *hátxa mazlǎqe*, *har-píša kèpa*<sup>1</sup> *hár t-dǎwzele*<sup>1</sup> His golden hair,

shining so much, even when turned to stone is still golden (A8:72); *muzilqet šawlux*.<sup>91</sup> Have you polished your shoes?

*zmpr* **Q** *m-zmpr* (*mzamp̄ar*, *mzum̄p̄arre*, *mzamp̄ore*) **to swell; to swagger**

*zmr* **I** (*zam̄ar*, *zm̄irre*, *zmar̄a*) **to sing** | *zm̄irre b̄iya d̄iya*<sup>1</sup> He sang to her (A25:22); *šur̄ele zm̄irre b-s̄usa sm̄oqa*<sup>1</sup> He started to sing to a brown horse (A25:11).

*zmzm* **Q** *m-zmzm* (*mzamz̄am*, *mzumz̄amle*, *mzamz̄ome*) **to hum, to plash (water); to ring; to whistle (wind)** | *pauxa t-zome mzumz̄amle* The wind of the summer camp whistled (C2:50).

*znfr* **Q** *m-znfr* (*mzanf̄ar*, *mzunf̄arre*, *mzanf̄ore*) **to act pompously; to puff (oneself) up pompously** | *m̄adre mzanf̄arwala g<sup>9</sup>ān-d̄iye*<sup>1</sup> He would pompously puff himself up again (B5:34).

*zngr* **Q** *m-zngr* (*mzanḡar*, *mzunḡarre*, *mzanḡore*) **to ring (bell); to sound (musical instrument); to echo** | *ʔimat ʔāthya*<sup>1</sup> *mzanḡar z̄āga*<sup>1</sup> When she (the cat) comes, the bell will ring (A44:2); *mzanḡarwa q̄āla*<sup>1</sup> It (the floor of the church) echoed the voice back (B14:5).

*znjr* **Q** *m-znjr* (*mzanj̄ar*, *mzunj̄arre*, *mzanj̄ore*) **to rust**

*zny* **I** (*zane*, *znele*, *znaya*) **to commit adultery**

*znzn* **Q** *m-znzn* (*mzanz̄an*, *mzunz̄anne*, *mzanz̄one*) **to buzz; to throb (wound)**

*znzr* **Q** *m-znzr* (*mzanz̄ar*, *mzunz̄arre*, *mzanz̄ore*) **to lose taste; to go stale** | *ʔaw biš la-mz̄anz̄ar*<sup>1</sup> It does not lose its taste at all (B10:76).

*zprn* **Q** *m-zprn* (*mzap̄r̄an*, *mzup̄r̄anne*, *mzap̄rone*) **to add animal fat to food**  
→ *z̄pra*

*zqlq* **Q** *m-zqlq* (*mzaql̄aq*, *mzuql̄aqle*, *mzaql̄oqe*) **to reflect, to shine** | *š̄mš̄a q̄itla b-š̄ūša*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-q̄am-mzaqz̄āqla gu-ʔ̄en*<sup>1</sup> The sunlight hit the glass and it reflected it in my eyes.

*zqnb* **Q** *m-zqnb* (*mzaqn̄ab*, *mzuqn̄able*, *mzaqn̄obe*) **to eat, to scoff** | said of an unwelcome guest

*zqr* **I** (*zaq̄ar*, *zq̄irre*, *zq̄ara*) **to weave, to knit** | *ʔ̄az̄lele zq̄ira* It is knitted with yarn.

*zqt* **I** (*zaq̄at*, *zq̄itla*, *zq̄ata*) **to prod with a goad** | *zq̄itla tāwre*<sup>1</sup> Goad the animals along!



*zqzq* **Q** *m-zqzq* (*mzaqzəq*, *mzuqzəqlə*, *mzaqzoqe*) **to twitter (birds)**

*zr' I* (*zäre*, *zrile/zrele*, *zra'a/zraya*) **to plant, to sow, to cultivate; to work in the fields; to plough.** (1) **to plant, to sow, to cultivate** | 'äyya báyan zārən çannək'éra díya xáčča wàrde<sup>1</sup> I want to plant around it some flowers (A14:77); 'áni xátte zārila They sow the wheat (B5:94); qímila zra'a xabùše<sup>1</sup> They began to cultivate apples (B5:75). (2) **to work in the fields** | 'áwəwa zúlle zra'a<sup>1</sup> He went to work in the fields (A9:1). (3) **to plough** | mùklalla táwre t-wéwa zráya<sup>1</sup> He stopped the oxen, which were ploughing (A9:5); zra'a 'u-tnaya to plough a set of furrows then plough a second set perpendicular to these.

*zrbn* **Q** *m-zrbn* (*mzarban*, *mzurbanne*, *mzarbone*) **to become strong, to grow**

*zrič I* (*zarəč*, *zričle*, *zrača*) **to draw a line, to scribble** | *zričle b-qálama xiče xiče<sup>1</sup>* He drew lots of lines with a pen.

*zrdn* **Q** *m-zrdn* (*mzardən*, *mzurđanne*, *mzardone*) **to become pale, to become yellow**

*zrk I* (*zarək*, *zrikle*, *zraka*) **to dive**

*zrmt* **Q** *m-zrmt* (*mzarmət*, *mzurmətle*, *mzarmote*) **to be aggressive towards s.o.; to swell (skin)**

*zrn II* *m-zrn* (*mzārən*, *mzürənnə*, *mzārone*) **to become yellow** | *gu-čeri tárpe 'i-mzārənni<sup>1</sup>* In autumn the leaves become yellow.

*zrq I* (*zarəq*, *zriqlə*, *zraqa*) **to rise (sun); to shine** | 'é-gət zarəqwa yóma,<sup>1</sup> *paltəxwa xorəwáθa kúlla m-gđàðe<sup>1</sup>* When the sun rose, we friends would all go out together (B15:5); *yóma hóle zriqa<sup>1</sup> 'u-gənya<sup>1</sup> lə-y-zarəq<sup>1</sup>* The sun has risen and (when) it has set, it will not rise (again) (A26:35); *zriqele yóma 'älle díye<sup>1</sup>* The sun shone on him (A26:22).

*zrzč* **Q** *m-zrzč* (*mzarzəč*, *mzurzəčle*, *mzarzoče*) **to scribble**

*zrzp* **Q** *m-zrzp* (*mzarzəp*, *mzurzəple*, *mzarzope*) **to push**

*zrzr* **Q** *m-zrzr* (*mzarzər*, *mzurzərre*, *mzarzore*) **to bray (donkey); to lose flavour**

*zrzy* **Q** *m-zrzy* (*mzarze*, *mzurzele*, *mzarzoye*) **to shake with emotion (tr. and intr.)** | *máwθət mámi qəm-mzarzəli<sup>1</sup>* The death of my uncle shook me; *mzurzəli<sup>1</sup>* I was shaken.

*zv* **I** (*zavə, zvirre, zvara*) (K.) **to turn, to spin; to go around** | *máxyalle 'áqle l-dudíyat Qaṭina,*<sup>1</sup> *šawwí-zəvre zvirtəlla*<sup>1</sup> He kicked the cradle of Qaṭina and span it round seventy times (A52:2); *zavráxwa 'eðáwàθa*<sup>1</sup> We used to go around (the village offering) festival blessings (B6:13).

**III** *m-zv* (*mazvə, muzvərrə, mazvərə*) **to cause to turn** | *mìya' mazəvríle xa-parwàna*<sup>1</sup> The water drives round a propeller (B6:53).

*zww* **II** *m-zww* (*mzawəg/mzəwəg, mzuwəgle, mzawoge*) **to pair together; to copulate**

*zwn* **I** (*zawən, zwinne, zwana*) **to buy**

*zxm* **Q** *m-zxm* (*mzaxmən, mzxumənnə, mzaxmone*) **to become strong, to grow**

*zyd* **I** (*zayəd, zidle, zyada*) **to increase (intr.); to be excessive, to be left over** | *dax-zédi 'əwə?*<sup>21</sup> How do sheep reproduce? (B5:174); *mšixáye mšurəla bšara,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-mušəlmanúθa zyàda*<sup>1</sup> The Christians began to diminish (in number) and Islam began to increase (B1:2); *'o-t-zayəðwa*<sup>1</sup> ... *mò y-oðíwa?*<sup>21</sup> *mən-d-o-xálya 'u-mən-d-a-másta 'i-mtaršíwa gùpta*<sup>1</sup> As for what was left over (of the yoghurt and milk)—what did they do? From the milk and the yoghurt they made cheese (B5:166). **III** *m-zyd* (*mazyəd/məzid, muzyədle/müzidle, mazyode/məzode*) **to add; to increase** | *qaríwiti' mazyəd qàlax*<sup>1</sup> My friend, raise your voice (A38:8); *'álaha mazyədle*<sup>1</sup> May God increase it (said by a guest to the host as thanks for a meal).

*zyn* **I** (*zayən, zinne, zyana*) **to stand** | *kút y-azəlwa záyənwa gótə d-o-xəna*<sup>1</sup> Everybody who went (there) stood next to another one (A8:31); *mar-pòyalle rəšət xórta,*<sup>1</sup> *xórta hóla zyàna*<sup>1</sup> He is letting the top of the poplar go and the poplar is springing up (A29:16); *zínna mázzət rəší*<sup>1</sup> My hair stood on end (out of fear). **III** *m-zyn* (*mazyən/məzin, muzyənne/müzinne, mazyone/məzone*) **to cause to stand** | *čálo məzíníwala gu-tàra*<sup>1</sup> They made the bride stand at the door (B8:32); *'ilána məzíníwa l-gàre*<sup>1</sup> They stood the tree on the roof (B8:25); *kálba müzínile natyàθe*<sup>1</sup> The dog pricked up his ears.

*zyp* **I** (*zayəp, ziple, zyapa*) **to push** | *zìptəllela' tla-Məmo*<sup>1</sup> She pushed Məmo (A26:3); *m-ða-gòta' zəpátwala l-d-ó-geba xəna*<sup>1</sup> You would push them from one side to the other (B5:137).

*zyr* **I** (*zayə, zirre, zyara*) (A.) **to visit (on pilgrimage)** | *'ina báyyən zérən 'áp-ana Qüðus*<sup>1</sup> but I want to visit also Jerusalem (A2:1).

*zyx* **II** *m-zyx* (*mzayəx/mzəyəx, mzyuyəxle, mzayoxe*) **to celebrate (a festival)**

/z/

*zlm*, *zlm* **I** (*zaləm*, *zlimle*, *zlama*) **to oppress; to wrong** | *zlámət gànux*<sup>1</sup>  
 You are wronging yourself (A12:44); *ʿu-har-hádəx zliməlla kúlla nášət*  
*màθa*<sup>1</sup> They treated unjustly all the people of the village in the same  
 way (B1:20); *qá-mo gárəg zàlmət ʿəlli?*<sup>1</sup> Why must you do me such an  
 injustice? (C7:4).

## GENERAL GLOSSARY

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<sup>ʔ</sup>*abaya*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*abbaya* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*abaye*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*abbaye*) (A.) **man's cloak** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*abàyele darya b-réša*<sup>1</sup> He put his cloak over her (A26:50); <sup>ʔ</sup>*é-ga kùlla ʔagàwáθa šexiyé*<sup>1</sup> *kùlla b-ʔabbàye-wawa*<sup>1</sup> At that time all aghas and elders wore the abbaya gown (A26:47); <sup>ʔ</sup>*iman t-ila-nabólle bàdra*<sup>1</sup> *m-gu-ʔàra*<sup>1</sup> *mattíwa...* <sup>ʔ</sup>*abàya y-amrâxwale*<sup>1</sup> When they took it (the rice) to the threshing floor from that ground, they would lay down what we called a cloak (B5:80).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*abona* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*abone*) (A.) **bishop**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*abresəm* → *habresəm*

<sup>ʔ</sup>*abu* part. **attributive particle** (A. literally: father of) | <sup>ʔ</sup>*abu-bàrqa*<sup>1</sup> electrician(s) (B10:50); *bâyánni ʔmma bnàθa*<sup>1</sup> *t-áwa ʔabu tày*<sup>1</sup> I want for myself a hundred girls wearing crowns (A25:74). In expressions of age: <sup>ʔ</sup>*o-yála zòra*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʔ</sup>*abu ʔsrì-šonne*<sup>1</sup> the youth, who was twenty years old (A17:2).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*Aðar* n.m. **March**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*adət* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*adətte*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*adəttaθa*) **custom** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*áxni ʔadət díyən hət̚xɛla*<sup>1</sup> Our custom is this (A4:30).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*afsara* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*afsare*) (K.) **rope for leading a mule**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ága*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*axa* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*agaye*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*agàwáθa*) (K.) **nobleman** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*ägay*<sup>1</sup> My lord (A25:13); <sup>ʔ</sup>*áxa t-áwət basìma*<sup>1</sup> Sir, if you please (A42:1).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*a-gða*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*a-gðaħa* pron. fs. **demonstrative** (§14.3.5.) | Denoting the accessibility of a referent in memory: *tárət ʔa-gða-báxta kóre t-wáwa gu-màθa*<sup>2</sup> Do you remember the blind woman who was in the village?

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ahwāl* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ahwalətte*) (A.) **circumstance, condition** | *xázəx ʔahwaləttət málka*<sup>1</sup> Let's see what the circumstances of the king are (A8:80); *díya*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʔ</sup>*ahwalətte šuxləpla*<sup>1</sup> Now circumstances have changed (B5:72).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ajəbuθa* n.f. (A.) **wonder; marvel** | *xzéli xá-məndit ʔajəbùθa*<sup>1</sup> I have found something amazing (A8:16); *xzélən ʔajəbùθa*<sup>1</sup> We have seen a miracle! (B9:21).

ʔajīb adj. invar. (A.) **amazing** | ʔajīb!<sup>1</sup> It was amazing! (A4:28).

ʔakara n.m. (pl. ʔakare) **farmer**

ʔākād adj. invar. (A.) **sure, certain**

ʔal- prep. (Urm.) **on, upon** | ʔal-ʔāra<sup>1</sup> on the ground (A21:5), ʔal-rūše dīye<sup>1</sup> on his shoulder (A22:18).

ʔalaha n.m. **God** (§5.3.) | škīra-ʔalaha<sup>1</sup> God be praised; ʔalaha t-áwe mǎnnèxu<sup>1</sup> May God be with you (A8:29); b-àlaha<sup>1</sup> by God; mǎra ha.<sup>2</sup> mǎra b-àlaha.<sup>1</sup> She said “Is it so?” They said “Yes” (A38:2); ʔalaha mbasǎmlux<sup>1</sup> May God cure you; ʔalaha manixle<sup>1</sup> May God grant him rest; ʔalaha mazyǎdle May God increase it (the food in your house—said by a guest to the host after a meal); ʔiθwa liθwa<sup>1</sup> biš-m-aláha góra liθwa<sup>1</sup> There was or there was not, there was no greater than God (opening formula of a story) (A4:1); xá-yoma mǎn-yomǎnat ʔaláha one fine day (literally: one of the days of God) (A48:2); tíwele xáṣət suse dīye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ya-ʔalaha zǐlele<sup>1</sup> He sat on the back of his horse and off he went off (A28:9).

ʔalahuθa n.f. **divinity; divine deed; miracle** | xzǐgǎn ʔalahùθa<sup>1</sup> See what a miracle! (A51:21).

ʔālǐq n.m. (A.) **fodder** | suse b-gáne mǎzǐdle ʔālǐqe<sup>1</sup> A horse by itself increases its fodder (D:34).

ʔalma n.m. **world; crowd of people** | bréla dá xadúθa gu-d-ò-ʔalma<sup>1</sup> A (great) joy arose among the people (A4:56); ʔaw-ʔalma t-íle jmíya tǎma<sup>1</sup> The crowd of people that is gathered there (A26:64).

ʔalmās n.pl. (A.) **diamonds**

ʔalola n.m. (pl. ʔalole) **alley; narrow street**

ʔalpa n.m. (pl. ʔalpe, ʔalpaye) **thousand** | tre ʔalpe two thousand; ʔlǎθa ʔalpe three thousand; ʔina ʔalpǎye maymúne píše tǎma<sup>1</sup> Thousands of monkeys had appeared there (A14:43); m-ʔalpa ʔáxni lá raba-ʔi-mapǎlxǎxwala<sup>1</sup> We rarely used it (literally: in a thousand (times) we did not use it much) (B10:18).

ʔalqošnaya n.m./adj. (pl. ʔalqošnaye) **man from Alqosh**

ʔalulta n.f. (pl. ʔalulyaθa) **alley** (§10.5.2.3.)

ʔalwān → lawn

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ama* n.m. **paternal uncle** | only in: *brət ama* (pl. *bərtamwaθa*) (distant cousin (m.) (second degree and more distant) and *bratət ama* (distant cousin (f.)).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amana* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amane*) **vessel, container**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amara* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amare*) **teller, recounter** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*áyya mártət ʔamàre*<sup>1</sup> This is what they say (literally: This is the saying of the sayers) (A32:24).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amədyana* n.m. **Amedia stitching, cross-stitch**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amina* adj. (f. <sup>ʔ</sup>*aminta*, pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amine*) **safe; reliable**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*aminuθa* n.f. **safety**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amoma* n.m. **scarecrow**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amra* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*áwamər*) (A.) **order, command** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*ámrat málkəle*<sup>1</sup> It is the order of the king (A8:9).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amra* n.m. **wool**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amta* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amtaθa*) **paternal aunt**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amuqa* adj. (f. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amuqta*, pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amuqe*) **deep**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amura* adj. (f. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amurta*, pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amure*) **dense (vegetation); thickly planted (crops)** | *təlla ʔamurta* deep shade

<sup>ʔ</sup>*amuṛa* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*amuṛe*) **tool**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ana* pron. cs. **I**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ánaha, naha; ʔánʔha, nʔha* pron. pl. **far deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *xzáyət ʔánaha naše-t-íla ráqa bəθri*<sup>2</sup> Do you see those people who are running after me? (A7:17).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*anani* adj. (A.) **selfish**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*anbar* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*anbare*) **storeroom (for produce)**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ani, ʔan* pron. pl. **default demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *kúlla ʔan-waríðax qǎṭənnna*<sup>1</sup> I shall cut all those roots of yours (A25:64). Used anaphorically: *šwíqle zúze díye táma zille*<sup>1</sup> *θéle xa-xəna*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-zúze šqilile ʔu-zille*<sup>1</sup> He left his money there and went off. Another man came. He took that money and went off (A15:15). *xárθa ʔáni mátyela táma*<sup>1</sup> *t-márzət yàma*<sup>1</sup> Then they arrived there, by the shore of the sea (A14:37).

*ʿaniða* n.m./adj. (pl. *ʿaniðe*) **deceased, dead** | *dúkθat xaméθat ʿaniðe*<sup>1</sup> a place for burying the deceased (B3:19)

*ʿanna* pron. pl. **speaker deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *ʿanna ʿálpa-w xamšá-mma diyuxila*<sup>1</sup> *ʿanna ʿálpa-w xamšá-mma diyila*<sup>1</sup> These one thousand five-hundred are yours and these one thousand five-hundred are mine (A1:20). Used anaphorically: *rába gáye wítela ʿanna mandiyáne*<sup>1</sup> Many times such things happened (B5:163).

*ʿan-xa, ʿan-xaha* pron. pl. **demonstrative** (§14.3.5.) | Denoting the accessibility of a referent in memory: *txárət ʿán-xa xonāwáθa kóre t-wéwa gumáθa*<sup>21</sup> Do you remember the blind brothers who were in the village?; *txárət ʿan-xa-tré t-mutəpqúwalən b-ğòàðe*<sup>21</sup> Do you remember the couple that we brought together? (A4:45)

*ʿap, ʿup* part. **also, even; connective particle** (§18.1.3.). (1) **also** | *ʿap-àna mjaḃbánnal hàðḃ díyil*<sup>1</sup> I also shall try my luck (A1:4); *ʿap-təmməl ʿáxləx mánna*<sup>1</sup> We could eat them also tomorrow (A2:2); *ʿap-xmárey šqiləlla*<sup>1</sup> They took also their asses (A7:15); *xuš-péšan képa ʿap-àna*<sup>1</sup> Let me also become a stone (A8:55); *ʿap-šlāma léla dóryəlle*<sup>1</sup> They did not offer him even a greeting (A15:13); *ʿap-xa lele-mšáya mbasəmla*<sup>1</sup> Nobody (literally: even one) can cure her (A4:12). (2) **connective particle** | combined with a topical constituent at boundaries of discourse sections: *ʿap-aw-ziləle xiša mətya kəs-málka*<sup>1</sup> So, he went and he entered into the presence of the king (A1:6–7); *ʿap-awwa siqele gu-túra*<sup>1</sup> So, he went up into the mountains (A4:1–2); *ʿap-awwa qəm-parmile*<sup>1</sup> So, they slaughtered him (A15:9–10).

*ʿaparutha* n.f. **household goods** | *dəkkánət ʿaparùθa*<sup>1</sup> general store (A22:11)

*ʿapεθa* n.f. (pl. *ʿapayaθa*) **cloth put over bread when it is stored**

*ʿapša* n.m. (pl. *ʿapše*) **gallnut of oak tree (*mšša*)** | *ʿilanət ʿapše* oak tree (*mšša*) bearing such gallnuts; *hot-piša ʿapša milàna*<sup>1</sup> You have become a green gallnut (i.e. you have not been seen for a long time) (D1:4).

*ʿaqall* adj. invar. (A.) **less**

*ʿaqara* n.m. (pl. *ʿaqare*) **area of cultivated land** → *ʿqr* to dig up, to plough

*ʿaqərwa* n.f. (pl. *ʿaqərwe*) **scorpion**

*ʿaqla* n.f. (pl. *ʿaqlaθa*, *ʿaqlē*) **leg; foot** | *xasət ʿaqla* top of the foot; *ʿürət ʿaqla* bottom of the foot; *dawéra ʿide-w ʿaqlē* A mule (is a man's) arms and legs (B5:124); *šaryalla ʿaqlē w-ide* He untied the legs and arms (A10:13); *ða-ʿaqla rēš-d-àyya ʿenən ʿu-ða rēš-d-àyya* We shall treat you with respect (literally: one leg on this eye of ours and one on this other one B9:10).

*ʿaqolta* n.f. (pl. *ʿaqolyaθa*) **rope lock used to tighten a rope holding the burden on the back of an animal** | This consisted of a triangle of *parma* wood through which the ends of the rope were threaded and then pulled tight.

*ʿaqra*, *ʿagra* n.m. (pl. *ʿaqrare*, *ʿagrare*) **trunk of a tree; stem of plant; bottom (of ear)** | *xəzyali l-ʿaqrat tena* I saw her by the trunk of the fig tree (C2:24); *ʿarya máxyalle šaqqána l-ʿaqər-náθət dēwa* The lion clouted the wolf on the root of his ear (A42:2); *ʿasrà ʿaqráre* ten stems (of tobacco plants) (B7:13); *ʿaqrat tura* the foot of the mountain.

*ʿaqraya* n.m. (pl. *ʿaqraye*) (Tiy.) **turtle, tortoise**

*ʿaqubra* n.m. (pl. *ʿaqubre*) **mouse**

*ʿára*, *ʿarra* n.f. (pl. *ʿáraθa*) **ground, land** | *ʿáráθe diye zərèwala* He cultivated his lands (B5:73); *māřòyənwala gu-ða-ʿára* I was grazing it (the mule) in a certain piece of land (B5:131); *ʿo-gawána bēl-ʿára l-ʿára* The boundary area is between one plot of land and another (B5:131); *xákma har-damxíwa l-ʿára* Some would sleep only the floor (B5:204).

*ʿarabaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *ʿarabaye*) **Arab**

*ʿaramnaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *ʿaramnaye*) **Armenian**

*ʿáraq* n.f. **arak** | *ʿáraq xelanta* strong arak; *ʿáraq mpaltàxla m-yabiše* We produce arak from raisins (B5:12).

*ʿaraqa* n.m. (pl. *ʿaraqe*) **fugitive**

*ʿaraqta* n.f. (pl. *ʿaraqyaθa*) **fugitive (f.)**

*ʿarba*, *ʿarba* num. (f. *ʿarbe*) **four** | *ʿurzət ʿarba* the fourth man; *baxtət ʿarbe* the fourth woman

*ʿarbassər* num. **fourteen**

*ʿarbaθn-* num. **four of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *ʿarbaθnən* the four of us; *ʿarbaθnexu* the four of you; *ʿarbaθnéy* the four of them.



ʔarbi num. **forty** | *b-ʔarbīye* in the (19)40s (B5:161)

ʔarbilnaya n.m./adj. (pl. ʔarbilnaye) **man from Arbil**

ʔarbušeba n.m. **Wednesday** | ʔarbušeba xəška, ʔarbušeba b-ləle Wednesday night

ʔarda n.f. (pl. ʔardaθa) **bottom; floor** | ʔardət šawle sole of shoes; ʔərəd ʔaqla bottom of the foot; ʔardət bəθa the floor of the house; ʔarde dīye kúlla képe góre pàrsē<sup>1</sup> Its (the church's) floor was all large flat stones (B14:5).

ʔarəkθa n.f. (pl. ʔarəkyatha) **bag** | ʔarəkθa t-rəzza bag of rice

ʔarəmla n.m. (pl. ʔarəmlə) **widower**

ʔareta n.f. (pl. ʔarayaθa) **algae and detritus floating on stagnant water** | put in gaps between stones in a *garra* to seal in the water

ʔarəxta n.f. (pl. ʔarəxyatha) **guest (f.)**

ʔarəšwəraš, ʔəšwəraš n.f. **commercial dealings** | ʔiθwa ʔarəšwəraš *benathéy* There were dealings between them

ʔariθa n.f. (pl. ʔariyaθa) **lionness**

ʔarməlθa n.f. (pl. ʔarməlyatha) **widow**

ʔarmonta → *harmonta*

ʔarnuwa → *harnuwa*

ʔarθa n.f. (pl. ʔaraθa) **rival wife** | only used in oaths: *hàtxa t-ódən b-ʔarθux<sup>1</sup>* (I swear) by your rival wife that I shall do it.

ʔarxa n.m. (pl. ʔarxe) **guest** | *mare ʔarxe* hospitable man; *də-háyyo puš-ʔarxi ʔədléle<sup>1</sup>* Come, be my guest today (A8:42); ʔéka pəšən ʔarxa.<sup>21</sup> Where can I stay (A26:26); ʔána hon-ʔiθya ʔarxa kəslux<sup>1</sup> I have come as your guest (C7:3).

ʔarxe, ʔərxe n.f. (pl. ʔarxaθa, ʔərxaθa) **water-mill**

ʔarya, ʔerya n.m. (pl. ʔarye, ʔerye) **lion**

ʔarzāq → *rəsqa*

ʔarzən adj. invar. (K.) **cheap**

ʔasās n.m. (pl. ʔasase) (A.) **foundation**

- <sup>ʔ</sup>*asbab* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*asbabe*) (K./A.) **equipment, weapon**
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*asira* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*asire*) **captive** | *kulla dwiqe jundiye* <sup>ʔ</sup>*asire* All (the grooms) were taken as captured soldiers (C3:4).
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*askar*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*askariya* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*askaryaθa*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*askarwaθa*) (A.) **army** | *t-ázət* <sup>ʔ</sup>*askariya*<sup>1</sup> You shall go to the army (A17:22); *lázəm* <sup>ʔ</sup>*áwəð* <sup>ʔ</sup>*askariya*<sup>1</sup> He must serve in the army (A17:22).
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*askāraya* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*askāraye*, fs. <sup>ʔ</sup>*askāreθa*, fpl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*askārayaθa*) **solider** | *xázyalla* <sup>ʔ</sup>*án* <sup>ʔ</sup>*askāraye*<sup>1</sup> He saw the soliders (A25:79); *xamša-əmmà* <sup>ʔ</sup>*askārayáθa* *bnáθa kúlla*<sup>1</sup> five hundred soldiers, all girls (A25:74).
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*asrār* → *sərr*
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*aswad* adj. (A.) **black**
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašərtá* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašərare*) **evening; late afternoon** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašərtá* *θìθela*<sup>1</sup> *báyí* *t-áxli* *xa-rámša*<sup>1</sup> The evening came and they wanted to eat dinner (A2:2); *y-oðúwa* <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašəre*<sup>1</sup> They would hold evening celebrations (B5:18).
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*asi* adj. invar. (A.) **rebellious, rebel; difficult (terrain)** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*anna hóla* <sup>ʔ</sup>*àsi* <sup>ʔ</sup>*álle díye*<sup>1</sup> They are rebelling against him (A12:58); *túra* <sup>ʔ</sup>*àsile*<sup>1</sup> The mountain is difficult.
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*asl*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*ášəl* n.m. (A.) **origin**
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*asli* adj. invar. (A.) **original**
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašota* n.m./adj. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašote*) **delinquent; tiresome**
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašya* n.m. **difficulty, embarrassment** | *jwanqone drəla* *l-ʔašya* She has caused the young men embarrassment (C2:59).
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašəq* adj. (invar.) (A.) **in love** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašəq wéwa* He was in love (A8:33); <sup>ʔ</sup>*áyya* <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašəq-ila* *l-áwewa gəwəra*<sup>1</sup> She is in love with this man.
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašəquθa* n.f. **love making; coquetry** | *kəmət jawja* *b-ʔašəquθa naše nabli* *šəkkuθa* Whenever she moves coquettishly, people become suspicious (C2:73).
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*aširət* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*aširatte*) (A./K.) **tribe, community**
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašitnaya* n.m./adj. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašitnaye*) **man from Ashitha**
- <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašitha* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ašiyáθa*) **avalanche**

ʔati pron. cs. **you**

ʔatiqa adj. (f. ʔatiqta, pl. ʔatiqe) **ancient** | ʔaw-bónyεle m-jálde ʔatiqa<sup>1</sup> It was built in very ancient times (B14:2).

ʔatko n.f. (pl. ʔatkowaθa) **piece of stomach of a young goat used to make rennet**

ʔatkore n.m. **marble game** | The aim is to shoot marbles into a hole in the ground (B11:28).

ʔatnabəl n.m. (pl. ʔatnabele) **car**

ʔatuna n.m. (pl. ʔatune) **furnace, kiln** | y-oðíwa ʔatúna,<sup>1</sup> qá-t mtaršíwa kàlša<sup>1</sup> They set up a furnace to make gypsum (B5:182).

ʔatwana n.m. (pl. ʔatwane) **one who sits** | ʔatwána xásə susəwàθa<sup>1</sup> horsemen (A12:58)

ʔatma n.f. (pl. ʔatmaθa) **side, thigh**

ʔaθoraya n.m./adj. (pl. ʔaθoraye), ʔaturaya (Urm.) **Assyrian**

ʔaθra n.m. (pl. ʔaθrəwəθa) **land, country; homeland** | gu-ʔaθra in the home country; léwat d-áwəwa ʔaθra<sup>1</sup> You are not from this land (A25:82).

ʔaθuθa n.f. (pl. ʔaθuwaθa, ʔaθwaθa) **letter (of the alphabet)**

ʔawi adj. invar. (K.) **irrigated** | zruta awi irrigated cultivation, xətte ʔawi irrigated wheat (opposite of *dēm*, *demi*, *dema* unirrigated)

ʔaw part. **or**

ʔawe, ʔo pron. ms. **default demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | hálli ʔo-kθāwa<sup>1</sup> Give me that book (which you are holding). Used anaphorically: ʔiθwa xa-málka gu-ða-màθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-málka<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwale terte bnáθa<sup>1</sup> There was a king in a village. That/the king had two daughters (A25:1); ʔo-Barzákko zila dmìxa<sup>1</sup> Barzəkko went and slept (A12:10); ʔaw-məlyále tópe díye spà<sup>1</sup> He loaded his gun well (A31:7).

ʔawaða n.m. (pl. ʔawaða) **doer**

ʔāwaha, waha; ʔāwaʔha, waʔha pron. ms. **far deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | y-ásqəx məθəx míya mən-d-āwāha túra<sup>1</sup> We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there (A39:9); məre kèle bəθa díya?<sup>1</sup> ... məra ʔāwāʔha qásra t-it-xzāyalle<sup>1</sup> He said ‘Where is her house?’ ... They said ‘That villa that you can see over there’; (A40:11)

*gu-māḥàll-žì¹ kút-yum gánu kθéθa d-áwwa,¹ 'é-ga y-azólwa fēka d-áwwaha¹*  
Every day in the neighbourhood he would steal the chicken of one person, then go (and steal) the fruit of another (A14:7).

ʾawahaθa, ʾawahe n.pl. **parents** | ʾawáhe diyən¹ our parents (B16:24)

ʾawqana, ʾoqana n.m. (pl. ʾawqane, ʾoqane) **predicament, distress** | *Mámo-w Žine hóla npíle gu-ʾoqàna¹* Māmo and Zine are in a predicament (A26:51).

ʾawṣāf n.pl. (A.) **features, attributes**

ʾawwa pron. ms. **speaker deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *yába là dámxəx gu-d-áwwa qásra,¹ dámxəx l-wáðər¹* Let's not sleep in this palace. Let's sleep outside (A12:11). Used anaphorically: *ʾíθwa xa-málka.¹ ʾáwwa málka xzéle xa-xəlmá¹* There was a king. This king had a dream. (A1:2); *ʾáwwa zílele b-ʾúrxa¹* He went on his way (A17:12).

ʾawwal, ʾawwəl num. (A.) **first** | *ʾáwwəl dórta* the first round (B10:13); *ʾáwwəl ma-t-rəxəθ¹* as soon as it boiled (B10:87).

ʾax prep. (with pronominal suffixes: ʾaxwaθe, ʾax-diyə) (§13.3.1., §19.3.4.) **like, as; when.** (1) Before a noun or clause **like, as** | *ʾáp-ana dàqrən¹ ʾax-déwa kòra¹* I am worth the same as a blind wolf (A10:1); *hàtxəwa,¹ ʾax-mərya¹* He was like this, as if he were ill (A12:52); *xwára ʾax-təlgəle¹* It is white as snow (A8:67); *mattíwa¹ t-ámrxəx xá xámša dinàre¹ ʾən-hàtxa mándi¹ yáni ʾax-m-žəθa¹* They would deposit let's say a sum of five dinars, or thereabouts, according to their ability (B5:6); *ʾax-txàra¹* as (I) remember. Before a demonstrative: *ʾax-d-ó-dəwa kòra¹* like that blind wolf (A10:5), *ʾax-d-an-t-íla míθe tàma¹* like those who have already died there (A14:70). Before a clause: *méθən ʾax-t-íla-ʾanna míθe¹* I shall die like these people have died (A14:73); *ʾáx t-ámrxə,¹ xáčča biš-šléla¹* She seemed (literally: as you say) to become a little calmer (A4:17). (2) **when** | *ʾax-t-íla plítta Səttiye,¹ xzìθəlle¹ xriwele ləbba díya¹* When Səttiye came out, she saw him and her heart was broken (A26:30); *ʾax-t-íle qíma,¹ ʾu-šúryela plása m-ğðàðe,¹ áwwa¹ maxèle¹ sèpe¹ l-qðála d-o-Déwa Žar¹ ʾu-šále kəndála¹* When he got up and they started fighting with one another, he struck his sword into the neck of that Dewa Zar and he went down the slope (A28:19).

ʾaxala n.m./adj. (pl. ʾaxale) **big eater**

ʾaxalta n.f./adj. (pl. ʾaxalyaθa) **big eater (f.)**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axč* part. **just, only; but.** (1) **just, only** | *xúwwe ʔáxc̄ile múdwa r̄iqa*<sup>1</sup> The snake just managed to escape (A1:15); *ʔáxc̄i ʔáp ʔayya-béna múrri mòd̄ile*<sup>1</sup> Just one more time tell me what it is (A1:18); *maláxe yáđi,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxc̄i*<sup>1</sup> Only the angels know (A4:9); *ʔáxc̄i xos-qàym̄*<sup>1</sup> *xazyánne xàmša daq̄iqe,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-xéne kúlla ʔla-d-àw*<sup>1</sup> Just let him rise for me to see him for five minutes, and all the other (sixty years) be for him (A4:49). (2) **but** | *ʔč̄č̄i-u ʔč̄č̄i,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxc̄i ʔána max-xšàwti,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya k̄ista*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mxož̄ábnalla max-xà*<sup>1</sup> (There are) ninety-nine (coins), but according to my opinion, he has reckoned this bag as one (A6:3)

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axđar* adj. invar. (A.) **green**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axəl-qarša* n.m. **the devil**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axlana* n.m./adj. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*axlane*) **big eater**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axlanta* n.f./adj. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*axlanyaθa*) **big eater (f.)**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axni* pron. pl. **we**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axola* n.m./adj. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*axole*) **big eater**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axtu* pron. pl. **you**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axulka* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>*axulke*) **small fly that bites**

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axxa* adv. **here** | *ʔáxxa t-áwəm dm̄ixa*<sup>1</sup> I shall sleep here (A10:5); *plút m-áxxa*<sup>1</sup> Leave here! (A12:5); *ʔu-táwera píšle mangóle ʔáxxa l-tamma*<sup>1</sup> The ox began to limp back and forth (A22:3); *qedámta qímt̄ela br̄ata-w*<sup>1</sup> *mx̄ülált̄ella ʔay-d̄ik̄θa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxxa-w tamma*<sup>1</sup> In the morning the girl got up and cleaned the place, and so forth (A17:27). Repeated to express movement: *xa-núra ʔθȳele b-l̄ele*<sup>1</sup> *ʔax-ʔáxxa s̄aqa*<sup>1</sup> A light came in the night, coming up here (A29:23). With temporal sense: *mu-t-ód̄ax m-áxxa-w h̄at̄xa*<sup>2</sup> What can we do from now on? (A8:59). Used with pronominal suffixes: *ʔaxxi hóle mr̄aya*<sup>1</sup> It hurts me here (literally: My here hurts); *šléla b̄eʔe ʔax-ʔaxxe d̄iye*<sup>1</sup> The eggs ran down him here and here (literally: his here and here) (A23:8).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*axxane* adv. **here, hereabouts** | *kú-t-ile fer̄ssa ʔáθe ʔaxxane*<sup>1</sup> Whoever is a warrior, let him come here (A29:59); *ʔina r̄éši šm̄ita ʔaxxane*<sup>1</sup> My head was injured around here (B5:132).

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ay* mod. **which?** | Marginally attested in indirect questions: *ʔáti xáz̄at ʔay-m̄anna báȳat*<sup>1</sup> See which one you like (A14:80).

ʔay, ʔey, ʔe, ʔa pron. fs. **default demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx*<sup>1</sup> I'll give you another purse like that one (you are holding) (A4:15–16). Used anaphorically: *ʔimət mʔéla ʔúnte diye, ʔéle xa-nàša, ʔam-šaqaʔlla ʔe-ʔúnte diye*<sup>1</sup> When its fruit became ripe, a man came and took its fruit (A17:33); *ʔu-ʔe-Leliða ʔèla*<sup>1</sup> The Leliða came (A19:4); *ʔáy pišla tàma*<sup>1</sup> She remained there (A19:6).

ʔayaha, yaha; ʔayaʔha, yaʔha pron. fs. **far deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha káwe ʔ-íla pyàša*<sup>1</sup> I shall put your head in that opening over there that remains (A25:62); *zília dwiqla náwba l-áyàʔha qunjaʔta t-hódəx*<sup>1</sup> They went and kept a guard in that far corner (A18:3); *mattíwala gu-d-é məššára... ʔšra gu-d-ayya, ʔšra gu-d-yàha*<sup>1</sup> They would plant them in the paddy field... ten in this (row), ten in that one (B7:13).

ʔayale n.pl. **children** → *yala*

ʔayya pron. fs. **speaker deixis demonstrative** (§7.4., §14.3.2.) | *qu-šqúlla ʔayya skinta*<sup>1</sup> Get up and take this knife (A15:8). Used anaphorically: *ʔiθwa xá bəxta, ʔ... ʔayya bəxta kùt-yum ʔoyàwa, ʔmaxláwa ʔla-bróna diya*<sup>1</sup> There was a woman... Everyday this woman would beg to feed her son (A14:4); *ʔayyela, ʔcú-mdi xéna liθən*<sup>1</sup> That is it. There is nothing else (that is possible) (A4:43).

ʔazəduða n.f. **permission; freedom consent** | *ʔána mbáqrən mónnux ʔazəduða yətwən*<sup>1</sup> I ask you for permission to sit down.

ʔazəd adj. (invar.) (K./P) **allowed, permitted**

ʔəziz n.m./adj. **dear** (A.) | *yə ʔəzizi*<sup>1</sup> my dear (A7:17); *ʔəzizət ləbbi* my dear; *ʔəzizət xone* beloved of his brother (C4:6)

ʔazla-kuše n.f. (pl. ʔazla-kuše) **dragonfly** | Literally: spinner of spindles, so-called because it rotates around water.

ʔazola n.m. (pl. ʔazole) **weaver** | *ʔazolət kuša* weaver who uses a spindle

ʔəzvana n.m. (pl. ʔəzvane) (K.) **miller, caretaker of a water-mill**

ʔəda n.m. (pl. ʔəðəwaða) **festival; festival visit.** (1) **festival** | *ʔədux brixa*<sup>1</sup> May your festival be blessed!; *y-ódi ʔəda*<sup>1</sup> They hold a festival (B6:22); *ʔəda ʔora* the Great Festival (Easter); *ʔəðət qyamta* the festival of resurrection (Easter); *ʔəda zora* the Small Festival (Christmas); *ʔəðət be-yalda* Christmas; *ʔəðət musarde* festival commemorating the baptism of Christ

(100 days after Easter); *ʔədət šliwa* Festival of the Cross (13th of September). (2) **festival visit** | *xadríwa náše ʔədǎwàθa*<sup>1</sup> People would go around (the village offering) festival blessings (B10:3); *zavráxwa ʔədǎwàθa*<sup>1</sup> We used to go around (the village offering) festival blessings (B6:13); *mšeríwa*<sup>1</sup>...*ǰwáǰa l-ʔədǎwáθa d-an-xène*<sup>1</sup> They would begin to go and make festival visits to other people (B5:63); *qamáye y-azáxwa l-ʔədət qàša*<sup>1</sup> First we would go and offer a festival blessing to the priest (B6:14).

*ʔelíθa* n.f. (pl. *ʔalyaθa*) **fat tail of sheep; fat of the tail** | *pazesór b-ʔalyàθa*<sup>1</sup> big red eared sheep with fat tails (A7:22); *ʔelíθa qaláxwa*<sup>1</sup> We would fry the tail fat (B10:1).

*ʔenir* n.m. **aromatic lily** | *pēsət ʔenir lèle* You are (like) the lily of the night (C4:14).

*ʔeta* n.f. (pl. *ʔetaθa*) **church (as an institution)**

*ʔetanaya* adj. (f. *ʔetanεθa*, pl. *ʔetanaye*) **ecclesiastical** | *gu-d-ánna tre-ʔumràne*<sup>1</sup> *xálmət ʔetanεθa y-ođáxwala gáwe díye*<sup>1</sup> In these two churches we used to hold church services (B1:6).

*ʔeba* n.m. **shame, wrong** | *ʔəbèle*<sup>1</sup> It is shameful; *lèle-ʔéba ʔállí?*<sup>2</sup> Would not that be a shame on me? (A8:55).

*ʔeka* (*ʔayka* marginal) **where? how?** (1) **where** | *ʔəkεle?*<sup>2</sup> ‘Where is he?’ (A4:19); *lé-y-yáđm ʔána ʔəkəm*<sup>1</sup> I do not know where I am (A14:88); *ʔáw xzèle ʔo-dídwa ʔeka wírre*<sup>1</sup> He saw where the fly had entered (A11:9); *ʔəkεt zála?*<sup>2</sup> Where are you going?; *m-əkət ʔəθya?* From where have you come? (2) **how?** | *ʔeka pēsət xwàrθi?*<sup>2</sup> How will you become my friend? (A52:5); *hudáya ʔəčči-u ʔəčča dáwe zíle mánne*<sup>1</sup> *ʔeka t-áθya šmθe?*<sup>2</sup> The Jew has lost ninety-nine gold coins. How could he sleep!? (A6:3); *m-əkεle pčíla?*<sup>2</sup> How can it be crooked? (A17:20); *m-áyka har-là-mšən t-amrənnux*<sup>1</sup> I cannot tell you how (A11:2).

*ʔena* n.f. **eye; aperture; spring of water.** (1) **eye** (pl. *ʔene*) | *murmálla ʔéne díye* He raised his eyes, *ʔu-ʔéni-žigən hóla bšire*<sup>1</sup> My eyes have deteriorated (A24:10); *xonáwáθi θéla qam-ʔéni*<sup>1</sup> My brothers have come to mind (A18:12); *rába xzúθa ʔéne díye*<sup>1</sup> *m-d-ə-məndi*<sup>1</sup> He had suffered a lot from that affair (A18:32); *garət ʔena eyelid.* (2) **aperture** (pl. *ʔenaθa*) | in a field boundary for the introduction of irrigation water: *dwíqle ʔénət xáqla b-màssa*<sup>1</sup> He closed the irrigation aperture of the field with a pole. (3) **spring of water** (pl. *ʔenaθa, ʔenáwáθa*) | *ʔéna hóla nwàʔa*<sup>1</sup> A spring is welling up, *ʔÉn-Nune* Spring of Fishes (village name), *ʔénət*

*Kutto*!...<sup>2</sup>*ənat ʔumra*! the spring of *Kutto*... the spring of the church (the two water springs in <sup>2</sup>*En-Nune* B10:61); <sup>2</sup>*u-pišla rəs-ʔəna*! She remained at the spring (A25:57); *zille rəs-ʔəna*! He went to the spring (A15:2). (4) Idioms: *gu-d-anna ʔəni bt-áθən*! (I promise) by these eyes (of mine) that I shall come (A22:20); *ða-ʔáqla rəs-d-əyya ʔənən*! <sup>2</sup>*u-ða rəs-d-əyya*! We shall treat you with respect (literally: one leg on this eye of ours and one on this other one B9:10).

<sup>2</sup>*ənəkθa* n.f. (pl. <sup>2</sup>*ənəkyaθa*) **small hole** | in shoes, through which a strap (*gəðilta*) is inserted; in the middle of a grind-stone (*pənxa*).

<sup>2</sup>*əni* part. **who?; which?** (§14.9.14.). (1) **who?** | <sup>2</sup>*ənile*!<sup>2</sup> Who is he? (A2:7); <sup>2</sup>*əni híwle-lləx*!<sup>2</sup> Who gave it to you? (A4:19); <sup>2</sup>*ənile qtilalle*!<sup>2</sup> Who has killed him? (A15:16). (2) **which** | <sup>2</sup>*əni mənəxu t-əzəl*!<sup>2</sup> Which of you will go? (A30:1); <sup>2</sup>*əni-mənnən*! *biš-šəpirtela*! Which of us is most beautiful (A25:17). Modifier of a noun: <sup>2</sup>*əni bəxtela mubrəθa*!<sup>2</sup> Which woman has given birth? (A25:6); *ga-ʔəni Zine*! <sup>2</sup>*əxni ləðəx*! Now, which Zine we do not know (A26:61); *pənxa ʔəni mənəle*!<sup>2</sup> Which of the (types of) grind wheel is it? (B5:92).

<sup>2</sup>*ən-nunaya* n.m./adj. (pl. <sup>2</sup>*ən-nunaye*) **man from ʔEn-Nune**

<sup>2</sup>*enta* n.f. (pl. <sup>2</sup>*ənyəθa*) **airhole of oven; hole in a wheat storage bin (*kwarə*) to take out the wheat**

<sup>2</sup>*era* adj. (invar.) **fitting** | *šəwle ʔərela tla-ʔəqləθi*! The shoes fit my feet.

<sup>2</sup>*ewa* n.m. (pl. <sup>2</sup>*əwe*) **cloud** | *míya m-ʔəwe šáte*! He drinks water from the clouds (= He is arrogant); in 1st person boasting about own power: <sup>2</sup>*u-ʔána míya m-ʔəwən štáya*! I can drink water even from the clouds (I have such power) (A26:34).

<sup>2</sup>*ewana* adj. (f. <sup>2</sup>*əwanta*, pl. <sup>2</sup>*əwane*) **cloudy** | *dúnye hóla ʔəwánta*! It is cloudy.

<sup>2</sup>*əčča* num. (f. <sup>2</sup>*əčča*) **nine** | *ʔurzet ʔəčča* the ninth man; *baxtat ʔəčča* the ninth woman

<sup>2</sup>*əččassər* num. **nineteen**

<sup>2</sup>*əččaθn-* num. **nine of** | base for pronominal suffixes: <sup>2</sup>*əččaθnən* the nine of us; <sup>2</sup>*əččaθnəxu* the nine of you; <sup>2</sup>*əččaθnéy* the nine of them

<sup>2</sup>*əčči* num. **ninety**

<sup>2</sup>*ədara* n.f. (A.) **administration**



*ʔadda* n.m. **weed; weeds (collective)** | *ʔay-ʔára máre ʔaddɛla*<sup>1</sup> That ground is full of weeds.

*ʔaddlɛle* adv. **tonight** | *ʔaddlɛle dámxəx ʔàxxa*<sup>1</sup> Let's sleep here tonight (A4:29).

*ʔaðma* n.m. (pl. *ʔaðmǎwaθa*) **brother of husband**

*ʔadyo*, *ʔadyoma* (marginal) adv. **today** | *qámθa ʔu-ʔádyo yòma*<sup>1</sup> formerly and nowadays

*ʔəhtəfāl* n.m. (A.) **celebration**

*ʔəjara* n.f. (A.) **wages, hire** | *ʔáxni šáqləx háqqət ʔəjara mǎnne díye*<sup>1</sup> We shall receive wages from him (A14:15).

*ʔəjbona* n.m. **will (of God)** | *hár ʔəjbona díyux-ile*<sup>1</sup> It is your will (A9:4).

*ʔəlla* part. **unless, only if, except, but, particle of insistence; or not** (§19.5.5.). (1) **unless** | *b-čü-ʔúrxa ʔo-Dəmdəma lé šaqlitule ʔəlla qāfítula míyət Dəmdəma*<sup>1</sup> By no means will you capture Dəmdəma unless you cut off the water of Dəmdəma (A11:17); *xətna lè-y-axəl ʔəlla qablile xə-məndi*<sup>1</sup> The groom would not eat unless they pledged something to him (B10:40); *lā qe:šanne káwsux*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəlla t-amrətli ʔanna ma-brinànela gu-réšux*<sup>1</sup> I shall not cut your hair, unless you tell me what these wounds are on your head (A29:5–6). (2) **only if** | *ʔána mǎθənwə l-márya ʔalaha ʔəlla t-aθyáwa báxta bəθri*<sup>1</sup> *t-azənwə*<sup>1</sup> I had sworn to the Lord God that only if a woman came after me would I go (A8:94). (3) **except** | combined with a negator = only: *w-ána hon-márta ʔla-Nozəli ʔána le-y-gáwəwən ʔəlla xána díya Gozəli*<sup>1</sup> I said to Nozəli that I would only marry her brother Gozəli (A8:95). (4) **but, but rather** | *ʔu-čü bəʔ-nása la-mátəlla ʔəlla b-rzáyət gána-díya t-àθya*<sup>1</sup> Nobody can reach her, but rather she comes of her own will (A8:65). (5) **particle of insistence** | *ʔəlla gáwəwət*<sup>1</sup> You must marry (A16:6); *ʔəlla xazyánne xòni*<sup>1</sup> I must see my brother (A8:66). (6) **or not** | *ʔáv léðe čádrət bəbe díyila ʔəlla*<sup>1</sup> He did not know whether it was his father's tent or not (A28:33).

*ʔəllaya*, *laya* adj. (f. *ʔəlləθa*, pl. *ʔəllaye*) **upper** | → *be-laye* upper room

*ʔəltəx* adv. **below**

*ʔəmma* n.m. (pl. *ʔəmmaye*) **hundred** | *tre ʔəmma ~ tre-mma* two hundred; *ʔləθa ʔəmma ~ ʔləθa-mma* three hundred; *ʔáwəwa ʔəmma mən-ʔəmma ʔile Fàrxo*<sup>1</sup> This is a hundred percent (= certainly) Farxo (A25:45); *zilela*<sup>1</sup>

*ʔammáyət náše mēθóye Bálbəl Hazàr*<sup>1</sup> Hundreds of people went to bring back Bəlbəl Hazar (A8:30).

*ʔn* part. **if** (§19.5.); **either/or** (§19.5.6.1.); **interrogative particle**. (1) **if** | *ʔn-pálsəx mən-d-áni qaṭlilən*<sup>1</sup> If we fight with them, they will kill us (A14:44); *ʔn-lá-ʔazən mšâyðən*<sup>1</sup> If I do not go, he will go mad (A4:27); *ʔn-kpìnni, ʔ-axlønne*<sup>1</sup> If I get hungry, I shall eat it (A23:5); *ʔn-ile mìṭa, ʔgáræg mēθən*<sup>1</sup> If he is dead, I must die (A8:61); *ʔn-ʔiθ pàwxa, ʔi-marmíle gu-hàwa*<sup>1</sup> If there is wind, they raise it in the air (B5:97); *ʔn-in ʔàna ʔṭhya gu-šwíṭax, ʔrégəṇ xaddáməx*<sup>1</sup> If I have come to sleep in you bed, call your servants (A26:4); *máṣət ʔ-òðət rába mändiyáne mánne diye, ʔn-ila zəwðàne*<sup>1</sup> You can make make many (other) things from them, if they are left over (B5:219). Complement of the verb ‘to wait’: *səpri ʔn-háwe pàwxa*<sup>1</sup> They wait for there to be wind (B5:97). (2) **either/or** | *là-barya ʔn-gànwí ʔn-sàlbi*<sup>1</sup> They cannot steal or plunder (A29:39); *ʔn-qaṭlànnum ʔáyya bráta šaqłənnə ʔn-la-páṭtən m-àxxa*<sup>1</sup> Either I shall kill you and take this girl or I shall not go out from here (A29:28); *ʔn-ile-qtíla, ʔn-ile xíla*<sup>1</sup> He has either been killed or he has been eaten (by wild animals) (A39:17); *léla dáʔa módi bràya, ʔhadiya péša kəpa ʔn la-péša kəpa*<sup>1</sup> She did not know what was happening, whether she would now turn to stone or not turn to stone (A8:73). (3) **interrogative particle** | *ʔn máṣət šaqłəṭla*<sup>2</sup> Can you take it? (A39:9).

*ʔngaliyon* n.f. **Gospel**

*ʔngləznaya* n.m. /adj. (pl. *ʔngləznaye*) **English**

*ʔnjaša* n.m. (pl. *ʔnjaše*) **wild plum**

*ʔnwa* n.m. (pl. *ʔnwe*) **grape** | *ʔnwe kome* black grapes; *ʔnwə baširana* type of grapes (slow to ripen); *ʔmwe zarrək* type of yellow grape

*ʔqba* n.f. (pl. *ʔqbaṭa*) **heel** | *ʔqbət ʔaqli* heel of my foot

*ʔrba* n.m. (pl. *ʔrbe, ʔrwe*) **sheep; goat** | *ʔrwət xware* sheep; *ʔrwət kome* goats; *ʔrwət wala* wild goats, ibexes

*ʔrbala* n.f. (pl. *ʔrbale*) **sieve with medium sized holes**

*ʔršana* adj. (f. *ʔršanta*, pl. *ʔršane*) **mirky**

*ʔršanuṭa* n.f. **mirkiness**

*ʔrwana* n.m. (pl. *ʔrwane*) **charity; charitable gift, good deed** | *wílle xa-ʔrwàna*<sup>1</sup> He did a good deed.

*ʿarwe* → *ʿarba*

*ʿarxe* → *ʿarxe*

*ʿarxuθa* n.f. **length**

*ʿaryana* n.f. **rainfall, rain storm** | *gu-ʿaryàne*<sup>1</sup> in rain storms (B5:124); *bás l-ʿaryàna zǎrila*<sup>1</sup> They sow it relying only on rainfall (B5:94).

*ʿarzala* n.f. (pl. *ʿarzale*) **portable bed** | made of wood with bedding of grass and hay: *šele m-ʿarzala čira* He got out of bed in a temper (C2:38).

*ʿaspa* n.m. (pl. *ʿaspe*) **loan (in kind)** | *šqilli zedáye b-ʿaspa*<sup>1</sup> I borrowed some flat-breads; *šqilli xátte b-ʿaspa*<sup>1</sup> I borrowed wheat; *háwle zedáye b-ʿaspa*<sup>1</sup> I lent some flat-breads. Not used for the loan of money → *dyn* (III *m-dyn*).

*ʿasra* n.f. (pl. *ʿasraθa*) **large storage basket** | made of willow cane (*xelape*) or twigs from the mulberry tree (*tuθa*)

*ʿasri* num. **twenty**

*ʿastaðta* n.f. **mistress** | *mára*<sup>1</sup> *xadàmta!*<sup>1</sup> *béna ʿastàðti*<sup>1</sup> She said ‘Servant!’ (The servant said) ‘(I am coming) at once, madam’ (A37:13).

*ʿastaqbāl* n.m. (A.) **reception**

*ʿašar* n.f. **intense cold (of winter)** | *ʿašarila* It is very cold; *ʿašar brižta* dry cold

*ʿašra* num. (f. *ʿašsar*) **ten** | *ʿurzet ʿašra* the tenth man; *baxtat ʿašsar* the tenth woman.

*ʿašraya* n.m. (pl. *ʿašraye*) **udder**

*ʿašraθn-* num. **ten of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *ʿašraθnan* the ten of us; *ʿašraθnexu* the ten of you; *ʿašraθnéy* the ten of them.

*ʿašya* adj. (f. *šiya*, pl. *ʿašye*) **stuck, trapped**

*ʿaškāra* → *škāra*

*ʿašrāf* n.m. (A.) **supervision** | *ʿána t-ódan ʿašrāf ʿallèy*<sup>1</sup> I shall look after them (A8:18).

*ʿaššeta* adv. **this year**

*ʿašta* num. (f. *ʿaššat*) **six** | *ʿurzet ʿašta* the sixth man; *baxtat ʿaššat* the sixth woman.

<sup>ʾ</sup>*astassar* num. **sixteen**

<sup>ʾ</sup>*astathn-* num. **six of** | base for pronominal suffixes: <sup>ʾ</sup>*astathnan* the six of us; <sup>ʾ</sup>*astathnexu* the six of you; <sup>ʾ</sup>*astathney* the six of them.

<sup>ʾ</sup>*asti* num. **sixty**

<sup>ʾ</sup>*awət* n.m. **February**

<sup>ʾ</sup>*awerasʿ* → <sup>ʾ</sup>*arawerasʿ*

<sup>ʾ</sup>*attafāq* n.m. (A.) **agreement**

<sup>ʾ</sup>*axre* n.pl.tan. **excrement**

<sup>ʾ</sup>*zla* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʾ</sup>*zle*) **yarn** | *guttət* <sup>ʾ</sup>*zla* a ball of yarn; <sup>ʾ</sup>*zlele zqira*<sup>1</sup> It is knitted with yarn.

<sup>ʾ</sup>*zza* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʾ</sup>*zze*) **nanny goat**

<sup>ʾ</sup>*zzəkθa* n.f. **nanny goat**

<sup>ʾ</sup>*zzət wala* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʾ</sup>*zzət wala*) **wild goat (inhabiting mountains)**

<sup>ʾ</sup>*i-* → <sup>ʾ</sup>*ith*

<sup>ʾ</sup>*ida* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʾ</sup>*idaθa*, <sup>ʾ</sup>*idāwaθa* <sup>ʾ</sup>*ide*) **hand; handle; arm; foot (of an animal); round of a game.** (1) **hand** | <sup>ʾ</sup>*idux lá-darət gu-nūra*<sup>1</sup> *t-là-ʾaqða*<sup>1</sup> Do not put your hand in the fire, lest it burn (D2:8); *b-ʾide diye dawùqle*<sup>1</sup> He would hold it in his hand (B6:3); *zryamwale b-idāθi*<sup>1</sup> I had cultivated it with my hands (A17:32); *b-idən xetəxxwa*<sup>1</sup> We would sew by hand (B10:59); *hállule l-ʾidi*<sup>1</sup> Hand him over into my custody (A28:25). (2) **handle** | <sup>ʾ</sup>*idət tūra* handle of a door; <sup>ʾ</sup>*idət magreta* the handle of the shaving knife. (3) **arm** | *dawéra ʾide-w ʾaqle*<sup>1</sup> A mule (is a man's) arms and legs (B5:124); *šryalla ʾaqle w-ide*<sup>1</sup> He untied the legs and arms (A10:13). (4) **foot (of an animal)** | *qimle tawra*<sup>1</sup> *primále dá ʾide diye*<sup>1</sup> He cut off one of the feet of the ox (A22:3). (5) **round of a game** | *kəmə ʾidāθa mtálax*<sup>2</sup> How many rounds shall we play?; *tlā-ʾidaθa muxsárre Māmo*<sup>1</sup> Māmo lost three rounds (of chest) (A26:66). (6) Idiom: *l-ʾidāθux*<sup>1</sup> in your presence (A12:29).

<sup>ʾ</sup>*idamta*, <sup>ʾ</sup>*idamθa* n.f. (pl. <sup>ʾ</sup>*idamyatha*) **sister of husband; wife of brother of husband** | pl. <sup>ʾ</sup>*idamyatha* wives of brothers

<sup>ʾ</sup>*ilakka*, <sup>ʾ</sup>*yälək*, <sup>ʾ</sup>*yälakka* n.m. (pl. <sup>ʾ</sup>*ilakke*) (T.) **waistcoat** | worn over a shirt (*sudra*)

*ʿilana* n.f. (pl. *ʿilane*, *ʿilanane*) **tree**

*ʿilanta* n.f. (pl. *ʿilanyaθa*) **tree, small tree**

*ʿilul* n.m. **September**

*ʿimān* n.m. (A.) **faith, trust**

*ʿiman*, *ʿima* part. **when.** (1) interrogative particle: *ʿiman t-àθat?* When will come?; *hal-ʿima dāmāx?* Until when will he sleep? (A12:8); *bāyān t-yāḏḏan ʿāna ʿiman mēθena* I want to know when I shall die (A16:1). (2) Governing temporal subordinate clause: *ʿiman t-àθyāt*, *ḏa-kista-xéta max-d-āy yawānnāx* When you come back, I'll give you another purse like that one (A4:16). *ʿiman-t >ʿimə(t)*: *ʿimət xilla ʿap-o-t-trè*, *pišla xā-šabθa*, *tré šabbàθa*, *kpinna* When they had eaten the second one, a week, two weeks went by and they became hungry (A20:9); *ʿimə zille kəs-mālka*, *dūwənt mālka hóle mlīθa náše ràbe* When he went to the king, the audience chamber of the king was full of many people (A17:31).

*ʿina* part. **presentative particle; but; otherwise** (§18.1.5). (1) **presentative particle** | in association with verbs of perception: *ʿiθyela xāzye ʿina tēna kulle mālya šaxta* They came and saw that the saddle bag was completely full of filth (A7:11); *qimela zile xāzye ʿina dūs* They went and saw that it was true (A14:13); *xazéle ʿina bēθe mālya* He sees that his house is full (A21:8); *paθaxle iāra*, *ʿina xazéle ʿo-ʿazvāna tāma* He opened the door and saw the caretaker there (A22:43). Implied verb of perception: *mātti bāla gu-yāma*, *ʿina ʿa-sústət yamàθa* *nabòlalla* Čalkāze They looked at the sea (and saw) the mare of the seas taking away Čalkāze (A12:34); *ʿo-xabūša pθixtalle*, *ʿina ʿisqθa diya* She opened up the apple and (saw) her ring (A4:19). Introducing preliminary background material: *tlāθna hon-yíwtalla mōʿad*. *ʿina t-āθi lāxxa* *ʿāti kúl fātra* *māšāila gānux barāye* I have made an assignation with the three of them. Now, (when) they come here, each time you hide yourself outside (A22:21–22). Climactic result: *šléla tāma ʿina kulla gérme diya šmīte*. She went down there and all her bones were broken (A20:4). In commands: *ʿina m-báθar maqḏāli* *ʿaw-qəṭma* *šaqlitule* *mxamitule* Now, after she burns me, take the ashes and keep them (A26:85). (2) **but** | drawing attention to something unexpected: *ʿāna bāyānwā šaqlínwāli xāčča māsxa* ... *ta-t-áxlān b-ʿúrxa* *xāčča māsxa-w lāxma* *ʿina ʿiḏi šéla gu-d-áwwa hānna lintā* I wanted to take a little oil to eat on the way, a little oil and bread, but my hand has got stuck in this thing, the pot (A23:8); *ʿiθyela*, *plīte bārquḷ mḏitē*. *ʿina mḏitēy kulla mxīθa*

*l-kòma*<sup>1</sup> They came out opposite their town. But, their town was all covered in black. (A4:28). In exclamatory constructions: *'anna şàli*<sup>1</sup> *'ina mò şàli*<sup>1</sup> They went down and what (a surprise when) they went down! (A25:13); *xá-bena plítteła xa-bràta.*<sup>1</sup> *'ina mù-brata!*<sup>1</sup> Then a girl came out, but what a girl! (A13:11); *xílanna 'ina mòdi!*<sup>1</sup> I have eaten it, so what! (A2:11). (3) **otherwise** | *'ána hon-márəllux b-əyya şart 'aláha t-yawəllux,*<sup>1</sup> *'ina là-yawəllux*<sup>1</sup> I am telling you, God will give to you on this condition, otherwise he will not give to you (A3:5).

*'inta* n.f. (pl. *'ine*) **small edible terebinth nut** | *'ilanət 'inta* a tree with bunches (*qontəpe*) of such nuts

*'ipta* n.f. (pl. *'ipyəθa*) **strap made of gut connecting yoke of animals to the plough**

*'iqa* adj. (f. *'iqta*, pl. *'iqe*) **narrow; distressed** | *tárat gómi 'iqele*<sup>1</sup> The door of my basement stable is narrow (A7:24); *yáðət b-gənuş*<sup>1</sup> *'iqanwa,*<sup>1</sup> *danənəwə*<sup>1</sup> You know, by your soul, that I was in trouble, I was in debt (A1:10).

*'iqara* n.m. **honour; respect; privilege** | *maşlélan b-iqàra*<sup>1</sup> They bring us down (to the town) with honour (A4:30); *'áwəwə wéwə xa-'iqàra*<sup>1</sup> This was a (sign of) respect (B5:68); *'ána mattənnux 'iqàra* I respect you; *rába mattəxxwə 'iqàra 'əlləy*<sup>1</sup> We felt great respect for them (B15:10); *mattəxxwə 'iqàra xa-qa-d-o-xəna*<sup>1</sup> We used to show respect to one another (B5:229); *wéləx hawənànta,*<sup>1</sup> *b-'iqárat şáwəθa basimta,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-màqu!*<sup>1</sup> You have been clever, with the gift of sweet and fine words (A40:16).

*'iquθa* n.f. **distress** | *hóle npila gu-'iquəθa*<sup>1</sup> He has fallen into distress (A29:29).

*'iranaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *'iranayə*) **Iranian**

*'isaqta* n.f. **ascension** | *'isáqtət Mšíxa l-šməyya*<sup>1</sup> the ascension of Christ to Heaven (B6:7)

*'isara* n.m. (pl. *'isare*) **large rock; cliff** | *túra 'isare raməne*<sup>1</sup> a mountain with high rocks (A15:13); *ma-t-íle 'isára m-kúlla goyàθa*<sup>1</sup> since there is such a huge rock on all sides (of the mountain) (A8:48).

*'isarta* n.f. **gravel** | put in foundations of a house

*'isəqθa* n.f. (pl. *'isəqyaθa*) **ring**

*'itawa* n.m. **sitting** | *dúkəθət 'itəwə*<sup>1</sup> a sitting place, a seat (B6:7)

*ʔixala* n.m. (pl. *ʔixalyaθa*) **food, a meal**

*ʔyyatnaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *ʔyyatnaye*) **a man from ʔyyət**

*ʔiθ* part. (variants: *ʔiθən*, *ʔiθena*, *ʔiθga*, *ʔiθgən*, *ʔiθgena*. past: *ʔiθwa*) **existential particle** (§8.20.1., §15.3.8., §17.3.) (1) Used without suffixes | *ʔiθən xa-tūra*<sup>1</sup> There is a mountain (A24:11); *ʔána ʔiθ šùla qámi*<sup>1</sup> There is work in front of me (to do) (A24:45); *hóla ʔiθən jənne gáwa*<sup>1</sup> There are jinn in it! (A22:33); *ʔiθwa xa-málka*<sup>1</sup> There was a king (A1:2). (2) With L-suffixes expressing possession: *ʔitle*, *ʔiθwale* | *ʔitli dá brátət-màma*<sup>1</sup> I have a cousin (A7:17); *ʔiθwalən xa-málka*<sup>1</sup> We had a king (A4:31). (3) With pronominal suffixes attached to *b-*: *ʔiθbe*, *ʔiθwabe*, *ʔibe*, *ʔiwabe* | *mátyəle xa-káwətət ʔrwe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔibe tre-ṭláθa ʔálpa rēs-ʔrwe*<sup>1</sup> He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep (A32:14); *ʔiwabi*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəsrá šənne*<sup>1</sup> I was ten years old (B5:130); *mo-ʔiba*<sup>1</sup> What is there in it (= That is fine, OK) (A13:1).

*ʔo* part. **vocative particle** | *ʔó Danno*<sup>1</sup> Hey Danno!

*ʔojəx* n.m. (pl. *ʔojaxe*) **tribe** | *gorət ʔojəx* head of tribe; *le-γ-yawíwa mən-ʔojəx l-ʔojəx*<sup>1</sup> They did not give (brides) from one tribe to another (B5:3).

*ʔore* n.f. (pl. *ʔorəwaθa*) **manger** | *qəm-daréle gu-ʔorat susəwàθa*<sup>1</sup> They have put him in the horses' manger (A25:11).

*ʔorta* n.m./f. (K.) **marble game** | The aim is to dislodge marbles in a central target by shooting other marbles at them (B11:25ff.)

*ʔosta* → *hosta*

*ʔotel* n.f. **hotel**

*ʔotəx*, *ʔotaxa* n.f./m. (pl. *ʔotaxe*) (K./T.) **room**

*ʔo-xa*, *ʔo-xaha* pron. ms. **demonstrative** (§14.3.5.) | Denoting the accessibility of a referent in memory: *txárət ʔo-xa-náša t-wéwa láxxa qəm-šəbθa*<sup>1</sup> Do you remember the man who was here a week ago?; *ʔána ʔo-xà qáša*<sup>1</sup> *t-ín ʔóθya gu-Tiyàre*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-dəqátli xošətli gu-gòma*<sup>1</sup> I am the priest who (you remember) came to Tiyare, whom you seized and confined me in the basement stable (B17:15).

*ʔuðala* → *huðala*

*ʔujaje* n.pl. **pelvis bones**

*ʔullul* adv. **above**

*ʿumqa* n.m. **depth** | *mašlānnux gu-ʿumqət yamàθa*<sup>1</sup> I shall take you down into the depth of the seas (A12:31).

*ʿumra* n.m. (pl. *ʿumre*, *ʿumrane*) **church**

*ʿumra*, *ʿūmur* n.m. **age** | *knéle ʿumrūx*?<sup>1</sup> How old are you?; *ʿána ʿūmur dīyi ʿāštā-šənnewa*<sup>1</sup> I was six years old (B15:32).

*ʿūmur* → *ʿumra*

*ʿupra* n.m. (pl. *ʿuprane*) **soil, ground; land** | *báyən t-xazánne ʿupra dīyi*<sup>1</sup> I want to see my land (A14:47).

*ʿurədxə* n.f. (pl. *ʿurədxə*, *ʿurədxəθa*) **long needle** | *lá-maxət gúšma ʿurədxə*<sup>1</sup> Do not punch a needle (D2:59).

*ʿurṯiθa* n.f. (pl. *ʿurṯiyaθa*) **noisy fart** → *m-rt*, *ṯur*

*ʿurwa*, *hurwa* n.m. (pl. *ʿurwe*) **raven**

*ʿurxa* n.f. (pl. *ʿurxaθa*) **road; way**. (1) **road, way (physical)** | *b-ʿurxa ṯfiqele xá-xuəwe biye*<sup>1</sup> On the road a snake met him (A1:4); *šléle ʿurxa-urxa xzéle ʿina pyáša dəbbòre*<sup>1</sup> He went down and along the way saw that they were becoming hornets (A10:10); *kút-yom dawəqwala ʿurxe b-ʿide*<sup>1</sup> Every day he went the same way (A34:29); *bálki léla ʿurxət dyàra*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is the road of no return (A37:10); *ʿurxət genəwe* the Milky Way; *ʿurxət šaqiθa* the track of a waterchannel. (2) **way (abstract), method** | *ʿiθwa rába ʿurxáθa mṯawòle*<sup>1</sup> There were many ways to play (B15:5); *dáx ʿurxa muxzélux ʿólla lípla ʿəwəwa šúla*?<sup>1</sup> How did you show her the way to learn this work? (A21:34). (3) Idioms: *báxte dīye hóla b-ʿurxa dīya*<sup>1</sup> His wife is now pregnant (A8:5); *báxte dīye láwa píšta b-ʿurxa*<sup>1</sup> His wife has not become pregnant (A8:5).

*ʿurza* n.m. (pl. *ʿurze*) **man; male** | *ʿurzət bəθa*<sup>1</sup> the man of the house, the householder (B5:117)

*ʿustāḏ* n.m. (pl. *ʿustaḏe*) (A.) **teacher, master**

/ʿ/

*ʿəʔla* n.f. (pl. *ʿəwəʔəl*) (A.) **family**

*ʿabīd* n.m. (A.) **slave, slaves**

*ʿadi* adj. invar. (A.) **ordinary**



ʿ*afrit* n.m. (A.) **demon**

ʿ*aksa*, ʿ*aks*, ʿ*akəs* n.m. (A.) **contrary**. part. **opposite** | *xá l-ʿaks d-o-xèna*<sup>1</sup>  
one opposite the other (A26:8).

ʿ*alaqa* n.f. (A.) **connection, relation**

ʿ*alwa* n.f. (A.) **auction house**

ʿ*al-ʿasās* part. (A.) **in order that, because; that (complementizer)**

ʿ*aqīd* n.m. (A.) **colonel**

ʿ*arābi* n.m. (A.) **Arabic (language)**

ʿ*āšābi* adj. invar. (A.) **nervous, angry**

ʿ*āšira* n.f. (pl. ʿ*āšāʿar*) n.pl. (A.) **tribe**

ʿ*allaga* n.f. (A.) **bag**

/B/

*b-* prep. (rare variant *biyət*; with pronominal suffixes, *biye*, *biye diye*, *bi-diye*, ʿ*abbe*) (§13.3.2., §16.1.) **in, at, on, with, by means of**. (1) Spatial and temporal location: *šqilele qésa b-ʿide diye*<sup>1</sup> He took the stick in his hand (A22:30); *b-lèle* at night (A15:8). (2) Instrument: *zriyənwale b-iðàθi*<sup>1</sup> I have cultivated it with my hands (A17:32). (3) Comitative and associative: ʿ*āθi b-dāwla-w zórna-w tópe-w* Let them come with the drum and pipe and with guns (A4:33); *lilən šúla biye*<sup>1</sup> We have no business with it (= It is not our business) (A48:6). (4) Attributive: ʿ*ána b-zawonónne ʿn-háwe b-tárte ʿaqlàθa*<sup>1</sup> I shall buy it if it has one leg (A22:9). (5) Material: *t-odātli gāšra b-qèsa*<sup>1</sup> Make me a bridge of wood (A17:18). (6) Price: *xá-kilo ʿáxre b-ḥlāθa dāwele*<sup>1</sup> One kilo of dung sells for three gold pieces (A7:14). (7) Manner: *mašlélen b-iqàra*<sup>1</sup> They bring us down with honour (A4:30). (8) Cause: ʿ*ámər b-āyyət mšúdrəlli*<sup>2</sup> Was it for this (reason) you sent for me? (A21:32). (9) Oath: *b-álaha ʿáwwa xoš-yàlele*<sup>1</sup> By God, he is a good lad (A21:5). (10) Combined with other prepositions: *hóle dārya julla b-réša*<sup>1</sup> He put a cloth over them (A25:48). → *bəd*, *bud*

*baʿuθət ninwaye* n.f. **the Rogation of the Ninevites (Assyrian national festival)** | Three days fast commemorating the flood of Nineveh (B6:17ff.)

*ba'd* part. (A.) **then** | *bá'd módi xèna?*<sup>pl</sup> 'Then, what else? (A23:35)

*ba'dèn* part. (A.) **afterwards**

*baba* n.m. (pl. *babáwaθa*) **father; term of endearment.** (1) **father** | *bábi muttúle táma bèθa*<sup>l</sup> 'My father set up home there (B8:10); *xá-naša l-xóðe lítte la-bába la-yámma la-ʔáp-xa,*<sup>l</sup> *ʔáw y-amrile*<sup>l</sup> *lítte náše*<sup>l</sup> 'A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody—he—they say concerning him that he has no relatives (A17:17); *bábe díye ʔu-d-áni ʔθyela*<sup>l</sup> 'His father and his father's family came (A4:55); *bában t-šmàyya*<sup>l</sup> 'our heavenly father (B8:16). (2) **term of endearment** | *babi* my dear (said by parent to child, or by a person to a friend); *ʔla-mòdi bábi?*<sup>pl</sup> 'Why my dear? (mother to son) (A26:71); *mòdi mára,*<sup>l</sup> *bábi?*<sup>pl</sup> 'What is he saying, my friend? (A7:25); *bábət yámmux* dear one of your mother (= my dear son) (A37:9).

*bádal, m-bádal* part. (A.) **instead of** | *qímila ʔáy m-bádal xmáθa díya*<sup>l</sup> 'She got up instead of her mother-in-law (A21:22).

*badəkka* n.m. (pl. *badəkke*) **hut**

*badiya* n.m. (pl. *badiye*) **brass vessel (for water and dawwe)**

*badoda* n.m. (pl. *badode*) **long wooden poker for stirring up the fire of an oven**

*bağdednaya* n.m. (pl. *bağdednaye*) **man from Baghdad**

*bāğəbāği* n.m. **multicoloured embroidered fabric**

*bāħar* n.m. (A.) **sea**

*bāħarāt* n.pl. (A.) **spices**

*bahəṛ, bəħəṛ, beħeri* n.m. (pl. *bahare, bəħere, beħeriye*) (K.) **Spring (season)**

*bahogəṛ, buħugar* n.f. (K.) **blizzard (of snow)**

*bahs, bas* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *bahs diye*) **about, concerning** | *bahsət šuli* about my job; *bahs d-awwa mändi* about his thing; *hon-šəmya bas-díye*<sup>l</sup> 'I have heard about it (A8:41).

*bahura* adj. (f. *bahurta*, pl. *bahure*) **shining, resplendent** | *mjàgra m-kíma bahurta* She contends with the resplendent Pleiades (C2:74).

*bāğara* n.m. (K.) **alternative, choice** | *liθ bāğara*<sup>l</sup> *ʔilla bṯ-àzax*<sup>l</sup> 'There is no alternative, we must go (A8:27).

*bajalla* n.m. (pl. *bajalle*) **broad bean**

*bajoniya* n.m. (pl. *bajoniye*) **lycium barbarum berry** | edible red berry

*baksäma* n.m. (pl. *baksäme*) **big loaf made from flour of wheat**

*bala* n.m. **mind** | *mäsýam bála!* Pay attention!; *mäsýam bála l-gänux!* Look after yourself!; *'ánna gáræg xamàxla-w'* *masímæx bála 'älla!* We must care for them and look after them (A8:15); *mátti bála gu-yàma!* They looked at the sea (A12:34); *máttu bála b-gáne diyé!* *nubállé rəs-d-o-tùra!* He realized that it had taken him onto the mountain (A14:69); *Čúxo híwle bále l-bèθa!* Čuxo set off for home (A7:12); *kúlla lèlela l-bálux?* Has it been on your mind all night? (A25:67); *hál hadíya 'áwəwa məndiyáne píšela l-bàlən!* Until now these things remain in our mind (B15:1); *b-álaha l-bàli!* It just occurred to me (A8:41).

*balakšanka* | *xuwwe balakšanka* **type of snake**

*bālam* n.f. (pl. *bālame*) **boat**

*bālās'* adj. invar. (A.) **free, without charge**

*balaya* n.m. (pl. *balaye*) **problem; trouble; disaster** | *npílli gu-balàya!* I am in trouble, I have a problem; *m-éka píšlux balàya 'əlli?* Why are you such a trouble to me? (A17:4)

*balazeze* n.pl. (sing. *balazeza* f.) **yellowy white Spring flowers** | with four stems (*taqane*)

*balki* part. **perhaps** | *bálki 'àθya!* Perhaps she will come (A8:49); *bálki lá-?awðən xàbrux!* Perhaps I shall not do as you say (A21:43); *bálki gam-xa-šəbθele 'əθya!* He has come perhaps just a week ago (A8:56). Governing a clause introduced by *D*: *bálki t-íla mīθta.* *bálki t-íle xa-móndi θiθa bìya.* Perhaps she is dead. Perhaps something has happened to her. (A21:25); *bálki yăđálux 'áti t-it-Gozàli!* Perhaps she knows that you are Gozali (A8:49).

*balla* n.m./adj. (f. and pl. *balle*) (K.) **erect; sheep with erect ears** | *qumta rixana balla* Her figure is (that of) an erect odiferous basil (C2:44).

*bālo* n.f. (pl. *bālowaθa*) **whirlpool**

*balota* n.f. (pl. *baloyaθa*) **throat** | *balotət tope* muzzle of a gun; *balotət pənxa* hole of a millstone (into which grain is introduced)

- balu'a* n.m./f. (A.) **drain, conduit, sewer**
- baluṭa* n.m. (pl. *baluṭe*) **acorn, nut of fruit that grows on oak trees**  
(*mēša, parma*) **tree** | given to animals to eat
- bambula* n.m. (pl. *bambule*) **spout (on a pot)**
- banaya, bannaya* n.m. (pl. *banaye, bannaye*) **builder**
- banda* n.m. (pl. *bande*) (K.) **section of a song**
- bandak* n.m. (pl. *bandake*) (K.) **harness made of rope used to secure bundles of wood on back of animal**
- banjane* (sing. *banjanta* f., *banjana* m.) **tomatoes, aubergines** | *banjane smoqe* tomatoes; *banjane kome* aubergines
- bānude* n.pl. (K.) **swaddling bands (wrapped around baby in a cradle)** | *bānude qmīṭela*<sup>1</sup> The bands are tied; *šaryáwa bānuda diya*<sup>1</sup> She untied her bands (A18:1).
- banyo* n.m. (A./I.) **bath, bathtub**
- baqa* n.m. (pl. *baqe*) **gnat; small waterborn insect** | *'ani-míya léla qa-štēṭa*<sup>1</sup> *'illa baqe*<sup>1</sup> This water is not for drinking, it has insects in it.
- baqara* n.m. (pl. *baqare*) **cowherd, keeper of cows** | *dmáyele l-xa-rámšət baqàra*<sup>1</sup> It resembles a cowherd's dinner (i.e. it is a hotchpotch—the cowherd's wife used to collect various different items of food from people around the village)
- baqča* n.m. (pl. *baqče*) (K.) **vegetable garden, orchard**
- baqla* n.m. (pl. *baqlē*) **red bean**
- baqalla* n.m. (pl. *baqalle*) **bean; broad bean**
- baqloša* n.m. (pl. *baqloše*) **pebble, small stone** | *tīwex xmala b-baqloše dax-xurakke* We sit and amuse ourselves (by playing with) small stones like friends (C2:31).
- baqta* n.f. **small gnat** | *dukṭa raba mare baqta* a place with many gnats
- baqurka* n.m. (pl. *baqurke*) **piglet**
- bar* + numeral | *'aw-rīqle bar-ʔarbe-u*<sup>1</sup> *bar-xàmmaš*<sup>1</sup> *bar-ʔššāt*<sup>1</sup> He ran away with four, five or six bounds (A18:23)

*băra* n.m. (pl. *băre*) (K.) **sheet**

*bara* n.m. (pl. *bare*) (K.) **side** | *m-àwəwa bára*<sup>1</sup> on this side (B10:53); *xrìwəla m-kùlla bàre*<sup>1</sup> It is utterly ruined.

*barana* n.m. (pl. *barane*) (K.) **adult male sheep (four years old and upwards)** | *šwara barane* jumping the rams (game similar to leap-frog B11:15ff.)

*baraye, baray* adv. **outside**

*barbehn* n.m. (pl. *barbehne*) **window** | *šrìxtəla m-gu-barbehn*<sup>1</sup> She called out of the window (A25:59).

*barbēn, barbena* n.f. (pl. *barbene*) **open space in front of house**

*barbiya* n.f. (pl. *barbiye, barbiyaθa*) **bridesmaid**

*barða* n.f. **hail** | *barða b-qanane* heavy hail; *ða gambəltət barða* a hailstone

*bardi* n.m. (A.) **canebrake**

*barəbar-* (K.) **around** | inside an area: *ʔu-y-azíwə xadrìwə*<sup>1</sup> *barəbərət màθa*<sup>1</sup> They would go around the village (B15:66).

*bərəkθa* n.f. (K.) **(small) sheet** | *pšúṭla ʔəqlux*<sup>1</sup> *qádər bərəkθux*<sup>1</sup> Stretch your legs according to your cloth (D1:6).

*bar-eli* adv. **upwards, on the upper side** | *m-pálgə d-áv ʔu-bàr-eli*<sup>1</sup> from its middle and upwards (A8:58); *múrməlla ʔaqláθa l-bàr-eli*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-réša xtàya*<sup>1</sup> They lifted her legs upwards and her head downwards (A27:34).

*barəšta, berəšta* n.f. (pl. *barəšyaθa, berəšyaθa*) **pillow, cushion**

*barəxmaya* n.m. (pl. *barəxməye*) **brother of wife**

*barəxməθa* n.f. (pl. *barəxməyaθa*) **sister of wife**

*bəriya* n.f. (A.) **creation, creatures**

*beriyya, beriyya* n.f. (A.) **desert**

*barje* → *xarja*

*barju* n.f. (pl. *barjuwəθa*) (K.) **channel connecting sections (sadde) of a paddy field**

*barmiya* n.m. **water weed (growing in rice paddy fields)**

*baṛ-našúθa*, *bəṛ-našúθa* n.f. **humanity, people, population** | *baṛ-našúθat*  
 ʿĒn-Nune the people of ʿĒn-Nune

*baroqa* n.m. (pl. *baroqe*) **shooting pain in back** | *mxéla baróqe gu-xàšì* I  
 have shooting pains in my back.

*barora* n.m. (pl. *barore*) **roll (of fabric)**

*ba-roža* n.f./adv. (K.) **side of the mountains on which the morn-  
 ing sun shines** | *ba-ròža* ʿáy šəmšèθela<sup>1</sup> The *ba-roža* side is sunny  
 (B5:148); ʿan-t-íla ʿída čàple<sup>1</sup> ʿíla *ba-ròža*<sup>1</sup> The ones (mountains) on the  
 left are (known as) the ‘sunny side’ (B3:1); *y-asqáxwa gu-ba-ròža*<sup>1</sup> We  
 would go up onto the ‘sunny side’.

*bar-qamaya* n.m. **front strap on a mule** | This was tied round its front  
 legs to prevent a load from falling backwards when it went up hill  
 → *bar-xaraya*.

*barqūl* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *barqule*) **opposite** | *plíte bārqūl mōitèy*<sup>1</sup>  
 They came out opposite the town (A4:28); ʿáwo kályele *barqūlat bābe*<sup>1</sup> He  
 is standing opposite his father.

*barrīya* n.f. (A.) **desert**

*barsa* n.m. **namesake** | *barsī* my namesake (mode of address to somebody  
 of the same name as that of the speaker).

*bar-taxti* adv. **downwards; on the lower side** | *prùmlè*<sup>1</sup> *m-áxxa-w bar-tàxti*<sup>1</sup>  
 Cut it from here downwards (A14:67); *gásəq bār-taxti*<sup>1</sup> He looks down-  
 wards (A28:3).

*barūd* n.m. (K./T.) **gunpowder**

*baruza* adj. (f. *baruzta*, pl. *baruze*) **dry, dryish, characteristically dry** |  
 cf. *briža* (completely) dry

*bar-xaraya* n.m. **back strap on a mule** | This was tied around its hind  
 legs to prevent a load from falling onto its neck when it went down  
 hill → *bar-qamaya*.

*baṛ-xəlyə* n.m. **fennel** | This is put in arak

*barxošta* n.f. (pl. *barxošyaθa*) **big stirring spoon, ladle**

*baṛ-xoxə* n.m. (pl. *baṛ-xoxe*) **thorny pod**

*barziva* n.m. **flint** | used to strike fire with metal instrument known as *manquš*

*bas* part. **only; no more; if only; only if; but.** (1) **only** | Governing clause constituent: *bas-yəmma 'iθwale*<sup>1</sup> He had only a mother (A21:3); *bas-ənən šrīta*<sup>1</sup> Only I have escaped (B19:8); *bas-mīya máttət qam-réša dīya*<sup>1</sup> Place only water by her head (A21:37); *bas-'əni t-xzēla 'əy xoš-'áza gu-jahānnam*<sup>1</sup> Only my eye, which saw it—let that go to Hell (A16:2); *'anna jülle dīye xázye bás*<sup>1</sup> We only found these clothes of his (A14:17). (2) **no more** | *mattátla xa-kawázət miya kas-réša-w bás*<sup>1</sup> Put out for her a jar of water by her head and no more (A21:10). (3) **if only** | Clausal connective: *xuš-mèθən<sup>1</sup> bas-xáθi Nozáli xazənwala*<sup>1</sup> Let me die, if only I could see my sister Nozali (A8:57). (4) **only if** | *bas-'anna xonāwáθi bàsmi,<sup>1</sup> gorànnux*<sup>1</sup> Only if you cure these brothers of mine, shall I marry you (A34:22). (5) **but** | Clausal connective: *'əne pθixtəla,<sup>1</sup> bas-ḥliya hóle*<sup>1</sup> His eye is open, but he is asleep (A31:6); *lèle-xəzya cū-náša<sup>1</sup> bas-yáðəx hóla tlíxe 'anna bāte*<sup>1</sup> Nobody has been seen, but we know that the houses have been destroyed (A29:52). Before a reduced predication: *'ax-siniyele<sup>1</sup> bas-gòra*<sup>1</sup> It is like a tray, but (it is) bigger (B6:45).

*base, buse* n.pl. **scorn, mocking** | *base buse b-draya* He is making all kinds of disparaging remarks (A50:2)

*basasta* n.f. **dish of crushed wheat cooked with husks**

*basima* adj. (f. *basimta*, pl. *basime*) **pleasant, beautiful; delicious; healthy; sharp.** (1) **pleasant, beautiful** | *dúnye basimtəla*<sup>1</sup> The weather is pleasant; *'u-qále dīye rába basiməwa*<sup>1</sup> His voice was very beautiful (A25:43–44); *'áθra rába basiməle*<sup>1</sup> It is a very pleasant place (B5:148); *rāba 'úley xayúθa basimta bəd-əyya*<sup>1</sup> They had a very good life on account of this (B5:106). (2) **delicious, tasty** | *kəma-basimtəla 'ixála*<sup>1</sup> 'How delicious the food is!' (A21:31); *lèla basime ḥla-xála*<sup>1</sup> They are not good for eating (A43:3). (3) **healthy** | *málka t-áwət basima*<sup>1</sup> King, may you be well (A1:14); *rəšux t-áwe basima*<sup>1</sup> May you (literally: your head) be healthy (said to a person who has been recently bereaved); *basima raba* Thank you very much (*basimta raba* said to a woman); *háwət basima raba<sup>1</sup> qa-d-áwəwa 'ixála t-it-yíwəlle qa-dīyi*<sup>1</sup> Thank you very much for this food that you have given me (A22:31); *'əyya basimta*<sup>1</sup> She is the one to thank (A14:96); *gánux basimta*<sup>1</sup> Well done! (A39:21). (4) **sharp** | *púmmət maqára basiməle* The mouth of the goug is sharp.

*basimùθa* n.f. **pleasantness; health** | 'álaha yawóllux basimùθa<sup>1</sup> God grant you good health.

*bašita* adj. (f. *bašitta*, pl. *bašite*) (A.) **easy** | *bašite*la<sup>1</sup> That is easy (A16:9).

*bassa* part. **enough! stop!** | *yába dèrəx*.<sup>1</sup> *bàssa*,<sup>1</sup> *wídlən šèda*,<sup>1</sup> *bàssa*.<sup>1</sup> Let's return. That's enough. We have done some hunting. That's enough. (A4:6); *bássa bxègən*<sup>1</sup> *bássa wuð-tàzi*<sup>1</sup> Do not weep any more! Do not mourn any more! (A26:88); *bássa mgàləj*.<sup>1</sup> Stop talking nonsense!; *bássa ští 'u-rwi*.<sup>1</sup> Don't drink any more and get any more drunk! With pronominal suffixes (§8.20.2.): *bassi* I have had enough; *bassux* You (ms.) have had enough; *baswali* I had had enough; *bàssi m-xáye*<sup>1</sup> I have had enough of life (A8:59); *bàssən mánne*<sup>1</sup> We have had enough of him (A41:2); 'ána 'amma *bàssi*<sup>1</sup> A hundred is enough for me (A1:6).

*baste* n.f. (pl. *bastäwaθa*) **expanse of stones in dried up river**

*baširana* n.m. **type of grape** | 'ənwə *baširana qarùtela*<sup>1</sup> The *baširana* grapes are tough.

*bašora* adj. (f. *bašorta*, pl. *bašorta*) **little, small (in quantity); a few**. (1) **little, small (in quantity)** | *zrúta rába bašórta 'iθena*<sup>1</sup> There is very little cultivation (B5:75); *b-kúlla yóma zór mašùwa*<sup>1</sup> *xàzdi*<sup>1</sup> *xá-mdi rába bašóra*<sup>1</sup> In the whole day they can barely harvest something very little (B5:144). (2) **a few** | *bašóra mənny*<sup>1</sup> 'i-pešúwa *yá'ni t-la mašúwa 'ékele beθəy*<sup>1</sup> A few of them remained without arriving at their house (B15:44). (3) **biš-bašora less** | *hálli zúze biš-bašore*<sup>1</sup> Give me less money; *taqriban 'o-biš-bašora 'ànənwə šqíla*<sup>1</sup> It was I who received almost the least (B1:19).

*bašore* adv. **rarely, seldom** | *rába bašore xazənne* I rarely see him.

*bašila* n.m. (pl. *bašile*) **long melon**

*baška* n.m. (pl. *baške*) (K.) **white mark on forehead of sheep or horse**

*bašqəp* n.f. (pl. *bašqəpe*) **saucer**

*bati* n.f. **my little daughter** | familiar form of *brati*.

*bāṭāna* n.m. **inside of wall facing into the house** | as opposed to *paθət guda* front of wall, facing outwards

*bāṭaniya* n.m. (pl. *baṭaniye*) (A.) **blanket**



*baṭibato* n.f. (sing. and collective, or pl. *baṭibatowaṭa*) (K.) **firefly**

*baṭila* adj. (f. *baṭilta*, pl. *baṭile*) **idle, without work** | *ta-mút baṭila tíwa gu-bèṭa?*<sup>pl</sup> Why are you idle sitting in the house? (A39:1); *sátwa baṭile-wəwə náše*<sup>1</sup> In winter people were unoccupied (B11:12).

*baṭila* n.m. (pl. *baṭile*) **horn container** | It is used to carry *čta* (butter) as a lubricant for sharpening implements on a *məsna* (whetstone).

*baṭiluṭa* n.f. **lack of work**

*baṭman* n.m. (pl. *baṭmane*) **batman (measure of weight, approx. 7 kilos)**

*baṭoya* n.m. (pl. *baṭoye*) (Urm.) **piece of baked bread crust that falls from the wall of the oven**

*baṭər*, *bar* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *baṭre*, *bare*) **behind; after; through**. (1) **behind, after (locative)** | *báṭər tára* behind the door (A23:25); *ʔaw-yála qímle nṗille bàra*<sup>1</sup> The boy went after her (A24:54); *kèla qušárta?*<sup>pl</sup> *hon-ṭiṭa báṭra dīya*<sup>1</sup> Where is the cooking pot? I have come looking for it. (A5:9); *kú-t-ile bàṭri*<sup>1</sup> *méṭe xa-kértə qəsa*<sup>1</sup> Whoever is behind me (= supports me), let him bring a bundle of wood (A12:69). (2) **after (temporal)** *báṭər tlá-yarxe* after three months (A17:28). Combined with *m-* when used with temporal sense: *m-báṭər xámša daqiqe*<sup>1</sup> after five minutes (A22:23); *ʔána m-dīya m-báṭər*<sup>1</sup> *brátux bāyənna*<sup>1</sup> I from now on love your daughter (A17:35). (3) **through** | *ʔo-gálda hàdəx ʔəḏátle*<sup>1</sup> *naqída ta-t-ʔáwər bar-bóyət xmàta*<sup>1</sup> Make this skin a fine (thread) so that it will go through the eye of a needle (A11:12).

*baṭra*, *bara* adv. **behind** | *ʔána qamèṭa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-žine bàṭra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-Səttīye xarèṭa*<sup>1</sup> 'me first, Zine behind and Səttīye last' (A25:19); *la-baṭra*, *la-bara* backwards

*bawa* n.m (pl. *bawe*) **window without glass; open balcony of house** | In winter it was blocked with woven wicker (*gədda*)

*bawar* n.m. (K.) **trust** | *ʔána lítlī báwar ʔəbbe*<sup>1</sup> I do not trust him.

*bawaruṭa* n.f. (K.) **trust** | *ʔána bawarúṭi ṭáya biyèxula*<sup>1</sup> My trust is in you (said by bride to the family of the groom) (B5:41).

*bawsa* n.m. (pl. *bawse*) **piece of matting (*xasira*) connecting the beam between the oxen (*qaṭira*) to the remainder of the plough**

*baxaya* n.m/adj. (pl. *baxaye*) **constantly weeping**

*baxəra* n.f. (A.) **steamship**

*bāxət* n.m. **fate, lot, trust** (K.) | *bāxət ʔalaha dīyux*<sup>1</sup> I implore you (to forgive me) (A1:18); *bāxət ʔalaha*<sup>1</sup> For God's sake! (do sth. for me/us).

*bāxila* adj. (A.) **miserly; envious**

*baxiluθa* n.f. **miserliness; envy**

*baxlana* → *mbaxlana*

*baxoya* n.m./adj. (pl. *baxoye*) **constantly weeping**

*baxta* n.f. (pl. *baxtaθa*) **woman; wife** | *baxtət babi*, *bāxət babi* my step-mother

*baxyana* adj. (f. *baxyanta*, pl. *baxyane*) **constantly weeping**

*baybuna* n.m. (pl. *baybune*) **yellow and white flower**

*baybune* n.pl. **type of game** (B7:6)

*baza* (i) n.m. **jump, bound** | *tre-bāze*<sup>1</sup> *šwirile Qatīna*<sup>1</sup> Qatīna leapt two bounds (A50:10); *xa-bāza riqlē*<sup>1</sup> He ran with one bound.

*baza* (ii) n.m. (pl. *baze*) **falcon; great person** | *mən-bāze bāra bazbūze*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-m-bazbūze bāra bāze*<sup>1</sup> From great people little insignificant ones grow, and from insignificant ones great ones grow (D2:57); *bazi qṭille nerīya* My lord (lover) killed a male goat (C2:18).

*baza* (iii) n.m. **type of fabric**

*bazbuza* n.m. (pl. *bazbuze*) **small bird, insignificant person** | *mən-bāze bāra bazbūze*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-m-bazbūze bāra bāze*<sup>1</sup> From great people little insignificant ones grow, and from insignificant ones great ones grow (D2:57).

*bazəkka* (i) n.m. (pl. *bazəkke*) **little jump** | *hóle sxáya b-bazəkke*<sup>1</sup> He is swimming the crawl.

*bazəkka* (ii) n.m. (pl. *bazəkke*) **stem of a pipe (qālunka)** | *qālunka bazəkka dīya rīxa y-awéwa*<sup>1</sup> The stem of the pipe was long (B7:19).

*bažər* n.f. (pl. *bažäre*) (K.) **town**

*bāzzune* adv. **last year, next year**

*bdīla* adj. (f. *bdīla*, pl. *bdīle*) **changed in colour, faint**

*b-ḡäbät* adv. (A.) **exactly**

*be-* n.m. (cst.) **household of; family of** | *nábəlla ʔla-be-šwàwən*<sup>1</sup> Take it to the neighbours' house (A5:3); *ʔawwa zilele be-ʔámte diyē*<sup>1</sup> He went to the home of his paternal aunt (A23:2); *be-Xàmmo*<sup>1</sup> the family of Xammo (A19:1); *t-ázən bēθə be-xàli*<sup>1</sup> I shall go to the house of my uncle's family (A25:66).

*be-ʔəna* n.m. **forehead**

*be-ʔilone* **September** (C2:80) → *ʔilul*

*be-bāxət* adj. (K.) **untrustworthy; dishonest** | *báxta be-bāxət-ila*<sup>1</sup> The woman is not trustworthy (A4:3); *ʔána lán-mirəllux be-bāxət-iwət*<sup>1</sup> I did not say that you are dishonest (A1:21).

*be-baxtuθa* n.f. **unfairness; untrustworthiness** | *xzélux be-baxtùθa*<sup>1</sup> You have seen something unfair (A2:10); *t-là-ʔamrət ʔána wádəm*<sup>1</sup> *be-baxtùθa ʔəllux*<sup>1</sup> Don't say that I am being deceitful to you (A13:8).

*bečyā* n.m. (pl. *bečyē*) (K.) **lamb (1–3 weeks old)** | *qá-t-yátwəx qam-bečyē*<sup>1</sup> in order to look after the lambs (B5:226)

*be-dənxa* n.m. **Epiphany**

*be-dyuθa* n.f. **inkpot; ink**

*beḡalta* n.f. (pl. *beḡalyaθa, beθaθa*) **sleeve**

*be-gwina* n.m. (pl. *be-gwine*) **eyebrow**

*be-kalo* n.m. **the family of the bride**

*belati* | *xəgga belati* type of dance performed with a line of people in a row with linked arms. This is the same as the dance known as *xəgga xliya*.

*be-ḡaye* n.f. (pl. *be-ḡəwaθa*) **upper room, room on first floor of a house**

*be-maʕna* (K./A.) **without meaning** | formula used to soften an obscenity: *be-maʕna ʔizux yawəʔtle l-güda*<sup>1</sup> excuse me — turn your bum to the wall (A25:12).

*bēn, bəl* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *bene, bele, benaθən*) **between** | *bēn-ʔisərə*<sup>1</sup> between the rocks (B9:4); *ʔəθyax xa-néra benəθən*<sup>1</sup> We came to a

river between us (and the town) (A17:9); *'áwwa hákəm béni 'u-bènəx*<sup>1</sup> He will arbitrate between me and you (A47:3); *bēl-pánxa l-pànxa*<sup>1</sup> between one grinding wheel and the other (B5:91).

*bena* n.f. (pl. *bene, benaθa*) (K.) **breath; time, instance; yes.** (1) **breath** | *graša bena* to take a breath; *grišle béna rixta*<sup>1</sup> He took a deep breath; *tré-gaye grišle béna*<sup>1</sup> He took two breaths; *hóle šqála béna*<sup>1</sup> He is breathing; *píšta bénux l-hàwa*<sup>1</sup> You are panting. (2) **time, instance** | *tre bene* twice; *raba benaθa* many times; *xà-bena 'ázi nášē*<sup>1</sup> People should go (only) once (B15:91); *har-wéla taq-táq mxàya*<sup>1</sup> *'u-taq-tàq*,<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena-w trè*,<sup>1</sup> *w-áwwa sqidle*<sup>1</sup> They made a taq-taq knocking noise, taq-taq, once, then twice, then he became fed up (A14:68); *ku-bénət šátən čáy dérən šékər gàwa*<sup>1</sup> Every time I drink tea I put sugar in it; *'áyya béna*<sup>1</sup> *'ən 'amrənnux*<sup>1</sup> *páláta páлга mǝjjəd*.<sup>2</sup> This time, if I tell you, will you really divide them in half? (A1:12); *čú-bena lat-ṭlibta hátxa mǝndiyáne díya hot-ṭlaba*.<sup>1</sup> You have never requested such things as you are requesting now (A26:45); *kut-méθela 'ána t-yánne zúze*<sup>1</sup> *'ax-t-in-húwalle xa-béna xéta*<sup>1</sup> I shall give money to whoever brings her back, as I gave (money) once before (A27:30). *xa-bena* for a while, after a while, then | *túwela xá-bena hādəx*<sup>1</sup> They sat for a while like that (A26:17); *zələwa*,<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena xzēle m-ráħqa xá-mdi xwàra*<sup>1</sup> He was going along and then he saw in the distance something white (A14:28). *xa-bena xeta/xena* again | *xá-bena xéta qimela*<sup>1</sup> *qèdamta*<sup>1</sup> Again they got up in the morning (A21:16); *šlāya*,<sup>1</sup> *šálya šálya mīya*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-qálba xá-bena xéna*<sup>1</sup> She went down to drink water and then finally returned again (A33:8). (3) **yes** | *móra*:<sup>1</sup> *xadámta*.<sup>1</sup> *béna 'əstāðtū*<sup>1</sup> She said 'Servant!' (The servant said) 'Yes, madam' (A37:13); *qəryali mǝrra bena* I called her and she said 'Yes' (C2:24) → *mare bena*

*be-nisane* n.m. **Spring (season)**

*be-nxəpθa* adj. invar. **shameless**

*benzīn* n.m. (E.) **benzene**

*be-palga* → *palga*

*be-qanke, beθ-qanke* n.f. **chancel of church**

*bera* n.f. (pl. *beraθa*) **well, cistern**

*berāšta* → *barāšta*

*bera* n.m. **light** | *bézele qam-tàra*<sup>1</sup> It is light outside.

*beṛana* adj. (f. *beṛanta*, pl. *beṛane*) **light, lightsome**

*beta* n.f. (pl. *be'e*) **egg** | *be'e swiye* coloured eggs; *qémi mxáya be'e*<sup>1</sup> They begin to knock eggs together (Easter custom) (B5:58); *betat saṭana* snail shell.

*be-takke* n.f. **waist** | *'ó-t šawórra šáwwa sàkke*,<sup>1</sup> *ða-qéθa gu-be-takke*<sup>1</sup> He who jumps seven stakes, (one) will hit him in his waist (D2:1). → *takθa* trouser cord

*be-talmən* adj. invar. **without discipline, unruly** | *brónux be-təlmənile*<sup>1</sup> Your son is unruly. → *tlm*

*be-tune* n.f. **store for straw** | built of stones

*beθaθa* n.pl. (sing. *beθalta*) **sleeves** | also plural *beθalyaθa*

*be-xelape* | *nera be-xelape* **Willow River (running through Barwari Bala)**

*be-xənxe* n.f. **oesophagus**

*be-xtaye* n.f. (pl. *be-xtaye*) **lower floor in a house, basement**

*be-yalda* n.m. **Christmas**

*beza* n.f. **muslin fabric** | *xa-kisa xwára t-bèza*<sup>1</sup> a white muslin bag (B6:42)

*beθa* n.m. (pl. *bate*, *beθáwawa*, *beθwane*; cst. *be-*) **house; home; verse (of poetry/song)** | *mu-štímlux bèθi*.<sup>2</sup> Why have you ruined me? (literally: Why have you destroyed my house?) (A15:14); *mapəlxíwa náše tla-gu-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> People used it for their household (B5:171); *bábi muttúle táma bèθa*<sup>1</sup> My father set up home there (B8:10); *beθat qəqwane* cage for partridges; *bēθ-mìθe* tomb (B6:1); *be-Bakus* the family of Bakus. Adverbial: *məθéle bèθa*<sup>1</sup> They bring it back home (B5:164).

*beθ-gora* n.m. (pl. *beθ-gore*, *beθ-qoráwawa*, *beθ-qorayaθa*) **cemetery**

*beθuθa* n.f. **household, family** | *sáma zóda tla-beθuθéy mapəlxìwala*<sup>1</sup> *tla-našəy*<sup>1</sup> Most people used it (the honey) for their household, for their family (B5:178).

*bəd*, *bud* prep. (§16.1.11.) **about, concerning; on account of; in, by**. (1) **about, concerning** | *'ánna šəmye-wawa bəd-Mámo mən-žine*<sup>1</sup> They had heard about Mămo from Zine (A26:25); *qímən moləxməna 'ánna šére bud-díye*<sup>1</sup> I composed these verses about him (C4:3). (2) **on account of, by means of** | *rába 'úley xayúθa basímta bəd-əyya*,<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni zrátət xabùše*<sup>1</sup>

They had a very good life on account of this, that is the cultivation of apples (B5:106). (3) **in, by** | only in fixed expressions: *her-dmíxtela bəd-lábbá gu-béθat bába dýela*! She continued sleeping, thinking that she was in her father's house (A21:18); *'i-banéwa báte b-képa mnújra*, *mnújra bəd-'ída*! They would build houses with dressed stone, dressed by hand; *báxta hóla yaqúrta bud-ýála*! The woman is pregnant with a child.

*bədra* n.f. (pl. *bədraθa*) **threshing floor**

*bəðya* adj. (f. *bəðiθa*, pl. *bəðye*) **luxuriant (plant)** | *xa taqət rixana bəðya* (She is like) a sprig of luxuriant basil (C2:72).

*bəjbaja* n.m. (pl. *bəjbaje*) **insect** | *bəjbajət 'əxrət taxere* dung beetle

*bəlād* n.f. (A.) **country**

*bəlbala* n.m. **chaos** | *wírre bəlbála gawéy* They were in chaos.

*bəlbəlawá* n.m. **celebrations at the end of winter** | *xadríwa bəlbəlawá* They would go around (performing) *bəlbəlawá* (i.e. children go around the village asking for gifts B7:7).

*bəlbəllizək* n.f. (K.) **whirlwind, hurricane**

*bəldozer* n.m. (pl. *bəldozeré*) (A./E.) **bulldozer**

*bəllorta* n.f. (pl. *bəlloryaθa*) **pipe; section of a reed** | connected to the genitals of a baby in a cradle to carry away its urine

*b-əPaxīr* adv. (A.) **in the end**

*bənduqqa* n.m. (pl. *bənduqqe*) **chestnut, chestnut tree**

*bənyana* n.m. **building** | *'áwewa mále tla-bənyána*! That is sufficient (firing of the gypsum) for building (B5:184).

*bəqqəm* n.m. **red powder (prepared from herbs) used to cure eye diseases**

*bəqra* n.m. **cattle (horses, mules, oxen, cows); herd of cattle** | *m-lél mbàdlla* *xalwáwa taxərta*! *y-asqáwa bəqra*! Early in the morning they would milk the cow and it would go up to (join) the herd (B5:172).

*bərbərrane* → *bərra*

*bəṛ-gare* n.f. (pl. *bəṛ-garāwaθa*) **plateau**

*bərgawa* n.m. **inferior quality wool** | *qamàye* ʔo-rešáya šaqłəxxwale<sup>1</sup> ta-jülle.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-xèna,<sup>1</sup> ʔ-amráxxa bərgàwa,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t biš-daqìqa.<sup>1</sup> First we took the best for clothes. The rest we called *bərgawa* (inferior quality wool), which was thinner. (B10:49)

*bəṛ-gawəra* n.m. (pl. *bəṛ-gawəre*) **young sheep; young goat**

*beriya* n.f. (pl. *beriyə, beriyaθa*) (K.) **milkmaid**

*beriyə* n.f. **type of dance**

*bərka* n.f. (pl. *bərkake*) **knee**

*bərke* n.f. (A.) **pool** | *ða-bərkət mīya*<sup>1</sup> a pool of water (A14:77)

*bərmalta* n.f. (pl. *bərmalyaθa*) (K.) **long jacket worn over other clothes** | *šalla* ʔu-bərmalta trousers and jacket

*bərmaše* adv. **evening**

*bəṛ-naša* n.m. (pl. *bne-naše, bəṛ-naše, bnonət naše*) **person, human** | *xa-bəṛ-náša lèla xzáyá*<sup>1</sup> They do not see any human (A14:41); *ku-brónət bəṛ-naša ʔáθe l-d-áy jǎzúra qamàye*<sup>1</sup> Whichever person comes to the island first... (A14:46)

*bəṛ-našuθa* → *baṛ-našuθa*

*bərqə* n.m. **lightning; electricity** | *bərqə mxáya gu-šmàyyela*<sup>1</sup> Lightning is striking in the sky; ʔé-ga líθwa bərqə<sup>1</sup> At that time there was no electricity (B10:45); ʔābu-bərqə<sup>1</sup> electrician(s) (B10:50)

*bəṛ-qatta* n.f. (pl. *bəṛ-qatte, bəṛ-qatyaθa*) **small white worm (found in butter and cheese)**

*bərqiya* n.m. **lightning** | *Qatína ndéle xo-bərqiyət šmàyya*<sup>1</sup> Qatína jumped up under the lightning of the sky (A50:11).

*bərra* n.f. (pl. *bərrane*) **group; flock; horde** | *hóle théle Čùxo*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-bərra ʔárwə bəθre*<sup>1</sup> Čuxo came, with a horde of sheep following him (A7:21); ʔən-kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrèy<sup>1</sup> If they have broken up all their group (B11:9); *bərrane* (groups), also *bərbərrane*, name of a game (B11:2ff).

*bərtamwaθa* → ʔama

*bərtaqala* n.m. (pl. *bərtaqale*) **orange**

*bərvana* n.m. (pl. *bərvane*) **apron (for cooking)**

*bər-zǎra* n.f. (pl. *bər-zǎre*) **seed; offspring, children**

*bərt* → *brət*

*bərzoma* n.m. (pl. *bərzome*) **cool room for storage in the basement of a house** | *boyət bərzoma* hatch giving access to storage room

*bər-ʿāqəl* adj. invar. **wise**

*be-saruber* adj. invar. (K.) **smashed, mutilated**

*baska* n.m. (pl. *bāske*) (K.) **lock of hair; tress of hair** | *bāske rixe* long locks (C2:2)

*bāsma* n.m. **fragrance** | *bāsma dére gu-pərma*<sup>1</sup> They put fragrance in a thurible.

*bāspora* n.m. (pl. *bāspora*) **young child (under 10 years)** | *Bāgiya m-bəθa goṛa muqyanta max-bāspora* Bāgiya of a great family, brought up like a little child (C6:8).

*bāspurta* n.f. (pl. *bāspuryaθa*) **young girl (under 10 years)**

*bāsqā* n.m. (pl. *bāsqe*) **small stone (in a river)**

*bāsra* n.m. (pl. *bāsre*) **meat; dewlap (of goat)** | *y-odīwa... bāsre* They would make meat dishes (B5:13).

*bāšla* n.m. (pl. *bāšle*) **onion**

*bāšliša* n.m. (pl. *bāšliša*) **ray of light; small flame** | *xzēle xa-bāšliša zōra*<sup>1</sup> He saw a small ray of light (A14:24).

*bāšra* n.m. **Gospel; good news**

*bāšwele* n.f. **lower section of watermill containing driving wheel and shaft**

*bāṭma* n.f. (pl. *bāṭmaθa*) **terebinth tree; the nut from such a tree**

*bāṭme* n.pl. (sing. *bāṭmθa*) **terebinth nuts**

*bāθqa* n.m. (pl. *bāθqe*) **sweets, rice scattered over newly weds**

*bāxya* n.m. **weeping** | *ʿāwwa mō-qalət bāxyele*.<sup>21</sup> What sound of weeping is this? (A4:44); *baxyā baxyā marīra* She weeps a bitter weeping (C2:58)

*baxyona* n.m. **little weeping, weeping of a little child** | *baxyóna léle dīyux*<sup>1</sup> Weeping is not for you (A38:7)



*bəzka* n.m. (pl. *bəzke*) **leap** | *šwírre xa-bəzka*<sup>1</sup> He made a little leap.

*bəzmarə* n.m. (pl. *bəzmare*) **nail**

*biba* n.m. (pl. *bibe*) **pupil** | *bibat ʔena* pupil of the eye

*bibalta* n.f. (pl. *bibalyaθa*) (**small**) **pupil** | *bibəltət ʔena* pupil of the eye

*bibər* n.f. **pepper** | *bibər smoqta* red pepper

*bibla* n.m. (pl. *bible*) **camomile**

*biča* n.m. (pl. *bičə*) **bastard, scoundrel**

*bičta* n.f. (pl. *bičyaθa*) **bastard daughter, bitch**

*biš* part. **more, most; (not) at all** (§14.8.1.) (1) **more, most** | With adjectives: *ʔina mástət ʔrwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-prištéla mən-d-a-t-tàwre*<sup>1</sup> But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle. (B5:173); *ʔašrta məθéwala ða-dúkθa biš-qurba t-y-awéwa miya táma*<sup>1</sup> In the evening they would bring them to a closer place where there was water (B5:160); *ʔiθən... biš-xoš-gùre*<sup>1</sup> There are better men (A26:79); *ʔiθwa liθwa<sup>1</sup> biš-m-álaha góra ču-mdi liθwa*<sup>1</sup> There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God (A30:1); *qu-qálbəx bəθa biš-spày*<sup>1</sup> Come let's return home—(that is) better (A30:55); *múr ʔəni-mənnən<sup>1</sup> biš-šapirtela*<sup>1</sup> Say which of us (three) is most beautiful (A25:17); *ʔáy biš-xámθela m-kúlla*<sup>1</sup> She is more beautiful than all (= the most beautiful of all) (A25:26). Adjective omitted: *biš m-áyya dúkθa ʔəka xázəx*<sup>2</sup> Where could we find (something) better than this place? (A12:5). With adverbs: *qəm-maxéla ʔqla biš-xəlàna*<sup>1</sup> He struck her leg harder (A33:12); *dráyele biš-hódəx mánnə díya xáčca xəmra*<sup>1</sup> He put some wine further up from them (A12:49). With verbs: *xáčca biš-šléla*<sup>1</sup> She became a little more calm (A4:17); *biš madqərre mən-d-ó déwa t-axəlwa ʔərbe diye*<sup>1</sup> He (God) valued him more than the wolf that ate his sheep (A10:13). (2) **(not) at all** | intensifier of a negator: *y-amríwa ʔáw biš la-mzànzə; yáwəl téma pàyašwa*<sup>1</sup> They said that it does not lose its taste at all, it keeps its taste (B10:76); *ʔáp-xa lá-biš-ile-mšaya mqarów-əlla díya*<sup>1</sup> Nobody was able to go near her at all (A4:6); *b-qəta<sup>1</sup> biš liθ-mətrəθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-biš liθ-tálga*<sup>1</sup> In summer there are no rains at all and there is no snow at all. → *zawda, zoda*

*bista* (adj. invar.) **comfortable, at ease, familiar** | *ʔána bistéwən b-áwwa šúla*<sup>1</sup> I am comfortable doing this job, I know how to do this job; *ʔána bistéwən b-tràya*<sup>1</sup> I know how to drive, *ʔána bistéwən mənne*<sup>1</sup> I am

at ease with him; *púš bista!*<sup>1</sup> Feel at home!; *ʔiθan nāše! ʔiðéy bista* There are skilled people (B5:176).

*biša* adj. (f. *bišta*, pl. *biše*) **bad** | *yala biša* bad boy (C2:68)

*bišta* n.f. (pl. *bišyaθa*) **bad woman; evil** | *šámša gànya! ʔu-bišta là-ganya!* The sun sets, but evil does not set (with it) (D2:5)

*bišuθa* n.f. **evil, badness**

*bizər* n.m. **herb that is put in jajək**

*biz-zawda, bi-zawda* → *zawda, zoda*

*biz-zoda, bi-zoda* → *zawda, zoda*

*bla-jorta* n.f. (pl. *bla-joryaθa*) **bladder**

*bla-mandora* n.m. **shaft of a stone roller (*mandorta*)**

*bliğa* adj. (f. *bliğa*, pl. *bliğe*) **busy, occupied** | *m-táma hòdax! kúlla ʔan-ʔárba yàrxε,<sup>1</sup> xámša yàrxε,<sup>1</sup> ʔ-áwε nāše bliğe mjámòye,<sup>1</sup> mjámóye qa-sàtwa!* From this time onwards, throughout four or five months, people are busy gathering, gathering for winter (B5:107); *har-bliğət b-kàsux!* You are always occupied with your stomach (A23:10); *bliğela b-ğdàðe!* They were preoccupied with one another (A4:50).

*bluza* n.f. (pl. *bluzāt*) (A./E.) **blouse**

*b-nasba* (l-) part. (A.) **with regard to; in accordance with**

*boča* n.m. (pl. *boče*) **seed; stone in a fruit** | *dáryalla boče!* He sewed the seeds (A18:26).

*boksa* n.m. **punch** | *maxánnux xa-bòksa!* I'll punch you.

*bola* n.m. (pl. *bole*) **seed head of millet (*prage*), sorghum (*xroriya*) or rice** | Such heads do not have the long hairs characteristic of wheat and barley.

*b-oma xena* adv. **the day before yesterday; the day after tomorrow**

*boni* n.m. **my little son** | familiar form of *broni*.

*boqa* adj. (f. *boqta*, pl. *boqe*) **recalcitrant (bull)** | *tawra boqa* recalcitrant bull (that butts people)

*boqča* n.m. (pl. *boqče*) (K.) **knapsack** | made of finer fabric than *parzūn*.

*boš* adj. invar. (K.) **empty, vain** | *qála qamáya zille bòš<sup>1</sup>* 'The first cry was in vain (A7:74).

*boṭa* n.m (pl. *boṭe*) **large wooden channel made of poplar (*xorta*) that carries water at high speed to drive water-mill**

*boṭla* n.m. (pl. *boṭle*) **bottle**

*boya* n.m. (pl. *boye, boyaye*) **hole** | *xá-boyat xùwwe<sup>1</sup>* a snake hole (A9:6); *qam-tárət<sup>1</sup> d-ó-boyat tèle<sup>1</sup>* before the door of the fox's hole (A20:6); *boyat buma* Hole of the Owl (a small cave in the rock near the village of Dure); *bóyat xmâta<sup>1</sup>* the eye of a needle (A11:12).

*bra-ʔída* → *brεθaθa*

*bra-gðoða, b-gðoða* n.m. (pl. *bra-gðoðe, b-gðoðe*) **hedgehog**

*bra-qala* n.m. **voice; echo**

*bra-qaple* n.m./f. (pl. *bra-qaple*) **baby; babe in arms**

*bra-qðala* n.m. (pl. *bra-qðale*) **collar; back of the neck**

*bra-qanna* n.m. (pl. *bra-qanne*) **egg that is placed under a chicken to stimulate it to lay more** | also *beta bra-qanna*

*bra-šappa* n.f. (pl. *bra-šappe*) **thimble**

*brata* n.f. (pl. *bnatha*) **girl; daughter**

*braye bar axrâte* n.pl. (K.) **half brothers**

*brεθaθa* n.pl. (sing. *bra-ʔída* f.) **gloves**

*brət, bərt* **son of** | Only in fixed expressions: *b-šena, bərt-xaθa* Welcome, son of (my) sister (A52:26); *brət ʔamti* the son of my paternal aunt, my cousin. In expressions of abuse: *kálba brət-kálba* dog son of a dog (A6:12); *kálbe bərt-kálbe<sup>1</sup>* dogs sons of dogs! (A7:15).

*brika* adj. (f. *brikta*, pl. *brike*) **kneeling**

*brīn* n.f. (pl. *brinane*) (K.) **wound** | *ʔanna ma-brinànela gu-réšux.<sup>21</sup>* What wounds are these on your head? (A29:6).

*brindar* adj. invar. (K.) **injured** | *qəm-maxili brīndar* They injured me; *máxyewən brīndar<sup>1</sup>* I am injured; *Rústam píšle brīndar<sup>1</sup>* Rustam was injured (A28:28).

*brixa* adj. (f. *brixta*, pl. *brixe*) **blessed** | *brixa!* Congratulations! (general); *brixe!* Congratulations (on your new clothes)!; *'édux brixa!* Happy festival!; *qedámtux brixta!* Good morning!; *rámša brixà-llux!* Good night; *brixta hammámux!* I hope you feel better after your wash; *hóya brixtà-llux!* May she be blessed to you (said as a blessing on the marriage of a man) (A25:69).

*briza* (f. *brizta*, pl. *brize*) adj. **dry**

*brona* n.m. (pl. *bnone*) **son; young animal** | *brōn-málka!* the son of the king (A18:17); *lá bnòne!* *'ázze maθòye!* The goats were not producing young (A38:1).

*bšila* adj. (f. *bšilta*, pl. *bšile*) **cooked; ripe** | *'anwe bšile* ripe grapes

*b-šrara* adj. **trustworthy** → *šrara*

*b-ṭali* adj. **ill** → *ṭali*

*bubra* n.m. (pl. *bubre*) **thorny pod** | grows on plants such as *lagna* and *šamərma*.

*bukina* n.m. (pl. *bukine*) **red anemone flower**

*bulbul* n.f. (pl. *bulbule*, *bulbulyaθa*) **nightingale** | *bulbúle jmá'ela t-qàle!* Nightingales gather at his voice (A25:46).

*bulta* n.f. (pl. *bulyaθa*) **small head of millet** (*prage*)

*buma* n.f. (pl. *bumaθa*) **owl**

*buqara* n.m. (pl. *buqare*) **question**

*buqta* n.f. (pl. *buqyaθa*) **doll**

*bura* (i) n.m. (pl. *burane*) **field cultivated without irrigation** | The crops grown in such a field are said to be *dema*, e.g. *xətte dema* unirrigated wheat.

*bura* (ii) n.m. (pl. *burane*) **pile, mound** | *xá-burət kèpe!* a pile of stones (A11:5)

*buraxa* n.m. (pl. *buraxe*) **blessing; wedding ceremony**

*burakθa* n.f. (pl. *burakθa*) **blessing** | After eating food a guest says to the host: *'álaha dére burkáθa gu-bèθux!* May God bestow blessings on your house.

*burī* n.m. (pl. *bāwari*) (A.) **metal pipe**

*burj, burja* n.m. (A.) **tower**

*burnuṭ* n.f. (K.) **snuff** | *wīdṭanwalux būrnūṭ!*<sup>1</sup> I had made you (like) tobacco snuff! (A50:12).

*burra* n.m. (pl. *burre*) **pot for preserving yoghurt (submerged in water to keep cool) or for storing date syrup (*nepoxta*) or yeast (*xmira*)**

*burraš* n.m. **dish consisting of meat and grains** | similar to *čiče*, a dish of meat, millet (*prage*) and yoghurt.

*busama* n.m. **enjoyment** | *ʾó-məndit ʾàna xilliʾ ʾó busáma mubsámli tàmaʾ là-ʾaṯi mtanóyeʾ* What I ate and the enjoyment I had there could not be related (A2:8).

*buse* → *base*

*bustana* n.m. (pl. *bustanane*) **garden, orchard**

*bušala* n.m. **stew**

*buṭa* n.m. (pl. *buṭe*) **penis**

*buxara, buxera* n.m. (A.) **steam** | *buxára máte l-qarùṯa,ʾ páyaš ṯəṯye ṯəṯyeʾ* The steam becomes cool and turns into drops.

*buxeri, buxeriya* n.m. (pl. *buxeriye*) **stove, smoke duct**

*buxra* n.m. (pl. *buxre*) **firstborn son** | *buxrat bæṯa* firstborn in the family

*buxtən* n.m. (K.) **slander, false accusation** | *dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xènaʾ* (He was) slandering this one and that one (A48:5).

*b-xamme* adj. **worried** → *xam*

*b-xaye* adj. **alive** → *xaye*

*byaṭa* n.m. (pl. *byaṭe*) **pickaxe**

*bzara* n.f. (pl. *bzare, bzaraṯa*) **plough** | *ʾánna bzàreʾ* these parts of the plough (A30:22)

*bzúne* adv. **two years ago**

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*čáčma* n.f. (pl. *čáčmaθa*) (K.) **bathroom, toilet**

*čadoda* n.m. (pl. *čadode*) **inviter; man who goes around villages to invite guests to a wedding** → *čyd*

*čadra* n.m./f. (pl. *čadre*) (K.) **tent** | made of fabric (cf. *kʷina* bedouin tent made of goat's hair): *Səttiye' qimtəla čadra dya mxìθəlla' be-pəlgət 'Amedia'* Səttiye pitched her tent in the middle of Amedia (A25:78).

*čakala* n.m. (pl. *čakale*) (K.) **pruning hook; tool used for pulling down fruit and nuts from trees**

*čakalta* n.f. (pl. *čakalyaθa*) (K.) **small pruning hook**

*čakčaka* n.m. **wooden wheel shaking and dispensing slowly wheat into a water-mill**

*čakke* (i) n.pl. (K.) **weapons** | *xoni b-šaklile čakke* The weapons suit my brother (C5:2)

*čakke* (ii) n.pl. (K.) **clothes and jewels of women**

*čakuč* n.m./f. (pl. *čakuče*) (K.) **hammer**

*čakučta* n.f. (pl. *čakučyaθa*) (K.) **small hammer**

*čale* n.f. (pl. *čaləwaθa*) (K.) **large hole in ground, pit** | *šləla 'əqla dya gu-xa-čəle'* Her foot went down into a hole (A10:7); *zadəle šəle' gu-xa-čəle gòrta'* He threw him down into a deep pit (A22:40); *'o-t-xəpər čəle tla-xəwre' b-gəne šəle gəwa'* He who digs a hole for his friends will fall in it himself (D2:17).

*čallaq* adj. invar. (K.) **fast, agile**

*čalo* → *kalo*

*čamča* n.f. (pl. *čamče*) (K.) **spoon (made of wood); flat trowel**

*čamma* n.f. (pl. *čammaɳe*) (K.) **large field near river; plantation**

*čangala* n.f. (K.) **fish-hook (connected to line)**

*čangəl* n.f. (pl. *čangale*) (K.) **fork**

*čanta* n.f. (pl. *čanaθa*) (K.) **shoulder bag**

*čǎpǎr* n.f. (pl. *čǎpǎre*) (K.) **ambush** | *ʔó-naša hóle tíwa gu-čǎpǎr táma*<sup>1</sup> That man was waiting in ambush there (A12:50).

*čǎppa* n.m. (pl. *čǎppe*) (K.) **bend** | *čǎppa l-yamne* a bend to the right; *čǎppa l-čǎppe* a bend to the left; *šaǵíθa ʔi-xǎǰàwa*<sup>1</sup> *čǎppa wéwa hátxa*<sup>1</sup> *léwa dǎrst rǎba*<sup>1</sup> The stream twisted round, it was bendy like this, it was not straight (A8:13).

*čǎppaya* adj. (f. *čǎppεθa*, pl. *čǎppaye*) **left-handed**

*čǎppe buke* (K.) **clapping hands for the bride when she is taken around the village on the back of a mule** | *máxa čǎppe búke*<sup>1</sup> They clap hands for the bride (B5:38).

*čǎppe* n.f. (K.) **left (hand, side)** | *čǎppe ʔu-čǎre zigzag*; *ʔáyya ʔúrxa kúlla čǎppe ʔu-čǎrela*<sup>1</sup> This path is very winding.

*čǎqmaq* n.m. (pl. *čǎqmaqe*) (T.) **trigger of a gun**

*čára, čera, k'ér* n.m. (pl. *čare, čere*) (K.) **solution; cure** | *qa-t-odíle xa-čára*<sup>1</sup> so that they cure him (A8:32); *xa-čára xazéna*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-ʔáyya bràti*<sup>1</sup> I should find a solution for this daughter of mine (A21:2); *ʔáwǎð xa-k'ér ʔállí*<sup>1</sup> (If only) he would find me a solution (A31:3).

*čǎrǎk* n.m. (pl. *čǎwarǎk*) (K.) **quarter** | *ʔlaθa čǎwarǎk* three quarters; *sáʔət xa-w čǎrǎk* a quarter past one; *saʔət xa-w čǎrǎk* a quarter past one; *čǎrǎk ʔla-ʔǎʂa* a quarter to ten.

*čǎrmǎkθa* n.f. (pl. *čǎrmǎkyaθa*) **leather strap along which the spindle (*kuša*) is run to start it spinning**

*čǎroxε, čeroxe* n.pl. (sing. *čároxta*) **leather boots (worn in Spring)**

*čǎrxa* n.m. (pl. *čǎrxε*) (K.) **circuit; circuitous route, detour** | *ʔu-zvǎrtela rěš-d-ó-tura rěš-d-ó-gǎppa xa-čǎrxa hátxa*<sup>1</sup> She went round above the mountain, above the cave in a circuit, like this (A8:76); *mǎélux xa-čǎrxa hál zǎllux kǎs-bǎxtux*<sup>1</sup> You went on a circuitous route and went to your wife (A1:23).

*čǎrxona* n.m. (pl. *čǎrxone*) (K.) **small turn** | *xa-čǎrxona čǎrxwala* She took a short turn around (A51:12).

*čǎwǎrre* adv. (K.) **waiting (for arrival), expectation** | *tíwa wǎmwa nǎraθa čǎwǎrrət beriyaba* I was sitting in vigil, waiting for the milkmaids (C2:16).

čay n.f. **tea** | *méθili tre-čây!* Bring me two teas!; *čay quwya, čay ranganta, čay mare-ranga* strong tea; *čay zalalta* weak tea; *čây léla šqilta ranga,*<sup>1</sup> *dri xačča-xéna ranga gáwa*<sup>1</sup> The tea is weak, make it a bit stronger; *čay silani* type of tea.

čayxana n.f. (pl. *čayxane, čayxanwaθa*) (K.) **teashop**

čayxančī n.m. (pl. *čayxančīye*) (K.) **teashop owner**

čeri (i) n.m. (pl. *čeriyăwaθa*) **Autumn** | *čeri qamaya* October; *čeri xaraya* November

čeri (ii) n.m. **sash** | *xa-čeri b-Surma zqira* a sash is woven by Surma (C1:19)

čeydān, čeydana n.f. (pl. *čeydane*) (K.) **large teapot**

čeypas n.f. (pl. *čeypase*) (K.) **small teapot**

čezəkka n.m. (pl. *čezəkke*) (K.) **spark**

čəčča n.f. (pl. *čəččăwaθa*) (K.) **breast; nipple; teat (of udder)** | *rešat čəčča* nipple; *čəččət tawərtā* teat of a cow; *čəččət naθa* lobe of the ear; *čəččət balota* tonsil

čəgā n.m. (K.) **type of bird**

čəkka n.m. (pl. *čəkke*) (K.) **joint (of bones); ankle bone** | *yále zóre m̄tawóle b-čəkke* The young children were playing with ankle bones (of sheep and goats) (A25:87).

čəkkalle n.pl. (sing. *čəkkalta* f.) (K.) **slippers**

čəklete n.pl. **chocolates**

čəldəvana n.m. (K.) **trigger in the trap known as *tăpəkke, tăpəkθa***

čələkka n.m. (pl. *čələkke*) (K.) **small leaf stem; small twig**

čəlləkθa n.f. (pl. *čəlləkyaθa*) (K.) **earthenware pot (for milk or yoghurt)** | *xmaθa l-yasīla zīnta. čəlləkθa m-ʔīda šqilta.* The mother-in-law is standing by the corner. The pot (representing the household duties of the new bride) has been taken from her hand. (C1:10)

čəlloxe n.pl. (sing. *čəlloxta*) **crispy pieces of baked bread remaining on the wall of the oven**

čəlluri n.f. (pl. *čəlluriyaθa*) **small lizard**



*čangarra* n.m. (pl. *čangarre*) (K.) **piece of fabric**

*čangarta* n.f. (pl. *čangaryaθa*) (K.) **small piece of fabric (put on mouth of pot containing jajək)** (B14:1)

*čərək*, *čürük* interj. **bang, twang** | *dəryalla xá čərək ʔu-məxyalla*<sup>1</sup> He shot one, twang, and hit it (A12:32); *har-wáða čürük<sup>1</sup> lan-mrəʔa<sup>1</sup> čú-mdi lèle-θaya biyi<sup>1</sup>* It (the gun) just makes a bang, but I am not hurt, nothing happens to me (B9:18).

*čərkanna* (i) n.m. (pl. *čərkanne*) **kernel (of an onion)** | *čərkannət başla* kernel of an onion

*čərkanna* (ii) n.m. **type of small sparrow (čučəkka)**

*čiče* n.pl. **dish made from meat, millet and yoghurt**

*čima* → *kima*

*čimanto* n.f. **cement**

*čiqə* n.m. **thick cane; bamboo**

*čiqəlka* n.m. (pl. *čiqəlke*) **young cock**

*čira* adj. (f. *čirta*, pl. *čire*) **annoyed** | *şlele m-ərzala čira* He got out of bed in a temper (C2:38).

*čita* n.m. (pl. *čite*) (K.) **type of embroidered fabric**

*čiya* adj. (f. *čiya*, pl. *čiyə*) **tired**

*čöl* n.f. (K.) **countryside, unsown land** | *plitəle gu-čöl<sup>1</sup>* He went out into the countryside (A8:90).

*ču* part. **not any** (K.) (§14.9.17.) | Negative determiner of a nominal: *ʔu-tilálux lan-şwiqa čü-məndi<sup>1</sup>* and for you I shall not leave anything (A2:11); *čü pəlxána la-pəlxət ʔati<sup>1</sup>* You shall do no work (A23:32); *hon-dəş<sup>2</sup> ryalle gu-xa-čále ʔamúqta lá-ʔaməş čü-ga čü-ga paləʔ<sup>1</sup>* I have put him in a deep hole and he will never be able to come out (A22:41); *la-har-ču-dúkθa liθwa<sup>1</sup>* She was nowhere at all (to be found) (A27:26).

*čučəkka* n.m., *čučəkθa* n.f. (pl. *čučəkke*) **sparrow** | *xá čučəkka gu-ʔída biş-spáyile mən-ʔəşra gu-ʔilána<sup>1</sup>* One sparrow in the hand is better than ten in the tree (D2:50).

*čuka* n.m. (pl. *čuke*) **chick** | *čukət qəqwanta* the chick of a partridge

*čukta* n.f. (pl. *čukyaθa*) **young chicken**

*čulla* n.m. (pl. *čulle*) (K.) **large broad mountain peak**

*čullənta* n.m. (pl. *čullənyaθa*) (K.) **small sharp mountain peak**

*čura, čurra* n.m. (pl. *čurre*) (K.) **angora goat** | with long, silky hair known as *marrəs*; also known as *čurrət marrəs* or *ʔarwət marrəs*.

*čurrəkθa* n.f. (pl. *čurrəkyaθa*) (K.) **female angora goat** | *čurrəkθət marrəs* female long haired angora goat

*čürup* interj. **thud** | *šəlyele čürup*<sup>1</sup> He came down, thud (A8:40).

*čuxa* n.f. (K.) **broadcloth, thick woolen fabric** | A coat from this material was worn by men in winter to protect their back when carrying loads and to protect their body from knife wounds when engaging in warfare. The material was also used for the cloth that was put on the back of a mule (*qurṭana*).

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*čənnara* n.m. (pl. *čənnare*) (K.) **yoyo**

*čənnəkər-, čənnəkər-* prep. (K.) (with pronominal suffixes: *čənnəkəre*) **around** | *θəyēle xdərele čənnəkəra d-an-nəše*<sup>1</sup> He comes and rides around those people (A12:5); *xəðile čənnəkəre dīye gədda*<sup>1</sup> They wind a thread around it (B11:18); *zadawale kulla m-gərə*<sup>1</sup> *čənnəkərat swàna*<sup>1</sup> *l-yámne čappe*<sup>1</sup> They would throw it all from the roof, around the eaves, on the right and on the left (B5:195); *ma-t-wéwa ʔəθye nəše*<sup>1</sup> *čənnəkərat Mšixa*<sup>1</sup>... *Mar-Yuhánna lá-mšele kút-xa dréle qáwət míya b-rəše*<sup>1</sup> So many people came around Christ... that Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody (B6:10).

*čučana* n.m. (pl. *čučane*) **magpie** | *makrəb čučane* n.f. late snow falling at the beginning of the month of March (literally: the one that angers the magpies)

*čure* | *čappe ʔu-čure zigzag* | *ʔəyya ʔurxa kulla čappe ʔu-čurela*<sup>1</sup> This path is very winding.

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*čanga* n.m. (pl. *čange*) (K.) **leather gloves used to grasp thorny plants when harvesting**

*čaplapaske* n.f. **type of stew**

*čaple* n.f. **left (hand, side)** | *'an-t-ila 'ida čaple' 'ila ba-ròža'* The ones (mountains) on the left are (known as) *ba-roža* (in the sun) (B3:1).

*čapola* n.m. (pl. *čapole*) **slap**

*čappe* n.pl. **applause** | *mxaya čappe* to clap hands in applause

*čara* n.m. (pl. *čare*) (K.) **type of black bird**

*čena* n.f. (pl. *čene*) **mosquito**

*čəlmasta* n.f. (pl. *čəlmasyatha*) **small louse**

*čamma* (i) n.m. (pl. *čammame*) (K.) **cloven hoof (of animal)**

*čamma* (ii) n.m. (pl. *čamme*) (Tiy.) **small amount** | *banəx kanune čamme čamme* Let us build stoves (with) a little (fire) (C1:5).

*čəčča* n.m. (pl. *čəčče*) (K.) **shoulder-blade**

*čita* n.f. **butter made from yoghurt**

*čūwa* adj. (f. *čuta*, pl. *čūwe*) **smooth** | *tuθa čūwa* mulberry tree with smooth bark

*čūwana* adj. (f. *čūwanta*, pl. *čūwane*) **smooth** | *xa-kepa čūwana* a smooth stone

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*D* part. (realized phonetically as *d*, *t*, *ʔ* §4.4., §10.16.) **subordinating particle.** (1) **annexation particle introducing nominal complements of nominals** | *brónət málka* the son of the king (A32:21); *təppəryáθət heywàne*<sup>1</sup> the claws of animals (A19:2); *málka d-áyya bəžər* the king of this town (A32:5); *béθa d-àw* the house of that one (A8:24); *'an-ʔəwə d-ənila*.<sup>21</sup> Whose sheep are those (A32:16); *díy-* when combined with pronominal suffixes: *bábe díye* his father (A32:31); *gu-máθa díyan*<sup>1</sup> in our village (B2:6); predicative: *'áwəwa bəθa díyaxile bráti*.<sup>21</sup> Is this house

yours, my daughter? (A40:13) (2) **relative particle introducing clausal complements of nominals** | *'an-suráye t-wáwa gu-Tùrkíya' zílla l-ʔírən'* The Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran (B2:8); *'u-ʔup-báxte díye' t-íle gwírəlla' rába hawnántəla'* Also his wife, whom he had married, was very clever (A17:21); *'é-šətət méθi qəm-yawəlla xa-bróna zòra'* In the year they would die he gave them a small son (A4:57); *'o-t-íle wíra ʔáw xaráməle'* The one who has entered is cursed (A23:27). (3) **introducing nominal and clausal complements of adverbs and prepositions** | *dáx páyáš málka šáwəpət bróni.*<sup>21</sup> How will he become king in place of my son? (A8:4); *qámət gəppa'* in front of the cave (A12:7); *'ax-d-áwəwa'* like him (A26:34); *báθər d-é-maθa'* behind that village (A24:30); *bəl-d-áyya l-d-áyya'* between this and that (B5:115); *mátýe l-d-o-nèra'* They arrived at that river (A14:58); *díy-* when combined with pronominal suffixes | *'ax-díye* like him (A4:3); *bíye díye* with him (A14:8); *čənnəkére díye* around him (A8:71); clausal complements: *méθən 'ax-t-íla-ʔanna míθe'* I shall die like these people have died (A14:73); *qəm-t-àθi' mpálətəle mən-hàbsa'* Before they return, release him from prison (A26:72); *m-bár t-y-óði núra gəwə,*<sup>1</sup> *xáyəm rəba'* After they put fire in it, it heats up a lot (B6:48). (4) **introducing clausal complements of verbs** | *'anna yádi t-íle duglána'* They know that he is a liar (A48:3); *báyən t-ázəm'* I want to go (A8:65); *másəx t-ámrxə'* We can say (B4:3). (5) **introducing clausal complements of clauses** | normally expressing purpose: *'ána paqðənnəxu' t-azítu b-ʔurxa matítu ʔəlla'* I shall instruct you so that you go on the road and reach her (A8:27). → *t-la*

*dābanja* n.f. (pl. *dābanje*) (K.) **pistol**

*dabaša* n.m. (pl. *dabaše*) **bee** | *'iθwa gu-máθa doqúwa dabàše' tla-dùša'* Some people in the village used to keep bees for honey (B5:176).

*dabašta* n.f. (pl. *dabašyaθa*) **beehive; family of bees within a hive** | *l-Yawsəp zwínta b-dabašta* It has been bought by Yawsəp for a beehive (B8:29). A swarm of bees that leaves the hive is known as a *šəlxə*.

*dabət,* *ðabət* n.m. (pl. *dubbāt,* *ðubbāt*) (A.) **army officer**

*dabra* n.m. **supplies, sustenance** | *dabrət bəθa* household supplies

*dabuqana* n.m. **parasitic plant growing in trees, from which a gluey substance is extracted to produce birdlime; birdlime extracted from this plant**

*dabušana* n.m. **glue**. adj. **sticky**

*dada* (ʔɛn-Nune), *deda* (Dure) n.f. **sister or wife of an uncle (paternal or maternal)**

*dagala* n.m./adj. (pl. *dagale*) **liar**

*dahlīz* n.m. (pl. *dahlize*) (A.) **corridor**

*dala* n.m. (pl. *dale*) **thicket, undergrowth**

*dalila* adj. (f. *dalilta*, pl. *dalile*) **thinly distributed with spaces in between** | *gəllále gu-məššára dalilela*,<sup>1</sup> *léla ʔamüre*<sup>1</sup> The weeds in the rice paddy-field are thinly spaced, they are not densely spaced; *təlla dalilta* light shade (with some sun shining through); *káwsi píšle dalila*<sup>1</sup> My hair has become thin.

*daliða* n.f. (pl. *dalyaða*) **vine** | *ʔarpət daliða* vine-leaves; *xa-daliθət xüwwe*<sup>1</sup> wild vine (without fruit) (A26:91)

*daloða* n.m. (pl. *dalope*) **drip (leaking from roof); drizzle** | *qa-t-dalòpe*<sup>1</sup> *la-şále b-sətwə*<sup>1</sup> so that leaking drops did not seep through in the winter (B5:146); *ʔəyewəx kope kope qam-məʔra ʔu-qam dalope* We have come bending down in rain and drizzle (C1:14).

*dalupta* n.f. (pl. *dalupyaða*) **small drip (leaking from roof)**

*dalya* n.m. (pl. *dalye*) **tendrils of a vine** | *dályə dáwəq gújmət ʔmwe*<sup>1</sup> A tendril bears bunches of grapes.

*dama* n.m. **backgammon** | *mʔəlx dàma*<sup>1</sup> Let us play backgammon; *kepət dama* backgammon counter

*dambus* n.f. **type of herb resembling tail of horse**

*dambusta* n.f. (pl. *dambusyaða*) **small tail**

*dana* n.f. (pl. *danane*, *danaða*) **time; point in time; period of time** | *mʔiθəla dane-díye*<sup>1</sup> *wírre kəs-màlka*<sup>1</sup> His time came and he entered into the presence of the king (A1:14); *dān-díye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔla-pàya*<sup>1</sup> It (the dough) is ready for baking (B5:16); *dánəla qarəmma qálat ʔlāða*<sup>1</sup> It is time for me to call the third cry (A8:59); *xá-saʔət qam-dàna*<sup>1</sup> an hour beforehand (B5:119); *kəmə-dana pəšət?* How long will you stay? *xályə ʔi-myámáxwə rəba*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔárba dāne*<sup>1</sup> We would collect a lot of milk, four times (B10:21); *har-dána b-danà y-odíwala*<sup>1</sup> They would make it from time to time (B10:22); *har-d-ε-dána* at that time (B15:64). Before a clause: *mən-d-*

*é-danət brèla<sup>1</sup> hál d-ε-dánət mtéla l-yàla,<sup>1</sup> wéla bxàya<sup>1</sup>* From the time she was born she started weeping, (and continued) until the time that she came to the boy (A25:4); *ʔε-dánə t-ìla ríše,<sup>1</sup>... ʔáwəwa məškéna ràba pšímle<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáy məšuyðənnə<sup>1</sup>* When they woke up... he, poor man, became very sad and she became mad (A4:5).

*danbus* n.m. (pl. *danbuse*) (A.) **pin**

*danθa* n.f. (pl. *danyaθa*) **water jar** | The water contained in such jars was kept cool by wrapping them in wet grass. These were used in Dure, which did not have water springs inside the village.

*danwa* n.m. (pl. *danwe*) **tail**

*dapa* n.m. (pl. *dape*) **wooden board, plank; wooden beam used on a loom (*xanuθa*) for keeping the strands tight**

*daprana* n.m. (pl. *daprane*) **juniper bush, juniper shoot**

*dapranta* n.f. (pl. *dapranyaθa*) **small juniper tree**

*dapθa* n.f. (pl. *dapyaθa*) **small wooden board, strip; one of two leaves of a trap door in a partridge trap (*suta*)**

*daqíqa* adj. (f. *daqíqta*, pl. *daqíqe*) **fine; tiny** | *qamxa daqíqa* finely ground flour; *tmírtəla ða-dúkθa daqíqta<sup>1</sup>* She is buried in a tiny place (A38:10).

*daqra* n.m. (pl. *daqre*) **long pole**

*daɾa* n.m. (pl. *daɾe*) **generation; century** | *dáɾət xámša Már-Gwirgis píšele bənya<sup>1</sup>* (The church of) Mar Gwirgis was built in the fifth century (B1:6).

*dáɾaj* n.m. (A.) **degree** | *dáɾaj hərára díye* its degree of heat, its temperature (B6:37)

*dáɾaje* n.f. (pl. *dáɾajyaθa*, *dáɾayəj*) **flight of steps, staircase** | *xa xalqa mən-dáɾaje* one step of a flight of steps.

*dáɾawa* n.m. (pl. *dáɾawe*) (K.) **mud dam used to direct irrigation water in a field**

*daraya* n.m. (pl. *daraye*) **shooter** | *b-tope kəməwa daraya<sup>1</sup>* What a skilled shooter he was! (C7:9)

*darba* n.m. (pl. *darbe*) (K./A.) **blow (of weapon)** | *la-máxəx tre-dərbe<sup>1</sup>* We do not strike two blows (A50:14) → *zarba*

*darda* n.f. (K.) **suffering, illness** | *'àna<sup>1</sup> dárđi léla d-àyya.<sup>1</sup> dárđi 'ila t-'á-t gu-panjarìye.<sup>1</sup>* My suffering is not from this (game), my suffering is from that one at the window (A26:66).

*darga* n.m. (pl. *darge*) (K.) **main door (with two leaves)** | Only built in large houses (*qa:re*); *'aqli l-darga maxyanna* I shall kick the door (C1:15).

*dargušta* n.f. (pl. *darguşıyaθa*) (Urm.) **cradle**

*darjāma* n.f. (pl. *darjāme*) (K.) **screen behind which hunters (shooting birds) hide**

*darmana* n.f. (pl. *darmane, darmanane*) (K.) **drug, medicine; chemical; polish (for shoes); gunpowder; substance** | *hàtxa wídlən bíye,<sup>1</sup> darmana dīyela<sup>1</sup>* We have done such-and-such to him, its his comeuppance (A7:20); *máxewa darmana<sup>1</sup> l-şàwle<sup>1</sup>* He used used to polish shoes (A16:1); *mattíwa darmana<sup>1</sup>* They would plant gunpowder (B5:179); *qrántət šərma darmanət buşála<sup>1</sup>* The cover of the buttocks is the substance of the stew (i.e. the fat of the sheep's tail) (D1:13).

*darpoşe* n.f. (pl. *darpoşıyaθa*) (K.) **pan for cooking**

*darqūl* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *darqule*) **against** | *dárqūl d-a-məndila<sup>1</sup>* They are against that thing (A12:55); *xákma dıwáqa xáşe dīye<sup>1</sup> 'u-xákma darqúle dīye<sup>1</sup>* Some supported him and others were against him (A7:20).

*dars* n.m. (A.) **lesson**

*darta, derta* n.f. (pl. *daryaθa*) **courtyard, residential enclosure; halo.** (1) **courtyard, residential enclosure** | *şqıləlla tása b-lələ<sup>1</sup> 'u-núbləlla zádıyalla gu-đa-dërta<sup>1</sup>* They took the bowl in the night, took it away and threw it into a house enclosure (A15:12); *dártət 'úmra<sup>1</sup>* the churchyard (B1:12). (2) **halo** *dartət yoma* halo around the sun; *dárta l-yòma,<sup>1</sup> 'ərwe gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup> dárta l-sèra,<sup>1</sup> 'ərwe l-tèra.<sup>1</sup>* If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noon sun (D2:15).

*dartət yoma, dart yoma* adv. **next day** | *dártət-yoma zılla wídla hàdax<sup>1</sup>* The next day she went and did the same (A18:3).

*darya* n.m. (K.) **large number** | *xa-darya nàşe<sup>1</sup>* many people (B5:135); *'u-'íθwa náşe xa-darya<sup>1</sup>* There were many people (B5:178).

*darza* n.m. (pl. *darze*) (K.) **large tied bundle of grass or produce** |  
cf. *taxa* untied bundle

*dasiya* n.m. (pl. *dasiye*) (K.) **awn, hair of head of corn**

*dasta* n.f. (pl. *dastaθa*) (K.) **bunch, handful** | *dastət warde* a bunch of flowers; *xa dastət xətte* a bunch of wheat

*dašdaše* n.pl. **long loose clothes (worn by men)**

*dašta* n.f. (pl. *daštaθa*) (K.) **plain; level ground** | *wiðəlwala ʿāra dāšta<sup>1</sup>*  
*ʿu-mašīwa nāše doqīwa i!à<sup>1</sup> ʿarbà-reze xá-xa-gaye<sup>1</sup>* They had made the  
ground level and the people could form three or four rows at once  
(B15:79).

*daštaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *daštaye*) **dweller on the plain**

*dāvāqa* n.m. (pl. *dāvāqe*) (K.) **bite (from an animal)** | *kawədna mxéle dāvāqe*  
*bìyì<sup>1</sup>* The mule bit me.

*dawa* n.m. (pl. *dawe*) **gold; gold coin** | *téni kúlla ʿíwa mən-dàwa<sup>1</sup>* My load  
all consisted of gold (A7:11); *ya-ʿàlaha, ʿyawètlì ʿamma dāwe<sup>1</sup>* Oh God,  
give me a hundred gold pieces (A6:1); *ʿana xmáθi xá-dawa zāra muttèθalli*  
*gu-ʿiðət xóni ʿIshəq<sup>1</sup>* My mother-in-law put a yellow gold coin for me in  
the hand of my brother Ishəq (B8:35).

*dawba* n.m. **pure liquid honey (without pieces of honeycomb)** |  
also *dawbət duša*

*dawera, dawara* n.m./f. (pl. *dawere*) **mule** | generic term used to refer to  
both male and female → *kawədna* (m.), *koðanta* (f.)

*dawha* n.m. **gold**

*dawke* | *koṭəl dawke* n.m. (pl. *koṭəl dawke*) (K.) **pasty with yoghurt** (B7:23)

*dawla* n.m. (pl. *dawle*) **drum. (1) drum (musical instrument)** | *dawla-w*  
*zorna* drum and pipe; *músqalle dáwla-w zòrna-w<sup>1</sup> hósa ʿu-gargarta<sup>1</sup>* They  
brought him up (with) drum and pipe, and with clamour and shout-  
ing (A4:25); *sabóti mubèla, ʿpišla dāwla<sup>1</sup>* My finger has swollen as large  
as a drum. (2) **drum containing the wheat at the top of a**  
**water-mill** | open box with a hole in the bottom through which  
wheat comes out onto the grindstone (B6:54).

*dawlačì* n.m. (pl. *dawlačìye*) **drummer**



*dawlatmand* n.m./adj. (pl. *dawlatmande*) (Urm.) **rich**

*dawqana* n.m. (*dawqane*) **setter of bones**

*dawra* n.m. (pl. *dawre*) (1) **wooden door bolt**. (2) **turn (in a game)** | *'ap-'áwwa pàrəq' dáwre dīye'* Also his turn is over (B11:8).

*dawrane* n.pl. **gums** | *dawranət kake* gums of the teeth; *dawrane laye* the upper gums; *dawrane xtaye* the lower gums

*dawsa* n.m. (pl. *dawse*) **footprint** | *xzéli dáwsət déwa gu-tálga'* I saw the footprints of a wolf in the snow.

*dawwe* n.pl. **yoghurt mixed with water**

*dax*, *daxi* part., prep. **how? how could it be? like, just as; when** | (1) **how?** | *dáx 'úrxa muxzélux 'állá lípla 'áwwa súla.'*<sup>21</sup> How did you show her the way to learn this work? (A21:34); *dāx-it'*<sup>21</sup> How are you? (A22:16); *hà bráti,*<sup>1</sup> *dāx-it,*<sup>1</sup> *dāx-let'*<sup>21</sup> My daughter, how are you? (said after long absence) (A21:27); *dāxi'*<sup>21</sup> How (could this be)? (A25:69); *dāx-it mára.'*<sup>21</sup> What are you saying? (A7:14). (2) **how could it be?** | *nāša'*<sup>1</sup> *dāx lapālónna.'*<sup>21</sup> Man, how could it be that I shall not divide them? (A1:13); *móre dāxi.'*<sup>21</sup> He said 'How could that be?' (3) **like, as** | Before clause or noun (with pronominal suffixes: *daxwaθe*): *dáx t-in-muθéθalla 'a-béna xéta,*<sup>1</sup> *'ay-béna 'ána maθyánná'* Just as I brought her before, so this time I shall bring her (A27:30); *dax-t-íwət 'áti hátxa mšuqálta,*<sup>1</sup> *'ap-'áw daxwàθax-ile'* Just as you are pretty, so he is like you (A8:67); *qa-t-là-hawe sérga spáy dax-d-áw'*<sup>1</sup> so that there will not be another saddle as fine as it (A8:37). (4) **when** | *dax-t-ile xázýalla θàya,*<sup>1</sup> *hádax šàxa-w'*<sup>1</sup> *xumθàne,*<sup>1</sup> *Čúxo rìqele,*<sup>1</sup> *plítele gu-màθa'* When he saw them coming, shouting and angry, Čúxo ran out into the village (A7:16). (5) Idioms: *dāx lítlux xátər'* By all means (I'll do as you say) (A21:11).

*daxla* n.m. (pl. *daxle*) (K./A.) **corn plant** | e.g. wheat (*xətte*), millet (*prage*), barley (*sare*), sesame (*šišme*)

*dayəman*, *da'əman* adv. (A.) **always**

*dbiša* adj. (f. *dbišta*, pl. *dbiše*) **stuck (together)**

*deda* → *dada*

*dekonta* n.f. (K.) **little mother** | *t-la-maxyáli dekonti'* lest my mummy beat me (A34:3).

*dēm, demi, dema* adj. invar. **unirrigated** | *zruta dēm* unirrigated cultivation, *xətte dema* unirrigated wheat (as opposed to <sup>3</sup>*avi* irrigated).

*dena* → *dēna*

*deráb* interj. **woosh! (sound of sudden movement)**

*derubər* n.m. (pl. *derubere*) **wood, forest; vegetation** | <sup>3</sup>*án derubére šuréla xá-bena xəta*<sup>1</sup> The vegetation began again (to sing) (A51:10).

*deθa* n.f. (1) **sweat**. (2) **resin, gum formed from the sap of the qaḡna plant** | This is softened in water then chewed; *deθət qərda* curative ointment produced from the black resin of the tragacanth shrub (*qərda*)

*dewa* n.m. (pl. *dewe*) **wolf**

*dewərriš* n.m. **vagabond**

*dewta* n.f. (pl. *dewyaθa*) **female wolf**

*dēda* n.f. (pl. *dēdaθa*) **hawk**

*dēna, dena* n.m. (pl. *dene, dene*) **debt** | *yáwən dēni*<sup>1</sup> I shall pay off my debts (A1:8); *zilli hūwili dēni*<sup>1</sup> I went and paid off my debts (A1:11); *tálga l-tùre*<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>*u-déna l-gùre*<sup>1</sup> As snow is to mountains, so a debt is to men (D2:25).

*denana, danana, denana* adj. (f. *denanta*, pl. *denane*) **owing a debt** | *yáðət b-gànux*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*iqənwə*,<sup>1</sup> *danənənwə*<sup>1</sup> You know, by your soul, I was in trouble. I was in debt (A1:10); *šmáyya* <sup>3</sup>*ila denánta* *fla-<sup>2</sup>ára tərte qərtales t-<sup>2</sup>əpra*<sup>1</sup> Heaven owes the Earth two baskets of dust (D1:9)

*dēra* n.m. (pl. *dere*) **monastery**

*derweša* n.m. (pl. *derweše*) **vagabond**

*də-*, *de-* part. **particle expressing prominence** (§15.1.5.2., §15.7.) | (1) With imperatives and deontic verbs: *də-mjámáxlən jarreta*<sup>1</sup> Let's put together a food-box for ourselves (A30:41); *də-šqúl* <sup>3</sup>*anna-zúze*<sup>1</sup> Take these coins! (A1:27); *de-<sup>2</sup>ədyo*,<sup>1</sup> *qu-pégən kade*<sup>1</sup> Today, get up and bake *kade* cakes (A30:41); <sup>3</sup>*ána də-t-amrənnox* <sup>3</sup>*ó-mdi-t taxrənnē*<sup>1</sup> I shall tell you what I remember (B15:1). (2) In deontic questions: *de-maxəxle?*<sup>2</sup> Should we beat him? (A14:8); *de-màto hóya?*<sup>2</sup> How could that be? (A30:21). (3) With perfective verbs at boundaries and prominent points in narrative: *de-pišla* <sup>3</sup>*əp-ay baxtə d-əwəwa dewərrəš*<sup>1</sup> Now, she became the wife of that vagabond (A12:38); *de-qíma mtúnyəlla qəššətte kúlla flā-d-o-səwə*<sup>1</sup>

Now, he told all his story to the old man (A14:76); *'u-de-b-lèlela,¹ zìlele zìlele* Now, while it was night, he went off (A22:38).

*dabba* n.f. (pl. *dabbe, dabbaða*) **bear; the constellation 'The Great Bear'**

*dabbora* n.m. (pl. *dabbore*) **hornet**

*dabboriða* n.f. **swarm of hornets**

*dabburta* n.f. (pl. *dabburyaða*) **horsefly**

*dəgdin* n.m. (pl. *dəgdine*) **metal frame for cooking over a fire (with three legs); the three stars of the constellation Orion**

*dəkkana* n.f. (pl. *dəkkane, dəkkanane*) (K./A.) **shop**

*dəkkanč* n.m. (pl. *dəkkančýe*) (K./A.) **shopkeeper**

*dəlba* n.m. (pl. *dəlbe*) **plane tree**

*dəmma* n.m. **blood** | *'áwəwa dəmma mattùle¹* He sheds this blood (A11:20); *'áni zúzət bábe dýe,¹ dəmmela¹* This is the money of his father, it is his blood (money) (A15:16).

*dəmmāna* adj. (f. *dəmmānta*, pl. *dəmmāne*) **bloody**

*dəmme* n.pl. (sing. *dəmmiða*) **tears** | *dəmmət 'əna¹* the tears of her eyes (A34:5); *xa təppət dəmma* a tear drop

*dəndəkθa* n.f., *dəndəkka* n.m. (pl. *dəndəkke, dəndəkyaða*) **grain, small amount** | *xa dəndəkθət xətte* a grain of wheat; *xa dəndəkθət tlawxe* a single red lentil; *'ap-dəndəkka bašəra¹* just a tiny amount (A18:27); *lən-zdə'a 'ap-dəndəkθa¹* I am not afraid even a little (B9:17).

*dənnəqθa* → *dəqqənθa*

*dəpna* n.m. (pl. *dəpne*) (Urm.) **side** | *qáyəθ b-o-t-ile dəpne¹* He knocked into the one next to him (A22:34)

*Dəqlət* n.m. **Tigris**

*dəqna* n.m. **beard** | *mṯéle xa-náša sàwa,¹ dəqne¹ hal-'əra¹ mətya¹* He came upon an old man, whose beard reached the ground (A24:7); *dəqnat Nisan* the beard of Nisan, a custom whereby on the first day of Nisan (April) a woman pulls up a plant with mud on its roots and sticks it to the roof of the house.

*dəqqənθa, dənnəqθa* n.f. (pl. *dəqqənyəða*) **chin**

*dəqša* n.m. (pl. *dəqše*) **butt, blow** | *táwra qəm-gamášle b-dəqše*<sup>1</sup> The ox gored him with butts.

*dəradya* n.m. (pl. *dəradye*) **pile of snow that has fallen from a roof**

*dərvana* n.m. (pl. *dərvane*) (K.) **frying-pan**

*dəsqa* n.m. (pl. *dəsqe*) (K.) (1) **handle of a tool.** (2) **stem of fruit**

*dəxya* adj. (f. *dxiθa*, pl. *dəxye*) **pure (spiritually)** | *ləbba dəxya* a pure heart

*dəžmən* n.m. (pl. *dəžmánne*) (K.) **enemy** | *lišána dəžmən gána*<sup>1</sup> The tongue is its own enemy (D2:32); *qātu-w ʔaqúbra dəžmən t-ğòðàðela*<sup>1</sup> A cat and a mouse are mutual enemies (A44:1).

*dəžmənayuθa* n.f. **enmity, hostility** | *ʔána béni ʔu-bénux dužmənayuθela*<sup>1</sup> We are enemies.

*didwa* n.m. (pl. *didwe*, *didwane*) **fly** | *ʔáyya dúkθa máre didwànela*<sup>1</sup> This place is full of flies.

*didwana* adj. (f. *didwanta*, pl. *didwane*) **full of flies** | *ʔáyya dúkθa didwàntela*<sup>1</sup> This place is full of flies

*diga* n.m. (pl. *dige*) **cock** | *qám t-qáre ʔax-diga*<sup>1</sup> before it calls like a cock (A24:16)

*dīn* n.m. (A.) **religion**

*dinamet* n.m. (E.) **dynamite**

*dīpa* adj. (f. *dīpta*, pl. *dīpe*) **bent**

*dīwəm* n.m./f. (pl. *dīwane*) (K.) **gathering of people; reception; audience chamber; traditional song sung by men (usually at a wedding)** | *dīwəm dīwìqtela* a gathering is being held

*dīwənxana* n.f. (K.) **reception room**

*dīy-* part. **independent genitive particle** (§7.3., §14.5.2.) → *D*

*dīya* → *hadiya*

*dīyana* n.f. (A.) **religion**

*dīyara* n.pl. **houses** (A.) | *xrīw-dīyára twirílux bzàre*<sup>1</sup> You scoundrel (literally: one whose houses are destroyed, i.e. may you have your houses destroyed), you have broken the parts of the plough!

*diyopa* n.m. (pl. *diyope*) **pleat**

*dmixa* adj. (f. *dmixta*, pl. *dmixe*) **asleep**

*dohuknaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *dohuknaye*) **man from Dohuk**

*dola* n.m. (pl. *dole*) (K.) **mountain pass**

*dolma* n.f. (pl. *dolme*) (T.) **dish of stuffed vine leaves; a stuffed vine leaf**

*dona* n.m. **animal fat, animal oil**

*donana* adj. (f. *donanta*, pl. *donane*) **fatty**

*dormadār* adv. (K.) **around** | *dormadār kúlla berəşyàθa*<sup>1</sup> All around there were cushions (B10:80)

*dorta* n.f. (pl. *doryaθa*) **round, cycle** | *'áwəwəl dórta* the first round (of sieving) (B10:13)

*dost* n.m. (pl. *doste*) (K.) **friend, mate** | *hà dostí*<sup>1</sup> Hey, my friend! (A1:18)

*dostuθa* n.f. **friendship**

*doša* n.m. (pl. *doše*) **balcony, low structure attached to outside of house for people to sit on; seats inside a booth (*quprana*)** | generally used in the plural form *doše*.

*došaka, došakka* n.m. (pl. *došake, došakke*) (K.) **mattress**

*došakθa* n.f. (pl. *došakyaθa*) (K.) **cushion**

*drana* n.m. (pl. *dranane*) **lower arm** | cf. *ruša* upper arm, arm in general

*drangaya* adj. (f. *drangeθa*, pl. *drangaye*) (K.) **late** | *'ána drangàyeəwən*<sup>1</sup> I am late.

*draya* n.m. (pl. *draye*) **arm, cubit** | *'arbi dráye pàrča*<sup>1</sup> forty yards of material (A28:10); *kul səmbəlti xa draya* Each (side) of my moustache is a cubit (A51:5)

*drəst* adj. (invar.) (K.) **straight; right, correct** | *'o-tára drəst-ile*,<sup>1</sup> *léle pčūla*<sup>1</sup> The door is straight, it is not crooked (A17:20); *xelápa drəst-ile*<sup>1</sup> The willow is straight; *drəst-ila qásəət*<sup>1</sup> The story is true (A4:23); *'amma gārəg háwa drəst*<sup>1</sup> They must be exactly a hundred (A6:1).

*dudəkθa* n.f. (pl. *dudəkyaθa*) (K.) **pipe (musical instrument)**

*dudiya* n.f. (pl. *dudiyaθa*) (K.) **cradle** | *brixta dudiya t-üwət 'āti qíma gàwa!*  
Blessed be the cradle in which you grew up! (A21:41)

*dudu* n.f. **type of game** (B11:29)

*dugla* n.m. (pl. *dugle*) **lie, falsehood; fiction**

*duglana* n.m./adj. (pl. *duglane*) **liar** | *rába rába duglana-wewa!* He was a great liar (A48:1); *'āti duglántət!* You (fs.) are a liar (A25:20).

*duka* → *dukθa*

*dukθa, duka* (§10.9.) n.f. (pl. *dukane*) **place, space.** (1) **place** | *matúwala xa-dúkθa šaxínta!* They would place them in a warm place (B5:12); *bás šoqíwa dúkθət pálətwa tanna!* They only left a place for the smoke to come out (B10:65); *'áni kút-xa b-ða-dúka!* each had its place (B10:53); *kú-dukə t-íla məθətlali.* Bring her to me wherever she is (A4:8); *mšáxəlpə dukàne!* Change places (A26:65). (2) **space** | *xa-dúkθət gəldət təwərən híwəlle báne bəθa!* I have given him the space of an ox skin to build a house (A11:15); *'íθwa dúkθa ta-t-kaləwa!* There was space for him to stand (A22:30) (B5:66). (3) Idiom: *y-azíwa mšamšíwa beθ-qòra, rəhqa mən-an-dukàne!* They would hold a ceremony in the cemetery—may (death) be far from these places! (formula used when referring to a cemetery or death) (B10:3).

*dulāb* n.m. (pl. *dāwalīb*) (A.) **wardrobe**

*dulaba* n.m. (pl. *dulabe*) (K./A.) **wheel of water-mill**

*dulabča* n.m. (pl. *dulabčə*) (K.) **small cupboard**

*duna* n.m. (pl. *dune*) **pen for sheltering sheep and goats in winter**

*dunye* n.f. **world, weather.** (K./A.) (1) **world** | *'áwəwa plítse gu-ða-dúnje xət!* He came out into another world (A14:26); *'álaha yállux b-àyya dúnje! 'u-b-ε-xət!* May God grant you (bounty) in this world and the next (A21:44). (2) **weather** | *dúnje hóla rəya!* It is rainy; *dúnje hóla 'ewánta!* It is cloudy; *dúnje hóla mgərgəme!* It is thundering; *dúnje prəla!* It became light. (3) Idioms: *'áy šaqíθa b-t-áza b-t-áza nabláley dá-gotət dúnje!* The stream will flow along and take them somewhere (A8:11); *har-máxəx b-dúnje!* Let's go just go away (A30:41); *dúnje qəm-čədila!* They invited many people (A12:23); *šúprə dúnje hóle 'əlla-díya!* She was of a unique beauty (A13:11); *šqéle b-dúnje!* He ran off aimlessly; *dúnjela!* That is life! (A40:13).

*dūrbīn* n.f. (K.) **binoculars**

*durnaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *durnaye*) **man from Dure**

*dūs* adj. (invar.) (K.) **right; true; straight** | *b-álaha dūs-iwat*<sup>1</sup> Indeed you are right (A1:19); *ʔina dūs galitu*<sup>1</sup> Tell me the truth (A27:37); *ʔurxa dūs* a straight road; *har-ʔáxtu kábye dūs*<sup>1</sup> *čalxítula m-ğđàðe*<sup>1</sup> While standing erect, you shall tear her apart (A27:33); *tèla*<sup>1</sup> *mríle ma-dūs*<sup>1</sup> The fox became truly ill (A32:32).

*duša* n.m. **honey** | *šámət duša* beeswax

*duwana* n.m. **paste put in cakes made from flour, butter and salt (sometimes with the addition of honey and walnuts); oil (animal)**

*duxa* n.m. (pl. *duxe*) **dedicatory sacrifice** (B5:70)

*duxrana* n.m. (pl. *duxrane*) **memorial festival**

*duxtur* n.m. (pl. *duxture*) (E.) **doctor**

*duxwa* n.m. **dish made from yoghurt, barley and meat**

*duzuθa* n.f. **truth** | *yóma mən-duzúθa qídle béθa*<sup>1</sup> One day his house really burnt down (A48:5); *xà-yoma*<sup>1</sup> *har-mítile b-duzúθa*<sup>1</sup> One day he really died (A27:42).

*dwaqta* n.f. (pl. *dwaqyaθa*) **handle** | *dwaqtət sepa* the handle of a sword

*dwaṛa* n.m. (pl. *dwaṛe*) **rest area for sheep in the mountains (under the shade of trees)**

*dwara* n.m. **threshing of grains by animals on the threshing floor**

*dwiqa* adj. (f. *dwiqta*, pl. *dwiqe*) **seized, clasped; blocked (road)** | *ʔíðe dwìqta* He is miserly.

*dwira* adj. (f. *dwirta*, pl. *dwire*) **closed**

*dyapta* n.f. (pl. *dyapyyaθa*) **a fold (in material or paper)**

/ḍ/

*ḍāğat* n.m. (A.) **(blood)-pressure**

*ḍāmān, ḍāmān* n.m. (A.) **guarantee**

## /D/

*ḍawq* n.m. (A.) **taste, inclination**

*ḍeta* n.f. **knowledge**

## /F/

*fafon* n.f. (K.) **aluminium**

*fālāke* n.pl. (K.) **stones of rapids in a river** | *néra hóle šwára fālāke*<sup>1</sup> The river is flowing in rapids.

*falīta* n.m. (f. *falīta*) (A.) **waster, spendthrift**

*fallāḥ* n.m. (A.) **peasant**

*fanūs* n.m. (pl. *fanuse*) (A.) **lamp**

*fāqih* n.m. (A.) **jurist**

*fāqira* adj. (f. *fāqirta*, pl. *fāqire*) (A.) **poor**

*farde* n.pl. (K.) **window blinds** | *māsla fārde*<sup>1</sup> Lower the blinds! (A39:19).

*farquṯa* n.f. (A.) **difference; division** | *mūt farquṯela*<sup>2</sup> What is the difference? (A15:12); *ʿaw-ile xa-dānat farquṯa bēl-d-āyya l-d-āyya*<sup>1</sup> This is a time of division between this (season) and the other (B5:115).

*farr* adj. (invar.) (K.) **important** | *šūpa b-sātwa rāba fārr-ile gu-ʿĒn-Nūne*<sup>1</sup> A stove in the winter is very important in ʿĒn-Nūne.

*farra* n.f. (A.) **circuit; gulp** | *māxyele xa-farra ḥannākēra d-o-qāšra*<sup>1</sup> He made a circuit around the palace (A12:66); *xa-farra bād-šatānne*<sup>1</sup> I shall drink it with one gulp (Qaṭīna).

*farsaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *farsaye*) **Persian**

*fāsaduṯa* n.f. (A.) **mischief, trouble** | *ʿawwa wīdle fāsaduṯa bēn ʿaturāye ʿu-bēn barzanāye*<sup>1</sup> He made trouble between the Assyrians and the people of Barzan (B19:1).

*fassada* adj. (A.) **corrupt, fraudulent**

*fašl* n.m. (pl. *fāšul*) (A.) **season**

*fašuli* n.m. (pl. *fašuliye*) (A.) **white bean**



*fatra* n.f. (A.) **short interval of time** | *zilela xa-fâtra*<sup>1</sup> They went on awhile (A17:3).

*fäyaḏān* n.m. (A.) **flood**

*fayda, payda* n.f. (A.) **benefit, use** | *liḏba fâyda*<sup>1</sup> (A25:32), *liba fâyda*<sup>1</sup> (A18:4)  
It is no use; *leš faydá-llax qátlat gānax*<sup>1</sup> It will no longer be of any use to you to kill yourself (A38:16); *mūt paydéwa*?<sup>1</sup> What was the use of it? (B15:40).

*feka, peka* n.m. (pl. *fekē, peke*) (A.) **fruit** | *'itlən fēka fērya*<sup>1</sup> We have abundant fruit (B5:222).

*ferassa* n.m. (pl. *ferasse*) (K./A.) **hero, strongman** | *nāše ferāsse* heroic people (A29:7) → *parsa*

*fādwa* n.f. (A.) **redemption** | *fādwa ḏallux*<sup>1</sup> (It was) a redemption for you (said when a catastrophe happens to others) (A23:16).

*fākra* n.m. (pl. *fākre*) (A.) **thought** | *'aw-xoš-fākrale*<sup>1</sup> That is a good idea! (A39:11)

*fālfāl* n.m. (pl. *fālfāle*) (A.) **pepper**

*fālfāta smoqta* n.f. (A.) **red pepper**

*fāllən, pāllən, flan* pron. mod. **so-and-so; such-and-such** | *hā-pāllən lēkət zāla*?<sup>1</sup> Hey so-and-so, where are you going? (A1:11); *'āna sīqli fāllən dūkḏa*<sup>1</sup> I went up to such-and-such a place (A10:9); *sī-mur ta-pāllən wāzūr*<sup>1</sup> Go and tell such-and-such a minister (A4:38); *sō l-béḏat flān-nāša*<sup>1</sup> Go to the house of such-and-such a man (A8:8); *mót māra fāllən 'āti*<sup>1</sup> What do you, so-and-so, say (B5:9).

*fārya, friya pārya* adj. (f. *friḏa*, pl. *fārye*) (K.) **much, abundant** | *'itlən fēka fārya*<sup>1</sup> We have abundant fruit (B5:222); *'ārāḏa pāryewa*<sup>1</sup> Plots of land were abundant (B10:54); *qṭilela raba friye* Very many were killed (C3:3).

*fāstān* n.f. (pl. *fāstane*) (A.) **dress**

*fāstāq* n.f. (pl. *fāstāqe*) (K./A.) **pistachio**

*fātne* n.pl. (A.) **trouble** | *t-āwəḏ fātne*<sup>1</sup> He will make trouble (A29:11).

*flan* → *fāllən*

*friya* → *fārya*

*fīarta* n.f. (pl. *fīartyaḏa*) (A.) **breakfast**

/G/

*ga* part. **almost, about to; connective particle** (§15.1.1.11., §18.1.6.).

(1) **almost, about to** | Combined with verb: *ga-t-àθan*<sup>1</sup> I am about to come; *ga-mátya t-axlâlè*<sup>1</sup> She is about to eat him (A18:26). (2) **connective particle** | Signalling temporal sequentiality: *rápili m-an-képe t-íla tàma*<sup>1</sup>, *ga-maxzánnux úrxax sàlèt*<sup>1</sup> Throw me the stones that are there, then I shall show you the way down (A14:70). Introducing a comment: *lá-màre báye xàθux*<sup>1</sup>, *màre báye žine*<sup>1</sup>, *ga-’èni žine*<sup>1</sup>, *’axni lèðax*<sup>1</sup> He did not say ‘He loves your sister.’ He said ‘He loves Zine.’ Now, we do not know (by this statement) which Zine (was meant) (A26:61). At the beginning of direct speech, predominantly questions: *’ámər ga-kòra*<sup>1</sup>, *’ána mò yánnux*<sup>2</sup> He said ‘Now, blind man, what can I give you?’ (A26:57); *màra ga-mo-xàðye b-áwwa dúša*<sup>2</sup> They said ‘Why are we so happy about this honey?’ (A14:15)

*ga*, *gaya* n.f. (pl. *gaye*, *gayaθa*, *gaθa*) (K.) **time, instance** | *mállax Naşradin xá-ga báyéwa mbaşálkwa pača*<sup>1</sup> Once mullah Naşradin wanted to cook pača (A5:1); *xa-xá-ga* (B6:16), *xa-xa-gáye* (B15:77), *gá-gaθa* sometimes; *b-xšàwən*<sup>1</sup>, *’áyya quşàrta*<sup>1</sup>, *hár gǎrəg-máte ’állix-xa-ga*<sup>1</sup> I think this cooking pot should eventually belong to me (A5:2); *tré-gaye tré wíta ’arba*<sup>1</sup> Two times two equals four; *xámša gáye xámša wáyela ’sri-w xámša*<sup>1</sup> Five times five is twenty-five; *raba gayaθa* many times; *’o-gáya qǎmεθa θélux l-kásl*<sup>1</sup> the first time you came to me... (A1: 22). *xa-ga xeta* another time, again: *xá-ga xéta plittela Leliθa*<sup>1</sup> Again Leliθa came out (A51:12); then: *báye qatǎlwale*<sup>1</sup>, *xá-ga xéta klèlè*<sup>1</sup> He wanted to kill him. Then he refrained (A10:3–4). *’ε-ga* at that time, then | *’ε-ga zúze başòrewa*<sup>1</sup> At that time money was scarce (B5:5); *kút-dana ’a-şpra mìlle*<sup>1</sup>, *’ε-ga ’ana-mèθən*<sup>1</sup> If ever that sparrow dies, then I shall die (A12:41); *là-paltət*<sup>1</sup>, *hal-t-amrǎnnux plùtgena*<sup>1</sup>, *’è-ga páltət*<sup>1</sup> Do not come out, until when I say to you ‘Come out!’, at that time you should come out (A14:67). Governing a temporal clause: *’ε-gət damàxwa*<sup>1</sup>, *’flaθà yomáθa*<sup>1</sup>, *’u-’flaθà leláwáθa háwe dmixa*<sup>1</sup> When he slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights (A29:2). Expressing logical sequence: *’ε-ga ’áp-ana báyan ’ázən*<sup>1</sup> So, I also want to go (A5:1). Governing a factual conditional (§19.5.8.): *’ε-gət mən-d-ánna hàwe*<sup>1</sup>, *’šúla b-t-ázəl la-qàma*<sup>1</sup> If there are these (gold pieces), the job will go ahead! (A4:15).

*gabbara*, *gebara* n.m. (pl. *gabbare*, *gebara*) **hero** | *náše gabbàre* heroic people (A29:1); *gabbare*, *gebare* Orion (constellation); *mbáqər kima-w gabbàre*<sup>1</sup> ask the Pleiades and Orion (A38:12).

*gadoša* adj. (f. *gadošta*, pl. *gadoše*) **butting, aggressive (animal)** → *gamaša*, *gamoša*

*gaðilta* n.f. (pl. *gaðilyaθa*) (1) **plaited strap of a shoe** | This passes through small holes (*ʔenaθa*) in the shoe. (2) **plaited material on the top part of shoes know as *lastike***

*gala* n.m. (pl. *gale*) **woolen rug**

*galaja* n.m. (pl. *galaje*) **prattler, somebody talking nonsense**

*galaveža*, *gulavež* n.f. (K.) **Sirius, Dog Star, morning star**

*galaya* n.m. **revealer** | *kurra xamra la-štīle...galaya sərre ʔīle* Boy, do not drink the wine.... It is the revealer of secrets (C2:10)

*gāliya*, *galliya*, *galli* n.m. (pl. *galliye*) (K.) **valley** | *b-šlaya galli galli tope šišale ʔalli* While (I was) coming down the valley, he brandished his gun at me (C2:49).

*gallək* mod. (K.) **multitude; all** | Only in vocative expressions: *hé gallək nàše, ʔéni záwən ʔilána.ʔ* Hey, everybody, who will buy the tree? (B5:42)

*galθa* n.f. | *tawərta npilla l-galθa*<sup>1</sup> the cow allowed itself to be mounted by a bull (Betanure *galθa* stuffed fabric used for bedding)

*gamaša* adj. (f. *gamašta*, pl. *gamaše*) **butting, aggressive (animal)** | *tawərta gamašta* an aggressive cow

*gambəl-ʔaxre* n.m. **dung beetle** (literally: roller of dung)

*gameša* n.m. (pl. *gameše*) **buffalo**

*gamašta* n.f. (pl. *gamašyaθa*) **female buffalo**

*gami* n.f. (K./T.) **boat**

*gamoša* adj. (f. *gamošta*, pl. *gamoše*) **butting, aggressive (animal)** | *táwera gamóša ʔi-máxe dəqše*<sup>1</sup> An aggressive ox butts.

*gamura* adj. (f. *gamurta*, pl. *gamure*) **sour (e.g. apple that is not ripe, dry), pungent (taste remaining in mouth)**

*gana*, *jana* n.f. (pl. *ganaθa*) **soul, person; reflexive pronoun** (§7.6., §14.6.). (1) **soul, person** | *ʔm-lá-ʔawəðət b-xábra diyi*<sup>1</sup> *gánux šaqłənná*<sup>1</sup> If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life (A15:20); *ha-*

*gàni*,<sup>1</sup> *lèkət zála*?<sup>1</sup> Hey, my soul, (respectful form of address) where are you going? (A15:6); *háyyo ya-gáni t-amrànnux*<sup>1</sup> Come, my dear, let me tell you something (A22:36); *dáryaxxa g'ánən gu-bəθéxu*<sup>1</sup> We have placed our soul in your house (= We beseech you) (B5:4); *gánux basimta*<sup>1</sup> Well done! (A39:21); *g'ánən basimta*<sup>1</sup> bravo! (B5:154); *y-aθéwa m-bár hādəx xámša ʔəštà ganáθa*<sup>1</sup> Afterwards, five or six people would come (A5:77). (2) **reflexive pronoun** | *zdíθəlla gána diya kəsle-diye*<sup>1</sup> She threw herself down beside him (A37:18); *bašlaxla b-gànən*<sup>1</sup> Let's cook them by ourselves (A2:2); *'ávwa ʔəbi m-gáne diye θéle riqle l-túra*<sup>1</sup> This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord (A10:3); *maxbənət gáne-wewa*<sup>1</sup> He was a lover of himself (= selfish) (A3:1); *Māmo qimele rəš-gáne*<sup>1</sup> Māmo stood up (A26:5); *lən-ryaša b-gám*<sup>1</sup> I do not feel anything (is happening) to me (B9:19).

*ganawa* → *genawa*

*gāra*, *gəra* n.m. (pl. *gārare*, *gārere*) (K.) **hill**

*garaya* n.m. (pl. *garaye*) **barber**

*gardāna*, *gərdāna* n.m. (pl. *gərdāne*) (K.) **necklace** | *gərdāna šəklana* a beautiful necklace

*gare* n.m. (pl. *garəwəθa*) **roof** | *'ən-bábux ʔu-yəmmux gu-bəθəla*,<sup>1</sup> *léla šəklánta t-ásqət l-gəre*<sup>1</sup> If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof (D2:11); *l-garəwəθa biš-rába mʔaltíwala*<sup>1</sup> They played it most often on the roofs (B11:29); *garət ʔəna eyelid*; *š-gárat ʔəni*<sup>1</sup> by all means!

*garəbya* n.m. **North**

*gārəg* part. (K./T.) **particle expressing necessity (deontic and epistemic)** | Deontic (must): *gārəg ʔəmrəx*<sup>1</sup> We must say (A4:38); *gārəg ʔəθət*<sup>1</sup> You must come (A7:9). Deontic (supposed to): *'áxtu mən-zoruθéxu gārəg pəšítu tliqe b-ʔəmrət málka*<sup>1</sup> In your childhood, indeed, you were supposed to disappear by the command of the king (A8:88); Epistemic: *gārəg háwe ləxxa*,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-xazənne qam-xámša daqiqe*<sup>1</sup> He must be here, I saw him five minutes ago.

*gārəkθa*, *gərəkθa* n.f. (pl. *gārəkyaθa*) (K.) **hillock, small hill; mound**

*gārən* adj. invar. (K.) **expensive**

*gargome* n.pl. **thunder** | *šmáyya hóla mxáya gargòme*<sup>1</sup> The sky is thundering.

- gariθa* n.f. (pl. *gariyaθa*) **small roof** | e.g. over a porch (*šopiθa*)
- garma*, *germa*, *g'erma* n.m. (pl. *garme*) **bone** | *germat xaša* backbone
- garo* n.f. (pl. *garowaθa*) **rat**
- garoma* n.m. (pl. *garome*) **large stone rolling pin**
- garomta* n.f. (pl. *garomyaθa*) **small stone rolling pin**
- garosta* n.f. (pl. *garosyaθa*) **hand-mill; molar tooth**
- garra* (i) n.m. (pl. *garre*) (K.) **turn** | *mǝ́le gárre diye*<sup>1</sup> His turn came (A1:7); *ha-t-mǝ́le gárra 'ǝ́lle diye*<sup>1</sup> until it was his turn (A17:31).
- garra* (ii) n.m. (pl. *garre*, *garrere*) (K.) **pool in river created by constructing a dam**
- garšo* n.f. (pl. *garšowaθa*) **tool used to stir up the mud in the water when planting rice in the paddy fields**
- garθa* n.f. (pl. *garaθa*) **large sledge for transporting sticks and fodder on snow**
- garuta*, *garruta* n.f. (pl. *garuyaθa*, *garryaθa*) **small stack of twigs or leaves for animal fodder in winter, built against a tree**
- garuwa*, *garruwa* n.m. (pl. *garuwe*, *garruwe*) **stack of twigs and leaves for animal fodder in winter** | *garúwat tǝ́rpa*<sup>1</sup> a heap of leaves (A32:22)
- gasosa* n.m. (pl. *gase*) **wild green bean** | grows in pods (*šanqe*) in an uncultivated area (*čol*)
- gaš* n.m. (A.) **meat cooked over a fire on a skewer**
- gawa gawa* prep. **through** (§16.6.) | *siqle gáwa-gawət hadiqa*<sup>1</sup> He went up through the garden (A17:24); *náša jawújwa gawe-gawe-diye*<sup>1</sup> *paláwa m-d-é-paθa xèta*<sup>1</sup> A person could walk through it (the river) and come out the other side (B3:9).
- gawana*, *gewana* n.m. (pl. *gawanane*, *gewanane*) **boundary; strip between fields with no cultivation marking boundary** | *'o-gawána bēl-'ǝ́ra*<sup>1</sup> *l-'ǝ́ra*<sup>1</sup> The boundary area is between one plot of land and another (B5:131); *pišla mxurdéθa m-kúlla gewàna*<sup>1</sup> It was surrounded on every boundary (B1:15).

*gawaya* adj. (f. *gawεθa*, pl. *gawaye*) **inside; middle** | *ṣabota gawεθa* middle finger; *móre tla-d-o-xóne gawàya*<sup>1</sup> He said to his middle brother (i.e. middle of three) (A24:25); *'o-gawáyā ṣqilíle zùze*<sup>1</sup> The middle one (of the group of three people), who took the money (A15:16).

*gawaya* n.m. **beggar** → *gewaya*

*gawaye*, *gawáy* adv. **inside**

*gawna* n.m. (pl. *gawne*) **colour**

*gawra* adj. (f. and pl. *gawre*) (K.) **grey, off-white**

*gawra*, *g'awra* n.m. (pl. *gurε*, *gurane*) **man; married man, husband; gentleman, courtier; valiant man** | *gáwri θèle*<sup>1</sup> My husband has come back (A22:32); *qáryalle wǎzǔr-díye 'u-xákma guràne*<sup>1</sup> He called his minister and a few courtiers (A4:40); *bnáθat guràne*<sup>1</sup> the daughters of gentlemen (A38:3); *náše gurε*<sup>1</sup> valiant men (A11:14); *'íθan biš-gùre mánni*<sup>1</sup> There are those who are better men than me (A26:79); *'m-ʔile 'úrza gáwra xoš-qàym*<sup>1</sup> If he is a brave man, let him get up (A29:27); *'áwwεle gáwra m-gùre*<sup>1</sup> He is a man among men (= the best of men).

*gawza* n.m. (pl. *gawze*, *gawzane*) **walnut; walnut tree** | *bálki<sup>1</sup> képa qítte b-gàwza<sup>1</sup> npille-ʔara gáwza*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the stone has hit the walnut, and the wallnut has fallen on the ground (= Perhaps I am in luck) (A1:5); *gàwze<sup>1</sup> šmíte*<sup>1</sup> cracked (i.e. shelled) walnuts (A25:48).

*gawzana* n.m. (pl. *gawzane*) **walnut tree**

*gawzalta* n.f. (pl. *gawzalyaθa*) **small walnut tree**

*gayasa*, *geyasa* n.m. **penitent thief (at crucifixion); ceremony held on 2nd day of Easter** | In this ceremony the priest blesses the congregation with a long pole bearing candles; *yôm-gayàsa*<sup>1</sup> the day of the *gayasa* ceremony (B10:2).

*gaza* n.m. (K.) **three-year-old male sheep**

*gazanda* n.m. (pl. *gazande*) **complaint; grumble** | *la-ʔóðat mánni gazànda*<sup>1</sup> Do not blame me.

*gazandana* n.m. (pl. *gazandane*) **whiner, grumbler**

*gazgoze* n.pl. (sing. *gazgozta*) **goose pimples**

*gazza* n.m. **tongs** | *gàzza<sup>1</sup> ṣaqláxxwa lǎxma bìye<sup>1</sup> gu-tanùra*<sup>1</sup> With tongs we would pick up the bread in the oven (B10:98).

*gǝaǝe* → *gǝdda*

*gǝalta* n.f. **wrestling** | *gǝaltət kore* wrestling with one foot in a small hole (If your opponent pushes you over and your foot comes out of the hole, you have lost the game).

*gǝıla* adj. (f. *gǝilta*, pl. *gǝile*) **frozen; braided, woven**

*gǝıla* n.m. **ice** | *míya mugǝǝlla*,<sup>1</sup> *pišla gǝıla*<sup>1</sup> The water has frozen, it has become ice.

*gǝoǝa* → *bra-gǝoǝa*

*geba* n.m. (pl. *gebane*) **side** | *mǝn-kúl gebàne*,<sup>1</sup> *ʾiθ xa-dàšta*<sup>1</sup> On all sides there is a plain (B4:1); *mǝn-d-ó-geba xèna*<sup>1</sup> on the other hand (B15:11); *kút-xa xíša l-xà-gǝb*<sup>1</sup> Everybody went in one (= a different) direction (B1:8). *m-gǝb*, *gǝb* in place of, instead of: *ʾáyya béna hár-kulla tǝlǝlux ʾǝn-bǝyat*,<sup>1</sup> *m-gǝb-d-àni*<sup>1</sup> This time everything is for you, if you want, in place of those (other coins) (A1:13); *ʾílaha mxožǝbnalla m-gǝb-xà-dawa*<sup>1</sup> God has reckoned this bag as corresponding to one gold coin (A6:10); *gǝb xaθi holi ʾana* instead of my sister, it is me (C1:13); *ʾap-àti*<sup>1</sup> *m-gǝb t-aθǝtwa méθǝtwali zùze*,<sup>1</sup> *šqillux xa-šǝndǝxa*<sup>1</sup> So you, instead of coming and bringing me money, took a stone (A1:25).

*gebara* → *gabbara*

*genawa*, *ganawa* n.m. (pl. *genawe*) **thief** (§2.5.2. iv) | *ʾurxət genawe* The Milky Way

*genawta* n.f. (pl. *genawyaθa*) **thief (f.)**

*genawuθa* n.f. **theft, robbery; stealth** | *ɣ-áwǝǝwa genawùθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-qaǝaxùθa*<sup>1</sup> He engaged in robbery and brigandry (A27:1); *núblǝlle b-genawùθa*<sup>1</sup> He took it away in stealth.

*gesa* n.m. **gypsum plaster** | *mšurǝle bnáyalla batèy*<sup>1</sup> *b-képa ʾu-gèsa*<sup>1</sup> They began to build their houses with stone and gypsum plaster (B5:179)

*gewaya*, *gawaya*, *guwaya* n.m. (pl. *gewaye*, *gawaye*, *guwaye*) **beggar**

*gezara* n.m. (pl. *gezare*) **carrot**

*gežana* adj. (f. *gežanta*, pl. *gežane*) (K.) **dizzy**

*gǝbbo* n.f. **foam, froth**

*gadda* n.m. (pl. *gaddde*, *gðaðe*) **string; thread** | *zulli gðaðe*<sup>1</sup> Spin for me threads (A51:3)

*gaddiša* n.m. (pl. *gaddiše*) **pile, pile of wood**

*gaddišta*, *gdišta* n.f. (pl. *gaddiŷaθa*) **stook of corn** | especially millet (*prage*), sorghum (*xroriye*) and sesame (*šišme*)

*galla* n.m. (pl. *galle*) **wattle of intertwined twigs used to make a fence and other structures** | *mxéli gódla qam-d-áwwa bàqč*<sup>1</sup> I have built a fence in front of my garden.

*gadža* n.m. (pl. *gadže*) **momentous event; catastrophe**

*gəðya* n.m. (pl. *gəðye*) **newborn male goat**

*gəgla* n.m. (pl. *gəgle*) **skein (of wool, thread) spun on a spool (msarbəs)**

*gəhana* n.m. **Hell**

*gəlda* n.m. (pl. *gəldə*) **skin; carcass** | *xá-gəldət tâuwa*<sup>1</sup> an ox skin (A11:10); *máxyele ʔáqlə díye l-ð-gəlda*<sup>1</sup> He kicked the carcass (A27:43).

*gəlla* n.m. (pl. *gəllale*) **plant; herb; grass** | *gəllət čay* tea leaves

*gəlya* adj. (f. *glíθa*, pl. *gəlye*) **open, exposed** | *ʔap-ʔáxxa ʔisàra*<sup>1</sup> *réša har-gəlyá*<sup>1</sup> There was a rock here, the top of which was completely exposed (B9:3).

*gəmbálta* n.f. (pl. *gəmbəlyáθa*) **small ball** | *gəmbəltət ʔupra* ball of earth; *gəmbəltət bərdə* hailstone

*gəmgəmmə* n.pl. **delicious foods** | *banəx kanune čəmmə čəmmə ʔu-ʔəlla mbašləx gəmgəmmə* Let us build stoves (with) a little (fire) and on them we shall cook delicious foods (C1:5).

*gəmra* n.m. **tanning**

*gəndore* n.pl. (sing. *gəndorta*) (K.) **melons**

*gəngəryasa* n.f. (pl. *gəngəryase*) **lime fruit, lime tree** | *ʔilanət gəngəryase* **lime tree**

*gənθa* n.f. (pl. *gənnane*) **(small) garden**

*gəppa* n.m. (pl. *gəppape*) **cave**

*gəppiθa* n.f. (pl. *gəppiyaθa*, *gəpyaθa*) **small cave**



*gəra* → *gǎra*

*gera* n.m. (pl. *gere*) **arrow; long thin rolling pin** | *qəšta-w gera* bow and arrow

*gərdāna* → *gardāna*

*gərđo* n.f. **dish consisting of yoghurt and cracked wheat**

*gərakθa* (i) n.f. (pl. *gərakyaθa*) (K.) **hand mill used to remove husks from rice**

*gərakθa* (ii) n.f. **hillock** → *gǎrakθa*

*gərgara* n.m. (pl. *gərgare*) (K.) **smooth steep slope**

*gərgara* n.m. **type of grass with seed head that is fed to sheep; light snow falling in round grains like the seeds of this plant** | *dúnye hóla ráya gərgəra*<sup>1</sup> It is snowing in round grains.

*gərgarta* n.f. (pl. *gərgaryaθa*) **wheel**

*gərkawe* n.f. (K.) **hunting of partridges** | *y-azəxwa gərkawe*<sup>1</sup> We used to go hunting partridges (B5:147).

*gərra* n.m. **leprosy, psoriasis** | *kút-xa hóle zıla b-xá-gərrət yəmmə*<sup>1</sup> Every one went off empty handed (B1:23).

*gərrəsta* n.f. **dandruff**

*gərsə* n.pl. **crushed wheat** | *xa dəndəkθət gərsə* a grain of crushed wheat

*gərsəkka* n.m. (pl. *gərsəkke*) (K.) **wild pear**

*gərsəkθa* n.f. (pl. *gərsəkke, gərsəkyaθa*) (K.) **small wild pear**

*gərwe* n.pl. (sing. *gərwiθa, gruθa, gərwa* f.) **socks**

*gesərri* n.m. (K.) **type large sparrow**

*gəsta* n.f. (pl. *gəsyathā*) **fleece of sheep**

*gəšər* n.m. (A.) **husk**

*gəšra* n.m. (pl. *gəšre*) **bridge**

*gəxka* n.m. **laughter; joke; fun** | *našət gəxka* a man who is the butt of jokes; *ʔay-ṭawálla mṭalíwala qa-gəxka*<sup>1</sup> They play this game for fun (B12:2).

*gəzra* n.m. (pl. *gəzre*) **mound, pile (of stones)**

*gəžže* n.f. (K.) **raised hand** | *neriya b-gəžže lè-y-mayəθ<sup>l</sup>* A male goat does not die (at the sight of) a raised hand (D2:12).

*gilandi, gilanda* n.m. (pl. *gilandiye, gilande*) (K.) **scythe**

*gilasa* n.m. (pl. *gilase*) **cherry, cherry tree**

*gira* n.m. **limescale; tartar (on teeth)** | *képa dwiqle girət miya<sup>l</sup>* The stone has become scaled from the water

*gisakyaθa* n.pl. (sing. *gisakθa*) **black pepper**

*gisəqθa, jisəqθa* (pl. *gisqaθa, jisqathā*) (K.) **one- to two-year old female goat**

*gisqa* n.m. (pl. *gisqe*) (K.) **one- to two-year old male goat**

*gista* n.f./adj. **barren woman; wretched woman** | *'o gista xaθax* Oh your poor sister (C3:3)

*giša* n.m. (pl. *giše*) **target**

*glās* n.m. (pl. *glase*) (K./E.) **glass (for drinking)**

*glola* n.m. **circle**. adj. (f. *galolta*, pl. *galole*) **round**

*glop* n.m. (pl. *glope*) **lamp**

*gmira* adj. (f. *gmirta*, pl. *gmire*) **tanned (leather); compressed** | *'amra gmira* compressed wool

*gnaya* n.m. (pl. *gnaye*) **fault** | *léle gnàyi<sup>l</sup>* It is not my fault; *'ina léwa mádre gnàyux<sup>l</sup>* But again it was not your fault (A1:25).

*gnayət yoma, gnay-yoma* **West** | Combined with *la* side: *hóle 'əθya Déwa Žār<sup>l</sup>... m-la-gnay-yòma<sup>l</sup>* Dewa Zar has come... from the West (A28:14).

*gnəθət yoma* n.f. **setting of the sun, dusk** | *gu-sá'ət 'əšta 'ašrta šáwwa gu-gnəθət yòma<sup>l</sup> hóle θéle Čuxo<sup>l</sup>* At six or seven o'clock in the evening, at dusk, Čuxo came (A7:21).

*gnuna* n.m. (pl. *gnune*) **band (tied at a wedding ceremony)** | *θáyele qàša<sup>l</sup> 'u-sára gnùnele<sup>l</sup>* The priest comes and ties the wedding band (B5:44).

*goja* n.m. (pl. *goje*) (K.) **stock of tree; large root of a tree**

*gojiθa* n.f. (pl. *gojiyaθa*) (K.) **small stock of tree**

*goma* n.m. (pl. *gome, gomāwaθa*) (K.) **basement stable**

*gomiθa* n.f. (pl. *gomiyaθa*) (K.) **small stable**

*gora* adj. (f. *gor̄ta*, pl. *gor̄e*) **big; great; old.** (1) **big (in size)** | *gil̄andi rába gòr̄ele*<sup>1</sup> A scythe is very big (B5:143); *ʔotáxe gòr̄e hawéwa*<sup>1</sup> Rooms were large (B10:51). (2) **great (in power or importance)** *ʔíθwa liθwa*<sup>1</sup> *biš-m-álaha góra čú-mdi liθwa*<sup>1</sup> There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God (opening formula of stories) (A30:1); *ʔéða góra* the great festival = Easter. Used as nominal: *gór̄at ʔAmediya*<sup>1</sup> The chief of Amedia (A25:45). (3) **old (person)** | *ʔána xa-náša gòr̄ewam*<sup>1</sup> *wíra b-š̄anne*<sup>1</sup> I am an old man, advanced in years (A8:43); *naša góra b-š̄anne* an elderly person; *gor̄at ʔumra* advanced in age; *xóna ʔo-góra* the eldest brother (A12:17); *Náze ʔe-gór̄ta*<sup>1</sup> Naze, the eldest one (A25:16); *kùllan*<sup>1</sup> *m̄an-yále zóre ʔu-hal-gòr̄e*<sup>1</sup> All of us, from young children to old people (B16:4).

*goriya* n.m. (K.) **sacrifice (for redemption of s.o.)** | *hoyánwa gor̄iye*<sup>1</sup> Let me be his redeemer, let me die instead of him. Used in devotional expressions in combination with names of saints: *Mar-Sáwa*<sup>1</sup> *gor̄iyat xèle*<sup>1</sup> Saint Sawa, a sacrifice for his strength.

*gorna* n.f. (pl. *gornaθa*) **baptismal font**

*goša* n.m. (pl. *goš̄e*) **side (of a shape); corner**

*gota* n.f. (pl. *goyaθa*, *gotaθa*) **side** | *ʔasr̄íwala b-qéša ʔu-m-áy-gota qèsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-m-áy-gota qèsa*<sup>1</sup> They would bind them to a stick, with a stick this side and a stick that side (B7:16); *holá-ʔəθye t̄iwe*<sup>1</sup> *báxta t̄iwa l-áyya-gotat m̄és*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-gáwra t̄iwa l-áy-gota*<sup>1</sup> They came and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side (A4:57); *t-ázat zénat gót̄a d-o-xar̄aya*<sup>1</sup> Go and stand by the side of the last one (A8:47); *š̄qilele xa-š̄andòxa*<sup>1</sup> *tr̄ip̄alle l-gota-diya*<sup>1</sup> He took a smooth stone and threw it at her (A30:37); *kúlla šaléwa gota-xt̄èθa*<sup>1</sup> They would all fall down (B5:43); *m̄aléwa q̄ort̄ála m-ay-gót̄ t̄orn̄èy*<sup>1</sup> They would fill the pannier basket on both sides (B5:137); *m-kúlla goyàθa*<sup>1</sup> on all sides (A8:48); *kízle mx̄àya*<sup>1</sup> *goyáθat s̄usa*<sup>1</sup> *s̄usa la-jw̄ijle*<sup>1</sup> He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move (A28:33).

*goz̄aka* n.m./f. (pl. *goz̄ake*) (K.) **ankle** | *goz̄ak̄at ʔíða* wrist

*grawa* n.m. (K.) **off-white cotton fabric** | used for lining clothes

*grawəzna* n.m. (pl. *grawəzne*) **load of harvested rice carried on the back in a piece of cloth**

*grīwa* adj. (f. *grīwta*, pl. *grīwe*) **ravenous, very hungry**

*gu-* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *gawə*) **in; concerning; compared with; by (oath)**. (1) **in** | usually within an enclosed physical space: *gu-xa-gəppīθa*<sup>1</sup> in a cave (A15:1); *gu-dudīya* in the cradle (A15:8); ingressive: *wīrela gu-béθa*<sup>1</sup> They went into the house (A15:7); *ʔnwe ʔiθ gáwe*<sup>1</sup> There are grapes in it (the orchard). (2) **concerning** | *šmīle gu-d-o-Dāwīd*<sup>1</sup> *ʔn ʔəmər*<sup>1</sup> *túra mšanéle m-àxxa*<sup>1</sup> *mšanéle tāmàha*<sup>1</sup> The monk had heard concerning that David that if he says he will move a mountain from here, he will move it there (A16:3). (3) **compared with** | *rāba xá-mdi prišela júllux gu-d-anna diyéni*<sup>1</sup> Your clothes are something very special compared with ours (A35:10). (4) **by** | only in oaths: *gu-d-anna ʔéni bt-áθm*<sup>1</sup> (I promise) by these eyes of mine that I shall come (A22:20).

*gubba* n.m. (pl. *gubbe*) **inner pocket**

*gubbān* n.m. (A.) **spirit-level** | *har-gubbān-ix wīðalle*<sup>1</sup> We made it exactly according to a spirit-level (A17:20).

*gučča* n.m. (pl. *gučče*) (K.) **fiſt** | *maxánmux xa-gučča*<sup>1</sup> I shall punch you.

*guda* n.m. (pl. *gudane*) **wall** | *gúda máre naθyàθele*<sup>1</sup> The wall has ears (A29:6).

*guða* n.m. (pl. *guðe*) **skin bag (for churning or carrying liquids)**

*guðanta* n.f. (*guðanyaθa*) **small skin bag**

*gugīya* n.m. (pl. *gugīye*) (K.) **tassel**

*gugīθa* n.f. (pl. *gugīyaθa*) (K.) **small tree stump** | *ða-gugīθa b-šáwra boyàye*<sup>1</sup> *mòðile*<sup>2</sup> *rèša*<sup>1</sup> A small stump of a tree with seven holes—What is it? A head (D1:17).

*gujja* n.m. (pl. *gujje*) (K.) **three-year-old male sheep**

*gujma* n.m. (pl. *gujme*) **bunch (of grapes, nuts)**

*gulavež* → *galaveža*

*gulbare* n.f. **type of dance**

*gullira* n.m. (pl. *gullire*) (K.) **round oak apple gall** | grows on the *mēša* and *parma* trees; used for tanning (*gmarā*).

*gulpa* n.m. (pl. *gulpane*) **wing** | *pišalla xákma gulpane<sup>1</sup> dák d-an-t-tèra.<sup>1</sup>* She had acquired some wings like those of a bird (A8:76).

*gumarta* n.f. **piece of glowing charcoal**

*gumla* n.m. (pl. *gumle*) **camel**

*gunga* n.m. (pl. *gunge*) (K.) **chimney pipe**

*guniya* n.f. (pl. *guniyaθa*) (K.) **sack** | made of flax, imported from towns. Sacks made in the villages out of animal hair are known as *juwala*.

*gupta* n.f. (pl. *gupyāθa*) **cheese** | *gupta m̄umarta* cheesed buried in ground to mature

*gurba* n.m. (pl. *gurbe*) **torso (of an animal)**

*gurj* adj. invar. (K.) **tight; too short (rope)**

*guršeni* | *xægga guršeni* **type of line dance**

*guruθa* n.f. **bravery** | *háwya bríxta gurùθux<sup>1</sup>* May your bravery be blessed (= bravo!) (A24:21).

*gurya* n.m. (pl. *gurye*) **pup of dog**

*gurza* n.f. (pl. *gurzāwaθa*) **club**

*gusta* n.f. (pl. *gusyāθa*) **ball of dough**

*gušma* n.m. (pl. *gušme*) **fist** | *lá-maxət gušma 'urədxā<sup>1</sup>* Do not punch a needle (D2:59) → *gučča*

*gutta* n.f. (pl. *guttaθa*) **ball** | *guttət 'aqla* football

*guwaya* → *gawayā*

*gwartā* n.f. **marriage** | *mò-hoyālī gwárta-w?<sup>1</sup>* What good would marriage be to me? (A16:5)

*gwina* n.m. (pl. *gwināne*) **boundary, side (of field, paddy field basin)** | *marmūwa gwinānət māššāre<sup>1</sup>* They would build up the sides of the paddy field basins.

*gyatta* n.f. **finish at top of a wall on which the roof is laid; finishing at edge of woven material**

*gzərta* n.f. **small pile**

/Ġ/

*ġaba* n.f. (A.) **forest**

*ġaləbuθa* n.f. (A.) **achievement** | *w-àti<sup>1</sup> qa-diyux<sup>1</sup> xa-ġaləbúθa ġòɾtele<sup>1</sup> ʔən-bróni tārəy<sup>1</sup>* It would be a big achievement on your part if my son is cured (A8:36).

*ġăzăliya* n.f. (pl. *ġăzăliyaθa*) **gazelle**

*ġðəde* pron. **reciprocal pronoun** (§14.6.) | *bróni ʔu-brátux xəzyela ġðəde<sup>1</sup>* My son and your daughter saw each other (A4:26); *ʔu-xállən kúllən m-ġðəde<sup>1</sup>* and we all ate together (A21:39); *ʔu-ʔillən<sup>1</sup> ʔəštá-maθwəθa qúrba l-ġðədele<sup>1</sup>* We have six villages that are near to one another (B1:3); *xa-xa-ġáye ʔi-maxéwa tmányə saʔətte<sup>1</sup> bar-ġðəde t-là-kleθa<sup>1</sup>* Sometimes, they played for eight hours continuously without stopping (B15:77).

/H/

*ha* part. **presentative particle** | *həyyo!<sup>1</sup> hóla hà!<sup>1</sup> šqúlla yaləxθa<sup>1</sup>* Come! Here it is! Take the handkerchief. (A4:18); *ha-šqùl<sup>1</sup>* Here, take (them) (A6:3).

*habresəm, ʔabresəm* n.m. (K./A.) **silk**

*habriya* n.m. (pl. *habriye*) (K.) **festive headscarf** | *šətro marθət habriya* the beautiful woman who possesses the headscarf (C2:1)

*habsa* n.m. (A.) **prison**

*haða-huwa* (A.) **that is that, that is final**

*hadayya* → *hadiya*

*hade* part. **just now, hardly** | *yóma hádele zriqa<sup>1</sup>* The sun has just now risen (A26:37); *yále zóre háde bərye<sup>1</sup>* young children just born (A8:10);

*'ána hâden plâta*<sup>1</sup> I am just now coming out (A23:11). *hade m-hade* as just now, once again: *hade-m-hâde písłan xawràne*<sup>1</sup> We became friends once again (B5:132); *zila*<sup>1</sup> *mtugàbralla*<sup>1</sup> *hâde m-hâde-w*<sup>1</sup> They went and put it in order once again (A23:24).

*hadax* adv. **thus; like that; the same; so much.** (1) **thus, like that** | *dax-t-ile xazyalla thâya*<sup>1</sup> *hâdax şràxa-w*<sup>1</sup> *xumthâne*<sup>1</sup> *Čuxo riqele*<sup>1</sup> When he saw them coming, shouting like this and angry, Čuxo ran away (A7:16); *páyaxwa*<sup>2</sup> *'ax-xâlwa*<sup>1</sup> *brîza hâdax*<sup>1</sup> It would become like curds, dry, (it was) like that (B7:22). (2) **the same** | *dârtat-yoma zilla wîdla hâdax*<sup>1</sup> The next day she went and did the same (A18:3); *xârtha*<sup>1</sup> *pâlteti*<sup>1</sup> *'ap-'a-şarta hâdax*<sup>1</sup> Then, you go out, and in the evening (do) the same (A22:23); *har-hâdax*<sup>1</sup> *'ûmur Mâr Qayyôma*<sup>1</sup> The age of Mar Qayyoma is the same (B1:7). (3) Marking temporal intervals in narrative: *şryela gu-d-é 'otél 'o-yôma-w*<sup>1</sup> *pîşela hâdax*<sup>1</sup> *'aşarta thithela*<sup>1</sup> *bâyi t-âxli xa-râmş'a*<sup>1</sup> They put up in the hotel that day and remained like that (until) the evening came and they wanted to eat dinner (A2:2); *xa-béna wîtela hâdax b-lêle*<sup>1</sup> *mâxyele taq-taq-tâq l-târa*<sup>1</sup> Then, at night, there was a knock at the door (A23:26); *bar-hâdax*<sup>1</sup> *'y-aθéwa mdarêwale*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-lâ-hawa pîşe şâxte*<sup>1</sup> Then they would come and winnow it (B5:86); *hâdax 'âp-ati 'əθyət*<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile you also came (A2:9). (4) **so much** | *'o-xâwri hâdax gabbâra*<sup>1</sup> *xázax wírre gawâyé*<sup>1</sup> We saw my friend, who was such a huge man, go inside (B15:58); *hâdax-iwa xôs-naşa*<sup>1</sup> *hâdax-iwa şpây*<sup>1</sup> He was such a good man, he was so good (A4:31).

*hadiya, diya, hadayya* (marginal) adv. **now** | *hadiya dîli 'ána manáy diyux mòdila*<sup>1</sup> Now I know what you mean (A17:35); *diya lekət zâla*<sup>2</sup> Now where are you going? (A1:12); *'ána m-diya m-bâθər*<sup>1</sup> *brátux bâyànna*<sup>1</sup> I from now on love your daughter (A17:35); *diya*<sup>1</sup> *t-xzéle málka dúnje ráya pàre*<sup>1</sup> *zaw-şlâmele*<sup>1</sup> Now that the king has seen it raining lambs, it is the time of peace (A1:26); *'u-diya t-àθyən*<sup>1</sup> I shall be right back (A4:22); *har-diya mátyən t-àθyən*<sup>1</sup> I shall go right now and come back (A4:17); *diya b-diya*<sup>1</sup> (A30:28), *di-b-diya*<sup>1</sup> right now (A30:35).

*hadiya* n.f. (pl. *hâdaya*) (A.) **gift**

*hâl* n.f. (pl. *hawâl*) (A.) **condition, situation** | *hâl hawâl 'àtxela*<sup>1</sup> The situation is like this (A8:35); *hâl 'u-hawâl hâtxa xzèli*<sup>1</sup> I saw such-and-such things (A4:7); *hâl-u qâşşat hâtxela*<sup>1</sup> The situation is like this (A12:42); *'ána hâli m-halêxu*<sup>1</sup> I shall live like you (A14:97); *liθ wîya çü-mândi*<sup>1</sup> *genáwe hâle*<sup>2</sup> Has anything happened? Thieves or the like? (A29:22); *t-âzən*

*máθyən xáčča štèθa,*<sup>1</sup> *màzɜa,*<sup>1</sup> *məndi-hàle*<sup>1</sup> I shall go and bring some drink, nibbles, and the like (A17:25); *míla l-hàlux!*<sup>1</sup> Confound you! (literally: Blue on your condition!) (A23:10)

*hal, ha-* prep. (§13.3.10., §19.3.9.) **until, up to; before; until when.** (1) **until, up to** | *hal-<sup>2</sup>ašrta plixele*<sup>1</sup> He worked until evening (A16:5); *'o-mənnéxu t-dàqər<sup>1</sup> b-Mămo,*<sup>1</sup> *m-áxxa hál qašrət-mìra<sup>1</sup> t-oððixe dəmma<sup>1</sup>* Whoever of you touches Mămo, we shall scatter his blood from here until the palace of the prince (A26:68); *yá'ni xamšá daqíqela hal-<sup>2</sup>əšra<sup>1</sup> 'áti 'àθeti<sup>1</sup>* after five or ten minutes you should come back (A22:22); *hal-<sup>2</sup>əman t-áwət hátxa mdagóle?*<sup>1</sup> For how long will you lie like this? (A26:56). Before a prepositional phrase: *wíyax pláša m-<sup>2</sup>ašrta hal-gu-mbadláθa<sup>1</sup>* We fought from evening until morning (A12:19); *hal-gu-réšət túra* up to the top of the mountain (A14:49). Combined with connective particle *w:* *m-ó-yoma dwíqalle Mămo gu-hàbsa,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-hál-<sup>2</sup>ədyo<sup>1</sup>* From that day he has held Mămo in prison, until today (A26:75); *kùllən,*<sup>1</sup> *mən-yále zóre 'u-hal-gòrə<sup>1</sup>* all of us, from young children to old people (B16:4). Content clause as complement (often shortened to *ha-*): *zúlela hal-mát'yela l-qàšra<sup>1</sup>* They went until they arrived at the palace (A24:49); *kazíwa práməlla har-paltíwa,*<sup>1</sup> *hál plítla hàtxa<sup>1</sup>* They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up, until they grew like this (A38:15); *múxéla l-ğəðəðe<sup>1</sup> ha-t-tláθna mítla<sup>1</sup>* They beat one another until the three of them died (A22:35). (2) **before** | *ha-t-íle 'əθya,*<sup>1</sup> *mpuláttéla fāqih<sup>1</sup>* Before he came back, she took out the jurist (A22:39); *pəšáwa tálga hal-qedámta<sup>1</sup>* It would become ice before morning (B15:26). (3) **until when** | *lā-paltət,*<sup>1</sup> *hal-t-amrənnux plútgena<sup>1</sup> 'ə-ga páltət<sup>1</sup>* Do not come out, until when I say to you 'Come out!', at that time you should come out (A14:67).

*hala* part. **still (not)** (§15.11.1.) | used before a negative copula or negative existential particle: *'ina<sup>1</sup> núrət xàle<sup>1</sup> t-íwa síqa l-tàma<sup>1</sup> gu-zòma<sup>1</sup> hála lèle čmya<sup>1</sup>* The fire in the summer house of his maternal uncle, where he was making for, had still not gone out (A25:40); *'áwəwa nəšá<sup>1</sup> hála lítwale<sup>1</sup>* This man still did not yet have (a son) (A8:5).

*hālāl* → *hātāl*

*halbat* part. (K./A.) **of course**

*həlíkoptər* n.f. (E.) **helicopter**

*hal-lele* → *har*

*halučakka* n.m. (pl. *halučakke*) n.pl. (K.) **black plum**



*haluka, halukka* n.m. (pl. *haluke, halukke*) (K.) **black plum; black plum tree**

*halurašša* n.m. (pl. *halurašše*) (K.) **black plum**

*halwasna* n.m. (pl. *halwasne*) **raspberry** | It grows on a *sunniḡa* tree

*ham* part. (K.) **also; even; again.** (1) **also** | *ʔap-m-d-áni y-ódi muràbba,<sup>1</sup> yáʕni ham-mən-sparàgle<sup>1</sup>* They make jam also from these, that is also from quinces (B5:219). (2) **even** | in conditional constructions: *hám-ʔən yawáʕti zùze,<sup>1</sup> lè-y-aḡən<sup>1</sup>* Even if you give me money, I shall not come. (3) **again** | *ham-zílele kásle diye<sup>1</sup>* He went again to him (A25:25); *ham-ṣawòre ʔille diye<sup>1</sup>* He curses him again (A17:3).

*hāmanta, haymanta* n.f. **trust** | *ʔiḡa hāmànta<sup>1</sup>* a trusted hand (a deposit made by the groom's family to the bride's family as a token of securing the betrothal) (B5:5); *hāmántət bèḡa<sup>1</sup>* trust in the family (B5:44).

*hambišaya* n.m./f. (pl. *hambišaye*) **giant**

*hamdān, ḡamdani* n.m. (pl. *hamdane*) **sheep with long hanging ears**

*hammaše, hammaša* adv. (K.) **always**

*hanawe* n.pl. **internal organs**

*handawaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *handawaye*) **Indian**

*hapupka* n.m. (pl. *hapupke*) (K.) **hoopoe bird**

*har* part. (K.) **always; again; still; as soon as; directly; just, only; the same; surely** (§15.11.). (1) **always, constantly** | *har-bxàya-waawa<sup>1</sup>* They were constantly continued crying (A25:5); *ʔu-ʔati har-háwət baràye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-sáprət ku-t-áḡe lāxxa<sup>1</sup>* You be outside all the time and wait for whoever comes here (A22:23); *har-bliḡət b-kàsux<sup>1</sup>* You are always busy with your stomach (A23:10). (2) **again** | *yómət ʔlàḡa<sup>1</sup> har-šlèla<sup>1</sup>* On the third day she went down again (A22:18). (3) **still** | Temporal persistence: *ʔu-dabbóre hár-hola qam-táṛət bòya<sup>1</sup>* The hornets were still before the door of the hole (A20:9); *har-xáḡe ʔi-bàye<sup>1</sup>* He still loves his sister (A18:16); *ʔáy har-là-yawəlla<sup>1</sup>* It still does not give it back (A34:4); *hal-lele < har-lele: hal-lèla gláya<sup>1</sup>* She (the mother) still does not reveal (the truth) (A38:6). Logically unexpected: *kəmät t-árqena<sup>1</sup> tòpe har-ṭapyáli<sup>1</sup>* However much I run, a gun will still reach me (B9:3). (4) **as soon as** | *har-ḡiləxu pṛiqlən mən-ṭúra,<sup>1</sup> dérən tòpe,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa maxèla<sup>1</sup> xánjər diye,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-íle*

*qáme díye qaṭalle*<sup>1</sup> As soon as you know that we have finished (coming over) the mountain, I shall fire a gun and everyone will strike with his dagger and kill the man in front of him (B19:6); *har-qitla biyux*,<sup>1</sup> *qaṭlilux t-axlilux*<sup>1</sup> As soon as they hit you, they will kill you and eat you (A22:39). (5) **directly** | *har-ʔəθyele mən-túra réša-reša d-o-gàre*<sup>1</sup> He came straight from the mountain onto the roof (A23:14). (6) **just, only** | *har-ʔána hon-zlíma*<sup>1</sup> Only I am wronged (A13:5); *lá har-ʔáxní zlíme*<sup>1</sup> Not only we are wronged (A13:16); *har-ʔáwwéle*<sup>1</sup> He is alone (A17:16); *har-ʔàti*<sup>1</sup> you yourself (and nobody else) (A27:6); *hár-xa xále díyele*<sup>1</sup> It is his one and only uncle (A28:11). Narrowing the extent of an action: *ʔína bróna lèla xiltalle*.<sup>1</sup> *har-nobáltalle muttéthalle mattòye*.<sup>1</sup> She did not eat the boy. She just took him and put him down. (A19:7); *ʔána har-sálan mđíta*<sup>1</sup> *méthən ʔixála*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔàθena*<sup>1</sup> I'll just go down to the town to bring food and come back (A26:30). (7) **the same** | in combination with demonstratives: *hàr ʔo-yóma* on the same day (A25:4). (8) **surely, indeed** | *ʔáxní har-xòñən-iti*<sup>1</sup> You are indeed our brother (A39:12); *ʔay-xá-yoma har-t-yáḏa*<sup>1</sup> *t-íle míθa bròñən*<sup>1</sup> She will surely know one day that our son is dead (A4:39).

*hāramāt* → *ħarām*

*harmiya, hermiya* n.m. (pl. *harmiye, hermiye*) (K.) **pear** | *harmiyət čeri* autumn pear; *harmiyət qeṭa* summer pear

*harmone, ʔarmone* n.pl. (sing. *harmonta, ʔarmonta*) **pomegranates** | *ʔılanat harmone* pomegranate tree

*harmonta, ʔarmonta* n.f. **pomegranate tree**

*harnuwa* n.f. (pl. *harnuwe*) **rabbit**

*harrəj* n.m. (A.) **bargain price**

*harun* n.m. **type of herb**

*hašya* (i) n.m. (pl. *hašye*) **woven lace** | *ʔašitnəye*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-məpaltıla ʔáwewa šálat qđála*,<sup>1</sup> *həšya*<sup>1</sup> The people from Ashitha produced the neck shawl, (made of) lace (B10:50); *zaqrəxwa həšye*,<sup>1</sup> *laqtəxwa*<sup>1</sup> We would weave works of lace and embroider them (B10:85); *xmatət hašya* needle for sewing lace.

*hašya* (ii) n.m. **herb put in jajək and cheese (like chive)**

*hatta, hat* part. **even** (A.) | *háttá Gozáli b-gáne mšudrátle lèn θiθa*<sup>1</sup> Even (when) you sent Gozali himself, I did not come (A8:94); *hat-yəmméy wírən*

*tälba*<sup>1</sup> I entered attacking even their mother (A12:18); *hátta mexólta b-kàwe dáræx 'alle-dýe*<sup>1</sup> We even give food to it through the window (A12:62).

*hatxa*, 'atxa part. **thus, like this, so, such** | *si-hátxa múrgan tla-málka*<sup>1</sup> Go, say thus to the king (A17:30); *hátxela qəşşət*<sup>1</sup> The story is like this (A13:5); *háyyo hátxa hátxa mənnux*<sup>1</sup> Come on you so-and-so! (curse) (A28:21). Adverb: *mjunəgnila hátxa*<sup>1</sup> She shook them like this (A4:15); *wíðele hó hátxa 'ax-dəbba*<sup>1</sup> He behaved just like a bear (B18:5). Governing a nominal: *hátxa məndi*<sup>1</sup> such a thing (A14:6); *čú-bena lat-tlibta hátxa məndiyáne dýya hot-tlāba*<sup>1</sup> You have never requested such things as you are requesting now (A26:45). Governing an adjective: *'iman t-ile xəzyalla*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa šətránta-w šapirta*<sup>1</sup> 'ay-şrixla<sup>1</sup> When he saw her, so beautiful and good-looking, she screamed (A4:4). Expressing approximation: *'aşərtā*<sup>1</sup> *sə'ət 'ášta 'atxa*<sup>1</sup> in the evening, around six o'clock (B15:43). End of discourse unit: *xíşele l-bəθa*<sup>1</sup> *léle-hiwa 'atxa*<sup>1</sup> He did not give (the money) and that was that (A1:9).

*hatxane* (pl. of *hatxa*) **such things; approximately like this** | *'ána gáræg 'ámran hatxàne*<sup>1</sup> I must tell such things (A39:7); *záwda mən-'arbá-mma šənnəle*<sup>1</sup> *bálki bíş-kəm mən-'əštā-mma šənnəle*<sup>1</sup> *hátxane*<sup>1</sup> *t-ile bənya tāmā*<sup>1</sup> It is older than four hundred years. Perhaps it is less than six hundred years ago, something like that, when it was built there (B6:31).

*havrəkka* n.m. (pl. *havrəkke*) (K.) **rival, opponent** | *tre yalone havrəkke šarreyey rəş-mamməkke* two rival children are fighting on the breasts (C2:39).

*hawa* n.m. (K./A.) **air**

*hawar, hawər* n.m. (pl. *haware*) (K.) **cry for help** | *haware*<sup>1</sup> Help!; *hàwar-ila*<sup>1</sup> Help! (A32:21); *hàwər-ila*<sup>1</sup> What a calamity! (A7:10); *piştela háwar gu-màθa*<sup>1</sup> There was a cry of alarm in the village (B5:162); *draya hawar/hawər* to call in anguish, call for help: *šúryele mxáya gu-réşe dráya hàwər*<sup>1</sup> He began beating his head yelling in anguish (A7:10); *'áp-xa la-mşèle*<sup>1</sup> *θéle mtéle hawàran*<sup>1</sup> Nobody could come to help us (B15:41).

*hawd* n.m. (pl. *hawde*) (A.) **basin; flower-bed** | *qumte rixana t-hawdi* His figure was (that of) a basil in my flower-bed (C2:65).

*hawga* n.m. (pl. *hawge*) (K.) **steam**

*hawna* n.m. (pl. *hawne*) **mind, intelligence** | *məθənnə háwni*<sup>1</sup> I shall try to work it out (literally: I shall bring my intelligence) (A26:36).

*hawana*, *honana* adj. (f. *hawanta*, pl. *hawane*) **clever**

*hawše*, *hawše* n.f. (pl. *hawšaθa*) (K./A.) **sheep-fold, animal pen** | constructed with wicker fencing (*gədda*), usually in the mountains, where the sheep spend the night: *ʾiθ hāwše t-tūra*,<sup>1</sup> *mturāsta xa-dúkθa gu-tūra*,<sup>1</sup> *képe y-áwa zədyəlla*,<sup>1</sup> *muráxməlla qa-t-ʾərwe dāwri táma*<sup>1</sup> There is a mountain sheep-fold, a place made in the mountains, in which they have removed the stones and which they have made suitable for the sheep to dwell in.

*hayarta* n.f. **help**

*haymanuθa* n.f. **faith**

*hazər*, *hazər*, *haḏər* adj. invar. (K./A.) **ready, prepared** | *hazər qa-štaya* ready for drinking; *ʾanna məndiyáne t-it-tlábəlla kúlla hāzərila*<sup>1</sup> All the things that you request are ready (A8:38); *simərxa*<sup>1</sup> *wiðtela gána hāzər*<sup>1</sup> The *simarxa* bird prepared herself (A27:13).

*he* part. **yes** | *mašitu mšadrítula kəslí?*<sup>1</sup> *məra hē*<sup>1</sup> He said ‘Can you send her to me?’ They said ‘Yes’ (A4:13).

*hedi hedi* adv. (K./A.) **slowly** | *ʾáy hēdi-hēdi qimla*<sup>1</sup> She got up slowly (A20:5); *hēdi hēdi bašəlwa ʾixàla*<sup>1</sup> The food cooked slowly (B10:87).

*hemza* n.m. **edible herb with pungent root and white sap**

*heš*, *haš*, *š* part. **still; (not) yet; (no) longer** (§15.10.). (1) **still** | *heš xúya xúyēle*<sup>1</sup> It is still very dark (A30:36); *ʾáy heš-hóla gu-gòma*<sup>1</sup> She is still in the basement stable (A18:22). As an intensifier of a comparative: *heš-biš qam-xóna díya qimtela*<sup>1</sup> She rose still earlier than her brother (A8:69); *b-qáryən ʾu-hēš-biš zāwda*<sup>1</sup> I shall call yet louder (A8:72). (2) *heš* + negator = **not yet** | *heš-léle lāxxa*<sup>1</sup> He is not here yet; *heš-léle ʾəθya*<sup>1</sup> He has not come yet; *š-léwa mšúrya xála gəlla*<sup>1</sup> It had not yet started to eat grass (B5:175); *qəm-dárita ʾan-dāwwe heš-t-là bráza*<sup>1</sup> They have poured out the *dawwe* while it is not yet dry (B14:1). (3) *la* + *heš* (generally contracted to *leš*, *ləš*, *laš*, *laš*) = **no longer** | *leš-ʾaθəx hayorəxlux*<sup>1</sup> We shall no longer come to help you (A48:6); *leš faydáləx qátlat gənəx*<sup>1</sup> It will no longer be of any use to you to kill yourself (A38:16); *ʾáqlət suséxu ʾm-pišla kəpa*,<sup>1</sup> *leš mašitu jawjitu*<sup>1</sup> If the legs of your horses have become stone, you will no longer be able to move (A8:28); *leš-ile gu-bəθa*<sup>1</sup> He is no longer in the house; *leš-in xzàya*<sup>1</sup> I can no longer see (A24:2).

*hewən* n.m. (pl. *hewane*) (K.) **season** | *ʔáyya tóke b-áwwa héwən, m-èka tóke díya?!* Is this a *tóke* bird in this season? Where has a *tóke* bird come from at this time? (A30:36); *hewənat xzada* the harvest season; *qčipewəx mgorəčpewəx<sup>1</sup> t-la-b-hewən ʔu-t-la məjalən<sup>1</sup>* We are cut down and harvested not in the season nor in our time (for cutting) (A51:8); *fa-y-áthe tálga, ʔu-náše mšéri b-héwaney<sup>1</sup> mašléwa karàθa<sup>1</sup>* (When) the snow came, people would start bringing down loads (of leaves) as they needed them (literally: in their season) (B5:120); *hèwəmile<sup>1</sup>* Is it time (to take the honeycomb from the hive) (B5:177); *hèwən-t gərə<sup>1</sup>* the season of (sleeping on) the roof (B10:59).

*heymanuθa* n.f. **faith**

*heywən, hewən, haywən, heywən, hewən, haywən* n.m. (pl. *heywane* etc.) (K./A.) **animal**

*hezara* n.m. (pl. *hezare*) **wooden beam used to lock a door**

*hezuke* n.f. (K.) **swing** | *y-ázi y-ódi hèzuke<sup>1</sup>* They go and swing (on a swing) (B6:6).

*herike* n.pl. (K.) **soft mud** | made in preparation for cultivation of rice: *tré-yomaθa tláθa, mašèwala<sup>1</sup> qá-t xáčča pšəwa rakixta. ʔ... ʔawwa y-amrəxxe wáða herike<sup>1</sup>* Three or four days beforehand, they would irrigate it so that it would become quite soft... We call this making 'soft mud beds' (B5:76).

*həlma* n.m. (K.) **breath** | *báyən mənnox<sup>1</sup> həlma t-yáwət b-rèšì<sup>1</sup>* I want you to blow on me (A25:12); *hóla susəwàθa<sup>1</sup> jəmye b-réše díye<sup>1</sup> wáða həlma<sup>1</sup> b-réše díye<sup>1</sup>* The horses were gathered over him, blowing onto him (A25:13).

*hənd* adv. **a little** (K.) | *hənd mələwa<sup>1</sup>* It was just enough (B10:6). Before the 3fs. copula (*hənt-ila*) in temporal expressions: *hənt-ila xəzyəlla gane-díye tráb gu-ʔürxa<sup>1</sup>* All of a sudden (literally: it is a little) he found himself—bang—on a road (A8:40); *hənt-ila t-àθe<sup>1</sup>* He will come very soon; *hənt-ila rzígli m-šúla<sup>1</sup>* I shall be finished with work very soon.

*hənna* n.m./f. (A.) **thing** | used as filler: *ʔána háwən šəx d-áyya hənna<sup>1</sup>* I am the sheikh of this thing (i.e. tribe) (A7:7).

*həšše* n.pl.tan. (K./A.) **senses** | *hóle zíla m-həšše díye<sup>1</sup>* He has lost his senses; *ʔaw l-həšše díyele<sup>1</sup>* He is conscious.

*həšyər* adj. invar. (K.) **careful** | *wi-həšyər!* Be careful!; *həwət həšyər t-là-ʔəli ʔəllux!* Be careful they do not accost you (A22:26); *həwət həšyər ʔəna ʔəyya sūsta là marpáta!* Be careful not to let that horse go (A12:29); *daréle gu-yáma həšyər!* He put it in the sea carefully (A12:30).

*hič* part. (K.) **no, none** (§14.9.18.) | *ʔəwə-w liθwə! biš m-álaha gəra! liθwə gəra! hič-nəša!* There was and there was not, there was no man greater than God (opening formula of a story) (A8:2).

*hiwi* n.f. (pl. *hiwiye*) (K.) **hope** | *ʔəli hiwi t-əθən* I hope to come; *ʔəli hiwi t-əwət sáx ʔu-sálamattúθa!* I hope you will be fine and in good health; *ʔə-t-páyaš b-hiwi-t nəše! miθele mən-bərməše!* He who relies on other people is dead by the evening (D2:28); *žére Fərxo! t-əwən ʔəna b-hiwi diya!* Poor (me), Farxo, who am waiting in hope for her (A25:18); *ʔəyya muttəwətalla hiwət bəbi!* She had abandoned hope regarding my father (B9:11); *káze wáda hiwi mánne! ʔəna xulámux!* He tried to beg him (saying) ‘I am your servant’ (A29:33).

*ho* part. **presentative particle** | *hó ʔən-tlā gerə-qəšta!* Here are the three arrows of a bow (A12:46); *ho-θəli!* Look I have come (A12:66); *ho-dəryanna gáni ʔup-ʔəna gu-miyya!* See I threw myself into the water (B15:34).

*hədax* adv. **beyond; onwards** | *piðele hədax!* He passed further on (A41:4); *xáčca xəna biš-hədax* a little further on (A7:22); *xáčca biš hədax mənna-diya!* a little further along from them (A12:47); *m-táma hədax t-əzət mátət xa-nəra!* You go from there onwards and reach a river (A14:50); *m-táma hədax! ʔəxtu ʔu-gʔənəxu!* From then onwards you are by yourselves (A8:27); *ʔəna ʔəwəwa ʔəle bəθi! m-diya hədax!* This is my house from now on (B5:41); *l-ay-gət-hədax t-šaqiθa!* on the farther side of the channel (A9:1); *ʔəna bi-zóda m-hədax là-məšan ʔəðənnux! ču mənđi!* I cannot do anything more for you (A8:44). mod. **yonder** | *m-támma hədax tura ʔəθərə d-ánna dəwele!* From here to yonder mountain is the land of the wolves (A14:48).

*hogəčča* n.m. (pl. *hogəčče*) (K.) **three-year-old male sheep**

*hosa* n.f. (K.) **clamour, commotion** | *bréla həsa!* Panic broke out (C7:8); *músqəlle dáwla-w zərna-w! həsa ʔu-gargarta!* They brought him up (with) drum and pipe, and with clamour and shouting (A4:25).

*hosta, ʔosta* n.m. (pl. *hoste, ʔoste*) (K./A.) **craftsman; master craftsman**

*hotxa* adv. **aside** | *méθət tónna m-à-y-gota, t-ázi dabáše hòtxa* 'You put smoke on this side and the bees will go aside (B14:13).

*hudxa* adv. **beyond** | *'ána m-axxa-húdxa lè-y-azən* 'I shall not go beyond here (A12:23)

*huðala* n.m. (pl. *huðale*) **stack of bundles (darze) of grass**

*huðaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *huðaye*) **Jew; Jewish**

*huðayuθa* n.f. **Judaism**

*hūjūm* n.m. (A.) **attack**

*humna* → *mhumna*

*hurwa* → *'urwa*

*huta, ħuta* n.m. (pl. *hute, ħuta*) **whale** | *'áwewa náša hùtele* 'This man (eats like) a whale, he is greedy; *šmša qəm-bäléla ħùta* 'a whale has swallowed the sun (i.e. it is eclipsed).

*huwedi* n.m. **type of wheat**

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*ħabba* n.f. (A.) **seed, grain**

*ħabbəkθa* n.f. (pl. *ħabbəkyaθa*) **grain, seed; tablet**

*ħaddād* n.m. (A.) **blacksmith**

*ħaddād-xana* n.f. (K./A.) **blacksmith's shop**

*ħādīqa* n.f. (pl. *ħādayəq*) (A.) **garden**

*ħafla* n.f. (A.) **party**

*ħajatta, hajatta, hajət* n.f. (K./A.) **pretext; tool, instrument** | *me-zome slela b-hajəttət maše* She came down from his summer pastures with the excuse of (fetching) black beans (C6:1); *jawətta 'ila hājət šūla* 'The chopper is a work tool.

*ħajj* n.m. (A.) **pilgrimage**

*ḥajjiyuṯa* n.f. **pilgrimage** | *ʔən-lá zεrənna Qūḏus,<sup>1</sup> lèla qbíla ḥajjiyúṯi<sup>1</sup>* If I do not visit Jerusalem, my pilgrimage is not accepted (A2:1).

*ḥākīm, ḥākima* n.m. (K./A.) **medical doctor**

*ḥālāl, ḥālāl* adj. (A.) **permitted** | *ḥáwya halàl t̄lálux<sup>1</sup>* Let her be permitted to you (A12:34); *ʔu-hoya ḥalalta t̄lala* and let it be permitted for her (C1:11).

*ḥālāqa* n.f. (A.) **ring**

*ḥallaqa* n.m. (A.) **barber**

*ḥamās* n.m (A.) **enthusiasm, zeal**

*ḥamdani* → *hamdān*

*ḥammala* n.m. (pl. *ḥammale*) (A.) **porter**

*ḥammam* n.m./f. (pl. *ḥammame, ḥammamaṯa*) (A.) **bath, bathroom** | *ʔaw-l-ḥammam sáxe<sup>1</sup>* He washes in the bathroom (A21:17).

*ḥānāfyē* n.f. (pl. *ḥānāfyāt*) (A.) **tap**

*ḥaqiqi* adj. invar. (A.) **true**

*ḥaqq* n.m. (A.) **price; wage** | *kāméle ḥàqqe?<sup>1</sup>* What is its price?; *ʔáxni šáqlax ḥáqqat ʔajàra mənne dīye<sup>1</sup>* We shall receive wages from him (A14:15); *ʔu-la-ḥáqqat kārmi lēle-yáwa<sup>1</sup>* nor does he pay the price of the orchard (A17:30).

*ḥaqqiṯa* n.f. (A.) **cost, due (to be paid)**

*ḥaqquṯa* n.f. (A.) **right; fee; what is lawful** | *ʔu-ḥaqquṯéxu le-y-tàlqa<sup>1</sup>* Your right will not be lost (A8:88); *ʔina ʔitli ḥaqqùṯi<sup>1</sup>* but I (must) have my fee (A27:19); *t-ázən t̄áyən báṯər ḥaqqùṯa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-na-ḥaqqùṯa<sup>1</sup>* I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful (A15:5); *xále dīye t-ḥaqqùṯa<sup>1</sup>* His real uncle (A23:28).

*ḥārām, ḥārām* adj. invar. (A.) **forbidden** | *ḥārām-ile gáwra ʔəlli<sup>1</sup> šúq mən-dīyux<sup>1</sup>* Any man is forbidden to me except you (A12:35); n.pl. *ḥāramāt* | *ʔu-zille ḥāramāt<sup>1</sup>* It was sold for nothing (A22:9).

*ḥārara* n.f. (A.) **heat**



- ḥāras* n.m. (A.) **guard, watch**
- ḥarās* n.m. (pl. *ḥurrās*) (A.) **guard**
- ḥarj* n.m. (A.) **predicament**
- ḥars* n.m. (A.) **guard**
- ḥasba l-ʿūṣūl* (A.) **according to principles, in order; as usual**
- ḥaṣəl* n.m. (A.) | in phrase *wa-l-ḥaṣəl* (A.) and in sum.
- ḥāšim* adj. invar. (A.) **foolish, timid**
- ḥḍira* adj. (f. *ḥḍirta*, pl. *ḥḍire*) (A.) **present, attending**
- ḥamaya* n.f. (A.) **protection**
- ḥūdūd* n.m. (A.) **border**
- ḥukma* n.f. (A.) **the government**
- ḥur* adj. invar. (A.) **pure** | *māšxa ḥūr*<sup>1</sup> pure butter (B5:31)
- ḥurriya*, *hurriya* n.f. (A.) **freedom**
- ḥuta* → *huta*

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- jabla* n.f. (A.) **mud and straw mix acting as cement in the construction of houses**
- jadda* n.m. (pl. *jaddane*) (A.) **road**
- jāhannam* n.m. (A.) **hell**
- jajək* n.m. (K./T.) **yoghurt mixed with water (*dawwe*) and the herbs *sərmō*, *hašya*, *purəpxina* or *bizər***
- jākēt* n.m., *jāketa* n.f. (pl. *jākete*, *jāketaθa*) (E.) **jacket**
- jalda* n.m. (pl. *jalde*) (A.) **stroke (of a stick, whip)** | *qəm-maxèle*<sup>1</sup> ʿaṣrā-jalde<sup>1</sup> He struck him ten strokes (A30:14).
- jalde* adv. (K.) **quickly, early** | *y-awəðle jalde*<sup>1</sup> He does it quickly; *lwiša jülle hātxa jalde jalde*<sup>1</sup> He put on his clothes very quickly (A4:55); *šqilile jal-jalde*<sup>1</sup> He quickly took them (A15:2); *kut-sámqa jalde*<sup>1</sup> *šaqlàla*<sup>1</sup> She takes

out whichever one (flat bread) is brown soonest (B5:102); *kút matéwa qamáya jaldalle<sup>1</sup> mεθēwale<sup>1</sup>* Whoever was the quickest and reached it first would bring it back (B5:154); *'ána θēli jalde<sup>1</sup>* I am early; *qedamta jalde* early in the morning, *m-jalde* **recently; a long while ago** | *m-jaldela 'əθye* They have come recently; *'áyya lēwa rába m-jalde<sup>1</sup> bálki t-àwya<sup>1</sup> 'amma-w xámši šánne hátxa<sup>1</sup>* This was not very recently, perhaps it was something like a hundred and fifty years ago (B4:17); *'aw-bányele m-jalde 'atìqa<sup>1</sup>* It was built in very ancient times (B14:2).

*jalduθa* n.f. **speed, quickness** | *b-jalduθa* quickly

*jal-jalde* → *jalde*

*jalla nune* n.m./f. (pl. *jalla nune*) **fish-eating bird** | It has a long beak (*naqruza rixa*) and comes to the region in winter

*jallada* n.m. (pl. *jallade*) (A.) **executioner** | *bába díya hóle mütta<sup>1</sup> jallàde<sup>1</sup>* Her father has appointed executioners (A25:32).

*jalləkθa* n.f. (pl. *jalləkyaθa*) **rabbit trap**

*jallida* n.m. (pl. *jallide*) (A.) **icicle**

*jalta* n.f. (A.) **stroke, blood clot**

*jama* n.m. (pl. *jame*) (A.) **mosque**

*jaməkka* n.m. (pl. *jaməkke*) (K.) **twin** | *mħušilla jaməkke<sup>1</sup>* She gave birth to twins (A8:6).

*jamm* n.f. (pl. *jammaθa*) (A.) **glass; green-house**

*jamme* n.f. (K.) **twin** | *xaθa jamme* twin sister

*jānaza* n.f. (A.) **coffin; burial** | *hadíya gáwərx píša jānàzele<sup>1</sup>* Your husband is now dead (A10:13).

*janga* n.m./f. (K.) **fight, contention** | *mare janga* contentious, difficult person

*jaqsi* n.m. (pl. *jaqsíye*) (K.) **craftsman** | *'u-siqele gu-d-ó sàrga<sup>1</sup> mtúrša l-an-jaqsíye<sup>1</sup> t-mđíta<sup>1</sup>* He went up onto the saddle, which was made by the town craftsmen (A8:52); *sépe díye... qam-nablále kəs-jàqš<sup>1</sup>* She took his sword to a craftsman (A52:11).

*jarāh* n.m. (A.) **wound, sore**

*jarreta, jarreta* n.f. (pl. *jarreyaθa*) (A.) **food for journey or work, food bag**  
| *mattánnux jarréta lāxma zedāye*<sup>1</sup> I shall provide you with a food bag of  
pitta breads (A30:5); *da-mjāmxlān jarréta*<sup>1</sup> Let us put together a food  
bag for ourselves (A30:41).

*jarge* n.pl. (K.) **inner organs (lungs, heart etc.)** | *'Usman mxurxile jarge*  
He burnt the viscera of Usman (C7:10).

*jarguma* n.m. (pl. *jargume*) **type of large dove**

*jarīya* n.f. (A.) **maid-servant**

*jarra* n.m. (pl. *jarre*) (K./A.) **water jar, pot**

*jarriθa* n.f. **small water jar, pot**

*jaruṭa* adj. (f. *jaruṭṭa*, pl. *jaruṭe*) **slippery**

*jāwāb, jāwaba, jwaba* n.m. (A.) **reply; report; message** | *t-awēlax jāwāb*  
*'āti*<sup>1</sup> You will have an answer (A8:74); *'ē-ga xārθa θéle xa-jāwāb qa-mālka*<sup>1</sup>  
Then, in the end, a report came to the king (A8:5); *yāwēle jāwāba*  
*īla-yāla*<sup>1</sup> He conveyed a message to the young man (A21:33).

*jawda* n.m. (pl. *jawde*) **water skin**

*jawṭta* n.f. (pl. *jawṭtaθa*) **wood chopper**

*jaxāṣta* n.f. (pl. *jaxāṣyaθa*) (K.) **young female mule**

*jaxša* n.m. (pl. *jaxše*) (K.) **young male mule**

*jāzira* n.f. (A.) **island**

*jeba, jeba* n.m. (pl. *jēbe, jebane*) (A.) **pocket**

*jālja* n.m. (pl. *jālje*) **slice of meat that is hung in the sun to dry** |  
When such slices dry, they are called *qadida* and stored in a bag  
known as *mziḏa*.

*janjara, jəngara* n.m. (K.) **difficulty, hardship** | *npīlewax gu-jəngàra*<sup>1</sup> We fell  
on hard times; *janjarət sətwa* the hardship of the winter

*janna* n.m. (pl. *janne*) **dirge**

*janne* n.pl. (K./A.) **demons**

*jarziya* n.m. (pl. *jarziye*) (E.) **jersey; sweater**

*jēš* n.m. (A.) **army**

*jīdoqe* n.pl. (K.) **innards of an animal** | eaten as a dish, stuffed and cooked

*jīgara, jīgəra* n.m. (pl. *jīgare, jīgəre*) (A./E.) **cigarette**

*jəngara* n.m. (K.) **rust**

*jīnika* n.m. (pl. *jīnike*) (K.) **sideburn, side-whisker**

*jisəqθa* (pl. *jisqaθa*) → *gisəqθa*

*jmeta* n.f. (pl. *jmayaθa*) **gathering (of people)**

*jnanta* n.f. (pl. *jnanyaθa, jənnə*) **dirge**

*jorta* n.f. (pl. *jore*) **urine**

*jubarrək* n.f. (pl. *jubarrəkke*) (K.) **mite that eats rice and flour**

*jūda* adj./adv. invar. (K.) **separate** | *’áwəwa glās máttule jūda*! Put this glass aside; *’ánna məndiyáne jūdela*! These things are different.

*judala* n.m. (A.) **argument** | *’áni ’u-qáša Sérgun wírra b-judála*! These people and the priest Sargun entered into an argument (B1:17).

*julla* n.m. **cloth** | *hóle dórya julla b-réša*! He put a cloth over them (A25:48).

*julle* n.pl. **clothes** | *julle tıyariyana* Tıyare style clothes (festive clothes worn by the groom at a wedding B10:33); *kúlley julle diye y-áwa nəle*! All his clothes were ragged (B16:10); *diya-méθu julli malušula*! Now bring my clothes and put them on (me) (A4:20); *xamša-mma bnàθa kulla lwiše jüllət ’urze*! five hundred girls, all wearing men’s clothes (A25:76).

*jullajena* n.m. **type of thorny shrub**

*julləkθa* n.f. (pl. *julləkyaθa*) (K.) **pail for milk or yoghurt**

*jundi* n.m. (pl. *jundiye*) (A.) **soldier**

*jurjət* n.m. (A.) **type of velvet fabric** | *jurjət zərqəf* decorated fabric, *jurjət sada* fabric without decorations

*jutyara* n.m. (pl. *jutyare*) (K.) **farmer**

*juwala* n.m./f. (pl. *juwale*) (K.) **sack** | local produce made of goat’s hair (*serət ’əwət kome*), as opposed to the type of sack know as *guniya*, which is manufactured outside the villages

*juwarre* n.f. (pl. *juwariyaθa*) (K.) **nosebag**

*juwə́lta* n.f. (pl. *juwə́lyəθa*) (K.) **small sack**

*juwiθa* n.f. (pl. *juwiyaθa*) (K.) **pot that is buried in the ground to make jajək** | It is covered with a fig leaf (*tarpat tena*) and a small piece of fabric (*čəngarta*).

*juvota* adj. (f. *juvotta*, pl. *juvotte*) **straight** | *kawsa juvota* straight hair (anton. *kawsa kərtana* curly hair), *qese juvote* straight sticks

*juwanna* n.m. (pl. *juwanne*) **thorn; thorn tree** | Also *ʔilanət juwanne* thorn tree. The thorns of this are used to make fences. This type of tree is decorated and auctioned at wedding celebrations to raise money for the married couple (B5:39).

*juwanqa* n.m. adj. (K.) **young man; handsome** | *ʔa-paršópa díyux hátxa juwànqa*<sup>1</sup> This face of yours, which is so handsome (A8:41).

*juwanqona* n.m. (pl. *juwanqone*) **young man**

*juwanquθa* n.f. **youth**

*juwina* n.m. (pl. *juwine*) **side (in a game, conflict)**

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*ka-* part. **while** (§19.3.14.) | *dax mšéle ʔáyya bráta qəm-ʔawódla b-pəlxánət bèθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ká-t brátət málka*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-lípta har-dmāxa-w xála*<sup>1</sup> How could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife, while (she is) the daughter of the king and is used to only sleeping and eating (A21:32); *mbúrxállən l-ğəðāðe*<sup>1</sup> *ka-xóna ʔu-xàθa*<sup>1</sup> *lá ka-gáwəra-w bəxta*<sup>1</sup> They have wed us together while (we are) brother and sister, and not while (we are) husband and wife (A16:8).

*kābabe* n.pl. (K./T.) **kebabs**

*káčāla* adj. (f. *káčāle*, pl. *káčāle*) (K.) **bald**

*kada* n.m. (pl. *kade*) (K.) **sweet pastry (made for festivals)** (B6:51)

*kāfyya* n.f. (pl. *kāfyyyāt*) (A.) **handkerchief**

*kaka* n.m. (pl. *kake*) **tooth**

*kakta* (pl. *kakyaθa*) **small tooth (of a comb)** | *kakyaθət masərqə* teeth of a carding comb

- kalabča* n.m. (pl. *kalabče*) (K./A.) **handcuffs**
- käläma* n.m. (pl. *käläme*) (K.) **cabbage**
- kälama* n.m./f. (pl. *kälame*) (K.) **long thorn of parzena or jwanna tree** | used for building fencing (*ɣaʔa*)
- kalba* n.m. (pl. *kalwe, kalbe*) **dog** | *kälba brät-kälba* dog son of a dog! (A6:12); *kälbe bært-kälbe*<sup>1</sup> dogs sons of dogs! (A7:15).
- kaləbθa* n.f. (pl. *kaləbyaθa*) **bitch**
- käləma* n.f. (A.) **word**
- kalle* n.f. (K.) **herd** | *kállət gaməšə*<sup>1</sup> a herd of buffaloes (A32:17)
- kalləš, käləša* n.m./f. (pl. *käləše*) (K.) **corpse, carrion**
- kalo, kʻalo, čalo* n.f. (pl. *kalowaθa*) **bride; doll**
- kaluθa* n.f. **bridehood**
- kalθa* n.f. (pl. *kalaθa*) **daughter-in-law**
- kämära* n.f. (*kämäre*) (K.) **belt (worn by women)**
- kämäxa* n.m. (pl. *kämäxe*) (K.) **pelvis bone; haunch of an animal**
- kanaša* n.m. (pl. *kanaše*) **sweeper**
- kanda* m. (pl. *kande*) (K.) **cliff, crag, precipice** | *qašrux banyanne l-kanda*  
I shall build your palace on a cliff top (C3:10).
- kanoša* n.m. (pl. *kanoše*) **broom**
- kanošta* n.f. (pl. *kanošyaθa*) **small broom, brush**
- kanun qamaya* n.m. **December**
- kanun xaraya* n.m. **January**
- kanuna* n.m. (pl. *kanune*) **stones used for cooking; fireplace, hearth** | This is either open or enclosed by a clay cover to trap the heat. It is located in house or outhouse (*sopiθa*).
- kəpāna* n.m. (pl. *kəpāne*) (K.) **thick woolen cloak of shepherd**
- kapora* n.m./adj. (pl. *kapore*) **infidel, scoundrel; cruel; awful (weather)**.  
(1) **infidel, scoundrel** | *ʔáwəwa kapòrele*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána ʔəsrà-jalde məxyǎlli*<sup>1</sup> He is a scoundrel. He beat me with ten strokes. (A30:15) (2) **awful (weather)** |

*ʿéwe ʾan-θéla m-la-Záwa, 1 t-áthe xa-yóma t̄awa. 1 ʾan-ʿéwe θéla m-Xawòra, 1 t-áthe xa-yóma kapòra.* 1 If the clouds come from the side of the Zab (i.e. the East), a good day will come. If the clouds come from the Khabur (i.e. the West), an awful day will come (D2:16).

*kār, kēr* n.m./f. (K.) **work, effect** | *ʾiθwa káma gállále palt̄iwa mən-d-ò-rəzza, 1 qá-t la-ʾòð̄iwa kēr* 1 there were several plants that they took out of the rice, so that they did not have an effect (B5:78)

*karafās* n.m. (A.) **celery**

*karawās* n.m. **celery**

*karaxa* administrator of water channels (*šaqyaθa*). He redirected water channels when a field was sufficiently irrigated.

*karaxa, karraxa* n.m. (pl. *karaxe*) **irrigation administrator** | He was concerned principally with regulating the flow of water in water channels (*šaqyaθa*). → *karxa*

*karaxuθa* n.f. **the profession of irrigation administrator**

*karba, kerba* n.m. **anger** | *ʾána-ži m-kérbi ʾəθyan ʾá-kθεθa múttanna rəš-núra ʾu-xilanna* 1 I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it (A2:11).

*kareza* n.m. (pl. *kareze*) (K.) **deep channel for bringing subterranean water to the surface or conducting a spring from the hills to the plain**

*karma, kerma, k̄erma* n.m. (pl. *karme, karmane*) **vineyard; orchard**

*karoba* adj. (f. *karobta*, pl. *karobe*) **angry (by nature)**

*karra* n.m. (P.) **hard butter (brought from towns)**

*karrakka* n.m. (pl. *karrakke*) (K.) **sheep shears**

*karrakka* adj. **unripe (mulberry)** | *tuθe karrakke* unripe mulberries; *tuθta karrakθa* an unripe mulberry

*karta, kerta* n.f. (pl. *karatha*) (K.) **load of wood (tied together with rope)** | *kút-yum ʾazáwa l-túra maθyáwa ḏa-kérta qésa l-xáša diya* 1 Everyday she would go to the mountains and bring a load of wood on her back (A10:6); *mattúla karte* 1 He lays down his load (A15:3).

*karxa* n.m. (pl. *karxe*) **basin in a paddy field** | This word is not generally used in Barwar (where *məššara* is the normal term for this), but its derivative *karaxa* irrigation administrator is widely current.

*kasa, k'asa* n.f. (pl. *kasatha*) **stomach; belly** | *naša mare k'asa* a plump person

*kasa* n.m. (pl. *kase*) **chalice**

*kasana* n.m./adj. (pl. *kasane*) **glutton**

*kaseθa, kəsseθa* n.f. **lid, cover**

*kašira* adj. (f. *kaširta*, pl. *kašire*) **hard-working**

*kaska* adj. (f. and pl. *kaske*) (K.) **green**

*kasknaya* adj. (f. *kaskneθa*, pl. *kasknaye*) **greenish**

*kasrāt* n.pl. (A.) **pleats (on clothes)**

*kašxa* n.m. (K./A.) **suit, smart clothes** | *'ina huðáya lwiša kášxa-w júlle xàθe'*  
Behold the Jew was wearing a smart suit and new clothes (A6:6).

*kata* n.m. (pl. *kate*) **leaf sprouting on felled tree or severed branch**

*kātera* n.m. (pl. *kātere*) **middle of the back**

*kawaza* n.f. (pl. *kawaze*) **earthenware pot for water** | made of green clay

*kawda* n.f. (pl. *kawdaθa*) **liver**

*kawe* n.f. (pl. *kawaθa*) **small window without glass; small aperture; small hole in the wall of a church in which burning wicks (*punde*) are placed** | *'iθwa xa-kāwe' l-gàre'* There was a window in the roof (A10:4); *kawət tūra* a small hole in a door. In winter the breezes were stopped blowing through such windows in houses by placing a woolen cloth (*jullət 'amra*) in the hole.

*kawədna* n.m. (pl. *kawədne*) **male mule**

*kawša* n.m. (pl. *kawše*) **handle of a plough**

*kawsa* n.m. **hair**

*kawta* n.m. (pl. *kawte*) (K.) **flock (of sheep)** | *xa-káwtət 'arwe'* a flock of sheep (A32:14).



*kawuθra* n.f. (pl. *kawuθre*, *kawuθraθa*) **lunch; noon, early afternoon** | *b-óma xéna 'áθeti tla-kawùθra*<sup>1</sup> The day after tomorrow come to lunch (A22:14); *kawùθruξ brixta*<sup>1</sup> Good afternoon.

*kaža* n.m./f. (K.) **pine tree**

*kaθawa* n.m. (pl. *kaθawe*) **writer**

*kaθawta* n.f. (pl. *kaθawyaθa*) **writer (f.)**

*kaθowa* n.m. (pl. *kaθowe*) **writer**

*kǎxa* adj. (f. *kǎxta*, pl. *kǎxe*) **tired**

*kǎf* n.f. (K./A.) **pleasure, enjoyment** | *kǎfux-ila*<sup>1</sup> It is up to you, do as you please; *har-m-kǎfǎx*<sup>2</sup> Is that really your wish (B9:13); *dǎx-ile kǎfux*<sup>2</sup> How are you doing? (A22:12); *'áwwa θéle kǎfé*<sup>1</sup> He became happy (A22:18); *mǎbsǎm 'u-tǎre kǎf*<sup>1</sup> He will enjoy himself and have a good time (A2:8); *mǎlla múttǎlle réše dmǎxa*,<sup>1</sup> *tliya*,<sup>1</sup> *kǎfé basimta*<sup>1</sup> The mullah lay down his head, lay down and slept contented (A6:5); *léla maxrówǎlla kǎfa*<sup>1</sup> They do not disturb her (A21:9); *dawǎqle xmǎra b-íde qa-t-lá-'azǎl kǎfé díye*<sup>1</sup> He holds the ass by his hand so that it does not walk about freely; *mǎǎwǎlat gorǎtle*,<sup>1</sup> *t-yǎlla jǎlla*.<sup>1</sup> *'m-lǎ*,<sup>1</sup> *har-t-yǎlla jǎllǎx b-kǎfǎx*<sup>1</sup> If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them (A14:83); *klǎ*<sup>1</sup> *'ala-kǎfǎx*<sup>1</sup> Wait! calm down! (A4:19)

*kǎk*, *keka* n.m. (pl. *keke*) (E.) **cake**

*kenapka* n.m. (pl. *kenapke*) (K.) **press-stud (to fasten clothes)**

*kenaya* n.m. **nature**

*kepa*, *k'epa* n.m. (pl. *kepe*) **stone** | *kepǎt dama* backgammon counter; *mšǎni kǎpux*<sup>1</sup> Move your counter!

*kepana* n.m. **gravel**

*kepaye* n.pl. (sing. *kepaye*) **stuffed sheep's stomachs**

*kepta* n.f. (pl. *kepyaθa*) **small stone; bullet**. (1) **small stone** | used to refer to the small stone that is heated in the fire and thrown in the snow as a game played in the celebrations at the end of the winter month of March. (2) **bullet, lead head of the bullet cartridge** | *dréli tópe 'u-képta la-qǎlla*<sup>1</sup> I fired the gun but the bullet did not hit (its mark); *keptǎt pišǎnga* head of the bullet cartridge.

*kerapso* n.f. **edible herb** | pungent to the taste, eaten crushed and mixed with red sumac berries (*smoqe*)

*kere* n.pl. (sing. *kera*) (K.) **wooden snow shoes**

*kerova* n.m. (K.) **snow storm, blizzard**

*kežurta* n.f. (K.) **fine pieces of wood put on roof** | Roofs were constructed with several layers in the following order: *qaryaθa* (large beams), *nire/qarše* (slats), *kežurta* (fine wooden pieces), *tarpa* (leaves), *jabla* (cement), *ʔupra* (clay), *ʔupra xwara* (white clay), *sarsarra* (powdered white clay)

*kε-* part. (inflected with L-suffixes §8.20.4.) **where?** | *kéle?* Where is he?; *kélux?* Where are you?; *kélan?* Where are we? etc. → *ʔeka*.

*kela* n.m. (pl. *kéle*) **measure** | *b-ó-kela pészat kila!* You will be measured by the same measure (A41:6).

*kelana* n.m. (pl. *kelane*) **measure**

*kemere* n.f./adj. **white-striped (name of a nanny goat)**

*kera* n.f. (K.) **preparedness for a fight** | *ʔaw-widalla kére diye!* He prepared himself for a fight (A18:17); *wúdla kèrux!*<sup>1</sup> Be prepared for a fight!

*kerma* → *karma*

*kəčkaje* n.pl. (K.) **dried fruits (especially dried apples)** | These were mainly eaten during Lent

*kəčxa* n.m. **tiredness**

*kədbək* n.m. (E.) **kit bag**

*kədde* n.pl. (sing. *kədda*) **snow shoes**

*kəlbəttən* n.m. (pl. *kəlbəttane*) (K./A.) **pincers**

*kəlkāla* n.m. (K.) **intense heat (of summer)**

*kəliša* n.m. **gypsum**

*kəlyə* adj. (f. *kliθa*, pl. *kəlye*) **standing**

*kəma* mod. adv. **how many/much? some, several; so much/many; however much, as much as; when; as for** (§14.9.9., §19.3.5.)

(1) **how many? how much?** (interrogative) | *ʔina kəmə-gəye zillux ʔu-šqillux ʔəyya?*<sup>21</sup> How many times have you gone and taken it? (B15:90);

*ʾawwa ʾaskariya diye<sup>1</sup> tlà-kəma dánəla.<sup>21</sup>* For what time is this army of his for? Used independently: *kəmə t-yátli.<sup>21</sup>* How much will you give me? (A24:5). Used predicatively: *sáʾat kəməla.<sup>21</sup>* The time is how much? (= What time is it?) (A26:27). Adverb: *kəmə zonátte.<sup>21</sup>* For how much will you buy him? (A24:23). (2) **some, several** | *kəma gəye<sup>1</sup>* several times (B9:18); *y-oráwa kəma yàrxə<sup>1</sup>* Several months passed (B5:18). (3) **so much, so many** (exclamatory) | *ʾána kəmə dána t-in-mšalóye tla-márya ʾàlaha<sup>1</sup> ta-t-yawállí ʾəmma dáwe<sup>1</sup>* I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins (A6:10); *kəma-basim̄təla ʾixála.<sup>1</sup>* The food is so delicious! (A21:31). Adverb: *baxtátha kəma zádúwa mən-xuwəwəwe.<sup>1</sup>* The women feared snakes so much! (B5:78). Governing a clause (usually abbreviated to *má*): *ʾanna ma-t-íla xmíle b-ḡdāde.<sup>1</sup>* How happy they were together! (A4:50); *ʾu-təlyela<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wáwa kēxə<sup>1</sup>* They slept, so tired were they (A14:43). (4) **however much, as much as** (governing a clause) | *kəmət t-árqəna<sup>1</sup> tópe har-ṭəpyáli<sup>1</sup>* However much I run, a gun will still reach me (B9:3); *xúl kəma-t-bāyət<sup>1</sup>* Eat as much as you want (B15:56). (5) **when** | *ma-t-wéwa brōn-málka qəryalle ʾo-ktháwa,<sup>1</sup> máre spáy.<sup>1</sup>* When the son of the king had read the letter, he said ‘Good!’ (A11:18). (6) **as for** | *kəmə t-íle Rústam,<sup>1</sup> ʾáw mbaqórəlle Tātár-i Slemán-i Səndi<sup>1</sup>* As for Rustam, he asked for Tātár-i Slemán-i Səndi (A28:24).

*kəmkəmma, kərkəmma* n.m. (pl. *kəmkəmmə*) **large lizard**

*kəndala* n.m (pl. *kəndale*) (K.) **slope** | *šále kəndála<sup>1</sup>* He goes down the slope (A28:19); *táwre masóqəlla b-o-kəndála<sup>1</sup>* He took the oxen up the slope (A30:9); *t-árqən b-o-kəndála hár qat̄lil<sup>1</sup>* If I run down the slope, they will kill me (B9:4).

*kənθa* n.f. (pl. *kənnane*) **kidney**

*kəppa* n.m. (pl. *kəppe*) (K./A.) **ankle, anklebone**

*kəppəkθa* n.f. (pl. *kəppəkyaθa*) (K./A.) **arch on the bottom of the foot (between heel and toes)**

*kəpθa* n.f. (*kəpyaθa*) **arch on the bottom of the foot (between the heel and toes)**

*kərkəmma* → *kəmkəmma*

*kərkəroka* n.m. (K.) **adam’s apple, larynx** | *kərkərokət qədala* the adam’s apple of the neck

*kərra* n.m./adj. (pl. *kərre*) (K.) **sheep or goat with short ears, cropped**

*kərsəlle* n.pl. **dung of horses, asses and mules** (sing. *kursəlla* a piece of dung)

*kərtana* adj. (f. *kərtanta*, pl. *kərtane*) **curly** | *kawəsa kərtana* (anton. *kawəsa jvoŋa* straight hair)

*kərya* adj. (f. *kriθa*, pl. *kərye*) **short**

*kəs-* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *kəsle*) **at/to the home of (a person); to (object); with; next to.** (1) **at/to the home/presence of** | *čidət kəsłəni*<sup>1</sup> You are invited to our home (A22:14). Frequently after verbs of movement: *zille kəs-məlka*<sup>1</sup> He went to the king (A17:31); *xə-yála hólə ’əθya táma kəsłəy*<sup>1</sup> a young man has come to their home (A17:21); *θiθəla kodánta kəsli*<sup>1</sup> The mule came up to me (B5:132); *’áni kálye kəs-bəθa*<sup>1</sup> They all stayed at home (A39:12). (2) **to (an object)** after verbs of movement | *riqlə kəs-d-à ’ilána*<sup>1</sup> He ran to the tree (A14:27), *qrúla qrúla kəsle diye*<sup>1</sup> They came near to it (A14:42). (3) **with** | *dmíxəle kəs-báxtət* ‘*Abda-Raḥmān-bək*<sup>1</sup> He slept with the wife of ‘Abda-Raḥmān-bək (A23:26). (4) **next to, by** | *múttalla kəs-d-ó Kārim-addin*<sup>1</sup> He put it next to Karimaddin (A14:31); *mattátla xə-kawázət míya kəs-réša-w bās*<sup>1</sup> Put out for her only a jar of water by her head (A21:7).

*kəsənθa* n.f. (pl. *kəsənyəθa*) (A.) **jewel; treasure** | *max-kəsínθət dāwhəla*<sup>1</sup> She is like a golden jewel.

*kəskənnə* n.m. **yellow flower**

*kəsna* n.m. (pl. *kəsne*) (A.) **jewel; treasure**

*kəsəθa* → *kəsəθa*

*kəštəvana* n.m. (pl. *kəštəvane*) (K.) **cross piece of wood in the frame of a bed (*taxta*) made of poplar (*xorta*)**

*kətwə* n.m. (pl. *kətwə*) **spike, thorn**

*kətwə bloka* n.m. **type of herb**

*kətwəna* adj. (f. *kətwənta*, pl. *kətwəne*) **spiky; thorny** | *gəlla kətwəna* thorny plant

*kəxla* n.m. **kohl (for eyes)**

*kaxra* n.m. **grass fodder for animals**

*kaxwa* n.m., *kxuθa* n.f. (pl. *kaxwe*) **star** | *káxwæt gu-mbadlâθa*<sup>1</sup> dawn star (A12:15). Mark on animal: *ʔu-xá káxwa gu-be-ʔéne díye kòma*<sup>1</sup> with a black star on its forehead (A8:62); *xá-ðabət ʔəngləznáya t-itwale ṭlâ káxwe*<sup>1</sup> An English officer who had two stars (i.e. a captain) (B17:12); *kxuθa* goat with a white mark on its head.

*kəzma* n.m. (pl. *kəzme*) **wooden prop supporting vine in a vineyard**

*kilo* n.m. (pl. *kiloye*, *kiloʔe*) **kilo**

*kilon* n.f. (pl. *kilone*) (K.) **metal lock (of a door)**

*kima*, *čima* n.f. **the Pleiades (constellation)** | *mbáqər kima-w gabbàre*<sup>1</sup> ask the Pleiades and Orion (A38:12); *t-asqa čima-w gabbare* Pleiades and Orion will rise (C2:3).

*kisa* n.m. (pl. *kise*) **large bag**

*kista* n.f. (pl. *kisyathā*) **small bag**

*kiwara*, *kiwera* n.m. **thorny plant**

*kiyola* n.m. (pl. *kiyole*) **measure, quantity**

*kizəkka* n.m. (pl. *kizəkke*) (K.) **spark** | *b-léle rúmxe díye hóla mxáya kizəkke*<sup>1</sup> In the night his spear was giving off sparks (A12:9).

*kizikizo* n.f. **edible herb**

*klama* n.m. (pl. *klame*) **wooden collar of ox; sacking tied over mouth of ox to prevent it from eating corn during threshing (*ḍwara*)**

*kliča* adj. (f. *kličta*, pl. *kliče*) **stripped, peeled; excoriated** | *šaqòla külle kliča*<sup>1</sup> a shank completely stripped of its meat (A30:30); *ʔáyya dúkθe díye hátxa kličta* This part of him was scratched (B9:25).

*klila* n.m. (pl. *klile*) **crown, coronet; coronet decorations on clothes** | *ma-yəmmux ʔazla klile* Oh your mother spins crowns (A50:15).

*kliθa* n.f. (pl. *kəlyathā*) **kidney**

*klōš* n.m. **wide skirt**

*kništa* n.f. (pl. *knišyathā*) **synagogue**

*kočā, qoča* n.m./adj. (f. and pl. *koče*) (K.) **hornless (goat/sheep); type of wheat without hairs (*dasiye*)**

*kočari* n.m. (pl. *kočariye*) (K.) **nomadic pastoralist** | They would take sheep and goats up to the summer pastures (*zomāwaθa*) in the summer and bring them down to the plains (*dastaθa*) in the winter.

*kočarnaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *kočarnaye*) (K.) **nomad** | *kočarnáyat qurđàye*<sup>1</sup> nomadic Kurds (B18:1)

*kođanta* n.f. (pl. *kođanyaθa*) **female mule**

*koḥol* n.m. (A./E.) **alcohol**

*kolakθa* n.f. (pl. *kolakyaθa*) (K.) **chicken coop; wooden chamber of a partridge trap buried in the ground; shooting hut (used when hunting partridges)**

*koma* adj. (f. *komta*, pl. *kome*) **black** | *xá'a lwíša kòma*<sup>1</sup> somebody dressed in black (A12:5); *kōm-paθa* disgraced

*komaya* n.m. **negro**

*komnaya* adj. (f. *komnεθa*, pl. *komnaye*) **blackish**

*kompaθuθa* n.f. **disgrace**

*kopa* adj. (f. *kopta*, pl. *kope*) **low** | *ʔəyewəx kope kope gam-mətra ʔu-gam dalope* We have come bending down in rain and drizzle (C1:14). adv. **below** | *náše ʔwa kōpa<sup>1</sup> kùlla,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáwewa gárewa rāma<sup>1</sup>* The people were all below and he (the groom) was high up on the roof (B5:42).

*kopana* adj. (f. *kopanta*, pl. *kopane*) **low**

*korašina* n.m. **wild plant**

*kore* n.f. (pl. *korāwaθa*) (K.) **hole (in the ground)** | This is narrower than a *čale*. Cheese and jajək are buried in a *kore*. *gđaltət kore, ʔawaltət kore* wrestling of the hole, game of the hole. One of the wrestlers has a foot in a hole. If the opponent pushes him over and his foot comes out of the hole, he loses the game.

*kosa* adj. (pl. *kose*) **beardless, immature** | *ʔn-lá doqátle dāqnux b-iđux,<sup>1</sup> la-ʔámrat qa-xáwərux kòsa<sup>1</sup>* If you cannot hold your own beard in your hand, do not call your friend beardless (D2:54).

*kosiθa* n.f. (pl. *kosyaθa*) **hat (worn by men)** | *kosiθət parre* hat with feathers

- kosta* n.f. (pl. *kosyaθa*) (K.) **pen for young lambs in basement stable**
- kotāla* m. (pl. *kotāla*) (K.) **raised tank attached to a water-mill which fills with water from a channel and releases water flow at a high pressure to drive the mill.** | This structure was necessary when the water did not come from a natural height and did not have natural pressure.
- koxa* n.m. (pl. *koxe*) (K.) **hut**
- koza* n.m. (pl. *koze, kozāwaθa*) (K.) **sheltered place for pasturing in inclement weather in Winter and Spring**
- krehət, krēt* adj. cs. (pl. *krehatte, krete*) (K./A.) **bad** | *ʔšwūt rāba krēt-iwa gu-ʔàθra*<sup>1</sup> (The month of) February was very bad in our land (B5:152); *ʔap-ʔšwūt krēhət y-āwe*<sup>1</sup> (The month of) February is also bad (B5:197).
- krēt* → *krehət*
- krəstyana* n.m./adj. (pl. *krəstyane*) **Christian**
- kriba* adj. (f. *kribta*, pl. *kribe*) **angry**
- krihe* n.pl. (C.Syr.) **suffering ones** | *rúšma t-krihe*<sup>1</sup> the sign of the suffering ones (made to an infant at baptism) (B6:36)
- ktana* n.m. **cotton**
- kuba* n.m. (pl. *kube*) (A.) **cup** | *kúbə čáy* tea cups (A32:24)
- kubbe* n.pl. (sing. *kubba*) (A.) **meat-balls**
- kuddina* n.m. (pl. *kuddine*) (K.) **cub (of animal)**
- kuddinta* n.f. (pl. *kuddinyaθa*) (K.) **female cub**
- kul, ku, kulla* mod. **every; all, all of** (§14.9.2.). (1) **every** | *kúl-naša* every person (B6:35); *kúl-məndi* everything (B10:64); *kúl-xa suràya* every Christian (B6:1); *ku-béθa* every house (B7:7); *ku-nāše tre-ḥlā-yomane šatìwa*<sup>1</sup> Everybody would drink and eat for two or three days (B15:64). (2) **all, all of** | *kúlla nāše* all the people (B10:88); *míye díye kúlla* all its water (B6:42); *ʔáni kúlla* all of them (B7:17); *kúlla tunìθa* all of the story (A29:12); *kúlla Bèrwəw* all of Barwar (B10:100); *ʔo-béθa kúlla* all of that family (B5:21); *ʔixála kúlle* all of the food (B6:5). Used independently: *zadāwale kúlla m-gàre*<sup>1</sup> They throw all of it (the snow) from the room

(B5:195); *kúlla mǎ́la tàma*<sup>1</sup> They all arrived there (B2:8); *l-kúlla d-à̀y*<sup>1</sup> overall, in general (B5:115).

*kuleča* n.m. (pl. *kulečë*) (K.) **small cake (made at festivals)** (B6:52)

*kuləŋa* n.m. (pl. *kuləŋe*) (K.) **pickaxe**

*kulfət*, *kulpət* n.f. (pl. *kulfatte*, *kulpatte*) (K./A.) **family; wife** | *ʔu-náše xaméwa kúlla kulfət m-gǝ̀àðe*<sup>1</sup> All the family lived together (B5:200); *kulpət xətna* the family of the groom; *kulpatti* my family, my wife; *kúl kulfət y-azáwa l-míðe díye*<sup>1</sup> Every family went to his (the head of the family's) dead (B5:57).

*kulla* n.f. (A.) **mosquito net**

*kullixa* n.m. (pl. *kullixe*) (K.) **hut**

*kulliya* n.m. (pl. *kulliye*) (K.) **head of maize (*xətte romaye*, *xətte šemaye*)**

*kumuθa* n.f. **blackness**

*kun* part. **deontic particle** | *kun ʔaθya t-la xoraθa* I hope she will come without her friends (C2:16).

*kundarəs*, *kunderəs* n.f. **chain stitch**

*kupala* n.f. (pl. *kupale*) (K.) **shepherd's stick; walking stick** | *ʔina kupáli píšla šmitta*<sup>1</sup> My stick has broken (A37:17).

*kura* n.m. (pl. *kure*) **furnace, kiln**

*kuraxa* n.m. (pl. *kuraxe*) **shroud**

*kuraza* n.m. (pl. *kuraze*) **sermon, preaching**

*kurdaya* → *qurðaya*

*kurðəθ* → *qurðəθ*

*kurəŋja* n.m. (pl. *kurəŋje*) (K.) **long stick used for carding flax or wool**

*kurize* n.pl. **a type of millet (*prage*) that ripens slowly** | *prage kurize*

*kurra* n.m. (pl. *kurre*) (K.) **foal**



*kursa* n.m. (pl. *kursǎwaθa*) **chair** | *mállá hóle tíwa gu-kúrsa t̄lile*<sup>1</sup> The mullah sat in a chair and fell asleep (A2:3); *kúrsət taləbùθa*<sup>1</sup> the betrothal chair (A32:11)

*kursiya* n.m. (pl. *kursiye*) **chair**

*kurta* n.m. (pl. *kurte*) (K.) **vulture**

*kurtaxta* n.f. (pl. *kurtaxyaθa*) **lower back, pelvis** | *kupəšlux ʔalli kurtaxyaθa* You have gathered to me pelvises (of women) (A52:26).

*kuspa dǎbbe* n.m. **plant with large leaves** | used for wrapping the filling of *dolma*

*kuša* m. (pl. *kuše*) **spindle** | This hangs and pulls wool from the distaff (*xarnəsa*). The wool is moistened. A large spindle (*kuša gora*) is used for making wool and a small spindle (*kuša zora*) for making thin threads. <sup>ʔ</sup>*azla-kuše* dragonfly (spinner of spindles, so-called because it rotates around water)

*kuššət* adv. **every year**

*kut* mod. **each, every; whoever** (§14.9.1.) (1) **each, every** | *kut-yàrxə*<sup>1</sup> each month (A24:5); *kut-téna* each load (B5:181); *kút-xə y-azəlwa bəθ-diyə*<sup>1</sup> Every person went to his home (B5:18); *zonəxwa kút-xə xà*<sup>1</sup> We would each buy one (B10:76); *kút kəma-šənnə*<sup>1</sup> every few years (B10:59); *kut-yom* every day; *kuššət* (< *kut-šət*) every year. (2) **whoever** | *kút məθela*<sup>1</sup> *t-yánne zúze rəba*<sup>1</sup> Whoever brings her, I shall give him a lot of money (A27:18).

*kutəlθa* f. (pl. *kutlaθa*) **cutlet** | *kutlaθət bəsrə* meat cutlets

*kutto* **name of spring in ʔEn-Nune** | There are two springs in ʔEn-Nune, the other being *ʔənət ʔumra* near the church.

*kuwəkka* n.m. (pl. *kuwəkke*) (K.) **funnel**

*kwi* adj. invar. (K.) **wild; shy (of company)** | *ʔaw-yalúnka zòra*<sup>1</sup> *kwi-wewa*<sup>1</sup> The young child was shy (B17:3).

*kuzə* n.m. **edible red herb**

*kwara, kwera* n.m. (pl. *kware, kwere*) **storage bin for corn** | consisting of willow branches (*xelape*) covered with clay. It has a hole (*ʔenta*), plugged with a cloth, from which the wheat is taken.

*kxila* adj. (f. *kxilta*, pl. *kxile*) **blackened with kohl**

*kxuθa* → *kəxwa*

*kʷer* → *čara*

*kθawa* n.m. (pl. *kθawe*) **book; letter**

*kθawta* n.f. **writing**

*kθεθa* n.f. (pl. *kθayaθa*, *kθaye*) **chicken** | *kθεθət miya* n.f. moorhen

/ḵ/

*ḵābani* n.f. (pl. *ḵābaniye*) (K.) **housewife, cook (woman)** | *ḵābanət bεθa* housekeeper, woman in charge of house

*ḵačune* part. **at least** | *ḵačune xá-gaya b-yárxa hàyyo*<sup>1</sup> Come at least once a month.

*ḵappurta* n.f. (pl. *ḵappuryaθa*) (K.) **waistcoat (worn by women)**

*ḵarra* adj. (f. *ḵarre*, pl. *ḵarre*) (K.) **deaf**

*ḵašḵa* n.m. (K.) (§1.2.2.) **wheat with husks**

*ḵavərta* n.m. (pl. *ḵavərre*) (K.) **one- to two-year old male sheep**

*ḵavərta* n.f. (pl. *ḵavərtaθa*) (K.) **one- to two-year old female sheep**

*ḵawčō* n.f. (pl. *ḵawčē*) (K.) **ladle** | This is used for serving butter (*māšxa*) on the dish known as *gəḋo*. It is deeper than the spoon known as *barxošta*.

*ḵawəlla* n.m. (pl. *ḵawəlle*) (K.) **ruin** | *ma-pištət ḵawəlla*!<sup>1</sup> How you have become a ruin! (A16:18)

*ḵēm* mod. (K.) **a few; small (in quantity)** (§14.9.5.) | *ḵēm naše* a few people; *ḵēm baxtáθa* a few women (B10:22); *xa-ḵém y-ódi hátxa*<sup>1</sup> A few do this; *gálla ḵēm hawéwa*<sup>1</sup> Grass was scarce. With the comparative particle *biš*: *bálki biš-ḵēm mən-ʔáštà-mma šənnela*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is less than six-hundred years old (B6:31).

*ḵew-*, *ḵaw-* part. (combined with pronominal suffixes §8.20.3.) **deontic particle** | *ḵéwe* May he be; *ḵéwa* May she be, etc.; *ḵéwux ləxxa*<sup>1</sup> You stay here; *ḵáwa tla-d-àni*<sup>1</sup> May they get (what they deserve) (A15:18); *ʔanna ḵáwa xàmmi*<sup>1</sup> Let them be my concern (A29:61).

*kəčče* n.f. (pl. *kəčyaθa*) (K.) **girl**

*kəččonta* n.f. (pl. *kəččonyaθa*) **little girl**

*kərməkθa* n.f. (pl. *kərməkyaθa*, *kərmə*) **worm**

*kətta* n.f. (pl. *kətte*, *kəttaθa*) (K.) **odd number** | *zawge ʔu-kətte* even and odd numbers. mod. **odd** | *kətte dukane* in the odd place, in a few places; *kút-ila kətte kətte laqtətla*<sup>1</sup> Whatever is separate (fruits) you pick.

*kolana* n.m. (pl. *kolane*) (K.) **road**

*koma* n.m. (pl. *kome*) (K.) **pile**

*kora* adj. (f. *kore*, pl. *kore*) (K.) **blind** | *Dáwið kòra*<sup>1</sup> blind David (A16:2); *ʔéne díye wíðalla kòre*<sup>1</sup> He made his eye blind (A16:2); *ʔáp-ʔana dàqrən*<sup>1</sup> *ʔax-déwa kòra*<sup>1</sup> I am worth the same as a blind wolf (A10:1); Idioms: *kóre ʔana*<sup>1</sup> May I (f.) be blind (= Oh woe to me, poor me!) (A18:25); *kóre brátət kòre*<sup>1</sup> poor girl (literally: blind girl, daughter of a blind girl) (A52:5); *má-lux kóra Xarəpša*<sup>21</sup> What is the matter with you poor soul, Xarəpša? (A31:9).

*kótəl* n.m. (K.) **meat pasty** | *kótəl daweke* pasty with yoghurt (B7:23)

*kúčke* n.f. (K.) **hearth; living room** | *mur-tla-žine*<sup>1</sup> *kúčke mtagabràla*<sup>1</sup> Go down and tell Zine to prepare the living room (A26:46).

*kulčwa* n.m. (pl. *kulčwe*) (K.) **trigger for an animal trap** | piece of wood holding the trap open

*kunnəkθa* n.f. (pl. *kunnəkyaθa*) (K.) **woman's headscarf**

*kuprana*, *quprana* n.f. (pl. *kupranane*, *qupranane*) (K.) **booth, wooden trellis affording cover** | This stands separately in a field or is built over the roof of a porch (*garìθət šopiθa*).

*kura* n.m. (pl. *kure*) (K.) **two- to three-year old male goat**

*kurra* n.m. (pl. *kurre*) **boy** | *kurra xamra la-štile* Boy, do not drink the wine (C2:10)

*kwina* n.m. (pl. *kwine*) (K.) **tent** | made of goat's hair, used by bedouin Arabs (cf. *čadra* tent made of fabric): *máxyela kwinày*<sup>1</sup> They pitched their tents (A29:40).

## /L/

*l-* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *le*, *ʔalle*) (§13.3.12., §16.2.) **to, for, upon, at, by:** Adnominal uses (1) Destination: *si-dúr l-šöpux* 'Go back to your place (A15:20). (2) Objective without movement: *ʔálahá šuxa-l-šömmé* 'God—praise be to his name (A6:10). (3) **upon:** *hóle tíwa l-képa* 'He is sitting on a stone (A15:13); occasionally with the form *ʔal-*: *ʔal-ʔára* 'on the ground (A21:5). (4) General spatial location: *hóle ʔarya l-ayya góta* *ʔu-ʔazza* *hóla l-ayya góta* 'There is lion on this side and a she-goat on the other side (A24:15); *hóla spára l-kàwe* 'They are waiting at the window (A4:59). (5) Expression of the agent: *šáwwaθna hóla xíle l-dèwa* 'The seven of them have been eaten by wolves (A23:15). (6) Combined with other prepositions: *ʔo-gáya qámεθa θélux l-kási* 'The first time you came to me (A1:22). Use of *l-* + pronominal suffixes: (1) Inflection of past verbal base: *qítile* 'He killed (him), *zille* 'He went. (2) Direct and indirect object: *qaṭalle* 'He kills him; *hawalle* 'He gives to him. (3) Possession: *ʔitli kθawa* 'I have a book. Use of *ʔall-* + pronominal suffix: (1) Destination: *ʔθyela mátye ʔalle* 'They came up to him (A7:19); (2) Direction (without movement), beneficiary: *ʔámər ʔilla díya* 'He says to her (A16:7); *wídla ftárta ʔalli* 'She made me breakfast (A21:38). (3) on (surface): *mattí ʔída ʔalle* 'They place a hand on it (B5:100); *qímle murásle hátxa míya ʔallè* 'He sprinkled water on them like this (B6:11). (4) over (abstract relation): *hótu pšama ʔilla díya* 'You are sad over it (A5:10). (5) direct object (bound to verb): *múttətalle* 'You put him (A22:39); *prímənalla* 'I cut it (f.) (A22:9).

*la* n.f. (K.) **side, direction** | *šəlyela swánət ʔúmra la-qámθa díya ràmta-wawa* 'They (the sheep) went down over the eaves of the church, the front side of which was high (B18:6). Used mainly in adverbial expressions: *la-qáma* 'forwards; *la-bára* 'backwards; *kú mənna t-íle pláta mən-gawəye*, *pláta la-qam-tára* 'Each one who goes out from inside, going towards the outside (B11:8); *y-azúwa la-zràqət yóma* 'They would go in the direction of the rising of the sun (A8:22); *hóle ʔθya Déwa Žár* '... *m-la-gnay-yóma* 'Dewa Zar has come... from the West (A28:14); *ʔéwe ʔm-θéla m-la-Žáwa*, *t-áθe xa-yóma táwa* 'If the clouds come from the side of the Zab (i.e. the East), a good day will come (D2:16); *hola θela m-la-Maye* 'Look she has come from the direction of Maye (C2:46).

*la* part. **no** (variants *laʔ*, *laʔa*), **not; neither/nor; asseverative particle.**

(1) **no** | *mára là ʔáti šli-be-málka* 'They said 'No, you go down to the house of the king' (A25:87); *máre bráti lá là* 'He said 'My daughter, no,

no!' (A21:30); *máre là?'a!* He said 'No!' (A1:6); *'ámər là?'a!* He says 'No!' (A21:42). (2) **not** | *la-sábrəx t-òrəx!* We do not dare enter (A14:40); *lámu la-qìmlux?* Why did you not stand? (A26:48); *bróni là qətlúle!* Do not kill my son! (A33:6); *'ána lè-gorən,* *la-?àti gáwərət!* I shall not marry, so long as you do not marry (A25:83); *'áni mašləxwa ?ərxə,* *taxnəxxwala,* *là kúlla náše!* *bas-?əxni!* We brought them down to the water-mill and ground them, not everybody, but we did (this) (B10:88). Negating an adjective: *fəlfəl... là-xšilta* uncrushed pepper (B10:21). (3) *la... la* **neither... nor** | *'ána làn dmíxa,* *là-b-lele,* *là-b-yoma!* I have not slept, neither at night nor during the day (A24:24); *'ána lànwa wíða!* *là xarbayúða!* *là spayúða tla-čú-naša!* I have done neither evil nor good to anybody (A14:23); *lá-bəyəx la-míya!* *'u-la-čú-məndi!* We want neither water nor anything else (A39:12). (4) **asseverative particle** | *la-hóle mìθa!* He is indeed dead (A17:2); A: *štélux čəyux?* B: *la-štèli!* A: Have you drunk your tea? B: Indeed I have drunk it!

*lā-ʿamri* interj. (A.) **by my life, indeed**

*lāʿat* part. (A.) **so, in that case**

*lablabi* n.m. (A.) **hyacinth bean**

*lagāna* n.m. (pl. *lagāne*) **brass container for food** | *séra pišle lagāna!* The moon is full.

*lagna* n.m./f. (pl. *lagne*) **thorny plant** | blue in colour, producing seeds known as *səysə* in thorny pods (*bubre,* *baṛ-xoxe*), both the seeds and the root being edible.

*lala* adj. (f. and pl. *lale*) (K.) **dumb**

*lama* n.m. (pl. *lame*) **lower jaw**

*laməkka* n.m. (pl. *laməkke*) **jaw of an animal**

*laməkθa* n.f. (pl. *laməkyaθa*) **jaw (of an animal)**

*lampə* n.m. (pl. *lampə*) (E.) **lamp** | *láməpət gúda... láməpət ?iða!* wall lamp... hand lamp (B10:83)

*lana* n.m. (A.) **tune** | *ku-zmarta lana gana* Every song (has) a tune of its own (C1:13).

*lappa* n.m. (pl. *lappape*) **palm (of hand), sole (of foot).** (pl. *lappe*) **wave**

*lappəkθa* n.f. (pl. *lappəkyaθa*) **paw (of small animal); foot/hand of small child**

*laqləq* n.m. (pl. *laqlaqe*) (A.) **stork**

*laqqa* n.m. (pl. *laqqe*) **bite** | *kálba mxéle láqqa biyi*<sup>1</sup> The dog snapped at me.

*laqta* n.m. **bird feed of grains**

*lastike* n.pl. (sing. *lastikta*) **rubber shoes**

*lašša* n.f. (pl. *laššaθa*) (K.) **corpse, carcass** (which is cut up) (*gušma* = body of living person, animal)

*lata* (i) n.f. (pl. *lataθa*) (**mountain path; furrow** | *siqli b-áyya làta*<sup>1</sup> I went up on this path; *šəmša mxela gu-lata* The sun has shone on the mountain path (C1:23); *mxéle latàθa* He made furrows (with a plough to mark the outline of the ploughing area) → *lena*

*lata* (ii) n.f. pl. (*lataθa*) **flame**

*laṭṭa* adj. (f. and pl. *laṭṭe*) (K.) **shallow; flat** | *qəm-derétuli ḏá-duka laṭṭe*<sup>1</sup> You threw me into a shallow place (A7:22); *dréle ʿixála qa-t-àxəl ʿgu-ʿamána laṭṭa*<sup>1</sup> He served food for him to eat in a shallow vessel (A45:1).

*lāvāna* n.m. (pl. *lāvāne*) (K.) **cane pipe** | used to convey steam to a condenser in the distilling of arak.

*law* part. **conditional particle** (A.) | only used in concessive constructions: *wá-law t-ín ʿanna-xámša šinne zila b-dūnye*,<sup>1</sup> *námu lat-ḏàʿalli*.<sup>2</sup> Although I have been away in the world for these five years, do you not know me any more? (A12:65)

*lawandiye* n.pl. **long sleeves**

*lawāša* n.m. (pl. *lawāše*) **large thin bread baked in an oven**

*lāwaza* n.m. (pl. *lāwaze*) **tune, music**

*lawlaba* n.m. (pl. *lawlabe*) (K.) **wooden stick at the two ends of the frame carrying the churn (guḏa); trigger of gun** | *l-ʿiḏe drele lawlaba* He put his hand on the trigger (C7:11)

*lawn* n.f. (ʿ*alwān*) (A.) **colour**

*lawora* n.m. (pl. *lawore*) **valley**

*lawurta* n.f. (pl. *lawuryaθa*) **small valley**

*lawusta* n.f. (pl. *lawusyatha*) **jaw**

*laxoma* adj. (f. *laxomta*, pl. *laxome*) **pleasant, handsome; fitting** | *!la d-aw dosta laxoma* for that handsome friend of hers (C2:75)

*laxxa* adv. **here** | *hóla laxxa!* They are here (A14:100); *mút 'áti tíwta laxxa!* Why are you sitting here? (A25:58); *háyyo laxxa!* Come here! (A13:6); *'áyya xá-šeta hóla támma laxxa léla mbaqor'állux!* It has been a year that they have been here without asking for you (A26:78).

*laxxane* adv. **here, hereabouts** | *mánile máyya zadyálléy laxxane!* Who could have thrown them here? (A8:15)

*laya* → *'állaya*

*layosa* n.m. (pl. *layose*) **jaw**

*lázəm* part. (A.) **particle expressing necessity (deontic and epistemic)** | Deontic: *lázəm 'axlənne!* I must eat him (A47:5). Epistemic: *'ánna madám-t-íla 'átxa jwánqe w-átxa taze,* *lázəm 'aw-xólmi pàlét!* If they are so beautiful and so fine, that dream of mine must come true (A7:7); *'u-xa-mašmóye-wewa 'állèni lázəm!* Somebody must have been listening to us (A35:19).

*leba* n.m. (pl. *lebe*) **trick, prank** | *záwnat lebewa!* It was the time of tricks (A1:24); *lá-báye t-awəðwa lebe!* He did not want to play tricks (A29:36).

*lebana* adj. (f. *lebanta*, pl. *lebane*) **tricky** | *záwna lebana-wewa!...wélux lebána 'ax-zawna!* The time was tricky... You became tricky like the time (A1:22).

*lena* n.m. (pl. *lenane*) **furrow made by plough used as an outline mark to guide the ploughing** | *mxaya lenane, draya lenane* to mark furrows → *lata*

*leta* n.f. (pl. *letaθa*) **ridge on a mountain side** | *letət kerma* terraced vineyard built on mountain side

*lele* (past *lewa*) **negative copula** | *'áwwa lele kálba!* He is not a dog (A11:20); *lèwa yómət šábθa!* It was not Saturday (A14:58). Used as tag in conversation to seek confirmation: *'u-b-xšáwən njárəbət meθátle lèla!* I think you will try to bring her, is that not so? (A8:36).

*lele* n.m. (pl. *lelāwaθa*) **night** | *pešíwa xá-lele trè!* They stayed for a night or two (B5:234); *'é-ga b-léle tíwəx kəs-xáli d-àni!* That night we sat with my

uncle and his family (B15:57); *wítela b-lèle<sup>1</sup> maláxa mürásle qa-ràbbən<sup>1</sup>* In the night (literally: It became in the night) the angel woke the monk (A15:11); *píšla b-lèle<sup>1</sup> síqele<sup>1</sup> l-gàre<sup>1</sup>* In the night (literally: It became in the night), he went up onto the roof (A25:52); *mádre ʔi-zamríwa-w šatèwa<sup>1</sup> hál y-oráwa gu-lèle<sup>1</sup>* They again sang and drank until it was night (literally: until it passed into night) (B5:18); *m-lele* early morning, before dawn; *ʔdlele* tonight.

*lèliyana* n.m. (pl. *lèliyane*) **wedding song sung by women**

*leša* n.m. **dough** | *ʔiman-t qámxa lešile lèša<sup>1</sup>* when they knead flour into a dough (B6:45)

*ləʔannahu* part. (A.) **because**

*labba* n.m. (pl. *labbe*) **heart; kernel of fruit or berry** | Idioms: *yawa labba l-* to console (after death), to encourage: *híwεle labba tla-gʻáne díye<sup>1</sup>* He took heart (A8:58). *labbi zille l-d-ε qumta* I fainted at the sight of that figure (C2:55). *bəd-lábba gu-béθət bába díyela<sup>1</sup>* She thinks that she is in her father's house (A21:18). *gu-lábbe díye mtuxmànnē<sup>1</sup>* He thought to himself (A39:5). *labbe biyáxu tliqetu<sup>1</sup>* He thinks you are lost (A14:85). *dwiqále b-lábbe<sup>1</sup>* He kept it in mind. *ʔýya qušárta rába šapírta<sup>1</sup> rába zála labbi-ʔalla<sup>1</sup>* This cooking pot is very nice, I like it a lot (A5:2); *hóle zála labbi<sup>1</sup> t-ásqət šédət ʔərbət wála<sup>1</sup>* I would like you to go up and hunt for wild sheep (A26:44). *labbi basíma<sup>1</sup>* I am happy. *ʔáwwa náša labbe p̄qile<sup>1</sup>* The heart of that burst (= He was terrified) (A32:2). *qidle labbi<sup>1</sup> xóni zòra-wewa<sup>1</sup>* My heart yearned (for him), he was my young brother (A34:24); *mən-lábbe díye qida<sup>1</sup> dére xèla<sup>1</sup> načèlle ʔo-šaryóxa<sup>1</sup>* Out of his fervour, he applied force and pulled the tether apart (A28:20). *xilli labbux<sup>1</sup>* My dear, you are dear to me (A39:12). *ʔána hóle píša labbi<sup>1</sup>* I am angry; *t-la-páyāš labbən b-ğdàðe<sup>1</sup>* so that we do not feel anger at each other (B5:10); *tłàθna<sup>1</sup> xonāwáθət Qára Tēždin<sup>1</sup> mopíšalle labbèy<sup>1</sup>* The three brothers of Qara Teždin became angry (A26:71). *ʔanna píšla gu-lábbe díye kulla<sup>1</sup>* All these (words) weighed on his heart (A38:13). *ʔýya lèða<sup>1</sup> labba šəpya žáre<sup>1</sup>* She did not know, she was innocent, poor thing (A14:99). *hátxa bašlósε gu-lábbət náša<sup>1</sup>* (They) glow in the heart of man (= they captivate one's heart) (A8:16). *m-kulla labbi býyən ʔána qałlitulí<sup>1</sup>* With all my heart I want you to kill me (B9:14).

*labbana* adj. (f. *labbanta*, pl. *labbane*) **brave, courageous** | *kálba gu-tárət mərə<sup>1</sup> labbána y-áwe<sup>1</sup>* A dog at the door of his owner is brave (D2:64).

*labna* n.m. (pl. *labne*) **mud brick**



*ləhefa* n.m. (pl. *ləhefə*) (K./A.) **duvet**

*ləmu* → *nəmu*

*lənga* adj. (f. and pl. *lənge*) (K.) **crippled in the leg; lame**

*ləngo* adv. (K.) **limping** | *xáθi θèli' ʔitle t̪láθa ʔaqlàθa, ləngo ləngo' hal-tamma'* Sister, I came here, while it (my horse) had three legs, limping up to here (A18:20).

*ləva* n.f. (K.) **lamb's wool**

*ləxma* n.m. (pl. *ləxme*) **bread; loaf of bread** | *ləxma šaxína daymánət náša k̪pina'* Hot bread is the medicine of a hungry man (D2:69). *šáqla xa-ləxma'* She would buy a loaf of bread (A10:6); *ʔina xáze ʔsri ʔčča ləxme'* He saw that there were twenty-nine loaves of bread (A17:12); *ləxmən xaràmile'* Our bread is outlawed (i.e. we are unpopular); *ləxmət maθ-Maryam, ləxmət maθ-Maryam* St. Mary's bread (name of herb).

*ləxxawa* n.m. (pl. *ləxxawə*) **bit (of horse), harness**

*lifəkka* n.m. (pl. *lifəkke*) (K.) **flannel**

*limandus* n.f. **lemon juice**

*lina* n.m. (pl. *line*) **large conical-shaped pot**

*linta* n.f. (pl. *linyaθa*) **small conical-shaped pot (for water)**

*lipa* adj. (f. *lipta*, pl. *lipe*) **learned, educated** | *náše lipe* learned people (A8:35)

*lišana* n.m. (pl. *lišane*) **tongue; language** | *lišana ʔarabaya* the Arabic language; *qəm-maxéle lišanè'* They licked him (A18:31); *npille lišana b-səpa'* The sword started to talk (A52:22).

*liθ* part. (variants: *liθən, liθena, liθga, liθgən, liθgena*. past: *liθwa*) **negative existential particle** (§8.20.1., §15.3.8., §17.3.) (1) Used without suffixes | *liθ čü-məndi'* There is nothing (A21:5); *liθ ʔáp-xa gu-bèθa.ʔ'* Is there nobody in the house? (A22:32); *čü-gala liθən mənnèy'* There is no sound of them (A18:15); *ʔé-ga liθwa bərq'a'* At that time there was not electricity (B10:45); *liθwa qá-t mbaqríwa bràta'* It was not the practice to ask the girl (B5:2). Used interrogatively to draw attention to a particular point: *ʔo-šúla ʔáwəwa y-amráxwale qərta liθən.ʔ'* We called this job trimming, you see (B5:141). (2) With L-suffixes expressing possession: *ʔána zúza litli'* I do not have money. (A22:19); *litte la-bába*

*la-yamma la-ʔəp-xa*<sup>1</sup> He does not have a father, a mother or anybody (A17:17); *liθwale quşārta*<sup>1</sup> He did not have a cooking-pot (A5:1); *litla xàm*<sup>1</sup> That's fine, no problem.

*lo* part. **or, either** | *ʒine nábləx kəs-Māmo*<sup>1</sup> *lo-Māmo nábləx kəs-ʒine*?<sup>1</sup> Should we take Zine to Māmo or Māmo to Zine? (A26:2); *xázəx mhayrili lo-làʔa*<sup>1</sup> Let us see whether they will help me or not (A48:2); *lo-t-axláli dəbba*<sup>1</sup> *lo-paltəna*<sup>1</sup> Either the bear will eat me or I shall get out (A20:11).

*loḵanta* n.f. (pl. *loḵanyaθa*) (T.) **restaurant**

*lota* n.f. (pl. *loyaθa, lotaθa*) **cheek; chewing gum**

*lubyə* n.m. (pl. *lubyə*) **bean growing in pods (šəŋqe)**

*lujna* n.f. (A.) **committee**

*lula* → *nula*

*lulta* → *nulta*

*lutka* n.f. (pl. *lutke*) **boat**

*luwəwəš* n.m. **edible herb** | used to make *dolma*

*lwišta* n.f. (pl. *lwišyaθa*) **clothing**

*l-xərxəθ* → *xərxəθ*

*lxima* adj. (f. *lximta*, pl. *lxime*) **fit; well built** | *xzi-kəmélé lxima*<sup>1</sup> Look how fit he is! (A15:13)

/M/

*ma* part. pron. **what?** (§7.5., §14.9.13.) | *xúwwe mə t-áwəð b-an-álpa dáwe*?<sup>1</sup> What will the snake do with those thousand gold coins? (A1:8); *xáθi mə-ləx*?<sup>1</sup> Sister, what is the matter with you? (A34:12); *mə-lux zádya*?<sup>1</sup> Why are you afraid? (A11:6); *mə-lux mənne ʔəti*?<sup>1</sup> What business is it of yours? (A32:3); *ʔána mə-li mənnux*?<sup>1</sup> What have I to do with you? (A32:22); *mə-ləx bráta t-it-hátxa bxəya*<sup>1</sup> What is the matter with you girl that you are weeping so much? (A34:20); *sállət míya yáðət mēla*?<sup>1</sup> (< *mə-ila*) Do you know what a basket of water is? (A16:10). Modifier of a noun: *ʔánna mə-brinànela gu-réšux*<sup>1</sup> What wounds are these on your head? (A29:6). Exclamatory modifier of a noun: *ʔu-Bəlbəl Hazár yáðátla mə-báxta xàmθela*<sup>1</sup> You know what a beautiful woman Bəlbəl Hazar

is (A8:65). Expressing an exclamatory proposition: *ma-pištət kawəlla!*<sup>1</sup> How you have become a ruin! (A18:16). With remonstrating force in negated questions *ma-lat-đáya b-gánax qàrθela?*<sup>2</sup> Don't you know yourself that it is cold?! (A20:1). Before imperatives: *ma-yəmmi pēli zwaðe* Mother, bake me supplies! (A50:9). Before a repeated noun to express a more general class (§14.11.): *jawətta tla-pràma<sup>1</sup> 'anna qése ma-qése<sup>1</sup>* A chopper was for chopping wood and the like (B5:141).

*ma'arwa, marwa* n.m. **West** | *txúme díye 'ila<sup>1</sup> mən-madənxax<sup>1</sup> Zàwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mən-màrwa<sup>1</sup> 'ila<sup>1</sup> Xawòra<sup>1</sup>* Its borders are, on the East, the Zab and, on the West, the Khabur (B1:4).

*ma'ayša* n.f. (A.) **livelihood, earnings** | *mút ma'ayša muttāli?*<sup>2</sup> What earnings did I make? (A23:40)

*ma'jūn* n.m. (A.) **paste**

*ma'mal* n.m. (A.) **factory**

*madala* n.m. (pl. *madale*) **millipede**

*madam* part. **if, so long as** | introduces factual conditions (§19.5.7.): *mádam hátxela<sup>1</sup> t-ázən táyən báθər haqqùθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-na-haqqùθa<sup>1</sup>* If (the world) is like that, I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful (A15:5).

*madanus* n.m. (K.) **parsley**

*maðbəh* n.f. (A.) **altar**

*madəbxa* n.m. **altar**

*madənxax* n.m. **East; sunrise** | *jálde qam-mxéθət madənxax<sup>1</sup>* early before sunrise (A8:51); *qímēle jálde madənxax t-la-mxàya<sup>1</sup>* He rose early while the dawn was not breaking (= before dawn broke) (A8:51); *txúme díye 'ila<sup>1</sup> mən-madənxax<sup>1</sup> Zàwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mən-màrwa<sup>1</sup> 'ila<sup>1</sup> Xawòra<sup>1</sup>* Its borders are, on the East, the Zab and, on the West, the Khabur (B1:4).

*madfa<sup>c</sup>* n.m. (A.) **artillery**

*mað'ira* n.m. **dish made of dawwe and rice**

*magəlla* n.f. (pl. *magəlyatha*) **small sickle**

*magla* n.m. (pl. *magle*) **sickle**

*magreta* n.f. (pl. *magreyaθa*) **shaving knife** | *mākinət magreta* razor

*magriyana* n.m. (pl. *magriyane*) **barber**

*mağara* n.m. (A.) **cavern, subterranean cave**

*māḥalle* n.f. (A.) **neighbourhood; place; shop** | *'ap-a-māḥalle tlixàle*<sup>1</sup> and he destroyed the district (A29:53); *'ékele māḥalle diye?*<sup>1</sup> Where is his shop? (A16:3)

*mājāl* n.m. (A.) **space, period** | *mājāl xa-ʔásta šáwwa yòme*<sup>1</sup> *t-axlónne xáčča bəsrá*<sup>1</sup> (Give me) the space of six or seven days, so that I can eat some meat (A24:48); *qčipewəx mqorəčpewəx*<sup>1</sup> *t-la-b-hewən ʔu-t-la mājələn*<sup>1</sup> We are cut down and harvested not in the season nor in our time (for cutting) (A51:8).

*majbur* adj. invar. (A.) **obliged; forced** | *páyəš mājbur béna xaríya šàte*<sup>1</sup> In the end it will be forced to drink (A12:47); *pışele mājbur šəlyele*<sup>1</sup> He had to dismount (A28:33); *'áti mājbur t-yàtli rásqi*<sup>1</sup> You will be obliged to give me my sustenance (A10:3).

*majburuθa* n.f. **necessity**

*majma* n.m. (pl. *majme*) (A.) **tray** | *'áy šwíqtəlwə mājma tàma*<sup>1</sup> She had left a tray there (A4:53).

*majo* n.f. (pl. *majowaθa*) **wide bowl for kneading dried yoghurt cakes (qaške)**

*majwajta* n.f. (pl. *majwajyaθa*) **a movement**

*makəčxana* adj. (f. *makəčxanta*, pl. *makəčxane*) **tiring**

*mākina* n.f. (pl. *mākine*, *mākayən*) (A.) **machine** | *mākinət xyəta* sewing machine

*makrəb čučane* n.f. **late snow falling at the beginning March** | Literally: the one that angers the magpies

*makšūf* adj. invar. (A.) **uncovered**

*makuk* n.m. (pl. *makuke*) (K.) **shuttle on loom**

*māl* n.m./f. (A.) **wealth**

*malapa* n.m. (pl. *malape*) **sheet** | *hóla 'arbi malàpe*<sup>1</sup> There are forty sheets (A24:17).

*malaxa* n.m. (pl. *malaxe*) **angel**

*maləkθa* n.f. (pl. *maləkyaθa*) **queen** | *t-óya maləkθa b-šópi 'íman-t-ána mēθan*<sup>1</sup>  
She will be queen in my place when I die (A4:39).

*malgori* n.m. (K.) **assistant of a shepherd**

*malka* n.m. (pl. *malke*) **king** | *qesət malka* wood of the king, a type of wood from which spoons were made (B10:100); *'ílanət malka* the tree from which such wood is taken.

*malkuθa* n.f. (pl. *malkuwaθa*) **kingdom; kingship** | *mən-àdyo<sup>1</sup> malkùθa<sup>1</sup> m-bnónux qà'ta<sup>1</sup>* From today the kingship will be cut off from your sons (A8:96).

*malla* n.m. (K./A.) **mullah**

*mallaka* n.m. (pl. *mallake*) (A.) **land owner**

*maloka* n.m. (pl. *maloke*) (K.) **type of small sledge hammer with fine head** | smaller than a *murja*, which is used for the same purpose → *mawəlka*

*ṃalyana* adj. (f. *ṃalyanta*, pl. *ṃalyane*) **sufficient** | *ṃalyànzle* That is enough; *ṃalyànzle 'ixálux?* Do you have enough food?

*malyəzana* adj. (f. *malyəzanta*, pl. *malyəzane*) **hasty** | *lá-hawət malyəzàna!*<sup>1</sup> Do not be hasty! (A8:43)

*mama* n.m. (pl. *maməwaθa*) (K.) **paternal uncle** | *bronət mama* (first) cousin

*mama* interj. **mother**

*mamačučək, mawəučučək* n.m. (K.) **edible herb sweet to the taste**

*māmađta* n.f. **baptism**

*mamđana* n.m. **baptist** | *mar Yohanna mamđana* St. John the Baptist

*maməkka* n.m. (pl. *maməkke*) **breast of young woman** | *tre yalone havrəkke šarreley rəš-mamməkke* two rival children are fighting on the breasts (C2:39).

*mamodiθa* n.f. **baptism**

*mana* n.m. (pl. *mane*) **vessel, plate**

*manay, manaya* n.f. (K./A.) **meaning** | *hadiya đili 'ána manáy diyux mòdila<sup>1</sup>*  
Now I know what you mean (A17:35).

*mandorta* n.m. (pl. *mandoryaθa*) **roller for flattening roof**

*māni* pron. **who?** (less frequently used than *ʔeni*) | *māniwət?*<sup>21</sup> Who are you? (A23:26); *ʔanna tre-yále mānile māsya dəryalla gu-šaḡiθa?*<sup>21</sup> Who could have put these two children in the stream? (A8:15)

*manqal* n.m. (A.) **griddle**

*manquš* n.m. (pl. *manquše*) **fire steel, metal instrument for striking fire on flint**

*manṭāqa* n.f. (A.) **region**

*manṭo* n.m. **type of fabric**

*manzəl* n.f. (pl. *manzale*) (K./A.) **room** | *manzəl tawa* sitting room

*mapšəmana* n.m. (pl. *mapšəmane*, f. *mapšəmana*) **trouble-maker. adj. miserable, sad** | *xa-qāsṣət rāba mapšəməntəla*<sup>1</sup> It is a very sad story (A4:31).

*māḡamta* n.f. **raising** | *māḡamtət ʔərbe* the raising of sheep

*maqara* n.m. (pl. *maqare*) **gouge, chisel**

*maqəšta* n.f. (A.) **scissors, shears**

*maqərxana* n.m. (pl. *maqərxane*) (1) **brush for whitewashing** | *hóle maqróxe gudáne b-maqərxàna*<sup>1</sup> He is whitewashing the wools with a brush. (2) **metal-polisher** | *kut-šayššla šərme léle makərxàna*<sup>1</sup> Everybody who shakes his buttocks is not a metal-polisher (D2:75).

*maqḥərana, maḡḥərana* adj. (f. *maqḥəranta*, pl. *maqḥərane*) (K.) **sad**

*maḡle* n.f. (pl. *maḡlāwəθa*) (K./A.) **cooking pot** | made of red clay

*maḡlūb* adj. invar. (A.) **reversed** | *nále l-kodənyaθéy máxyalla bə-l-maḡlūb*<sup>1</sup> They put on the shoes of their mules back to front (B4:13).

*maqora, meqora* n.m. (pl. *maqore, meqore*) **hole cut out of middle of stew to hold syrup (*napoxta, nepoxta*)** | *ʔó-t məθéwa bušála*<sup>1</sup> *bə-pálge diye y-awəðwale maqóra y-amrəxle*<sup>1</sup> Whoever brought stew would make what we call a 'hole' in the middle of it (B5:67).

*maḡrəṭana* n.m. (pl. *maḡrəṭane*) **cutter (of hair)** | *maḡrəṭanət kawsa* barber

*maḡriyana* n.m. (pl. *maḡriyane*) **teacher**

*maqul* adj. invar. (A.) **acceptable, respectable; fine** | *wélex hawnànta,<sup>1</sup> b-<sup>2</sup>iqárat šáwθa basìmta,<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>u-màqul<sup>1</sup>* You have been clever, with the gift of sweet and fine words (A40:16).

*mara* n.m. (pl. *marāwaθa, marwaθa*) **master, owner** | *marət bεθa* householder, landlord; *kēle mára d-áyya?<sup>1</sup>* Where is the owner of this (ring)? (A4:19); *t-lá marāwàθele <sup>3</sup>o-márga<sup>1</sup> t-it-súsux dóryalle tàma?<sup>1</sup>* Is the meadow in which you have put your horse without owners? (A25:60). Pl. **parents** | *<sup>3</sup>anna tre-yále qəm-xazànnna<sup>1</sup> t-la marwàθa<sup>1</sup>* I have found these two children, without parents (A8:16); *sá'ət t!àθa<sup>1</sup> qèdamta<sup>1</sup> mǎřššwalən marāwàθən<sup>1</sup>* At three o'clock in the morning our parents used to wake us (B15:2); *t-la-rzáyət marāwáθa dīya<sup>1</sup>* without the consent of her parents.

*mǎra, marra* n.m. (pl. *mǎre, marre*) **illness**

*mařa, mεra* n.m. (pl. *maře, mεra*) (§1.2.3.) **metal spade** | *mařət kεrma* spade for vineyards, *mařət <sup>3</sup>aqara* spade for working on farmland

*mǎrād* n.m. (A.) **desire** | *mǎrādət tǎbbux<sup>1</sup> mamət-yànnux<sup>1</sup>* I shall make you attain your heart's desire (A33:10).

*mǎrana* adj. (f. *mǎranta*, pl. *mǎrane*) **ill**

*mararta* n.f. **gall bladder**

*marča-xuwwε, marča-xuwwawε, marča-xuwwaθa* n.f. (pl. same) **chameleon** | Literally: crusher of snakes

*marda* adj. (f. and pl. *marde*) (K.) **generous**

*marduθa* n.f. **education**

*mare* cst. (§10.17.5.) | Element in compounds expressing property: *mare bena* tolerant; *mare janga* contentious; *mare <sup>3</sup>arxe* hospitable; *dukθa raba mare baqta* a place full of gnats.

*marəgla* n.m. (pl. *marəgle*) **brass pan for heating water**

*marεθa* n.f. **rennet**

*marga, mεrga* n.m. (pl. *marge, mεrge, margane, mεrgane*) **meadow**

*margəlta* n.f. (pl. *margəlyaða*) **small pan for heating water**

*margəšta* n.f. (pl. *margəšyaθa*) **small meadow**

*marimana* n.m. (pl. *marimane*) **lever** | especially lever of a water-mill (*<sup>3</sup>arxe*) raised in order to control the turning of the millstone → *marmana*

- marira* adj. (f. *marirta*, pl. *marire*) **bitter**
- māriya* n.m. (pl. *māriye*) **pasture place** | *māriyat* ʾarbe pasture ground of sheep
- māriyana* n.m. **grazer, pasturer** | *māriyanat* ʾarwe pasturer of small cattle
- markaz* n.m. (A.) **centre**
- markən* n.m. (pl. *markane*) **storage pot**
- marmana* n.m. (pl. *marmane*) **lever** → *marimana*
- marmar* n.f. (K./A.) **marble** | *mārmār mšuwīθa*<sup>1</sup> dressed marble (A40:8)
- marquṣta* n.f. (pl. *marquṣe*, *marquṣyaθa*) **yellow narcissus flower** | grows mainly among rocks
- marquza* n.m. (pl. *marquze*) **yellow narcissus flower** = *marquṣta*
- marrəs* n.m. (K.) **wool of the long haired angora goat** (*čura*, *čurra*) | ʾarwət *marrəs* goat with such hair
- marta* n.f. **saying** | ʾáyya *mártət* ʾamàre<sup>1</sup> This is what they say (literally: This is the saying of the sayers) (A32:24).
- marta*, *marθa* n.f. (pl. *marwaba*) **mistress, lady** | *marθət bəθa* mistress of the house; *Mat Maryam* (< *Mart*) St. Mary. In attributive expressions: *šətro marθət habriya* the beautiful woman who possesses the headscarf (C2:1).
- maruta* n.f. (pl. *maruyaba*) **fur (of animal)**
- maṣuθa* n.f. (pl. *maṣuwaba*) **wooden shovel for moving snow**
- marya* n.m. **The Lord** | *márya ʾálaha* Lord God; *yá-marya ʾálaha*<sup>1</sup> O Lord God (A10:3).
- maryana* n.m. (f. *maryanta*, pl. *maryane*) **repairer of clothes** | *maryanət šawle* cobbler
- marza* n.m. (pl. *marzane*) (K.) **border; edge; bank; shore** | *marzət nera* the bank of a river; *mārzət yàma*<sup>1</sup> the shore of the sea (A12:27); *t-yatwanwa l-marzət gəšra* I would sit on the edge of the bridge (C3:2).
- marzaban-*, *marzavan-* prep. (K.) **around** | *kúlla maθwáθa t-íla marzabánət ʾĒn-Nūne*<sup>1</sup> all the villages that were around ʾĒn-Nune (B15:61).



*marzaq* n.m. (pl. *marzaqe*) **wooden stick covered in wool used to stick bread to the oven**

*marziwa* n.m. (pl. *marziwe*) (K.) **gutter**

*māsafa* n.f. (A.) **distance**

*māsaḥa* n.f. (A.) **area**

*masaḥa* n.pl. **balance (for weighing); the constellation Libra**

*masarqa* n.m. (pl. *masarqe*) **large comb for carding wool**

*masaxḥa* n.f. (pl. *masaxyaḥa*) **metal poker for fire; branding iron; frying pan**

*masina* n.f. (pl. *masine*) **earthenware pot with spout**

*masraqta*, *masraqḥa* n.f. (pl. *masraqyaḥa*) **comb (for hair); comb for filtering the water passing through a pipe leading to a watermill** | *la-ṣāle b-šū masraqḥa*<sup>1</sup> He cannot be combed down with any comb (D2:76).

*masraqḥonta* n.f. **little comb** | *hállila masraqḥonti*<sup>1</sup> Give me my little comb (A34:3).

*massa* n.m. (pl. *masse*) **ox goad; pole**

*masta* n.f. (K.) **yoghurt**

*māšayaf* n.pl. (A.) **summer pastures**

*māšīr* n.m. (A.) **fate, outcome**

*māšixat šarmat kḥayaḥa* n.m. **little finger** | Literally: the tester of the behind of chickens, i.e. the finger that one inserts into a chicken to test whether it is bearing an egg → *m-syx* III.

*mašraf* n.m. (A.) **expense**

*mašyana* adj. (f. *mašyanta*, pl. *mašyane*) **capable**

*mašana* n.f. (pl. *mašane*) (K.) **beam connecting yoke to the main body of the plough**

*maše* n.pl. **black beans** | *xa dandəkḥət maše* a single bean; *šənqət maše* bean pod

*mašhūr* adj. invar. (A.) **famous**

*mašī* adj. invar. (A.) **walking, on foot** | *mášila zála d̥bba*<sup>1</sup> The bear was walking (A27:13).

*mašina* n.f. (E.) **machine; train**

*maška* n.m. (K.) **skin (of sheep)**

*mašura* n.m. (p. *mašure*) **stepping stone**

*ma-t* → *kəma*

*mata* n.f. (pl. *mayatha, mataθa*) **grape** | *hállī d̥a-máta mən-d-aw-gùjma*<sup>1</sup> Give me a grape from that bunch.

*maḥam* n.m. (A.) **restaurant**

*maḥlab* n.m. (pl. *māḥlab*) (A.) **request**

*maṭo* part. **how? how could it?** (1) **how?** | *máto m̥t̥lux*<sup>21</sup> How have you come? (A18:18); *de-máto hóya*<sup>21</sup> How could that be? (A30:21); *ʾána máto m̥šárən t̥la-y̥mm̥e*<sup>1</sup> *y̥mm̥e díye y̥mm̥i-wawa*<sup>21</sup> How can I curse his mother, since his mother was my mother? (A32:31); *m̥ṭow̥t*<sup>?</sup> How are you? (2) **How could it be?** | *qušárta máto mabárya*<sup>21</sup> How can it be that a cooking pot has given birth?! (A5:6)

*maṭoya* adj. **ripening quickly** | *prage maṭoye* a type of millet that ripens quickly

*maṭuθa* n.f. **quick ripening plant** | *prage maṭuθa* quick ripening millet

*maθa* n.f. (pl. *maṭwaθa*) **village** | *maθat ʾĒn-Nune* the village of ʾĒn-Nune (B1:9); *rešat maθa* the head of the village; *ʾiθwalən šawwá ʾabone*<sup>1</sup> *gu-máθa d̥iy̥m*<sup>1</sup> We had seven bishops in our village (B2:6).

*maṭyana* n.m. **collector (of taxes)** | *maṭyánat xárje-w bárj̥at boṭanàye*<sup>1</sup> the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan (A26:34).

*mawačučək* → *mamačučək*

*mawálka* n.m. (K.) **type of small sledge hammer with fine head** | smaller than a *murja*, which is used for the same purpose → *maloka*

*mawjūd* adj. invar. (A.) **existing, available**

*mawmiθa* n.f. (pl. *mawmaθa*) **oath** | *méli rába mawmàθa*<sup>1</sup> I swore many oaths

*mawtan* n.m. (A.) **country, land**

*mawʿad* n.m. (A.) **appointment**

*mawṯa, moṯa* n.m. **death**

*mawṯana* n.m. **plague**

*max* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *maxwaṯe, ʿax-diye*) (§13.3.13., §19.3.4.)  
**like, as** | Before a noun or clause: *ʿina plīṯele max-tàla*<sup>1</sup> He came out like a fox (A17:35); *xa-pàra*<sup>1</sup> *widāle gāne max-qàṣta*<sup>1</sup> A lamb made itself like a bow (A25:28); *max-d-áy* like that one (A4:16), *max-d-ó-t Leliṯa*<sup>1</sup> like that of Leliṯa (A52:15); *max-t-íla brátux mšuyḏanta*<sup>1</sup> *ʿap-àw,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿən-lá-ʿazən mšáyḏan*<sup>1</sup> Just as your daughter has gone mad, he also, if I do not go back, will go mad (A4:27); *máme diye t-wéwa max-qṯàlalle*<sup>1</sup> His uncle who had almost killed him (A25:70).

*maxbana* n.m. (pl. *maxbane*) **lover** | *maxbánat gāne-wewa*<sup>1</sup> He was a lover of himself (= selfish) (A3:1).

*maxḏiyana* adj. (f. *maxḏiyanta*, pl. *maxḏiyane*) **cheerful, causing joy**

*maxətwa* n.m. (pl. *maxətwe*) **awl (with wooden handle)**

*maxfurta* n.f. (pl. *maxfure*) **carpet**

*maxjəlana* adj. (f. *maxjəlanta*, pl. *maxjəlane*) **terrifying** | *wéle xa-xábra maxjəlana*<sup>1</sup> It was a terrifying piece of news (B1:13).

*maxkéṯa* n.f. **speech** | *la-mháymnət kul-maxkéṯa basimta*<sup>1</sup> Do not believe every sweet speech (A49:6).

*maxlana* n.m. (pl. *maxlane*) **feeder**

*maxmore* n.pl. **jewels** | *xo-qḏala maxmore* on her neck are jewels (C6:4).

*maxyana* n.m. **player (of an instrument)** | *maxyánat šabiba* pipe-player (A7:6)

*maydani* n.m. **type of red fabric** | *šudrət maydani* shirt of red fabric

*mayl* n.m. (pl. *mayle*) (E.) **mile**

*maymun* n.m. (pl. *maymune*) (K./A.) **monkey**

*mayoya* n.m. (pl. *mayoye*) **long wooden rod running the length of the frame carrying the churn (*guḏa*)** → *lawlaba*.

*mayoṯa* adj. **mortal**

- mayuθa* n.f. **crown (anatomical)** | *mayuθat reša* crown of the head
- ma-yxaləf* (A.) **That is fine**
- māzada* n.m. (pl. *māzade*) (A.) **auction** | *deréwa mǎzàde*<sup>1</sup> They would hold auctions (B8:38).
- ma-zāl* (A.) **It is inevitable** | *ma-zāl qaše-llèy*<sup>1</sup> He must break them (A30:11).
- mazaxa* n.m. (A.) **area below the millstones in a water-mill onto which the flour falls**
- mazdiyana* adj. (f. *mazdiyanta*, pl. *mazdiyane*) **frightening** | *xzéli xa-xəlma*<sup>1</sup> *rāba mazdiyāna*<sup>1</sup> I had a very frightening dream (A11:6).
- mazra* n.m. (K.) **field**
- mazreta* n.f. **yoyo**
- mazyatta* n.f. **increase, bidding** | *mšerūwa...mazyatta*<sup>1</sup> They would start the bidding (B5:8).
- mazza* n.m. (pl. *mazze*) (K.) **snack before meal**
- m-bādal* → *bādal*
- mbadla* n.f. (pl. *mbadlaθa*) adv. **morning** | *m-lele mbadla* early morning; *mbadla jalde* early in the morning; *rāzgi mbādla dāna*<sup>1</sup> They finish (eating) in the early morning (B5:36). *mbadlaθa* dawn: *gu-mbadlāθa mxéθət yóma* 'ó-naša *tliqele*<sup>1</sup> At dawn, the break of day, the man disappeared (A12:10).
- mbaqrana* adj. (f. *mbaqranta*, pl. *mbaqrane*) **inquiring, inquisitive** | *wí mbaqrāna*<sup>1</sup> *t-áwət yaðūwa*<sup>1</sup> If you are inquisitive, you shall be knowledgeable (D2:11).
- mbašlana* n.m. (pl. *mbašlane*) **cook**
- mbaxlana, baxlana* adj. (f. *mbaxlanta*, pl. *mbaxlane*) **envious**
- mčakčəkana* n.m./adj. (f. *mčakčəkanta*, pl. *mčakčəkane*) **garrulous**
- mčarčərana* n.m./adj. (f. *mčarčəranta*, pl. *mčarčərane*) **garrulous**
- mdabqana* n.m. **glue**
- mđita* n.f. (pl. *mđinaθa*) **town**

*meqora* → *maqora*

*merakka* n.m. (K.) **game played with stones** | the object of this is to hit a small stone as far as possible with a broad stone

*mēs, mēz* n.m. (pl. *mezāwaθa, mezāwāt*) (K.) **table**

*metar* n.m. (pl. *metre*) **metre**

*mevan* n.m. (pl. *mevane*) (K.) **guest** | *pešānwa mevan diya* (If only) I could become her guest (C2:1).

*mewa* n.m. (K.) **fruit**

*meydān* n.m. (pl. *meydane*) (A.) **flat area, plain** | *šadra meydān t-Barčalla* Her chest (is like) the plain of Barčalla (C2:44).

*mersar* n.m. (K.) **head of household**

*mēša-ʿazze, mēšanāt ʿazze* n.f. (pl. *mēša-ʿazze, mēšanāt ʿazze*) **lizard** | Literally: goat-sucker.

*mēša* n.f. (pl. *mēše*) **type of oak tree** | produces ʿapše (gallnuts) and *balute* (acorns); also known as ʿilanāt ʿapše gallnut tree. It is related to the trees known as *parma* and *zadyana*.

*mexolta* n.f. (pl. *mexolyaθa*) **food; nourishment**

*məʿajbana* adj. (f. *məʿajbanta*, pl. *məʿajbane*) **amazing** | *xa-māndi məʿajbāna!* (It was) something amazing! (A4:56).

*mādrasa* n.m./f. (pl. *mādrase*) **school**

*mādre* part. (K.) **again** | *mādre xzēle xəlma!* He had a dream again (A1:9); *ʿina léwa mādre gnāyux!* But again it was not your fault (A1:25).

*mājja* n.m. **yoghurt paste made by dissolving dried yoghurt cakes (qaške)**

*mājjad* part. (K.) **really** | *b-ālaha xónan-it mājjad!* By God, you are really our brother (A39:8); *ʿayya bēna! ʿin ʿamrənnux! pālšila pālga mājjad!* This time, if I tell you, will you really divide them in half? (A1:12).

*mālga* n.m. **wool plucked from sheepskin**

*mālka* n.m. (pl. *mālke*) (A.) **property** | *mālkāt gáne diyela!* They were his property (B4:2).

*məllatayutha* n.f. **nationalism**

*məllət* n.f. (K./A.) **community, nation** | *məllət kulla sqidda*<sup>1</sup> The whole community is fed up (A32:9); *məllət ʾaθoràye*<sup>1</sup> the Assyrian nation (B6:21).

*məlməlawə* n.m. **celebrations at the end of winter** | custom practised at the end of the month of February, in which a bonfire is made and children go around the village asking for small gifts, also know as *bəlbəlawə*.

*məlxə* n.f. **salt**

*məlxana* adj. (f. *məlxanta*, pl. *məlxane*) **salty**

*məlxawə* n.m. (pl. *məlxawə*) **winnowing fork** | made of wood, including the teeth

*məlyə* adj. (f. *məliθə*, pl. *məlye*) **full** | *məlyə dūša*<sup>1</sup> full of honey (A14:14); *dəwən-t məlka hólə məliθə nàše rəbe*<sup>1</sup> The audience chamber of the king is full of many people (A17:31); *ða-ʾilàna*<sup>1</sup> *hóla rš-rúše dīye*<sup>1</sup> *məliθəla mən-rəjbət ʾūra*<sup>1</sup> a tree is on his shoulder, full of wildlife (A12:3); *dūnyə qímla məlye* it is raining torrentially.

*məlθə* n.f. (pl. *məlyəθə*) **twine made of gut (miroṭe)**

*mən*, *m-* prep. (rare variant: *mənnət*; with pronominal suffixes: *mənnə*) (§13.3.14., §16.5.) **from, with**: (1) Separation or removal: *šqiləlla mən-d-ε-dərtə*<sup>1</sup> They took it from that enclosure (A15:12); *nəxlən m-Čuxo*<sup>1</sup> We are relieved of Čuxo (A7:19). (2) Source or origin: *ʾən-kəálo m-guməθə*<sup>1</sup> *čərxəwəla máθə*<sup>1</sup> *xášə dawèrə*<sup>1</sup> If the bride was from the village, they would take her round the village on the back of mules (B10:34). (3) Temporal starting point: *ʾu-hóla məšuydəntə mən-d-ó-yoma t-íla xzithəlle ʾaw*<sup>1</sup> She has been mad from the day that she saw him (A4:12). (4) Partitive: *šqiltəla mən-dəwə*<sup>1</sup> She took some of the gold coins (A10:7). (5) Comparison: *ʾina mástət ʾərwe rába biš-basiméla biš-prištəla mən-d-a-t-təwə*<sup>1</sup> But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle (B5:173). (6) Cause: *ʾána-ži m-kərbi ʾəθyən ʾá-kəθəla múttənnə rəš-núra ʾu-xilənnə*<sup>1</sup> I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it (A2:11). (7) Material: *məlxáwə ʾəwə mtúrša m-qəsa*<sup>1</sup> The winnowing fork was made from wood (B5:87). (8) Stative spatial location: *ʾasřiwəla b-qəsa ʾu-m-áy-gota qəsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-m-áy-gota qəsa*<sup>1</sup> They would bind them to a stick, with a stick this side and a stick that side (B7:16). (9) Comitative: *mən-xuráne dīye píšele gu-túra xá-yoma yóme trə*<sup>1</sup> With his friends he remained in the mountains

one or two days (A4:2). (10) Combined with other prepositions: *ʔu-tríðalle m-gu-bèθa*<sup>1</sup> He drove him from the house (A16:11); *xa-qála ʔáθe m-qam-tárət bèθa*<sup>1</sup> A voice came from before the house (A22:29); *ʔázən šáqlən zùzi*<sup>1</sup> *m-rəs-ʔèna*<sup>1</sup> I shall go to take my money from on top of the spring (A15:2).

*məndi*, *mdi* n.m. (pl. *məndiyane*) **thing** | *ʔána ʔaxxa nəléli xa-məndi*<sup>1</sup> I have forgotten something here (B5:35); *ʔáθət ʔána mbàšlən məndi*<sup>1</sup> Come and I shall cook something (A22:14); *rába məndi tēmàna* a lot of valuable stuff (A7:9); *ʔíθwale məndi raba*<sup>1</sup> He had a lot (A26:63); *ʔu-xáčča fína məndi*<sup>1</sup> and a little mud or the like (B5:190); *ʔaw-lá-ʔaxəl čú-mdi* He would eat nothing (A2:4); *ʔáp-xa mənnéxu léle l-zmárta xa-məndi*<sup>2</sup> Is anyone of you for a song or something? (A35:7)

*mənta* n.f. **favour** | *hon-tyána mənta mənnux*<sup>1</sup> / *ʔána tənánət məntewən*<sup>1</sup> You have done me a favour (I am much obliged to you).

*mənya* n.m. **stone weight on a balance** (*masaθa*)

*mənyana* n.m. (pl. *mənyane*) **number**

*mərtoxa* n.m. (Urm.) **filling made of wheat flour mixed with butter** | the more usual term used in Barwar is *duwana*.

*mərwəš* n.m. **type of wheat**

*mərya* adj. (f. *mriθa*, pl. *mərye*) **ill**

*məskena* n.m./adj. (f. *məskənta*, pl. *məskene*) **wretched, poor** | *b-núrət rašýye y-áqði məskəne*<sup>1</sup> By the fire of wicked people the poor burn (D2:73).

*məssukta* n.f. (pl. *məssukyaθa*) **craw, gizzard (of a bird)**

*məstik* n.m. (pl. *məstike*) **mosquito net** (supported by one pole or by four poles)

*məštaqa* n.m. (pl. *məštaqe*) **shelf in a chicken-coop (qare) on which chickens sit**

*məšməšša* n.m. (pl. *məšməšše*) (K./A.) **apricot**

*məšna* n.f. (pl. *məšnaθa*, *məšne*) **whetstone for sharpening blades** | *məšna ʔu-bařila* a whetstone and horn (of butter for lubrication)

*məššara* n.f. (pl. *məššare*) **section of a paddy field, paddy field basin**

*məštata* n.m. (pl. *məštataxe*) **area where fruit and vegetables are spread out to dry**

*māšwanəkke* n.f. (pl. *māšwanəkke*) **beehive** | referring properly to the cover of the cylindrical baskets (*sālāmaške*) in which the bees are kept.

*māšxa* n.m. **vegetable oil; clarified butter (from yoghurt or milk)** | *māšxa hūr*<sup>1</sup> (B5:31), *māšxa hōr* (B16:12) pure butter; *māxa xa-māšxa gu-be-ʔēne diye*<sup>1</sup> (The priest and deacon) put some oil on his forehead (B6:36).

*māšxana* n.m. **paste made from oil**. adj. (f. *māšxanta*, pl. *māšxane*) **oily**

*mətra* n.f. (pl. *mətraθa*) **rain** | *šléla mətra*<sup>1</sup> Rain fell (A11:18); *mətrela*<sup>1</sup> It is rainy; *mətra mətārela rāba*<sup>1</sup> There is a lot of rain; *mətra xelanta* heavy rain.

*məttəθa* n.f., *məttla* n.m. (pl. *məttle*) **story, folktale; riddle, maxim** | *ʔaw-mút məttlele*<sup>1</sup> What is (the meaning of) the riddle? (D1:14); *məttli məttle*<sup>1</sup> They tell witty sayings.

*mətxa* n.m. (pl. *mətxe*) **period (of time)** | *gu-mətxət xa-daḡiqa*<sup>1</sup> *wéla lháya ʔan-qəse*<sup>1</sup> Within the space of one minute those pieces of wood ignited (B15:24).

*mətya* adj. (f. *mətiθa*, pl. *mətye*) **ripe**

*məxra* n.m. (pl. *məxre*, *məxrare*) **small water channel carrying water across field boundaries (gewanane)**

*məzzana* adj. (f. *məzzanta*, pl. *məzzane*) **hairy** | *xawxa məzzana* hairy peach

*məzze* pl. (sing. *məsta* f.) **hair** | *zínna məzzət rəši*<sup>1</sup> My hair stood on end (out of fear); *kut-məsta*<sup>1</sup> *xa-zága dáryət biya*<sup>1</sup> Put a bell on every hair (A27:8).

*məžməža* n.m. (K.) **light snow**

*məžməžoke* n.pl. (K.) **dried mulberries**

*mgamprana* n.m. (pl. *mgamprane*) **arrogant person**

*mgawarta* n.f. **burp**

*mhemənana*, *mhamənana* n.m. **believer** | *mhamənána b-ʔalàha*<sup>1</sup> a believer in God (A16:3).

*mhumna*, *humna* adj. (f. *mhumanta*, pl. *mhumne*) **faithful, trustworthy**

*mila* n.m. **blue/green colour** | *máxyəxəlla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma* We have covered all our village with blue and black (A4:32); *mila b-rešəxu*<sup>1</sup> Confound you! (literally: Blue on your head!) (A7:14); *mila l-həlux*<sup>1</sup> Confound you! (literally: Blue on your condition!) (A23:10).



adj. (pl. *mile*, no f. form used) **blue/green**; *xa rapə yawne mile* A flock of blue doves (C2:35).

*milana* adj. (f. *milanta*, pl. *milane*) **blue/green**

*milannaya* adj. (f. *milanneθa*, pl. *milannaye*) **bluish; greenish**

*milanuθa* n.f. **blueness; greenness; greens, vegetables**

*mira* n.m. (pl. *mire*) **lord, prince**

*mirata* n.m. **property without heirs** | *béθa d-áwewa náša pišle mirata*<sup>1</sup> The house of this man has no heirs

*mir-e-mən* interj. (K.) **my lord!**

*miroṭa* n.m. (pl. *miroṭe*) **small intestine, gut** | *ʔipyáθa mən-miròṭela*<sup>1</sup> The straps (of the plough) are made of gut

*miruθa* n.f. (K.) **nobility, the office of a lord**

*miθa* adj. (f. *miθa*, pl. *miθe*) **dead**

*miθakka* n.m. **a child dressed up in white clothes who is taken around houses of the village at Christmas, or a model of a child dressed and carried in this way** (B16:13ff.)

*miya* n.pl.tan. **water** | *miya qarire* cold water; *miya hóla rθaxa*<sup>1</sup> The water is boiling; *šalqo t-miya* chicken-pox.

*miyana* adj. (f. *miyanta*, pl. *miyane*) **watery, wet**

*miyora* n.m. (pl. *miyore*) **intestine**

*mjunəgra* adj. (f. *mjungarta*, pl. *mjunəgre*) **rusty**

*mkase qərṭale* n.f. **late snow falling at the end of March** | Literally: the coverer of panniers

*m-ləle* adv. **early morning, before dawn**

*mnaxa* n.m. **rest; deceased, late** | *mnáxət bábi* my father, may he rest in peace; my late father (B3:4)

*mnujra* **fashioned, worked** | *kepa mnujra* dressed stone; *ʔi-banéwa báte b-képa mnujra*,<sup>1</sup> *mnujra bəd-ʔiða*<sup>1</sup> They would build houses with dressed stone, dressed by hand.

*mo, mu, modi, maw, mawdi* part. pron. (§7.5., §14.9.12., §17.1.4., §17.7.13., §19.1.2.4., §19.2.2.) **what; why?; how could it be? how (exclamatory)**. (1) **what** | Interrogative: *mò-bǎyət?*<sup>21</sup> What do you want? (A13:13); *mòdi wǐdle?*<sup>21</sup> What did he do? (A25:19); *mú bt-àwe?*<sup>21</sup> What will it be? (= That is fine, OK) (A18:33); *mo-ʔiba?*<sup>21</sup> What is there in it?! (= That is fine, OK) (A13:1); *màw-lux?*<sup>21</sup> What is the matter with you? (A31:9); *mút qála dǐyi?*<sup>21</sup> What is my voice? (A25:44). Indirect question: *xáze mòdila qǎsǎt?*<sup>21</sup> He sees what the problem is (A22:43); *làn-ǵaʔa mo-qarǐwale?*<sup>21</sup> I do not know what they called him (A12:20); *ǵ-ǵǝn xǎzǝn mòdi pǐše ʔan-náše?*<sup>21</sup> I shall go to see what has become of those people (A18:12). Modifier of a noun: *ʔáwewa mò-tǎħər nášele?*<sup>21</sup> What kind of man is he? (A25:31); *ʔǎyya mòdi mǔtela?*<sup>21</sup> What town is this? (A26:26). Exclamatory: *ʔina mù-brata!*<sup>21</sup> But what a girl! (A13:11). Head of a relative clause: *mšarǎyela kǵàwa?*<sup>21</sup> *bεθwáθət náše?*<sup>21</sup> *ʔu-mo-ǵ-ittlèy?*<sup>21</sup> They start registering the houses of people and what they have (B1:16). (2) **why?** | *mu-šǐmlux bèθi?*<sup>21</sup> Why have you ruined me? (literally: Why have you destroyed my house?) (A15:14); *mút ʔáti tíwta lǎxxa?*<sup>21</sup> Why are you sitting here? (A25:58); *módit ʔǵya?*<sup>21</sup> Why have you come? (A17:31). (3) **how could it be?** | questioning possibility of sth., mainly with short forms *mu-*, *mut-*: *ʔanna šáwewa yamàθa?*<sup>21</sup> *ʔana mù pǝǵanna?*<sup>21</sup> How could I cross these seven seas? (A12:26); *mút hole-pǵǐla?*<sup>21</sup> How could it be that it is crooked? (A17:20); *mut-ǎǵǵən ʔékela?*<sup>21</sup> How shall I know where she is? (A14:98). (4) **how (exclamatory)** | Before a verb: *téla mo-tréle ʔǵlla!*<sup>21</sup> How the fox ran to it! (A49:4).

*mōʔad* n.m. (A.) **appointment** | *ǵlǵθna hon-yǐwtǵlla mōʔad?*<sup>21</sup> I have made an appointment with the three of them (A22:21).

*modi* → *mo*

*moja* n.m. (pl. *moje*) (K.) **calf**

*mojǵnta* n.f. (pl. *mojǵnyáθa*) **heifer**

*mola* n.m. (pl. *mole*) **partitioned storage area in a goma (basement stable)**

*mošulnaya* n.m. (pl. *mošulnaye*) **man from Mosul**

*moxa* n.m. **brain**

*moza* n.m. **must (unfermented juice) of grapes; residue of grapes after distillation of arak**

*mozina* (m.) (K.) **foal**

*mozinta* (f.) (K.) **foal**

*mḫarəmyana*, *ḫarəmyana* adj. (f. *mḫarəmyanta*, pl. *mḫarəmyane*) **knowledgeable, wise**

*mqaḡwāla* n.f. (A.) **contract**

*mḡurəmṭa* adj. (f. *mḡurmattā*, pl. *mḡurəmṭe*) **wrinkled**

*mrariya* n.f. (K./A.) **marble** | *gudane bani keḫa xwara mrariya* They will build the walls with white stone and marble. (C3:9).

*mḡaxmana* adj. (f. *mḡaxmanta*, pl. *mḡaxmane*) **merciful**

*mḡeriyā* n.m. (pl. *mḡeriyē*) **bangle, decoration** | *qḏalə k'alo mḡeriyē* On the neck of the bride there are bangles (C5:10).

*mriya* adj. (f. *mḡita*, pl. *mriyē*) **ill**

*mḡuḫya* adj. (f. *mḡuḫṣa*, pl. *mḡuḫyē*) **free, untethered** | *ḫeywāne mḡuḫyēwa gu-góma*<sup>1</sup> The animals were untethered in the basement stable.

*m-sābab* → *sab*, *sābab*

*mṣaḫyanuḫa* n.f. (pl. *mṣaḫyanuyāḫa*) **tradition**

*mṣarḫəs* n.m. (pl. *mṣarḫiṣe*) **wooden instrument on which balls of wool are wound** → *sḡrḫs*

*mṣeḫa* n.f. **washing** | *'illa mṣeḫa* She is having a menstrual period (literally: She has washing, i.e. washing of the soiled clothes).

*mṣaḫyana* n.m. (pl. *mṣaḫyane*) **strainer**

*mṣeḫa* n.f. **ability** | *mattīwa*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámḡax xá xámša dinàre*<sup>1</sup> *'ən-hàtxa mándi*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni 'ax-mṣeḫa*<sup>1</sup> They would deposit let us say a sum of five dinars, or thereabouts, according to their ability (to pay) (B5:6).

*mṣoḫa* n.f. **extract from 'atko (piece of the stomach of a young goat) used as rennet (mṣeḫa) for cheese**

*mṣadrana* n.m. (pl. *mṣadrane*) **sender**

*mṣanyana* n.m. (pl. *mṣanyane*) **nomad**

*mṣarḫaṭana* → *ṣarḫaṭana*

*mšaxəlpana* n.m. (pl. *mšaxəlpane*) **somebody who keeps changing his mind**

*mšixaya* n.m./adj. (f. *mšixεθa*, pl. *mšixaye*) **Christian**

*mšurəšya* adj. (f. *mšuršεθa*, pl. *mšurəšye*) **sloping; tilting** | *garíθa mšuršēθela*<sup>1</sup>  
The roof (of the outhouse) is sloping.

*mšut̕ra* adj. (f. *mšut̕arta*, pl. *mšut̕re*) **spoilt (child)**

*mšuthna* adj. (f. *mšuthanta*, pl. *mšuthne*) **feverish; afflicted with fever**

*mtagbart̕a* n.f. **maintenance**

*mtagbərana* n.m. (pl. *mtagbərane*) **regulator**

*mtanaxta* n.f. (pl. *mtanaxyaθa*) **sigh**

*mtanyana* n.m. (pl. *mtanyane*) **teller** | *mtanyanət tunayaθa* storyteller

*mtarəksana* n.m. **small wooden poker** | cf. *badoda* long wooden poker,  
*mašaxθa* metal poker

*m̕tar̕əmana* n.m. (pl. *m̕tar̕əmane*) **grumbler**

*m̕tawalta* → *ṭawalta*

*mu*, *mut* → *mo*

*muʿalləm* n.m. (A.) **teacher**

*mubyana* n.m. (pl. *mubyane*) **swelling (on skin)**

*mučəkθa* n.f. (pl. *mučəkyaθa*) **dry measure in the form of a small bowl (used by the owner of a water-mill to measure out his share of the flour for his fee)**

*mudda* n.f. (A.) **period**

*mugədla* adj. (f. *mugədalta*, pl. *mugədle*) **frozen** | *miya mugədle* frozen water

*muhəm̕ma* n.f. (A.) **important matter, duty**

*muhkəm* adj. invar. (A.) **solid, strong**

*mujarrad* adv. (A.) **only** | *bas-mjarrad mšawθàwa*<sup>1</sup> She was just talking (A19:9)

*mujawharāt* n.pl. (A.) **jewelry**

*muka* n.m. (pl. *muke*) **wooden post hammered into the ground to make a wattle fence**

*munaððam* n.m. (A.) **regulator, governor**

*mīnawāra* n.f. (A.) **manoeuvre**

*muntāðam* adj. invar. (A.) **controlled**

*mūqabəl* prep. (A.) **opposite**

*muqaṭāʿa* n.f. (A.) **territory, province**

*mur* n.f. (pl. *muraṯa*) (K./A.) **stamp, seal** | *māxyāle mur-dīye*<sup>1</sup> He put his stamp (on it).

*murabba* n.m. (pl. *murabbe*) (A.) **jam**

*murčānus* n.f. **mashed potato** → *mrč.*

*murja* n.m. (pl. *murje*) **type of sledge hammer** | used for breaking stones and hewing rock, larger than a *mawālka/maloka* which is used for the same purpose

*murza* n.f. (pl. *murzāwatha*) **iron ball and chain (weapon)**

*musarde* n.m. **festival commemorating the baptism of Christ (100 days after Easter)**

*mušəlmana* n.m./adj. (pl. *mušəlmane*) **Muslim**

*mušəlmanuṯa* n.f. **Islam**

*muškəla* n.f. (pl. *māšakəl*) (A.) **problem**

*muštārək* adj. invar. (A.) **participating**

*mṯallaṯ* n.m. (pl. *mṯallāṯāt*) (A.) **triangle**

*muxtāləf* adj. invar. (A.) **different**

*muxtər* n.m. (A.) **village head**

*mwaṯāqa* n.f. (A.) **agreement**

*mxamyana* n.m. (pl. *mxamyane*) **guard**

*mxallana* n.m. (pl. *mxallane*) **cleaning cloth**

*mxilta* n.f. (pl. *mxilyaṯa*) **sieve with small holes (for flour)**

*mzabnana* n.m. (pl. *mzabnane*) **seller**

*mziða* n.m. (pl. *miziðe*) **bag for storing grain (made of sheepskin)**

/N/

*nabuwa* n.m. (pl. *nabuwe*) **large spring of water**

*načəpta* n.f. (pl. *načəpyaθa*) **drop (of liquid)**

*nađorta* n.f. (pl. *nađoryaθa*) **pipe running out from a spring ('əna) or an irrigation channel (šaqiθa)**

*nəfər* n.m. (pl. *nəfəre*) (A.) **person, individual** | After numerals: 'əččə *nəfəre*<sup>1</sup> ninety people (B2:10).

*nəfšə-šay* (A.) **the same thing**

*naftang* n.m. (pl. *naftange*) (K.) **waist** | 'aqláθe *diye piše kəpa*<sup>1</sup> *hál naftánge diye*<sup>1</sup> His legs had turned to stone up to his waist (A8:58).

*nagastən* adv. (K.) **suddenly**

*nagoza* n.m. (pl. *nagoze*) **bite** | *mxyálle xa-nagòza*<sup>1</sup> He bit it (B15:55).

*na-ħaqquθa* n.f. (A.) **what is not lawful** | *t-ázən tčəyən báθər ħaqquθa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-na-ħaqquθa<sup>1</sup> I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful (A15:5)

*nahira* n.m. **lamp oil** | used in the lamps of churches (*nuṭa* being used in house lamps); *nahirət šəšme* sesame oil for lamps, *nahirət gawze* walnut oil for lamps, *nahirət bəṭme* terebinth oil for lamps

*nahiya* n.f. (A.) **district**

*najara, najjara* n.m (pl. *najare, najjare*) (A.) **carpenter**

*najaruθa* n.f. **carpentry**

*nəjīb* adj. (A.) **good, diligent**

*nala* n.m. (pl. *nale*) **horse-shoe**

*nalbanda* n.m. (pl. *nalbande*) (K.) **farrier**

*nama* n.f. (pl. *name*) **ostrich**

*na-mumkən* adj. invar. (K./A.) **impossible** | *'o-t-là páləx<sup>1</sup> na-múməkən t-áxəl gu-bèθi<sup>1</sup>* Whoever does not work cannot eat in my house (A21:40).

*na-paləx* adj. (invar.) **lazy**

*napaxta* n.f. **a large hollow measure for corn in the form of open oblong wooden box**

*napoxta, nepoxta* n.f. **raisin or date syrup** | In the Barwar region it was always made of raisins.

*naqiða* adj. (f. *naqiða*, pl. *naqiðe*) **thin, fine** | *qəsa naqiða* thin wood; *zolale naqiðe* fine tendrils

*naqoša* n.m. (pl. *naqošə*) (Urm.) **bell**

*naqro* n.f. (pl. *naqrowaθa*) **woodpecker**

*naqruxa* n.m. (pl. *naqruxə*) **beak (of birds); proboscis (of flies, wasps, bees, etc.)** | *çéne šádlí naqruxéy gu-gáldət heywáne<sup>1</sup>* Mosquitoes stick their proboscis into the skin of animals.

*naqta* n.f. (pl. *naqyaθa*) **young female goat** | the male equivalent is *gəðya*

*nara* → *nera*

*năra* (i) n.m. (pl. *năre*) **axe**

*năra* (ii) n.m. **roar** | *'ay-wàðtela<sup>1</sup> năra-năra diya<sup>1</sup>* She was roaring (A27:14).

*nardumana* adj. (f. *nardumanta*, pl. *nardumane*) **miserable, discontent** | *báxti nardumàntela<sup>1</sup> lá-băya 'àrxə<sup>1</sup>* My wife is miserable, she does not want guests.

*năreθa* n.f. (pl. *năreyaθa*) **small axe; piece in shape of an axe at the end of the rotating shaft that fits into the upper grindstone of a water-mill**

*narţoma* n.m. **snout (of an animal)** | *narţómə sùsa<sup>1</sup>* the snout of the horse (A12:65)

*nasarta* n.f. (pl. *nasaryaθa*) **saw** | *nasartət 'iða* hand saw; *nasartət dape* large saw used by two people for cutting planks (*dape*) from logs.

*năşiyət* n.f. (A.) **advice** | *xa-năşiyət t-yánna t̄l̄lux<sup>1</sup>* I'll give you some advice (A24:9).

*naša* n.m. (pl. *naše*) **man, person; family relative** | *bər-naša* human being; *mállā märe naša šùqla!*<sup>1</sup> The mullah said ‘Man, give me a break!’ (A2:6); *nášət k’əlo!* the family of the bride (B5:36); *xa-nəši!* a relative of mine (A18:16).

*našūθa* n.f. **humanity** | *’áyya bráta hon-’əθya nablənnā! ’ən-b-našūθa, ’ən-b-xəla!* I have come to take this girl, either humanely or by force (A29:65).

*naṭora* n.m. (pl. *naṭore*) **guard**

*naθa* n.f. (pl. *naθyaθa*) **ear, handle** | *gúda märe naθyàθele!* The wall has ears (D2:43); *náθux lè-y-yatla! l-hàtxa náše mšáwθi!* Do not give your ear to such people speaking (A26:67); *zdímila naθyáθi b-qálat tōpe!* My ears were deafened by a gunshot; *naθyaθət nunta* the gills of a fish, *naθyaθət tōpe* the sights of a gun (diagonal pieces attached to the barrel joined by a strip of animal hair).

*navəže* n.f. (K.) **ablution (for prayer)** | *lázəm ’áθe ’áwəð navəže!* He must come to make ablutions (A25:33).

*nawa* n.m. (pl. *nawe*) **nit (in hair)**

*nawaga* n.m. (pl. *nawage*) (K.) **grandson, grandchild**

*nawagta* n.f. (pl. *nawagyatha*) (K.) **granddaughter**

*nawəba* n.f. (pl. *nawəbe*) (A.) **turn; guard duty** | *nawəbət miya* turn for a field to receive irrigation water, determined by the irrigation manager (*karaxa*); *so-dúqu nàwba!* Go and keep guard (A18:3).

*nawəbadār* n.m. (pl. *nawəbadare*) (K./A.) **night guard**

*nawərcəkka, nawərcika, nawərcarka* n.m. (pl. *nawərcəkke, nawərcike, nawərcrke*) (K.) **great-great-grandson**

*nawəgga* n.m. (pl. *nawəgge*) (K.) **great-grandson**

*nawəgta* n.f. (pl. *nawəgyatha*) (K.) **great-granddaughter**

*nawəlka* n.m. (pl. *nawəlke*), *nawəlta* n.f. (pl. *nawəlyatha*) **bar used to stretch and tease strands of wool by turning**

*nawəlta* → *nawəlka*

*nawərcarka* → *nawərcəkka*



*nawərčəktə, nawərčəkθə* n.f. (pl. *nawərčəkyaθə*) **great-great-granddaughter**

*nawra* n.m. (pl. *nawre*) **mirror**

*nawžina* n.m. (pl. *nawžine*) (K.) **foal of a horse**

*naxira* n.m. (pl. *naxire*) **nose; projecting structure with a small orifice on the tower of a church**

*naxopa* adj. (f. *naxopta*, pl. *naxope*) **shy**

*naxraya* n.m./adj. (f. *naxreθə, naxraye*) **foreigner, stranger; foreign, strange**

*nazik* adj. (pl. *nāwazik*) (K.) **delicate** | *Nàze,<sup>1</sup> 'āti gánəx nàzik-ìwət<sup>1</sup>* Naze, you yourself are delicate (A25:18); *'rwe nāwazik-ila<sup>1</sup>* Sheep are delicate (B10:56).

*nčila* adj. (f. *nčilta*, pl. *nčile*) **ragged, scruffy** | *ɣ-odəxwale julle nčile* We made for him ragged clothes (B16:10).

*nera, nara* n.m. (pl. *nerāwaθə*) **river**

*nera* n.m. **sight, vision** | *rāba pišle zābun nérət 'ène,<sup>1</sup> b-xələle dyála<sup>1</sup>* His sight has become very weak, he can hardly see.

*neriya* n.m. (pl. *neriye*) (K.) **male goat four years old and upwards**

*neka* n.m. (pl. *neke*) **thigh**

*nəčča* n.m. (pl. *nəčče*) **small piece of meat**

*nəhaya* n.f. (A.) **end**

*nəmra* (i) n.m. (pl. *nəmre*) **tiger**

*nəmra* (ii) n.f. (A.) **number**

*nəmu, ləmu* part. **asseverative particle; why?; remonstrating particle** (§17.9.1.). (1) **asseverative particle** | In the context of negative questions: *nəmu la-məri-llux dəyər,<sup>1</sup> miθə dəyər?<sup>1</sup>* Did I not tell you that he would return (= indeed I told you...), that the dead would return? (A22:39); *nəmu la-<sup>2</sup>awdəxle 'awwa tura<sup>1</sup> dāraqəθə,<sup>1</sup> darəje,<sup>1</sup> t-ásqəx l-awwa tura.<sup>2</sup>* Should we not make steps for this mountain (= indeed let us make...), so that we can go up the mountain? (A17:4); *ləmu lá-<sup>2</sup>asqə<sup>2</sup> 'ana.<sup>2</sup>* Should I not go? (= indeed I should go) (A39:10). (2) **why?** |

*lomu la-qimlux*?<sup>1</sup> Why did you not get up? (A26:48). (3) **remonstrating particle** | In a positive question: *námu 'áyya bárke d-ènila' t-it-áti sxáya gáwa*?<sup>1</sup> Whose is this pool in which you are swimming? (surely it is mine not yours) (A25:61).

*nənxá* n.m. **mint** | *mláməzəxwa 'amáne b-qəṭma-w nənxá*<sup>1</sup> We used to clean vessels with ash and mint.

*nəqda* n.m. **money** | *'o-yóma qəṭtíwa nəqda*<sup>1</sup> On that day they would decide on money (B5:8).

*nəqša* n.m. (pl. *nəqše*) **embroidery, decorations** | *y-odíwa nəqše gáwa' t-ámra kóma*<sup>1</sup> They made embroideries in them (the rugs) of black wool (B10:79).

*nəsyana* n.m. **experience**

*nəsyət, nəsyatta* n.f. (pl. *nəsyätte*) (A.) **advice; admonishment**

*nəšma* n.m./f. **soul** | *tá-t šaqłile nəšmèy*<sup>1</sup> so that they could take away their soul (A4:59); *píšle nəšma*<sup>1</sup> It became a living being (A18:29); *kú nəšma' t-màtya' rəš-gəšrət Dalále' 'e-nəšma bəd-pèša' prìmta, ' qṭilta*<sup>1</sup> Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed (C8:5).

*nəšra* n.m. (pl. *nəšre*) **eagle**

*nəšwa* n.m. **bird trap** | *nəšwət qəqwane* traps for partridges, consisting of loops (*xarbuqyaṭa*) of horse hair suspended on pruning hooks (*čakalyaṭa*) that are stuck in the ground; *nəšwət čučəkke* traps for small birds, consisting of loops of horse hair hung up intertwined with a bunch of millet heads (*dastət bole*); *mattoye nəšwe* to lay bird traps.

*nəṭṭəpta* n.f. (pl. *nəṭṭəpyaṭa*) **drop**

*nəxla* n.m. **sieved grain; flour that falls through a fine sieve (mxilta)** | *nəxlət qəsa* sawdust, shavings

*nəxsa* n.m. **rebuke**

*nəzla* n.m. **pus**

*nimana* adj. (f. *nimanta*, pl. *nimane*) **damp** | *bəṭa nimana* a damp house; *julla nimana* a damp cloth; *hawa nimana* humid air; *'āra nimanta* damp ground

*nira* n.m. (pl. *nire*) **yoke of a plough; small wooden strip made of juniper laid across beams in a roof** (syn. *qarša*)

*nisən* n.m. **April**

*nišan* n.m. (K.) **target**

*nišanqa* n.m. (pl. *nišanqe*) (K.) **sign, symbol, symbolic act, token** | *wiðele ʔa-dúkθa nišanqa*<sup>1</sup> He made a sign in that place (A11:10); *mat-tiwa nišanqe*<sup>1</sup> They (the family of the groom) would deposit tokens (of betrothal, usually in the form of a deposit of money) (B5:5).

*nita* n.f. (pl. *nitaθa*) **dawning of the day, all night celebrations during a wedding** | *munéla nita*<sup>1</sup> Dawn has broken; *qatlxla nita*<sup>1</sup> We shall continue our celebrations until dawn.

*niva* n.m. (pl. *nive*) **canine tooth**

*nixa* adj. (f. *nixta*, pl. *nixe*) **slow; inactive; extinct, obliterated; deceased** | *nixa nixa* slowly, gently: *zila nixa nixa wira gu-d-a-màθele*<sup>1</sup> He went along slowly and entered the village (A14:58); *pálxi plixe*<sup>1</sup> *γ-áxli nixe*<sup>1</sup> Those who have worked hard work but those who are inactive eat (D2:33); *tré-manna tlixela nixela*<sup>1</sup> Two of them (the churches) are destroyed and obliterated (B1:5); *ʔana šalánwa m-d-ó-nixət xòm*<sup>1</sup> I used to go down with my late brother (B5:212).

*niza* n.m. (pl. *nize*) (K.) **bayonet**

*nohra*, *nora* n.m. **light** | *ʔálaha manixle gu-nóhra ʔu-pardësa*<sup>1</sup> May God grant him rest in light and paradise (said after the death of somebody); *šabθət nora* The Saturday of Light. This is the Saturday before Easter, so named since the angels went down to the grave of Jesus and bathed it in light.

*noš-* | *b-noš-* adv. (Urm.) **by oneself** | *xà b-nošéy*<sup>1</sup> by themselves (B15:75)

*nqira* adj. (f. *nqirta*, pl. *nqire*) **carved; dressed (stone)** | *képe nqire*<sup>1</sup> dressed stones (B15:22)

*nɕarta* n.f. **guard; vigil; waiting** | *tiwa wənwa nɕaraθa* I was sitting in vigil (C2:16).

*nuhara* n.m. (pl. *nuhare*) **explanation, clarification**

*nula*, *lula* n.m. (pl. *nule*, *lule*) (K.) **young ox**

*nulta*, *lulta* n.f. (pl. *nulyaθa*, *lulyaθa*) (K.) **young cow**

*nune* n.pl. (sing. *nunta*) **fish; smooth skinned like a fish (name of nanny goat)** | 'ázza 'ε-Nùne the nanny goat called Nune (C7:3)

*nuniθa* n.f. **fish**

*nura* n.m. **fire; Hell fire** | *qa-mó gáræg 'ázəl kúlla páxri gu-nùra*?<sup>1</sup> Why should all my body go to Hell fire? (A16:2)

*nuta* n.f. **edible herb** | small form of *nuwa*, consists of a single leaf (*taya*), which is bitter to the taste; *nuta balle* type of herb

*nuṭa* n.m. **oil, petroleum**

*nuwa* n.m. **edible herb** | large form of a *nuta*, consisting of several leaves (*taye*)

*nuwala* n.m. (pl. *nuwale*) **water channel**

*nxəpθa* n.f. **shame** | *be-nxəpθa* shameless

*nxiluθa* n.f. **mischief**

*nxilθa* n.f. **mischievous trick** | *mtuxmánne t-áwəð nxilθa*<sup>1</sup> He (the fox) thought of doing a mischievous trick (A49:2).

*nyasa* n.m. (pl. *nyase*) (K.) **acquaintance (among the Kurds)**

*nyasta* n.f. (pl. *nyasyaθa*) (K.) **acquaintance (among the Kurds)**

/P/

*pača* n.m. (T.) **dish consisting of the head and legs of an animal**

*pačča* n.m. (pl. *pačče*) **handful with two hands** | *štáyεle b-pàčča*<sup>1</sup> He is drinking with his hands

*paččəkθa* n.f. (pl. *paččəkyaθa*) **small handful with one hand**

*pala* (i) n.m. (pl. *pale*) **workman**

*pala* (ii) n.m. **fate, fortune** | *qəm-daryáli pàla*<sup>1</sup> She presented my fortune to me; *dréla xa-pàla*<sup>1</sup> She made a prediction of her fortune (A38:2)  
→ *pela*

*pàlakka* n.m. (pl. *pàlakke*) (A.) **celestial sphere, star** | *marmanne qam-pàlakke* I shall raise it (the churn) up to the stars (C5:2).

*palaxa* n.m./adj. (pl. *palaxe*) **worker; hard-working**

*palga* n.m. (pl. *palge*) **half; middle**. (1) **half** | *xa-w palge* one and a half; *hállì xa-láxma-w pàlge*<sup>1</sup> Give me one and a half loaves of bread; *xa-kista-w palge* one and a half bags; *ʔanna ʔálpa dáwe pàlòtla*,<sup>1</sup> *pálga tìlài<sup>1</sup> pálga tìlùx*?<sup>1</sup> Will you divide those thousand gold pieces, half for me and half for you? (A1:6); *ʔap-an-zúze kùlla t-in šqilòlla<sup>1</sup> pàlònna pàlge<sup>1</sup>* I'll divide into halves also all the money that I took (A1:17); *pàlgət ʔùrxewəx<sup>1</sup>* We are halfway (on our journey). (2) **middle** | *ʔu-b-pàlgət bəθa wìdla nùra*<sup>1</sup> She made a fire in the middle of the house (A19:4); *pàlgət yoma* midday; *kepət palga* middle stone (at the top of a door stone). *be-palga* adv. **in the middle** | *ʔo-yála zóra hóla múttàlle be-pàlga<sup>1</sup>* They put the little boy in the middle (A4:58); n.m. **middle section** | *ʔap-aqlə-d-àw<sup>1</sup> hál be-palge-díye píša kèpa<sup>1</sup>* Its leg, up to its middle had become stone (A8:30).

*palkon* n.m. (A.) **balcony**

*palla* n.m. (pl. *palle*) (K.) **ember of burning wood** | *y-odáxwa nùra*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔawwəl ma-t-ràxəθ*,<sup>1</sup> *garšáxla qèse*,<sup>1</sup> *péšúwa pàlle<sup>1</sup>* We made a fire. As soon as it boiled, we pulled away the wood and it became embers. (B10:87)

*palləkəθa* n.f. (pl. *palləkyaθa*) (K.) **small piece of burning coal, ember**

*paloxaya* n.m. (pl. *paloxaye*) **labourer** | *ʔu-plúx mən-d-ànna paloxáyē<sup>1</sup>* Work with these labourers (A24:5).

*palpule* n.pl. (sing. *palpulta*) **boot, large shoe** | *kul səmbəlti xa draya*, *kul zargulti palpulti* Each (side) of my moustache is a cubit, and each shoe of mine and each boot of mine (is a cubit) (A51:5).

*pandana* adj. **cunning** | *θéle téla pandàna<sup>1</sup>* The cunning fox came (A49:2).

*pande* adv. **slowly** | *lá-juj pàndux<sup>1</sup>* Don't be slow.

*panjana* n.m. (pl. *panjane*) (K./A.) **glass; cup** | *qátu wirtela*,<sup>1</sup> *npíltà gu-d-án panjàne<sup>1</sup> mquřàdxela<sup>1</sup> ʔanna řišela<sup>1</sup>* A cat came in, fell into the glasses, they shattered and they woke up (A4:53).

*panjāra*, *panjara*, *panjera*, *panjāriya*, *panjāriye* n.f. (pl. *panjāriyaθa*) (K.) **window**

*panya* n.m. (pl. *panye*) **shadow** | *ʔaşərta yoma gnele panya tálana rpele* In the evening the sun set and cast a shadow on the shadow side of the mountain (C2:5).

*papa* n.m. **pope**

*papaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *papaye*) **Catholic**

*p-ape* prep. **beyond** | *hóla p-ápe šawwà yamáθa*<sup>1</sup> She is beyond seven seas (A12:21); *qímtēla musáqtalle bróna díya*<sup>1</sup> *p-ápe xa-gàra*<sup>1</sup> *prìmtalle*<sup>1</sup> She went and took up her young cub the other side of a hill and slaughtered it (A33:13).

*papuka* n.m. (f. *papukta*, pl. *papuke*) **miserable waif (with no family)**

*paqarta* n.f. (pl. *paqaryaθa*) **tonsil**

*paqota* n.f. **dish consisting of wheat dumplings and meat**

*para* (i) n.m. **fine dust** | *qaríwtux 'úpra-w pàra*<sup>1</sup> Your companion is earth and fine dust (A38:9).

*para*, *p̄era* (ii) n.m. (pl. *pare*, *p̄ere*) **coin; silver disk decoration on the tita (string of decorative disks worn by women on the forehead)**

*para* (i) n.m. (pl. *pare*) **male lamb**

*para* (ii) n.m. (pl. *pare*) **odd number** | *zawge 'u-pare* even and odd numbers

*p̄ara* n.m. **first rain in autumn** | *tíwle p̄ara* The first rain has settled (and the ground is muddy).

*parča* n.m. (pl. *parče*) (K.) **piece of woven cloth; patch**

*parda* n.m. (pl. *parde*) (K.) **curtain; cloth blind**

*pardesa* n.m. **paradise** | *xzéli b-xèlmi*<sup>1</sup> *'ina*<sup>1</sup> *'ána zíla l-pardèsa*<sup>1</sup> *l-á-dunye xèta*<sup>1</sup> I dreamt that I went to Paradise to the next life (A2:7); *'álaha maníxle gu-nóhra 'u-pardèsa*<sup>1</sup> May God grant him rest in light and paradise (said after the death of somebody); *(gu-)pardèsa bábux 'u-yàmmux* May your father and mother be in paradise (said in thanks to somebody's good wishes).

*parəšta* n.f. (pl. *parəšyaθa*) **small flat stone**

*parəxtət ləle* n.f. (pl. *parəxəθət ləle*) **bat**

*parma* n.m. (pl. *parme*) **blade**

*parma* adj. (f. *parəmta*, pl. *parme*) **cutting** | *skinta parəmtəla* the knife cuts well (it is sharp)

*parmanta* n.f. (pl. *parmanyatha*) **cutting tool**

*paroxa* adj. (pl. *paroxta*, pl. *paroxe*) **flying, able to fly** | *ṭéra paròxele*<sup>1</sup> a bird is a flying creature.

*parpīte* n.pl. **brushwood taken from bushes** (*ṭarraše*)

*parra* n.m. (pl. *parre*, *parrane*) (K.) **feather; fin on water-wheel**

*parranta* n.f. (pl. *parranyatha*) **comb of a bird**

*parša* n.m. (pl. *parše*) **large flat stone** | e.g. for flattening dough

*paršopa* n.m. **physiognomy, face; personality** | <sup>2</sup>*a-paršopa dīyux hátxa jwànqa*<sup>1</sup> This face of yours, which is so handsome (A8:41)

*parsuwa* n.m. (pl. *parsuwe*) (K.) **rib**

*parta* n.f. **husks of rice left after rice is hulled and ground; remains left in sieve after sieving; scraps of wool left on floor after carding** | *partət kawsa* dandruff

*partakka* n.m. (pl. *partakke*) **loose wisp of wool/hair (falling on ground after carding)** | <sup>2</sup>*amre dīye partəkkele*<sup>1</sup> Its wool is full of loose wisps; *kāwse dīye pišle partəkke*<sup>1</sup> His hair has become dishevelled.

*paruḍa* adj. (pl. *paruḍta*, pl. *paruḍe*) **coarse** | *qamxa paruḍa* coarse flour, as opposed to *qamxa daqiqa* finely ground flour.

*paruna* n.m. (pl. *parune*) **sheepskin bag for clothes**

*parušta*, *parrušta* n.f. (pl. *parušyatha*, *parrušyatha*) **smooth pebble**

*paruxa* adj. (f. *paruxta*, pl. *paruxe*) **flying, able to fly** | *ṭéra parùxele*<sup>1</sup> A bird is able to fly.

*parwana* n.m. (pl. *parwane*) (K.) **propeller** | *mīya*<sup>1</sup> *mazəvīle xa-parwàna*<sup>1</sup> The water drives round a propeller (of a water mill) (B6:53).

*parxa lele*, *parxa b-lele*, *parxət lele* n.f. (pl. *parxa lele*) **bat** | Literally: night-flyer → *parəxtət lele*, *parxantət lele*

*parxantət lele* n.f. (pl. *parxanyathət lele*) **bat**

*parxe* n.pl. **peeling skin** | *šanə parxe* chicken-pox (literally: honeycomb of peeling skin)

*parxonitha* n.f. (pl. *parxoniyatha*) **butterfly**

*parxonithat lēle* n.f. (pl. *parxoniyathat lēle*) **bat**

*parzakka, parzaktha* n.f. (pl. *parzakiyatha*) **spot on skin**

*parzena* n.m. **thorn tree** | its long thorns (known as *kāllame*) are used for making fences.

*parzūn, parzuna* n.m. (pl. *parzune*) (K.) **woolen knapsack worn by women** | used for carrying everyday items and by bride to carry dowry

*parḥa* n.f. (pl. *parḥatha*) **female newborn sheep**

*pasuta* n.f. (pl. *pasuwe, pasuyatha*) **pace** | *bēl-šādla l-šādla' gāræg mátteti xa-xamšá 'aqłàtha, 'xamšá pasuwe'* Between the saplings you must leave about five steps, five paces (B5:103).

*pašxa rase* n.f. **late snow in the month of April** | Literally: splitter of *rasa* grass

*pātate* n.pl. **potatoes**

*patasqa* n.m. (K.) **type of fabric (white)**

*patlo* n.f. **(hot) whirlwind**

*patorta* n.f. (pl. *patoryatha*) **mushroom**

*paṭiroke* n.f. **edible herb** | resembling *hemza* with tendrils (*zolale*) running along the ground and a pungent root

*paṭoša* n.m. (pl. *paṭoše*) **patch; mark** | *'ən-'árdət šawálla xrùle, 'maxšlla paṭoša'* If the bottom of a shoe is damaged, they put a patch on it; *paṭošet tina* muddy mark (on clothes)

*paṭoxa* n.m. (pl. *paṭoxe*) **flattened piece of cattle dung used for fuel**

*paḥa* n.f. (pl. *paḥwaḥa*) **face; front; upper surface; side (of river)**. (1) **face** | *mxúlla páḥe dīye'* He washed his face (A14:27); *'áp-xa mən-dīyən léle mášya kálya gu-páḥe dīye'* None of us can face him; *dīya gu-páḥux' mdāgəl'* He will now lie to your face (A6:11); *rəḥqa mən-paḥa* Let it be far from the face (said after mentioning something untoward or unpleasant); *xabūš paḥa* cheek-bone (literally: apple of the face); *kōm-paḥa* black-faced, disgraced, *xwār-paḥa* white-faced, innocent; *šaqlanət paḥwaḥa* two-faced, deceitful. (2) **front** | *paḥət guda* front of



wall facing outwards (as opposed to *băṭāna* inside of wall), outside row of stones; *kepət paṭa* stones of the facing (small white stones used to cover outer wall of house B5:180). (3) **upper surface** | *paṭət miya* surface of water; *paṭət sawle* top of shoes; *paṭət mēz* table-cloth; *l-páṭa d-o-gúpta deréwa matúwewa țârpe*<sup>1</sup> Over the surface of the cheese he would put leaves (B5:169). (4) **side (of river)** | *l-a-páṭa xétət nēra*<sup>1</sup> on the other side of the river (A14:50).

*paṭora* n.m. (pl. *paṭore*), *paṭorta* n.f. (pl. *paṭoryaṭa*) **banquet, meal on special occasion**

*paṭwaxa* n.m. (pl. *paṭwexe*) **wind, air** | *t-óyən... waðállux paṭwaxa*<sup>1</sup> I shall give you air (to keep cool) (A27:38).

*paxa* adj. (f. *paxta*, pl. *paxe*) **insipid; boring**

*paxalta* n.f. **forgiveness; sorry!** | *si-ṭlub paxálda mánne dıye*<sup>1</sup> Go and ask forgiveness from him (A1:10); *paxálda*,<sup>1</sup> *lá-m,şən ʔáṭən ʔádyo*<sup>1</sup> Sorry, I cannot come today.

*paxra* n.m. (pl. *paxre*) **body**

*payda* → *faйда*

*payoxa* adj. (f. *payoxta*, pl. *payoxe*) **cool**

*pažgir* n.f. (pl. *pažgire*) (K.) **towel**

*pčıla* adj. **bendy, crooked** | *ʔurxa pčılta* winding road; *ʔáwewa țărăxu pčılele*<sup>1</sup> This door of yours is crooked (A17:20); *tú pčıla*,<sup>1</sup> *m,şáwəṭ dūs*<sup>1</sup> Sit crooked, but tell the truth (D2:60).

*pek* n.m. **measure of whiskey**

*peka* → *feka*

*pela* (i) n.m. (pl. *pele*) **radish**

*pela* (ii) n.m. **fate, fortune** | *tálga lá mattıle pele*<sup>1</sup> The snow will not put aside its fate (D2:45), i.e. a person cannot change his character.

*periya* n.f. (pl. *periyaṭa*) (K.) **beautiful girl** | *periyət yama* mermaid

*peruzana* n.m. (pl. *peruzane*) (K.) **gift given on the birth of child**

*petəxt* n.m. (P.) **capital city**

*pera* → *para* (ii)

*pəčča* n.m. (pl. *pəčče*, *pəččəče*) (K.) **piece (of meat)** | *qəm-awódda tre-pəččé*<sup>1</sup>  
He cut her into two pieces (A51:18).

*pəčkana* adj. (f. *pəčkanta*, pl. *pəčkane*) (K.) **insignificant; useless**

*pəddoma* n.m. (pl. *pəddome*) **cloth stopper of a vessel** | used to stop mouth  
of a *kawara* (storage basket), a *mziða* (storage bag) or a *guða* (skin)

*pəllən* → *fəllən*

*pəlxana* n.m. (pl. *pəlxanane*) **work; job; cultivation** | *'áv zíləwa t-pəlxàna*<sup>1</sup>  
He had gone to work (A21:5); *lípla pəlxàna*<sup>1</sup> She has learnt how to  
work (A21:32); *'áp-ana t-ázən pəlxən<sup>1</sup> xa-pəlxána ta-t-ləpena*<sup>1</sup> I also shall go  
and work, so that I can learn (how to do) a job (A23:1); *kúlla pəlxàna,*<sup>1</sup>  
*pəlxánət béθa hóle b-qđàli*<sup>1</sup> All the work, the work of the house is my  
duty (A21:27); *'ína xabúše biš-senàyiwa<sup>1</sup> pəlxanèy<sup>1</sup>* but the cultivation of  
apples was easier (B5:75). *b-pəlxana* busy, hard-working; *'ána b-pəlxànən*<sup>1</sup>  
I am hard-working (A21:27); *bráti wéla b-pəlxàna*<sup>1</sup> My daughter has  
become hard-working (A21:32).

*pənxaxa* n.m. (pl. *pənxaxe*) **millstone, grinding wheel** | *pənxaxa laya* upper  
millstone; *pənxaxa xtaya* lower millstone; *mattíwa... pənxaxət 'ərxə.*<sup>1</sup> *'ítwa 'o-*  
*t-k'əpa 'áv 'o-t-xàtte,*<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwa qəmxa,*<sup>1</sup> *'ína 'áv t-rəzza<sup>1</sup> 'íwa t-qəsa*<sup>1</sup> They  
would install a grinding wheel of a water-mill. There was one of  
stone, which was for wheat, with which they made flour, but the  
one for rice was of wood (B5:90); *mattále xa-pənxaxət 'šáwwi šawwá pərsə*  
*rəš-šádre dīye*<sup>1</sup> She put a millstone (capable of being lifted only by)  
seventy-seven heroic men onto his chest (A50:7).

*pəqqa*, *pəqqe* n.f. (pl. *pəqqe*, *pəqqaxa*, *pəqqaqe*) **frog**

*pəqqəške* n.f. *pəqqəškaθa* (K.) **blister; bubble**

*pəqqəšta* n.f. (pl. *pəqqəšyaxa*) **blister, bubble**

*pəqxa* n.m. (pl. *pəqxe*) **blossom**

*pərxə* n.pl. (K.) **hair**

*pərxəmta* n.f. (pl. *pərxəmyaxa*) (K.) **forelock; front of hair** | *pálgət pərxəmtə*  
*dīye<sup>1</sup> xrixla qam-yóma*<sup>1</sup> Half of his forelock was singed by the sun  
(A50:11); *xá pərxəmta dīye<sup>1</sup>... t-dáwa-w xa-t-səma*<sup>1</sup> one forelock of  
his... was of gold and one was of silver (sign of beauty) (A8:6).

*pərma* n.m. (pl. *pərme*) **thurible**

*pər̥sa* n.m. (pl. *pər̥se*) **hero, warrior** | *mattále xa-p̥ən̥xət̥<sup>1</sup> šáw̥wi šáw̥wá p̥ər̥se r̥əš-šádre d̥iye<sup>1</sup>* She put a millstone (capable of being lifted only by) seventy-seven heroic men onto his chest (A50:7) → *fer̥assa*.

*pərsange* n.pl. **game in which players compete in the throwing of heavy stones**

*pər̥sət* n.f. (pl. *pər̥sət̥te*) (A.) **opportunity, chance** | *l̥itlux p̥yáša p̥ər̥sət̥<sup>1</sup> d̥iya qat̥l̥áxlux<sup>1</sup>* You have no chance (of escape). We shall kill you now. (A26:76)

*pər̥šunya* n.m. (pl. *pər̥šunye*) **difference**

*pərtakta* n.f. (pl. *pərtakyaθa*) **small splinter (of wood)**

*pərtena, pərtana* n.m. (pl. *pərtene, pərtana*) **flea**

*pərtika* n.m. (pl. *pərtike*) **splinter (of wood)**

*pərtoxa* n.m. (pl. *pərtoxe*) **crumb**

*pərya* → *fərya*

*pəšla* n.m. **type; form** | *liθ bəṛ-náša hátxa b-aw-pəšla d̥iyux<sup>1</sup>* There is nobody with such a (beautiful) figure as yours (A8:41); *ʔu-b-ó pəšlá<sup>1</sup> ʔi-mtaršúwa g̥ũpta<sup>1</sup>* In this way they used to make cheese (B5:171).

*pəška* n.m. (pl. *pəške*) **small piece (of meat)**

*pəškalle* n.pl. (sing. *pəškálta*) (K.) **droppings of goats or sheep that have not been broken up by trampling** | cf. *purta*

*pəškoža* n.f. (pl. *pəškože*) (K.) **bud; tassel, decorative stud, bead** | *xanjar t-xoni pəškože* The dagger of my brother has (golden) decorations (C5:3).

*pəšmanta* n.f. **sorrow** | *qəm-ʔaryála pəšmànta<sup>1</sup>* Sorrow seized her (A49:5).

*pəšpəšyaθa* n.pl. (sing. *pəšpəšta*) **the first flakes of snow that fall in a snow storm** | *ráya pəšpəšyàθa<sup>1</sup>* the first flakes of snow are falling.

*pəθwana* n.m. (pl. *pəθwane*) **stride, wide step** | *pəθwane zedi l-xure* His strides exceed (in size those) of his friends (Qaṭina).

*pəθya* adj. (f. *pəθiθa*, pl. *pəθye*) **wide**

*pəθyo* interj. **achoo! (noise of sneeze)** | *wiðele pəθyo!<sup>1</sup>* He went ‘achoo!’ (A4:60).

*paxla* n.m. (pl. *paxle*) **young sheep or calf that has not yet been castrated**

*pilawe* n.pl. (sing. *pilawta*) (K.) **plastic shoes** | *'u-piláwe píšla šmìte*<sup>1</sup> My shoes have become broken (A37:17).

*pípa* n.m. (pl. *pípe*) **cage for partridge chicks made from a gourd**

*písta* n.f. (pl. *písyatha*) **leather bag ( for carrying jajək and yoghurt)**

*píšanga, pušanga* n.m. (pl. *píšange, pušange*) (K.) **bullet, bullet cartridge** | *keptət píšanga* the lead head of the bullet; *masoqe píšanga gu-tope* to load a gun; *kú pušanga t-ix mattóyalle gu-d-ay-tòpe*<sup>1</sup> *čürük-ile pláta*<sup>1</sup> Every bullet that we put in this gun comes out with a bang (B9:21).

*píštamasi* n.m. (K.) **long chine of meat on the back of sheep in the shape of a fish**

*píxa* adj. (f. *píxta*, pl. *píxe*) **cool** | *b-yárxət 'əsrá*<sup>1</sup> *xadəssər*<sup>1</sup> *y-óya píxta dúnye*<sup>1</sup> In October or November the weather is cool (B5:177).

*pláša* n.m. (pl. *pláše*) **fighting; war** | *wéle pláša bēn-'áskar-t málkət 'Írən*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'əw*<sup>1</sup> There was a war between him and the army of the king of Iran (A11:16); *qám-pláša qamáya*<sup>1</sup> before the First World War (B17:1).

*plíma* adj. (f. *plímta*, pl. *plíme*) **crooked**

*pode* pl.tan. **pus from nose**

*poləθ* n.m. (K./A.) **steel**

*polise* n.pl. (K./A./E.) **police**

*posa* n.m. (pl. *pose*) **dry cow dung**

*poše* n.f. **goat having a white spot on the head** | *guđi t-'əzzi d-ε-poše* My churn from my goat called 'white spotted' (C5:3).

*pošiya* n.f. (pl. *pošiyatha*) (K.) **festive headscarf (worn by women)**

*poθa* n.f. **root of madder used to dye clothes and colour eggs red at Easter**

*poza* n.m. (pl. *pozaze*) (K.) **snout, nostrils (of a sheep)**

*pozəkke, pozəkθa* n.f. (pl. *pozəkyaθa*) (K.) **nozzle**

*pqiθa* n.f. (pl. *pəqyaθa*) **blister, wart**

*prage* n.pl. **pearl millet** | *xa dāndəkθət prage* a single millet seed; *prage matoye* a type of millet that ripens quickly; *prage kurize* a type of millet that ripens slowly

*praġe, praxe, prexe* n.pl. (T.) **stuffed vine leaves**

*prāq* interj. **bang**

*praqta* n.f. (pl. *praqyaθa*) **end**

*prasa* n.m. (pl. *prase*) **cloth spread on floor on which food is laid**

*prasta* n.f. (pl. *prasyaθa*) **goat's skin spread on the floor**

*praza* n.f. (pl. *prazane*) **stubble field**

*prexe* → *praġe*

*prəzla* n.m. **iron** | *xa-prəzla*<sup>1</sup> a piece of iron (A14:12); *šišət prəzla*<sup>1</sup> iron bars (A19:4)

*prisa* adj. (f. *prista*, pl. *prise*) **spread out; famous**

*prista* n.f. **spread, covering for floor (such as rug or carpet)**

*priša* adj. (f. *prišta*, pl. *priše*) **different; special; various.** (1) **different** | *zrūtət xətte prištela*<sup>1</sup> The cultivation of wheat is different (B5:94); *pālṭi wènde*<sup>1</sup> *béher y-áwe priše priše*<sup>1</sup> Flowers come out, in Spring there are lots of different kinds (B5:176). (2) **special, choice** | *rāba xá-mdi prišela jállux gu-d-ánna diyéni*<sup>1</sup> Your clothes are something very special compared with ours (A35:10); *'ína mástət 'arwe rāba biš-basimtéla biš-prištela mən-d-a-t-tàwre*<sup>1</sup> But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle (B5:173). (3) **various** | Placed before the nominal: *priše mändiyane* various things.

*prišayit* adv. **specifically, especially**

*prora* adj. (f. *prorta*, pl. *prore*) **open (space), spacious** | *dukθa prorta* an open place, *'urxa prorta* an open road; *'it dukθa*<sup>1</sup> *pròrtela*<sup>1</sup> *mási mṭāli gáwa*<sup>1</sup> There is a place that is open, in which they can play (B11:30).

*psasa* n.m. **permission**

*pšixa* adj. (f. *pšixta*, pl. *pšixe*) **glad, happy**

*pšima* adj. (f. *pšimta*, pl. *pšime*) **sad, regretful (of mistake)**

*pšiqqa* adj. (f. *pšiqqa*, pl. *pšiqe*) **explicit, specific**

*pšita* adj. (f. *pšitta*, pl. *pšite*) **simple, uncomplicated, sincere** | *rába pšittewa xayútha díyan gu-maθwátha*<sup>1</sup> Our life in the villages was very simple (B15:12); *ʔati náša pšitewat*<sup>1</sup> You are a fine person.

*p̄toxa* adj. (f. *p̄toxta*, pl. *p̄toxe*) **broad, flat** | *parša p̄toxa* a flat stone; *bər-gare p̄toxta* a flat plateau

*p̄θana* n.m. (pl. *p̄θane*) **pair, team (of draught animals); plough** | *p̄θánat tãvere*<sup>1</sup> a pair of oxen (B5:73).

*p̄θila* n.m. (pl. *p̄θile*) **twisted thread** | *xathux patla p̄θile* Your sister twists twisted threads (A50:15).

*p̄θilta* n.f. (pl. *p̄θilyaθa*) **wick** | *šráya ʔitle p̄θiltat ktàna*<sup>1</sup> A lamp has a wick of cotton.

*pukta* n.f. **hiccups** | *qəm-dogáli p̄ukta*<sup>1</sup> I had a bout of hiccups.

*pumma* n.m. (pl. *pummãwaθa*) **mouth (of body or vessel); end of a spade** | *pumma p̄toxa* wide end (of a spade)

*punda* n.f. (pl. *punde*, *pundaθa*) **thick wick (burnt in church ceremonies)** | *mãlãxwa pundàθa*<sup>1</sup> We would light wicks.

*puqdana* n.m. (pl. *puqdane*) **command**

*puq-ãlli* **game of hide-and-seek** | Literally meaning: Come to me! → *tšĩ-tšĩšo, tappu* (B11:12ff.)

*Purāt* n.m. **Euphrates**

*purãpxina* n.m. **purslane** | herb that is put in *jajãk*

*purta* n.f. **sheep's dung that has been broken up (*mpurtaxa*) by the trampling of their feet**

*purya* n.m. **light** | *hóle xa-púrya láxxa zòra*<sup>1</sup> There is a small chink of light here (A14:25).

*puryana* adj. (f. *puryanta*, pl. *puryane*) **full of light, lightsome**

*puš̄iθa* n.f. (pl. *puš̄iyaθa*) **smelly fart made without noise**

*puwa* n.m. **hay from millet (*prage*)**

*puwus̄* n.m. **hay from fibres of rice plant**

*pxiša* n.m. **paste made of flour and oil** | also known as *duwana*

/p/

*pazesor* n.pl. (K.) **large sheep with red ears** | *pazesór b-ʔalyàθa,¹ hátxa b-qanàne¹* red eared sheep with fat tails and horns like this (A7:22); *xa-ʔərbət pazesor* a red eared sheep

*pərruš* adj. invar. (K.) **treacherous, unfaithful** | *m-o-kalbət pərruš wele slele rəš-kalləš klele xəmyanət Dalle bxele* On account of that dog which was treacherous, which went down and stood over carrion, the father-in-law of Dalle wept (C8:9).

/p/

*paʔəmyana* → *mpaʔəmyana*

*paʔma* n.m. (pl. *paʔme*) **type of oak** | producing a sweet edible fruit called *baluṭe* (sing. *baluṭa*)

*paʔmeθa* n.f. **knowledge, wisdom**

*paʔmyana* → *mpaʔmyana*

*peña* n.f. (pl. *peña, peñane*) (K.) **kick** | *mɣaya peña* to kick: *qəm-maxyála δà-peña¹* She gave me a kick (B5:132); *b-ðá-ʔaqla dīya peña qəm-maxyáli ʔàxxa¹* With one of its legs it kicked me here (A5:132); *peñàne maxyátli!¹* You kick me! (A27:41).

*paʔqa* n.m. (pl. *paʔqaqe*) **crack, split** | *paʔqət ʔaqla* arch of sole of foot

/q/

*qa-* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *qa-diye, qale*) (§16.4., §19.3.11.) **to, for; so that.** (1) Recipient, objective or beneficiary: *móre qa-yámme dīye¹* He said to his mother (A21:10); *ʔáp-awwa šaqəlla δá-kista qa-d-ày,¹ yawəlla qa-d-ày¹* He takes a purse for her and gives it to her (A4:22); *qa-mo? qa-modi? why?* (2) Destination: *núbləlla qa-bráte dīye¹* He took them to his daughter (A17:13). (3) Temporal objective: *qa-tlə-yarxe¹* for three months (A17:22). (4) Object marker: *bāyēwa qa-ʔaləha¹* He loved God (A16:10). (5) Before a clause expressing purpose or result: *sráxele qa-t-šəma¹ brátət málka¹* He is shouting so that the daughter of the king hears (A21:16); *qímle b-zdáya m-bróne dīye¹ qa-t-lə-ʔamər¹* He

was afraid of his son and (as a result) did not tell (= He was afraid to tell his son) (A8:17).

*qaʿad* n.m. (A.) **leader**

*qaba* n.m. (pl. *qabe*) (K.) **waistcoat** | *Xasádo t-sáwewa qábe ʿaw-bàšlɛle* ʿXasádo who has seven gowns is an onion (D1:15).

*qabūl* adj. (invar.) (A.) **acceptable** | *ʿap-ʿáyya qabūl-ila* ʿThat is acceptable (A6:8).

*qābux* interj. **battle cry** | *ʿáni qári qābux l-gòðàðe* ʿThey challenged one another to fight (A29:59).

*qáčamiθa* n.f. **waste grains falling from a water-mill** | These are swept up and given to animals to eat.

*qáčax* n.m. (pl. *qáčaxe*) (K.) **brigand**

*qáčaxuθa* n.f. **brigandry**

*qáda* n.m./f. (pl. *qádaθa*) (K./A.) **calamity, trouble** | *tára dwira qáda wira* ʿIf the door is closed, trouble passes by (D2:47).

*qadalta* n.f. (pl. *qadalyaθa*) **earthenware pot** | *xa-qadáltə dawe* ʿa pot of gold (A10:7)

*qadaša* n.m. (pl. *qadaše*) **goat with a dewlap**

*qadax* n.m. (pl. *qadaxe*) (K.) **stick, pole**

*qaddiša* n.m. (pl. *qaddiše*) **saint**

*qaddišta* n.f. (pl. *qaddišyaθa*) **saint (f.)**

*qadida* n.m. (pl. *qadide*) **dried salted meat (usually lamb)** | This is dried on the bone by hanging.

*qādīm* adj. (A.) **old, ancient**

*qadra*, *qādr* n.m. (A.) **amount; respect.** (1) **amount** | *yāđiwa mo-qádra derəwa* ʿThey knew what quantity to put on (B5:191); *yáwa nišanqa ma-qádrela mkawòre*, ʿ*ma-qádrela qwiθa* ʿIt gives a sign as to how much (arak) is distilling, how strong it is; *pšúṭla ʿàqlux qádr bārəkθux* ʿStretch your legs according to your cloth (D1:6). (2) **respect** | *qəm-dawəqle qádra diya* ʿHe showed them respect (A12:37).

*qadiya*, *qaziya* n.f. (A.) **situation, affair** | *hátxela qadiya* ʿThe situation is like this (A21:8).



*qahbuθa* n.f. (A.) **whoredom**

*qāhər* n.m. (A.) **sadness** | *θéle qāhər-ʔalle*<sup>1</sup> Sadness came upon him (A14:87).

*qahwayi* adj. invar. **brown**

*qala* n.m. (pl. *qale*) **voice; utterance; song; sound.** (1) **voice** | *qále díye rāba basimɛwa*<sup>1</sup> His voice was very beautiful (A25:43); *lés-maše-náša palátle qále díye*<sup>1</sup> A person can no longer utter his voice (B15:39); *ʔimə t-íle zmàra,*<sup>1</sup> *bulbúle jmaʔela t-qále*<sup>1</sup> When he sings, nightingales gather at his voice (A25:46). (2) **utterance, shout** | *šríxele xa-qála rāba xelána*<sup>1</sup> He shouted a mighty shout (A11:3). (3) **song** | *zmírre xa-qála b-súse díye*<sup>1</sup> He sang a song to his horse (A25:55). (4) **sound** | *qálat maymùne*<sup>1</sup> the sound of monkeys (A14:43); *qalət tope* gunshot; *ʔáwwa mò-qalət báxyele*<sup>2</sup> What sound of weeping is this? (A4:44); *ʔimət ʔàθya,*<sup>1</sup> *mzàngər zága,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaxni šámáxle qále t-árqax mʔàsəx*<sup>1</sup> When it (the cat) comes, the bell will sound, we shall hear its sound and run and hide (A44:2).

*qāla, qalla* n.f. (A.) **citadel**

*qālama* n.m. (pl. *qālame*) (A.) **pen; protruding branch of a tree** | *qālamət xurta* the protruding branches of a poplar; *qālamət prəzla* chisel

*qalaša* n.m. (pl. *qalaše*) (K.) **corpse** | *tére xáləlla qalášət gùre*<sup>1</sup> Birds are eating the corpses of men (B9:32).

*qaləpθa* n.f. **peal; rind**

*qāləs* adj. invar. (K.) **miserly**

*qaləθa* n.f. (pl. *qalayaθa*) **cell** | *qaddištət qalayaθa* the Saint of the Cells (name of a church in Walto B9:30)

*qaləb* n.m. (pl. *qalibe*) (A.) **mold**

*qalma* n.f. (pl. *qalme*) **louse**

*qalpa* n.m. **peal; bark; shell** | *xá-qapla qèse*<sup>1</sup> *t-lá-hawa b-qālpe*<sup>1</sup> a bundle of pieces of wood that are without bark (A30:6); *qalpət nune* scales of a fish

*qalta, qalθa* n.f. (*qalatha, qalyaθa*) **basket (made of palm leaves)** | This was made in the towns rather than the villages

*qalula* adj. (f. *qalulta*, pl. *qalule*) **light, quick** | *xáncĩ t-amrónna qalũlta<sup>1</sup> qa-t-pàrqa<sup>1</sup>* I'll tell it (the story) to you quickly so that it will finish (A4:5).

*qalunka* n.m. (p. *qalunke*) (K.) **pipe** | *garššwa tũtun qalũnke<sup>1</sup>* He used to smoke pipe tobacco (A10:9).

*qalwa* n.m. (pl. *qalwe*) **wooden mold in which fabric is pressed**

*qalya* n.m. (K./A.) **meat roasted in fat and preserved for winter**

*qam* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *qame*) (§13.3.16.) **before (spatial and temporal); in (adversity), from (adversity); on account of (adversity); instead of.** (1) **before (spatial)** | *qam-<sup>2</sup>énux<sup>1</sup>* before your eyes (A15:15). Obstacle: *multéθætwa qámi xa-tũrát skinyàθa<sup>1</sup>* You had placed before me a mountain of knives (A24:33), *hálli xá-màndi t-àxlàn<sup>1</sup> t-lá-pešən kátwa qam-<sup>2</sup>àqlux<sup>1</sup>* Give me something to eat so that I am not a thorn in your foot (A26:57). Duty: *'ána 'ĩθ šũla qámi<sup>1</sup>* I have a job to do (A24:45). Outside: *qam-tára* outside the door (of the house), *qámat gèppa<sup>1</sup>* outside the cave (A12:7). After verbs of movement: *t-azĩtu qam-d-o-gèppa<sup>1</sup>* You should go to the cave (A8:28), *zĩla, zĩla zĩla, <sup>1</sup> qam-xákma turàne<sup>1</sup> rába ràme<sup>1</sup>* He went a long way (and came) to some very high mountains (A14:66). At the disposal of, for the benefit of: *'áyya dèkkána qàmàx<sup>1</sup>* This shop is for you (to choose from as you wish) (A22:20); *'áni darĩwala qam-qənyàne<sup>1</sup>* They would put them out for the animals (to eat) (B15:50). Leading animals: *xa-ššwána...y-azšlwa qam-<sup>2</sup>ərwe<sup>1</sup>* A shepherd used to go to look after sheep (A10:1), *qu-sĩ qam-<sup>2</sup>ərwe<sup>1</sup>* Go and look after the sheep! (A10:5). In charge of: *taxána qam-ðà-<sup>2</sup>arxe<sup>1</sup>* a miller in charge of a water-mill (A32:1). (2) **before (temporal)** | with a nominal: *qám šáwwi tmáni šənne* seventy or eighty years ago (B5:179); *qam-dána<sup>1</sup>* beforehand (A4:30); *qam-mxéθət madnxa<sup>1</sup>* before the rise of dawn (A8:51); *'áv qam-mənnux hóle 'əθya láxxa<sup>1</sup>* He has come back here before you (A22:39). With a clause complement: *qam-t-àθi<sup>1</sup> mpálatle mən-hàbsa<sup>1</sup>* Before they return, release him from prison (A26:72). (3) **in (adversity)** | *'up-<sup>2</sup>àni<sup>1</sup> náše 'i-xawšwala<sup>1</sup> mattĩwale gu-gòme<sup>1</sup> qá-t barzĩwa, <sup>1</sup> qa-t-là-hawĩwa qam-mətra<sup>1</sup>* People would store these (pieces of wood) and put them in the basement to dry, so that they would not be in the rain (B15:19); *'əθyewəx kope kope qam-mətra 'u-qam dalope* We have come bending down in rain and drizzle (C1:14); *maqđánnux qam-šməyya<sup>1</sup>* I shall burn you in the sun (A12:31). (4) **from (adversity)** | In contexts expressing escaping from or sheltering from: *riqən qam-màmi<sup>1</sup>* I have run away from my paternal uncle (A25:42); *léka b-šártət*

*qam-ʔiθàθi:ʔ* Where can you escape from my hands? (A28:21); *mʔášət qam-Leliθa* Hide from Leliθa (A51:6); *mʔošéle qam-tàlga* He sheltered from the snow (A28:3). (5) **on account of (adversity)** | *ʔaskar kúlla mìtla qam-qàle* All the army died on account of his voice (A52:13); *šəlmanāṯ dīpla qam-xèla* The bars have bent due to the force (put on them) (A52:9); *kšīple béθa qam-tàlga* The house collapsed on account of the snow; *tréle qam-màṯra* He was soaked on account of the rain. (6) **instead of** | *ʔé-ga qam-lámpa ʔiθwa šrāʔa* At that time instead of an (electric) lamp there was an (oil) lamp (A33:1).

*qama qama* prep. **in front of** | With actions involving movement: *ʔiθyela tré malāxe, ʔyáða qama-qámət čádra d-ò-malka* Two angels came, passing in front of the tent of the king (A4:2).

*qamaya* adj. (f. *qameθa*, pl. *qamaye*) **first** | *yóma qamàya* on the first day (A25:14); *har-ʔanna qamàyela* They are the same as the ones before them (A27:27).

*qamaye* adv. **at first** | *qamáye xírta b-áqlət súsá dīya* At first she looked at the legs of her horse (A8:72); *ku-brónət bəṯ-naša ʔáθe l-d-áy jəžṯra qamàye, ʔáwewa ṯ-áwe málka dīyèxu* Whichever person comes to the island first, he will be your king (A14:46); *y-azáxwa kaláxwa m-qamàye* We went and stood at the front (in the first row of the congregation) (B15:82); *bānta qamàye* for the first time (B5:1).

*qamčiya* n.m. (pl. *qamčīye*) (K.) **leather whip** | imported to the villages from towns

*qa-mó* adv. **why?**

*qamoθ-* prep. **in front of** | only used in expressions of meeting: *xúwwe plīṯele l-qamòθe* The snake came out to meet him (A1:18); *yáwəx xàbra ta-t-pálti l-qamòθən* We give word for them to come out to meet us (A4:30).

*qamša* n.m. (pl. *qamše*) **grasshopper**

*qam-tāra* adv. **outside**

*qamθa* (1) adv. **formerly** | *qàmθa y-aθéwa tálga ràba* Formerly a lot of snow would fall (B5:146). (2) prep. **in front of** | *l-qámθe dīye ʔiθ xa-čòl* Before it lies barren countryside (A8:21); *m-qámθa dīya ṯṯerele* In front of it there is a mountain (B4:1). Frequently used in expressions of meeting: *riqa qámle plīṯle qámθət bróne dīye* He ran out to meet his son

(A14:95), *šlī qamθā-d-áwwa nàša*<sup>1</sup> Go down to meet this man (A15:6); *pállān qámθux qam-tāra*<sup>1</sup> I'll come outside to meet you.

*qamxa* n.m. **flour** | *mašléwala ʔrxē*<sup>1</sup> *taxnùwala*<sup>1</sup> *péšī qàmxa*<sup>1</sup> They would take it (the wheat *xəttē*) down to the water-mill and grind it and it would become flour (B5:15).

*qana* n.f. (pl. *qanane*) **horn; horn container used to carry grease (māšxa) for applying to the whetstone (māšna); peak of a mountain** | *lá-mēθat m-an-t-qanàne*<sup>1</sup> Do not bring those (sheep) with horns (A7:24); *parxəx l-qanət ʔAvraza* Let us fly up to the peak of Avraza (C2:83).

*qānāpa, qānāfa* n.f. (pl. *qānāpe, qānāfe, qānāpāt*) (A.) **armchair, sofa, couch**

*qanaθe* n.pl. **metal finger covers worn by harvesters**

*qantopa, qantepa* n.m. (pl. *qantope, qantepe*) **bunch** | *qantopət ʔəwwe* bunch of grapes

*qanθa* n.f. **wild grass eaten by sheep**

*qāpaxta* n.f. (pl. *qāpaxyatha*) (K./T.) **lid, cover**

*qapalta* n.f. **embrace** | *xəttē m-sənnòrta*<sup>1</sup> *yála m-qapə̀lta*<sup>1</sup> Wheat (is seen to be good) from when it is a shoot. A child (is seen to be good) from the time of (his mother's) embrace. (D2:36)

*qāpəx* n.f. (pl. *qāpəxyatha*) (K./T.) **lid, cover** | *ta-t-òðm qāpəx ʔəp tla-réšəx*<sup>1</sup> until I make a lid also for your head (A20:3).

*qapla* n.m. (pl. *qaple*) **armful; bundle carried in arms; arms** | *jāmúwale y-òðíwale qàpla*<sup>1</sup> They gathered it (the rice hay) and made it into an armful (B5:84); *xá-qapla qèse*<sup>1</sup> a bundle of pieces of wood (A30:6); *qàpli hóle m̀làyá*<sup>1</sup> My arms are full (B15:89); *qəm-šaqlanne gu-qàpli*<sup>1</sup> I took him in my arms (B9:25); *máxyəlle qáple bìye*<sup>1</sup> *dwiqəlle*<sup>1</sup> He put out his hands and caught him (A29:31).

*qapyo* n.f. (pl. *qapyoθa*) **blockage; twigs and grass blocking flow of a water channel**

*qaqna* n.f. (pl. *qaqne*) **thorny plant** | This is yellow in colour and grows in the mountains. When the sap sets it produces a gum known as *deθa*, which is softened in water and then chewed.

*qǎra* n.m. (pl. *qǎre*) **pumpkin; gourd**

*qǎrǎbalux* n.f. (K.) **din, noise**

*qǎrǎčaya* n.m. (K.) **gypsy**

*qǎrama* n.f. **edible herb** | fed to sheep to make them give more milk

*qǎrana* adj. (f. *qǎranta*, pl. *qǎrane*) **big; fully grown**

*qǎrār* n.m. (A.) **decision**

*qarašta, qarrašta* n.f. (pl. *qarašyatha, qarrašyatha*) **crowbar**

*qǎratiθa, qarratiθa* n.f. (pl. *qǎratyatha*) **pieces of *rasa* grass fed to young lambs in a pen (*kosta*)**

*qarawət* n.f. (pl. *qarawätte*) (A.) **bed**

*qare* n.f. (pl. *qareyatha*) (K.) **chicken coop** | *téla qəm-doqile<sup>1</sup> mǎre ku-mándit bǎyítu wúðu bìyi,<sup>1</sup> bás gu-qǎre t-kθayáθa là derétuli.<sup>1</sup>* They caught the fox and it said ‘Do with me what you will, but do not put me in the chicken coop’.

*qarǎkke* n.f. (pl. *qarǎkyatha*) (K.) **crow**

*qarǎkθonta* n.f. (K.) **little crow** | *qarǎkke qarǎkθonti<sup>1</sup>* O crow, my little crow (A34:3)

*qareθa* n.f. (pl. *qarayatha*) **reader**

*qǎreθa* n.f. (pl. *qǎreyatha, qǎraθa*) **vessel (for water and storage) made from a gourd**

*qareže* n.pl. **sweepings, rubbish**

*qarira* adj. (f. *qarirta*, pl. *qarire*) **cold, cool**

*qariwa* n.m. (pl. *qariwe*) **close friend; best man (at a wedding), godfather** | *qariwi* my friend (said by a Christian to a Jew or vice versa).

*qariwta* n.f. (pl. *qariwyatha*) **bridesmaid; female companion of bride and groom at a wedding**

*qariθa* n.f. (pl. *qariyatha*) **beam**

*qarmana* n.m./adj. **winner**

*qaroya* n.m. (pl. *qaroye*) **reader**

*qarqubθa* n.f. (pl. *qarqubyaθa*) **skull** | *qarqubθe sapìqtela*<sup>1</sup> His head is empty (he is a fool).

*qarša* → <sup>2</sup>*axəl qarša*

*qarša* n.m. (pl. *qaršē*) **small wooden strip made of juniper laid across beams in a roof** | *kú t-ile śláya xo-qáršē ʔəltax*,<sup>1</sup> *pyáša dāwa*<sup>1</sup> Everything that fell down under the beams became gold (A10:11). → syn. *nira*

*qarθa* n.f. **cold** | *qārθela*<sup>1</sup> It is cold; *t-lá-hoya qārθa-ʔəllax*<sup>1</sup> so that you are not cold (A20:2).

*qaruθa* adj. (f. *qaruθta*, pl. *qaruθe*) **tough (food)** | <sup>2</sup>*ənwə baširana qarùtela*<sup>1</sup> The *baširana* grapes are tough.

*qaruθa* n.f. **coolness** | *buxára máte l-qaruθa*,<sup>1</sup> *páyəš təpye təpye*<sup>1</sup> The steam becomes cool and turns into drops.

*qarwən* n.f. (pl. *qarwane*) (K./A.) **caravan, convoy (of mules) that transports merchandise** | *y-azúwa qarwən*<sup>1</sup> They would go in a convoy (B5:124).

*qaryana* n.m. (pl. *qaryane*) **reader**

*qāsāla* n.m. (pl. *qāsāle*) (K.) **stem of corn plant**

*qāšāš* n.m. (A.) **revenge, vendetta**

*qašore* → *qašra*

*qašra* n.m. (pl. *qašre*) **palace; large house (consisting of two storeys and made of dressed stones)** | *bráte díye muttúla qášre ʔu-qašore*<sup>1</sup> His daughter established villas and palaces (A40:7).

*qašxane* n.f. (pl. *qašxane*, *qašxanwaθa*, *qašxanyaθa*) **brass cooking pot** | used to warm milk to make yoghurt

*qašxanta* n.f. (pl. *qašxanyaθa*) **small pan**

*qaša* n.m. (pl. *qašē*) **priest**

*qaška* n.m. (pl. *qaške*) (K.) (§1.2.2.) **dried cake of yoghurt** (B6:42ff.)

*qatta* n.f. (pl. *qattaθa*) **stick; handle of a knife, hilt of a sword; sheath of a sword** | *qattət xanjare komta* The handle of his dagger was black (C2:55); *qəm-maxéle bə-b-qátta*<sup>1</sup> He struck it (the sword) together with the sheath (A52:18).

*qatxa* n.m. (pl. *qatxe*) (A.) **cup, goblet** | *'enile gazwra m-gure... šatele qatxət šteli?* Who is the man amongst men... who could drink the glass I have drunk? (A50:3)

*qaṭ* n.m. (pl. *qaṭ*) (K.) **suit (of clothes); storey (of building)**

*qata* n.m. (pl. *qate*) **cat, tomcat**

*qāṭifa* n.f. (A.) **velvet**

*qaṭira* n.m. (pl. *qaṭire*) **wooden beam joining oxen together**

*qaṭita* n.f. (pl. *qatiyaṭa*) **walking-stick**

*qatiya* n.m. (pl. *qatiye*) **stick, goad; whip**

*qaṭlana* n.m./adj. (f. *qaṭlanta*, pl. *qaṭlane*) **murderer, murderous**

*qaṭola* n.m. (pl. *qaṭole*) **murderer**

*qaṭota* n.f. (1) **break in an irrigation channel (*šaḳiṭa*) to stop or redirect the flow of water** | *pri miya b-qaṭōta!*<sup>1</sup> Cut off the water flow! (2) **cutting down of leaves; leaves that have been cut down (and gathered for fodder)** | *lūli qaṭōta 'əššeta!*<sup>1</sup> I do not have any gathered leaves this year. (3) **dirt left in a sieve after sieving** | cf. *qammaṭa*

*qatra* n.m. (pl. *qatre*) **rock, boulder**

*qatu*, *qatuṭa* n.f. (pl. *qaṭwaṭa*) (§10.9.) **female cat; spiky type of oak gall**

*qaṭwa* n.m (pl. *qaṭwe*) **large wooden needle**

*qawa* n.m. **coffee**

*qawačī* n.m. (pl. *qawačīye*) (K.) **man serving coffee**

*qawadən* n.f. (pl. *qawadane*) (K.) **coffee pot**

*qāwanīn* n.pl. (A.) **laws**

*qawda*, *qoda* n.m. (pl. *qawde*, *qode*) **shackle, bond** | *zaqra-qode* spider (literally: weaver of shackles §2.4.2., §10.17.1.)

*qawla* n.m. (pl. *qawle*) **word; promise; condition** | *'awwele qawla-dīyi!*<sup>1</sup> This is my word (A8:79); *dwiqla xa-qāwla m-an-qurḏāye!*<sup>1</sup> She extracted a promise from the Kurds (B9:12); *b-ō-qawla b-šālyən mənñəxu! t-lā 'amritu púš qurḏēṭa!*<sup>1</sup> I shall go down with you on this condition that you do not say 'Become a Kurd' (B9:12).

*qawmi* adj. (A.) **national**

*qawra* n.f. (pl. *qawre*, *qawraθa*, *qorǎwaθa*) **grave**

*qawurma* n.m. (T.) **fried meat dish**

*qawwa* n.m. (pl. *qawwe*) **scoop, jug** | *tiwta b-qwaya b-qawwa* She is sitting scooping with a scoop (C2:8).

*qaymθa* n.f. (pl. *qaymyaθa*) **monument; statue**

*qayiš*, *qayiša* n.m./f. (pl. *qayişe*) (K.) **man's belt made of leather** → *šəbbaqa*

*qaysi*, *qaysiya* n.f. (K.) **dried apricots**

*qaza* n.m (pl. *qaze*) (K.) **goose**

*qazba* n.m. (pl. *qazbe*) (K.) **date** | *'ilanət qazbe* date palm tree

*qazd* n.m. **purpose, direction** (K./A.) | *yǎðət módi-waawa qázde ðiye?*<sup>pl</sup> Do you know what his intention was? (A17:16); *wíðele qázd d-ò-bεθa!* He made his way towards that house (A14:75).

*qazəd*, *qazədda* n.m. (pl. *qazədde*) (K./A.) **messenger; goal, objective** | *qimla kθúla xa-kθàwa,*<sup>1</sup> *mšudǎrra bəd-qázəd* She wrote a letter and sent it by a messenger (A11:17); *'ázən 'ódəm qázəd d-àwewa gǎppa!* *t-áwðən qázədde ðiye!* I shall go and make for that cave. I shall make for it (A39:3).

*qazi* n.m. (A.) **judge**

*qbila* adj. (f. *qbilta*, pl. *qbile*) **accepted** | *'ən-lá zεrǎnna Qūðus,*<sup>1</sup> *ləla qbíla haǰǰyúθi!* If I do not visit Jerusalem, my pilgrimage is not accepted (A2:1).

*qðala* n.m. (pl. *qðale*) **neck** | *pəlxánət bεθa hóle b-qðàli!* The housework is my responsibility (A21:27); *xǎiθi b-qðaləxu!* *bnóni qam-'éni là qaṭlítula!* I implore you (literally: my sin be on your neck), do not kill my children before my eyes (B9:13)

*qðilta* n.f. (pl. *qðilyaθa*) **key**

*qedamta* n.f. (pl. *qedamyatha*) **morning** | *mən-sab-'é-'otəx t-là-hawe gáwa šópa,*<sup>1</sup> *yǎ'ni pεšáwa tálga hal-qedámta!* Since a room that did not have a stove in it would become icy by the morning (B15:26); *hal-qedámta šánθe la-θéla!* Right up to the morning he did not sleep (A6:4). *qèdamtela,*<sup>1</sup> *wíðtalle 'ixàla!* (When) it was morning, she made him food (A24:4); *wítela qedámta sá'ət 'árpa b-lèle,*<sup>1</sup> *rišele!* *málka!* (When) the morning



came, four o'clock in the morning, the king woke up (A17:27).  
Used adverbially: **in the morning** | *qedamta y-ázi náše l-ʔòmra*<sup>1</sup> In the morning people go to church (B6:23); *ʔu-qímli qedamta, ʔ la-xəzyàli*<sup>1</sup> I got up in the morning and did not find her (A26:10–11); *qedamta jalde* early in the morning.

*qetana* n.m. **woven silk lace** | used to bind together pieces of fabric in clothing.

*qema* n.m. (pl. *qeme*) **stand, stake; tree supporting pile of leaves (garuta)**

*qesa* n.m. (pl. *qese*) **wood; piece of wood** | *marúða mturástewa m-qesa*<sup>1</sup> The snow shovel was made of wood (B5:196); *xákma qèse*<sup>1</sup> several pieces of wood (A48:2); *hóle síqa l-qèse*<sup>1</sup> He has come to (fetch) wood (A22:25); *xa-qésa rixa*<sup>1</sup> a long piece of wood (A22:26); *qəm-maxèle*<sup>1</sup>...*ʔəşrá-qese gu-xáše dīye*<sup>1</sup> He struck him ten strokes of a stick on his back (A30:14); *ʔíle xa-yaláxta mnuqàšta l-bábe zqírta b-qèse*<sup>1</sup> He had an embroidered handkerchief, which was woven by his father on the wood (of the loom) (A37:11); *qesət malka* type of wood used for making spoons; *qesət xu-rušane* crutch.

*qetá* n.m. (pl. *qete*) **Summer**

*qəbla* n.m. (pl. *qəble*) **gift dedicated to the church at festivals (usually sheep or goat); meal in church dedicated to the memory of the dead** | *šawwí-qəble qbilele* He made seventy donations (A52:2).

*qəčča* n.m. (pl. *qəčče*) (K.) **short rope** | e.g. the rope used to tether an animal to a stake or as a handle of bag. This is shorter than a *xawəлта*.

*qəččiða* n.f. (pl. *qəččiyaða*) **small piece of rope**

*qəfla* → *qəpla*

*qəlle* n.f. (pl. *qəllaða*) (K.) **hawk**

*qəllora* n.m. (pl. *qəllore*) (K.) **large loaf made from flour of maize (xəttə romaye), sorghum (xroriya) or prage (millet); head of maize**

*qəm-* part. **preverbal particle** | forms past perfective of *qatəl* and *qatəliwa* with pronominal suffixes: *qəm-qatəlle*, *qəm-qatəliwa* (§8.6.3.)

*qəmina* adj. (f. *qəmintá*, pl. *qəmine*) **miserly**

*qammota* n.f. **dirt and stones remaining in a sieve after sieving**

*qanna* n.f. (pl. *qanne*, *qannane*, *qannaθa*) **nest**

*qanne* n.pl. (sing. *qanθa*) **walnut kernel**

*qanyane* n.pl. (sing. *qanyana*) **domesticated animals; cattle** | *'illi bas-xà qanyána*<sup>1</sup> I have only one animal.

*qanθa* → *qanne*

*qapla*, *qafla* n.m. (pl. *qaple*, *qafle*) (A.) **metal lock**

*qappo* n.f. (K.) **foam, froth** | *smóqe deráxwale gu-miye*,<sup>1</sup> *marəθəxxwale*.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe qáppo b-rəša*.<sup>1</sup> We would put sumac berries in water and boil them. There was a froth on top. (B10:15)

*qəqwana* n.m. (pl. *qəqwane*) **partridge** | *tré qəqwáne b-xà-kepa maxéwa*<sup>1</sup> He would kill two birds with one stone (A8:35).

*qəqwanta* n.f. (pl. *qəqwanyaθa*) **female partridge**

*qərda* n.m. **tragacanth shrub** | *deθət qərda* curative ointment produced from the black resin of this plant

*qərrušta*, *qrušta* n.f. (pl. *qrušyaθa*) **crust (of yoghurt, milk)** | *'o-xəlyá*<sup>1</sup> *dáwu-qwa qrušta*<sup>1</sup> The milk would set (form yoghurt) with a crust (B5:165); *qrušte-diye rába basimtəwa*.<sup>1</sup> Its crust was delicious (B5:165); *'u-màsta*<sup>1</sup> *'áxlət mánna qrušta díya t-la-xàrwá*<sup>1</sup> You should eat the yoghurt without the crust being spoiled (A30:5).

*qərša* (i) n.m. (pl. *qərše*) **covering; lid; crust (of yoghurt)**

*qərša* (ii) n.m. **stalks and remnants of leaves; refuse**

*qərta* n.m. **trimming (of trees)** | *y-azəxwa qərta*<sup>1</sup> We would go and trim (trees) (B5:140); *qərtaət 'ərwé*<sup>1</sup> trimming (of trees to feed) small cattle (B5:206).

*qərta* n.f. (pl. *qərta*) **pannier bag on the back of an animal** | This was made of cane (*šiqá* thick cane and *zala* thin cane); *mkase qərta* n.f. late snow falling at the end of March (literally: the coverer of panniers).

*qərta* n.f. (pl. *qərta*) **small pannier bag**

*qərta* adj. (f. *qərta*, pl. *qərta*) **educated** | *yámmi léwa qərta*<sup>1</sup> My mother was not educated (B8:15).

*qəsm* n.m. (pl. *qəsmə*) (A.) **part** | *ʔawðáanna trè-qəsmə*<sup>1</sup> I shall make it into two parts (A21:28); *ʔan-míya pəšī trè-qəsmə*<sup>1</sup> The water will become (divided into) two parts (A24:14).

*qəsmatta* n.f. (K./A.) **luck; fate** | *xázəx qəsmàttila*,<sup>1</sup> *bálki qàrmən*<sup>1</sup> Let's see (whether) I am lucky, perhaps I shall win (A1:4).

*qəssa* part. (A.) **almost** | *qəssa pìdla*<sup>1</sup> They have almost passed (A32:23).

*qəsqəšta* n.f. **fine crushed rice**

*qəššət*, *qəššatta* n.f. (A.) **story; affair** | *mòdila qəššət*,<sup>21</sup> What has happened? (A4:11); *məre mòdila qəššət dīya*,<sup>21</sup> *məra b-álaha qəššət dīya hətɣela*<sup>1</sup> He said 'What is her story? (= What has happened to her)' She said 'Well, her story is like this.' (A4:14); *mparqànnux m-áyya qəššət*<sup>1</sup> I shall rid you of this business (A14:1).

*qəšta* n.f. (pl. *qəštaθa*) **bow; sling** | *qəštət marən* rainbow; *qəšta-w gera* bow and arrow.

*qəštaniθa* n.f. | *qəštaniθət marən* **rainbow**

*qəšya* adj. (f. *qəšīθa*, pl. *qəšye*) **hard; thick (liquid)** | *míya píšla qəšye*<sup>1</sup> The water has become thick; *ʔay-gərdə ʔa-qəšīθa*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-duxràne*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔina bušála t-ʔəðáxwala t̄l̄l̄ən*,<sup>1</sup> *xánč̄ miyánta*,<sup>1</sup> *la-ràba*<sup>1</sup> The *gərdə*, which is thick, is for church memorial festivals. But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was somewhat watery, though not too much (B10:17).

*qəṭla* n.m. **killling, murder** | *ʔawwa záwəna t-xzélux dúnje ráya dēwe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔwa záwənət qəṭla-w dámma-w pràma*<sup>1</sup> This time when you saw it raining wolves, it was a time of killing, blood and slaughter (A1:24).

*qəṭma* n.m. **ash** | *ʔáyya məškánta píštela mɣàya*<sup>1</sup> *dráya qəṭma gu-réša dīya*<sup>1</sup> The poor woman began to beat (herself) and put ash on her head (A14:22); *qəṭma b-rèšux*,<sup>1</sup> Confound you! (A23:8); *qəṭma b-qəšraθa* (putting) ash on cooking pots to clean them

*qəṭra* n.m. (pl. *qəṭrə*) **arch; door arch; stone door frame** | *kepət qəṭra* keystone of arch

*qəṭrana* adj. (f. *qəṭranta*, pl. *qəṭrane*) **hunchbacked**

*qəṭta* n.m. (pl. *qəṭtate*) **piece** | *kúlla wíðəlla qəṭtate*<sup>1</sup> He broke them all into pieces (A30:22); *qəṭtətət lina šmīta* shards of a broken pot.

*qəθra* n.m. (pl. *qəθrə*) **knot** | *qəθrət šeta* annual growth ring of tree.

*qəθθurta* n.f. (pl. *qəθθuryaθa*) **knapsack (consisting of tied cloth)** |  
synon. *boqča*

*qima* n.f. (A.) **value**

*qira* n.f. (A.) **tar**

*qirθa* adj. f. **barren** | generally applied to animals, *ʔzza qirθa* a barren goat, *tawərta qirθa* a barren cow, etc. *baxta qirθa* a barren women is unusual and a euphemism such as *baxta t-lə maθya yale* a woman who does not bear children is preferred.

*qixa* adj. (f. *qixta*, pl. *qixe*) **faded**

*qiya* adj. (f. *qiθa*, pl. *qiye*) **blunt** | *magla qiya* a blunt sickle, *skinta qiθa* a blunt knife

*qmaṭa* n.m. (pl. *qmaṭe*) **rope used for tightening** | e.g. the two shafts of a stone roller (*mandorta*)

*qmiṭa* adj. (f. *qmiṭta*, pl. *qmiṭe*) **tied up** | *qmiṭa b-ğḏaḏe* tied together

*qoçā* → *koçā*

*qodašta* n.f. (pl. *qodašyaθa*) **small bunch of grapes** | section of a *gujma* (large bunch)

*qola* n.m. (pl. *qole*) **metal springed trap (for animals)**

*qolaxine* n.pl. (sing. *qolaxina* m.) (K.) **pelvis bones of an animal, above the rump (*kamaxe*)**

*qoma* n.m. (pl. *qome*) **pile** | *ʔu-ʔan-baxtəθa<sup>1</sup> kapšiwale<sup>1</sup> napšiwale gu-d-a-npəšta<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mattiwale l-qóma báθər xəsey<sup>1</sup>* The women would gather it (the rice hay) and shake it with the shaking (just mentioned) and put it into a pile behind their back (B5:85).

*qonəx*, *qunəx*, *qunaxa* n.m. (pl. *qonaxe*, *qunaxe*) (K./T.) **stage of journey; guesthouse; feast.** (1) **stage of journey, milestone** | *qunəxət tlaṭa yomáθa qəm-azəlla b-xamsəḏa daqiqe<sup>1</sup>* He travelled a stage of three days (journey) in five minutes (A8:39); *ʔəp-ʔaw qunəx tlaṭa mátye l-qəyra<sup>1</sup>* and on the third day's stage (of the journey) they arrived at the palace (A12:11); *ʔəkəle qonəxux.<sup>21</sup>* Where is your destination? (2) **guesthouse** | *xa-qunəx wiḏəlle təza<sup>1</sup>* He made a beautiful guesthouse (A12:22). (3) **feast, banquet** | *wiḏ qunəxa gəra<sup>1</sup>* Make a big feast (A8:89).

*qopa* adj. (f. and pl. *qope*) (K.) **hunchbacked**

*qoqa* n.m. (pl. *qoqe*) **water pot**

*qoqta* n.f. (pl. *qoqyaθa*) **small water pot**

*qot̃iya* n.f./m. (pl. *qot̃iye*) (K.) **small box; mirror** | *qot̃iyət burnuʃ* snuff box

*qramta* n.f. **cover** | *qramtət šərma darmánət bušàla*<sup>1</sup> The cover of the buttocks is the substance of the stew (D1:13).

*qraqəpta* n.f. (pl. *qraqəpyaθa*) **small turtle**

*qraqiþa* n.m. (pl. *qraqiþe*) **turtle**

*qramta* m. (pl. *qramte*) **wrinkle** | *npilla qramte gu-pàθe*<sup>1</sup> His face has wrinkles

*qrixa* adj. (f. *qrixta*, pl. *qrixe*) **white-haired; whitewashed**

*grušta* → *qərrušta*

*qudme* adv. (Urm.) **tomorrow; yesterday**

*qudša* n.m. **holiness** | *roxət qudša* The Holy Spirit (B6:8)

*quja* n.m. (pl. *quje*) (K.) **marten** | hunted for their fur

*qujta* n.f. (pl. *qujyaθa*) **female marten**

*qulaya* n.m. (pl. *qulaye*) **clod of earth**

*qulba* n.m. (pl. *qulbe*) (A.) **bracelet**

*qulčwa* n.m. (K.) **trigger in the bird trap known as *tăpəkke*, *tăpəkθa***

*qulənga* n.m (pl. *qulənge*) (K.) **crane (bird)**

*qulqulta* n.f. (pl. *qulqulyaθa*) **rods in wooden door lock** | These are raised by the key to release the bolt

*qulta* n.f. (pl. *qulyaθa*, *qultaθa*) **metal springed trap (for animals)** | This was mostly used to catch foxes and rabbits

*qumārčī* n.m. (pl. *qumārčīye*) (K./A.) **gambler**

*qūmāš* n.m. (pl. *qūmāšāt*) (A.) **fabric**

*qumma* n.m. (pl. *qumme*) **peak (of a mountain)**

*qumta* n.f. (pl. *qumyaθa*) **stature, figure; height (of a man); mound of snow** | *qumta zala t-gu-Nērwa* Her figure is (that of) a reed in Nerwa (C2:43); *θéle tálga b-qumyaθa*<sup>1</sup> The snow came in mounds (= a great

quantity of snow fell); *gu-réšət* <sup>2</sup>*Amediya y-aθéwa tálga qúmtət bəṛ-nàša*<sup>1</sup> At the top of Amedia snow used to fall to the height of a man (A25:41); *síqewa tálga qúrbət tre-qumyáθa*<sup>1</sup> The snow had almost reached twice the height of a man (B15:38).

*quna* n.f. (pl. *qune*) (K.) **buttocks** | <sup>2</sup>*o-t-dáwəq nùne*<sup>1</sup> *tárya qùne*<sup>1</sup> One who catches fishes gets his buttocks wet (D2:26).

*qunaxa* → *qonəx*

*qundäre* n.pl. (sing. *qundarta*) (K./T.) **leather shoes with heels**

*qundaxa* n.m (pl. *qundaxe*) (K.) **(wooden) butt of a rifle; bullet of a gun**

*qunəx* → *qonəx*

*qunjálta* n.f. (pl. *qunjalyaθa*) (K.) **corner** | *zilla dweiqla náwba l-áyà'ha qunjálta t-hódəx,*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áyya gu-d-ε-qunjálta xèta*<sup>1</sup> They went and kept a guard in that far corner, and one in that other corner (A18:3).

*qunjiθa* n.f. (pl. *qunjyiaθa*) **corner; end** | *qunjyáθe diye*<sup>1</sup> *d-áy mandórta*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa bəzye*<sup>1</sup> The ends of the roller are bored (with holes) (B5:193).

*qunya* n.m. (pl. *qunye*) **hole; well** | *qəm-darətli gu-d-áwəwa qunya*<sup>1</sup> You have put me in this hole (A14:23); *Qučanəs qunye qunye, Mar Šəm'on t-kulla dunye* Qučanəs of wells, wells, Mar Shimon (patriarch) of the whole world (C1:18).

*qupa* n.m. (pl. *qupe*) **wicker basket used for storage**

*qupiθa* n.f. (pl. *qupyaθa*) **small basket**

*quppe* n.f. (pl. *quppaθa, quppeyaθa*) **brooding-hen**

*quprana* → *kuprana*

*qurašina* n.m. (pl. *qurašine*) **nettle**

*qur'an* n.m. **Qur'an**

*qurba* n.m. adv. adj. **vicinity; near, nearby; approximately.** (1) **vicinity** | *mátyela l-qúrbət qásrət málka*<sup>1</sup> They came to the vicinity of the palace of the king (A24:24). Used adverbially: *mítíθela qúrbət qàsra*<sup>1</sup> He came to the vicinity of the palace (A27:31); <sup>2</sup>*θyεle qúrbə*<sup>1</sup> He came up close (A4:55); *θéle qúrbə*<sup>1</sup> He came near to me; *qúrbəwa d-ε-xayúθa díyən*<sup>1</sup> *t-i-xáyəxwala gu-maθwàθa*<sup>1</sup> It was similar to the life that we lived

in the villages (B15:9); *'an-t-ila qúrbi qúrbi*<sup>1</sup> those who are very near me (B11:24). (2) Attributive adjective (§14.7.): **nearby** *qašra qurba* a nearby palace, *maḥa qurba* a nearby village. (3) **approximately, about** | *'ina pałtíwa qúrbał tre-łláḥa 'álpe náše*<sup>1</sup> About two thousand people would go out (B15:62), *'áni qúrbał 'ášra trésər šənnəwa*<sup>1</sup> They were about ten or twelve years old (B15:32), *qúrbał trè-metre*<sup>1</sup> around two metres (B15:31).

*qurbana* n.m. **holy communion; host** | *y-ođíwa qurbàna*<sup>1</sup> They would take communion; *gu-d-ε-dána mšeríwa wáḍa rázat qurbàna*<sup>1</sup> Then they began to perform the communion ceremony (B5:56); *qurbánux bríxa*<sup>1</sup> Blessed communion (said at a saint's festival); *qurbána mattíwa gu-pummèy*<sup>1</sup> They would put the communion host in their mouth (B16:16).

*qurḍaya, qurdaya* n.m./adj. **Kurd, Kurdish** | *lišana kurdaya* Kurdish language.

*qurḍəθ, kurdəθ* adv. **in Kurdish** | *kürḍəθ-ila*<sup>1</sup> It is Kurdish (A12:15)

*qurmuž* n.m. (A.) **red, scarlet; wool dyed red**

*qurniḥa* n.f. (pl. *qurniyaḥa*) **corner** | *line spiqe l-qurniḥa* The wine jars are empty in the corner (C2:27).

*qurrabaška* n.m. (pl. *qurrabaške*) (K.) **badger**

*qurša* n.m. **frozen snow** | *tálga léle šmàṭa*<sup>1</sup>, *pišle qurša*<sup>1</sup> The snow does not break, it has become frozen; *qəm-daríle rəš-qurša*<sup>1</sup> They have neglected him (literally: they have put him on the ice).

*quršalta* n.f. (pl. *quršalyaḥa*) **elbow; square (instrument used in carpentry); bend in chimney pipe on the roof (to prevent rain and snow from entering chimney)**

*qurta* n.m. (pl. *qurte*) (K.) **vulture**

*qurṭana* n.m. (pl. *qurṭane*) **blanket put on the back of an animal made of compacted wool** | a softer blanket known as *sarpašta* was put under this

*qušarta* n.f. (pl. *qušarḥa, qušariyaḥa*) **cooking pot** | *qušárta xsípła l-pümma*<sup>1</sup> *bráta plíłla l-yəmma*<sup>1</sup> A pot has been turned upside down—the girl has come to resemble her mother (D2:35); *xošəbə bnàḥa*<sup>1</sup> *qáṭma b-qušaràḥa*<sup>1</sup> On Girls' Sunday there was (washing) ash in the cooking pots (i.e. the people fasted and washed their pots rather than using them for cooking) (B7:5).

*qušriya* n.m. (pl. *qušriye*) **pot for collecting urine and excrement of baby under a cot**

*qutana* n.f. (pl. *qutane*) **shirt** | *qutáne blèla*<sup>1</sup> His shirt was worn out (A37:13).

*qutna* n.m. (pl. *qutne*) **woman's vest**

*qutta* adj. (f. *qutte*, pl. *qutte*) (K.) **with a short tail or lacking a tail**

*qutta* n.m. (pl. *qutte*) (K.) **dwarf**

*quṭa* n.m. (pl. *quṭe*) **virgina**

*quṭna kəri* n.m. **tough plaster containing straw** | applied as first coating on wall

*quwāt* n.pl. (A.) **forces**

*quwəwət* n.f. (K./A.) **force, strength** | *'ána hon-muθéθa 'áyya quwəwət láxxa*<sup>1</sup>  
I have brought this (military) force here (A25:84).

*quwya* adj. (f. *quwiθa*, pl. *quwye*) **strong, hard, tough** | *xá-dukθa t-íwa quwiθa*<sup>1</sup>  
A place that was hard (i.e. had solid foundations) (B15:16); *réše quwyele*<sup>1</sup>  
He is stubborn; *tríθa quwya*<sup>1</sup> She rode hard (A8:70).

*quwyaana* adj. (f. *quwyaana*, pl. *quwyaane*) **hard, tough**

*qyámta* n.f. **resurrection; Easter, Easter vigil** | *šáβθa 'ašərtá*<sup>1</sup> *mrazgíwa g'ána qa-t-šále qyámta*<sup>1</sup> On Saturday evening they prepared themselves to go down (to church) for the Easter (vigil) (B5:53); *dánət plítila qyámta*<sup>1</sup> The time when the resurrection has come out (point in Easter vigil when Christ's resurrection is celebrated) (B5:54); *qyámtət mərən*<sup>1</sup> *qímle mərən*<sup>1</sup> The resurrection of our Lord. Our Lord has risen (Easter blessing by priest to worshippers) (B5:55); *bəθər qyámta*<sup>1</sup> after Easter (B10:2).

## /R/

*ra'san* adv. (A.) **immediately, directly**

*raba* mod. **much, a lot, many; very** (§14.9.3.). (1) **much, a lot, many** | *rába tálga* much snow (B10:47); *'an-yomáθa t-awéwa rába séra*<sup>1</sup> the days when there was a lot of moonlight (B11:3); *šúla rába* a lot of work (B5:19); *zúze rába*<sup>1</sup> a lot of money (A27:18); *líθwa šuláne rába*<sup>1</sup> There



were not many jobs (B11:17). Used independently: *ṭla-d-áy dráyela xàčča'* *ṭla-d-áw ràba'* For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot (A17:25). Intensifier of a verb: *'áti ràba báyámmux'* I love you a lot (A22:19); *ràba xðéle b-d-a-bràta'* He was very very happy with the girl (A14:96). (2) **very** | *xa-yála ràba šapira'* a very handsome youth (A25:58); *'ó-leša páyəš raqíqa ràba'* The dough becomes very fine (B6:46); *basíma ràba* (May you be) very well (= Thank you very much). adj. **big, abundant, numerous, many** | *'əṭyele xa-máymun ràba'* A big monkey came (A14:45); *píšla máṭa ràbṭa'* It has become a big village (B10:94); *'iṭwa qásre ràbe'* There were big villas (B10:52); *məndiyáne ràbe* many things (A27:17); *ràbe gúre y-awðiwala'* Many men (were needed to) make it (B10:79); *heywáne ràbe-wawa'* The animals were numerous (A27:36). Used independently: *léðúwa ràbe'* *Fárxo màṭole'* Many people did not know what Farxo was like (A25:78).

*rabbana* n.m. (pl. *rabbane*) **monk**

*rabbanta* n.f. (pl. *rabbanyaṭa*) **nun; type of black bird with red breast**

*rabbən* n.m. (pl. *rabbane*) **monk**

*rəbət* n.m. (A.) **rivet** | *qəm-awədle rəbət.'* *'ánna t-maxé-rəbət,' rəbət, rəbət kúlla maxéle'* *səpe díye ta-t-la-gərəš'* He riveted it. (He was one) of those people who did riveting. He riveted all his sword so that he could not draw it (A52:11).

*rabi* n.m. (pl. *rabiye*) **teacher**

*rəhan* n.m. (A.) **pledge, bet** | *dəryəlla'* *'ar-rəhan'* They made a bet (B19:4).

*raḥat, rahat* adj. invar. (K./A.) **comfortable, at ease, content** | *'əṭyət rəḥat,' 'ən-là?* Have you had a comfortable journey? (A17:6); *kúlla heywáne píšla rəḥat'* All the animals were content (A46:4); *bəbi'* *rəḥat!* My dear, be quiet, calm down (C7:6).

*rakawa* n.m. (pl. *rakawə*) **rider**

*rakixa* adj. (f. *rakixta*, pl. *rakixe*) **soft**

*rakka* n.m (pl. *rakke*) (K.) **cage**

*rama* adj. (f. *ramta*, pl. *rame*) **high** | *xá-dukṭa rəmta'* a high place (A14:87). adv. **above** | *bíš y-awéwa rəḥat rəma'* It was more comfortable

above (B5:204); *'u-'áwɔwa gárewa ràma'* He was high up on the roof (B5:42).

*ramana* adj. (f. *ramanta*, pl. *ramane*) **high** | *xa-túra ramàna'* a high mountain (A8:21); *šáwle...ramàne'* high(-heeled) shoes (B10:41)

*ramša* n.f. (pl. *ramšaθa*) **evening** | *ramšéxu tãwa!* / *ramšéxu brìxta!* Good evening! *šloθat ramša* evening prayer; *xa-ramša* evening meal.

*ramuθa* n.f. **height** | *xamšt-metre ramùθe'* Its height was fifty metres (A25:54).

*randuš* n.f. (pl. *randušyaθa*, *randuše*) **plane (of carpenter)**

*ranga* n.m. (pl. *range*) **colour** | *čay mare-ranga* strong tea; *range-range* multicoloured; *rangət 'umra* place near the church in 'Ën-Nune where people hold social gathering

*rangana* adj. (f. *ranganta*, pl. *rangane*) **colourful** | *čay ranganta* strong tea

*rangaya* adj. (f. *rangəθa*, pl. *rangaye*) **colourful**

*rap* interj. **swoosh (sound of sudden movement)**

*rapa* (i) n.m. (pl. *rape*) (K./A.) **flock (of birds)** | *rápət qəqwàne'* a flock of partridges (B5:148); *barbiye rape rape* The bridesmaids are in flocks and flocks (B8:23).

*rapa* (ii) n.m. (pl. *rape*) **gate of animal pen**

*rapəkθa* n.f. (pl. *rapəkyaθa*) **cup measure for grain**

*rapìθa* n.f. (pl. *rapìyaθa*) **small gate of animal pen**

*rapopta* n.f. **rash on skin**

*rãqaba* n.f. (A.) **observation point**

*raqaða* n.m./adj. (pl. *raqaðe*) **dancer** | *rãba raqáðetu* You are good dancers (A51:19).

*raqiqa* adj. (f. *raqiqta*, pl. *raqiqe*) **thin** | *šála raqìqa'* a thin veil (B10:32)

*raqqa* n.m. (pl. *raqqe*) **flat bread**

*rasa* n.m. (pl. *rase*, *rasane*) **tall thick grass used as animal fodder** | *šəprət rasa* plot of land on which *rasa* grass is grown; *pašxa rase* (f.) late snow in the month of April (literally: breaker of *rasa* grass); *'o-t-y-awéla 'šrwət xwàre,* *'yáwile rása'* A person who has sheep gives them *rasa* grass (B5:123).

*rasən* adv. (A.) **directly**

*rasmi* adj. invar. (A.) **official**

*rāšāš* n.m. (A.) **lead**

*rašən* n.f. (E.) **ration; consignment of produce**

*rašīya* n.m./adj. (pl. *rašīye*) **wicked person; evil** | *b-núrat rašīye y-áqđi məkène*<sup>1</sup> By the fire of wicked people the poor burn (D2:73).

*rašmevi* n.m. (K.) **type of grape that ripens quickly** | *ʔənwat rašmevi*

*rašwa* n.f. (A.) **bribe**

*raθa* n.f. (pl. *raθa, raθe, raθyaθa*) **lung** | *raθat yamne ʔu-raθat čappe* the right lung and the left lung

*rāwatəb* n.pl. (A.) **pay, salary**

*rawaya* n.m. (pl. *rawaye*) **drunkard**

*rawðana* n.m. (pl. *rawðane*) **earthquake** | *ʔúra mxéla rawðana*<sup>1</sup> The earth quaked.

*rawe*, n.m. **traditional song sung by men**

*rawəkke* n.f. **little rawe**

*rawīya* n.m. (pl. *rawīye*) **large leather water bottle**

*rawola* n.m. (pl. *rawole*) **ravine, small valley**

*rawulta* n.f. (pl. *rawulyaθa*) **small ravine**

*raxaša* n.m. (pl. *raxaše*) **walker**

*raxmana* adj. (f. *raxmanta*, pl. *raxmane*) **merciful**

*raxme* n.pl. **mercy, compassion** (sing. *raxma* **act of mercy**) | *šléla ráxme gu-lábbə d-án polise*<sup>1</sup> The policemen felt compassion in their hearts (A8:11); *b-raxme!* Bless you! (said to somebody who sneezes); *yá-babət rāxme!* O father of mercies (addressing God) (A31:6); *wúđli xa-ráxma mən-d-áwwa náša*<sup>1</sup> Perform an act of mercy for me with this man (A31:6).

*raxoša* n.m. (pl. *raxoše*) (1) **crutch, stilt.** (2) **large mixing tool shaped like a crutch**

*raxšana* n.m. (pl. *raxšane*) **walker**

*ray* n.f. (K./A.) **opinion** | *ráyux mòdìla*.<sup>21</sup> What is your opinion? (A27:7)

*raza* n.m. (pl. *raze*) **mass (in church)** | *y-awáxwa mašmòye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xzàya-w*<sup>1</sup> *qàše-w*<sup>1</sup> *wáða ràze*<sup>1</sup> We used to listen and see the priests performing the mass (B15:3).

*razi* adj. (invar.) (K./A.) **pleased, happy, agreeable** | *razítu ʔn-la*.<sup>21</sup> Do you agree or not? (B5:2); *ʔn-hóya rázi šánna díya pàlála*,<sup>1</sup>...*maqimàxle*<sup>1</sup> If she is agreeable to sharing her years,... we shall resurrect him (A4:46); *ràzi díye*<sup>1</sup> his pleasure (A8:57).

*razwana* n.m. (pl. *razwane*) (K.) **machine to frighten away birds in a vineyard or orchard** | This makes a banging noise. It operates by water from an irrigation channel filling a tray. When the water evaporates the arm of the machine rises and hits a tin, which makes a noise.

*rečal* n.m. **dairy products**

*rěš*-, *rəš*-, *rš*-, *š*- prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *reše*) (§13.3.19.) **upon** | *rěš-bárka díya*<sup>1</sup> on her knees (B5:175), *hóla rəš-túra*<sup>1</sup> She is on a mountain (A20:2), *dáryalla š-qaràwət*<sup>1</sup> They put her on the bed (A21:7), *múttalla rš-d-àn basmáre*<sup>1</sup> He placed them on the nails (A17:28); *l-xóde rəš-ʔəna*<sup>1</sup> He is alone by the well (A28:11). After verbs of movement: *zílle rəš-ʔəna*<sup>1</sup> He went to the spring (A15:2); *zílta š-tanúra*<sup>1</sup> She has gone to the oven (A38:4); *ʔánna riqela síqela rəš-d-ay-ʔilána mə-zdùθa*<sup>1</sup> They ran and climbed the tree out of fear (A13:11); *wítela b-rěši ʔup-ʔayya*<sup>1</sup> This also happened to me (B15:85). Idioms: *rəš-rěši* by all means (expressing assent), *ʔáhlán wa-sáhlán rəš-rěši*<sup>1</sup> You are very welcome (A22:24); *b-šəna*,<sup>1</sup> *š-rěši*<sup>1</sup> A hearty goodbye (A8:50). Combined with *b*:- *b-rěša* over them (A25:48); *mút t-áwəð b-rěše*.<sup>21</sup> What will he do to him? (A30:27)

*reša* adv. **above; directly** | *ʔáv xá-reša m-táma qú-si l-b-èθa*!<sup>1</sup> He—directly from there get up and go home! (narrative imperatives §15.7.) (A1:19); *t-ázax xa-rěša*<sup>1</sup> We shall go immediately (B9:15).

*reša* n.m. (pl. *reše*, *rešəwəθa*) **head; top; beginning**. (1) **head (of body)** | *driθa xəppo b-rěša*<sup>1</sup> She had put a veil on her head; *ʔu-mútte párrə gu-rěša*<sup>1</sup> They have put feathers on their head (B5:47); *ʔayya-ži šəp-rěšux-ila*<sup>1</sup> That is the place of your head (A24:51). Referring by synecdoche to whole person: *rěšux t-áwe basíma*<sup>1</sup> May you (literally: your head) be healthy (said to a person who has been recently bereaved). In oath: *b-rěšux*<sup>1</sup> *mó ʔamràna*.<sup>21</sup> By your head, what should I say? (A26:33). (2) **head (of**

**animals**) | *mátýele xa-káwtat ʔarwe, ʔibe tre-tláθa ʔálpá rēš-ʔarwe* He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep (A32:14). (3) **head person, leader** (pl. *rešane*) | *rešat maθa* village leader. (4) **head (of an instrument)** (pl. *rešaθa*) | *rešat maʔa* the head of spade. (5) **head (of vegetables)** | *xá-reša tíma* a head of garlic (B10:19). (6) **round (of cheese)** | Produced by draining in a muslin bag: *šqilli mánni qáttá m-réšat gùpta* I took with me a piece from the round of cheese. (7) **top, peak, tip** (pl. *rešáwaθa*) | *ʔilaneni t-xabušta m-reša-w šatta mnoqašta* Our apple tree is decorated from top to bottom (B8:29); *hóla gu-réšat xa-túra ramána* She is on the top of a high mountain (A8:21); *xazdóxwa gallále gu-rešáwaθa bélán bēl Turkáye* We would would harvest herbs on the (mountain) tops between us and the Turks; *rešə lišáne* the tip of his tongue (A45:1). (8) **beginning** | Temporal: *rešat šawma* the beginning of the fast. Spatial: *málka tíwa gu-réšat máθa* The king lived at the top (i.e. beginning) of the village (A25:1). (9) Idioms: *reša xtaya* upside down; downhill | *reša xtáya kúlle málxəle* Down hill it is all salt (A24:12); *šliθela reša-xtáya* She went down head first (A8:76); *léwət ʔati ʔe-bráta t-in-ʔána wiðalla gáni kóra b-rəšəx* Are you not the girl on account of whom I made myself blind (A16:7); *twíra twíra réše díye m-rēš-d-áyya-wawa* It was because of her that his head was all broken (A29:29); *b-rəšux* (I swear) by your head (that I am telling the truth) (A22:39).

*reša reša* prep. **over, across** | with actions involving movement: *har-ʔóýele mən-túra reša-reša d-o-gàre* He came straight from the mountain across that roof (A23:14); *b-xálmí zála reša-réša ða-yáma rába gòrta, yáma xwàrta* In my dream I went across a great sea, a white sea (A11:7); *m-éka meθanne bəzmàre ʔu-nasàrta, ta-t-odánnə gəšra šàwər réše réše* From where should I bring you nails and a saw to make him a bridge across which he could jump? (A17:9)

*rešaya* adj. (f. *rešeθa*, pl. *rešaye*) **first class, excellent, special** | *zamára rešáya-wewa* He was a first class singer (A7:6); *pišle rešáya gu-máθa ʔawwa* He became a leading figure in the village (A39:22); *qamáye ʔo-rešáya šaqłəxwale ta-jülle* First we took the best (of the spun wool) for clothes (B10:49); *xa-béθa rába góra rešáya* a large luxurious house.

*rexana, rixana* n.m. (pl. *rexane, rixana*) **basil; odiferous herb; perfume** | *qumta rixana balla* Her figure is (that of) an erect odiferous basil (C2:44).

*reza* n.m. (pl. *reze*) (K.) **row** | *kút y-azálwa zayámwa,<sup>1</sup> píše xá 'arb-ámma xamš-ámma náše réza rèza<sup>1</sup>* Everybody who went would stand, about four or five hundred people, in rows (A8:31); *hóla dwíqe kúlla rèza<sup>1</sup>* They were all standing in a row (A25:29).

*rəðya, rəðya* adj. (f. *rəðia*, pl. *rəðye*) (A.) **content, satisfied**

*rəhqa* n.m. adv./adj. **distance; distant**. (1) **distance** | *xá-bena xzélé m-rəhqa xá-mdi xwàra<sup>1</sup>* He suddenly saw in the distance something white (A14:28). Used adverbially: *muttéthalle rəhqa<sup>1</sup> mən-màtha<sup>1</sup>* She put him down far away from the village (A19:3); *rəhqe qásra<sup>1</sup>* The palace is in the distance/is distant (A24:48). (2) Attributive adjective: **distant, far** (§14.7.) | *qasra rəhqa* a distant palace; *maða rəhqa* a distant village. (3) Idioms: *y-azúwa mšamšúwa bεθ-qòra,<sup>1</sup> rəhqa mən-an-dukàne<sup>1</sup>* They would hold a ceremony in the cemetery—may (death) be far from these places! (formula used when referring to a cemetery or death) (B10:3); *šáwpe rəhqa m-áxxa jýára dəmma<sup>1</sup>* Pardon me (literally: may its place be far from here)—he was urinating blood (A18:24).

*rəjba* n.m. (pl. *rəjbe*) **crawling creature, reptile** | *rəjbat 'àra<sup>1</sup>* wildlife (A12:36).

*rəmya* adj. (f. *rəmiða*, pl. *rəmye*) **woeful; accursed** | *rəmyàða hawetúwa!<sup>1</sup>* May you be cursed! (A26:27)

*rənga* n.m. **ringing sound**

*rəpθa* n.f. (pl. *rəpθa*) **throb, pulse**

*rəpya* adj. (f. *rəpiða*, pl. *rəpye*) **lazy**

*rəqða* n.m. (pl. *rəqðe*) **dance, dancing**

*rəqqi* n.f. (K.) **stubbornness** | *dwíqla rəqqi<sup>1</sup>* She insisted (A5:7); *'áni har-doqúwa rəqqi t-azúwa<sup>1</sup>* They still insisted on going (A8:26); *bas-ta-rəqqi b-yawənnəx qa-xa-náša špila gu-tanùra<sup>1</sup>* but out of stubbornness (= against your will), I am going to give you to a paralysed man (living) in an oven (house) (A40:3).

*rəqqiyana* adj. (f. *rəqqiyanta*, pl. *rəqqiyane*) **stubborn, obstinate**

*rəsqā, rəzqa* n.m. (pl. *'arzāq*) (A.) **sustenance**

*rəšta* n.f. (pl. *rəšyaθa*) **head of a slaughtered animal** | *rəšta-w 'aqle* dish consisting of the cooked head and limbs of an animal

*rəzda* n.f. (pl. *rəzde*) **scree, row of rock debris on the side of a mountain**

*rəzya* n.m. **dye produced from walnut peel**

*rəzyana* adj. (f. *rəzyanta*, pl. *rəzye*) **dark in colour (especially colour of walnut peel)**

*rəzza* n.m. (pl. *rəzzane*) **rice** | *rəzza smòqa*<sup>1</sup> red rice (cooked with tomatoes) (B5:48); *rəzza y-awéwa 'o-t-!làθa*<sup>1</sup> The rice was the third one (in the degree of fineness, i.e. after the third sieving) (B10:13).

*rixa* n.m. (pl. *rixe*) **smell** | *míxele 'ína rixət xàmra*<sup>1</sup> He sniffed and smelt the odour of wine (A12:50); *kálba šqille rixa*<sup>1</sup> *t-xa-kállas*<sup>1</sup> The dog smelt a carcass (C8:5); *har-'ásqən gu-qáyrət bābi*<sup>1</sup> *har-šáqlən rixa mánne*<sup>1</sup> I shall just go up to my father's palace, I shall just have a quick look (literally: I shall take a smell of it) (A18:16); *šawqúwale l-šəmša*<sup>1</sup> *barázwa ta-t-là-yawəlwa rixa*<sup>1</sup> They left it in the sun to dry, so that it would not give off a smell (B7:20).

*rixa* adj. (f. *rixta*, pl. *rixe*) **long**

*rixana* → *rexana*

*riyada* n.f. (A.) **sport**

*rkawota* n.f. **riding; copulation**

*rkewa* n.m. (pl. *rkewe*) **stirrup**

*rməθa* n.f. (pl. *rmayaθa*) **udder**

*roma* n.m. (pl. *rome*) **hill**

*romta* n.f. (pl. *romyaθa*) **small hill** | *xzeli zina rəš-romta* I saw a person standing on the hill (C2:55)

*roxa* n.f. **spirit** | *ya-'àlaha*<sup>1</sup> *hal-róxa qa-d-ánna náše t-ila píše kəpa*<sup>1</sup> Oh God, give spirit to these people who have become stone (A8:82); *šléle róxət qúdša mən-šmáyya* The Holy Spirit descended from Heaven (B6:8).

*rpaθa* n.m. (pl. *rpaθe*) **blink, wink** | *rpaθat 'ena* blinking of the eyes; *b-xá rpaθa mṭéle tàma*<sup>1</sup> He arrived there in a blink (of the eye).

*rpoxa* adj. (f. *rpoxta*, pl. *rpoxe*) **loose** | *šabbaqa rpoxa* a loose belt (anton. *xloša* tight)

*rūba* n.m. (A.) **quarter**

*rubar* n.m./f. (pl. *rubare*) (K.) **river** | *rubarət* 'Amediya the river of Amedia (C2:41)

*runxa* n.f. (pl. *runxaθa*, *runxe*) **spear** | *məxyále rúmxe díye gu-šádrət 'áwíwa Tátar-i Slemán-i Səndi* ' He drove his spear into the chest of Tatar-i Sleman-i Səndi (A28:36).

*ruqta* n.f. **spittle**

*ruša* n.m. (pl. *rušane*) **shoulder; arm; upper arm** | cf. *drana* lower arm

*rušma* n.m. (pl. *rušme*) **sign** | 'ođile rúšma 'ax-slíwa' They make for him a sign like a cross (B6:36).

*rušta* n.f. (pl. *rušyaθa*) **small flat spade (with a head resembling a shoulder blade)** | used, for example, for flattening paddy field basins (*məššare*)

*ruta* n.f. (pl. *rutaθa*) **Friday**

*rutba* n.f. (A.) **rank**

*rzaya* n.m. **will, consent** | 'u-čú bəṛ-náša la-máte-lla 'állá b-rzáyət gána-díya t-àθya' Nobody can reach her, but rather she comes of her own will (A8:65); *t-la-rzáyət marăwáθa díya* ' without the consent of her parents.

/R/

*riye* pl. tan. **slobber, drivel**

*riya* n.m. (pl. *riye*) (Tiy.) **shepherd**

/s/

*sa'atta* n.f. (pl. *sa'attaθa*) (K./A.) **watch**

*sa'ət*, *sa'ta*, *sa'atta*, *sa'a* n.m./f. (pl. *sa'atte*) (K./A.) **hour** | *sá'ət kəmèla?* ' What time is it?; *sá'ət 'àrbəla* ' It is four o'clock; *sá'ət 'ýsra b-lèlè* ' ten o'clock



at night; *sáʔət ʔšta mbàdla*<sup>1</sup> at six in the morning (A6:5); *xá-saʔət xèna*<sup>1</sup> (after) another hour (A9:5); *pálgə səʔa*<sup>1</sup> half an hour (B6:15).

*sab, sǎbab, m-sǎbab* part. **because** | *ʔáraq mpalǝxla*<sup>1</sup> *m-yabiše*<sup>1</sup> *sab-é-ga xúrme liθwa táma*<sup>1</sup> They would produce arak from raisins, because at that time there were no dates there (B5:12); *šáβθa ʔašrta*<sup>1</sup> *mrazgíwa gʻána qa-t-sále qyámta*<sup>1</sup> *sab-qyámta b-lèle ʔyáwa*<sup>1</sup> On Saturday evening they prepared themselves to go down (to church) for the Easter (vigil), because Easter was at night (B5:53); *ʔámər ʔla-mòdi bráti*<sup>21</sup> *mára sǎbab ʔáwewa yála*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-t-la-pǎlx*<sup>1</sup> *lè y-áxəl*<sup>1</sup> He said ‘Why, daughter?’ She said ‘Because this young man (has made a rule that) whoever does not work will not eat (A21:29); *m-sǎbab ʔup-yárxət šáwewa-w tmánya*<sup>1</sup> *m-bar-sáʔat ʔǝčča b-léle*<sup>1</sup> *mšáre xánčǝ qàrθa wáya*<sup>1</sup> This was because even in July and August, after nine o’clock at night, it started to get rather cold (B15:27).

*sabila* n.m. (pl. *sabile*) **stem of a pipe (qalunka)**

*sadana* n.m. (pl. *sadane*) **anvil**

*sadda* n.m. (pl. *sadde*) **dammed section of paddy field consisting of a row of basins (mǎššare)**

*sahðuθa* → *sahðuθa*

*sagðana, saxðana* n.m. (pl. *sagðane, saxðane*) **worshipper** | *sagðánət sǎnǎme* worshipper of idols (B6:28)

*sahaða* n.m. (pl. *sahaðe*) **witness**

*sahða, saða* n.m. (pl. *sahðe*) **witness; martyr**

*sahðuθa, saðuθa* n.f. **evidence; martyrdom** | *qa-t-yáwi sahðuθa*<sup>1</sup> in order to give evidence (B1:18).

*saka* n.m (pl. *sake*) **mountain ridge**

*sala* n.m. (pl. *sale*) **storage basket** | used for dairy products, which are kept cool by flow of air

*sǎlǎmaške, sǎlammǎš, sǎlammǎš, sallaméš* n.f. (pl. *šǎlǎmaške*) (K.) **beehive; cylindrical compartment of beehive (made of basket)**

*sǎlamət* n.f. **safety; good health** (K./A.) | *ʔáxxa biš-sǎlamət-ila*<sup>1</sup> It is safer here (A30:51).

*sălaməttuθa* n.f. **safety; good health** (K./A.) | *'itli híwi t-áwət sáx*  
*'u-sălaməttuθa*<sup>1</sup> I hope you will be fine and in good health

*saləkke* n.f. (pl. *saləkyəθa*) **small basket of beehive**

*salíqa* n.m. **tune** | *t-ázi xa-fátra,*<sup>1</sup> *'al-salíqə zòrna*<sup>1</sup> They went off for a while according to the tune of the pipe (A25:27); *máxe zòrna xa-salíqa xèna*<sup>1</sup> He plays another tune on the pipe (A25:27).

*salla* n.f. (pl. *sallaθa*) **basket** | *sallət čamčə* basket for storing spoons hanging on the wall

*salθa* n.f. (pl. *sallaθa*) **basket** | made of willow (*xeləpa*) and mulberry (*tuθa*) twigs, chiefly used to refer to (1) small baskets used to keep bees in a beehive and (2) large baskets used to catch fish in a river.

*sama* n.m. **portion, share** | *'ána sámi t-yánne tlaǝxu*<sup>1</sup> I shall give you my share (A21:29); *sama zoda* the majority (n.), mostly (adv.): *'ína sáma zóda 'iyéwala qarəwət*<sup>1</sup> Most people, however, had a bed (B5:204); *'ima-t-y-aθéwa tǝlga*<sup>1</sup> *sáma zóda b-yárxət trəssər*<sup>1</sup> *yárxət xà*<sup>1</sup> when it snowed, mainly in December and January (B5:196).

*samma, sama* n.m. **poison, venom** | *žine*<sup>1</sup> *maštáli səmma*<sup>1</sup> Zine will give me poison to drink (A26:85).

*samma* adj. (f. *sammanta*, pl. *samməne*) **poisonous**

*samuna* n.m. (pl. *samune*) **loaf of bread**

*samxa* n.m. (pl. *samxe*) **large post around which vine grows** | used mainly for vines planted in farmland (*'aqara*)

*săna* n.m. (pl. *săne*) (A.) **labourer, builder**

*sănam* n.m. (pl. *sănəme*) (A.) **idol** | *səğđánət sənəme* worshipper of idols (B6:28)

*sănyai, senayi* adj. (K.) **easy** | *léla senáyí xzəyalle*<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to see him; *máše náša t-ásəq l-gáre b-sănyai*<sup>1</sup> A person can easily go onto the roof (B18:2).

*sănyuθa* n.f. **easiness**

*sanda* n.m. (pl. *sandə*) (A.) **support; prop** | *xoθe maxi stune 'u-'ap-sanda* Under it they will build pillars and a support (C3:10).

*sanduqa, şanduqa* n.m. (pl. *sandūqe, şandūqe*) (A.) **box**

*sanoya* n.m. (pl. *sanoye*) **poker for a fire**

*santān* n.m. **satin** | *kunnākýáθā sātān*<sup>1</sup> head-scarves of satin (B10:42)

*santiya* n.m. (pl. *santiye*) **centimetre** | *'i-maxālmāwa 'úp̄ra taqriban xamsī santiye*<sup>1</sup>  
They made the (layer of) mud about fifty centimetres thick.

*sapiqa* adj. (f. *sapiqta*, pl. *sapiqe*) **empty; not busy; riderless (horse)**.  
(1) **empty** | *xázye 'ina qásra sapiqa*<sup>1</sup> They found that the palace was empty (A12:34); *'ára 'iyáwa sapiqta*<sup>1</sup> The ground was (left) empty (without cultivation) (B5:76). (2) **unoccupied, not busy** | *'é-ga y-áwa bíš sapiqe*<sup>1</sup> *lá y-awéwa šúla rāba*<sup>1</sup> Then at that time (in the Autumn) they were more free and there was not much work (B5:19). (3) **riderless (horse)** | *xázýalle sùsa*<sup>1</sup> *'ina sapiqa*<sup>1</sup> They saw that the horse was without a rider (A29:29).

*sapoya* n.m. **bite, mouthful** | *xá sapóya t-axlānne*<sup>1</sup> I shall eat it with one bite (Qaṭina).

*saqawa* n.m. **water-giver** | *saqáwa d-ánna susāwàθa*<sup>1</sup> This water-giver of the horses (A12:59).

*saqđana* adj. (f. *saqđanta*, pl. *saqđane*) **tedious, exasperating** | *sátwa saqđānele*<sup>1</sup> Winter is harsh.

*saqqat* adj. (f. *saqqat*, pl. *saqqate*) **crippled**

*sara* → *sera*

*sarada* n.m. (pl. *sarade*) (K./A.) **sieve with large holes (for corn)**

*sar-amōða* n.m. **the first child to be baptized**

*sarapsēra*, *sarbsara* n.m. (pl. *sarapsēre*) (K.) **chain or rope for leading horse**

*sarastuθa* n.m. (K./P.) **honesty, frankness**

*sar-bar* n.m. (pl. *sar-barre*) **front row** | *mgabyanni m-gu-sar-barre* I would choose for myself (one of them) from the first rows (C2:63).

*sar-bari* n.m. **my first born child**

*sarbsara* → *sarapsēra*

*sardāb* n.m. (A.) **basement**

- sardər* n.m. (K.) **lintel** | *sardər tǎra* the lintel of a door (on the outside of the house)
- sarə* n.pl. **barley** | *xa dændəkθət sarə* a grain of barley
- sarətlana* n.m. (pl. *sarətlana*) **crab, lobster**
- sarga, serga* n.m. (pl. *sarge, serge*) **saddle** | *zwiná sérga qam-sùsa*<sup>1</sup> He has bought the saddle before the horse (D2:14).
- sar-gera* n.m. (K.) **leading ox on the threshing floor** | *sar-gèra,*<sup>1</sup> *yǎni* *ʔáwən majújuwala ʔan-táwre*<sup>1</sup> The leader, that is it would make the (other) oxen walk around (B5:84).
- sariqana* n.m. (pl. *sariqane*) **rake** | *hóle sráqa kolána b-sariqàna*<sup>1</sup> He is raking the street with a rake.
- sarḱola* adj. (f. *sarḱole*, pl. *sarḱole*) (K.) **having a bare head**
- sarmajanke, sarmažanke* n.f. (pl. *sarmajanke, sarmažanke*) (K.) **small hook of wood connecting the yoke to the beam (*mašana*) of the plough**
- sarmor, sarmora* (f. *sarmore*, pl. *sarmore*) adj. (K.) **sealed; unbreached**
- sarpašta* n.f. (pl. *sarpašyaθa*) **soft woolen blanket put on back of pack animal under the outer cover known as *quršana***
- sarqafliya* n.f. (K.) **deposit (on purchase)**
- sarqanna* n.m. (K.) **firstborn**
- saršoye* n.f. (K.) **place for washing oneself; large basin for washing dishes** | usually in an outhouse (*šopiθa*)
- sašana* n.m. (pl. *sašane*) **devil, demon** | *sašana qpixǎlle*<sup>1</sup> The devil has possessed him; *túwle l-súsət sašana*<sup>1</sup> He has become arrogant (literally: He is sitting on the horse of the devil); *sašane ʔilən*<sup>1</sup> We have demons (A22:26); *bəjbajət sašana* snail; *betət sašana* snail shell.
- sašanta* n.f. (pl. *sašanyaθa*) **demon, evil spirit**
- sašla* n.f. (pl. *šašlaθa*) **brass pail** | used by milkmaids of sheep: *sátlət màsta*<sup>1</sup> bucket of yoghurt (A11:4)
- sawa* n.m. (pl. *sawǎwaθa*) **old (man); grandfather; ancestor** | *naša sawa* old man; *sáwən Tóma* grandfather Toma (A50:1); *sawət sawən* our

ancestors; *sawǎwáθm t-qámθa kúlla támεwa mǐmáðe*<sup>1</sup> All our ancestors of former ages were baptized there (B3:21).

*sawta* n.f. (pl. *sawyaθa*) **old woman**

*sawunka* n.m. (pl. *sawunke*) **old man**

*sāx* adj. (f. *sāx*, pl. *saxe*) (K.) **healthy, alive** | *la-šawqítuley saxe*<sup>1</sup> Do not leave them alive (A8:8).

*saxara* n.m. (pl. *saxare*) **large brass dish** | used for *gərðo* stew

*saxðana* → *sağðana*

*saxlam* adj. invar. (K.) **fit, healthy**

*saxora* n.m. (pl. *saxore*) **sty, inflammation in the eye** | *plítile saxóra gu-ʔéne diye*<sup>1</sup> A sty formed in his eye.

*sayassa* n.m. (pl. *sayasse*) (K.) **three-year old male goat**

*saθra* n.m. **herb put in yoghurt**

*sebuθa* n.f. **old age**

*sela* (i) n.m. (K.) **concave metal iron griddle for making bread**

*sela* (ii) n.m. (A.) **stream, river** | *gəšrə Zaxo ramana selət xoθe milana* The high bridge of Zaxho, the river under it is blue (with grief) (C8:7)

*sema* n.m. **silver**

*semalta* n.f. (pl. *semalyaθa*) **ladder**

*senayi* → *sānayi*

*senike, senəkke* n.f. (pl. *senike*) (K./A.) **metal plate**

*seniya, šiniye, šiniya* n.f. (pl. *seniye*) (K./A.) **metal tray, metal plate**

*sentimeter* n.m. (pl. *sentimetre*) (E.) **centimetre** | *tláθi sentimetre ríxa*<sup>1</sup> thirty centimetres long (B6:55).

*sera* n.m. **moon** | *sera hádele tràša*<sup>1</sup> The moon is new, *sera píšle lăgána*<sup>1</sup> The moon is full (literally: has become a bowl), *šəmšət sera* moonlight; *sera poriyana* a bright moon; *ʔan-yomáθa t-awéwa rāba sera*<sup>1</sup> *qúwya*<sup>1</sup> days when the moon was very bright (B11:3).

*sera, sara* n.m. **goat's hair**

*serane* n.f. (K.) **picnic**

*serani* adj. | *xawxa serani* white peach

*sere* n.pl. (A.) **magic** | *xá'a tóto sèrè'* an old woman of magic (A27:18)

*səpa* n.m. (pl. *səpe*) **sword** | *mxili xa-səpa xéna'* Strike me another blow of the sword (A51:18).

*sərga* → *sarga*

*səgola* n.m. (Urm.) **dear person** | *səgoli* my dear; *'aziza səgólí xóna'* my dear brother (A40:1)

*səjan* n.m. (A.) **prison**

*səkra* n.m. (pl. *səkre*) **dam** | *hóle dwáqa səkra gu-nèra'* A dam is blocking the river.

*səkθa* n.f. (pl. *səkke, səkake*) **peg, stake; ploughshare** | *'ó-t šaworra šáwwa səkke,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-qéθa gu-be-təkke'* He who jumps seven stakes, (one) will hit him in his waist (D2:1).

*səllar* n.f. **frost** | *'aqára hóle dwáqa səllar'* The farm land is hard with frost.

*səlqa* n.m. **chard**

*səmbele* n.pl. **moustache** | *səmbelət šəbbəltət sərə* the hairs of a head of barley. Sing. *səmbəltá* one side of a moustache: *kul səmbəlti xa draya* Each (side) of my moustache is a cubit (A51:5).

*səmma* n.m., *səmθa* n.f. (pl. *səmmame*) (K.) **hoof of animal**

*səmmala* n.f. (pl. *səmmale*) **small bundle of grass or produce** | Four or five *səmmale* make up a *darza* large bundle. They are collected in the left hand (cf. C.Syr. *semmālā* 'left') with the sickle (*magla*) being held in the right.

*səmmala* adv. (C.Syr.) **left, to the left**

*səmmora* n.m. (pl. *səmmore*) **squirrel**

*səmθa* → *səmma*

*səmya* adj. (f. *smiθa*, pl. *səmye*) **blind**

*səndana* n.m. (pl. *səndane*) **large pot for jajək**

*sənjane* n.f. **type of dance**

*sənjəq, sənjaqa* (pl. *sənjaqe*) **crotchet-hook**

*sənnək* n.f. (collective) **insects that eat wheat** | *qəm-axlála xətte sənnək*<sup>1</sup>  
The wheat has been eaten by *sənnək* insects; *sənnəkθa* a single one of these insects.

*sənnorta* n.f. (pl. *sənnoryaθa*) **shoot (of corn)** | *xətte m-sənnorta*,<sup>1</sup> *yála m-qapəłta*<sup>1</sup>  
Wheat (is seen to be good) from when it is a shoot. A child (is seen to be good) from the time of (his mother's) embrace (D2:36).

*səpθa* n.f. (pl. *səppaθa, səpwaba*) **lip** | *səppaθət swana* the lips of the eaves (of a house)

*sərda* n.m. **stalks (remaining after leaves are eaten by animals)** |  
synon. *səryoqe*

*sərke* n.pl. **herb put in jajək (similar to mint)**

*sərmo* n.f. **herb put in jajək and cheese (like chive)**

*sərr* n.m. (pl. *ʔasrār*) (A.) **secret**

*sərra* n.f. (K.) **turn (in a queue)** | *mɛ́la sərrə d-áw ɬla-t-šəqəl*<sup>1</sup> His turn came to take (supplies) (B17:11); *náše hóla zíne sərra*<sup>1</sup> The people are standing (waiting their) turn (B17:10).

*sərri* adj. invar. (A.) **secret**

*sərsərri* n.m. **layer of fine white powder put on roof** | This is made by sieving white clay (*ʔupra xwara*)

*sərya* adj. (f. *sriθa*, pl. *sərye*) **bad** | *šeta sriθa t-ləla dwiqta daliθa* the bad year in which the vine did not yield (fruit) (C2:27).

*səryoqe* n.pl. (sing. *səryoqa*) **stalks of leaves remaining after leaves are eaten by animals** → *sɾq*

*səttināt* n.pl. (A.) **the (19)60s**

*sətwə* n.m. (pl. *sətwə*) **Winter**

*seylo* n.m. (E.) **siló**

*səbba* n.m. **hair of crotch**

*simarxa, simərxa* n.m. (pl. *simarxe*) **giant mythological bird** | cf. A24, A27

*sisisambər* n.m. **mythological plant** | cf. A50

- sivanoka* n.f. (pl. *sivanoke*) (K.) **type of small sparrow**
- sixurra* n.m. (pl. *sixurre*) (K.) **porcupine**
- skinta* n.f. (pl. *skinyaθa*) **knife**
- skita* adj. (f. *skitta*, pl. *skite*) (A.) **quiet, silent**
- skolaya* n.m. (pl. *skolaye*) **student**
- slemanaya* n.m. (pl. *slemanaye*) **man from Suleimaniyya**
- smiqa* adj. (f. *smiqta*, pl. *smiqe*) **red, reddened; red hot**
- smoqa* adj. (f. *smoqta*, pl. *smoqe*) **red; brown** | *šuréle zmirre b-súsa smòqa*<sup>1</sup> He started to sing to a brown horse (A25:11).
- smoqe* n.pl. **red sumac berries** | *ʿilanət smoqe* sumac tree, with bunches (*qanṭope*) of red berries
- smoqnaya* adj. (f. *smoqnəθa*, pl. *smoqnaye*) reddish
- smoquθa* n.f. **redness**
- sniqa* adj. (f. *sniqta*, pl. *sniqe*) **needy**
- sniquθa* n.f. **need**
- snoniθa* n.f. (pl. *snoniyaθa*) **swallow** | with a black body and a white breast
- solho* n.f. (A.) **peace, truce, reconciliation** | *widle sòlho*<sup>1</sup> They made peace → *soloh*
- sona* n.f. (pl. *sonaθa*) **type of duck**
- sorakke* n.f. (pl. *sorakyaθa*) (K.) **hollowed out open wooden pipe bringing water from a water channel (*šaqiθa*); gutter of roof; drain pipe**
- sorakθa* n.f. (pl. *sorakyaθa*) (K.) **lip in the ridge of the lower grindstone of a water-mill where sesame oil pours off**
- sparəgla* n.m. (pl. *sparəgle*) **quince**
- spay* adj. invar. (K.) **good, well.** (1) **good** | *hállì xa-súsa spày*<sup>1</sup> Give me a good horse (A12:62); *bábux spày-našéle*<sup>1</sup> *xàwran-ile*<sup>1</sup> Your father is a good man, he is our friend (A14:61). (2) **well** | *ʿéne diyé*<sup>1</sup> *píšela spày*<sup>1</sup> His eyes became well (A24:21); *dàx-it*<sup>2</sup> *spày-in*<sup>1</sup> How are you? I am well.



adv. **well** | *qa-t-xáyən spáy 'àxxa'* so that I can live well here (A3:3); *qəm-awádle rába spáy'* He did it very well.

*spayúθa* n.f. **goodness; favour** | *'ána spayùθən wáða'* I am doing good (A14:34); *wúð ða-spáyúθa m̀nni'* Do me a favour (A7:17).

*spena* n.f. (pl. *spene, spenane, spenaθa*) (K.) **wedge** | *stíple qésa b-spèna'* He split the wood in the middle with a wedge; *naqrátla spèna'* You knock in the wedge.

*sparto* n.f. **alcoholic spirit**

*spisa* adj. (f. *spista*, pl. *spise*) **rotten, worn out** | *píšele m̀ybur' hà-t-ile' ríxa 'əθya m̀nne díye spisa'* He remained like that, of necessity, until a rotten smell came from him (A27:43).

*squpθa* n.f. (pl. *squpyaθa*) **lintel**

*stākana* n.m. (pl. *stākane*) (K.) **glass (for drink)**

*stanga* n.m. (pl. *stange*) (K.) **narrow mountain path**

*stavla, stawla* n.m. (pl. *stavle, stawle*) (K.) **wooden frame for carrying loads on pack animal** | Each animal had four of these: *stavlət qése* type used for carrying wood; *stavlət kepe* reinforced type used for carrying stones.

*stərra* n.m. (pl. *stərre*) **storeroom for food** | contains bags made of dried skins (*guðe*)

*stuna* n.m. (pl. *stunane*) (K.) **post; pole; pillar**

*stunta* n.f. (pl. *stunyaθa*) **small post**

*sula* n.m. **dung, manure**

*sulamməs' → sālāmaške*

*sulaqa* n.m. **ascension** | *'edət sulaqa* Festival of Ascension (40th day after Easter)

*suləkθa* n.f. **small pipe** | e.g. a pipe used to carry sesame oil running off millstones.

*sulina* n.m. (pl. *suline*) **clay pipe section (several of which are joined together to form a pipe); interlocking section of church roof**

*sulta* n.f. (pl. *sulyaθa*) **dunghill** | *mən-málka šála l-sùlta*,<sup>1</sup> *mən-sùlta šála málke*<sup>1</sup>  
From being king people descend to the dung heap and from the dung heap people rise to be kings (A40:13).

*sunniθa* n.f. (pl. *sunniyaθa*) **thorny bush bearing raspberries (halwasne)**

*suraya* n.m./adj. (pl. *suraye*) **Assyrian Christian**

*surayuθa* n.f. **Christianity**

*surəθ* n.f. **Assyrian language**

*surgada* n.m. **calendar**

*susa* n.m. (pl. *susəwaθa*, *suse*) **horse**

*susta* n.f. (pl. *susyaθa*) **mare** | *sustət ʿabona* ladybird

*suta* n.f. (pl. *sutaθa*) **trap for partridges (qəqwane)** | consisting of trap doors over walls made of stone

*swana* n.m. (pl. *swanane*) **overhanging edge of a roof, eaves of roof** | *swanáne palṭiwa m-gùda*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-lá-miya šále gu-gùda*<sup>1</sup> The eaves protruded from the wall, so that the water would not run down the wall (B5:191).

*swariya* n.m. (pl. *swariye*) (K.) **horseman**

*swata* n.f. **surfeit; satiety** | *ʿu-bxiθa hál swáta diya*<sup>1</sup> She wept until she was sated (A8:71)

*swire* n.f. (pl. *swiriyaθa*) (K.) **stream, small tributary of a river**

*syāʿa* n.m. (pl. *syāʿane*) **fence**

*syamta* n.f. **ordination**

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*šabota* n.f. (pl. *šabaθa*, *šaboyaθa*) **finger** | *šabotət ʿisəqθa* ring finger; *šabota gorta* thumb; *šabota zurta* little finger; *šabota gawεθa* middle finger

*šabun* n.m. **soap** | *šabun t-raggʿe* type of soap made out of gallnuts (*apše*); *šabunət ʿaqla* kneecap

*šad-* part. (inflected with L-suffixes §8.20.5.) **afraid** | *šadli* I am afraid; *šadlux* You (ms.) are afraid; *šadlən* We are afraid; *šadwale* He was afraid; *nāšət máθa šadwala mənney<sup>1</sup>* The people of the village were afraid of them (B18:3); *ma-t-šadwalən<sup>1</sup>* How we were afraid (B8:19).

*šāda* n.m. (A.) **echo**

*šadra* n.m. **chest, breast; front; middle** | *xpáqalle gu-šadra diya<sup>1</sup>* She is hugging him to her breast (A4:58); *l-šadrət gəppa wirwala<sup>1</sup>* She entered the front of the cave (A51:12); *tarte yawne šukraye tiwe šadrə be-łaye* Two white doves sitting in the middle of the upper room (C2:29).

*šala* n.m. (pl. *šale*) **goatskin or lambskin (spread on floor to sit on)**

*šalila* adj. (f. *šalilla*, pl. *šalile*) **sober**

*šalma* n.m. (pl. *šalme*) **small bush with small leaves and small sweet red berries; the berries of this bush**

*šamərma* n.f. (pl. *šamərma*) **thorn-bush with small edible berries** | It is gathered in mountains and used as fodder for animals in winter.

*šanətta* n.f. (A./K.) **skill, craftsmanship**

*šanita* n.f. (A.) **product, job; skill** | *ʔawwa šəbbāqa šanitela<sup>1</sup>*, *šanitət xanāwəθele<sup>1</sup>* This belt is manufactured, it is a product of looms; *lípwalən šanita<sup>1</sup>* We learnt a skill; *ʔyya xoš-šanitela<sup>1</sup>* That is a good plan! (A44:3)

*šapra* n.m. **morning** | only in: *šloθət šapra* morning prayer

*šaruḅa* adj. (f. *šarupta*, pl. *šaruḅe*) **smarting (food), spicy**

*šarupuθa* n.f. **spiciness**

*šawade* n.pl. **domesticated animals (usually sheep and goats)**

*šawaya* n.m. (pl. *šawaye*) **dyer**

*šawle* n.m. (sing. *šawalta*) **leather shoes**

*šawma* n.m. (pl. *šawme*) **fast** | *rəš-šawma<sup>1</sup>* the beginning of the fast (of Lent) (B5:156)

*šawməkka* n.m. **a man dressed up in sheep skins who goes around the houses of the village at the beginning of the fast of Lent requesting gifts, or a model figure so dressed and carried around the village** (B5:156ff., B16:7ff.)

*ṣawoya* n.m. (pl. *ṣawoye*) **painter**

*ṣawθa* n.f. (pl. *ṣawathā*) **speech; sound** | *ṣáwθa lèle mṣawóθe mánna díya*<sup>1</sup> He did not speak to her at all (A21:18); *ṣawθat ʾaθuθa* the sound of a letter; *wélax hawnànta*,<sup>1</sup> *b-ʾiqárat ṣáwθa basimta*,<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-màqul*<sup>1</sup> You have been clever, with the honour of sweet and fine words (A40:16); *múrra ṣáwθa xà-gaya xéta*<sup>1</sup> Repeat what you said again (A25:61); *ʾáyya ṣáwθi dūs-ila*<sup>1</sup> What I say is true (A40:4).

*ṣawyana* n.m. (pl. *ṣawyane*) **painter**

*ṣewa* n.m. **thirst**

*ṣeda* n.m. **hunt** | *báyyan páltan ṣèda*<sup>1</sup> I want to go out hunting (A4:1).

*ṣədfá* n.m. (A.) **chance** | *b-ṣədfá* (A8:14) by chance

*ṣəmawla* n.f. (pl. *ṣəmawle*) **brown squirrel**

*ṣəmmaðra* n.m. (pl. *ṣəmmaðre*) **violet** | *xəwarθi t-azəx ṣəmmaðre* My friend, let us go (and collect) violets (C2:14).

*ṣəmta* n.m. **type of cement** | It consists of *jabla* and stones.

*ṣəppa* n.f. (pl. *ṣəppathā*) **finger; rod protruding from a stone wheel of a roller (mandorta)** → *ṣabota*

*ṣəpra* n.f./m., *ṣəppəθa* n.f. (pl. *ṣəpre*) **sparrow**

*ṣəpya* adj. (f. *ṣpiθa*, pl. *ṣəpye*) **pure**

*ṣəqla* n.m. **decoration; decorative occasion** | *y-odíwale xa-ṣəqla*<sup>1</sup> They made it a decorative occasion (B5:72).

*ṣəṣra* n.f. (pl. *ṣəṣraθa*, *ṣəṣre*) **cockroach**

*ṣəṣse* n.pl. **seeds of the lagna plant** | These grow in thorny pods. They are eaten as a snack.

*ṣətpa* n.m. (pl. *ṣətpə*) **crack**

*ṣəxwa* n.m. (pl. *ṣəxwe*) **clear sky** | *ṣəxwela*<sup>1</sup> It is clear (A34:5); *hóle ṣxáya b-ṣəxwe*<sup>1</sup> He is swimming breast-stroke.

*ṣiniye*, *ṣiniya* → *seniya*

*ṣiṭa* n.m. (pl. *ṣiṭe*) **span**

*ṣiwən* n.m. (pl. *ṣiwane*) **border**

*šiya* adj. (f. *šitha*, pl. *šiyē*) **thirsty** | *šiya miya* thirsty for water (A14:27)

*šlawā* n.m. **tether to tie an animal to a post**

*šlawiθa* n.f. **small tether**

*šlāmθa* n.f. (pl. *šlāmyaθa*) **form, appearance** | *šlāmθat paθa* facial expression; *šlāmθéy náše gabbàre*<sup>1</sup> their appearance (was that of) warriors (A8:54).

*šliwa* n.m. (pl. *šliwe*, *šliwane*) **cross** | *y-ođáwa šliwa l-tàra*<sup>1</sup> She would make (the sign of) the cross on the door (B5:41); *y-ođáwa šliwa màšxa*<sup>1</sup> She (the bride) makes (the sign of) the cross in oil (B5:40).

*šliwana* n.m. (pl. *šliwane*) **knot; drawing of a cross** | *wúddli hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *šliwána b-tàrat bèθa*<sup>1</sup> Draw a cross for me like this on the door of the house (B8:32).

*šlothā* n.f. (pl. *šloyaθa*, *šlāwaθa*) **prayer** | *šlothat ramša* evening prayer; *šlāwaθat xele* prayers for his strength, blessing prefixed to names of saints; *šlāwaθat xele Mar-Sawa* the Blessed St. Sawa.

*šoloh* n.m. (A.) **truce, peace** | *wídle šoloh mánne diye*<sup>1</sup> He made a truce with him (A29:62).

*šopiθa* n.f. (pl. *šopiyāθa*) **outhouse, shed** | This contains the oven (*tanura*), the grindstone (*xaşolta*), the cooking stones (*kanuna*) and the wash place (*saršoye*)

*šoşinta* n.f. (pl. *šoşine*) **azerole tree; azerole fruit (edible red berry)** | *ʔilanat šoşine*

*šoşiθa* n.f. (pl. *šoşiyāθa*) **plait, lock of hair** | *priməlla šoşiyāθa*<sup>1</sup> they cut their locks (A31:10)

*šitpa* adj. (f. *šitpa*, pl. *šitpe*) **split, cracked**

*šibuğ* n.m. (A.) **paint** | *kúlla mđita máxyəlla šibuğ*<sup>1</sup> They painted the whole town (A4:34).

*šudra* n.f. (pl. *šudraθa*) **shirt, blouse** | *šudrat lawindiye* shirt with long sleeves; *šudrat xoθa* blouse worn under other clothes; *šudrat jurjət* velvet blouse

*šūf* n.m. (A.) **wool**

*šupa*, *šopa* n.f. (pl. *šupāwaθa*, *šupe*, *šopaθa*) (K.) **stove**

*ṣuwarda* n.f. (pl. *ṣuwardaθa*) **wide mountain pass**

*ṣuwaya* adj. (f. *ṣwiθa*, pl. *ṣuwaye*) **hard**

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*šaʿb* n.m. (A.) **people**

*šab* n.m. (A.) **alum**

*šāb* n.m./adj. (A.) **young, young man**

*šābāka* n.f. (A.) **net**

*šabθa* n.f. (pl. *šabbaθa*) **Saturday; week**

*šabuða* n.m. (pl. *šabuðe*) **rod; skewer** | *šabuðat ʿarxe* driving rod in water-mill that is turned by the propellers, made of willow (*xelapa*) soaked in grease (*tarba*); *y-oðíwa... bāsre-u... šabūðe!* They would make meat dishes and kebabs (B5:13).

*šabuqa* n.m. (pl. *šabuqe*) **rod** | *baska šabuqe t-dawa* Her locks are rods of gold (C2:78).

*šabuqta* n.f. (*šabuqyaθa*) **rod, shaft; shuttle (on a loom)** | *šabuqtat dudiya* wooden bar on the side of a cradle (to which the swaddling bands are tied); *šabuqtat tope* metal rod for cleaning the muzzle of a gun

*šadda* n.m. (pl. *šadde*) **spool** | for thread made of cotton (*ktana*) or gut (*gādde*)

*šadāsta* n.f. (pl. *šadāsyathā*) **pre-wedding party (to which close family and friends are invited)**

*šadlaxana* n.f. **party, festivity**

*šaḍaya* n.m. (pl. *šaḍaye*) **carder (of wool)** | referring to a person doing the carding or the instrument used for carding

*šaharta* n.f. **prayer vigil (at Christmas and Easter)** | *y-awoðíwa gáwe díye šaharta!* They would hold vigil in it (the church) (B2:5); *sáma zóda náše y-ázi šaharta!* Most people went to the vigil (B5:53); *šaharta qa-t-qyàmta pálta!* the vigil until the resurrection comes out (at Easter) (B5:54).

*šaka* n.m. (pl. *šake*) **shoot of a vine** | grows from the tendrils (*dalye*)

*šakka* n.m. (pl. *šakke*) (K.) **two-year-old male sheep (gelding)**

*šakroke* n.f. **bush with thorny pods**

*šala*, *šāl* n.m. (pl. *šale*) (A.) **shawl, kerchief; sash wrapped around waist** | *šalət xaša* back/waist kerchief; *šalət qðala* neck kerchief; *šalət turma* type of wide waist sash worn by men (in which a sword is held)

*šalgamme* n.pl. (sing. *šalgamta* f.) **turnips, swedes**

*šabila* n.m. (pl. *šalile*) **large basket** | used for transporting straw from the threshing floor (*bədra*) to the storage bin (*zənja*): *xənjər l-gótət xəwrux gu-šalilət tūna*<sup>1</sup> A dagger in the side of your friend (as if) into a basket of straw (D2:41), said when you do not care for your friend.

*šalla* n.m. (K.) **woolen trousers; suit of clothes; type of fabric made from wool** | *šalla ʔu-bərmalta* trousers and jacket; *jullət šalla* clothes made of *šalla* fabric

*šallala* n.m. (pl. *šallale*) (A.) **waterfall**

*šalqo* n.f. **smallpox** | *šalqo t-miya* chickenpox

*šāma* n.f. **wax** | *šāmət duša* beeswax

*šama* n.m. (pl. *šame*) (A.) **mole (on skin)**

*šāmala* n.f. (pl. *šāmale*) (K.) **candle** | *plītla šāmala šāve lhàya*<sup>1</sup> She came out glowing like a night candle (A38:14).

*šamaša*, *šumaša* n.m. (pl. *šamaše*, *šumaše*) **deacon**

*šambəs* adj. invar. **recalcitrant, frisky (mule)** | *ʔayya kodānta šambəs-ila*<sup>1</sup> This mule is frisky.

*šamina* adj. (f. *šaminta*, pl. *šamine*) **fertile** | *Bérwər ʔila xa-ʔàθya*<sup>1</sup> *šaminele*<sup>1</sup> Barwar is a land which is fertile (B1:5).

*šamšuma* n.m. (pl. *šamšume*) **large waterfall**

*šana* n.m. (pl. *šanane*) (K.) **honeycomb** | *šanə parxe* chickenpox (literally: honeycomb of peeling skin); *šanət zarəqte* section from a wasps' nest. This is put in the cage of partridge chicks (*pīpa*), since it contains worms, which the chicks feed on.

*šangabi* n.m. (K.) **weeping willow** | *túrxət šangabi ʔi-šáli l-àra*<sup>1</sup> The branches of the weeping willow hang down to the ground.

*šapira* adj. (f. *šapirta*, pl. *šapire*) **beautiful, pleasant** | *ʿa-zúrta ràba šapirtewa*<sup>1</sup>  
The young one was very beautiful (A14:82).

*šapna* n.f. (pl. *šapnaða*) **instrument for smoothing ground after ploughing and sowing** | This was made of oak twigs (*taqanət þarma*). It was connected by ropes to the beam that holds the oxen together (*qaṭira*); *maxe šapna* He uses the *šapna*.

*šapra* n.m. (pl. *šapre*) (A.) **large knife**

*šāqa* n.m. (A.) **joking, fun**

*šaqā* n.m. (pl. *šaqe*) **lower leg; legging (covering lower leg)**

*šaqiða* n.f. (pl. *šaqiyaða*, *šaqyaða*) **irrigation channel; groove; scar**. (1) **irrigation channel** | *l-ay-gõt-hòðax t-šaqiða*<sup>1</sup> the farther side of the channel (A9:1). (2) **groove** | *šaqyaða xriṭe gu-xšipta* grooves carved into wooden door lock, for rods (*qulqulyaða*) that release and lock the bolt (*dawra*). (3) **scar** | *xírre gu-réšət Zālo*<sup>1</sup> *ʿiṭwa šaqyàða*<sup>1</sup> *brinàne*,<sup>1</sup> *gòre ràba*<sup>1</sup> He looked at the head of Zāl (and saw) that there were scars, enormous wounds (A29:3).

*šaqla* n.m. (pl. *šaqle*) **supporting pole** | Such poles are attached to a bier (*tirta*) and have pieces of cloth (*julle*) tied between them. They are also used to support the roof of booths (*kuprane*).

*šaqlanət þaðwaða* n.m., adj. **two-faced, deceitful** | Literally: one who assumes faces.

*šaqola* n.m. (pl. *šaqole*) **lower leg; plumb line (used in building)**

*šaqqa* n.m. **game played with a bat and ball** (B11:10ff.)

*šaqqana* n.m. (pl. *šaqqane*) **slap, blow** | *ʿarya máxyalle šaqqána l-ʿaqər-náθət dèwa*<sup>1</sup> The lion clouted the wolf on the root of his ear (A42:2).

*šarafta*, *šarapða* n.f. (pl. *šaraftyaða*) **rope made of flax** | Used to hang the shafts (*mayoye*) of the churn (*guða*) on the frame.

*šarba* n.f. (pl. *šarbe*, *šarbaða*) **earthenware jug** | synon. *kawaza*

*šarbatana*, *šarəbtana*, *mšarbatana* n.m. (pl. *šarbatane*) **cane, pliant wooden stick for driving animals** | usually made of sticks from the pomegranate tree (*harmonta*); *máxyalla ṭlá šarbatáne xéne t-qèse*<sup>1</sup> He hit her with three other wooden canes (A24:53).



*šäre* n.pl. **wet cattle dung**

*šarəz* adj. (invar.) (K.) **familiar, knowledgeable (of an area)** | <sup>ʔaw</sup>  
*šarəz-ile b-ürxa*<sup>1</sup> He is familiar with the road; <sup>ʔáy</sup> *šarəz-ila b-ürxa*<sup>1</sup> She  
is familiar with the road.

*šārīf* adj. invar. (A.) **honourable, noble** | <sup>ʔáti rába šārīf-nàšət</sup><sup>1</sup> You are a  
very honourable person (A26:5).

*šarīr* n.m. (A.) **evil**

*šarira* adj. (f. *šarīra*, pl. *šarīre*) **true, truthful; honourable** | <sup>ʔárxən šarīra</sup><sup>1</sup>  
our honourable guest (A26:30).

*šārīt* n.m. (A.) **tape (recording)**

*šarnīye, šernīye* n.pl. (sing. *šarnīta*) **sweets**

*šarpa* n.m. **wrap worn around the neck, extending over front of  
body** | usually with tassels (*gugīye*)

*šarre* n.f. (pl. *šarräwaθa*) (K.) **battle; war** | *tre yalone havrəkke šarreley rəš-mam-  
məkke* two rival children are fighting on the breasts (C2:39).

*šaršura* n.m. (pl. *šaršure*) **small waterfall**

*šarṭ, šārət* n.f. (pl. *šarāte, šūrūt*) (K./A.) **condition; agreement; test,  
ordeal, challenge; court case; judgement, sentence; court;  
custom** (1) **condition** | <sup>ʔaláha hole-mūra</sup><sup>1</sup> *t-yawəllux*<sup>1</sup> *b-šārṭ*<sup>1</sup> *kú-mdít*  
*yawəllux*<sup>1</sup> *ta-šwáwux t-yáwəl trē*<sup>1</sup> God has said that he will give to you  
on condition that everything he gives to you he will give to your  
neighbour twofold (A3:4); *šūrūt-díyi mkumlílux*<sup>2</sup> Have you fulfilled  
my conditions? (A12:16); *ha-t-dóqət šārṭ mən-d-ó*<sup>1</sup> *nàša*<sup>1</sup> until you agree  
on conditions with that man (A12:42). (2) **agreement** | *wídle šārṭ*<sup>1</sup>  
*ta-máxa l-gòðàðe*<sup>1</sup> He made an agreement that they would strike each  
other (in a contest) (A52:15). (3) **test, ordeal, challenge** | <sup>ʔən-  
šārət díyi qəm-yáðàtla</sup><sup>1</sup> *xo-b-gawərànnux*<sup>1</sup> If you know (the answer to) my  
test, I shall indeed marry you (A25:62). (4) **court case** | <sup>ʔíléy šārátə</sup>  
*t-amrúla qa-mállka*<sup>1</sup> They have cases (to present) to the king (A17:31).  
(5) **judgement, sentence** | *šārṭ qázi t-yawəlla tlàlux*<sup>1</sup> The judge will  
make a sentence in your favour (A6:7). (6) **court (proceedings)** |  
*wírela šarṭ-qázi*<sup>1</sup> They entered the court of the judge (A6:9). (7) **custom** |  
*w-áxni liθ gu-šārət díyən*<sup>1</sup> *bràta*<sup>1</sup> *krəstyànta*<sup>1</sup> *gáwera mušəlmàna*<sup>1</sup> But it is not  
our custom that a Christian girl marries a Muslim (B4:9).

*šaruθa* n.f. (pl. *šaruyathā*) **lunch**

*šarθa* n.f. (pl. *šaryathā*) **navel**

*šaša* n.m. (pl. *šaše*) **comb of a bird** | *ʾáwwa mo-téréle b-šaša*<sup>1</sup> What bird is this with a comb? (D1:7)

*šašta* n.f. (pl. *šašyathā*) **turban**

*šata* n.f. **plaster** | *píšli bēl-šata l-šandūxta*<sup>1</sup> I have come between the plaster and the polishing stone (D2:24), i.e. I am done for.

*šaθeθa* n.f. (pl. *šatayathā*) **big drinker (f.)**

*šatyana* n.m. (pl. *šatyane*) **big drinker**

*šaṭər* adj. invar. **beautiful, handsome** | *xa-bróna šaṭər*<sup>1</sup> a handsome son (A8:22)

*šaṭṭa* n.m. (A.) **river**

*šaθa* n.f. **fever** | *b-xšáwəwən šáθa doqàli*<sup>1</sup> I think I have caught a fever.

*šaθana* adj. (f. *šaθanta*, pl. *šaθane*) **feverish**

*šávana* n.m. (pl. *šávane*) (K.) **shepherd** | *dóqəx šávàna*<sup>1</sup> We hire a shepherd (B5:109).

*šáve* n.f. (K.) **night** | *plíṭla šámála šáve lhàya*<sup>1</sup> She came out glowing like a night candle (A38:14).

*šawba* n.m. (*šawbe*) **headcold, influenza** | *təpyen šawba* I have caught a cold

*šawbana* adj. (f. *šawbanta*, pl. *šawbane*) **suffering from a headcold**

*šawpa* n.m. (pl. *šawpe*) **footprint; place** | *ʾánna ʾíla šawpət ʾaqlaθəy*<sup>1</sup> These are their footprints; *bróna dīye šaqəl šawpe dīye*<sup>1</sup> *bar-d-àw*<sup>1</sup> His son will take his place after him (A8:2); (*b-*)*šawp-*, (*b-*)*šop-* adv. **in place of, instead of** | *hálli básra šópət ləxma*<sup>1</sup> Give me meat instead of bread; *dáx páyəš málka šawpət bróni*<sup>2</sup> How will he become king in place of my son? (A8:4); *péša ʾáy ʾàxxa*<sup>1</sup> *b-šópət brónən*<sup>1</sup> Let her stay here in place of our son (A4:39); *de-puš-šəpux*<sup>1</sup> Stay where you are! (A14:20); *xəṭte... šəp-rəzza*<sup>1</sup> wheat sown after the harvest of rice (B5:95); *šlámallux*<sup>1</sup> *sáwi šópət bābi*<sup>1</sup> Greetings to you, my old man, (you have) a place (like that of) my father (in my respect) (A24:8).

*šawwa* num. (f. *ʔašwa*) **seven** | *ʔurʒət šawwa* the seventh man; *baxtət ʔašwa* the seventh woman; *šawwa xabwaba* Seven Sisters (= the Pleiades constellation)

*šawwabn-* num. **seven of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *šawwabnən* the seven of us; *šawwabnəxu* the seven of you; *šawwabnéy* the seven of them

*šawwi* num. **seventy**

*šaxina* adj. (f. *šaxinta*, pl. *šaxine*) **hot; warm** | *laxma šaxina darmánət náša kþina*! Hot bread is the medicine of a hungry man (D2:69).

*šaxinuθa* n.f. **heat, warmth**

*šaxxa* adj. (f. *šaxxe*, pl. *šaxxe*) (K.) **stupid**

*šāyana* n.m. (pl. *šāyane*) **plasterer**

*šazada* n.m. (pl. *šazade*) (P.) **prince** | *wirtela hátxa ʔina hóle xa-šazáda dmíxa kásla diya*! She came in like this and there was a prince lying with her! (A4:51)

*šazatta* n.f. (P.) **princess**

*šəða* (i) n.m. (pl. *šəðe*) **almond, almond tree**

*šəða* (ii) n.m. (pl. *šəðe*) **demon**

*šəðana* adj. (f. *šəðanta*, pl. *šəðane*) **mad**

*šekāro!* interj. **call to stop an animal** | *hó šekāro!* Wo there! (A22:25).

*šekər* n.f. **sugar**

*šenəkka* n.m (pl. *šenəkke*) **a bird of prey**

*šera* (i) n.m. (pl. *šere*, *šerane*, *šerāwaba*, *šəryāwaba*) **saint's festival**

*šera* (ii) n.m. (pl. *šere*) (A.) **poem; verse** | *qimən moláxmanna ʔanna šere bud-diye*! I composed these verses about him (C4:3).

*šeta* n.f. (pl. *šənne*) year | *kul šeta*, *kuššət* every year; *ʔaššeta* this year; *šetət wirra* last year; *šetə t-ila b-θaya* next year; *xa naša wira b-šənne* an old person; *ʔāyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorəllux*! It has been a year that they have been here without asking for you (A26:78).

šēx n.m. (pl. šexiye) **Arab elder, sheikh**

šexani | xägga šexani type of dance performed with a line of people in a row with linked arms

šēna n.m. **peace** | b-šēna θélux!<sup>1</sup> Welcome; b-šēna b-ṭawàṭha!<sup>1</sup> Welcome and greetings!; pús b-šēna!<sup>1</sup> Goodbye! xoš-ʔáṭya b-šēna!<sup>1</sup> She is welcome (A21:10). adj. invar. **tame, domesticated; at ease** | dawéra rába šēnele!<sup>1</sup> A mule is very tame (B5:132); tawáṛta šēnele!<sup>1</sup> The cow is domesticated (B5:175); ʔu-brōn-diye hádax píša šēna mánne diye!<sup>1</sup> His son had become at ease with him (B17:5).

šenaya adj. (f. šeneṭha, pl. šenaye) **tame**

šepanta n.f. (pl. šepanyaṭha) **rubber, eraser**

šabbaqa n.m. (pl. šabbaqe) **belt (leather or woven)** | worn by men and women

šabbalta n.f. (pl. šablaṭha, šable) **head of wheat or barley** | bréla xàṭṭe,<sup>1</sup> dwoṭla šablàṭha!<sup>1</sup> The wheat grew and bore heads.

šabbərṭha, šabbərta n.f. (pl. šabbərṭyaṭha) **bracelet**

šabbat n.m. (K./A.) **dill**

šadda n.f. (pl. šaddaṭha) **demon** | šaddət Mar-ʔOdišo ṭ-áṭya ʔálləxu!<sup>1</sup> The demon of Saint ʔOdišo will come to you (said to a child as a warning); qəm-maxyála šadda!<sup>1</sup> A demon has hit her, qəm-qapxála šadda!<sup>1</sup> A demon has possessed her (said of a woman who is afraid or acts emotionally).

šaddalta n.f. (pl. šaddalṭyaṭha, šadle) **lullaby**

šadla (i) n.m. (pl. šadle) **lullaby**

šadla (ii) n.m. (pl. šadle) **seedling; sapling**

šaftiya n.m. (pl. šaftiye) (K.) **water melon**

šakkuṭha n.f. (A.) **doubt, suspicion** | kamət jawja b-ʔašquṭha naše nabli šakkuṭha Whenever she moves coquettishly, people become suspicious (C2:73).

šakla n.m. (pl. šakle) **form, appearance; picture, image** | yámmi ḏitalla b-šakle Bedwàye wéwa!<sup>1</sup> My mother knew that they were from Bedu by their appearance (B9:5); xírre qəm-xazéle šakle diye tàma!<sup>1</sup> He looked and saw his own image there (A46:4); šqilli šakla diya!<sup>1</sup> I took a picture of

it (B3:21); *'an-báyyat šakla, 'ittan šaklat video*<sup>1</sup> If you want a picture, we have a video film (B15:93).

*šaklana* adj. (f. *šaklanta*, pl. *šaklane*) **beautiful; pleasant** | *mən-yóma qamáya brèla, 'atxa-jwànge-wewa, 'atxa-spáy 'atxa šakláne 'u-xəlye*<sup>1</sup> From the first day (after) they were born, they were so beautiful, so fine, so bonny and sweet (A8:6); *rába šaklánta 'iyáwa basimta*<sup>1</sup> It (the occasion) was very beautiful and pleasant (B5:55); *šáwθa gu-púmmət mərəla šaklánta*<sup>1</sup> A word is beautiful in the mouth of its master (= It is easier said than done) (A26:40); *'an-bábux 'u-yámmux gu-bèθela, ləla šaklánta t-ásqət l-gàre*<sup>1</sup> If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof (D2:7).

*šakloka* n.m. (pl. *šakloke*) **loose stitch used to join pieces of fabric together in a preliminary fashion before they are sewed with the final stitching**

*šakθa* n.f. (pl. *šakkaθa, škaθa, šakke*) **testicle** | The plural form *šakke* is restricted to the insect name *taqla šakke* spider (literally: weigher of testicles).

*šakwane* (sing. *šakwana* m., *šakwanta* f.) **ants** | *šakwanət qurðaye* red biting ants

*šallela* n.m. (pl. *šallele*) (K.) **waterfall**

*šalloxta* n.f. (pl. *šalloxyaθa*) **shed skin of a snake; husk of grain** | *'ε-šállóxte diye šaqləxwala*<sup>1</sup> We would remove that husk (B16:30).

*šalmana* n.f. (pl. *šalmanāt*) (A.) **iron bar**

*šalxa* n.m. (pl. *šalxe*) **swarm (of bees)** | *dabaše šalxa mubrela* The bees have made a swarm.

*šalya* adj. (f. *šliθa*, pl. *šalye*) **calm, silent**

*šalya* n.m. (pl. *šalye*) **poisonous snake, viper**

*šamma* n.m. (pl. *šammane*) **name** | *'áw múttalle šamme diye Mar-Sàwa*<sup>1</sup> They named it (the church) St. Sawa (B6:30); *'áti šammux zìlele*<sup>1</sup> You are famous (A12:10); *'Ēn Nüne b-šammewa* 'En-Nune was famous; *šámyəx b-šámáθə šammux*<sup>1</sup> We have heard about you (A12:12); *'álaha šuxa-l-šamme* God, praise be to his name (A6:10); *yalínka zòra-wewa b-šamma*<sup>1</sup> *'ína 'áp-aw fəràssa-wewa*<sup>1</sup> He was a young child in name (only), but (in fact) he also was a great warrior (A29:25).

*šammaxta* n.f. **palate**

*šamme* n.f. **sky** | marginal, the normal form is *šmāyya*

*šammašta* n.f. **bark from juniper (*daprana*) or vine (*daliθa*) used as tinder**

*šamra* n.m. **soot** | *šiqele xákma mən-d-ò-šamra*,<sup>1</sup> *wírele gu-naxírət xa-m-malàxe*<sup>1</sup>  
Some of the soot went up and entered the nose of one of the angels (A4:60).

*šamša* n.f. **sun** | *šamša gnèla*<sup>1</sup> The sun set; *šamša xrùle*<sup>1</sup> The sun was eclipsed;  
*šamša qəm-bäléla hùta*<sup>1</sup> A whale has swallowed the sun (i.e. it is eclipsed);  
*šamsət sera* moonlight; *mattile qəm-šamša*,<sup>1</sup> *'i-bàrəz*<sup>1</sup> They put it in the sun  
and it dries (B6:43); *'áwwa málla t-axállā kθèθa*<sup>1</sup> *'ána bt-ázəm gu-šamša*<sup>1</sup> This  
mullah will eat the chicken and I shall go without food (A2:4).

*šamšaya* adj. (f. *šamšəθa*, pl. *šamšaye*) **sunny**

*šandoxa* n.m. (pl. *šandoxe*) **large smooth stone** | *deréle 'o-šandòxa*<sup>1</sup> *b-xùwwə*<sup>1</sup>  
*qá-t qatàlle xúwwə*<sup>1</sup> He threw the stone at the snake, to kill the snake  
(A1:15).

*šanduxta* n.f. (pl. *šanduxyaθa*) **small smooth stone** | used for smoothing  
plaster; *píšli bēl-šáta l-šandùxta*<sup>1</sup> I have come between the plaster and  
the polishing stone (D2:24), i.e. I am done for.

*šanqa* n.m. (pl. *šanqe*) **pod containing seeds (*boče*)** | This is a compo-  
nent of vegetables such as *maše*, *fašuliye*, *lubyə*, *gasose*.

*šənθa* n.f. **sleep** | *šənθux θàyeła*? Are you sleepy?; *'éka t-áθya šənθe?*<sup>1</sup> *hal-*  
*qedámta šənθe la-θèla*<sup>1</sup> How could he sleep!?! Right up to the early  
morning he did not sleep. (A6:3); *qəm-ganwàle šənθa*,<sup>1</sup> *tlìle*<sup>1</sup> Sleep stole  
him away and he slept (A26:19).

*šənxurri* adj. invar. **grey**

*šəppola* n.m. (pl. *šəppole*) **edge of clothing** | *šəppolət šudra* the edge of the  
shirt.

*šəpra* n.m. (pl. *šəprane*) **area of land** | *šəprət rasa* an area of land on which  
*rasa* grass grows

*šəqraqa* m./f. (pl. *šəqraqe*) **small green bird that eats bees**

*šarma* n.f. (pl. *šarmaθa*) **buttocks** | The plural is used to refer to the two halves of the buttocks. *maqđáxwa šarmat ʔŪšwut!* We used to burn the buttocks of February (festivity at the end of winter in which a bonfire is lit → *malmalawa*); *šarmat qamša* back of grasshopper fed to chick partridges when kept in a cage (→ *pípa*); *qrántat šarma darmánat bušála!* The cover of the buttocks is the substance of the stew (i.e. the fat of the sheep's tail) (D1:13).

*šarwala* n.m. (pl. *šarwale*) **trousers made from cloth**

*šaryoxa* n.m. (pl. *šaryoxe*) **shoe-lace, cord** | used to tie up sheepskin boots (*zargule*) and the mouth of leather storage bags (*mziðe*); *šaryóxa báθar mziða!* (There is) a chord behind the bag (said of a man who is the puppet of his master) (D2:18). Also used to tie the collar of oxen that are pulling the plough.

*šaxana* n.m. (K.) **old type of rifle (loaded from the barrel)**

*šatrənje, šatrəniane* n.pl. **chess** | *šuryela mtawóle b-šatrənjàne!* They started playing chess (A26:63)

*šatta* n.f. (pl. *šattaθa*) **bottom** | *šattat linta* the bottom of a jar; *šattat màθa-wewa tíwa ʔo-xóna fáqira!* The poor brother lived at the bottom of the village (A25:1); *mašályannux šattat yamáθa!* I shall take you down to the bottom of the seas (A12:28); *ʔilaneni t-xabušta m-reša-w šatta mnoqašta* Our apple tree is decorated from top to bottom (B8:29); *qəm-daryále gu-xa-guniya!* *šatta díya nçilla!* She put it in a sack the bottom of which was torn (A34:17).

*šətya* n.m. **warp** | → *maštoye* to arrange threads on warp beam

*šətrana, šətrana* adj. **handsome, beautiful** | *ʔitli dá brátət-màma!* *hádəx-ila šətranta!* *max-d-əwəwa yóma!* I have a cousin, who is as beautiful as this sun (A7:17); *γ-awəðwala šətrane!* He used to make them (the spoons) beautiful (B10:100); *ʔliba ləle šətrana* Her betrothed is not handsome (C2:57); *šətrantux ʔena zroqe* Your sweetheart—her eyes are blue (C2:33).

*šətro* n.f. **beautiful woman** | *šətro marθət habriya* the beautiful woman who possesses the headscarf (C2:1); *šətro šutarta lali* Beautiful one, sweet-heart of mine (C2:7).

*šəxda* n.m. **good news**

*šaxna* (pl. *šaxne*) **inflammation, boil** | *šaxna gu-kasa* stomach ulcer

*šaxra* n.m. **charcoal; soot**

*šaxta* n.m. (pl. *šaxte*) **dirt, impurity** | *šaxtət naḥyaḥa* ear wax; *bar-hàdax,<sup>1</sup> y-aḥéwa mdaréwale<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-hawa píše šaxte<sup>1</sup>* Then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain (B5:86); *mítla m-šaxta<sup>1</sup>* She has died with dirt (= she is terribly dirty) (A27:24).

*šaxtana* adj. (f. *šaxtana*, pl. *šaxtane*) **dirty**

*šaxxaṭa* n.m. (pl. *šaxxaṭe*) (A.) **match**

*šaxxore* (sing. *šaxxorta*) **charcoal** | sing. *šaxxorta* a piece of charcoal

*šəlpə* n.m. **blade**

*šima* n.m. **catastrophe** | *hay šima-lən* a catastrophe has come upon us (A51:8)

*šima* adj. (f. *šimta*, pl. *šime*) **huge; numerous** | *ḥélən b-áwza túra šima<sup>1</sup>* We came to this huge mountain (A17:10); *'an-ʔáwwe šime<sup>1</sup>* those numerous sheep (A32:16).

*šipa* n.m. (pl. *šipe*) **volley** | *šipət topaḥa* a volley of rifles

*šipa* adj. (f. *šipta*, pl. *šipe*) **worn down, erased**

*šira* n.m. (K.) **milk; sap (of tree), resin (of plants); paint** | *šawe šira guda* He paints the wall.

*šiša* (i) n.m. (pl. *šiše*) **iron bar, iron tip** | *šišət qəsa* the iron tip of a wooden stick; *šišət bəsrə<sup>1</sup>* meat kebabs (B10:6).

*šiša* (ii) | *xəgga šiša* type of dance performed with a line of people in a row with linked arms

*šišəlta* n.f. (pl. *šišəlta, šišəlyəḥa*) **chain worn around neck; row of terraced stones** | Such stone terraces were built to prevent subsidence of earth in the foundation of a house and as a boundary marker on land; cf. *zənjir* chain for securing sth.

*šišmanta* n.f. **sesame grass** | used as kindling for a fire and also for stopping up holes in a wicker screen (B10:65)

*šišme* n.pl. **sesame**



*škàra*, *ʔškàra* adj. invar. (K.) **clear, revealed; actual, real** | *xázwa škàra wéwa*<sup>1</sup> It was a clear vision (A2:6); *m,šáwəθ škàra*<sup>1</sup> Speak clearly!; *gu-lábbət gáne mārəlla*<sup>1</sup> *léle-marəlla škàra*<sup>1</sup> He says it to himself, he does not say it openly; *léle xəlma*<sup>1</sup> *škàrela*<sup>1</sup> It is not a dream, it is real (A4:8); *mánda tššwa bət-páyəš škàra*<sup>1</sup> Any hidden thing will be uncovered (A38:15).

*škira* adj. (f. *škirta*, pl. *škire*) **thanked** | *škira ʔaláha díya bsimla*<sup>1</sup> Thank God she has now recovered (A4:26); *škira šəmmux ya-ʔálaha*<sup>1</sup> Praise be your name, oh God (A9:4).

*šlada* n.f. (pl. *šlade*, *šladaθa*) **corpse**

*šlama* n.m. **peace; greeting** | *šlama-llux* greetings to you; *dəryəlle šlama l-xa-báxta tàma*<sup>1</sup> He greeted a woman there (B17:2).

*šliθa* n.f. **membrane of new-born calf that is ejected from the body by a cow when giving birth; sloughed skin of a snake**

*šmáyya* n.f. **sky, heaven** | *šmáyya ʔila denánta ʔla-ʔára tárte qərtále t-ʔəpra*<sup>1</sup> Heaven owes the Earth two baskets of dust (the graves of Noah and Elijah) (D2:9); *šiqle l-šmáyya*<sup>1</sup> He went up to heaven (A1:27).

*šməθa* n.f. (pl. *šəmaθa*) **report, rumour** | *šəmyax b-šəməθa šəmmux*<sup>1</sup> We have heard about you (A12:12).

*šəp-* → *šawpa*

*šor* adj. invar. (K.) **loose, hanging down**

*šoramita* n.m. (pl. *šoramite*) **giant** | *hóle xa-šoramita m-áxxa l-təmàha*<sup>1</sup> *dmíxa kásla díya*<sup>1</sup> A giant from here to there (in size) is lying with her (A4:52).

*šorba* n.f. (K./A.) **stew (with beans)** | *rázza-w šorba* rice and stew (B5:63)

*šəšanθa* n.f. (pl. *šəšanne*) **lily**

*šotapaʔiθ* adv. **socially**

*špila* adj. (f. *špilta*, pl. *špile*) **paralysed**

*špina* adj. (f. *špinta*, pl. *špine*) **level (ground)**

*šraʔa*, *šraya* n.f. (pl. *šraʔaθa*, *šrayaθa*) **oil-lamp** | *də-yamyannux b-ʔayya šraya* I swear to you by this lamp (C2:81).

*šrape* n.pl. **sleet** | *hóla ráya dúnye šrape*<sup>1</sup> It is sleeting

*šrara* n.m. **truthfulness** | *ʔáw b-šràrèle*<sup>1</sup> He is truthful.

*štəθa* n.f. (pl. *štayaθa*) **drink** | *štəθa-w xalta* food and drink

*štiqa* adj. (f. *štiqta*, pl. *štiqe*) **silent** | *štiqe*<sup>1</sup> Be quiet (pl.)!

*štixa* adj. (f. *štixta*, pl. *štixe*) **flat**

*štrana* → *šətrana*

*šubaða* n.m. **slavery**

*šukraya* adj. (f. *šukreθa*, pl. *šukraye*) **white** | *tərte yawne šukraye tiwe šadrə be-łaye*  
Two white doves sitting in the middle of the upper room (C2:29).

*šula* n.m. (pl. *šule*, *šulane*) **job, profession, business; affair, thing** | *ʔé-gət mən-d-ánna hàwe*<sup>1</sup> *šula b̄t-ázəl la-qàma*<sup>1</sup> If there are these (gold pieces), the job will go ahead! (A4:15); *wiðta šulela tótó*<sup>1</sup> The old woman made (good) business (A4:22); *ʔitli šula*<sup>1</sup> I have something to do (A4:22); *ʔitli xáčča šula mánmux*<sup>1</sup> I have some business with you (A16:4); *ʔati liltəx šula*<sup>1</sup> It is not your business (A5:2); *mur-ʔana šəmmi Čuxole*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-litlux šula*<sup>1</sup> Say ‘My name is Čuxo’ and you will have no trouble (A7:18); *ʔe-dána t-ile wiðalle ʔawwa šula*<sup>1</sup> When he did this thing... (A29:48).

*šulxaya* adj. (f. *šulxəθa*, m.pl. *šulxaye*, fpl. *šluxayəθa*) **naked, bare, bare-backed (animal)** | *dráya képe ʔaxni sxáya*<sup>1</sup> *šluxayəθa*<sup>1</sup> He threw stones when we (women) were swimming in the nude (A25:20); *koðánta b-iðiyawa*<sup>1</sup> *šulxəθa*<sup>1</sup> The mule was in my hand, (while it was) bare-backed (B5:130).

*šumana* adj. (f. *šumanta*, pl. *šumane*) **badly behaved, naughty**

*šumuθa* n.f. **bad behaviour, naughtiness** | *ʔáw hóle wáða šumùθa*<sup>1</sup> He is behaving badly.

*šupra* n.m. **beauty**

*šupšupina* n.f. (pl. *šupšupine*) **type of dove (grey in colour)**

*šuq mən* **except** → *šwq*

*šuqa* n.m. (pl. *šuqane*) **market** | *gárag ʔázət šuqa*<sup>1</sup> You must go to the market (A40:6).

*šura* n.m. (pl. *šure*, *šurane*) **fortification wall; protective fence** | *šúra d-o-qà.sra*<sup>1</sup> the wall of the palace (A25:53)

*šuraye* adv. **in the beginning, first of all** | *šuraye*<sup>1</sup> *y-azəxwa*<sup>1</sup>... *l-bēθ-be-kʷəlo*<sup>1</sup> First of all we would go... to the house of the bride's family (B5:1).

*šurela* n.m. (pl. *šurele*) **party of close family after wedding**

*šusa* n.m. (pl. *šuse*) (K.) **glass; bottle** | *šusat panjāriya* window pane; *xa-šusa*<sup>1</sup> a piece of glass (B11:20)

*šut* part. **deontic particle** (§15.1.1.5.) | *ʔn-masya šut-ʔoðala* If she can, let her do it (C1:11); *šut la-ʔəθe!*<sup>1</sup> Let him not come!

*šuta* n.f. (*šutāwaθa*, *šute*) **yoyo** (B11:17ff.)

*šuxa* n.m. **praise** | *ʔálaha šuxa-l-šämme* God, praise be to his name (A6:10)

*šuxlapa* n.m. (pl. *šuxlape*) **change**

*šuxra* n.m. **commandeering, commissioning** | *y-aθéwa šuxra*<sup>1</sup> It would come by commissioned transport (B5:126).

*šwalta* n.f. **edible herb that produces glue; the glue extracted from this herb** | It turns yellow when cooked in rice

*šwanəkke* n.f. (pl. *šwanəkke*) **small booth covering beehives**

*šwassər* num. **seventeen**

*šwawa* n.m. (pl. *šwawe*) **neighbour** | *zilewa be-šwàwe*<sup>1</sup> He had gone to the neighbour's house (A22:32).

*šwawta*, *šwota* n.f. (pl. *šwawyaθa*) **neighbour (f.)**

*šwixa* adj. (f. *šwixta*, pl. *šwixe*) **stupid**

*šwiθa* n.f. (pl. *šəwyaθa*, *šwiyəθa*) **bed; bedding** | *qedámta xziθəlla gʷána gu-šwiyəθət gʷána*<sup>1</sup> In the morning she found herself in her own bed (A4:14); *šəwyaθa səfāri* travelling beds (A8:51).

*šxinta* (i) n.f. **sanctuary, altar**

*šxinta* (ii) n.f. **fever**

/T/

*t* → *D**ta* → *ɬla**taʔla* → *tela**tāballa*, *teballa* n.m. (pl. *tāballe*, *teballe*) (K.) **marble (glass ball)***tabura* n.f. (pl. *tabure*) (K./A.) **squadron, battalion** | *ʔu-ʔanna jwanqe tabure* and these young men are in squadrons (C1:21)*tabura* adj. (f. *taburta*, pl. *tabure*) **modest, submissive** | *la duqrula qalulta kriθa, xliθa, taburta* Do not consider her to be small short, sweet and submissive (C2:74).*tabūt* n.f. (pl. *tabute*) (A.) **coffin***tabziya* n.m. (pl. *tabziye*) (A./K.) **rosary** | *xmāryáθa tabziye*<sup>1</sup> beads of rosaries (A25:34)*tābzune* adv. **three years ago** | rarely used*tafša* n.m. (pl. *tafše*) **small stone put in cement (jabla)***tagbarta* n.f. **administration** | *ʔaxni xoθ-tagbártat málkax*<sup>1</sup> We are under the administration of the king (A8:80).*tagbir* n.f. (pl. *tagbire*) **plan** | *qímila wídla tāgbir*<sup>1</sup> They made a plan (A26:1).*taḥela* n.m. (K.) **spleen***tāhər*, *tāhəra*, *tera* n.m. (pl. *tāhəre*, *təre*) (K.) **type; kind** | *xa-tāhər t-šəkəwána* a type of ant; *kūt-tāhər t-báyitu*<sup>1</sup> every kind you want (A7:23); *kúl xa-tāhər mändi ʔille gəwə*<sup>1</sup> He had every kind of thing in it (the shop) (A22:18); *mò-tāhər nəsšele*<sup>2</sup> What kind of person is he? (A25:31)*taḥqīq* n.m. (A.) **investigation***tajammuʿ* n.m. (A.) **gathering, group***tajər* n.m. (A.) **merchant***tajəruθa* n.f. **trade; trade delegation, merchants** | *sáwi y-awúðwa tajəruθa*<sup>1</sup> *mən-ʔAšitha*<sup>1</sup> My grandfather would conduct trade with Ashitha (B3:4); *zíltnəwa tajəruθa təma*<sup>1</sup> I went on business there (A35:9); *tajəruθət bəbux*<sup>1</sup> *kút-ɬla šənne xa-bəna y-áθya lāxxa*<sup>1</sup> The merchants of your father come here every three years (A14:61).

*tala* → *tela*

*taləmθa* n.f. (pl. *talmyaθa*) **small water pot**

*talən* n.m. (K.) **plunder, robbery** | *máxyat tàlən<sup>1</sup> bážr diyən<sup>1</sup>* You have plundered our town (A52:14).

*talga* n.m. **snow; ice** | *ráya tálga<sup>1</sup>* It is snowing; *θéle tálga xa-θèθa<sup>1</sup>* It snowed heavily (A25:41); *ʔu-míya sáli býe díye páyáš tálga<sup>1</sup>* The water flows down it and becomes ice (B19:3).

*tali* n.f. (K./A.) **end, fate** | *ʔáyya táli diyila<sup>1</sup>* This is the end of me (A8:58).

*talila* adj. (f. *talilta*, pl. *talile*) **wet; fresh** | *julla talila* a wet cloth; *dánət talila y-áwe<sup>1</sup> y-áwe dwiqa<sup>1</sup>* When it (the pile of leaves) is fresh, it is compact (B5:119).

*taliluθa* n.f. **wetness**

*talma* n.m. (pl. *talme, talmane*) **water pot**

*táltalune* adv. **four years ago** | rarely used

*tama* adv. **there** | Used to refer anaphorically to a location out of sight of speech situation: *bálki lá-hawe tàmá<sup>1</sup>* Perhaps he will not be there (A1:10); *sab-é-ga xúrme liθwa tàmá<sup>1</sup>* since at that time there were no dates there (in Barwar) (B5:12); *táxtela mútte hátxa<sup>1</sup> ta-sáli tàmá<sup>1</sup>* They have put a board like this in order to go down there (A22:10). Repeated to express movement: *ʔan-tre-maláxe... θéla pyáða tàmá tàmá<sup>1</sup>* Those two angels... came passing by (A4:44); *ʔaw brōn-málka θéle jiwáya tam-tàmá<sup>1</sup>* The son of the king came walking along there (A8:14). Temporal sense in expression *m-tama hodax* from then onwards, afterwards: *xárθa m-tàmá hòdax<sup>1</sup> xèri<sup>1</sup> ʔina béθe díye külle qiða<sup>1</sup>* Then, afterwards they look and see that all his house had burnt down (A48:7).

*támaha* adv. **over there (in sight)** | *dáryalla gu-qaşxàne<sup>1</sup> ʔu-múttalla támaha<sup>1</sup>* He put them (the bones) in the pan and put it aside (A2:5); *hóle xa-şoramíta m-áxxa l-támaha<sup>1</sup> dmíxa kásla díya<sup>1</sup>* A giant from here to there (in size) is lying with her (A4:52).

*támáʔha* adv. **far over there (in sight)** | *ʔu-xá-kepa muttèθalle támáʔha<sup>1</sup>* She put a stone far away over there (A25:17); *tu-támáʔha<sup>1</sup>* Sit way over there! (A25:17)

*tambəl* adj. (invar.) (K.) **lazy**

*tāməz* adj. invar. (K.) **clean; clear** | *ʔiθ dukáne tāməz y-áwa ʔla-zrúta*<sup>1</sup> There are places that are clear for sowing (B5:94).

*tāməzuθa* n.f. **cleanliness**

*tamma* adv. **here** | *ʔáyya xá-šeta hóla tamma láxxa léla mbaqorəllux*<sup>1</sup> It has been a year that they have been here without asking for you (A26:78); *ʔu-táwəra píšle mangóle ʔáxxa l-tamma*<sup>1</sup> The ox began to limp back and forth (A22:3); *qedámta qímtəla bràta-w*<sup>1</sup> *mxúáltəlla ʔay-dúkθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxxa-w tamma*<sup>1</sup> In the morning the girl got up and cleaned the place, and so forth (A17:27).

*tamuz* n.m. **July**

*tána* adj. invar. (K.) **calm** | *lábbi píšle tána*<sup>1</sup> I was relieved.

*taniθa* n.f. (pl. *tanyaθa*) **line (for hanging things)** | This was used to hang washing or to hang pieces of meat to dry

*tannəkka* n.m. (pl. *tannəkke*) (K.) **tin; gallon** | *ʔlè tannəkke míya*<sup>1</sup> three gallons of water (B5:211)

*tanura* n.m. (pl. *tanure*) **oven (for baking bread); section of women's blouse (šudra) that covers the legs**

*tanurta* n.f. (pl. *tanuryaθa*) **small oven**

*taqa* n.m. (pl. *taqe, taqane*) **branch; strand (of wool)** | *ʔáyya tuniθən*<sup>1</sup> *mšaxləppa mən-d-áwəwa tàqa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔ-áza l-xa-táqa xəna hadíya*<sup>1</sup> Now, our story will change from this branch and go to another branch (A8:20); *y-odəxəwa ʔláθa táqe naqide* We would make three thin strands (of wool by spinning) (B10:46).

*taqla-šəkke* n.f. (pl. *taqla-šəkke*) **spider** (§10.17.1.)

*taqlīm* n.m. (A.) **pruning**

*taqriban* adv. (A.) **approximately**

*taqšīr-ḥāl* n.m. (A.) **straitening of circumstances, impoverishment**

*taqta* n.f. (pl. *taqyaθa*) **twig, sprig** | *taqyáθət tūtun*<sup>1</sup> (young) tobacco sprigs (B7:13)

*tāra, tarra* n.m. (pl. *tāre, tārane*) **door; leaf of large door (darga); beginning** | *dārga ʔtle tré tāràne*<sup>1</sup> A *darga* has two leaves; *ʔu-náše mapəlxəwala*<sup>1</sup>

*hal-tárət sàtwa*<sup>1</sup> People would use it until the beginning of winter (B5:171).

*tārare, tārere* n.f. (pl. *tārare, tārere*) (K.) **small aluminium cup, small bowl**

*tarba* n.m. **grease**

*täreθa* n.f. (pl. *tārayaθa*) **small door or opening in fence or hedge; oesophagus; small mountain pass**

*tarəkka* n.m. (pl. *tarəkke*) (K.) **corpse** | *'awáðla tarəkka šáwpa díya*<sup>1</sup> He made her into a corpse (A30:33).

*tarəqta* n.f. (pl. *tarəqyaθa*) **button** | *tráqalle b-tarəqta*<sup>1</sup> He is buttoning it up.

*tarhīl* n.m. (A.) **evacuation**

*tar-<sup>2</sup>Išo* n.m. **a type of edible plant that grows in water** | similar to *kerəpso*

*tarīx* n.m. (A.) **history**

*tarjəmən* n.m. (pl. *tarjəmane*) (A.) **interpreter, translator**

*tasma* n.m. (pl. *tasme*) **lace, tie** | *tásmə sàwle*<sup>1</sup> shoe-laces (A11:12)

*tas<sup>5</sup>iθa* n.f. **history**

*tas<sup>5</sup>iθanaya* adj. (f. *tas<sup>5</sup>iθanəθa*, pl. *tas<sup>5</sup>iθanaye*) **historical**

*tata* n.f. (pl. *tataθa*) **crest (of bird), cock's comb** | *tatət parre* comb of feathers; *tatət bəsa* comb of skin

*taf<sup>6</sup>im* n.m. (A.) **grafting**

*tawba, toba* n.f. (*tawbaθa*) **repentance; submission** | *ha-t-íla wíðta tóba l-iθáθe díye*<sup>1</sup> until she submitted to him (A12:31).

*tawərta* n.f. (pl. *taweraθa, tawriyaθa*) **cow** | *tawərta 'a-Ġazale* my cow called Ġazale

*tawqī<sup>c</sup>* n.m. (A.) **signature**

*tawra* n.m. (pl. *tawre*) **ox** | *tawri 'o-Xammo* my ox called Xammo

*taweta* n.f. (pl. *tawyaθa*) **sitting, social gathering**

*tawuna* adj. (f. *tawunta*, pl. *tawune*) **lukewarm** | *míya tawune* lukewarm water

*tawuzra* n.f. **edible herb with wide leaves** | It is boiled and mixed with sumac berries (*smoqe*)

*taxe* n.f. (pl. *taxaθa*) (K.) **neighbourhood; district** | *šmili xa qalāt zəmra l-a-taxət baθar ʔumra* I heard the sound of song in the neighbourhood beyond the church (C2:6).

*taxərta* n.f. (pl. *taxraθa*) **small pitta bread cooked on the side of an oven** | A larger form of this is called *zəðaya*

*taxmanta* n.f. (pl. *taxmanyathā*) **thought, idea** | *háyyo xázax mhàyyərri' bəd-taxmàntux'* Come, let's see whether you can help me with any ideas (A21:2).

*taxta* n.f. (pl. *taxtaθa*) (K.) **board; wooden bed; throne.** (1) **board** | *mátti táxta hàtxa'... ta-šáli gu-gòma'* They would lay down a board like this...in order to go down into the basement stable (A22:10). (2) **wooden bed** | *damxáxwa b-gáre b-qèṭa'... kút-xa-w táxte dīye,' táxtət qèsa'* We would sleep on the roof in summer...everybody (would go up) with his bed, with his wooden bed (B10:58). (3) **throne** | *brōn-málka tūwēle l-d-a-tàxta'* The son of the king sat on the throne (A14:43).

*tayəmna* n.m. **South**

*taza* adj. cs. (pl. *taze*) (K.) **good, fine, beautiful** | *xáyūθ-dīye rába tázeyawa'* His life was very good (B5:132); *xmárte dīye msúrgalla-w wíðalla táz'a'* He had saddled his donkey and made it smart (A6:6); *barázwa táz'a'* It became thoroughly dry (B5:88).

*tazi* n.f. (K./A.) **mourning** | *hadiya gu-béθən tázila'* Now our house is in mourning; *bássa wuð-tàzi'* Do not mourn any more! (A26:88).

*tela, tala, ta'la* n.m. (pl. *tele*) **fox**

*televəzyōn* n.m. **television**

*telkefnaya* n.m./adj. **man from Telkepe**

*telta* n.f. (pl. *telyaθa*) **vixen, female fox**

*tena* n.f. *tenta/tənta* n.f. (pl. *tene*) **fig; fig tree** | *xəzyali l-ʔagrət tena* I saw her by the trunk of the fig tree (C2:24); *tarpət tena* fig leaves (put over pots of jajək)

*təðya* | *xuwwə təðya* **type of long snake**



*taksa* n.m. (pl. *takse*) **sting (of a bee)** | *dabáša máxe taksa*<sup>1</sup> A bee stings.

*takθa* n.f. (pl. *takke, takkake*) **trouser cord**

*tálpa, tálpapa* n.m. (pl. *tálpape*) **eyelash**

*táltassər* num. **thirteen**

*tamməl* adv. **yesterday; tomorrow** | *tamməl b-lele* last night

*təngər* adv. **limping** | *hóle théle téla təngər təngər*<sup>1</sup> Then the fox came, limping (A35:18)

*tənna* n.m. **smoke** | *gu-yáma plítile xa-tənna*<sup>1</sup> A plume of smoke came out of the sea (A13:10).

*təpna* n.m. **mould**

*təqna* n.m. (K.) **grime** | *gáwət tina ʔu-təqna*<sup>1</sup> in the mud and grime (A27:28)

*tərða* n.m. **thick bush, vegetation**

*tərwəθ-* num. **two of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *tərwəθnan* the two of us; *tərwəθnexu* the two of you; *tərwəθnéy* the two of them.

*tərya* adj. (f. *triθa*, pl. *tərye*) **wet** | *julla tərya* a wet cloth

*təxrúnya* n.m. (pl. *təxrúnye*) **memory, memorial** | *ʔáxçi ʔána təxrúnya díyi*<sup>1</sup> *xəzyən núne zòre*<sup>1</sup> I have seen, as far as I remember, only small fish (B3:8); *xa-təxrúnya d-ó qadíša*<sup>1</sup> a memorial of the saint (B5:69).

*təxruθa* n.f. **memory** | *kúlla xaràye,*<sup>1</sup> *təxrùθi,*<sup>1</sup> *pliləmi*<sup>1</sup> In the end, I remember, we all separated (B8:9).

*təfaqta* n.f. **meeting**

*tiraka* n.m. (pl. *tirake*) (K.) **wooden rod** | used as a spool for thread; used with metal tips as a component of a partridge trap (*suta*) holding up the trap doors (*dəpyaθa*).

*tirta* n.f. (pl. *tiryəθa*) **bier, stretcher for carrying a corpse** | It consists of two carrying poles (*šaqle*) between which are tied pieces of cloth (*julle*).

*tita* n.f. (pl. *titiye, tite*) **silver tassel decorating head of a woman; small chain hanging from belt or bracelet**

*tiwa* adj. (f. *tiwta*, pl. *tiwe*) **sitting; inhabited** | *maθwaθa tiwe* inhabited villages

*tiya* n.m. (pl. *tiyaye*) (K.) **mountain peak**

*t-la* part. **without** | With nominal complement: *t-la-zùze*<sup>1</sup> without money (A24:23); *t-lá miya*<sup>1</sup> without water (B5:14); *t-lá d-o-náša* without that man; *t-la-díyi* without me. With an infinitive: *zeðáye*<sup>1</sup> 'áxlət *mánna t-là-qšaya*<sup>1</sup> You should eat the pittas without breaking them. (A30:5); 'áni *xətte huwedi sáma zóda*<sup>1</sup> 'i-zárla *t-là maštóye*<sup>1</sup> The *huwedi* wheat they generally sow without irrigating (B5:94); *qímεle jáldε madánxa t-la-mxáya*<sup>1</sup> He rose early while the dawn was not breaking (= before dawn broke) (A8:51); *qəm-dári 'an-dáwwe heš-t-là bráza*<sup>1</sup> They have poured out the *dawwe* without it yet being dry (B14:1).

*tmanəssər*, *tmanəssər* num. **eighteen**

*tmani* num. **eighty**

*tmanyá* num. (f. *tmane*) **eight** | 'urzət *tmanyá* the eighth man; *baxtət tmane* the eighth woman.

*tmanyáθn-* num. **eight of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *tmanyáθnən* the eight of us; *tmanyáθnəxu* the eight of you; *tmanyáθnéy* the eight of them

*to* imper. pl. (Urm.) **come!** | *hár-to bàθri*<sup>1</sup> Still come after me = Follow me further (A32:19).

*tola* n.m. (K.) **revenge** | *t-ázən šáqlən tólat bàbi*<sup>1</sup> I shall go to take revenge for my father (A28:8); *šqilla toléy xa-b-əšra*<sup>1</sup> They took their revenge ten times over (B3:14).

*tope* n.f. (pl. *topaθa*) (K.) **gun, rifle** | *deríwa topàθa*<sup>1</sup> They would fire guns (B10:34); 'aw-máxyalla *tópe gu-šádrət 'axa*<sup>1</sup> He shot his gun at the chest of the agha.

*toqe* | 'əzza *toqe* mottled coloured goat

*tos* n.f. (K.) **dust** | 'ánna *xéne kúlla hóla tiwta tos-əlla* Dust had settled on all the others (A8:56).

*totánta* n.f. (pl. *totányáθa*) **type of small sparrow**

*totike* n.f. **type of dance**

*tpina* adj. (f. *tpinta*, pl. *tpine*) **mouldy**

*trab* interj. **thud** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*u-Gozáli tūwele tràb xaṣ-súsa*<sup>1</sup> Gozali sat—thud—on the back of the horse (A8:39).

*trapθa* n.f. **blinking** | *trapθat ʔene* blinking of the eyes; *qəm-awádle b-trápθat ʔene*<sup>1</sup> He did it before you could bat an eyelid.

*traθn-* num. **two of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *traθnən* the two of us; *traθnexu* the two of you; *traθnéy* the two of them.

*tre, treʔe* num. (f. *tarte, tatte*) **two** | <sup>ʔ</sup>*ina qəm-xazónnəx ʔáti rába hawnánta,*<sup>1</sup> *biš-mánni xa-tàrte*<sup>1</sup> I see that you are very clever, twice as much as me (A40:16); *yómət trè* on the second day (A21:14); <sup>ʔ</sup>*u-də-trè*<sup>1</sup> and secondly, and moreover (B5:3).

*trəssəṣ, trəssər* num. **twelve**

*troša* n.m. **truth**. adv. **in truth, indeed**

*trup* interj. **thud**

*trušəba* n.m. **Monday**

*tulla* n.m. (pl. *tulle*) (K.) **hound**

*tulləkθa* n.f. (pl. *tulləkyaθa*) (K.) **small hound**

*tuma* n.m. **garlic**

*tumbana* n.m. **trousers**

*tuna* n.m. **straw from wheat** (*xəṭṭe*)

*tuniθa* n.f. (pl. *tuniyaθa*) **story**

*tura* n.m. (pl. *ture*) **pliable twig** | used for weaving baskets

*turkaya* n.m./adj. (pl. *turkaye*) **Turk, Turkish**

*tūtun, tuttun* n.f. (K.) **tobacco**

*tūtur, tuttur* n.f. (pl. *tūtur, tuttur*) **caterpillar** | *tūtur t-abresəm* silk worm (which feeds on the mulberry tree *tuθa*)

*tuθa* n.m. (pl. *tuθe, tuθane*) **mulberry tree** | Types of tree include: *tuθa qazbi* large white mulberry, *tuθa turka* small yellow mulberry, *tuθa čuwa* smooth mulberry, *tuθat burane* field mulberry, *tuθat ʔarxe* mill mulberry.

*tuθta* n.f. (pl. *tuθe*, *tuθyaθa*) **mulberry fruit** | Types of berry include: *tuθe xware* white mulberries and *tuθe kome* black mulberries. The latter type is also known as *tuθa šemaye* or *tuθa šemi* Syrian mulberries. *tuθe karrakke* unripe mulberries; *tuθta karrakθa* an unripe mulberry.

*twina* adj. (f. *twinta*, pl. *twine*) **numb**

*txo-* prep. **under** (archaic form of *xo-* only found in proverbs) | *'iddi txo-kəpəla'* My hand is under a stone (D2:20); *míya txo-tùna'* (He is like) water under straw (D2:42).

*txuma* n.m. (pl. *txume*) **boundary**

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*ṯ* → *D*

*ṯolaza* n.m./adj. (pl. *ṯolaze*) (K.) **self-indulging, libertine**

*ṯanga* n.m. (pl. *ṯange*) (K.) **saddle-girth, strap used to secure the cloth (*qurṯana*) on the back of an animal** | This was threaded through a metal ring.

*ṯāpəkke*, *ṯāpəkθa* n.f. (pl. *ṯāpəkke*, *ṯāpəkyaθa*) (K.) **trap for small birds; lid**

*ṯar* adj. (f. *ṯarre*, pl. *ṯarre*) (K.) **fresh, young** | *gure ṯarre* young men (C2:63)

*ṯaražoke* n.f. (pl. *ṯaražokəwəθa*) (K.) **small green bird** | It builds its nests in the eaves of houses

*ṯarra* adj. (f. *ṯarre*, pl. *ṯarre*) (K.) **fresh** | *xánči halúke ṯarre'* some fresh plums (B8:19)

*ṯokə* n.f. (pl. *ṯokəθa*) **small bird with a distinctive song**

*ṯoto* n.f. (pl. *ṯotaθa*) **old woman; grandmother** | *'üllən ða-ṯóto y-óða xəršə'* We have an old woman who does magic (A4:13); *ṯoṯi* my grandmother; *kèla ṯóto?*<sup>91</sup> Where is grandma? (A7:24)

*ṯurka* n.m. (pl. *ṯurke*) (K.) **pollarded mulberry tree** | It is treated in this way in order that it produces twigs and wood for construction rather than fruit

*ṯuštirta* n.f. (pl. *ṯuštiryəθa*) (K.) **two- to three-year old female goat**

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*ṭabāqa* n.f. (A.) **layer**

*ṭabʿan* adv. (A.) **of course**

*ṭabbaxta* n.f. (*ṭabbaxyaθa*) (A.) **cook (f.)**

*ṭabbax* n.m. **August**

*ṭabaq, ṭabaq* n.m. (pl. *ṭabāqe, ṭabaqe*) (A.) **floor, storey** | *músqalla gu-ṭabaq t-ṭlàθa*<sup>1</sup> He took her up to the third floor (A4:37); *ṭabaq ṭaya* upper room; *ʿáwwa mən-tre-ṭabàqewa b'éθe dīye*<sup>1</sup> His house consisted of two storeys (B15:20).

*ṭabli* n.f. (pl. *ṭabliyāt*) (A.) **small table, side table**

*ṭabuwana* n.f. (pl. *ṭabuwane*) **tick**

*ṭalana* n.m. **side of mountains in Barwar that remains in the shade at sunrise** | *guđi t-ʿazzi d-ε-poše gu-ṭalana mxarpoše* My churn (made) from my goat called ‘white spotted,’ which looked for food on the shady mountain (C5:3).

*ṭaləb* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *ṭalbe*) **towards; against (aggressively)** | *t-ázən šalən ṭaləb Yúwánəs ʿaramnàya*<sup>1</sup> I shall go down to fight Yuwanəs the Armenian (A52:10); *ʿáwwa síqa ṭálba dīya*<sup>1</sup> He went up towards her (A12:33); *wársle Barzəkko ṭaləb d-ày*<sup>1</sup> Barzəkko went in against her (attacking her) (A12:7); *zille xa-béna ʿárya θéle ṭalbe dīye*<sup>1</sup> A lion once attacked him (A11:1).

*ṭaləbuθa* n.f.  **betrothal** | *kúrsət ṭaləbùθa*<sup>1</sup> the betrothal chair (A32:11)

*ṭali* n.m. (pl. *ṭaliye*) **viral illness** | *b-ṭali* ill (with disease) | *brōn-málka píšle b-ṭàli*<sup>1</sup> The son of the king became ill (A8:32).

*ṭalobaya* n.m. (pl. *ṭalobaye*) **a person who performs ṭalobe (requesting the hand of a girl in marriage)**

*ṭāmaše* n.pl. (K.) **joking, fun**

*ṭamta* n.f. (Urm.) **breakfast**

*ṭana* (i) n.m. **allusion; indirect criticism** | *mxaya ṭane l-* to make critical innuendoes against

*ṭana* (ii) → *ṭena*

*tapaya* n.m. (pl. *tapaye*) **slope (of a mountain)**

*tapεθa* n.f. (pl. *tapayaθa*) **small slope (of a hill)**

*tapoya* n.m. **kindling (for fire)**

*tappu* **game of hide-and-seek** (B11:12ff.) → *tūši-tūšo, puq-əlli*

*tapṭapa* n.m. (pl. *tapṭape*) **small round unleavened bread on a griddle**  
(*sela*) | *ʔáw tapṭapεle*<sup>1</sup> He is (like) unleavened bread (i.e. he lacks something).

*tapθa* n.f. (pl. *tapyaθa*) **drop (of liquid)**

*tarəpθa* n.f. (pl. *tarpe, tarpaθa, tarəpyaθa*) **leaf**

*tarma* n.f. (pl. *tarmaθa*) **porch, balcony; shelter (under a rock)** |  
*t-awəx xo-tármət ʔisàra*<sup>1</sup> Let's shelter under the rock.

*tarpa* n.m. **leaves; gathering of leaves (for winter)** | *ʔo-t-hawéle ʔəwε*<sup>1</sup>  
*y-áwe xzida tərpa*<sup>1</sup> A person who has sheep would have harvested leaves  
(B5:108); *hóle zíla tərpa*<sup>1</sup> He has gone to collect leaves.

*tarpana* n.m. (pl. *tarpane*) **scythe**

*tarpe* → *tarəpθa*

*tarraša* n.m., *tarrašta* n.f. (pl. *tarraše*) **bush, shrub**

*tarxa* n.m. (pl. *tarxe*) **new shoot in a plant or tree** | *ʔilána hóle mtaróxe*  
*tərxe*<sup>1</sup> The tree is putting out shoots.

*taryanta* n.f. (pl. *taryanyaθa*) **flat bread basket** | woven out of willow  
fronds (*xelapε*)

*tasa* n.f. (pl. *tase*) (A.) **small drinking bowl** | *xa-tásət dàwa*<sup>1</sup> a golden bowl  
(A15:11); *xa-tásət miya*<sup>1</sup> a bowl of water (A26:42).

*tašta, tašte* n.f. (pl. *taštaθa, tašyaθa*) (K.) **brass bowl (for kneading  
dough)**

*tatiya* n.f. (pl. *tatiyaθa*) **mat made of compressed wool**

*tawa* adj. (f. *tawa*, pl. *tawe*) **good** | *ʔáwəwə náša sáwa rába tawa-wəwə*<sup>1</sup> This  
old man was very good (A15:19); *ramšéxu tawa*<sup>1</sup> Good evening (*ramša*  
f.), *ʔéwε ʔən-θéla m-la-Záwa*,<sup>1</sup> *t-áθe xa-yóma tawa*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔn-ʔéwε θéla m-Xawòra*,<sup>1</sup>  
*t-áθe xa-yóma kapòra*.<sup>1</sup> If the clouds come from the side of the Zab (i.e.  
the East), a good day will come. If the clouds come from the Khabur

(i.e. the West), an awful day will come. (D2:16); *námu 'ánna là-biš táwe m-áwwa Gozáli xóni!*<sup>1</sup> Surely they are not better than Gozali, my brother! (A8:72); *'ay m-kulley buš tawa* She is the best of all (C2:42).

*ṭawalta, tuwalta, mṭawalta* n.f. (pl. *ṭawalyaṭa, tuwalyaṭa*) **game** | *lá-kulla danáne kúlla ṭawalyáṭa t-aṭṭwa mṭawòle!* Not all games would be played at all times (B11:1).

*ṭawaṭa* n.pl.  **blessings, greetings** | *b-šéna b-ṭawàṭa!*<sup>1</sup> Welcome and greetings!

*ṭawpána* n.m. **flood, deluge** | *dúnye hóla ráya ṭawpána!* There is heavy rain.

*ṭaxa* n.m. (pl. *ṭaxe*) **pile, untied bundle (of grass and leaves)** | This was compressed with stones in order to facilitate it being carried as a bundle: *'an-xéne 'iyáwa báṭre báṭre wáḍa ṭaxe! zóre qa-t mášī mjámèwala!* The others were following behind him making small piles, so that they could gather them up (B5:118). Cf. *darza* tied bundle.

*ṭaxana, ṭaxxana* n.m. (pl. *ṭaxane, ṭaxxane*) **miller**

*ṭaxanéṭa, ṭaxxanéṭa* n.f. (pl. *ṭaxanyaṭa, ṭaxxanyaṭa*) **miller woman** | *ṭaxxána brōn-ṭaxxanèṭa!* a miller the son of a miller woman (A32:27)

*ṭaxime* n.pl. **furniture**

*ṭaxin* n.f. **sesame oil**

*ṭaxsa, ṭuxsa* n.m. **ceremony; rite; way** | *l-d-áw ṭuxsa!* in this way (B6:11)

*ṭaya* n.m. (pl. *ṭayane*) **leaf (of a plant); leafy branch (of a tree)**

*ṭayana* n.m. (pl. *ṭayane*) **porter**

*ṭayyara* n.f. (pl. *ṭayyarāt*) (A.) **airplane**

*ṭefi, ṭepi* adj. (invar.) | *'mwa ṭefi/ṭepi* (pl. *'mwe ṭefi/ṭepi*) **type of long grape** | regarded as fine quality: *xoš-'áwər 'u-'áxəl 'u-šáte gu-pərdəsa-w!* *'iṭ-táma 'mwa ṭepi! 'u-huriyāt!* Let him enter, eat and drink in Paradise. There are there fine grapes and houris. (A2:8)

*ṭema* n.m. **taste; value**

*ṭemana* adj. (f. *ṭemanta*, pl. *ṭemane*) **valuable; tasty** | *képe ṭemàne* precious stones (A14:29)

*tena, țana* n.m. (pl. *tene*) **load (on the back of an animal)**

*țera* n.m. **noon, noonday sun** | *dān țera* noontime, *dārta l-yòma*,<sup>1</sup> *’árwe gu-gòma*.<sup>1</sup> *dārta l-sèra*,<sup>1</sup> *’árwe l-țera*<sup>1</sup> If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noonday sun. (D2:15)

*țenana* n.m. (pl. *țenane*) **bearer** | *’ána țenánat m̀nteẁan*<sup>1</sup> You have done me a favour (I am much obliged to you).

*țera, țara* n.m. (pl. *țere*) **bird** | *țera t-málka Šl̀mun*<sup>1</sup> hoopoe bird (D1:7)

*țəfl* n.m. (A.) **child**

*țalla* n.f. **shade** | *țalla ’amurta* deep shade, *țalla dalilta* light shade (with some sun shining through)

*țallaniθa* n.f. **shade**

*țalma* n.m., *țl̄mθa* n.f. (pl. *țalme*) **large thin flat bread made on a griddle (sela)** | thinner than *zedaye*

*țəppa* → *țəpθa*

*țəpra* n.f. (pl. *țəpraθa, țəppəryaθa*) **finger nail, toenail; claw (of bird, animal)** | *hóle qr̀ata țəpr̀əθe*<sup>1</sup> He is biting his nails; *țəppəryáθat heyẁàne*<sup>1</sup> animal claws (A19:2).

*țəpθa* n.f., *țəppiθa* n.f., *țəppa* n.m. (pl. *țəppe, țəppəpe*) **drop; dew; dot** | *l̀l̄l̄an ’ap-țəppa*<sup>1</sup> We do not have a single drop; *xa-țəppiθa míya l̀ìθ*<sup>1</sup> There was not a drop of water (A14:24); *xa țəppət d̄amma* a tear drop; *’m-qéra d̄ınye qed̄amta*,<sup>1</sup> *g̀́lla d̄áwəq țəpθa*<sup>1</sup> If it is cold in the early morning, a plant has dew on it.

*țəřwa* n.m. (pl. *țəřwe*) **something hidden, secret** | *m̀andi țəřwa bət-p̀áyəř šk̀àra*<sup>1</sup> Any hidden thing will be uncovered (A38:15).

*țima* n.m. **value** | *mare țima* expensive

*țina* n.m. (pl. *ținane*) **mud** | *’áni qámθa b́ate b́anye b-képa-w țina*<sup>1</sup> In the old days houses were built with stone and mud (B5:179).

*țina* adj. (f. *ținta*, pl. *ține*) **loaded** | *baxta ținta* a pregnant woman; *guđi... m̄yale ’ε-baxta ținta* My churn... which that pregnant woman churns (C5:4)



*təpša* n.m. (pl. *təpšə*) **spot**

*tɪyariyana* adj. (f. *tɪyariyanta*, pl. *tɪyariyane*) **relating to Tiyare** | *julle tɪyariyane lóšúwa*<sup>1</sup> They used to wear Tiyare clothes (B8:22).

*tiza* n.m. (pl. *ɸize*) **bottom, fundament** | *xá ʔaxwáθi mira<sup>1</sup> dráya šlámi ʔllux<sup>1</sup> u-ʔáti tɪwa l-tizux!<sup>1</sup>* A prince like me greets you and you are sitting on your bum! (A26:48)

*ɸla-*, *ta-* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *ɸlale*) **to, for**. (1) Recipient, objective or beneficiary: *híwəlla qušárta ta-mállá*<sup>1</sup> They gave the pot to the mullah (A5:8); *wíddla ʔixála ɸla-yála*<sup>1</sup> She made food for the young man (A21:22). *ɸla-mo*, *ta-mo*, *ɸla-modi*, *ta-modi* why?: *ɸla-mò wíddlux hátxa bíyi.*<sup>2</sup> Why (literally: for what) have you done this to me? (A15:14). (2) Destination: *dárra ta-ʔaθrèy*<sup>1</sup> They returned to their land (A4:27). (3) Temporal objective: *ʔawəwa ʔaskariya diye ɸlā-kəma dánəla.*<sup>2</sup> For how long is this army of his? (A17:22). (4) Object marker: *ʔawəwa qʔille ɸla-ʔarya*<sup>1</sup> He killed the lion (A11:1).

*ɸlaba* n.m. (pl. *ɸlabe*) **request** | *t-yawəllux kulla ɸlabe* He will give you all requests (C4:5).

*ɸlaθa*, *ɸla* num. (f. *ɸlələθ*) **three** | *ʔurzət ɸlaθa* the third man; *baxtət ɸlələθ* the third woman

*ɸlaθi* num. **thirty**

*ɸlaθn-* num. **three of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *ɸlaθnən* the three of us; *ɸlaθnexu* the three of you; *ɸlaθnéy* the three of them; *ɸləθna t-bnóne diye*<sup>1</sup> His three sons (A24:3)

*ɸlaθušeba* n.m. **Tuesday**

*ɸlawxe* n.pl. **lentils (red or green)** | *xa dəndəkθət ɸlawxe* a lentil seed

*ɸliba* n.m. (pl. *ɸlibe*) **fiancé, betrothed**

*ɸlibta* n.f. (pl. *ɸlibyaθa*) **fiancée, betrothed (f.)**

*ɸliya* adj. (f. *ɸlita*, pl. *ɸliye*) **asleep**

*ɸolaza* n.m. (pl. *ɸolaze*) (K.) **young man; womanizer** | *šətro ɸolaze baθra nɸile* (My) beautiful one (lover)—young men followed after her (C2:30).

*ɸōq* n.m. (A.) **necklace**

*ɸoriya*, *ɸoriθa* n.f. (pl. *ɸoriyaθa*) (K.) **jackal**

*toñiθa* n.f. (pl. *toñiyaθa*) **button** | *synon. taraqta*

*trisa* adj. (f. *trista*, pl. *trise*) **fat, obese**

*tun* n.m. (pl. *ṭunne*) (A./E.) **ton**

*tunta* n.f. **fruit of a tree** | *'imət mṭéla ṭunte dīye!* When its fruit became ripe (A17:33); *bíš yáwi ṭunta ràbθa!* They will yield more abundant fruit (B5:103).

*tur* → *'rt*

*tura* n.m. (pl. *ṭure, ṭurane*) **mountain; region of mountains** | *rešət ṭura* summit of a mountain; *palgət ṭura* middle, foothills of a mountain; *báyən páłṭən šèda,*<sup>1</sup> *'ána 'u-xuràne,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-ṭura!* I want to go out hunting, I together with friends, in the mountains (A4:1).

*ṭurši* n.m. (pl. *ṭuršiye*) (A.) **pickled vegetable**

*ṭurxa* n.m. (pl. *ṭurxe*) **branch**

*ṭusa* n.m. **sign; example; ceremony; ritual** | *qa-ṭusa* for example

*ṭiši-ṭišo* n.f. **the game of hide-and-seek** (B11:12ff.) → *tappu, puq-állì*

*ṭušṭuš* n.f. (pl. *ṭušṭiše*) **type of sparrow**

*ṭuwa* n.m. (pl. *ṭuwawe*) **coloured gem** | *'m-ṭúwət 'isáqθi bdilele,*<sup>1</sup> *mšadrátla 'árye ṭ-àθa!* If the gem of my ring changes (in colour), send the lions so that they come (to me) (A18:13).

*ṭuwe* part. **fortunate, blessed** | *ṭúwe l-d-o-yòma!* How fortunate was that day. **if only** | *ṭúwe t-xazənwale!*<sup>1</sup> If only I had seen him!; *ṭuwe t-baryawa šarre* If only there would be war! (C2:63); *ṭuwe t-pešanwa nəšra* If only I were to become an eagle (C3:2); *ṭúwe l-ó yòma,*<sup>1</sup> *b-xazənnax 'áti 'èni b-gáwerət!* I look forward to the day when I see who you will marry (A25:18).

*ṭuxma* n.m. (pl. *ṭuxme*) **type; shape, form; way**

*ṭxuna* n.m. **milled produce**

/θ/

*θaləθ* adj. (A.) **third**

*θallaqa* n.f. (A.) **fridge**

*ḡani* adj. (A.) **second** | *ḡáni yómət 'éḡa* the second day of the festival (B10:2)

*ḡarwa* n.f. (A.) **wealth**

*ḡaqa* n.f. (A.) **trust** | *lúlux ḡáqa bīyī'* You do not trust me (A12:40)

*ḡlaḡa* num. (A.) **three**

/v/

*vərra* adj. invar. (K.) **squint-eyed** | *vərra píšle'* He became squint-eyed (A24:28).

/w/

*w*, *'u-* part. **and** | Connective between clauses (§18.1.1.): *'áti tú-tíwa ləxxa'* *'u-súsi páyāš ləxxa'* *'u-'ána bráta masqánna be-bába díya'* You stay here and my horse will stay here and I shall take the girl up to the house of her father (A29:41); *'o-yálat bāyàwale' hóle 'əḡya-w' qəm-yawálla yaləxḡa 'állī'* The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her scarf (A4:24). Connective between nouns in a nominal phrase (§14.11.): *xá-yoma 'iḡwa xá-qaša 'u-xà-malla'* Once there was a priest and a mullah (A2:1); *lát-xíla xa-ləxma-w xa-bəta?'* Have you not eaten a loaf of bread and an egg? (A17:15). Concomitative sense: *xá-gaya y-asqəḡxa'... kút-xa-w táxte díye'* Sometimes we went up (onto the roof)... everybody with his bed (B10:58). Before *hal* (until) expressing a range: *kúllən, 'mən-yále zóre 'u-hal-gəre'* All of us, from young children to old people (B16:4).

*wə'd* n.m. (A.) **promise** | *wə'də 'ərab* (I give you an) Arab promise (A33:12)

*wə'ha* → *'əwaha*

*wə'dər* adv. **outside** | *wə'dər mən-beḡa* outside the house; *dámxəx l-wə'dər'* Let's sleep outside (A12:11); *'azítu paltítu l-wə'dər'* You should go outside (B1:13).

*wadi* n.f. (A.) **valley**

*waduθa*, *wa'duθa* n.f. (A.) **promise** | *gǎræg mǝàwbat' ʔəlla' kùllexu qaṭlǝnnéxu.*<sup>1</sup> *mǎre wadùθa.*<sup>1</sup> 'But you have to promise, otherwise I shall kill all of you.' He said 'It is a promise' (A12:14–15); *wa'dùθa,*<sup>1</sup> *kú-mǝndit báyyat ʔána t-awðǝnnux*<sup>1</sup> I promise, I'll do for you anything you want (A24:47); *hát ʔóða wadúθa l-ʔiθǝθux*<sup>1</sup> until she makes a promise in your presence (A12:29).

*waha* → *ʔǎwaha*

*wajəbuθa* n.f. (A.) **duty; task** | *ʔǎxč' šoqǝtlǝn' ʔǎxni' t-ázǝx ʔay-wajəbúθa mkam-lǝxla*<sup>1</sup> Just let us go to complete this task (A12:14).

*wǎjju* n.m. (pl. *wǎjjuwe*) (A.) **utility; utensil, tool** | *ʔáwɔwa dáwǝq wǎjju*<sup>1</sup> He will be useful (A29:18); *ʔǎti' la-dóqǝt wǎjju mǝnni'*<sup>1</sup> You have no use for me (A30:14). Pl. **personal effects** | *qímela múttǝlla gu-ʔatnǝbǝl' ʔu-wǎjjuwa díya kùlla*<sup>1</sup> They put her in a car, with all her effects (A21:5).

*wǎkil* n.m. (A.) **deputy**

*wala* n.m. **wide valley between mountains** | *ʔǝzzǝt wala* wild goat, ibex (inhabiting mountains); *táwrǝt wǎla*<sup>1</sup> wild ox (A12:40).

*wǎ-law* → *law*

*walla* part. (A.) **and not** | *lǝ-šóqǝn lá xolamwǝθa' wǎlla ʔǎti' wǎlla yǝmmi' wǎlla ču-nǎša*<sup>1</sup> I shall not let servants, you, mother or anybody (look after them) (A8:18).

*wana* n.f. (pl. *wane*) **ewe, adult female sheep**

*waqǝ* n.m. (A.) **reality**

*wǎraq*, *wǎraqa* n.m. (A.) **paper, sheet**

*warda*, *wǝrda* n.m. (pl. *wardǝ*, *wǝrde*) **flower** | *wardǝ žeri* wild flowers of various colours, including red and green growing in fields; *wardǝt dǝbba* large red flower

*wardakka* n.f. (pl. *wardakke*) (K.) **type of duck** | This appears in Barwar in the winter

*wardi* adj. invar. (A.) **pink**

*wardoniθa* n.f. (pl. *wardonyaða*) **type of small flower** | It consists of four petals.

*wariða* (i) n.m. (pl. *wariðe*) **root**

*wariḏa* (ii) n.m. (pl. *wariḏe*) **vein/artery**

*wasta* n.f. (pl. *wastiyatha*) **chest section of women's blouse**

*waṣla* n.m. (pl. *waṣle*) **joint, joining piece**

*wāzīr* n.m. (pl. *wāzīre, wūzārāʾ*) (A.) **vizier, minister**

*wālaya* n.f. (A.) **region, district**

*wεθa* n.f. **birth** | *ʾēḏat be-yālda ʾile wεθat Mšīxaʾ* The festival of Christmas is (in commemoration of) the birth of Christ (B6:12).

/x/

*xa, xaʾa* num. (f. *ḏa*) **one; a** (§14.1.) | *ʾiθwa xa-ʾotax yan-trèʾ* There was one room or two (B5:199); *ʾiθwa xa-nāšaʾ gu-ḏa-māḏaʾ* There was once a man in a village (A48:1); *māxa xa-māšxa gu-be-ʾéne ḏīyeʾ* They put some oil on his forehead (B6:36); *xa-xá-ga mārāt béθa mbašālwā ʾixála ʾimā-t hóya dànāt ʾixálaʾ* Sometimes the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food (B6:16); *xa-tré-yarxe xéne* one or two months later (A1:16); *šqílele xa-ʾárba xamšā béʾeʾ* He took four or five eggs (A23:6); *bányat-alla ʾótax tàma,ʾ qa-t mabásma kút-yom xāʾ* You have built her a room there in order for her to entertain somebody everyday (A4:52); *ʾóθyele xāʾaʾ* A certain person came (A7:24); *ʾánna xā-t-ílaʾ* These are one (= they are the same); *ʾína qām-xazānnax ʾáti rába hawnānta,ʾ biš-mónni xa-tārteʾ* I see that you are very clever, twice as much as me (A40:16); *ʾm-háwe dāwa-žīʾ ʾáxni t-yawáxla xa-b-ḏlāḏa ʾálle ḏīyeʾ* Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (A7:10); *kut-táwra máxyalle xá gu-réše ḏīyeʾ* He struck each ox a blow on its head (A30:23).

*xabra* n.m. (pl. *xabrane*) (A.) **word** | *ʾíli xákma xabráne t-amrānnaxʾ* I have a few words to say to you (A4:40); *húwele xabra ta-wāzīre ḏīyeʾ* He gave word to his ministers (A4:9); *xabra plīleʾ* Word went out (concerning the matter) (A4:21); *šéx hūwele xábre ḏīyeʾ* The sheikh has given his word (has promised) (A7:11); *t-amrānnux xa-xābraʾ* I would like to tell you something (A18:7); *wúḏ b-xābri* Do as I say (A8:43); *wíḏla xābra-xaʾ* They made an agreement (A12:37); *ʾána hon-muθéθa ʾáyya qūwewāt láxxaʾ b-xābra ta-ḏīyeʾ* I have brought this force here, which is at my command (A25:84).

*xabuša* n.m. (pl. *xabuše*) **apple; apple tree** | *xabušət* <sup>ʔ</sup>*upra* sweet potato; *xabušət paθa* cheek bone; *xabúše kúlla msujliley*<sup>1</sup> They registered all the apple trees (B1:18).

*xabušta* n.f. (pl. *xabuše*) **apple, apple tree** | *xabúšta* <sup>ʔ</sup>*xàla*<sup>1</sup> apple tree bearing edible fruit (B5:104)

*xáčča* mod. adv. **a little (quantity); a few** (§14.9.7.) | *xáčča tìna* a little straw (B5:146), *xáčča tìna* a little clay (B5:190); *xáčča šarníye* a few sweets (B5:40); *xáčča mən-d-án-našət bèθa*<sup>1</sup> a few of the people of the house (B5:51). Used independently: *tla-d-áy dráyela xáčča*<sup>1</sup> She serves a small amount for herself (A17:25). Modifier of an adjective: *xáčča zàmət iyáwa*<sup>1</sup> It was a little difficult (B5:3), *xáčča marya xónax*<sup>1</sup> Your brother is rather ill (A32:27). Adverb: *xáčča plišela* They fought a little (B5:163). *xáčča pyaša* almost: *xáčča pyáša plišlum*<sup>1</sup> They almost fought (B1:17).

*xadama, xaddama* n.m. (pl. *xadame, xaddame*) (A.) **servant**

*xadamta, xadəmθa, xaddamta, xaddamθa* n.f. (pl. *xadamyaθa, xaddamyath*) (A.) **servant girl**

*xādaya* n.f. (pl. *xādayaθa*) (A.) **lunch**

*xadəmθa* → *xadamta*

*xadəssər, xadessər* num. **eleven**

*xaduθa, xaduθa* n.f. **joy** | *bréla d́á xadúθa gu-d-ò-ʔalma*<sup>1</sup> A (great) joy arose among the people (A4:56); *hál ʔámra t-ódəx xadùθa*<sup>1</sup> Give us an order for us to celebrate (A14:46).

*xāf* part. **lest** (A.) | *le-ʔáθya mtanòye*<sup>1</sup> *xāf náše smàʔalləm*<sup>1</sup> It cannot be told, lest people hear us (A35:11).

*xāfif* adj. invar. (A.) **light (in weight)**

*xakma, xamka* mod. **some, a few, a little (quantity)** (§14.9.10.) | *xákma məndiyàne*<sup>1</sup> some things (B5:62); *xákma šanne xène*<sup>1</sup> a few more years (B5:208); *y-ápəxwale xámka yomàne*<sup>1</sup> We would bake for a few days (B10:91); *báθər xákma dāna*<sup>1</sup> After a little time (B165). Used independently: *xákma doqíwale xúwəwa qatliwale*<sup>1</sup> *xákma zādíwa*<sup>1</sup> Some took hold of the snake and killed it, some used to be afraid (B5:78).

*xala* n.m. (pl. *xalāwaθa*) **maternal uncle** | *xáli!* Uncle! (vocative used to address men of an older generation irrespective of family relationship)

*xǎlala, hǎlāl* adj. invar. (A.) **lawful, pure** | *ʾáwwa béθa xǎlala-wewa*<sup>1</sup> This house was pure (A15:18).

*xalaqta* n.f. (pl. *xalaqyatha*) **earring**

*xalda-kora* n.m. (pl. *xalde-kore*) **mole**

*xaliya* n.f. (pl. *xaliye, xaliyaθa*) (K./P.) **carpet**

*xalqa* (i) n.m. (pl. *xalqe*) **button, fastener, press-stud**

*xalqa* (ii) n.m. (pl. *xalqe*) **step, rung (on ladder)** | *xa xalqa mən-dǎraje* one step of a flight of steps

*xalta* n.f. (pl. *xaltaθa*) **maternal aunt** | *xalti!* Aunt! (vocative used to address women of an older generation irrespective of family relationship)

*xalta* n.f. **food**

*xalwa* n.m. **fatless curds of boiled yoghurt water** (B6:43)

*xam, xamma* n.m. (with pronominal suffix: *xammi, xammux*, etc. pl. *xamme*) (K./A.) **worry, concern** | *dwiqa xamme* worried; *b-xamme* worried; *ʾan-polise wéla pyáša b-xammè*<sup>1</sup> The policemen began to become worried (A8:10); *xámmat qáša mǎmòðele*<sup>1</sup> The only concern of the priest is the baptism (D2:52), i.e. he is not responsible for how a person turns out later; *lǐtla xàm,*<sup>1</sup> *lǐtla xàmma*<sup>1</sup> That's fine, no problem. *ʾxl xamma* to be careful, to care (*D* for): *ǵǎrag rába ʾáxlət xàm*<sup>1</sup> You have to be very careful (B5:105); *dawèra*<sup>1</sup> *ʾi-mtagbrǎxwale rába,*<sup>1</sup> *yáʾni y-axlǎxwa xam-dǐye*<sup>1</sup> We looked after a mule very well, we took care of it (B5:126); *xázax mǎndiyáne bràya,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-lá-ʾaxlǎx xàmma d-áyya bǎlad,*<sup>1</sup> *la-bàrya*<sup>1</sup> If we see things happening and do not care for this country, it is not right (A18:8).

*xamǎštən* adv. (K.) **again** | *ʾi-péši qa-tré-yomaθa tǎlá yomàθa*<sup>1</sup> *hál mádre xámǎštən t-àsǎq*<sup>1</sup> They wait for two or three days and then once again go up (to fetch loads) (B5:122).

*xamima* adj. (f. *xamimta*, pl. *xamime*) **hot**

*xamišoke* n.f. **bitter herb**, grows in thickets (*tarraše*)

*xamka* → *xakma*

*xamoqa* adj. (f. *xamoqta*, pl. *xamoqe*) **dark in colour, blurred in colour**

*xamra* n.m. **wine**

*xamša* num. (f. *xammāš*) **five** | *'urzət xamša* the fifth man; *baxtət xammāš* the fifth woman.

*xamšassər* num. **fifteen**

*xamšaθn-* num. **five of** | base for pronominal suffixes: *xamšaθnən* the five of us; *xamšaθnəxu* the five of you; *xamšaθnéy* the five of them.

*xamšī* num. **fifty**

*xamšušəba* n.m. **Thursday**

*xamθa* n.f./adj.f (pl. *xamaθa*) **beautiful; beautiful woman; young woman** | *ða-brāta rába xāmθa*<sup>1</sup> a very beautiful girl (A29:26); *'iθwa xa-bāxta<sup>1</sup> rába xāmθəwəwə*<sup>1</sup> There was a woman who was very beautiful (A8:21); *'áy biš-xāmθəla m-kùlla*<sup>1</sup> She is more beautiful than them all (A25:26); *baxtaθa xamaθa* beautiful women.

*xamuša* adj. (f. *xamušta*, pl. *xamuše*) **bitter, sour** | *'an-ʔənwe xamùšəla*<sup>1</sup> the grapes are sour (A43:3).

*xana* (i) n.m **lap** | *rěše dīye múttalle gu-xánət ða-brāta*<sup>1</sup> He had put his head in the lap of a girl (A29:26); *yalúnka tíwəle gu-xánət yəmmə*<sup>1</sup> The little child is sitting on the lap of his mother.

*xana* (ii) n.f. (pl. *xanaθa*) (A.) **square (on a board); line (on paper)**

*xanana* n.m. (pl. *xanane*) **goat with a brown face**

*xananta* n.f. (pl. *xananyaθa*) **female goat with a brown face**

*xānāqiθa* n.f. **whooping cough**

*xānčī*, *xanča* mod. adv. **a little (quantity); a few** (§14.9.8.) | *šále xānčī 'úpřa gu-rěšət k'əlo*<sup>1</sup> A little earth falls on the head of the bride (B8:34), *xānčī halúke tǎrre*<sup>1</sup> a few ripe plums (B8:19); *'ən-wéwə xānčī*<sup>1</sup> If they were few... (B10:6). Modifier of an adjective: *'ina bušála t-ʔəðaxwala t̄lālən*<sup>1</sup> *xānčī miyānta*<sup>1</sup> But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was a little watery (B10:17). Adverb: *šaxənwa xānčī*<sup>1</sup> It heated up a little (B5:154), *hal-qayərwə xānčī*<sup>1</sup> until it cooled a little (B5:164).

*xanjər* n.f. (pl. *xanjere*) (A.) **dagger** | *qəm-xarəzla xánjər gu-kàse*<sup>1</sup> He stabbed the dagger into his stomach.

*xanpa* n.m. (pl. *xanpe*) **pagan, heathen** | *'u-Dùre<sup>1</sup> píštəla muqyàmta<sup>1</sup> muxràwəta<sup>1</sup> šawwə gáyə<sup>1</sup> l-xānpe<sup>1</sup> qatòle<sup>1</sup> t-mušəlmāne<sup>1</sup>* Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murderers of Muslims (B2:2).



*xanqa-xona* n.m. (pl. *xanqa-xone*) **small white flower**

*xanum* n.f. (K.) **lady** | *dax-xànum* ʔay-tíwta gu-béθa<sup>1</sup> Like a lady she sits at home (A37:3).

*xanuθa* n.f. (pl. *xanǎwaθa*, *xanuyaθa*) **loom for weaving**

*xapa* n.m. (pl. *xape*) **wooden peg used to connect the main body of a plough to the beam (*mašana*)**

*xapaya* adj. (f. *xapeθa*, pl. *xapaye*) **protecting, caring** | *báxta xapèθa<sup>1</sup>* a woman is caring (A40:2).

*xapro* n.f. (pl. *xaprowaθa*) **small metal trowel for digging up vegetables**

*xaqla* n.f. (pl. *xaqlaθa*) **field (with irrigation)**

*xāraba* n.m. (A.) **ruin** | ʔu-máθa šwíqta xāraba-w<sup>1</sup> and the village was left a ruin (B1:8).

*xārama* adj. invar. (A.) **unlawful, villainous** | ʔáti xa-náša xāràmət<sup>1</sup> You are a villainous person (A16:11).

*xa-ramša* n.f. (pl. *xa-ramšaθa*) **dinner** | mó t-áxlax xa-ràmša?<sup>2</sup> What shall we eat for dinner? (A2:2)

*xāraškāra* n.m. **magician**

*xaraya* adj. **last, recent** | ʔáy wela-ʔá-bráta xaréθət mtúmra gu-Dùre<sup>1</sup> That was the last girl to be buried in Dure (B1:12); ʔaw-tíwεle xaràya<sup>1</sup> He sat last (in the queue) (A17:31); máťət ʔε-xaréθət ʔòtəx<sup>1</sup> You will reach the last room (A24:16); ʔánna šínne xaràye in recent years (B3:9); táwera zille<sup>1</sup> b-xarèθa<sup>1</sup> Finally the ox died (A22:6); ʔε-xaréθət xarèθa<sup>1</sup> in the end (A27:36).

*xaraye* adv. **finally** | bánta xaràye (A29:65), béna xaràye<sup>1</sup> (B5:43) for the last time.

*xarayúθa* n.f. **finality, end** | bas-tàma<sup>1</sup> qáššət diyəx<sup>1</sup> ʔu-t-xònəx<sup>1</sup> p'éša màtya<sup>1</sup> l-xarayúθa diyə<sup>1</sup> There your story and that of your brother will (finally) reach its end (A8:88).

*xarbuqta* n.f. (pl. *xarbuqyaθa*) **knot (joining two pieces of rope); loop of a bird trap (*nəšwa*) made of horse hair; metal loop set to catch pigs by the legs**

*xarəɖla* n.m. **mustard**

*xārīb* n.m. (A.) **stranger, foreigner**

*xarja* n.m. (pl. *xarje*) (K./A.) **tax** | *maḃyánət xárje-w bárjət boṭanàye*<sup>1</sup> the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan (A26:34)

*xarnesa* n.m. (pl. *xarnese*) **hand-held distaff** | Wool is twisted around bottom and pulled by connecting it to a spindle (*kuša*).

*xarsupana* adj. (f. *xarsupanta*, pl. *xarsupane*) **rough**

*xaršana* adj. (f. *xaršanta*, pl. *xaršane*) **non-fruit-bearing (tree)**

*xarṭmane* n.pl. (sing. *xarṭamta*, *xarṭamiṭa*) **chickpeas**

*xaruḃa* adj. (f. *xaruḃta*, pl. *xaruḃe*) **sharp**

*xarṭa* adv. **finally; afterwards, then; recently** | <sup>2</sup>*é-ga xárṭa ṭéle xa-jāwāb qa-mālka*<sup>1</sup> Then, in the end, a report came to the king (A8:5); *wéle spāra*<sup>1</sup> *xárṭa xá-ga xéta xzèle*<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>*o-didwa*<sup>1</sup> *plítte mən-d-ó bórət kèpe*<sup>1</sup> He waited and then he saw the fly come back out of the pile of stones (A11:5); *yubqáṭa b-áyya xàrṭa*<sup>1</sup> Skirts (have been worn only) recently (B10:41).

*xasla* n.m. (pl. *xasle*) **cover put over mouth of small animals when they are weaned to prevent them from sucking**

*xāš* adj. invar. (A.) **special** | *y-áwe mtúrša xāš-d-ó-məndi*<sup>1</sup> It is made specially for that thing (B5:193).

*xaša* n.m. (pl. *xaše*) **back; waist** | <sup>2</sup>*u-yatáxwa xāš-kodānta* We would sit on the back of the mule (B5:138); *xákma dīwáqa xāše dīye*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-xákma darqúle dīye*<sup>1</sup> Some supported him and others were against him (A7:20); <sup>2</sup>*ṭwa b-xāši kamāra*<sup>1</sup> There was a belt around my waist (B10:37).

*xašina* n.f. (pl. *xašine*) **axe**

*xašira* n.f. (pl. *xašire*) (A.) **mat**

*xašše* n.pl. **boiled wheat**

*xašlana* n.m. (f. *xašlanta*, pl. *xašlane*) **crusher; a person using a grinding stone known as *xašola***

*xašola* n.m. (pl. *xašole*) **hand-held grinding stone for grinding rice or wheat**

*xašolta* n.f. (pl. *xašolyaθa*) **grinding base with hole in centre in which *xašola* is turned**

*xašša* n.m. **sadness; suffering** | *báyən lá-²aði b-xàšša¹* I do not want them to come in sadness (A4:33); *²o-m-xášše mittle¹* He (almost) died of his grief (A32:12); *rutət xašša* Good Friday.

*xaššana* adj. (f. *xaššanta*, pl. *xaššane*) **sad** | *šléla xaššane l-béθa¹* They went down to their home sadly (A14:20).

*xatma* n.m. (pl. *xatme*) **muzzle (preventing an animal from eating grain)**

*xatta* n.m. (pl. *xatte*) **line drawn on field by a plough** | *²ən-xátta pçille¹ gnáyət túwra d-o-gòra¹* If the line (drawn by the plough) is crooked, it is the fault of the big ox (D2:19).

*xatum* n.f. (pl. *xatune*, *xatane*) (K.) **lady** | *†lá-mma xatáne b-xá xeríya¹* Three hundred ladies with one head cover (D1:9); *síqla mára †la-xátum¹* She (the servant girl) went up and told her mistress (A25:57).

*xataya* n.m. (pl. *xataye*) **sinner**

*xatεθa* n.f. (pl. *xatayaθa*) **sinner (f.)**

*xatər* n.f. (K./A.) **respect; good will; favour** | Only in idiomatic expressions: *xatərux t-la twirali* I who have not broken your respect (= have not disappointed you) (C2:13); *xatərux lá toránna¹* I shall not break your respect (= I'll do what I can for you); *bàs¹ ²é kawázət míya mattátla kəs-réša díya ²u-bàs¹ mára bábi hé¹ dàx lítlux xátər¹* 'Put out for her only that jar of water by her head and that's all.' She said 'My dear, yes, I'll do as you say (literally: how do you not have respect).' (A21:10–11); *mərə¹ ²ána ²adléle ²arxa †-áwən láxxa kəsləx¹ mára málka dax-lítlux xátər¹* He said 'Tonight I shall be a guest in your home'. She said 'Oh king, you are welcome.' (A17:24); *†libse xátər mánna¹* He took his leave from her (literally: He sought favour from her) (A25:66). Part. **because; for the sake of.** (1) **because** | *†lá-bnone xilili¹ báxta xiláli¹ xátər †-ínwa mkonədrəlla¹* I have eaten the three children, I have eaten the wife, because I rolled her (down the hill) (A20:12). (2) **for the sake of** | *mút †-óðən ²ána¹ xátər ²aláha.²¹* What can I do, for God's sake? (A31:2); *²ámər xátər ²aláha¹ ²u-xátər mšixa¹ bas-lá dáqrət biyi¹* For the sake of God and the Messiah, do not touch me (A15:21); *xátər xatrána¹* for the sake of respect (B5:10); *bəd-xátər d-ó-xona zóra¹* for the sake of that young brother (A12:22).

*xatorta* n.m. (pl. *xatoryaθa*) **washing board** | *qaṭlile b-xatoryàθa*<sup>1</sup> They kill him with washing-boards (B19:9); *bəlbəläwa<sup>1</sup> kut-la-yàwa<sup>1</sup> xatórta gàwa<sup>1</sup>* Bəlbəlawā, whoever does not give, (will have) a washing board (knocked) on him (said by children when going around the houses asking for gifts in the celebrations at the end of winter B7:8).

*xatrana* n.m. (K./A.) **respect** | *xatranət babux* out of respect for your father; *xátər xatràna<sup>1</sup>* for the sake of respect (for our family relationship) (B5:10).

*xatha* n.f. (pl. *xathāwaθa*) **sister**

*xatha* adj. (f. *xathta*, pl. *xathē*) **new**

*xawəlla* n.f. (pl. *xawəlyəθa*) **short rope** | made of goat's hair

*xawla*, *ḥawla* n.m. (pl. *xawle*) **rope**

*xawra* n.m. (pl. *xawrāwaθa*, *xawrane*, *xure*) **friend**

*xawxa* n.m. (pl. *xawxe*) **peach** | Types of peach: *xawxa koma* black peach, *xawxa žuwwa* white smooth peach, *xawxa serani* white peach, *xawxa məzzana* hairy peach; <sup>2</sup>*ilanət xawxa* peach tree.

*xaya* adj. **alive**. f. *xεθa* **in child birth** | *baxta xεθa* woman who is giving birth or has recently given birth (forty or less days beforehand) (pl. *baxtaθa xayaθa*).

*xayaṭa* n.m. (pl. *xayaṭe*) **tailor**

*xaye* n.pl.tant. **life** | *b-xàyele<sup>1</sup>* He is alive; *kùlla zàwini b-xàye t-àwəyan<sup>1</sup>* all the time I am alive (A4:43); *bróni mìθele<sup>1</sup> šwíqalla xàye bìyax<sup>1</sup>* My son is dead. He has left his life (which remained to him) to you. (A4:42)

*xayən* adj. invar. (A.) **treacherous**

*xayənuθa* n.f. **treachery** | *y-àwəð xayənúθa<sup>1</sup>* He acts treacherously (A47:3).

*xayoṭa* n.m. (pl. *xayoṭe*) **sewing machine**

*xayuθa* n.f. **life; livelihood; living creature; vital feature** | *rāba xayúθa basimṭewa<sup>1</sup>* Life was very pleasant (B3:7); *hal-hadíya xayuθəy<sup>1</sup> l-xabùšela<sup>1</sup>* Until now people's livelihood is made by apples (B5:75); *ku-xayúθət 'áwər gu-d-ay-wàdi<sup>1</sup> 'anna šəkwáne t-axlila<sup>1</sup>* Every living creature that enters in this valley will be eaten by the ants (A14:55); <sup>2</sup>*áwəwa*

*súla 'íle xá xayúθət 'aqàra kúlle* Manure is a vital feature of the entire farm (B5:138).

*xazada* n.m. (pl. *xazade*) **harvester** | *xazáda là-wele, 'mágla mgubèle* He has not harvested anything, but he has chosen his scythe (D2:27), i.e. a bad workman blames his tools.

*xăžăliya* n.f. (pl. *xăžăliye*) (K./A.) **gazelle**

*xăžina, xəzzina* n.f./m. (pl. *xăžine*) **treasure; storage vessel.** (1) **treasure** | *xa-xəzzinət dáwe* a treasure of gold (A11:7); *xu-lanwa-mírəllux maxzətlí xăžina* I had not told you to show me a treasure (A14:23). (2) **storage vessel, tank** | *dwiqla xəzzine məndiyáne miya* They kept the water in tanks and the like (A11:18).

*xăžinta, xəzzinta, xəzzita* n.f. (pl. *xəzzinyəθa*) **small storage bin** | This consisted of a hole excavated from the ground covered with wood and earth. In general it was used to store nuts (such as *balute* acorns) and root plants (such as *šalgəmmə* turnips).

*xelapa* n.m. (pl. *xelape*) **willow tree, branch of a willow tree** | *'iθ xelapa ma-xelapa.* *šəngabi' tūrxe diye 'i-šáli l-āra.* *xelapa drəst-ile.* There are different types of willow. The weeping willow—its branches hang down to the ground. The (common) willow is straight.

*xelapta* n.f. (pl. *xelapyaθa*) **small willow tree**

*xena, xrena* adj. adv. mod. (f. *xeta/xreta*, pl. *xene/xrene*) **other, another; more; again; discourse particle.** (1) adj. **other, another** | *mattúli xá-šəmma xəna* Give me another name (A7:2); *m-ya-góta xəta* from the other side (A25:30); *'u-mòdi-xenət xəzya.* What else have you seen? (A17:8). Additional: *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx* I shall give you another bag like that one (A4:16). Used independently: *xa-xəna* another one (A23:27); *ða-xéta* another one (A22:9); *'o-xəna* the other one (A4:45). (2) **more** | *tálga xəna* more snow; *xákma šənne xəne* a few more years (B5:208). (3) adv. **more, again** | *'ána xəna šúla la-pəlxən* I shall not work any more (A23:40); *xəna řiše.* He woke up again (A14:95). (4) mod. **more** | Modifier of a quantifier: *šqiləmwə xácča xəna qəlyə* *ta-t-axlənne b-'úrxa* I took a little more roasted meat to eat on the way (A23:10); *zmúrrən xánčə xəna* Sing to us a little more (A35:8). (5) **discourse particle** | expressing boundary and prominence: *xəna polise mù t-ódi.* Well, what should the police do? (A8:9); *xəna 'ána*

*qémən 'ázm 'úmra*<sup>1</sup> Well, I shall go to church (A37:2); *bàssa xéna*<sup>1</sup> Well that is enough (B15:35).

*xēr* adj. (A.) **good** | *xèr-ila*<sup>2</sup> How are things? (A22:16); *ha-xèr*<sup>2</sup> Are you all right? (A27:22); *'u-mállà rìšéle*<sup>1</sup> *máre ha-xèr málla*<sup>2</sup> The mullah woke up. He said '(Did you sleep) well, mullah?' (A2:5); *'ən-sállà xèr hawya-'úrxa*<sup>1</sup> God willing, the way will be good (A8:69); *xēr-ula-xèr* Well done, good for you (A12:26); *'áy rìšla<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'áwwa léle 'áθya b-xèr*<sup>1</sup> She felt that he had not come with a good purpose.

*xera, xeratta* n.f. (A.) **enthusiasm, zeal** | *dáryele xéra b-gáne diye* He took courage (A8:57); *xére zille mṭušyàle gáne*<sup>1</sup> He quickly went and hid himself (A24:46); *mtuxmónne t-áwəð nxilθa<sup>1</sup> tla-madréla b-xeratta*<sup>1</sup> He thought of doing a mischievous trick to make her throw it (the cheese) down in her excitement (A49:2).

*xeratta* → *xera*

*xeríya* n.f. (pl. *xeríyaθa*) (K.) **black head cover** | Riddle: *tlá-mma xatáne b-xá xeríya*<sup>1</sup> *harmónla*<sup>1</sup> Three hundred ladies with one veil: Pomegranate (D1:9)

*xeta, xreta* → *xena*

*xewa* n.m. (pl. *xewe*) **hook used to adjust threads when weaving**

*xela* n.m. (pl. *xelāwaθa*) **strength, force, power** | *xéla díya mòdile<sup>1</sup> t-mazvərra*<sup>2</sup> What is its power, which turns it? (B6:53); *'áθye xelāwáθət maymúne dart-yóma* The forces (of the army of) the monkeys came the next day (A14:54); *'áni b-xéla báyi mbarxíla 'əlli*<sup>1</sup> They want to marry her to me by force (A7:18); *b-xéla náše xazíle*<sup>1</sup> People scarcely see him; *'u-b-xélət 'alàha*<sup>1</sup> *har-Dúre lè-'áθya l-manšəye*<sup>1</sup> By the strength of God, Dure will never be forgotten (B2:7). *draya xela* to apply force, to struggle; to attempt: *dáryele xéla<sup>1</sup> ta-t-šarətla gáne*<sup>1</sup> He struggled to release himself (A26:81). *šlāwaθət xele* prayers for his strength, *goriyət xele* a sacrifice for his strength (blessings prefixed to names of saints): *šlāwaθət xele Mar-Sawa* the Blessed St. Sawa; *Mar-Gwírgis goriyət xele* the Blessed St. George.

*xelana* adj. (f. *xelanta*, pl. *xelane*) **strong, mighty, huge** | *'ína rába gab-bàra<sup>1</sup> xelána-wewa*<sup>1</sup> But he was a very mighty warrior (A11:1); *šrixéle xa-qála ràba xelána*<sup>1</sup> He shouted a mighty shout (A11:3); *xa-pláša ràba xelána-wewa*<sup>1</sup> It was a very fierce war (A11:16); *mətra xelanta* heavy

rain; *talga xelana* heavy snow; *xa-xlùla<sup>1</sup> ràba xelána<sup>1</sup>* a huge wedding (A12:23). Used adverbially: *qəm-maxéla 'áqla biš-xelàna<sup>1</sup>* He struck her leg harder (A33:12); *'ína šláya xelànele<sup>1</sup>* It (the river) is flowing down in spate (A14:58).

*xepùtha* n.f. **fog** | *'šdyo xepùthela<sup>1</sup>* It is foggy today; *qáyəm qèdamta<sup>1</sup> 'ína xepùtha<sup>1</sup> ryáma mən-<sup>2</sup>àra<sup>1</sup>* He got up in the morning and found that fog was rising from the ground (A25:43).

*xəbloke* n.f. **a type of green herb** | eaten by partridges

*xəbra* n.f. (A.) **experience, knowledge**

*xəðya* n.m. (pl. *xəðyáwaθa*) **breast** | *reši bēl xəðya l-xəðya* My head is between one breast and another (C2:72).

*xəðya* adj. (f. *xðiθa*, pl. *xəðye*) **joyful, happy**

*xəðyuθa* n.f. **joy; joyful occasion** | *sab-<sup>2</sup>ó-yoma xa-xəðyùθewa<sup>1</sup>* because that day was a joyful occasion (B5:62).

*xəgga* n.m. (pl. *xəgge*) **dance performed with a line of people in a row with linked arms** | *xa-d-ánna dwígewa réšət xəgga<sup>1</sup>* One of them was leading the head of the dance (B15:80). There are various types of this dance including: *xəgga xliya* (with bending of knees), *xəgga belati* (same as *xəgga xliya*), *xəgga šexani*, *xəgga guršeni*, *xəgga šiša*, *xəgga yaqura*.

*xəlāl* prep. (A.) **within (time), during** | *xəlāl tre-yomē<sup>1</sup>* within two days (A8:38)

*xəllepa* n.m. (pl. *xəllepe*) **beehive**

*xəllət*, *xəlleta* n.f. (pl. *xəllaθa*, *xəlletaθa*, *xəllətyaθa*) (K./A.) **gift** | *'itli xəlleta maxlónna qa-d-àni* I have a gift to give to them.

*xəlma* n.m. (pl. *xəlme*) **dream** | *'áwowa málka xzéle xa-xəlma<sup>1</sup>* This king had a dream (A1:2); *'u-málka mšuréle zdáya xáčča<sup>1</sup>... xəlme diye pàtə<sup>1</sup>* The king began to be rather afraid...that his dream would come true (A8:6).

*xəlmət*, *xəlməta* (pl. *xəlmətte*) (K./A.) **service (good deed or church ceremony)** | *kəmət 'áwəð náša xəlməta<sup>1</sup>, hárbéna xaràye<sup>1</sup> mxáyalle l-máre diye<sup>1</sup>* Whenever a man does a service, always in the end he strikes the man performing the service (A47:2); *gu-d-ánna tre-<sup>2</sup>umràne<sup>1</sup> xəlmət 'etanéθa y-odəxwala gáwe diye<sup>1</sup>* In these two churches we used to hold church services (B1:6).

*xálta* n.m. (pl. *xálte*) (K./A.) **mistake**

*xálxale* n.pl. (sing. *xálxalta*) (K./A.) **anklets**

*xályá* n.m. **milk** | *xóni* 'o-zóra *l-xályá wéwa*<sup>1</sup> My younger brother was on milk (B9:16)

*xályá* adj. (f. *xliθa*, pl. *xálye*) **sweet**

*xályana* adj. (f. *xályanta*, pl. *xályane*) **producing milk** | 'itle *ða-ðzza*<sup>1</sup> *rába xályántela*<sup>1</sup> He has a goat, which produces a lot of milk.

*xályuθa* n.f. **sweetness; sweet foods**

*xamma* n.m. **heat** | *léle xamma* 'álléxu.<sup>2</sup> Are you not hot?; *gu-béθa xamma* 'yéwa<sup>1</sup> It was hot in the house (B5:204); *tawðrwa xamma* The heat would break (in the evening) (B5:160).

*xammána* adj. (f. *xammanta*, pl. *xammáne*) **hot** | *xa-xamšúšéba t-Támuz xammána*<sup>1</sup> One Thursday in hot July (B1:15).

*xammarta*, *xmarta*, *xammərθa* n.f. (pl. *xəmrə*, *xəmmərɣaθa*, *xmərɣaθa*) **bead** | *xəmmərθə* *šənθa*<sup>1</sup> sleeping bead (magic bead used to induce sleep) (A19:3); *xmərɣáθə tabzəye*<sup>1</sup> beads of rosaries (A25:34); *xmarta gərta* large bead (at the end of a rosary)

*xəmxəma* n.m. **rash**

*xəmyana* n.m. **father-in-law**

*xənne* adj.f. **chestnut coloured (goat)**

*xəppərta* n.f. (pl. *xəppərɣaθa*) **mud pit** | where white clay for the facing of houses is excavated

*xəppo* n.f. (pl. *xəppoɣaθa*) **bridal veil**

*xəpyaya* adj. (f. *xəpyeθa*, pl. *xəpyaye*) **barefoot**

*xərba* adj. invar. **bad**

*xərbayutha* n.f. **evil**

*xərqa* n.m. (pl. *xərqe*) **ring** | in neck cartilage: *báláwala yabíšta xərqa xərqa gu-qđála díya mabyánwa*<sup>1</sup> When she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck (A8:63); *xərqət* 'ilana growth-ring in tree; *xərqət qana* growth-ring in horn.



*xərroza* n.m. (pl. *xərroze*) **string of dried fruit (e.g. figs, dates)**

*xərša* **leprosy; mange; eczema** | *təpya xərsəle*<sup>1</sup> He is afflicted with leprosy (A32:21).

*xərša* n.m. (pl. *xərše*) **magic** | *widla xərša*<sup>1</sup> She did an act of magic; *'itlan*  
*ða-tóto y-óða xərše*<sup>1</sup> We have an old woman who does magic (A4:13).

*xərta* n.m. (pl. *xərta*) **line** | *xərta*<sup>1</sup> *'ida* lines of the hand

*xərxaša* n.m. (pl. *xərxaše*) **thick sash belt** | worn by men and women

*xərxəθ*, *l-xərxət* adv. **upside down, back to front** | *kúlla mnúle l-xərxəθ*<sup>1</sup>  
They (the mules) are shoed back to front (with the shoes the wrong way round) (B4:13).

*xərza* n.m. (pl. *xərze*) **string (of beads, roe, spawn); amulet hung around neck in the form of a necklace to deter jinn** | *xərzət xəmre* string of beads; *xərzət kθeθa* string (of small unlaidd eggs in stomach of a) chicken; oviduct of a chicken; *xərzət pəqqa* frog-spawn; tadpole; *xərzət nune* fish roe; young fish

*xəsyə* adj. (pl. *xəsyə*) **castrated**

*xəškana* adj. (f. *xəškanta*, pl. *xəškane*) **dark**

*xəšxəšone* n.pl. **skating, skiing** | *hóle wáða xəšxəšone rəš-gðila*<sup>1</sup> He is skating on the ice; *hóle wáða xəšxəšone gu-tálga*<sup>1</sup> He is skiing in the snow.

*xətna* n.m. (pl. *xətnəwəθa*) **bridegroom; son-in-law; father-in-law; husband of a relative (e.g. husband of paternal or maternal aunt, husband of a sister)**

*xətnuθa* n.f. **state of being a groom**

*xəttə* n.m. (pl. *xətte*) (A.) **plan** | *'ána t-óðən xa-xəttə*<sup>1</sup> I shall make a plan (A12:35); *mütte xəttə*<sup>1</sup> They laid a plan (B4:11).

*xətte* n.pl. **wheat** (sing. *xəttiθa* **a wheat grain**) | Four types of wheat: *xwəraθa*, *huwedi*, *mərwəš* and *koča* (without long hairs). *xəttət romaye*, *xəttə romaye*, *xətt-romaye* n.pl. **maize** | *xa dəndəkθət xəttə romaye* a single maize seed. *xəttət šəmaye* n.pl. **maize** (= *xəttət romaye*). Pl. *xəttəne* **wheat plants** | *yárxət šáwəwa tmànya*,<sup>1</sup> *mšəri xzáda xəttəne*<sup>1</sup> In July or August, they begin to harvest the wheat plants (B5:95).

*xəyāl*, *xəyala* n.f. (K./A.) **thought; idea** | *qtila xəyala diya*<sup>1</sup> She has made up her mind (A8:49); *xəyálexu mù-qtila*?<sup>1</sup> What decision have you

made? (B5:2); *'u-gu-xəyála dýa hóla m̀ara'* She says to herself (A8:75); *mũčəzalla xəyàli'* He annoyed me (A17:7); *la-bəyən məčəzanna xəyaləxu'* I don't want to bore you; *'itli xəyāl'* I have an idea (A21:36).

*xəzda* n.m. (pl. *xəzde*) **reproach**

*xəzma* n.m. (pl. *xəzme, xəzmane*) (K.) **family relative**

*xəzmayuθa* n.f. **kinship relationship** | *bəyax t-ódax xəzmayúθa m̀annəxu'* We want to make a family relationship with you (by marriage) (B5:4)

*xəzwa* n.m. (pl. *xəzwe*) **vision, revelation** | *xəzwa šk̀ara wéwa'* It was a clear vision (A2:6)

*xəzəmta* n.f. (pl. *xəzəmyaθa*) **nose-ring**

*xiča* n.m. (pl. *xiče*) **line (drawn on paper)** | *widle xóθe xiča b-qäləma'* He drew a line under it with a pen. Contrast *xatta* line drawn on the ground.

*xiyara* n.m. (pl. *xiyare*) **cucumber**

*xiyota* n.m. (pl. *xiyote*) **sewing, sewn fabric**

*xiza* n.m. (K.) **sand**

*xlapa* adv. **in place of; for the sake of** | *'o dáy' ya-xlapax dáy'* Oh mother, may I be your ransom, mother (A37:4); *xlapa d-an-jundiye'* (May I be a ransom) for those soldiers (= Oh woe for the soldiers) (C3:1); *xlapux ya-'alaha'* (Let it be) for your sake (Let it be as you wish) (A9:4); *xlapət 'alaha'* Thank God.

*xlawta* n.f. **milking**

*xlima* adj. (f. *xlimta*, pl. *xlime*) **thick** | *qesa xlima* thick wood

*xliša* adj. (f. *xlišta*, pl. *xliše*) **tight**

*xliṭa* adj. (f. *xliṭta*, pl. *xliṭte*) **wrong**

*xliya* | *xəgga xliya* type of *xəgga* dance in which people bend their knees (→ *xl'*). This is the same as the dance known as *xəgga belati*.

*xloša* adj. (f. *xlošta*, pl. *xloše*) **tight** | *šəbbaqa xloša* a loose belt (anton. *rpoxa* loose).

*xlula* n.m. (pl. *xlulane*) **wedding** | *widla xlula'* They held a wedding (A4:56).

*xmara* n.m. (pl. *xmare*) **ass** | *xmarət dudiya* curved wooden piece attached to the top of a cradle

*xmarta* n.f. (pl. *xmaryaθa*) **she-ass**

*xmaṭa* n.f. (*xmaṭaθa*) **needle** | *bóyət xmàṭa*<sup>1</sup> the eye of a needle (A11:12); *xmaṭaθət masərqa* the spikes of a wool-carding comb

*xmaθa* n.f. (pl. *xmayaθa*) **mother-in-law**

*xmεθa* n.f. **keeping, guarding**

*xmila* adj. (f. *xmilla*, *xmile*) **happy; festive**

*xmiqa* adj. (f. *xmiqta*, pl. *xmiqe*) **rotten; putrid** | *miya xmiqe* foul water

*xmira* n.m. **yeast** | *deréwa xmirá gáwa dýe*,<sup>1</sup> *xáméwa*<sup>1</sup> They would put yeast in it (the dough) and it rose (B5:16).

*xo*, *xoθ-* prep. (with pronominal suffixes: *xoθe*) (§13.3.23.) **under** | *múttalla xo-kosiθe*<sup>1</sup> He put them under his hat (A23:6); *tfiqla dāwe xo-ʔáqla díya*<sup>1</sup> She found gold coins under her leg (A10:7); *dérət ʔidux xo-d-ò-kepa*<sup>1</sup> Put your hand under that stone (A12:27); *xo-qđala maxmore* with jewels (hanging down) under her neck (C6:4); *ʔaxni xoθ-tagbártət málkax*<sup>1</sup> We are under the administration of the king (A8:80). After verbs of movement: *y-aθéwa xo-túθa čúwa*<sup>1</sup> They would come under the smooth mulberry tree (B5:203), *kú t-ile sláya xo-qárše ʔlitax*,<sup>1</sup> *pyáša dāwa*<sup>1</sup> Everything that fell down under the beams became gold (A10:11), *mteli xo-Dwile* I arrived under (the village of) Dwile (C2:30). Combined with *mən* expressing static location: *ʔu-m-xòθe*<sup>1</sup> *y-ođíwa nùra*<sup>1</sup> Then under it they would put fire (B5:183). Expressing movement: *másta plítla m-xóθa díya*<sup>1</sup> The yoghurt came out from underneath it (A30:21).

*xo-*, *xu-* part. **intensifying particle** (§17.9.2.) | Intensifying negation with remonstrating force: *xo-la-méθən làxxa*<sup>1</sup> I shall not die here (A20:11); *yába ʔan-ʔamma dāwe*,<sup>1</sup> *xu-là mbaqrətəlli*<sup>1</sup> Well, do not ask me about those hundred gold coins (A14:65); *xu-lanwa-mírəllux maxzətli xǎžina*<sup>1</sup> I had not told you to show me a treasure (A14:23). In negative questions, usually remonstrating: *xo-lat-mírta xà-məndi*?<sup>21</sup> Did you not say something? (= surely you said something?) (A26:34); *bábi támmal ʔáyya mđíta xu-kùmta-wawa*?<sup>21</sup> Father, was this town not black yesterday? (= surely this town was black yesterday) (A4:35). In positive questions: *gúrəž šərmux xo-ʔána t-azənwa biya*?<sup>21</sup> Would I be finished off by your stupid club (literally: the club of your behind)?! (A52:17). Introducing apodosis:

*ʔən-šárət díyi qəm-yǎðətlá,*<sup>1</sup> *xo-b-gawərànnux*<sup>1</sup> If you know (the answer to) my challenge, I shall indeed marry you (A25:62); *ʔən-θèli<sup>1</sup> xó bǎxtiwəł*<sup>1</sup> If I come back, then you are my wife (A25:66).

*xoð-* pron. **pronoun of isolation** (§14.6.) | *xòðiwəm*<sup>1</sup> I am alone (A22:32); *pišela<sup>1</sup> har-ʔáni-tre l-xoðéy*<sup>1</sup> Only those two remained by themselves (A20:9); *ʔáv xa-l-xóðe díye támàhu*<sup>1</sup> He is all alone there (A27:5).

*xona* n.m. (pl. *xonǎwaθa*) **brother** | *xóna mǎnnèxule*<sup>1</sup> He is a brother to you (A25:22). Pl. *xonǎwaθa siblings* | *ʔu-ʔlǎθa xonǎwàθi,*<sup>1</sup> *ðá xáθa ʔu-tré xonǎwáθa ʔiθwali*<sup>1</sup> My three siblings—I had a sister and two brothers (B9:1).

*xonuθa* n.f. **brotherhood, fellowship** | *pǎlǎxla kùlla<sup>1</sup> b-ğǎðe b-xonuθa*<sup>1</sup> We shall share it among ourselves in fellowship (A14:18).

*xorækka* n.m. (pl. *xorække*) **little friend**

*xo-ruša* n.m. (pl. *xo-rušane*) **shoulder-blade**

*xoruθa* n.f. **friendship**

*xoš* adj. (invar.) (K.) **good** | *ʔáv xoš-nàšele*<sup>1</sup> He is a good man; *hàðx-íwa xóš-naša*<sup>1</sup> He was such a good man (A4:31); *ʔiθm... biš-xoš-ğùre*<sup>1</sup> There are better men (A26:79); *b-álaha xóš-məndíla!*<sup>1</sup> That is a good idea! (A14:18)

*xoš* part. **deontic particle** (§15.1.1.5. i) | *xoš-ʔávər ʔu-ʔáxəl ʔu-šáte gu-pərdəsa-w*<sup>1</sup> Let him enter and eat and drink in Paradise (A2:8); *ʔu-béthux xoš-ʔəqəð*<sup>1</sup> and may your house burn down (A17:6); *káwa xoš-ʔ-awéwa piša*<sup>1</sup> He should have remained alive (A7:20).

*xošave* n.f. (K.) **sweet drink made of raisins** | The raisins, with their stems removed, are soaked in water until they become swollen

*xošeba* n.m. (pl. *xošəbane*) **Sunday** | *xošeba xaθa* New Sunday (= the first Sunday after Easter) (B5:228); *xošəbat bnaθa* Girls' Sunday (Sunday before the beginning of the Lent fast, B7:1ff., B16:18ff.); *xošəba bnàθa<sup>1</sup> qəʔma b-ğusràθa*<sup>1</sup> On Girls' Sunday there was (washing) ash in the cooking pots (i.e. the people fasted and washed their pots rather than using them for cooking) (B7:5).

*xo-šxawθa* n.f. (pl. *xo-šxawyaθa*) **armpit**

*xoθa* adv. **below**. *xoθa xoθa* prep. **under** | with actions involving movement: *ʔu-ğrišle míya m-ʔura<sup>1</sup> muθéle xóθa-xoθət ʔùpra,*<sup>1</sup> *muwərre gu-Dəmdəma*<sup>1</sup>

He drew water from the mountain, bringing it under the ground and directing it into Dəmdəma (A11:14).

*xparta* n.f. (*xparyaθa*) **quarry**

*xqira* adj. (f. *xqirta*, pl. *xqire*) **honoured** | *hátxa bába xqirəwət*<sup>1</sup> You are a very respected father (A18:8).

*xrawa* n.m. (pl. *xrawe*) **destruction; wicked act** | *ɣ-áwəðwa xràwe gu-mǎhállé*<sup>1</sup> He wrought havoc in his neighbourhood (A14:7); *hot-wáðða rába xràwe*<sup>1</sup> You are doing many wicked things (A25:81).

*xriwa* adj. (f. *xriwta*, pl. *xriwe*) **bad; out of order (machine)**

*xroriye* n.pl. **sorghum**

*xsipta* n.f. (pl. *xsiptyaθa*) **wooden door lock**

*xšawta* n.f. (pl. *xšawyaθa*) **thought; opinion** | *max-xšàwti*<sup>1</sup> according to my opinion (A6:3).

*xtaya* adj. (f. *xtəθa*, pl. *xtaye*) **lower** | *rəša xtaya* upside down; *galliyəle*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa rəša xtàyəle*<sup>1</sup> It is a valley that slopes downwards (B19:3); *ʔáθra t-xtàyə*<sup>1</sup> the land of the dwellers in the lowlands (A37:5); *kúlla šaləwa gota-xtəθa*<sup>1</sup> They would all fall down (B5:43); *dige-w kθàye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp ʔan-zóre xtàye*<sup>1</sup> The cocks and the chickens, and also the small lowly creatures (should observe the fast) (B16:15). *xtəθa* adv. **below**: *ʔàmi*<sup>1</sup> *derəwa xtəθa*<sup>1</sup> They put these (the mats) below (i.e. on the ground) (B5:199).

*xtiθa* n.f. (pl. *xtiyaθa*) **sin** | *xtiθela*<sup>1</sup> It is a sin! What a pity!; *xtiθəy-ila*<sup>1</sup> What a pity for them! (A8:11); *xtiθəxula*<sup>1</sup> What a pity for you (A8:26); *xtiθila*<sup>1</sup> What a pity for me (A11:11); *xtiθi b-qðaləxu*<sup>1</sup> *bnóni qam-ʔəni là qatlitula*<sup>1</sup> I implore you (literally: my sin be on your neck), do not kill my children before my eyes (B9:13); *máðərre xtiθi diye*<sup>1</sup> Make him come back, I am feeling sorry for him (A24:53).

*xuba* n.m. **dye**

*xubba* n.m. **love** | *npiltəla b-xùbba*<sup>1</sup> She has fallen in love (A4:14).

*xulama* n.m. (pl. *xulamwaθa*) (K./A.) **servant**

*xulamta* n.f. (pl. *xulamyaθa*) (K./A.) **maid servant**

*xulaša* n.m. (A.) **end; summary** | *xulaša ʔaláha mutəpəqalle gu-d-a-mðita t-ila ʔə-bráta d-o-málka*<sup>1</sup> In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was (A4:11).

*xulqana* n.m. (pl. *xulqane*) **friend of the groom at a wedding** | *xulqane l-bεθət babe* The friends of the groom are at his father's house (B8:23).

*xumala* n.m. **festivity; festive clothing** | *kwiša jállət xumàla*<sup>1</sup> wearing festive clothes (A35:4); *b-ʔaqla zargule ʔu-ʔəlla xumale* On her legs are sheep-skin shoes, and on her (body) festive clothes (C6:2).

*xumlana* n.m. **merriment** | *ʔap-ʔayyéwa xa-xumlàna dīyən*<sup>1</sup> This also was a form of merriment of ours (B5:33).

*xumša* (i) n.m. **sour remainder (of cheese or yoghurt)** | *xumšət gupta* sour remainder of cheese used for making new cheese; *xumšət masta* sour remainder of yoghurt.

*xumša* (ii) n.m. **dish consisting of meat, rice and turnips**

*xumša* (iii) n.m. (pl. *xumše*) **large box (for storing grains)**

*xumθa* n.f. **anger**

*xumθana* adj. **angry**

*xura* n.m. (pl. *xure*) **white poplar tree** | *qíme tre-xùre*<sup>1</sup> *síqa š-xa-xùra*<sup>1</sup> Two poplar trees grew up. He climbed up one poplar. (A18:26)

*xurəθa* n.f. (pl. *xurəθa*) **step-daughter**

*xurət* adj. invar. (K.) **strong, valiant** | *ʔan-dīyən wéla biš-xùrət*<sup>1</sup> Our (men) were stronger (B8:5).

*xurga* n.m. (pl. *xurge*) **step-son**

*xurja* n.m. (pl. *xurje*) (A.) **saddle-bag**

*xurma* n.m. (pl. *xurme*) (K.) **date (dark and soft)** | *ʔilánət xùrme*<sup>1</sup> a date palm tree (A13:10)

*xurta, xorta* n.f. (pl. *xuriyaθa, xoriyaθa*) **white poplar tree** | *xúrta mgārila kut-tre-šənnə*<sup>1</sup> They pollard the poplar every two years.

*xurzaya* → *xwarzaya*

*xusera* n.m. **dew**

*xuwwe* n.m. (pl. *xuwwawe, xuwwəwəθa, xuwwəθa*) **snake** | types of snake: *xuwwe təɣya, xuwwe koma, xuwwe balakšənka*

*xuwwiθa* n.f. (pl. *xuwwiyaθa*) **small snake**

*xuya* n.m. **darkness** | *pišle xüya*<sup>1</sup> It became dark (A14:73); *hés xüya xüyele*<sup>1</sup> It was still very dark (A30:36).

*xuyana* adj. (f. *xuyanta*, pl. *xuyane*) **dark**

*xwara* adj. (f. *xwarta*, pl. *xware*) **white** | *xwarət beta* the white of an egg

*xwaratha* n.pl. **type of wheat**

*xwār-dəqna* n.m. (pl. *xwār-dəqna*) **elder**

*xwarnaya* adj. (f. *xwarnəθa*, pl. *xwarnaye*) **whitish**

*xwār-paθa* adj. invar. **white-faced, innocent**

*xwār-paθuθa* n.f. **innocence**

*xwaruθa* n.f. **whiteness; dairy products**

*xwarθa* n.f. (pl. *xwariyaθa*) (1) **friend (f.)**. (2) **companion spirit** | thought to bring about a hallucinatory fever: *y-ámri ʾən-xáyər b-séra rāba*,<sup>1</sup> *qapxále xwārθe*<sup>1</sup> They say that if he looks at the moon a lot, his companion spirit will possess him. A metal object (e.g. a knife) is put under the pillow of a pregnant woman so that she is not afflicted by her companion spirit (*qa-t-lá maxyála xwārθa*). (3) **placenta**

*xwarzaya*, *xwarza*, *xurzaya* n.m. (pl. *xwarzaye*) (K.) **nephew (son of sister)** | *xwàrza!* Nephew! (vocative) (A29:17)

*xwarzəθa*, *xurzəθa* n.f. (pl. *xwarzayaθa*, *xurzayaθa*) (K.) **niece (daughter of sister)**

*xwiša* n.m. **dish made from chopped flat bread (*zedəye*) and butter (*čita*)**

*xyapta* n.f. **washing** | *xyaptət xətna* the ceremony of the washing of the groom (before the wedding), accompanied by wedding songs (*leliyane*).

*xzatta* n.f. **harvest** | *bar-sàməq*,<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrx dān-t xzattəla*<sup>1</sup> After it (the rice) becomes brown, we say that it is harvest time (B5:79).

*xzirən* n.m. **June**

*xzura* n.m. (pl. *xzure*) **pig**

## /Y/

*ya* (i) part. (A.) **vocative particle** | *ya-málka*<sup>1</sup> O king (A25:13); *yá-qazi t-áwət basìma*<sup>1</sup> O judge, may you be healthy (A6:11).

*ya* (ii) part. (A.) **which?** | *yà-xázina xzélux*?<sup>1</sup> What treasure have you found? (A14:13)

*ya'ha* → 'yaha

*ya'isa* n.m. (pl. *ya'ise*) **husband of the sister of a wife**

*yaba* interj. **interjection opening speech turns** | *šéx yába hole-mšúdra bārux*<sup>1</sup> The sheikh, take note, has sent for you (A7:8); *yába 'ána t-àṭn*<sup>1</sup> Well, I'll come (A7:9).

*yabiše* n.pl. (sing. *yabišta*) **raisins**

*yadde* n.f. (pl. *yaddāt*) (A.) **handle**

*yaḏuwa* adj. (f. *yaḏuwota*, pl. *yaḏuwe*) **knowledgeable**

*yaha* → 'yaha

*yākana, yeḳana* n.m./adj. (K.) **only son** | 'aw-málka 'iṭwale xa-bròna,<sup>1</sup> *yākàna*<sup>1</sup> That king had an only son (A4:1).

*yākanta, yeḳanta* n.f./adj. **only daughter** | *ḏá-xaṭa yakànta*<sup>1</sup> a single sister (A18:1)

*yala* n.m. (pl. *yale*, 'ayale) **child** | *yálat mǝdràsa*<sup>1</sup> school children

*yälək, yäläkkä* → 'iläkkä

*yaləxta, yaləxṭa* n.f. (pl. *yaləxyaṭa*) **handkerchief; scarf** | This is waved around in a *xəgga* dance. It is usually decorated with tassels.

*yalla* interj. **come on! let's go!** | *de-yälla!*<sup>1</sup> Let's go ahead (with the plan) (A44:3). Sometimes combined with *də-* (particle of immediacy §15.1.5.2., §15.7.): *də-yälla!*<sup>1</sup> Let's go! (A8:82).

*yalma* n.m. (pl. *yalme*) **face (of person)**

*yalta* n.f. **girl**

*yalunka* n.m. (pl. *yalunke*) **youth (approx. 6–14 years)**

*yama* n.f. (pl. *yamaṭa*) **sea; lake**



*yamiša* n.m. (pl. *yamiše*) **rubbarb** | It grows in cool places in high mountains.

*yamnaya* adj. (f. *yamnetha*, pl. *yamnaye*) **right-handed**

*yamne* n.f. **right (hand, side)**

*yamta* n.f. (pl. *yamtaθa*) **lake**

*yan, ya* part. (K.) **or** | *ʔáwwa nabláxle kəs-d-ày<sup>1</sup> yan-ʔáy nabláxla kəs-d-àwwa.<sup>1</sup>* Should we take him to her or take her to him? (A4:3); *mjárbu méθu náše duxtùre-u<sup>1</sup> yan-náše spáy t-yáði bud-màrra<sup>1</sup>* Try to bring doctors, or fine people who know about the illness (A8:32).

*yapεθa* n.f. (pl. *yapayaθa*) **baker-woman**

*yapyana* n.m. (pl. *yapyane*) **baker**

*yapyanta* n.f. (pl. *yapyanyaθa*) **baker woman**

*yaqura* adj. (f. *yaqurta*, pl. *yaqure*) **heavy; pregnant** | *sátwá y-awéwa yaqùra<sup>1</sup>* Winter was hard (B5:155); *báxta hóla yaqúrta bud-yála<sup>1</sup>* The woman is with child; *baxtáθa tārweθna hóla yaqùre<sup>1</sup>* Both women were pregnant (A25:2).

*yār* n.m. **May**

*yarəkθa* n.f. (pl. *yarəkyaθa*) (K.) **concubine, mistress**

*yarqa* n.m. **vegetables; vegetable stew** | *t-odánna yàrqa-lley<sup>1</sup>* I shall make it into a vegetable stew for them (A34:18).

*yarxa, yerxa* n.m. (pl. *yarxe, yerxe*) **month** | *táltàsær b-yérxa<sup>1</sup>* the thirteenth of the month (B16:22); *yarxət tre* February; *yarxət ʔəčča* September; *rešət yarxa* the beginning of the month; *ʔilla réšət yàrxá<sup>1</sup>* She has a menstrual period.

*yasmin, yasmina* n.f. (pl. *yasmine*) **jasmin (yellow or white)**

*yasora* n.m. (pl. *yasore*) **tether** | *yasóre y-asrúwale b-púmmət tàwera<sup>1</sup>* Tethers tied it (the cross beam) to the mouth of the bull (B5:83).

*yašila, yašilta* n.m. (pl. *yašile, yašilyaθa*) **outer edge (of wall, window); outer corner (of building); side (of door)** | *kút yašilət qàšra<sup>1</sup> ʔiθ ða-yàwna gáwe díye<sup>1</sup>* On every corner of the palace there is a dove (A12:24); *rúše díye qíθele b-yašilət tàra<sup>1</sup>* His shoulder hit the side of the door (A29:10). Cf. *zawiθa* inner corner

*yatuma* n.m. (pl. *yatume*) **orphan**

*yaṭṭana* n.m. (pl. *yaṭṭane*) (Urm.) **acquaintance**

*yawna* n.f. (pl. *yawne*, *yawnaḥa*) **dove, pigeon**

*ye*, *yehe* interj. **yes**

*yeḵana* → *yaḵana*

*yeḵanta* → *yaḵanta*

*yerxa* → *yarxa*

*yamma* n.f. (pl. *yammaḥa*) **mother** | *yāmmət marəḥa*<sup>1</sup> original leaven (cheese, yoghurt used as a starter to produce more) (B16:25)

*yammonta* n.f. **little mother** | *yāmmonti* my little mother, mummy

*yoma* n.m. (pl. *yome*, *yomane*, *yomaḥa*; abs. *yum*) **day; sun**. (1) **day** | *xa-yóma siqe-wawwa l-ṣēda*<sup>1</sup> One day they had gone up (the mountains) out hunting (A25:2); *yóma qamāya* on the first day (A25:14); *hār ʿo-yóma* on the same day (A25:4); *yómət xyáptət xətna*<sup>1</sup> on the day of the washing of the groom (B15:74); *pálgət yóma*<sup>1</sup> at midday (B5:62); *zilla b-yomàḥa*<sup>1</sup> They travelled for days (A29:37). In absolute state: *kút-yum ḍà-brata gawərwə*<sup>1</sup> Every day he would marry a girl (A14:1). (2) **sun** | *yóma xrùle*<sup>1</sup> the sun was eclipsed; *ʿé-gət zarəqwa yóma*,<sup>1</sup> *palṭəxwa xorəwáḥa kulla m-gəḍəḍe*<sup>1</sup> When the sun rose, we friends would all go out together (B15:5); *zraqət yoma* East: *y-a-zúwa l-zràqət yóma*<sup>1</sup> They would go towards the East (A8:22); *yóma, yóma mgáli pàḥux*,<sup>1</sup> *šáxni bnónux ʿu-bnàḥux*,<sup>1</sup> *ʿu-ʿap-kalàḥux*<sup>1</sup> Sun, sun reveal your face, so that your sons, your daughters and your daughters-in-law may be warm (said when a cloud goes over the sun); *hádəx-ila štrànta*<sup>1</sup> *max-d-àwəwa yóma*<sup>1</sup> She is as beautiful as this sun (A7:17).

*yomiyya* adv. (A.) **daily** | *yomiyya xá-bena* once a day (A12:46)

*yubqa* n.f. (pl. *yubqaḥa*) **skirt**

*yulpana* n.m. **learning, education**

*yunja* n.m. (pl. *yunje*) **type of plant** | green in colour, fed to animals

*yuqra* n.m. **weight**

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*zābun, zabbun* adj. invar. (K.) **weak; thin** | *báxta xácča zābbun-ila* a woman is rather weak (A10:12).

*zaga* n.m. (pl. *zage*) **bell** | *'ána maxónne zágæt 'umra* I shall ring the church bell; *qále díye šápya 'ax-zàga* His voice is clear as a bell.

*zakkan* interj. **sound of splashing** | *guḍi daryən gu-ʔiθaθi zakke zakkan l-ʔiθaθi* I put my churn in my hands, splash, splash on my hands (C5:8).

*zakke* interj. **sound of splashing** | *guḍi māyanne b-zakke* I shall churn my churn with the sound of splashing (referring to the yoghurt splashing in the churn) (C5:2).

*zala* n.m. (pl. *zale*) **thin cane, reed** | cf. *čīqa* thick cane

*zalala* adj. (f. *zalalta*, pl. *zalale*) **clear (liquid)** | *míya y-áwe zalále* The water is clear (B10:9); *čay zalalta* weak tea.

*zaloma* → *zaloma*

*zamara* n.m./adj. **singer** | *rába zamàra-weewa* He was a fine singer (A25:43).

*zamət* adj. invar. (K.) **difficult** | *zámət-ila wàððalle* It is difficult to do it; *'ən zámət lá-hawya ʔəllux* If it is not difficult for you, give me the book (= Please give me the book).

*zamətuθa* n.f. (K.) **difficulty**

*zangīn, zaginta* adj. (f. *zangīn, zaginta* pl. *zangine*) (K./T.) **rich**

*zaqara* n.m. (pl. *zaqare*) **weaver**

*zaqarta* n.f. (pl. *zaqaryatha*) **weaver (f.)**

*zaqaruθa* n.f. **weaving**

*zaqrana* n.m. (pl. *zaqrane*) **weaver**

*zaqra-qode* n.f. (pl. *zaqra-qode*) **spider** (§10.17.1.)

*zāra* (f. and pl. *zāre*) (K.) **yellow** | *zārət beta* the yoke of an egg

*zaraya* n.m. (pl. *zaraye*) **cultivator**

*zarba* n.m. (pl. *zarbe*) (K./A.) **blow (of weapon)** → *darba*

*zarda* adj. (f. and pl. *zarde*) (marginal variant of *žāra*) **yellow** | 'āv *kawšəy*<sup>1</sup>  
*zārda*<sup>1</sup> their blond hair (A8:14)

*zarəqta* n.m. (pl. *zarəqte*) **wasp**

*zareta* n.f. (pl. *zarayatha*) **cultivator (f.)**

*zargəf* n.m. (K.) **type of fabric**

*zargule* n.pl. (sing. *zargulta*) **sheep skin boots (worn in Winter)**

*zārin* adj. invar. (K.) **yellow**

*zaringər* n.m. (pl. *zaringere*) (K.) **goldsmith**

*zarnaya* adj. (f. *zarnəθa*, pl. *zarnaye*) **yellowish**

*zarpəkka* n.m. (pl. *zarpəkke*) (K./A.) **red spot on skin, mosquito bite** |  
*plīṭla zarpəkke gu-ʔide diye*<sup>1</sup> His hand came out in spots.

*zarrək* | 'mwe *zarrək* **type of yellow grape**

*zarrəkθa* n.f. **cleansing liquid** | It was produced by boiling oakwood ash  
in water and used for washing clothes and washing grapes.

*zāruθa* n.f. **yellowness**

*zarzar* n.f. **type of large red ant(s)** | also *šəkwanta zarzar*

*zarzariθa* n.f. **type of small brown ant(s)**

*zaṭe* n.pl. **measles**

*zawda*, *zoda* part. (often combined with *biš*: *biz-zawda/biz-zoda*, *bi-zawda/bi-zoda*) **more (quantity), too much** (§14.8.2.) | Expressing an increase in quantity: *xá-saʕat biz-zòda*<sup>1</sup> one hour more (B5:54); *məndi zàwda*<sup>1</sup> something more (A3:1); *kùl-məndi bi-zàwda*<sup>1</sup> more of everything (A3:3). In estimates of quantity: *ʔəštà yarxé<sup>1</sup> xamsə yarxé<sup>1</sup> biz-zàwda*<sup>1</sup> five or six months, or more (B5:3). More than: *ʔu-bréle diya b-xšáwəwəw biz-zàwda mən-ʔəččá-mma ʔálpa nəšé<sup>1</sup>* By now there have been born, I think, more than nine-hundred thousand people (B2:10); *zàwda mən-ʔarbá-mma šənnelē<sup>1</sup>* It is more than four hundred years old (B6:31); *ʔəxni be-Tòməx<sup>1</sup> lá-maxəx zóda l-xà<sup>1</sup>* We the family of Toma do not strike more than one (blow) (A52:24). Excessive quantity: *zàwdəla mənni<sup>1</sup>* It is too much for me (to tell) (A26:65). With adverbs: *lá maspərxəlxəx bi-zàwda*<sup>1</sup> We shall not make you wait any more (A4:42); *xəyíwa biz-zàwda*<sup>1</sup> They survived longer (B5:190). In combination *sama zawda/zoda* expressing

the majority of a set: *xákma har-damxíwa l-ǎra' ʔap-áni gàre.ʔ ʔina sáma zóda ʔiyéwala qaràwət.*<sup>1</sup> Some would even sleep on the floor of the roof. Most people, however, had a bed. (B5:204); *ʔina sáma zódaʔ y-ođíwa ʔǎraq*<sup>1</sup> Most people, however, would make arak (B5:213). Idiom: *mír-e-məm ʔàwdela mánni,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána t-amrännèxuʔ mšáxəlpu dukàne*<sup>1</sup> My lord, may I humbly suggest you change places (Literally: It is too much for me, let me say to you, change places) (A26:65).

*zawdana, zodana* adj. (f. *zawdanta*, pl. *zawdane*) **excessive, extra** | *bas-ʔána zodànta-llèxuʔ qušárta mánni t-muθéli llèxuʔ* But the cooking pot that I have brought you is an extra one for you (A5:6).

*zawərta* n.f. (pl. *zawriyaθa*) **earthenware container for water for cooking in house or carrying on a journey** | *zawərtat k'əlo*<sup>1</sup> the bride's pot, which was filled with sweets and fruit and broken by the bride before entering the groom's house (B8:33).

*zawga* n.m. (pl. *zawge*) **pair; even number.** (1) **pair** | *deríwa xa-záwga tōpe*<sup>1</sup> They used to fire a couple of shots; *qyámelaʔ xá-zawgət xoriyàθa*<sup>1</sup> A pair of poplar trees sprang up (A26:90). (2) **even number** | *zawge ʔu-pare* even and odd numbers; *zawge ʔu-katte* even and odd numbers.

*zawiθa* n.f. (pl. *zawiyathā*) **(inner) corner** | cf. *yašila* outer corner

*zawna* n.m. **time; period of time** | *záwna lebàna-wewa*<sup>1</sup> The time was tricky (A1:22); *b-awwa zawna* at this time; *ʔəyʔ hālikòptər y-áwa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔla-d-áw zàwna*<sup>1</sup> It was a helicopter of that time (A27:20).

*zawnana* n.m. (pl. *zawnane*) **purchaser, client**

*zawnaya* adj. **ancient, old timer** | *ʔaxni naše zawnaye* We are ancient people (C1:16); *šadra darga t-zawnaye* Her breast is a door of the ancients (C2:47).

*zawzən* n.f. (pl. *zawzane*) (K.) **summer sojourn, summer pasture (for animals)**

*zaxma* adj. (f. *zaxme*, pl. *zaxme*) (K./A.) **huge; strong, tough** | *xá gáwya xelána-w zàxma wéwa*<sup>1</sup> He was a powerful, tough man (A27:1).

*zaxonaya* n.m./adj. **man from Zaxo**

*zaya* n.m. (pl. *zaye*) (K.) **young (of animals and birds)** | *zayət qatı* kittens; *zayət ʔaqubra* young mice; *zayət ʔarya* lion cubs

*zdiya* adj. (f. *zdita*, pl. *zdiye*) **afraid**

*zduwana* adj. (f. *zduwanta*, pl. *zduwane*) **fearful**

*zduθa* n.f. **fear** | *sígela rāš-d-ay-ʔilána m-zdùθa*<sup>1</sup> They climbed the tree out of fear (A13:11).

*zedaya* n.f. (pl. *zedaye*) **round thick flat bread made from wheat cooked on the sides of an oven**

*zēn* part. (A.) **all right, fine; lucky** | *mṭéle gu-d-ày-maθa<sup>1</sup> ham-zēn<sup>1</sup>* He was lucky to arrive in that village (A37:14).

*zeriya* adj. (f. and pl. *zeriye*) (K.) **golden** | *qumta xlita zeriye* her sweet golden stature (C6:7)

*zeruwa* n.m. (pl. *zeruwe*) (K.) **leech**

*zeytūn*, *zeytuna* n.m. (pl. *zeytune*) (A.) **olive, olive tree** | *ʔilanat zeytune* **olive tree**

*zerābi* n.f. (K.) **tall cane** | used to weave baskets

*zeθa* n.f. **olive (tree); olive oil**. *ʔilanat zeθa* olive tree; *māšxat zeθa* olive oil

*zəbbara* n.f. (pl. *zəbbarwaθa*) (K.) **group of workers** | Such groups consisted of men from the village who volunteered their labour to help a member of the village undertake various types of task, such as gathering leaves (*tarpa*), harvesting wheat (*xzada xətṭe*), harvesting rice (*xzada rəzza*) and building a house (*bnaya beθa*); *yomat zəbbara* a day in which work was done by such a volunteer group.

*zəbla* n.m. **manure** | *zəblat haywàne<sup>1</sup>* the manure of animals (B5:134)

*zədyā* adj. (f. *zdiθa*, pl. *zədye*) **afraid** | *mā-lux zədyā<sup>21</sup>* Why are you afraid? (A11:6)

*zədyāna* n.m. **a type of oak tree** | resembles a *parma*

*zelakka* n.m. (pl. *zelakke*) **splinter of wood**

*zəlpā* m. **slice**

*zəmra* n.m. (pl. *zəmre*) **song** | *šmili xa qalət zəmra* I heard the sound of song (C2:6).

*zəmzama* n.m. (pl. *zəmzame*) (A.) **deep natural pool**

*zəmzūma* n.m. (pl. *zəmzūme*) (A.) **waterfall**

*zəndana* n.m. (pl. *zəndane*) (K.) **prison**

*zənjā* n.m. (pl. *zənjē*) **storage bin for straw** | made of woven sticks, covered at the top by leaves (*tarpa*) and hay (*puwusʻ*).

*zənjir* n.f. (pl. *zənjire*) (K.) **chain** (for securing, e.g. prisoner) | *sirəwa zənjire b-rusāne*<sup>1</sup> He had been tethered with chains on his shoulders (A26:81).

*zənnara* n.m. (pl. *zənnare*) (K.) **cliff, precipice**

*zənzare* n.pl. **type of fly**

*zəpra* n.m. **animal fat**

*zəqqa* n.f. (pl. *zəqqe*, *zəqqaθa*) (A.) **waterskin**

*zəqgora* n.m. (pl. *zəqqore*) **woven/knitted product, woven/knitted fabric** | *zəqgora bəd-ʻidā* a fabric woven/knitted by hand

*zəqra* n.m. (pl. *zəqre*) **weaving, woven fabric**

*zəqta* n.m. (pl. *zəqte*) **point at the end of an animal goad (*massa*)** | *zəqta mxéle l-tāwra*<sup>1</sup> He stuck the point of the goad into the ox.

*zərana* n.m. **slap** | *qəm-maxənnə xa zərana* I slapped him

*zər-baba* n.m. (K.) **stepfather**

*zərmaziya* n.m. (pl. *zərmaziye*) (K.) **small spiky type of oak gall (*měša*, *paṛma*)**

*zəyara* n.f. (A.) **visit, pilgrimage**

*ziləkka* n.m. (pl. *ziləkke*) **small reed**

*zina* adj. (f. *zinta*, pl. *zine*) **decorated** | *julle zine* decorated clothes

*ziqa* n.m. **neck of a shirt** | *truq ziqux!* Wrap up well (literally: Button up the neck of your shirt); *xóne b-ziqa*<sup>1</sup> his brother (who was as close to him as) the neck of his shirt (A32:26).

*zirək* adj. invar. (K.) **strong, courageous** | *xákma doqíwale xúwwa qatliwale*<sup>1</sup> *rāba zirək-wəwə*<sup>1</sup> Some grasped the snake and killed it. They were very courageous (B5:78).

*zlima* → *zlima*

*zliya* adj. (f. *zlita*, pl. *zliye*) **cracked**

*zlumya* n.m. (A.) **injustice**

*zmarta* n.f. (pl. *zmaryaθa*) **song**

- zōj* n.m. (A.) **trick** | *bāye t-awódlan zōj* He wants to trick us (A14:13).
- zolala* n.m. (pl. *zolale*) (K.) **tendrils of a plant; vein within a leaf** | Some plants have tendrils (*zolale*) that extend along the ground, e.g. *paṭiroke*
- zoma* n.m. (pl. *zomāwaḥa*) (K.) **summer hut in the mountains**
- zonana* n.m. (pl. *zonane*) **buyer**
- zonanta* n.f. (pl. *zonanyaḥa*) **buyer**
- zor* adv. (K.) **hardly, barely** | *b-kúlla yóma zór maṣūwa' xàzdi' xá-mdi rába baṣóra'* In a whole day they could barely manage to harvest a very small amount (B5:144); *b-zòr-male' ṭla-mapláxtat bèḥa'* There was scarcely enough for household use (B5:215).
- zora* adj. (f. *zorta*, pl. *zore*) **small**
- zorna* n.f. (pl. *zorne*, *zornaḥa*) (K.) **pipe**
- zornač* n.m. **pipe-player**
- zoruḥa* n.f. **smallness, youth**
- zraqta* n.f. **sunrise; East** | *zraqtat yoma*, *zraqat yoma* sunrise
- zreta* n.f. **cultivation** | *zrétat ràzza'* the cultivation of rice (B5:76)
- zroqa* adj. (f. *zroqta*, pl. *zroqe*) **blue** | rare equivalent of *milana*: *ṣṭrantux ʿena zroqe* Your sweetheart—her eyes are blue (C2:33).
- zruta* n.f. (pl. *zruyaḥa*) **cultivation; agriculture** | *yála ḥéle mən-zrùta'* The young man came back from working in the fields (A21:8).
- zuryat* n.f. (K./A.) **offspring, progeny** | *ʿína ʿaláha yáwle zúryat gawèy'* But God granted progeny among them (B2:10).
- zuwaga* n.m. (C.Syr.) **marriage**
- zuze* n.pl. (sing. *zuza*) **money** | *t-ódax zúze'* We shall make money (A14:14); *ʿána zúza lítli'* I have not got a penny (A22:19).
- zvrta* n.f. (pl. *zvre*) **spin** | *máxyalle ʿaqle l-dudýat Qaṭina,* *ṣawwí-zvre zvirtalla'* He kicked the cradle of Qaṭina and span it round seventy times (A52:2).
- zwaḥa* n.m. (pl. *zwaḥe*) **provision for journey** | *ʿu-čánte díye dwíqla zwaḥe'* She packed his bag with provisions (A21:22); *ma-yammí pēli zwaḥe* Mother, bake for me provisions (for my journey) (A50:9).
- zyatta* n.f. **increase** | *zyáttat mýa'* increase in water, flood (B6:19)



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*žare* n.f. (K.) **suffering, catastrophe** | *žáre ʔalle*<sup>1</sup> It is a pity for him.

*žare, žere* adj. invar. **poor, wretched** | *ʔo-yála zóra žàre*<sup>1</sup> The young boy, poor thing (A14:12); *žére Fàrxo*<sup>1</sup> *t-áwəm ʔána b-hìwi díya*<sup>1</sup> Poor (me), Farxo, who am waiting in hope for her (A25:18).

*žeri* (K.) | *warde žeri* **wild flowers (of various colours, including red and green growing in fields)**

*ži* part. (variant: *žigən*) (K.) **also, even; connective particle** (§18.1.4.).

(1) **also, even** | *ʔitle tára gu-ħadiqa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔitle dàrga-žigən*<sup>1</sup> There was a door in the garden and there was also a main gate (A17:23); *dáryalla š-qaràwət*<sup>1</sup> *ʔánna wajjúwe díya-ži múttalla tàma*<sup>1</sup> They put her on the bed and they also put her effects there (A21:7); *ʔən-ħáwe dàwa-žì*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxni t-yawáxla xa-b-ṭlâṭa ʔalle díye*<sup>1</sup> Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (if it is lost) (A7:10). (2) **connective particle** | marking topic constituent at boundary of discourse section: *máre yába hàygo*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaṭitu*<sup>1</sup> *čidetu*<sup>1</sup> *ta-mšaxálpì šámmət Čuxo*<sup>1</sup> *mattúle xá-šamma xèna*<sup>1</sup> *ʔánna-žì ʔəyela*<sup>1</sup> *xilela-w*<sup>1</sup> *šətyela*<sup>1</sup> He said ‘Come, come, you are invited’ in order for them to change the name Čuxo and give him a another name. They came. They ate and drank. (A7:3). Adversative when in negative clause: *ʔó-yōm t-ile plíta*<sup>1</sup> *bróne díye miðele*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔáxni-žì lác muqíme m-báṭre díye málka*<sup>1</sup> On the day he left, his son died. But we have not installed (another) king after him. (A4:32).

/z/

*zaləm* adj. invar. (A.) **unjust, cruel**

*zalmana* adj. (A.) **unjust, cruel**

*zaloma, zaloma* n.m. (pl. *zalome*) **tyrant**

*zlima, zlima* adj. (f. *zlimta*, pl. *zlime*) **wronged**

## ILLUSTRATIONS



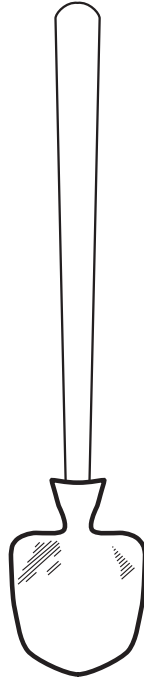


Fig. 1. *maya* 'spade'

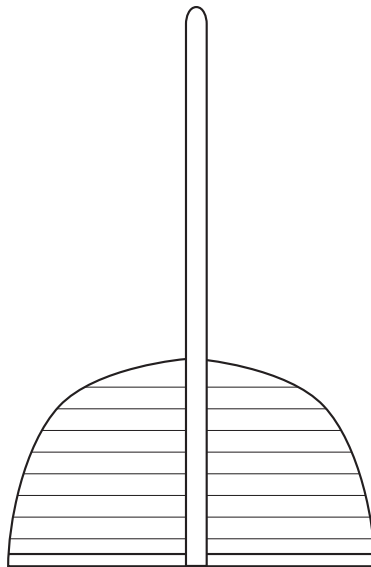


Fig. 2. *maruṭha* 'snow shovel'

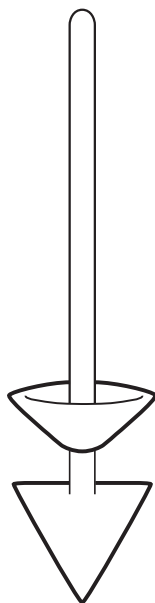


Fig. 3. *maṛṭ kerma* 'vineyard spade'

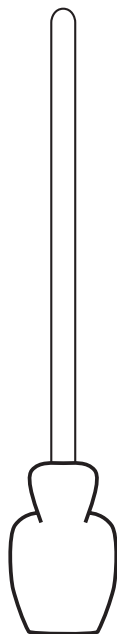


Fig. 4. *rušta* 'flat spade'

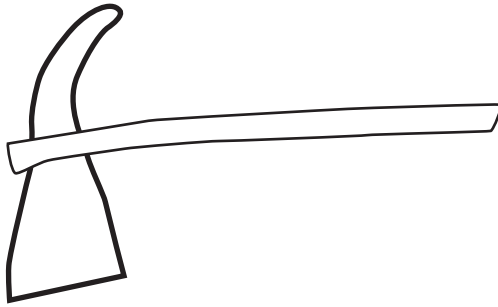


Fig. 5. *xapro* 'trowel'

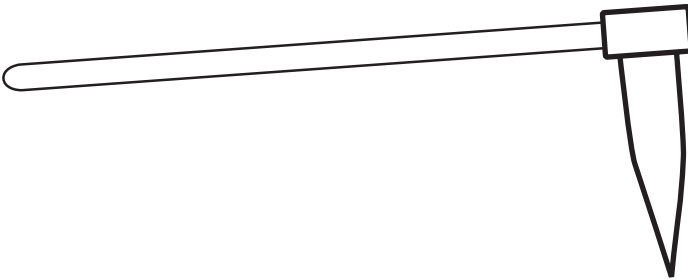


Fig. 6. *byata* 'pickaxe'

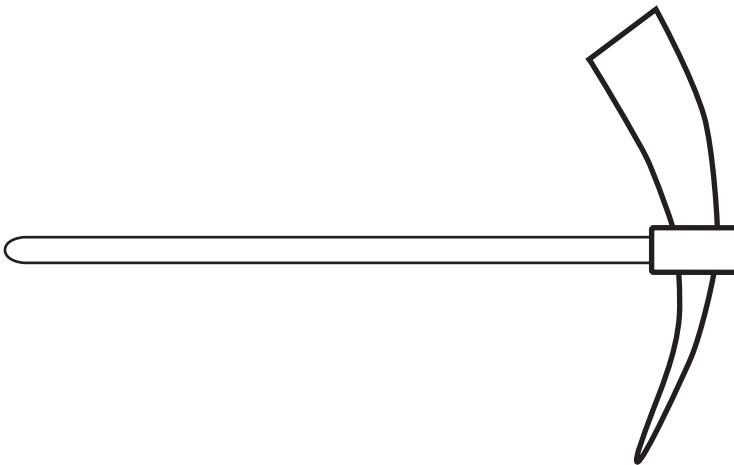
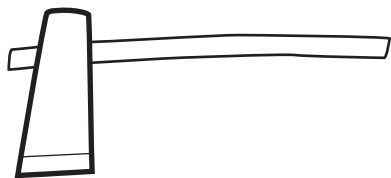
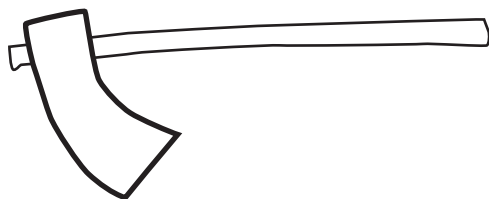


Fig. 7. *kulanga* 'pickaxe'

Fig. 8. *nāra* 'axe'Fig. 9. *xašina* 'axe'Fig. 10. *maloka* 'small sledge hammer'Fig. 11. *murja* 'sledge hammer'

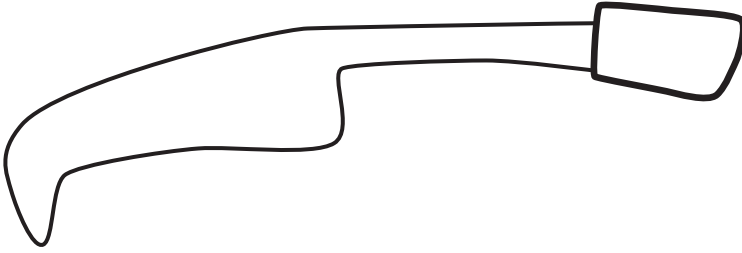


Fig. 12. *jawatta* 'chopper'

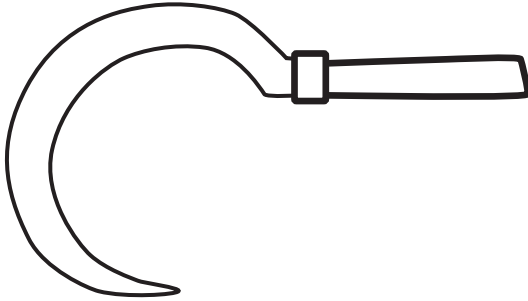


Fig. 13. *magla* 'sickle'

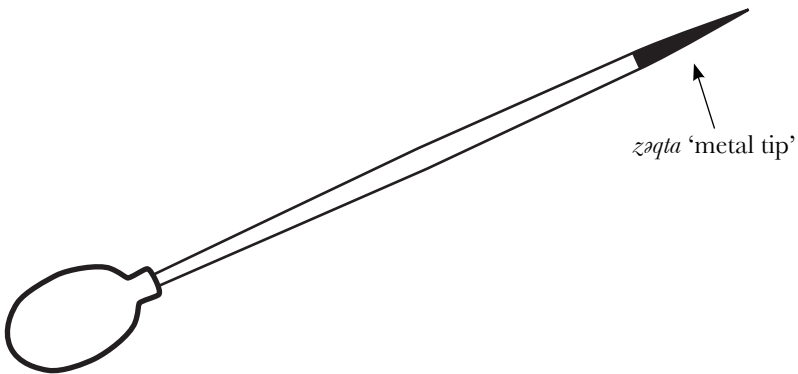


Fig. 14. *massa* 'goad'



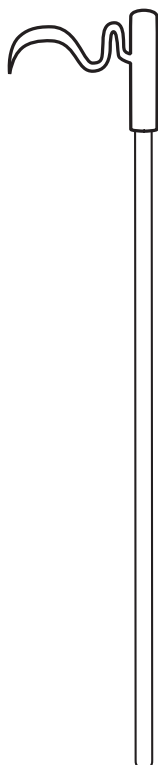


Fig. 15. *čakala* 'pruning hook'

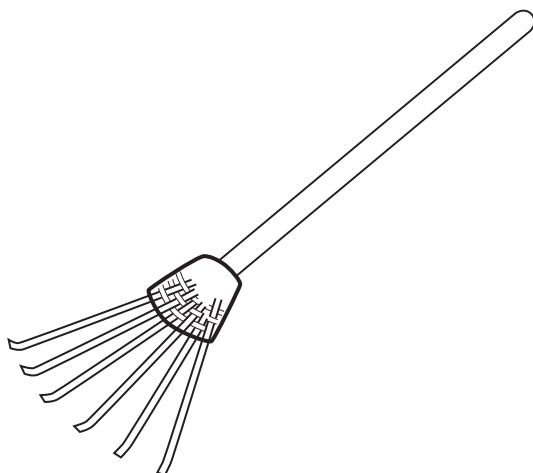


Fig. 16. *mǎxawa* 'winnowing fork'

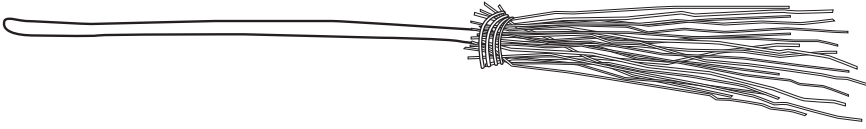


Fig. 17. *sariqana* 'rake'

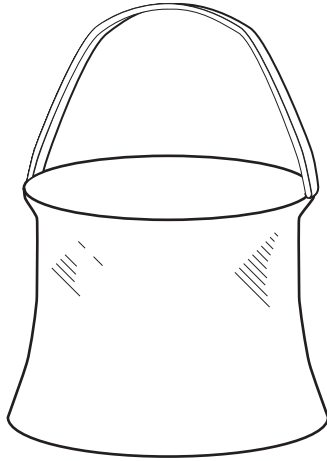


Fig. 18. *satla* 'brass pail'

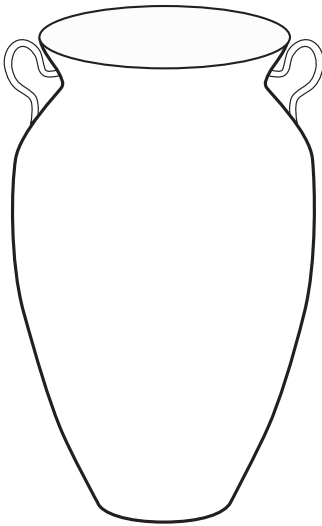


Fig. 19. *lina* 'pot'

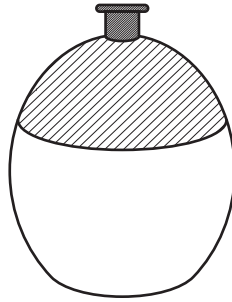


Fig. 20. *burra* 'cool storage pot'



Fig. 21. *markan* 'storage pot'

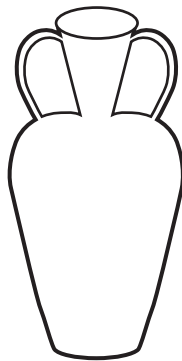


Fig. 22. *kawaza* 'water pot'

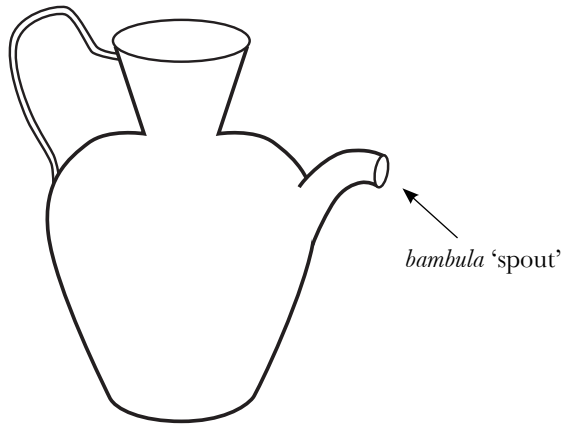


Fig. 23. *masina* 'pot with a spout'

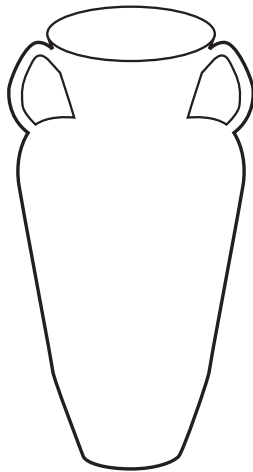


Fig. 24. *zawarta* 'water pot'

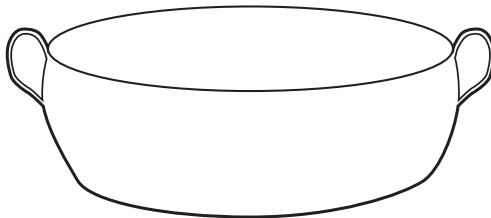


Fig. 25. *majo* 'kneading bowl for dried yoghurt'

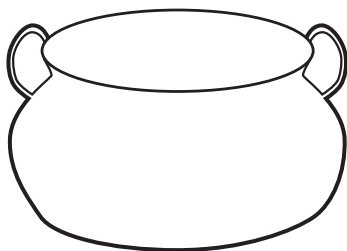


Fig. 26. *maqle* 'cooking pot'

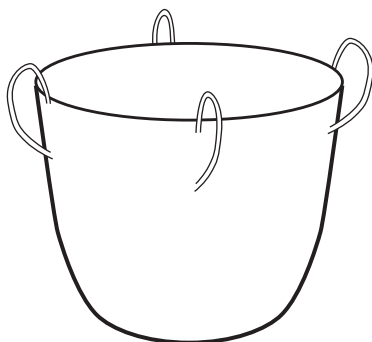


Fig. 27. *čallekθa* 'milk pot'

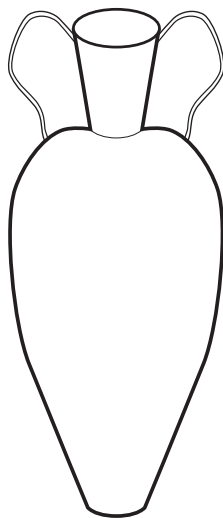


Fig. 28. *talma* 'water jar'

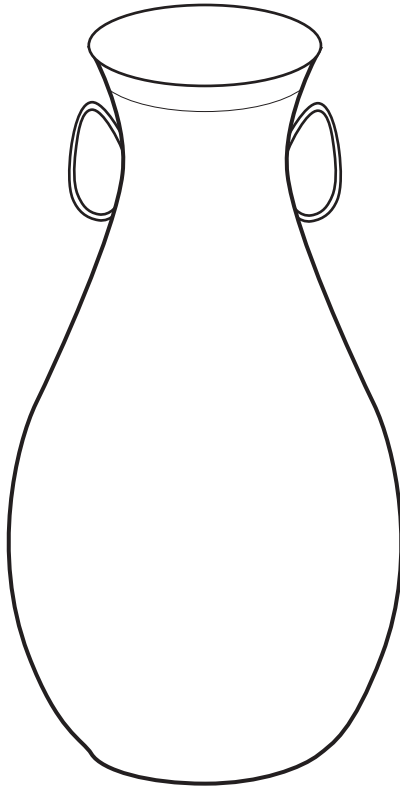


Fig. 29. *juwiθa* 'pot (for *jajək*)'

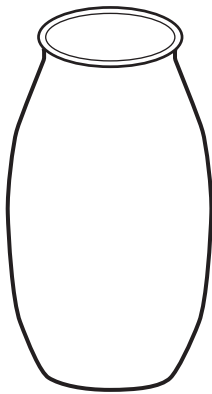


Fig. 30. *qadalta* 'earthenware pot'

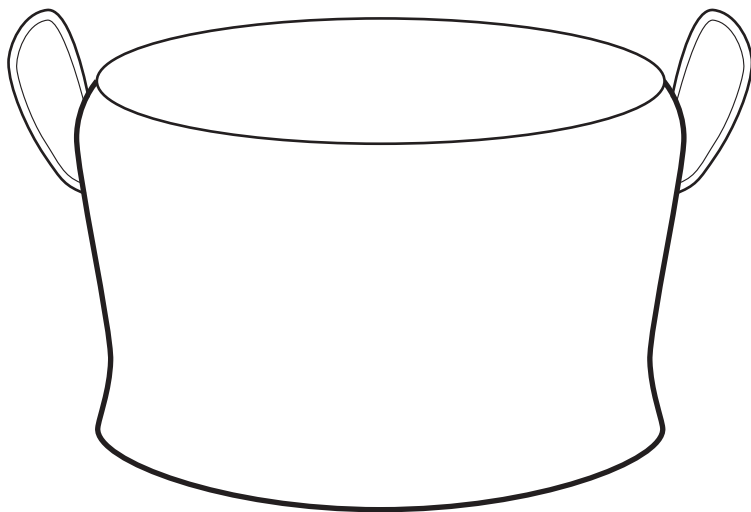


Fig. 31. *marəgla* 'brass pan'

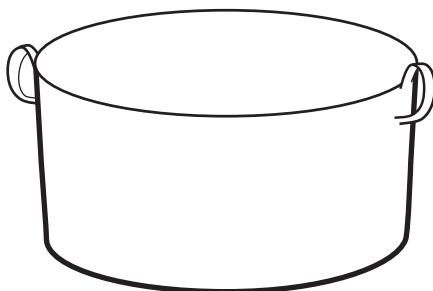


Fig. 32. *qaxxane* 'brass saucepan'

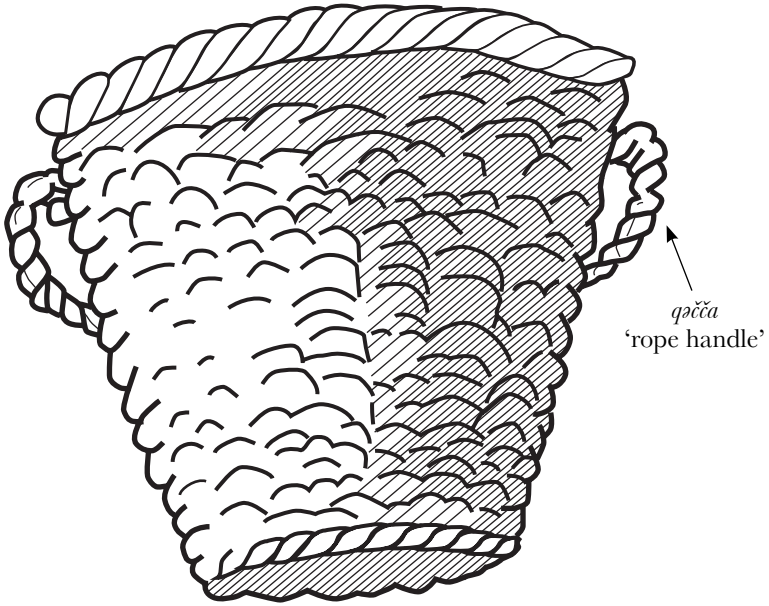


Fig. 33. *qarṭala* 'cane pannier bag'

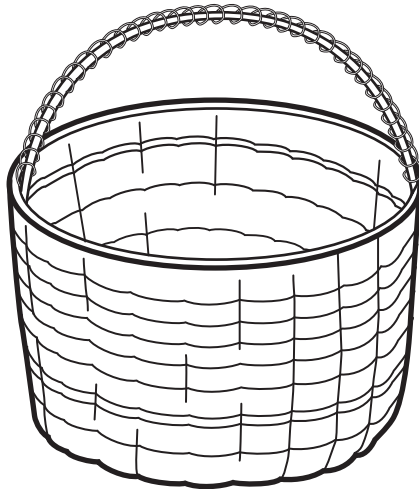


Fig. 34. *quba* 'wicker basket'



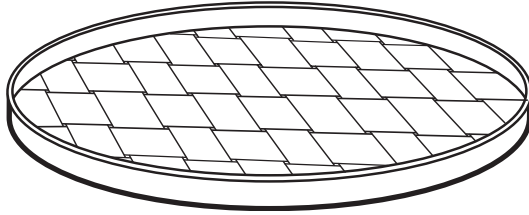


Fig. 35. *taryanta* 'flat bread basket'

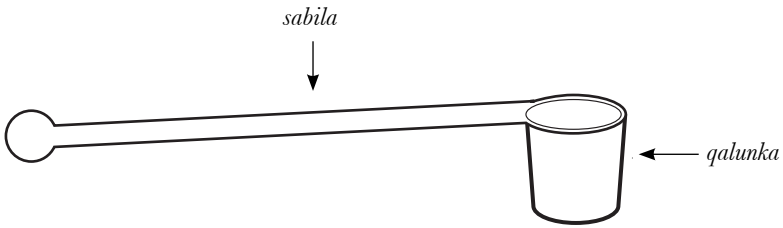


Fig. 36. *qalunka* 'pipe'



Fig. 37. *manquš* 'metal instrument for striking fire on flint'

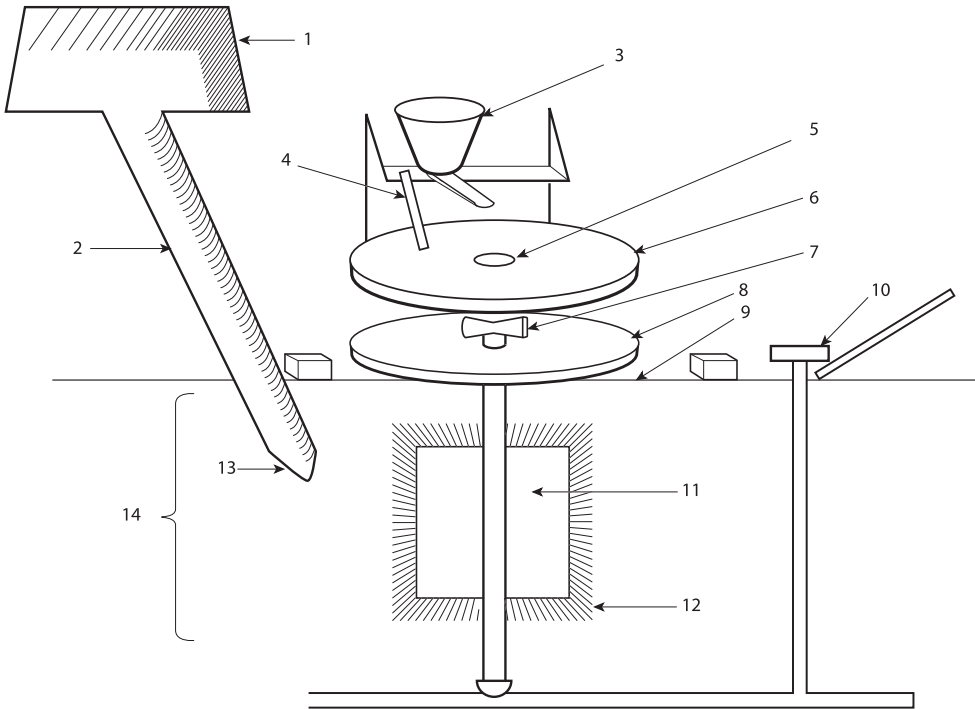


Fig. 38. 'arxe 'water-mill'

1. *kotāla* 'raised tank'
2. *boṭa* 'wooden channel'
3. *dawla* 'drum containing corn'
4. *čakčaka* 'regulator of flow of corn'
5. *balota* 'hole in grindstone'
6. *pənxaxa laya* 'upper grindstone'
7. *nāreθa* 'axe-shaped head of shaft'
8. *pənxaxa xtaya* 'lower grindstone'
9. *mazaxa* 'area onto which the flour falls'
10. *marimana* 'lever'
11. *dulaba* 'wooden driving wheel'
12. *parwane* 'blades'
13. *pozəkke* 'nozzle'
14. *bəšwele* 'lower section of water-mill'

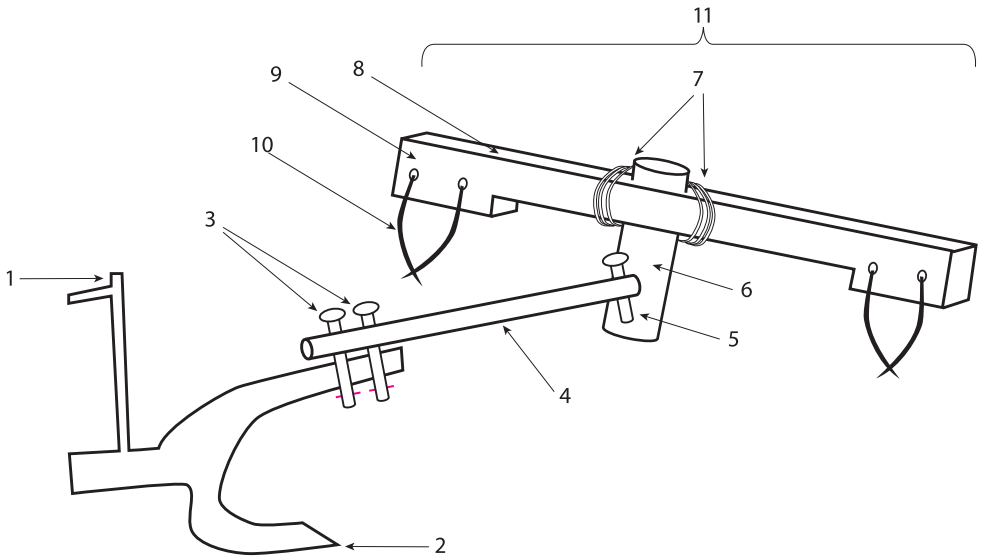


Fig. 39. *bžara* 'plough'

1. *kaveša* 'handle'
2. *səkθa* 'ploughshare'
3. *xape* 'wooden pegs'
4. *mašana* 'beam'
5. *sarmažanke* 'hook at top of plough'
6. *bawsa* 'connective matting'
7. *ʔpyaθa* 'connective straps'
8. *qatira* 'beam between oxen'
9. *klama* 'collar of ox'
10. *šaryoxe* 'ties of collar'
11. *nira* 'yoke'

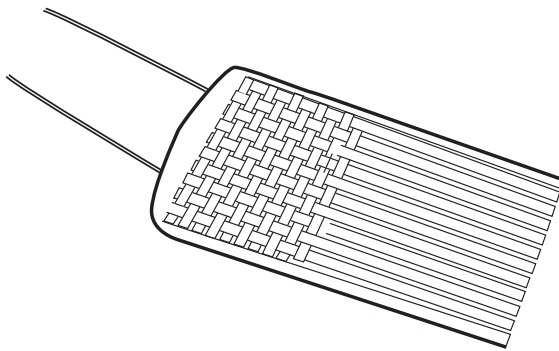


Fig. 40. *šapna* 'instrument for smoothing ground'

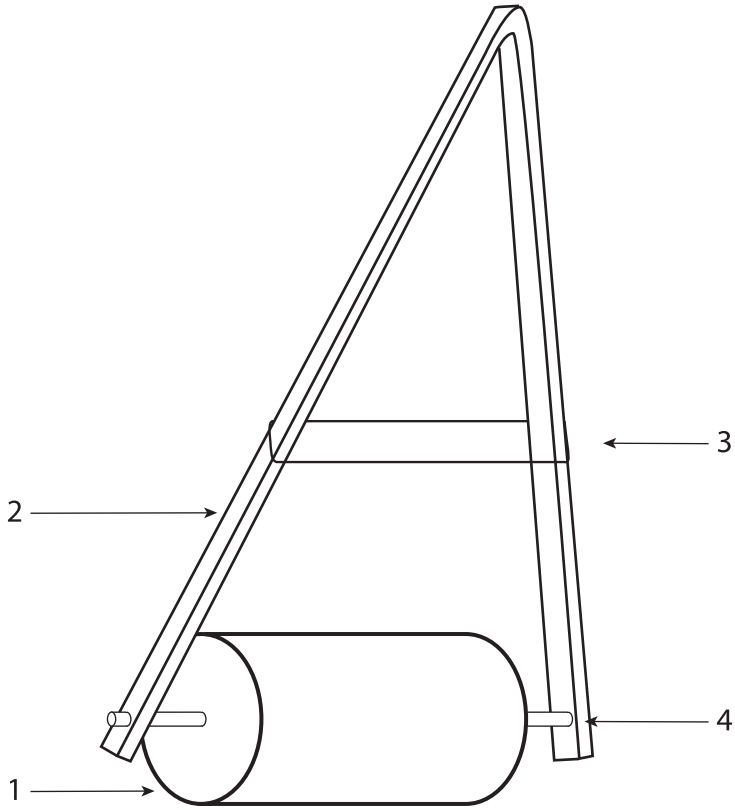


Fig. 41. *mandorta* 'roller for roof'

1. *mandorta* 'roller'
2. *bla mandora* 'shaft'
3. *qmaṭa* 'tie'
4. *ṣəppa* 'axle'

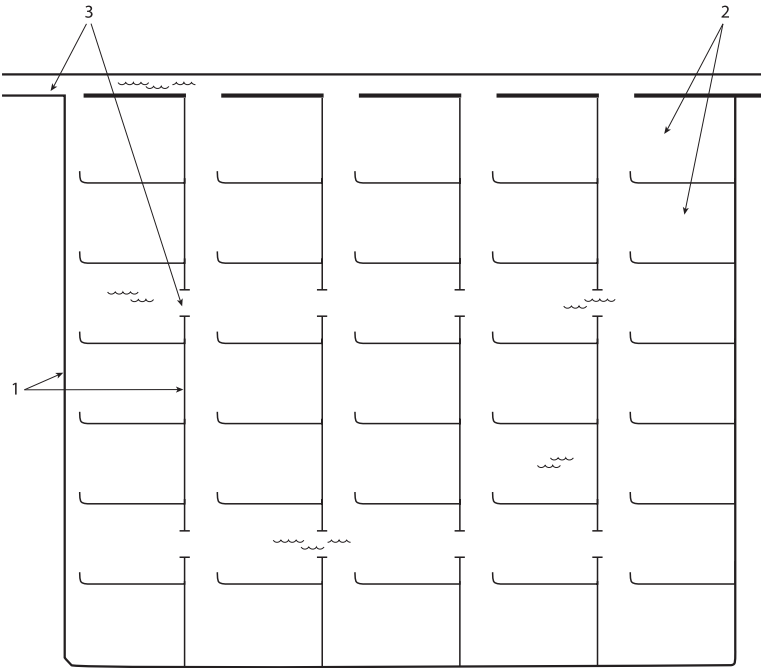


Fig. 42. Paddy field

1. *sadda* 'dam'
2. *māššara* 'basin'
3. *barju* 'channel bringing water and connecting basins'

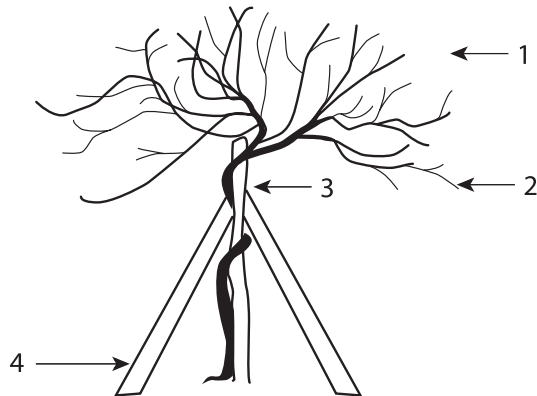


Fig. 43. Vine

1. *daliṯa* 'vine plant'
2. *dalya* 'tendrils of vine'
3. *samxa* 'upright supporting post'
4. *kəzma* 'wooden prop'



Fig. 44. *garuta* 'stack (built against a tree)'

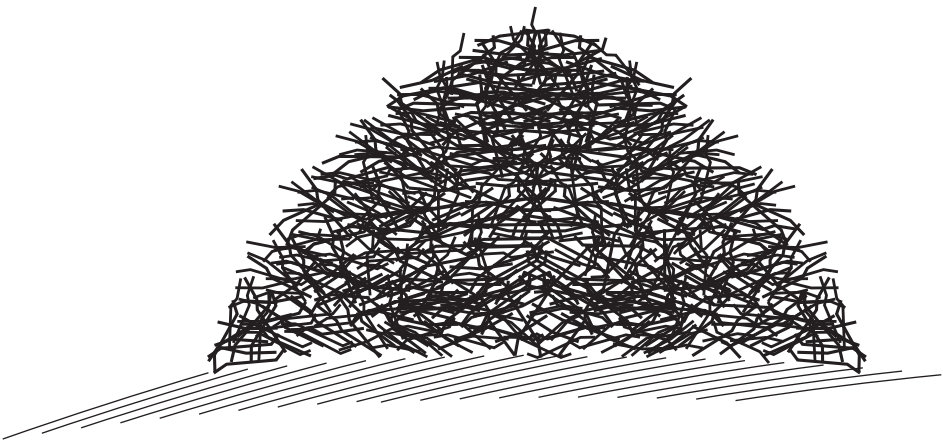


Fig. 45. *garuwa* 'stack (standing by itself)'

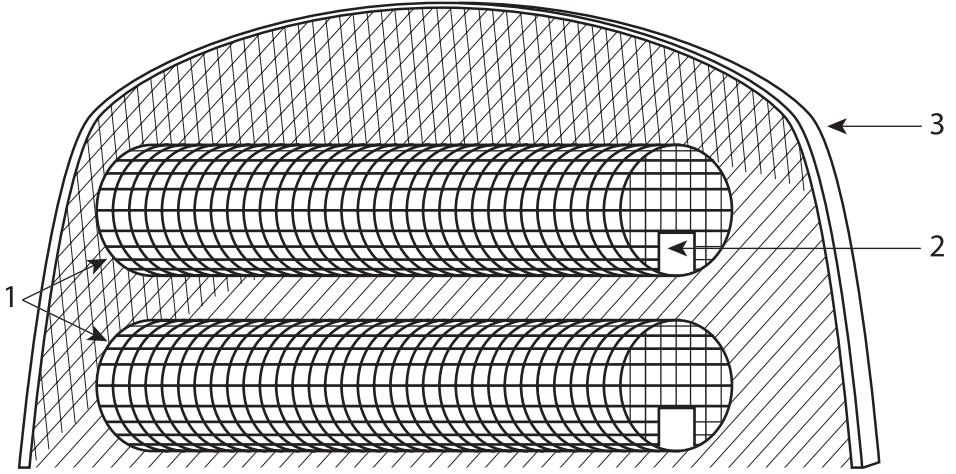


Fig. 46. *xallepa* 'beehive'

1. *sālāmaške* 'basket containing bees'
2. *tāra* 'opening'
3. *šwanəkke* 'protective cover'

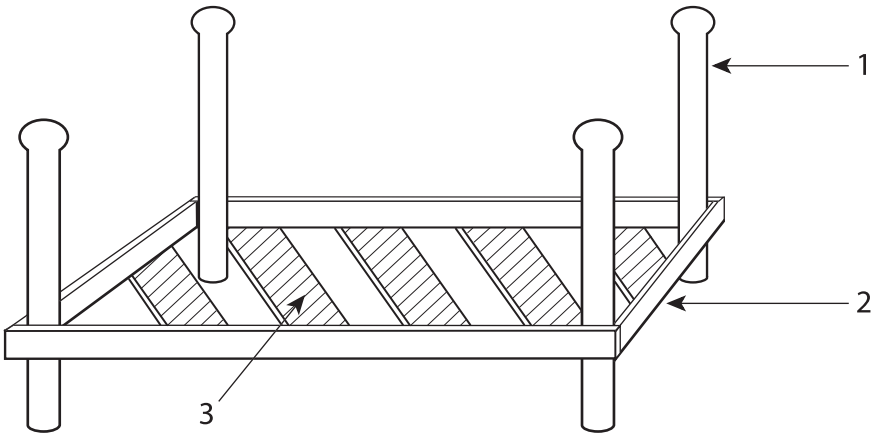


Fig. 47. *taxta* 'wooden bed'

1. *stunta* 'post'
2. *dapa* 'board'
3. *kāštavana* 'slat'

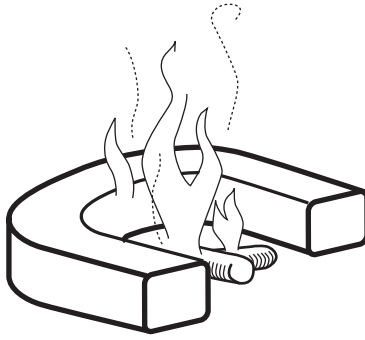


Fig. 48. *kanuna* (1) 'open fireplace for cooking'

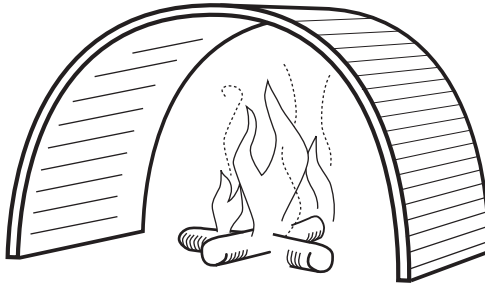


Fig. 49. *kanuna* (2) 'enclosed fireplace for cooking'

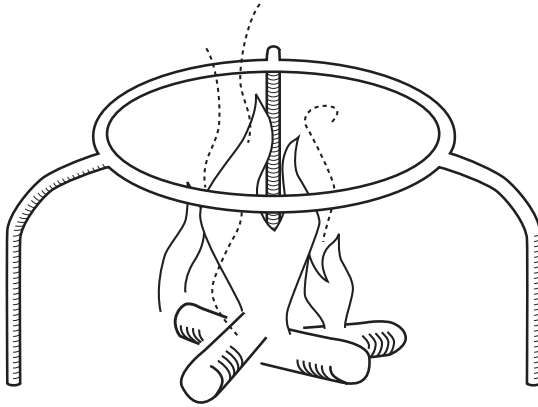


Fig. 50. *dəgdin* 'metal stand for cooking'



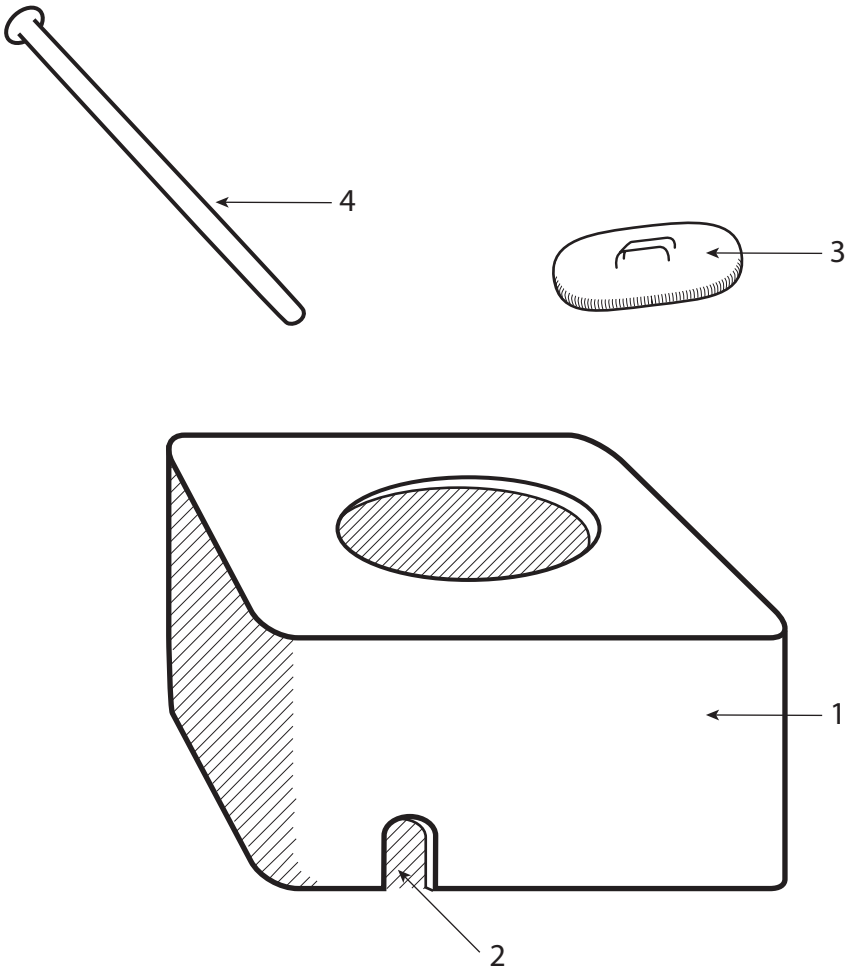


Fig 51.

1. *tanura* 'oven'
2. *'enta* 'airhole'
3. *marzaq* 'tool for sticking bread to oven'
4. *badoda* 'poker'

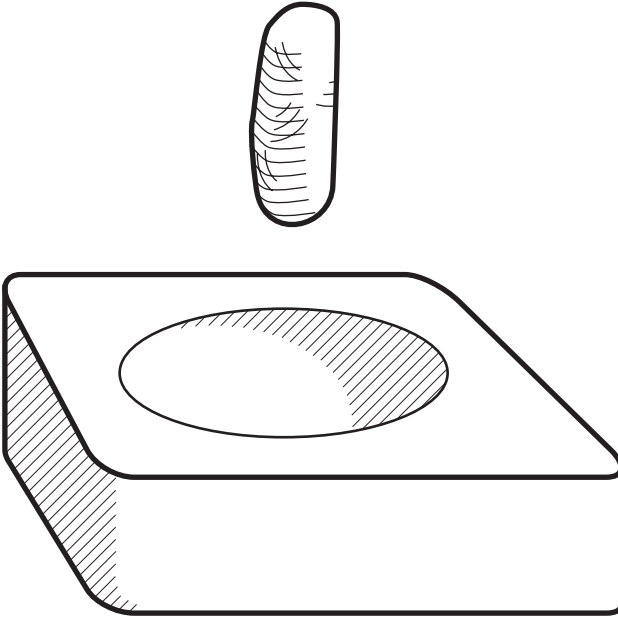


Fig. 52. *xašolta* 'concave grinding base', *xašola* 'grinding stone'

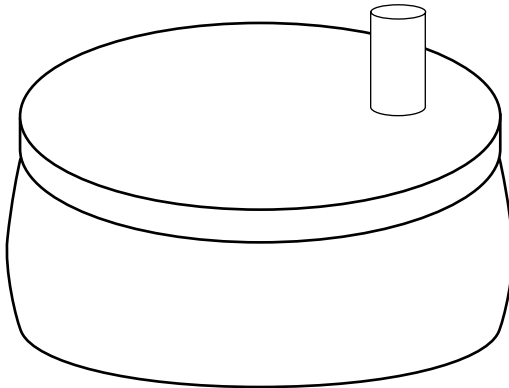


Fig. 53. *garosta* 'handmill'

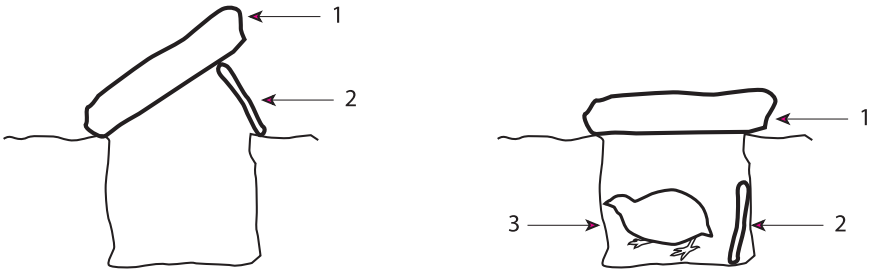


Fig. 54. *təpəkθa* 'partridge trap'

1. *pařa* 'flat stone'
2. *čaldavana, kulčwa* 'wooden trigger'
3. *qəqwana* 'partridge'

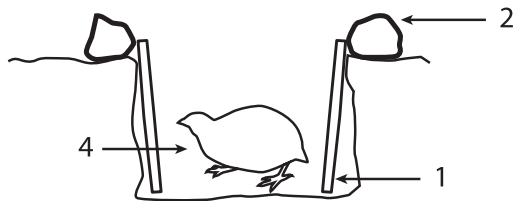
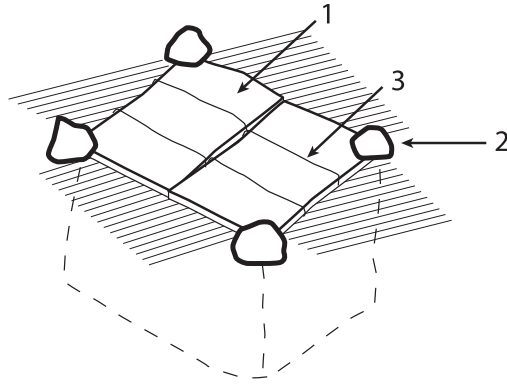


Fig. 55. *suta* 'partridge trap'

1. *dapta* 'piece of wood'
2. *kepa* 'stone'
3. *gədde* 'threads'
4. *qəqwana* 'partridge'

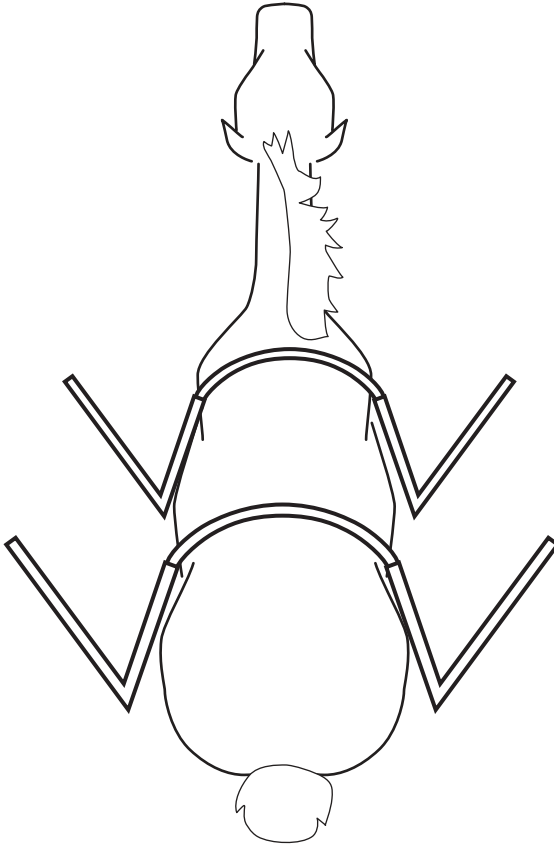


Fig. 56. *stavlat qese* 'frames for carrying wood on a pack animal'

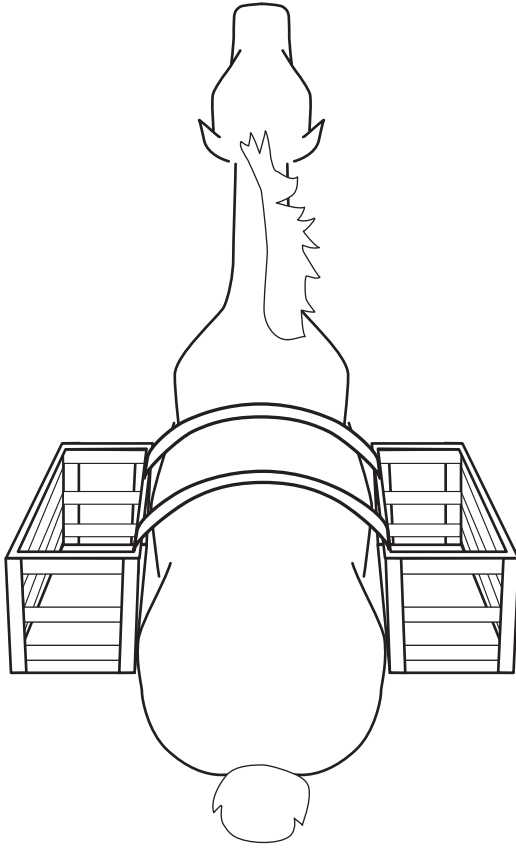


Fig. 57. *stavlat kepe* 'frames for carrying stones on a pack animal'

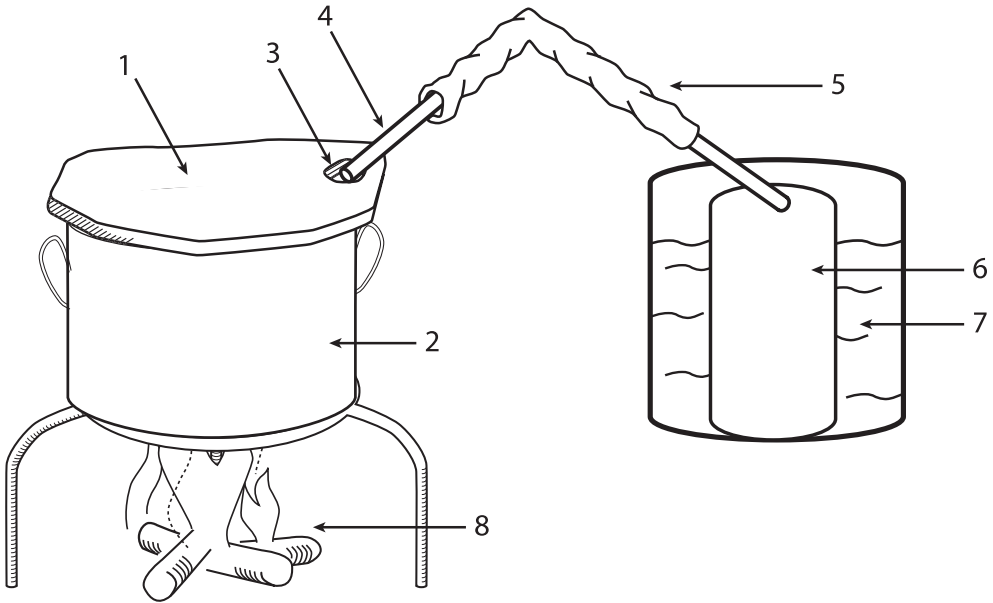


Fig. 58. *mpalattət ʔaraq* 'distillation of arak'

1. *paša* 'flat stone'
2. *margəla* 'pan'
3. *boya* 'hole'
4. *lāvāna* 'cane pipe'
5. *čəngərta* 'insulating cloth'
6. *tannəkka* 'tin'
7. *miye qarive* 'cold water'
8. *nura* 'fire'

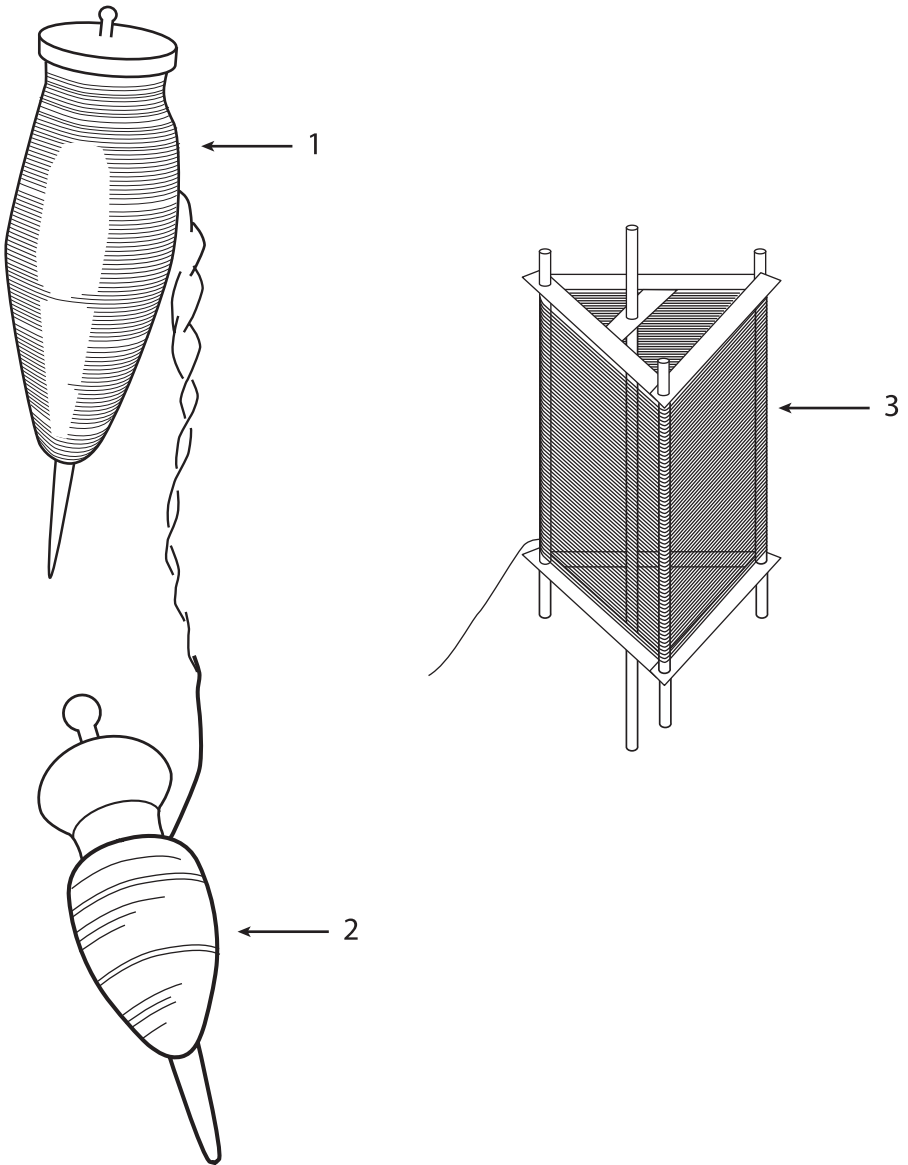


Fig. 59.  
 1. *xarnesa* 'distaff'  
 2. *kuša* 'spindle'  
 3. *msarbas* 'spool'

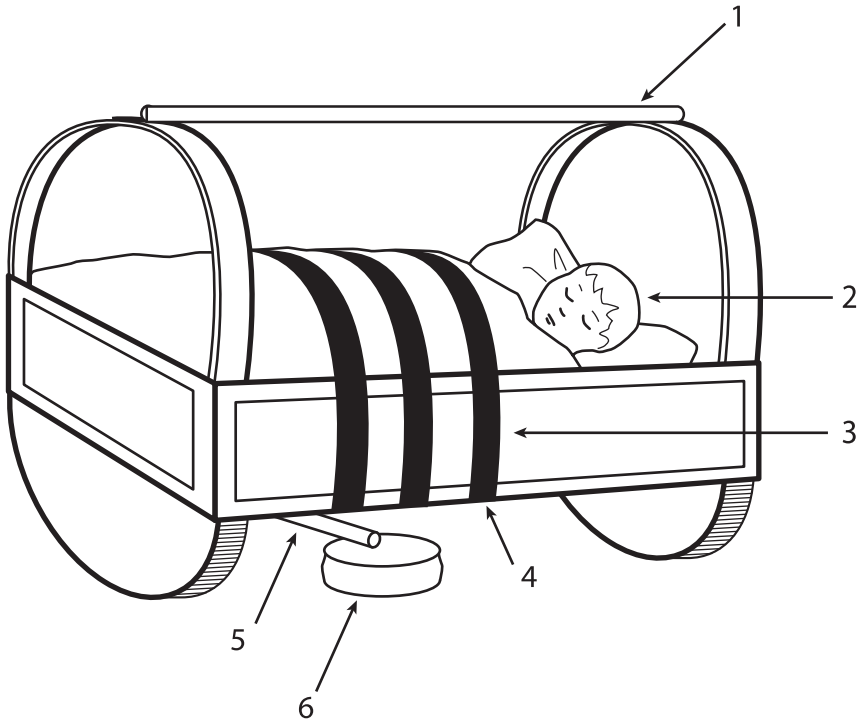


Fig. 60. *dudiya* 'cradle'

1. *xmarət dudiya* 'top of cradle'
2. *yala zora* 'baby'
3. *šabuqta* 'bar'
4. *bānude* 'swaddling bands'
5. *bəllorta* 'pipe for urine'
6. *quşriya* 'pot'



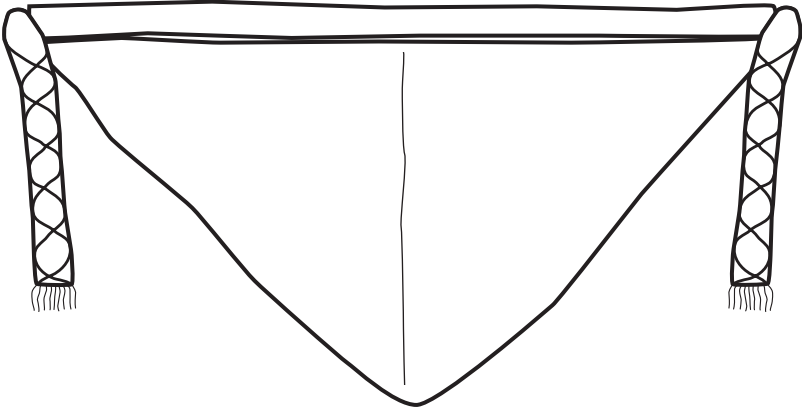


Fig 61. *parzuna* 'woolen knapsack'

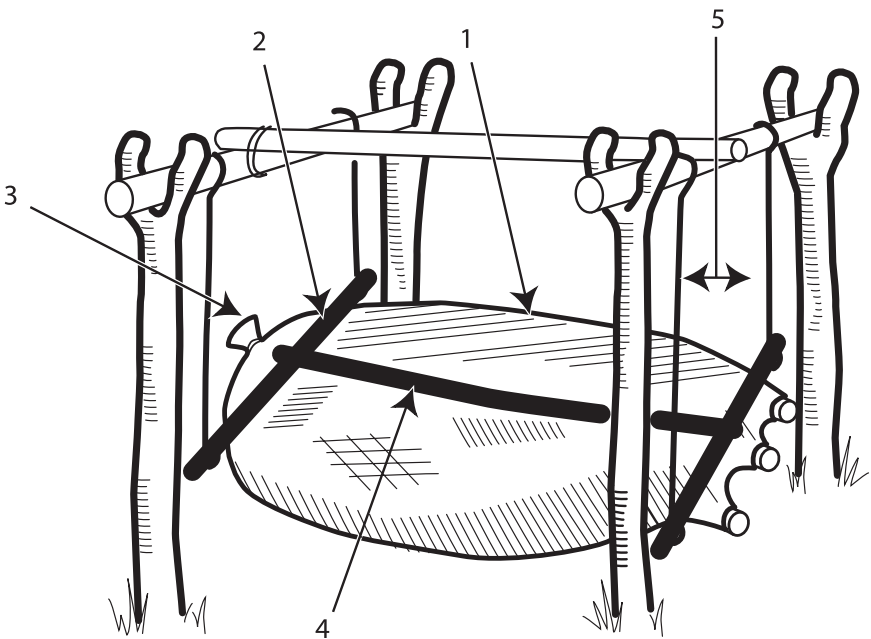


Fig 62.

1. *gūda* 'goatskin churn'
2. *mayoya* 'rod of frame'
3. *pummət gūda* 'mouth of churn'
4. *lawlaba* 'rod of frame'
5. *šaräfta* 'rope'

# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar

# Handbook of Oriental Studies

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# The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar

*Volume Three: Texts*

*by*

Geoffrey Khan



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SECTION A: STORIES  
FOLKTALES

A1 THE WISE SNAKE

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) 'ána 'áwəm Yúwəl Yuḥanna' 'Ishaq' t-máθət Düre, t-Bèrəwər. 'áyya hóla θàya, hóla màra.'

(2) 'ítwa xa-málka. 'áwwa málka xzèle xa-xəlma. 'u-qédamta màre' kúl náša t-yáðe mòdìn xózya b-xəlmi' bəd-yawənnə' 'əmma dáwe. 'yá'ni kút yáðe mòdile mhummzéma 'áwwa málka, mòdile xózya b-xəlme díye' b-yawáalle 'əmma dáwe. (3) šúryela náše xáša kəs-málka. 'áwwa màra 'àtxət xózya-w' 'áwwa 'àtxət xózya-w' 'áwwa 'àtxət xózya. (4) xá-naša 'ámər tla-báxte díye' qémən 'əzən' 'əp-ána mjar-bónna' həððé díyi. 'xázəx qəsməttila, 'bálki qərmən. 'áwwa qíməle zìlɛle, zìla, zìla, 'b-úrxa tfigele xá-xuwwə bíye. (5) 'o-xúwwə màre' hə-naša' ləkət zála? 'móre b-álaha hon-zála kəs-málka. 'málka hóle xózya xa-xəlma. 'màra' kút-yáðe mòdile xózya b-xəlme w-amərre' bəd-šáqəl 'álpa dàwe. 'é-ga 'əp-ana báyyən 'əzən, 't-amrónne xa-xàbra. 'bálki' képa qítte b-gàwza' npille-əra gáwza. 'bálki qrimli. (6) 'ó-xuwwə màre 'əlle-díye' 'ən-ána 'amrónmux mòdile xózya málka b-xəlme, 'ánna 'álpa dáwe pālətla, 'pálga t̄lali' 'pálga t̄lalu? 'móre náša! 'ána 'əmma bàssi' 'an-xéne kúlla t̄lalu. 'móre lə? 'pálga t̄lali, 'pálga t̄lalu. 'móre mqawòlən. 'móre 'ámərət tla-málka' xzélux b-xəlmux' dúnye ráya tèle.'

SECTION A: STORIES  
FOLKTALES

A1 THE WISE SNAKE

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) I am Yuwəl Yuḥanna 'Ishaq of the village of Dure, from Barwar. (The story) goes (like this), it is (as follows):<sup>1</sup>

(2) There was a king. This king had a dream. In the morning he said 'If there is) any person who knows what I have seen in my dream, I shall give him a hundred gold coins. That is, (if there is) anybody who knows what this king spoke, what he saw in his dream, he will give him a hundred gold coins. (3) People began to go to the king. One says 'You have seen such-and-such', another 'You have seen such-and-such' and another 'You have seen such-and-such'. (4) One man says to his wife 'I shall go. I also shall try my luck. Let's see (whether) I am lucky.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps I shall win. He set off and walked for a time,<sup>3</sup> then on the road a snake crossed his path. (5) The snake said 'Hey, man, where are you going?' He said 'By God, I am going to the king. The king has had a dream and says that anybody who knows what he saw in his dream and tells him will have a thousand gold pieces. So, I also want to go and tell him something. Perhaps "the stone has hit the walnut, and the walnut has fallen on the ground". Perhaps I have won.' (6) The snake said to him 'If I tell you what the king saw in his dream, will you divide those thousand gold pieces, half for me and half for you?' He said 'Man! A hundred is enough for me. All the rest will be for you'. It said 'No! Half for me and half for you'. He said 'I promise'. It said 'Say to the king "You saw in your dream that that it was raining foxes"'.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: It comes, its says.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: It is my luck.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: He went, went, went.

(7) 'ap-aw-zùlele<sup>1</sup> xiša mátya kəs-málka.<sup>1</sup> m̄éle gárre diyē<sup>1</sup> wírre kəs-málka.<sup>1</sup> móre háx<sup>1</sup> xázəx mášət t̄-amrátli módin xázya b-xəlmi.<sup>1</sup> móre h̄è málka.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áti xázɣət b-xəlmux dúnye ráya t̄ele.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áy!<sup>1</sup> dàx ðilux?<sup>1</sup> qáyəm yawólle 'alpà-dawe.<sup>1</sup> 'alpà-dawe 'u-zùlele.<sup>1</sup> (8) plítēle b-úrxa mtuxm̄anne.<sup>1</sup> móre xúwwe mà t̄-áwəð b-an-álpa dáwe,<sup>1</sup> t̄-ázən hawónna 'alle-diyē?<sup>1</sup> 'ána lé-yawonne 'ap-xa-fəlsa<sup>1</sup> qémən 'ázən b̄əθa<sup>1</sup> yáwən d̄eni.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mtágəbrən bn̄one<sup>1</sup> mtágəbrən ḡani.<sup>1</sup> xúwwe 'ázəl dúke diyē.<sup>1</sup> (9) xišele.<sup>1</sup> xišele l-b̄əθa<sup>1</sup> léle-hiwa 'átxa.<sup>1</sup> pišele xà-yarxa<sup>1</sup> málka xz̄ele xa-xəlma x̄ena.<sup>1</sup> módre xz̄ele xəlma.<sup>1</sup> móre kút-yāðe módi m̄ira<sup>1</sup> 'álpa dáwe xéne t-yawonne.<sup>1</sup> (10) 'aw-šm̄ile<sup>1</sup> 'ay!<sup>1</sup> m-xúwwe hon-muxərwəlla<sup>1</sup> máto t̄-əya?<sup>1</sup> móre t̄la-bàxte<sup>1</sup> h̄àtxən wíða.<sup>1</sup> mòdit mára.<sup>2</sup> m̄ara sí-ṭlub paxálta m̄anne diyē<sup>1</sup> 'u-múr t-yawónnux z̄úzux.<sup>1</sup> móre t̄-ázən<sup>1</sup> xázəx<sup>1</sup> bálki lá-hawe tàma,<sup>1</sup> bálki là-plit̄le l-úrxi.<sup>1</sup> (11) qím̄ele z̄ila.<sup>1</sup> módre xúwwe plítēle q̄amθe<sup>1</sup> h̄a-pəllən<sup>1</sup> l̄əkət z̄ála.<sup>2</sup> móre b-álaha šl̄ama-llux<sup>1</sup> p̄šəmən rába.<sup>1</sup> yāðət b-ḡanux<sup>1</sup> 'iqənwa,<sup>1</sup> dan̄ənwa.<sup>1</sup> 'an-zúze šqilili,<sup>1</sup> z̄illi hiwili d̄eni.<sup>1</sup> mtugb̄ar̄ali ḡani.<sup>1</sup> paxl̄ətli rába.<sup>1</sup> (12) móre diya l̄əkət z̄ála.<sup>2</sup> móre málka hóle xázya xá-ga x̄eta xəlma.<sup>1</sup> 'alpà-dawe b̄əd-yáwəl t̄la-kút 'amóre mòdile xəlme.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áyya b̄ena<sup>1</sup> 'ən 'amr̄ənnux<sup>1</sup> p̄l̄áṭila p̄álga məjjəd.<sup>2</sup> (13) móre nəša<sup>1</sup> dàx la-p̄āl̄nna.<sup>2</sup> 'áyya b̄ena hár-kulla t̄l̄alux 'ən-b̄áyət,<sup>1</sup> m-ḡəb-d-ani.<sup>1</sup> móre là?<sup>1</sup> p̄álga t̄l̄ali,<sup>1</sup> p̄álga t̄l̄alux.<sup>1</sup> móre 'amr̄ət<sup>1</sup> xz̄ele málka b-xəlme dúnye ráya d̄ewe.<sup>1</sup> (14) had̄iya,<sup>1</sup> xišele módre.<sup>1</sup> mt̄iθela dane-diyē<sup>1</sup> wírre kəs-málka.<sup>1</sup> málka móre 'àh<sup>1</sup> p̄əllən<sup>1</sup> módin xázya b-xəlmi.<sup>2</sup> málka t̄-áwət bas̄ima<sup>1</sup> xázɣət b-xəlmux dúnye ráya d̄ewe.<sup>1</sup> óy!<sup>1</sup> móre dàx ðilux?<sup>1</sup> ðili.<sup>1</sup> móre hallúle 'álpa dáwe.<sup>1</sup>

(7) So, he went. His turn came and he entered into the presence of the king. He (the king) said 'Well, let's see whether you can tell me what I saw in my dream.' He said 'Yes, king.' He said 'You saw in your dream that it was raining foxes.' He (the king) said 'Ah! How did you know?!' He gives him a thousand gold coins. A thousand gold coins (were given to him) and he went. (8) He went out on the road and thought. He said 'What will the snake do with the thousand gold coins that I should go and give them to it?! I shall not give it a penny. I'll go home, pay back my debts and look after my children, look after myself. Let the snake go to its place.' (9) He went (on his way). He went home. He did not give (the money) and that was that. A month later the king had another dream. He dreamt again. He said '(if there is) anybody who knows what happened in it,<sup>4</sup> I shall give him another thousand gold coins. (10) He heard (and said) 'Oh dear. I have wrecked (my relationship) with the snake. How can it be (that it will help me).' He said to his wife. 'I have done such-and-such. What do you say?' She said 'Go and ask forgiveness from it. Say "I shall give you your money"'. He said 'I shall go. Let's see, perhaps it will not be there, perhaps it will go out onto the road to meet me.'<sup>5</sup> (11) He set off, again the snake came out before him. 'Hey so-and-so, where are you going?' He said 'By God, peace be upon you. I am very sorry. You know, by your soul, I was in trouble. I was in debt. I took that money and paid off my debts. I have sorted myself out now. Forgive me please.'<sup>6</sup> (12) It said 'Now where are you going?' He said 'The king has had a dream again. He will give a thousand gold pieces to anyone who tells him what his dream is.' It said 'This time, if I tell you, will you really divide them in half?' (13) He said 'Man, how (could it be that) I shall not divide them?' This time everything is for you, if you want, in place of those (other coins).' It said 'No! Half for me and half for you'. It said 'You should say "The king has seen in his dream that it was raining wolves"'. (14) Now, he again went (to the king). His time came and he entered into the presence of the king. The king said 'Oh, so-and-so, what did I see in my dream?' 'King, I wish you well, you saw in your dream that it was raining wolves.' 'How did you know?!' 'I knew'. He said 'Give him a thousand gold pieces'.

---

<sup>4</sup> Literally: What it said.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: on my road.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: Forgive me much.



(15) *mádre šqilalla 'álpa dáwe.*<sup>1</sup> *šqilalla 'álpa dáwe diye*<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá-ga xéta zílele.<sup>1</sup> *zílle kəs-xùwwe.*<sup>1</sup> 'áyya béna mòdile wíða.<sup>2</sup> *šqille xá šəndəxa*<sup>1</sup> *gu-plaṭṭət xùwwe*<sup>1</sup> *deréle 'o-šəndəxa*<sup>1</sup> *b-xùwwe*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t qaṭəlle xúwwe.*<sup>1</sup> *xúwwe 'áxčile múdwa riqa.*<sup>1</sup> *wírre gu-bòye,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-bòye diye mtúšyalla gáne diye.*<sup>1</sup> (16) *m-táma zílele l-bèṭa.*<sup>1</sup> 'álpa dáwe xá-ga xéta nùbləlla<sup>1</sup> *ta-báxte diye.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-tré-yarxe xéne mádre xzéle xa-xəlma.*<sup>1</sup> *móre málka hóle mádre xázya xà-xəlma.*<sup>1</sup> *márele kuṭ-ámər mòdin xázya b-xəlmi,*<sup>1</sup> *t-yawónne 'álpa dáwe.*<sup>1</sup> (17) *mádre qíməle*<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa mərə<sup>1</sup> 'áyya béna mo-ṭ-òḏən.<sup>2</sup> *móre 'a-béna 'ap-képa dóryən b-xùwwe,*<sup>1</sup> 'ap-qtála báyəwə qatlənwale.<sup>1</sup> *móre b-nayəslə,*<sup>1</sup> ṭ-axəlli.<sup>1</sup> *mó ṭ-òḏəna.*<sup>2</sup> *qíməle zila*<sup>1</sup> *móre b-álaha ṭ-ázən kəs-xùwwe,*<sup>1</sup> ṭ-amrənnə<sup>1</sup> 'u-ṭəlbən paxálda mánne diye.<sup>1</sup> *mqawóləwən,*<sup>1</sup> 'ap-an-zúze kúlla ṭ-in šqiləlla<sup>1</sup> *pəłənna pəłge.*<sup>1</sup> 'áp 'an-ṭ-in-šqiləlla qaməye.<sup>1</sup> (18) *qíməle zila,*<sup>1</sup> *mətyele xá-ga xéta.*<sup>1</sup> *xúwwe plitəle l-qamòṭe.*<sup>1</sup> *móre hā dostí.*<sup>1</sup> *xázxə b-šəndəxe t-wəṭwa kipa biyi.*<sup>1</sup> *ləkət zála.*<sup>2</sup> *bəxət 'aláha diyux*<sup>1</sup> *la-hérəwət mənni,*<sup>1</sup> *mṗaxlətli.*<sup>1</sup> 'áxčī 'áp 'ayya-béna múrri mòdile.<sup>1</sup> *mqawólən kəmà-ṭ-in šqila zúze*<sup>1</sup> *məṭənnə pəłənna,*<sup>1</sup> *pəłga ṭlali pəłga ṭləlux.*<sup>1</sup> *móre dūs.*<sup>2</sup> *móre dūs!*<sup>1</sup> *móre mhuymənni-llux ya-'əlla.*<sup>1</sup> 'ámərət ṭla-málka dúnje ráya pəre.<sup>1</sup> *dúnje ráya pəre.*<sup>1</sup> (19) *hadíya,*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle zila.*<sup>1</sup> *mətyele kəs-málka*<sup>1</sup> *wírele mətyele gárre diye.*<sup>1</sup> *mòdit xázya b-xəlmux.*<sup>2</sup> *móre b-xəlmux xzáyət dúnje ráya pəre.*<sup>1</sup> 'ámər b-álaha dūs-iwət.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-ayya béna ḏilux.<sup>1</sup> *qáyəm yawólle 'álpa dáwe xéne.*<sup>1</sup> 'áw xá-reša m-táma qú-si l-bèṭa.<sup>1</sup> 'áp 'an-tre-'álpe dáwe xéne mēṭila.<sup>1</sup> (20) 'u-háygo šláma-llux xóni xùwwe.<sup>1</sup> *b-šéna b-ṭawəṭa!*<sup>1</sup> 'ámər xzi-hóli ṭeli.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla dáwe hon-mùṭyalla.*<sup>1</sup> ṭláṭa 'álpe dáwe hóla kəsli.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'álpa-w xamšá-mma diyuxila<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'álpa-w xamšá-mma diyila.<sup>1</sup> 'āti háwət basíma.<sup>1</sup> *t-lá-'ámərət be-bəxət-ile.*<sup>1</sup> (21) *móre tū*<sup>1</sup> ṭ-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup> 'ána lán-mirəllux be-bəxət-iwət.<sup>1</sup> 'u-lán-mira qaṭələwət.<sup>1</sup> 'u-lán-mira xòš-našəwət.<sup>1</sup> 'u-lán-mira lebənəwət.<sup>1</sup> 'ina tu-ṭ-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup>

(15) He again took the thousand gold pieces. He took his thousand gold pieces and went off again. He went to the snake. This time what did he do? He took a big stone. When the snake was coming out, he threw the stone at the snake, to kill the snake. The snake just managed to escape. It went into its hole and hid itself in its hole. (16) From there he went home. He again took the thousand gold pieces to his wife. After one or two more months, he (the king) again had a dream. The king said 'I have again had a dream. He says 'Whoever says what I have seen in my dream, I'll give him a thousand gold pieces'. (17) Again he (the man) said 'What shall I do this time?' He said 'Last time I even threw a stone at the snake. I even wanted to to kill it.' He said 'It will bite me. It will eat me. What should I do?' He set off. He said 'By God, I'll go to the snake and ask him for his forgiveness and say "I promise, I'll divide into halves also all the money that I took, that I took previously."' (18) He set off and arrived again. The snake came out to meet him. It said 'Hey, my friend, what about the stones that you threw at me? Where are you going?' 'I implore you (to forgive me).<sup>7</sup> Do not speak angrily with me. Forgive me. Just one more time tell me what it is. I promise that however much money I have received, I shall bring it and divide, half for me and half for you.' It said 'Really?' He said 'Really!' It said 'Well, I trust you. Say to the king "It is raining lambs. It is raining lambs"'. (19) Now, he went off. He arrived at the king's (palace). He entered (when) his turn came. 'What did you see in your dream?' He said 'In your dream you see it raining lambs'. He said 'By God, you are right! Also this time you knew it.' He gives him another thousand gold pieces. He went directly home from there. He brought back also those two thousand pieces of gold. (20) He went<sup>8</sup> (to the snake): Greetings my brother snake! Peace and blessings! He says 'See, I have come. I have brought all the gold pieces. I have three thousand gold pieces on me. These one thousand five-hundred are yours and these one thousand five-hundred are mine. Please (take them), so that you cannot say that he is dishonest.' (21) It said 'Sit down. Let me tell you something. I did not say that you are dishonest. I did not say that you are a murderer. I did not say that you are a good man. I did not say that you are a trickster. But, sit down, I'll tell you something.'

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<sup>7</sup> Literally: The protection of God with regard to you.

<sup>8</sup> The verbs here and in the last two clauses are in the imperative form. This is a narrative device to engage the listener.

(22) *móre* 'o-gáya q̄amεθa θélux l-kásli,<sup>1</sup> *mári* t̄lálux<sup>1</sup> *málka* x̄zyele b-xólme dúnye ráya t̄le.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yomət *mári* t̄lálux hádax z̄áwna lebána-wewa.<sup>1</sup> 'úp-ati x̄šlux<sup>1</sup> *máru*x šq̄illux z̄úze wélux lebána 'ax-zawna.<sup>1</sup> z̄áwna q̄am-'awódlux lebána.<sup>1</sup> (23) *lā-θelux* kásli.<sup>1</sup> *mxélux* xa-čárxa hál z̄illux kəs-bàxtux.<sup>1</sup> 'u-θélux mdagóle t̄lali<sup>1</sup> 'ála 'asás danānəmwa,<sup>1</sup> *míðən* mòdi<sup>1</sup> 'u-'anna m̄andiyáne.<sup>1</sup> (24) *móre* gá'at t̄rte xz̄éle *málka* dúnye ráya d̄ewe.<sup>1</sup> x̄ólmət *málka* 'íwa 'úp-aw z̄áwna.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yomət x̄zya dúnye ráya t̄le<sup>1</sup> z̄áwnət l̄ebewa.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa z̄áwna t-xz̄élux dúnye ráya d̄ewe<sup>1</sup> 'íwa z̄áwnət q̄t̄la-w dómma-w pr̄ama,<sup>1</sup> xa-xála 'o-xèna,<sup>1</sup> xa-qt̄ala 'o-xèna.<sup>1</sup> (25) 'ap-àti<sup>1</sup> m-ḡéb t̄-aθ̄t̄wa méθ̄ot̄wali z̄ùze,<sup>1</sup> šq̄illux xa-š̄ndóxa.<sup>1</sup> 'o-š̄ndóxa 'm-hawewa q̄íθa biyi<sup>1</sup> t̄-awót̄wa q̄t̄ilalli.<sup>1</sup> xzi-'ána m̄turš̄ali gáni.<sup>1</sup> 'ína léwa módre gn̄ayux.<sup>1</sup> z̄áwnət q̄t̄la-wewa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-àti<sup>1</sup> wélux gu-d-áw-zawna t-wéwa t-q̄t̄la<sup>1</sup> píšlux qat̄ola.<sup>1</sup> (26) *d̄iya*<sup>1</sup> t-xz̄éle *málka* dúnye ráya p̄are<sup>1</sup> z̄awon-š̄lamele.<sup>1</sup> let-'ati wíya xoš-náša t̄-it-múθ̄yalla 'anna z̄ùze.<sup>1</sup> z̄áwna wíyεle t-š̄lama<sup>1</sup> 'ap-ati píšlux náš̄ət š̄lama.<sup>1</sup> (27) *bud-àyya* muθ̄élux 'anna z̄úze<sup>1</sup> *hadíya* báyyət p̄ālt̄la.<sup>1</sup> *móre* d̄-šq̄ul 'anna-z̄ùze.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla* t̄lálux.<sup>1</sup> 'ána malāxen.<sup>1</sup> *síqle* l-š̄màyya.<sup>1</sup> *púš* b-š̄ena.<sup>1</sup> *š̄uq̄ali* táma 'u-θ̄éli lāxxa.<sup>1</sup>

(22) It said 'The first time you came to me, I said to you that the king saw in his dream that it was raining foxes. The day I said that to you, the time was tricky. So you went off, said (this to the king), took the money and became tricky like the time. The time made you a trickster. (23) You did not come back to me. You went on a circuitous route and went to your wife. You came lying to me, saying '(I did so) on the grounds that I was in debt' and I don't know what, things like that.' (24) It said 'The second time the king saw (in his dream) that it was raining wolves. Also that dream of the king was (like) the time. The day the king saw that it was raining foxes, it was the time of tricks. This time when you saw it raining wolves, it was a time of killing, blood and slaughter, one man eating the other, one killing the other. (25) So you, instead of coming and bringing me money, took a rock. If that rock had hit me, you would have killed me. Actually I hid myself. But again it was not your fault. It was the time of killing. You also, in the time that was one of killing, became a murderer. (26) Now that the king has seen it raining lambs, it is the time of peace. You have not become a good man and brought these coins. The time has become one of peace and you also became a man of peace. (27) Because of this you have brought these coins and want now to divide them.' It said 'Take these coins. They are all for you. I am an angel.' He went up to heaven. 'Peace be with you.' I have left it there and come here.

## A2 THE PRIEST AND THE MULLAH

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) *xá-yoma* 'íθwa *xá-qaša* 'u-xà-malla.<sup>1</sup> *qáša* *xáša-weewa* l-'Urðšlám<sup>1</sup> 'u-mállá *zálewa* l-*ḥàjj*.<sup>1</sup> *zilela* *mə-ğđáðe* *hal-'Urdun*.<sup>1</sup> *šəryela* *gu-xa-ʔotəl*.<sup>1</sup> *šəryela* *tàma*.<sup>1</sup> *hadýya* *mállá* *mšūrèle* *mbaqóre* *qáša*<sup>1</sup> *lèkət* *zála*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *móre* *hon-zála* l-'Urðšlám.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔati *lèkət* *zála*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *mára* *hon-zála* *Màkka*,<sup>1</sup> 'ina *báyən* *zérən* 'áp-ana *Qūdus*.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-lá *zerónna* *Qūdus*,<sup>1</sup> *lèla* *qbilta* *ḥajjiyúθi*. (2) *šəryela* *gu-d-é* 'otél 'o-yòma-w<sup>1</sup> *pišela* *hàðəx*.<sup>1</sup> 'ašórta *θiθela*<sup>1</sup> *báy* *t-áxl* *xa-ràmša*.<sup>1</sup> *mó* *t-áxləx* *xa-ràmša*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *mərə*<sup>1</sup> *šələx*,<sup>1</sup> *zawónəlxən* *kθayàθa-w*<sup>1</sup> *t-áθəx* *bašlólə* *b-gànən*.<sup>1</sup> 'tla-mó *t-ázəx* *t-áxləx* *gu-màfəm*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> 'əp-təmməl 'áxləx *mónna*.<sup>1</sup> *tráθna* *hátəx* *muxšəxlə*. (3) *qémi* *šáli* *zoníla* *tərté-kθayə* 'u-mεθéla-w<sup>1</sup> *mattíla* *gu-qušárta* *mbašlila-w*<sup>1</sup> 'u-yátəwi 'áxl.<sup>1</sup> *ðá-kθεθa* *xilála*,<sup>1</sup> *ðá* *pišla*.<sup>1</sup> *mállá* *hóle* *tíwa* *gu-kúrsa* *tílile*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšúryele *mxařxòre*.<sup>1</sup> *mállá* *mšúryele* *mxařxòre*,<sup>1</sup> *qáša* *txírre* *móre* *təmməl* *rütela*. (4) *móre* *təmməl* *rütela*,<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa *mállá* *t-axállə* *kθéθa*<sup>1</sup> 'ána *b-t-ázən* *gu-šəmša*.<sup>1</sup> *módi* 'awðəna.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *móre* *lə?*<sup>1</sup> 'áw *hole-dmíxa* *qémən* 'áp-ayya 'axlónna 'àna.<sup>1</sup> *hal-təmməl* 'álaha *raxmànele*.<sup>1</sup> *xamšüşəba* *wéwa*.<sup>1</sup> *nášya-weewa* *qáša* *t-wéwa* *yómət-tre* *rüta*.<sup>1</sup> *mállá* *t-axállə* 'aw-lá-ʔaxəl 'ú-mdi *sab-rütela*. (5) 'áwəwa *qíməle* *múttəlla* *kθéθa* *rəš-núra* *mšaxónəlla*.<sup>1</sup> *mšuxántela* 'u-tíwəle *rəša*.<sup>1</sup> *xiləlla* *kúlla* *kθéθa*,<sup>1</sup> *pišele* *gèrme*.<sup>1</sup> *dəryəlla* *gu-qašxàne*<sup>1</sup> 'u-múttəlla *təmàha*<sup>1</sup> 'u-mállá *rışele*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *ha-xèr* *mállá*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> (6) *mállá* *móre* *náša* *šúqla!*<sup>1</sup> *xzéli* *xa-xəlma* *díya*,<sup>1</sup> *xu-léwa* *xəlma*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *xəzwa* *škəra* *wéwa*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *dəxi*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *móre* *har-šúq!*<sup>1</sup> *móre* *xəřila*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *mitànile!*<sup>1</sup> (7) 'ámər *xzéli* *b-xəlmi*<sup>1</sup> 'ina<sup>1</sup> 'ána *zila* l-*pardəsa*<sup>1</sup> l-*á-dunye* *xəta*.<sup>1</sup> *mára* *zilən* l-*tárət* *pardəsa*<sup>1</sup> 'ina *hóla* *Mšíxa* 'u-*Muḥammad* *kálye* *gu-tárət* *pardəsa*.<sup>1</sup> *Mšíxa* *mbuqárre* *Muḥammad*<sup>1</sup> *móre* 'ənile.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *móre* *mállile*.<sup>1</sup>

## A2 THE PRIEST AND THE MULLAH

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) One day there was a priest and a mullah. The priest was going to Jerusalem and the mullah was going on the pilgrimage. They went together as far as Jordan. They put up in a hotel. They put up there. Now, the mullah started (talking by) asking the priest 'Where are you going?'. He said 'I am going to Jerusalem. And where are you going?' He says 'I am going to Mecca, but I want to visit also Jerusalem. If I do not visit Jerusalem, my pilgrimage is not accepted.' (2) They put up in the hotel that day and remained there.<sup>1</sup> The evening came and they wanted to eat dinner. 'What shall we eat for dinner?' They said 'Let's go down and buy for ourselves some chickens and come back and cook them ourselves. Why should we go to eat in a restaurant? We could eat them also tomorrow.' They both decided (to do) thus. (3) They go down and buy two chickens and bring them back. They put them in a pan and cook them, then sit down to eat them. They ate one chicken and one remained. The mullah sat in a chair, fell asleep and started snoring. The mullah started snoring, the priest remembered and said (to himself) 'Tomorrow is Friday.' (4) He said 'Tomorrow is Friday. This mullah will eat the chicken and I shall have nothing.'<sup>2</sup> What should I do?' He said 'No! (While) he is asleep, I shall eat also this one. God is merciful until tomorrow. It was Thursday. The priest had forgotten that the next day would be Friday. The mullah would eat it and he would eat nothing because it was Friday. (5) He put the chicken on the fire to heat it up. (After) it was heated, he sat down to eat it.'<sup>3</sup> He ate all the chicken. (Only) bones remained. He put them in the pan and put it aside.'<sup>4</sup> The mullah woke up. He said '(Did you sleep) well, mullah?' (6) The mullah said 'Man, give me a break! I have just now had a dream. Was it (really) a dream? It was a clear vision.' He said 'What was it like?' He said 'Give me a break!' He said 'Was it good? Tell it (to me)!' (7) He says 'I dreamt that I went to Paradise to the next life.' He says 'I went to the door of Paradise and behold the Messiah and Muḥammad were standing in the door of Paradise. The Messiah asked Muḥammad, he said 'Who is that?' He said 'It is my mullah'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: remained thus.

<sup>2</sup> I shall go in the sun.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: upon it.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: over there.

(8) 'án-ile mällux<sup>1</sup> xos'-áwər 'u-'áxəl 'u-'sáte gu-pərdəsa-w<sup>1</sup> 'iθ-táma 'ánwa tēpi<sup>1</sup>  
'u-huriyāt<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúlla-məndi 'iθgena,<sup>1</sup> mábsəm 'u-táre kēf.<sup>1</sup> mára b-álaha mírəlli l-tàma.<sup>1</sup>  
xilən<sup>1</sup> 'u-'sətyən.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-məndit 'ána xilli<sup>1</sup> 'ó busáma mubsəmlī tàma<sup>1</sup> lə-'aθi mtanóye.<sup>1</sup> (9)  
'u-'ámər qáša 'u-'ána.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər də-kli!<sup>1</sup> 'ámər hádəx 'áp-ati 'əθyət.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'əθyət.<sup>1</sup> mət'yət  
kəsləy.<sup>1</sup> Muḥámmad mərə ta-Mšixá<sup>1</sup> 'o-'ənilə.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'o-qəšile.<sup>1</sup> mərə lítle dúka 'àxxa.<sup>1</sup>  
mxòle<sup>1</sup> 'u-xəṭrule<sup>1</sup> 'u-maqəlbùle.<sup>1</sup> (10) mára məxyəllux,<sup>1</sup> məxyəllux,<sup>1</sup> məxyəllux<sup>1</sup> há-t-ila  
múbyəlle gəldux.<sup>1</sup> 'u-müdəṛəlluxila.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər xzélux be-baxtùθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áti wírrux xillux 'ánwe  
tēpi,<sup>1</sup> kθayàθa,<sup>1</sup> mubsəmlux,<sup>1</sup> huriyyāt.<sup>1</sup> w-ána qəm-maxəli<sup>1</sup> w-áti xyára biyi.<sup>1</sup> (11)  
'ána-zi m-kérbi 'əθyən 'á-kθeθa múttənna rəš-núra 'u-xilənna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ṭlálux lan-šwíqa  
čü-məndi.<sup>1</sup> mərə dāx-it xila kúlla?<sup>1</sup> xilənna 'ína mòdi?<sup>1</sup> kúlla hon-xiləlla.<sup>1</sup> mərə xillux  
táma mubsəmlux.<sup>1</sup> 'ána qəm-ṭarðili.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyən m-kérbi hon-xiləlla 'əy.<sup>1</sup>

(8) If he is your mullah, let him enter, eat and drink in Paradise. There are there fine grapes and houris. There is everything. He will enjoy himself and have a good time.' He says 'By God, they let me enter there. I ate and drank. What I ate and the enjoyment I had there could not be related.'

(9) The priest says 'And me?'' He says 'Wait!' He says 'Meanwhile you also came.' He says 'You came and went up to them. Muḥammad said to the Messiah 'Who is that?' He said 'He is my priest'. He said 'He has no place here. Beat and cane him, and send him back'. (10) He says 'They beat you, they beat you, they beat you, until they made your skin swell, then they returned you.' He (the priest) says 'You have dreamt something unfair. You entered and ate fine grapes and chickens. You enjoyed yourself (with) houris. But they beat me while you were looking at me. (11) I, out of my anger, came and put the chicken on the fire and ate it. I have left nothing for you.' He said 'How have you eaten it all?' 'I have eaten it, so what! I have eaten all of it'. He said 'You ate there and enjoyed yourself. They drove me out and, out of my anger, I have come and eaten it.'



### A3 THE SELFISH NEIGHBOUR

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) *xà-naša*<sup>1</sup> *xáčča* <sup>1</sup>*anàni-wewa*,<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* *maxbánət* *gàne-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> *hàr* *y-áwewa* *ḫlaba* *mən-álaha*,<sup>1</sup> *qwàla*:<sup>1</sup> *bǎyən* <sup>1</sup>*álaha* *t-yawólli* *mándi* *zàwda*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*u-t-yawólli* *məndiyàne*,<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-álaha* *yawèlwale*.<sup>1</sup> *hár* *y-áwewa-qwála* *m-xayúthe* *diye*.<sup>1</sup> (2) *xà-bena*<sup>1</sup> *márya* <sup>1</sup>*aláha* *móre* *ḫla-malàxa*<sup>1</sup> *də-sli*,<sup>1</sup> *xzi* <sup>1</sup>*aw-mòdi* *bǎye*.<sup>1</sup> *háyyo* *xázəx* *mòdi*.<sup>1</sup> *hár* *hole-mḫartóme* <sup>1</sup>*u-ḫlaba*,<sup>1</sup> *mḫartóme* <sup>1</sup>*u-ḫlaba*.<sup>1</sup> *gazəndàna* *ràba*.<sup>1</sup> (3) *malàxa* *šlèle*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *há-naša* <sup>1</sup>*ati* *mùdit* *har-bliḡa* *ḫlaba* *m-alàha*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-yawèllux*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*u-gazənda-w* *gazənda*.<sup>1</sup> *mára* *xzi*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*ana* *bǎyən* <sup>1</sup>*aláha* *t-yawólli* *kùl-məndi* *bi-záwda*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-xayúthi* *hóya* *spáy*.<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-xǎyən* *spáy* <sup>1</sup>*àxxa*.<sup>1</sup> (4) *móre* <sup>1</sup>*aláha* *hole-mìra*<sup>1</sup> *t-yawèllux*<sup>1</sup> *b-šàrḫ*<sup>1</sup> *kú-mdit* *yawèllux*<sup>1</sup> *ta-šwáwux* *t-yáwəl* *trè*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* <sup>1</sup>*ati* <sup>1</sup>*ən-yawéllux* *ḫà-tawərtə*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-šwáwux* *t-yáwəl* *tərtə* *tawriyáḫa*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*ən-ḫlálux* *yáwəl* *xà* *xmára*<sup>1</sup> *ta-šwáwux* *t-yáwəl* *trè* *xmáre*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* *kú-mdit* *t-yáwəl* *ḫlálux*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*áp* *ta-šwáwux* *t-yáwəl* *trè*.<sup>1</sup> (5) <sup>1</sup>*ámər* *ta-mò* *ta-šwáwi*.<sup>21</sup> <sup>1</sup>*ana* *hon-márəllux* *b-əyya* *šàrḫ* <sup>1</sup>*aláha* *t-yawéllux*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*ina* *là-yawəllux*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *klí* *mtaxəmnən*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*ó* *mtuxmənne*,<sup>1</sup> *sìqle* *malàxa*.<sup>1</sup> (6) *bár* *ḫlaḫa-yóme* *dìrre*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *mtuxmənnux*.<sup>21</sup> *móre* *hè*.<sup>1</sup> *mòdit* *mtaxmóne*.<sup>21</sup> *mìrre*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*ámrat* *ta-màrya*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*aláha* *bǎyən*<sup>1</sup> *ḫà-əni* *mpaláḫla*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *ḫla-mòdi* *ḫa-ənux* *mpaláḫla*.<sup>21</sup> *móre* *ta-t-ənat* *šwáwi* *tràḫna* *mpaláḫla*.<sup>1</sup>

### A3 THE SELFISH NEIGHBOUR

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) A certain man was rather selfish, that is he was fond of himself. He was always making requests from God, complaining 'I want God to give me something more, give me things', so that God would give him. He was always complaining about his life. (2) Once, the Lord God said to an angel 'Go down, see what he wants. Come, let's see what it is (all about). He is always grumbling and asking (for things), grumbling and asking (for things). He is a big whiner.' (3) The angel went down. He said 'Hey, man, why are always busy asking God to give (things) to you, (with) complaint (after) complaint. He says 'Look, I want God to give me more of everything, so that my life will be good, so that I shall live well here.' (4) He said 'God has said that he will give to you on condition that everything he gives to you he will give to your neighbour twofold. That is, if he gives you one cow, he will give to your neighbour two cows. If he gives to you one ass, he will give to your neighbour two asses. That is, everything that he gives to you, he will give also to your neighbour, twofold.' (5) He says 'Why to my neighbour?' 'I am telling you, God will give to you on this condition, otherwise he will not give to you.' He said 'Wait, let me think (about it).' He thought (about it). The angel went up (to heaven). (6) After three days he returned. He said 'Have you thought (about it)?' He said 'Yes'. 'What are you thinking of?' He said 'Say to the Lord God that I want him to take out one of my eyes.' He said 'Why should he take out one of your eyes?' He said 'So that he takes out both eyes of my neighbour'.

A4 A TALE OF A PRINCE AND A PRINCESS

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) 'iθwa liθwa<sup>1</sup> biš-m-aláha góra liθwa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xa-málka.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-málka 'iθwale xa-bróna,<sup>1</sup> yǎkàna.<sup>1</sup> xà mən-yománe<sup>1</sup> 'áw-bronət málka<sup>1</sup> móre tla-bábe díye báyyən páltən šèda,<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'u-xuràne,<sup>1</sup> gu-ṭúra,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-áwe 'arwət wàla<sup>1</sup> m-ánna məndiyàne,<sup>1</sup> qəqwàne,<sup>1</sup> tère,<sup>1</sup> leðm-mòdi.<sup>1</sup> (2) 'áp-awwa siqele gu-ṭúra<sup>1</sup> mən-xuráne díye písele gu-ṭúra xá-yoma yóme trè.<sup>1</sup> dmixela<sup>1</sup> b-lèle xá-ga<sup>1</sup> 'šoyela tré malàxe,<sup>1</sup> pyáða qama-qámət cádra d-ò-malka.<sup>1</sup> hadiya,<sup>1</sup> 'an-malàxe móra yáðət 'aw-'ənile?<sup>1</sup> móra 'aw-brøn-málkəle.<sup>1</sup> móra hè!<sup>1</sup> (3) móre 'áw brøn-málka rába šapirele<sup>1</sup> 'u-hawnanəne,<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'iθ 'ax-díye 'áp-ay šapírta-w hawnanáta brátət málkət ma'arwa ṭ-amrəx.<sup>1</sup> móre mòdit mára?<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa nabláxle kəs-d-áy<sup>1</sup> yan-áy nabláxla kəs-d-àwwa?<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa móre là<sup>1</sup> 'àwwa nabláxle kəs-d-áy.<sup>1</sup> móre báxta be-bǎxət-ila,<sup>1</sup> maqəṭlále.<sup>1</sup> méθəx 'ay kəsle-díye.<sup>1</sup> (4) qímela múṭyalla 'a-brátə d-ó-malkət ma'arwa kəsle díye.<sup>1</sup> 'iman ṭ-ile xəzyəlla,<sup>1</sup> hátxa šəṭránta-w šapírta,<sup>1</sup> 'ay-šriṭla.<sup>1</sup> qəm-ṭ-amərra là-šarxət.<sup>1</sup> 'àtīt θiθa kəsli.<sup>1</sup> lán 'ána-'əθya kəsləx.<sup>1</sup> bár ṭ-ila-díta qa-t-àyyela θiθa kəsle-díye,<sup>1</sup> muxəbla gəðəde.<sup>1</sup> (5) mšuxləpla b-isəqyàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hádəx gu-d-o-xúbba təlyela.<sup>1</sup> xánči ṭ-amrənna qalúlta<sup>1</sup> qa-t-pàrqa.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-o-xúbba təlyela.<sup>1</sup> 'e-dánə ṭ-ila ríše,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa gu-šwíθət gəne,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya gu-qásrət bába díya,<sup>1</sup> 'áw gu-čádre díye,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa məskéna rəba pšimle<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áy mšuyðənnə.<sup>1</sup> (6) har-ò-yoma<sup>1</sup> mšurəla,<sup>1</sup> 'ámri brátət málka mšuyðənnə<sup>1</sup> mšurəla sráta júlla mšeyðəne.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa lá-biš-ile-mšaya m qarów-əlla díya.<sup>1</sup> brøn-málka qíməle qáryele l-kúlla 'an-xuráne díye.<sup>1</sup> móre yába dərəx.<sup>1</sup> bəssa,<sup>1</sup> wídlən šèda,<sup>1</sup> bəssa.<sup>1</sup> 'ána šédi wídlí.<sup>1</sup> (7) móre 'ána šédi wídlí.<sup>1</sup> qíməle dírye bəθa.<sup>1</sup> dírye kəs-bábe díye.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər bəbi<sup>1</sup> ṭ-amrənnmux xə-məndi<sup>1</sup> béli 'əllux.<sup>1</sup> móre há! 'u-hawál hátxa xzéli.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-è-dana<sup>1</sup> móre bəbi bálki gu-xəlmux-iwətwa.<sup>1</sup> xəlma náša hár 'i-xàze.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) There was or there was not. There was no greater than God. There was once a king. That king had a son, an only son. One day, that son of the king said to his father ‘I want to go out hunting, I together with friends, in the mountains, where there were wild goats, such things, partridges, birds, I don’t know what. (2) So, he went up into the mountains with his friends and remained in the mountains one or two days. One night they went to sleep and two angels came, passing by the tent of the king. Now, those angels said ‘Do you know who that is?’ They said ‘That is the son of the king.’ They said ‘Yes’. (3) (One) said ‘That son of a king is very good-looking and clever, but there is someone who is good-looking and clever like him, the daughter of the king of the West, let’s say’.<sup>1</sup> (The other) said ‘What do you say (we do)?’ ‘Should we take him to her or take her to him?’ He said ‘No. We shall take him to her.’ He said ‘The woman is not trustworthy, she may cause him to be killed. Let’s bring her to him.’ (4) They went and brought that daughter of the king of the West to him. When he saw her, so beautiful and good-looking, she screamed. He said to her ‘Don’t scream. It was you who came to me. It was not me who came to you.’ After she realized that she had come to him, they fell in love with each other. (5) They exchanged rings. Thus they slept together in that love. I’ll tell it to you quickly so that it will finish. They slept together in that love. When they woke up, each in their own bed, she in the palace of her father and he in his tent, he, poor man, became very sad and she became mad. (6) On the same day she began—they say the daughter of the king went mad and began to tear her clothes out of madness. Nobody was able to go near her at all. The son of the king called all his friends and said ‘Let’s return. That’s enough. We have done some hunting. That’s enough. I have done my hunting.’ (7) He said ‘I have done my hunting’. He returned home. He returned to his father. He says ‘Father, I shall tell you something, between me and you’. He said ‘I saw such-and-such things’. Then he (the king) said ‘My dear, perhaps you were dreaming.’<sup>2</sup> A person always dreams.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. we shall give her this name for the sake of the story.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: you were in your dream.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: sees a dream.

(8) *móre bábí là-babí,<sup>1</sup> lèlè xálma.<sup>1</sup> škàrela.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya 'isáqtha 'u-'áyya yaláxta t-íwax mšuxə̀lpe,<sup>1</sup> kúl-mə̀ndi dīya.<sup>1</sup> 'o-móre hadīya mòdi báyyət.<sup>21</sup> móre báyyən 'ázət xáðrət bába dīya<sup>1</sup> kú-dukə̀ t-íla mὲθə̀tla-lli.<sup>1</sup> móre spə̀y.<sup>1</sup> (9) lá-yǎðe brāt-d-ənila.<sup>1</sup> lēla mirtə̀lle.<sup>1</sup> lá-yǎðe brāt-d-ənila.<sup>1</sup> maláxe yáðí,<sup>1</sup> 'ə̀xci.<sup>1</sup> hadīya,<sup>1</sup> módila wíðe.<sup>21</sup> málka qímὲle yomə̀t-tré,<sup>1</sup> híwὲle xábra ta-wǎzire dīye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ráyəs wuzàra<sup>1</sup> yába hon-zàla<sup>1</sup> xðàra báhə̀r báxta ta-bròni.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga b-dēyən<sup>1</sup> mὲyónna 'ay-bàxta.<sup>1</sup> 'áti wǎkil-íwət.<sup>1</sup> (10) málka máxyὲle 'íðe l-gàne<sup>1</sup> 'u-zílele,<sup>1</sup> núbla xulamwàða mánne<sup>1</sup> 'u-nàše.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xišὲle<sup>1</sup> b-ürxa<sup>1</sup> xðàra<sup>1</sup> m-máða l-máða,<sup>1</sup> m-mðíta l-mðíta,<sup>1</sup> xáze 'èka b-xazéla.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yomə̀ t-íle plíta málka m-bèða,<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma bróne dīye mìðὲle.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma mìtle bróne dīye.<sup>1</sup> 'áwə̀wa là-yǎðe.<sup>1</sup> (11) 'u-xišὲle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xišὲle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xišὲle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xišὲle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xišὲle.<sup>1</sup> xuláya 'aláha mutə̀pqqə̀lle gu-d-a-mðíta t-íla 'ὲ-bráta d-o-málka.<sup>1</sup> xə̀zyə̀lla náše jə̀mye<sup>1</sup> qúrbət qásrət málka,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mšawóðe xà-mə̀ndi,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mára xà-mə̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> 'áwə̀wa-zi qóryə̀lla móre mòdila qásšət.<sup>21</sup> (12) móra brāt-málka hóla mšuyðánta.<sup>1</sup> ta-mòdila mšuyðánta.<sup>21</sup> móra 'áyya là-yǎða.<sup>1</sup> hóla màra<sup>1</sup> xzítə̀lle xa-bronət-xà-malka,<sup>1</sup> lách-ðá'a 'èka,<sup>1</sup> 'u-bìðə̀llela-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma t-íla xzítə̀lle 'áw.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa lele-mšáya mbasə̀mla.<sup>1</sup> (13) móre 'éni 'ítlexu t-náše t-mási mšáwə̀θi mənna<sup>1</sup> xazéla màtə̀la.<sup>21</sup> móra 'ítlən ða-tòto y-óða xə̀rše.<sup>1</sup> 'áy y-ásqa kásla-w şàlya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál-dīya çù-mə̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> móre maşitu mšadrítula kə̀šli.<sup>21</sup> móra hè.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-zílele gu-çadre dīye,<sup>1</sup> θiθela tòto.<sup>1</sup> (14) θiθela kásle dīye,<sup>1</sup> driθela šlàma.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áti y-ázət kəs-brátət málka.<sup>21</sup> móre mòdila qásšət dīya.<sup>21</sup> móra b-álaha qásšət dīya hətə̀xela.<sup>1</sup> mpíltela b-xùbba.<sup>1</sup> xzítə̀lla g'ána dīya kəs-xa brónət xa-málka-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-yómət trè<sup>1</sup> qedámta xzítə̀lla g'ána gu-šwiyáθət g'ána.<sup>1</sup> mən-d-ó-yoma hóla mšuyðánta.<sup>1</sup> (15) móre 'amrə̀nnə̀x xá-mə̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> šqílə̀lla qamáye ðá-kísta dàwe.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áy tìlələ̀x,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-ódət šúla.<sup>1</sup> hé màra,<sup>1</sup> mjunə̀gníla hətə̀xa.<sup>1</sup> móra 'é-gət mən-d-ánna hàwe,<sup>1</sup> šúla bt-ázəl lǎ-qàma!<sup>1</sup> kut-dúkət báyyət nablə̀nnux.<sup>1</sup>*

(8) He said 'Father, no father. It is not a dream. It is true. This is the ring and this the scarf that we exchanged. Everything is hers.' He said 'Now, what do you want?' He said 'I want you to go and look for her father,<sup>4</sup> and to bring her to me wherever she is.' He said 'Fine'. (9) He does not know whose daughter she is. She did not tell him. He does not know whose daughter she is. Only the angels know. Now, what did they do? The next day the king gave word to his ministers and his prime minister 'Now, I am going to look for a wife for my son. When I return, I shall be bringing the wife.<sup>5</sup> You are the deputy.' (10) The king set off,<sup>6</sup> taking servants with him and (other) people. He went on the road, wandering from village to village, town to town, to see where to find her. On the day that the king left home, on that day his son died. On that day his son died. He (the king) did not know. (11) He travelled on and on and on and on and on. In the end God made him come across the town where the daughter of that king was. He saw the people gathered near the palace of the king, each one saying something, each one telling something. He called to them and said 'What has happened?'<sup>7</sup> (12) They said 'The daughter of the king has gone mad.' 'Why has she gone mad?' They said 'She does not know. She says that she saw the son of a king, we do not know where, and fell in love with him, and she has been mad from the day that she saw him. Nobody can cure her.' (13) He said 'What people do you have who can speak with her and find out how she is?' They said 'We have an old woman who does magic. She goes up to her and comes down, but until now nothing (has come of it)'. He said 'Can you send her to me?' They said 'Yes'. He went to his tent and the old woman came. (14) She came to him and offered greetings. He said 'Do you go to the daughter of the king?' He said 'What is her story?' She said 'Well, her story is like this. She has fallen in love. She found herself with a son of a king and the next day in the morning she found herself in her own bed. From that day she has been mad.' (15) He said 'I'll tell you something.' He first took out a purse of gold pieces. He said 'This is for you, for you to do your job.' 'Oh' she said, she shook them like this, she said 'If there are these (gold pieces), the job will go ahead! I'll take you to any place you want.'

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: I want you to go (and) go round to her father.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. I shall only return if I find the wife.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: The king struck his hand on himself and went.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: What is the story?

(16) *máre là?*<sup>1</sup> *'áwewa xabùša*<sup>1</sup> *muttále yaláxθa*<sup>1</sup> *'aw-xabúša qšèle.*<sup>1</sup> *muttále 'isáqθe*  
*díye gáwe.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-ó-xabuša sírre gu-d-áy-yaláxθe díye b-g'áne.*<sup>1</sup> *máre máθyət 'áwewa xabùša*<sup>1</sup>  
*'u-'áyya yaláxθa.*<sup>1</sup> *mamítálla 'ólla díya*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xza-mò-t-oða*<sup>1</sup> *'áθyət t-amràtli.*<sup>1</sup> *'iman*  
*t-àθyət,*<sup>1</sup> *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx.*<sup>1</sup> (17) *mára dác lúlux-xàtər?*<sup>2</sup> *har-díya*  
*mátyən t-àθyən.*<sup>1</sup> *síqtela.*<sup>1</sup> *'áy hár mšeyðəne,*<sup>1</sup> *šwára ndáya gu-d-án 'otáxe šluxèθa.*<sup>1</sup>  
*'ay-m-ráħqa hóla wáðəlla 'a-yaláxθa hátxa qam-'éna díya.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-sìqla-w*<sup>1</sup> *'u-sìqla-*  
*w*<sup>1</sup> *'u-sìqla-w*<sup>1</sup> *'é-ga t-ìla-qriwta 'ólla,*<sup>1</sup> *xzìθəlla,*<sup>1</sup> *xzìθəlla yaláxθa hátxa,*<sup>1</sup>  
*'ax t-àmrat,*<sup>1</sup> *xáçça biš-šləla.*<sup>1</sup> (18) *mabyóne 'iθ-xa-məndi gu-qásšət.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-wírtəla tóto*  
*kásla díya.*<sup>1</sup> *mára módit wáða?*<sup>2</sup> *hàyyo!*<sup>1</sup> *hóla hà!*<sup>1</sup> *šqúlla yaláxθa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya d-ənila?*<sup>2</sup> *mára*  
*yaláxθa díyila.*<sup>1</sup> *pθixtəlla xabúša gáwa.*<sup>1</sup> (19) *'o-xabúša pθixtəlle,*<sup>1</sup> *'ina 'isáqθa díya.*<sup>1</sup>  
*mára 'ap-'áyya 'isəqθila.*<sup>1</sup> *kèle mára d-áyya?*<sup>2</sup> *'əni híwəle-lləx?*<sup>2</sup> *díya xanqənnəx!*<sup>1</sup> *mára*  
*klè!*<sup>1</sup> *'ala-kəfəx.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle 'àxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwewele mšudərrəlli.*<sup>1</sup> *kèle?*<sup>2</sup> *'əkəle?*<sup>2</sup> (20) *mára klè.*<sup>1</sup> *'ala-*  
*kəfəx.*<sup>1</sup> *mára díya-məθu jùlli malušúla.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána bsimli*<sup>1</sup> *čú-mdi liθ-biyi.*<sup>1</sup> *móθi jùlla díya,*<sup>1</sup>  
*kúlla qəm-malušúla 'ólla díya.*<sup>1</sup> (21) *hadíya mərə*<sup>1</sup> *xábra plitlə*<sup>1</sup> *mára tóto mbusmála*  
*brāt-málka.*<sup>1</sup> *mára b-šàlyən*<sup>1</sup> *b-tápqən biye.*<sup>1</sup> *xázəx mò-t-awəð,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-ta-t-šáqlən maw'əd*<sup>1</sup>  
*xazəxle.*<sup>1</sup> *'ámra*<sup>1</sup> *se-múr tla-bàbi*<sup>1</sup> *t-àθi*<sup>1</sup> *m̄paltíli m-àxxa-w*<sup>1</sup> *t-ázən sàxyən,*<sup>1</sup> *lósən jùlli.*<sup>1</sup>  
*'ána hon-bsimta.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *zìltəla tóto*<sup>1</sup> *mára málka,*<sup>1</sup> *málka,*<sup>1</sup> *mbusmáli brátux.*<sup>1</sup> *'áp-awwa*  
*šaqúlla dā-kista qa-d-áy,*<sup>1</sup> *yawəlla qa-d-áy.*<sup>1</sup> *hár mkapáštət kisyáθət dāwəla tóto.*<sup>1</sup> *hè,*<sup>1</sup>  
*wíðta šùləla tóto.*<sup>1</sup> *mára māsxola,*<sup>1</sup> *malušúla jùlla-díya*<sup>1</sup> *'u-díya t-àθyən.*<sup>1</sup> *'itli šúla.*<sup>1</sup>  
(23) *kizle málka*<sup>1</sup> *mòdila qásšət?*<sup>2</sup> *'ati kli!*<sup>1</sup> *'ənən wáða šúla díya.*<sup>1</sup> *šitəla.*<sup>1</sup> *'ámra t̄lále*  
*díye qù!*<sup>1</sup> *drəšt̄ila qásšət.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla bsimta.*<sup>1</sup> *qù!*<sup>1</sup> *báya xazyàlux.*<sup>1</sup>

(16) He said 'No. (Take) this apple.' He laid out the handkerchief and cut the apple. He put his (his son's) ring in it and tied the apple in the handkerchief by itself. He said 'Take this apple and this handkerchief. Convey them to her and see what she does, then come back and tell me. When you come back, I'll give you another purse like that one.' (17) She said 'By all means. I'll be there and back at once.' She went up (to see her). She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around naked in the rooms. She (the old woman) waves the handkerchief before her eyes from a distance like this. She (gradually) came up and up and up and up. When she came near to her and she saw it, she saw the handkerchief, she seemed<sup>8</sup> to become she became a little calmer. (18) It seems, there is something in the story. The old woman went (into the room) to her. She said 'What are you doing? Come! Here it is! Take the handkerchief.' 'Whose is it?' She said that it was her handkerchief. She opened it and the apple was in it. (19) She opened up the apple and there was her ring. She said 'This ring is also mine.<sup>9</sup> Where is the owner of this? Who has given it to you? I'll throttle you right now.' She said 'Wait! Calm down. He is here. It was he who sent me.' 'Where is he? Where is he?' (20) She said 'Wait. Calm down.' She said 'Now bring my clothes and put them on me. I am cured. Nothing is the matter with me.' Her clothes were brought. They put them all on her. (21) Now, they said, the word went out and they said 'The old woman has cured the daughter of the king.' She said 'I'll go down and meet him. Let's see what he will do. (I'll go down) to make an appointment, let's see him.' She says 'Go and tell my father (to give instructions) for them to come and release me from here. I'll go to wash and put on my clothes. I am cured.' (22) The old woman went and said 'Oh King, oh king, I have cured your daughter.' He takes a purse for her and gives it to her. The old woman is all the time collecting bags of gold. Yes, the old woman made (good) business. She says 'Bath her, dress her in her clothes and I'll be back right away. I have something to do.' (23) The king tried (to ask) 'What is happening?' 'You stop (asking questions). I am in charge of her business.' She went down and says to him (the other king) 'Get up! Things have turned out well. She is cured. Get up! She wants to see you.'

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<sup>8</sup> Literally: as you would say.

<sup>9</sup> Literally: Also this is my ring.



(24) qímela sìqe.<sup>1</sup> tóto síqtela kəs-màlka.<sup>1</sup> móra lan-<sup>2</sup>ána mbusámtella brátux.<sup>1</sup> móra 'íθ 'ó-naša t-wéwa... 'áyya là-yāða.<sup>1</sup> xášwa 'àwile.<sup>1</sup> móra 'o-yálat bāyàwale<sup>1</sup> hóle 'əθya-w.<sup>1</sup> qəm-yawálla yaləxθa 'šlli.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>áyyela kùlla.<sup>1</sup> 'ána hadíya m-kəslən θáya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-báyye 'áθe xazélux<sup>1</sup> 'u-qa-t xazéla bràta-ži.<sup>1</sup> (25) 'òy,<sup>1</sup> móre se-múr... 'əxni šáləx qamóθe díye.<sup>1</sup> 'əxni šáləx qamóθe díye.<sup>1</sup> qímela šálye qamóθe díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-múθyalle músqəlle dáwla-w zòrna-w<sup>1</sup> hósa 'u-gargàrta<sup>1</sup> 'u-musqəlle kəs-màlka.<sup>1</sup> tíwela mšawòθe.<sup>1</sup> (26) málka móre hà<sup>1</sup> de-mùrri.<sup>1</sup> xázəx mòdila qəššət.<sup>1</sup> móre 'amrənnux.<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'úwən bábə d-o-yála.<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'úwən málka,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-diyux.<sup>1</sup> 'u-móre bróni 'u-brátux xəzyela ġəðəðe<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ána 'əθyən xðàra,<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>aláha qəm-matβqli bíya díya 'əxxa.<sup>1</sup> škíra 'aláha díya bsímila.<sup>1</sup> (27) hadíya mòdít mára.<sup>2</sup> hon-<sup>2</sup>əθya t-yawótila nablənnna ta-bróni.<sup>1</sup> max-<sup>2</sup>t-íla brátux mšuyðànta,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-àw,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-lá-<sup>2</sup>azən mšəyðəm.<sup>1</sup> móre dùs-it.<sup>1</sup> qímela-w mírtəlla bràta-w<sup>1</sup> xðíθela ràba-w<sup>1</sup> max-d-an-ġúmle t-wéwa níbla mənne díye max-d-áni xéne híwle bába ílála díya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mū tənna<sup>1</sup> 'u-šwiqála mòdita-w dərġa ta-<sup>2</sup>aθrəy.<sup>1</sup> (28) hadíya dīrəla,<sup>1</sup> xà-yoma,<sup>1</sup> trè-yome,<sup>1</sup> t̀l̀àθa.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela,<sup>1</sup> plíte bārquł mđitèy.<sup>1</sup> 'ina mđitèy kùlla mxíθa l-kòma,<sup>1</sup> báte kòme,<sup>1</sup> jùllət náše kòme,<sup>1</sup> kùlla kòmewa.<sup>1</sup> 'əjīb!<sup>1</sup> mòdila qəššattéxu.<sup>2</sup> (29) 'ámra bábí xázəx 'áyya mđitèxu kùlla hola-mxíθa kòma.<sup>1</sup> mòdila qəššattéxu.<sup>2</sup> t-ámrx l-mìla,<sup>1</sup> hóya mxíθa l-mìla.<sup>1</sup> 'ədlele dámrxəx 'əxxa.<sup>1</sup> (30) 'áw báyye t-yāðe,<sup>1</sup> xáze mòdila qəššət.<sup>1</sup> təmməl šáləx.<sup>1</sup> 'əxni 'ádət díyən hàtxela.<sup>1</sup> qam-dàna<sup>1</sup> yáwəx xàbra<sup>1</sup> ta-t-pálġi l-qamòθəm<sup>1</sup> mašlélən b-iqàra.<sup>1</sup> 'ána málkən.<sup>1</sup> (31) 'áy dmìxtela,<sup>1</sup> 'áw mšüdrele,<sup>1</sup> 'əθyele xa-mən-zarəye.<sup>1</sup> qəryəlle,<sup>1</sup> móre ta-mòdila 'áyya mđita hàtxa.<sup>2</sup> 'áw lèle đíya málkəle.<sup>1</sup> móre lè-yāðət módi bərya.<sup>2</sup> xa-qəššət rába mašəmàntela.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən xa-màlka.<sup>1</sup> hàðəx-iwa xóš-naša.<sup>1</sup> hàðəx-iwa spəy.<sup>1</sup> náše bāyiwale.<sup>1</sup>

(24) They went up (to see her). The old woman went up to the king. She said 'It was not me who cured your daughter'. She said 'There is the man who...'. She does not know. She thinks it is him. She said 'The young man whom she loved has come and has given me her handkerchief. That's all. I am now coming back from him and he wants to come to see you and to see also the girl.' (25) 'Oh' he said 'Go and say we shall come down to meet him. We shall come down to meet him.' They went down to meet him and brought him up (with) drum and pipe, clamour and shouting. They brought him up to the king and they sat talking. (26) The king said 'Oh, tell me, let's hear<sup>10</sup> what the story is.' He said 'I'll tell you. I am the father of that boy. I am a king, like you.' He said 'My son and your daughter saw each other. I came looking and God caused me to find her here. Thank God she has now recovered. (27) Now, what do you say? I have come for you to give her away so that I may take her to my son. Just as your daughter has gone mad, he also, if I do not go back, will go mad.' He said 'You are right'. They went and told the girl and she became very happy. Like the camels that he had brought with him, her father gave her others like these. They loaded them, then they left the town and returned to their land. (28) Now, they returned. (After) one, two, three days they came out opposite their town. But, their town was all covered in black. Black houses, black clothes of people, they were all black. 'How odd! What has happened to you?'<sup>11</sup> (29) She says 'Father, we see that this town of yours is all covered in black. What has happened to you?'—'Let's say in blue, let's say it was covered in blue'<sup>12</sup>—'Tonight let us sleep here'. (30) He wants to know, find out what had happened. Tomorrow we shall go down. Such is our custom. Beforehand we give word for them to come out to meet us, to bring us down (into the town) with honour. I am a king. (31) (When) she fell asleep, he sent (a messenger) and one of the farmers came. He called to him and said 'Why is this town like this?' He did not know that he was the king. He said 'Do you not know what has happened? It is a very sad story. We had a king. He was such a good man. He was so good. The people used to love him.

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<sup>10</sup> Literally: Let's see.

<sup>11</sup> Literally: What is your story.

<sup>12</sup> Literally: Let it be covered in blue.

(32) 'áwwa máłka díyan zúlele.<sup>1</sup> mən-d-ó-yōm t-íle zúla,<sup>1</sup> zúlele məθóye xa-bráta ta-brónə díye,<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yōm t-íle plíta<sup>1</sup> brónə díye mīθele.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áxni-ži lác muqúme m-báθre díye máłka<sup>1</sup> 'u-máxyəxəlla máθən kúlla l-múla-w l-kóma m-báθre díye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'é-ga max-urəxla ta-t-dáyər<sup>1</sup> (33) móre hátxela qáşşət.<sup>2</sup> móre brónə díye mīθele.<sup>1</sup> móre hé hóle mīθa brōn-díye.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər sí-mur ta-pállən wázūr<sup>1</sup> múrgena máłka θèle.<sup>1</sup> báyyən lá-'aθi b-xāşša<sup>1</sup> 'u-bxáya-w jnāna.<sup>1</sup> 'áθi b-dáwla-w zórna-w tópe-w 'əstəqbāl rāsmi.<sup>1</sup> labáyyən 'áyya bráta t-in-múθyəlla t-yáða qá-t tliba díya hóle mīθa.<sup>1</sup> (34) zúlele,<sup>1</sup> móre tla-wázūr<sup>1</sup> mđíta báyyənna mbádla jálde kúlla 'ax-qaməye,<sup>1</sup> muxwàrta.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa kóma šàqəl.<sup>1</sup> hadíya,<sup>1</sup> híwəle xábra tla-wázūr<sup>1</sup> har-b-ò-lele.<sup>1</sup> kúlla mđíta máxyəlla šùbuğ,<sup>1</sup> píştela xwàrta,<sup>1</sup> max-qaməye.<sup>1</sup> (35) 'u-murízela mbádla jálde<sup>1</sup> síqela 'əstəqbāl t-málka,<sup>1</sup> xéna 'ax-t-óði 'əstəqbāl t-málke,<sup>1</sup> b-iqàra-w<sup>1</sup> 'áyya hóla mparəje,<sup>1</sup> káza xyàra hátxa<sup>1</sup> ta-t-xazyále tliba díye,<sup>1</sup> lèla xzayəlle.<sup>1</sup> (36) mára bábí tómməl 'áyya mđíta xu-kòmta-wawə.<sup>2</sup> xázəx 'ədyo hóla xwàrta.<sup>1</sup> móre bràti,<sup>1</sup> 'áy t-ix-'əθye kəxə<sup>1</sup> hádəx qam-'ənəx mubyənna.<sup>1</sup> har-xwàrta wáwa.<sup>1</sup> dīrele,<sup>1</sup> 'ay-káza xyàra,<sup>1</sup> mára k'əle brónux.<sup>2</sup> xázəx xzayəlle.<sup>1</sup> léle hràwa.<sup>1</sup> lè-yāðən 'ap-'ána.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-móra bálki 'adətəy hátxela<sup>1</sup> lá-hoya yóma qamáya xətna t-xazéla k'əlo.<sup>1</sup> (37) xéna šlīθela,<sup>1</sup> síqtela.<sup>1</sup> músqəlla gu-tábaq t-tlāθa,<sup>1</sup> gu-'otàxa díya.<sup>1</sup> móre 'otəxəxila.<sup>1</sup> xulamwáθa l-áy-gota 'u-l-əyya.<sup>1</sup> 'áv šəlyele kəs-báxte díye.<sup>1</sup> mšúryela bxáya,<sup>1</sup> mxáya l-ganəy<sup>1</sup> 'u-rmáya ganəy.<sup>1</sup> (38) hadíya xə-yoma-w,<sup>1</sup> trè,<sup>1</sup> tla,<sup>1</sup> káza 'áyya xyàra b-panjarəye,<sup>1</sup> xazyále tliba wára plàta,<sup>1</sup> 'əp-xa léla-xzaya.<sup>1</sup> mōdila qəşşátte.<sup>2</sup> píşla qúrbat xə-yarxa<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga máłka móre tla-báxte<sup>1</sup> mó-t-oya 'əyya.<sup>2</sup> 'ay-báxta hox-múθyəlla.<sup>1</sup> gárəg 'amrəx.<sup>1</sup> (39) 'ay-xá-yoma har-t-yāða<sup>1</sup> t-íle mīθa brōnən.<sup>1</sup> lác mšáya 'ázəx 'amrəxla.<sup>1</sup> báya pəşša,<sup>1</sup> pəşša 'áy 'əxxa,<sup>1</sup> b-šəpət brōnən<sup>1</sup> t-óya malákθa b-šəpi 'iman-t-'ána mēθən.<sup>1</sup> 'u-báya dərə l-béθət bába díya,<sup>1</sup> mattónna xá-ga xəta,<sup>1</sup> 'àna mādərónna.<sup>1</sup>

(32) This king of ours went away. From the day that he went, went to bring a girl for his son,—on the day he left, his son died. We have not installed (another) king after him but have covered all our village with blue and black after he left.<sup>13</sup> We shall make it white when he returns.’

(33) He said ‘Is that the story?’ He said ‘Did his son die?’ He said ‘Yes, his son died’. He says ‘Go and tell the minister so-and-so, say the king has come back. I do not want them to come in sadness, weeping and singing dirges. Let them come with the drum and pipe and with guns, in an official reception. I do not want this girl whom I have brought to know that her betrothed has died.’

(34) He went and said to the minister ‘(By) early morning I want all the town as (it was) before, made white. Let the black be removed. Now, he gave word to the minister on the same night. They painted the whole town and it became white like before. (35) They lined up in the early morning and went up to receive the king, as they (customarily) receive kings, with honour, while she was watching, peering like this to see her betrothed, but she does not see him. She says ‘Father, was this town not black yesterday? We see today that it is white.’

(36) He said ‘My daughter, it is because we were tired that it appeared like that to your eyes. It was always white.’ She looks in vain and says ‘Where is your son? Let’s see him.’ He does not tell. ‘I also do not know’. She said ‘Perhaps their custom is that on the first day the groom is not allowed to see the bride.’

(37) Then she went down and went up (to the palace). He took her up to the third floor, to her room. He said ‘It is your room’. There were servants on this side and that. He went down to his wife. They began weeping, beating themselves and putting ash on themselves.

(38) Now, one day, two, three, she looks in vain from the windows to see her betrothed coming and going, but sees nobody. What has happened to him?<sup>14</sup> Almost a month went by (since their arrival) and then the king said to his wife ‘What will become of her? We have brought that woman. We must tell (her).

(39) She will surely know one day that our son is dead. We cannot go and tell her. If she wants to stay, let her stay here in the place of our son and she will be queen in my place when I die. But, if she wants to return to her father’s house, I shall put her again (on a camel) and return her.’

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<sup>13</sup> Literally: after him.

<sup>14</sup> Literally: What is his story?

(40) xulàşa,<sup>1</sup> qóryalle wǎzūr-díye ʔu-xákma guràne<sup>1</sup> ʔu-báxte díye.<sup>1</sup> ʔaw-qímele síqele kásla díya.<sup>1</sup> wíre kásla díya<sup>1</sup> tìwela.<sup>1</sup> máre tū-brati,<sup>1</sup> tū.<sup>1</sup> báyyan mşáwθan mənñax.<sup>1</sup> ʔítli xákma xabráne t-amrənnax.<sup>1</sup> xèrila?<sup>1</sup> mòdila bábi?<sup>1</sup> (41) máre dusùtha báyyat,<sup>1</sup> ʔó-yoma t-in ʔána zíla xđára bārəx qa-t-meyənnax<sup>1</sup> ʔó-yoma bróni mīθele.<sup>1</sup> ʔáy-məra dāx mīθele?<sup>1</sup> máre mīθele.<sup>1</sup> máre díya θéli báyyan ʔamrənnax<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa xà-yarxa<sup>1</sup> ʔàxçi máşəx maspəríxləx.<sup>1</sup> lá maspəríxləx bi-zāwda.<sup>1</sup> (42) ʔn-māxóbət pészət ʔàxxa,<sup>1</sup> ʔáti pészət malákθa šòpi<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áwəwa ʔàθra.<sup>1</sup> ʔn-báyyat ʔázət déyət tla-béθət bābəx,<sup>1</sup> támml mādərənnax.<sup>1</sup> bróni mīθele.<sup>1</sup> šwíqəlla xáye biyəx.<sup>1</sup> mşuréla bxàya.<sup>1</sup> xéna mò-t-òða dé-u?<sup>1</sup> (43) xárθa mára là?<sup>1</sup> lá-báyyan dèrən.<sup>1</sup> ʔána báyyan şálat banáti dā-ʔótəx rəş-qáwre díye.<sup>1</sup> kúlla záwni b-xáye t-áwəyən<sup>1</sup> hál ʔo-yómət ʔáp-ana mēθən<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mattili kəsle.<sup>1</sup> ʔàxxa,<sup>1</sup> támma,<sup>1</sup> mára ʔəyyela,<sup>1</sup> çú-mdi xéna liθən.<sup>1</sup> (44) qímele şəlyele bənyəlla dā-ʔótəx<sup>1</sup> rəş-qáwəwət bróne díye.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-píştela bxàya.<sup>1</sup> píştela bxàya,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bxàya,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bxàya,<sup>1</sup> xà-yoma-w<sup>1</sup> trè-u<sup>1</sup> xa-yarxa-w<sup>1</sup> xá-bena ʔan-tre-maláxe t-wéwa ʔəθye biya,<sup>1</sup> t-wéwa mutəpəqəlla b-gđàðe,<sup>1</sup> θéla pyáða táma tàma.<sup>1</sup> xá-mənna máre ʔáwəwa mò-qalət bəxyele?<sup>1</sup> (45) ʔo-xéna máre la-yáðət mo-qalət bəxyele?<sup>1</sup> txárət ʔan-xa-tré t-mutəpəqəwələn bə-gđàðe?<sup>1</sup> hè.<sup>1</sup> máre ʔu-xaráyə tliba díya qəm-şaqłəxle.<sup>1</sup> ʔáy pişla.<sup>1</sup> ʔəyya hóla θíθa ʔàxxa.<sup>1</sup> hóla mīθyəlla.<sup>1</sup> hóla mára ʔàxxa t-óyən<sup>1</sup> hál-ʔo-yómət mēθən.<sup>1</sup> ʔəyya<sup>1</sup> ʔəşti-şənne xéne xəyála.<sup>1</sup> yáni ʔəşti-şənne xéne t-óya rəş-d-é-gora tūwəta bxàya.<sup>1</sup> (46) máre módi báyyat t-dəðəx?<sup>1</sup> baqrəxla.<sup>1</sup> ʔn-hóya rázi şənna díya pəlála,<sup>1</sup> pəlga tla-d-áy ʔu-pəlga tla-d-àw,<sup>1</sup> maqiməxle.<sup>1</sup> xáyí m-gđàðe<sup>1</sup> tlati şənne-w<sup>1</sup> méθi m-gđàðe.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔən-là,<sup>1</sup> har-ʔàxxa t-óya ʔəşti şənne.<sup>1</sup>

(40) In the end he called his minister and a few courtiers and his wife. He went up to her. He entered her room.<sup>15</sup> and they sat down. He said ‘Sit, my daughter, sit. I want to speak with you. I have a few words to say to you.’ ‘Is everything all right?’<sup>16</sup> What is it, father?’ (41) He said ‘If you want the truth, on the day I went off to look for you to bring you (here) my son died.’ She said ‘What do you mean?’<sup>17</sup> “He died”?! He said ‘He died.’ He said ‘Now I have come and want to tell you that we can only make you wait this one month. We shall not make you wait more. (42) If you would like to stay here, you will become queen in my place in this land. If you want to go and return to the house of your father, I shall send you back tomorrow. My son is dead. He has left his life to you.’<sup>18</sup> She began to weep. What else would she do? (43) Then she said ‘No. I do not want to return. I want you to go down and build a room over his grave, (in which I shall be) all the time that I am alive until the day that I also die and they put me with him. They tried all ways<sup>19</sup> (to convince her to change her decision), but she said ‘That is it. There is nothing else (that is possible)’. (44) He went down and built a room over the grave of his son. She continued weeping. She continued weeping and weeping and weeping, one day, two, one month. Then, those two angels who had brought her, who had caused them to meet each other, came passing by. One of them said ‘What sound of weeping is this?’ (45) The other said ‘Do you not know what sound of weeping it is? Do you remember the couple that we brought together?’ ‘Yes’. He said ‘and in the end we took her betrothed and she remained alive. This girl has come here. They brought her. She says ‘I shall stay here until the day I die’. She will live another sixty years. That is, she will stay another sixty years weeping over that grave.’ (46) He said ‘What do you want us to do?’ ‘Let’s ask her. If she is happy to share her years, half for her and half for him, we shall resurrect him. They will live together thirty years and die together. If not, she will stay here for sixty years.’

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<sup>15</sup> Literally: He entered to her.

<sup>16</sup> Literally: Is it good?

<sup>17</sup> Literally: how.

<sup>18</sup> I.e. may the years that remained to him be added to your life.

<sup>19</sup> Literally: here and here.

(47) *wírela kàsla,*<sup>1</sup> *dóryalla šlàma.*<sup>1</sup> *šlàma-llax!*<sup>1</sup> *b-šéna b-tawàtha!*<sup>1</sup> *mòditu wáða*<sup>1</sup>  
*’áxxa.*<sup>2</sup> *m-èkitu θáya.*<sup>2</sup> *móra tù.*<sup>1</sup> *màra!*<sup>1</sup> *’áxni malàxax.*<sup>1</sup> *’áwewa gàwɾax!*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mītha.*<sup>1</sup>  
*’áxniš šqílalle.*<sup>1</sup> *’áti ’áští-šonne xéne ’áxxa b-xáyət!*<sup>1</sup> *’áští-šonne t-óyət ’áxxa tíwta bxáya*<sup>1</sup>  
*rəš-d-áyya qòra.*<sup>2</sup> *móra hè.*<sup>1</sup> *lá ’áští-šonne,*<sup>1</sup> *tre-’ammà-šonne!*<sup>1</sup> *’áxxa t-òyən.*<sup>1</sup> (48) *móra*<sup>1</sup>  
*’ùlən xá-məndi báyax t-odáxxe tlàlax.*<sup>1</sup> *’áští-šonne ràbela!*<sup>1</sup> *t-oyət tíwta ’áxxa báyət*<sup>1</sup>  
*qátłət gànax.*<sup>1</sup> *móra mòdile?*<sup>2</sup> *móra ’áti b-xáyət ’áští-šonne xéne.*<sup>1</sup> *’ən-pālátla šənnax!*<sup>1</sup>  
*tláθi tlàlax,*<sup>1</sup> *tláθi tla-d-àw,*<sup>1</sup> *maqimàxle.*<sup>1</sup> *mòdit mára.*<sup>2</sup> (49) *’ámra xzi.*<sup>1</sup> *’àna!*<sup>1</sup> *’áxcí*<sup>1</sup>  
*xoš-qáyəm!*<sup>1</sup> *xazyánne xàmša daqíqe,*<sup>1</sup> *’an-xéne kúlla tla-d-àw.*<sup>1</sup> *móra là,*<sup>1</sup> *là-hoya.*<sup>1</sup>  
*tláθi tlàlax,*<sup>1</sup> *tláθi tla-d-àw.*<sup>1</sup> *báyət,*<sup>1</sup> *spây.*<sup>1</sup> *là-báyət...*<sup>1</sup> *móra rəzin!*<sup>1</sup> *móra rəzít?*<sup>1</sup>  
*móra rəzin.*<sup>1</sup> (50) *’áni plitela-w!*<sup>1</sup> *’áw qiméle.*<sup>1</sup> *mšuréla nšáqa gđàðe.*<sup>1</sup> *blígela b-gđàðe.*<sup>1</sup>  
*hádax dmíxela-w tliyela.*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna kut-qedámta!*<sup>1</sup> *xadámta d-e-bráta meθyáwala çày!*<sup>1</sup>  
*’u-támta,*<sup>1</sup> *’u-γ-àsqa.*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna ma-t-íla xmíle b-gđàðe,*<sup>1</sup> *dmíxe-w tliyela,*<sup>1</sup> *xpíqe gđàðe.*<sup>1</sup>  
(51) *’áyya šliθela!*<sup>1</sup> *pθixtalle tára,*<sup>1</sup> *wirtela hátxa ’ína hóle xa-šazáda dmíxa kásla*<sup>1</sup>  
*díya!*<sup>1</sup> *móra ’áyya m-hátxewa mára,*<sup>1</sup> *’áyya m-hátxewa mára,*<sup>1</sup> *bnóli ’ótax rəš-qórət*<sup>1</sup>  
*gàwɾi,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-kút-yom xà-mašla kásla díya,*<sup>1</sup> *madəmxa kásla.*<sup>1</sup> (52) *riqla,*<sup>1</sup> *siqla,*<sup>1</sup> *’ámra*<sup>1</sup>  
*tla-málka.*<sup>1</sup> *móre mòdila qáššət?*<sup>2</sup> *móra málka!*<sup>1</sup> *hóle ’íθya nàša.*<sup>1</sup> *bónyət-əlla ’ótax támara!*<sup>1</sup>  
*qá-t mabásma kút-yom xà.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle xa-šoramíta m-áxxa l-támaha!*<sup>1</sup> *dmíxa kásla díya.*<sup>1</sup>  
*mòt mára?*<sup>2</sup> *móra qú šli-xzi.*<sup>1</sup> (53) *qiméle málka-w!*<sup>1</sup> *wázire-w!*<sup>1</sup> *polise-w!*<sup>1</sup> *xórrrr čríkəlle*<sup>1</sup>  
*’aw-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-é šlεθy!*<sup>1</sup> *qátu wirtela!*<sup>1</sup> *’áy šwíqtəlwə májma támara.*<sup>1</sup> *qátu wirtela,*<sup>1</sup>  
*npíltə gu-d-án panjàne!*<sup>1</sup> *mquɾədxela,*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna řišela.*<sup>1</sup> (54) *’é-ga t-íla řiše,*<sup>1</sup> *’ámra qù!*<sup>1</sup>  
*hóla θíθa xulámta.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla xziθəllux ’áti kəslí.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla síqta mára tla-bábux,*<sup>1</sup> *díya t-áθi*<sup>1</sup>  
*permūlən.*<sup>1</sup> *mòt mára?*<sup>2</sup> *móre.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla çây.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla xziθəllux ’áti dmíxa kəslí.*<sup>1</sup> (55) *hadíya,*<sup>1</sup>  
*qiméle.*<sup>1</sup> *lwíša júlle hátxa jálde jálde,*<sup>1</sup> *kályele gu-tárət béθa ’áw ’u-’áy.*<sup>1</sup> *bábe díye*<sup>1</sup>  
*’u-d-áni ’əθyela,*<sup>1</sup> *m-támara rəhqa xyára.*<sup>1</sup> *’áwewa ’ənile?*<sup>2</sup> *’əθyele qurba.*<sup>1</sup> *’o-móre bəbi!*<sup>1</sup>  
*’ànən.*<sup>1</sup> *móre hé brónile,*<sup>1</sup> *hóle qimə.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-’əθyela xpíqe gđàðe,*<sup>1</sup> *nšáqa gđàðe.*<sup>1</sup>

(47) They went into her room and greeted her. 'Greetings to you!' 'Peace and blessings! What are you doing here? Where do you come from?' They said 'Sit down'. They said 'We are angels. This husband of yours has died. It was us who took him. You will live here another sixty years. Will you stay sitting here sixty years over this grave?' She said 'Yes. Not sixty years, two hundred years I shall be here.' (48) They said 'There is something that we want to do for you. Sixty years is too much for you to sit here weeping and destroying yourself.' She said 'What is it?' They said 'You will live another sixty years. If you divide your years, thirty for you and thirty for him, we shall resurrect him. What do you say?' (49) She says 'Look. Just let him rise for me to see him for five minutes, and all the other (sixty years) be for him.' They said 'No. That is not possible. Thirty for you and thirty for him. If you want this, that is fine. If you don't want it, ...' She said 'I am happy (to accept)'. They said 'Are you happy (to accept)?' She said 'I am happy'. (50) They went out and he arose. They began kissing each other. They were (completely) preoccupied with each other. They lay down and slept. Every morning the servant of that girl brought her tea and breakfast, then would go back. How happy they were together, lying down and sleeping, embracing one another. (51) She came down and opened the door, and came in like this and there was a prince lying with her! She said 'It was for this reason, it was for this reason that she said "Build me a room over the grave of my husband", namely in order that she could bring somebody to her every day and cause him to lie with her.' (52) She ran, went up and told the king. He said 'What is the matter?' She said 'King, a man has come. You have built her a room there for her to entertain somebody everyday. A giant from here to there (in size) is lying with her.' 'What are you saying?' She said 'Go down and look'. (53) The king set off (with) the ministers and the police and they surrounded the house. While they were going down, a cat came in. She (the servant) had left a tray there. A cat came in, fell into the glasses, they shattered and they (the prince and princess) woke up. (54) When they woke up, she says 'Get up!. The servant has come. She has seen you with me. She has gone up to tell your father, and now they will come to slaughter us.' 'What are you saying?' he said. 'There is tea. She has seen you lying with me.' (55) Now, he got up. He quickly put on his clothes and stood at the door of the house together with her. His father and the others came and looked from afar. 'Who is he?' He came close. He said 'Father, it is me.' He said 'Yes, it is my son, he has risen (from the dead)' and they came together and embraced and kissed one another.



(56) *bréla dá xadútha gu-d-ò-ʔalma.<sup>1</sup> xa-móndi məʔajbàna.<sup>1</sup> wéla hádax xàðye.<sup>1</sup> qímela músqalla b-dáwla-w zòrna,<sup>1</sup> dréθət tòpe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hádax wídla xlúla.<sup>1</sup> šawwà-yomaθa ʔu-šawwà-lélāwaθa xlúla-wewa.<sup>1</sup> qəm-magwərrɛy.<sup>1</sup> (57) hádax m-bar-t-gwírra,<sup>1</sup> ʔaláha qəm-yawólla xa-bróna.<sup>1</sup> ʔima?<sup>1</sup> ʔé-šetət mèθi.<sup>1</sup> ʔé-šetət méθi qəm-yawólla xa-bróna zòra.<sup>1</sup> hadiya,<sup>1</sup> ʔó-lelət mèθi,<sup>1</sup> holá-ʔəθye tíwe,<sup>1</sup> báxta tíwta l-àyya-gotət més,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-gáwɛra tíwa l-áy-gota.<sup>1</sup> (58) ʔo-yála zóra hóla múttəlle be-pàlga.<sup>1</sup> ʔáy hóla nšàqəlle,<sup>1</sup> nšàqəlle,<sup>1</sup> nšàqəlle,<sup>1</sup> xpáqəlle gu-šádra dīya.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-yáwəlle tla-bábe dīye.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-aw nšàqəlle,<sup>1</sup> nšàqəlle,<sup>1</sup> nšàqəlle.<sup>1</sup> (59) maláxe holá-ʔəθye tíwe l-kàwe.<sup>1</sup> hóla spára l-kàwe,<sup>1</sup> tá-t ʔimət párga dāna,<sup>1</sup> tá-t mattíle ʔo-yála<sup>1</sup> tá-t šaqílile nəšməy.<sup>1</sup> (60) ʔu-hádax ʔíθwa ʔán-xa sobáθət kəslən,<sup>1</sup> buxeriyewa.<sup>1</sup> síqele xákma mən-d-ò-šəmra,<sup>1</sup> wírele gu-naxírət xa-m-maláxe.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-wídəle pəθyo!<sup>1</sup> tpiθele.<sup>1</sup> ʔó-yala zóra móre b-ràxme!<sup>1</sup> ʔax-t-íle míra ʔo-zóra b-ràxme,<sup>1</sup> ʔámər b-ràxme l-bàbux<sup>1</sup> l-yəmmux.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mánna xámšī šónne xéne xəyèla.<sup>1</sup> qímela maláxe dīre.<sup>1</sup> šwiqáli táma ʔu-θéli làxxa.<sup>1</sup>*

(56) A (great) joy arose among the people, something remarkable. They became so happy. They brought them up (to the palace) with drum and pipe and the firing of rifles. In this way they held the wedding. The wedding was for seven days and seven nights. He married them. (57) So, after they married, God gave them a son. When? The year they were to die. The year they were to die, He gave them a small son. Now, the night they were to die, they came and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side. (58) They put the small child in the middle. She is kissing and kissing and kissing him and hugging him to her breast. Then she gives him to his father. He also kisses and kisses and kisses him. (59) The angels have come and have sat by the window. They are waiting by the window for the time to finish, for them to put down the child so that they could take away their soul. (60) There were stoves in our community that were smoke ducts. Some of the soot went up and entered the nose of one of the angels. He went 'achoo!' He sneezed. The little boy said 'Bless you!' When the little one said 'Bless you', he (the angel) said 'Bless your father and mother. May each live another fifty years. The angels got up and returned. I have left it there and come here.

## A5 THE COOKING POT

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) málla Naṣrādīn xá-ga bāyéwa mbašlwa páča.<sup>1</sup> líθwale quşárta.<sup>1</sup> móre ṭla-báxte diye<sup>1</sup> qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwən<sup>1</sup> méθe ḏa-quşárta<sup>1</sup> mbásləx xáčča páča.<sup>1</sup> zilla,<sup>1</sup> muḥyála quşárta,<sup>1</sup> mbušlilla páča.<sup>1</sup> (2) ’ámər bəxta,<sup>1</sup> ’áyya quşárta rəba šapirta,<sup>1</sup> rəba zála ləbbi-’əlla.<sup>1</sup> móra béna quşártət šwàwən-ila,<sup>1</sup> mò-t-odət bíya.<sup>1</sup> móre b-xšàwən<sup>1</sup> ’áyya quşárta<sup>1</sup> hár gārəg-máte ’əlli-xa-ga.<sup>1</sup> móra mò t-amrílən šwàwən.<sup>2</sup> móre ’áti lítləx šùla.<sup>1</sup> la-gályət!<sup>1</sup> (3) móra lá mo-šùli.<sup>2</sup> kú-mdi báyət wəḏ.<sup>1</sup> móre də-qú ’áyya quşárta zórta mətala<sup>1</sup> máttula gáwa diya<sup>1</sup> ’u-nábəlla ṭla-be-šwàwən.<sup>1</sup> móre là?<sup>1</sup> ’ána nablənna.<sup>1</sup> móre mətə!<sup>1</sup> (4) qímtəla zílta,<sup>1</sup> muθéθəlla quşárta diya.<sup>1</sup> ’a-zórta muttáθəlla gu-d-é quşártət šwàwə<sup>1</sup> ’u-nubəltəlla.<sup>1</sup> hadiya,<sup>1</sup> ’áw qu-šqúlla quşárta-w<sup>1</sup> sí be-šwàwəw.<sup>1</sup> šláma-lləxu šwàwə.<sup>1</sup> móra b-šəna.<sup>1</sup> (5) móre hóla muḥyáli quşartəxu.<sup>1</sup> θíθəla xzítəlla móra šwàwa<sup>1</sup> ’ay-zórta mòdi gáwa.<sup>1</sup> móre šwàwə,<sup>1</sup> lá-mərexu ’áyya quşárta hóla b-’úrxa.<sup>2</sup> zilla kəslən mubrəla.<sup>1</sup> (6) quşárta mətə mabərya?<sup>1</sup> móre mətə?<sup>1</sup> bas-’ána zodəntə-lləxu<sup>1</sup> quşárta mənni t-muθéli lləxu.<sup>1</sup> quşartəxu b-’úrxa-wəwə<sup>1</sup> mubrəla kəslən.<sup>1</sup> diya muθéli quşárta xéta.<sup>1</sup> (7) ’u-dwíqla rəqqi.<sup>1</sup> gáwəra móre də-šúqla<sup>1</sup> béna ’aw-múḥyəlla ḏa-quşárta xéta.<sup>1</sup> ’at-mə-ləx.<sup>2</sup> mur-hè dūs-íwət.<sup>1</sup> qímtə šqíltə quşárta,<sup>1</sup> háwət basíma rəba,<sup>1</sup> ’u-zílele málla.<sup>1</sup> (8) píšəle ḏa-šábθə xéta,<sup>1</sup> ’ámər ṭla-báxte sa-méθala quşártət šwàwə.<sup>1</sup> mur-báyəx mbásləx páčə gáwa.<sup>1</sup> qímtəla bəxta zílta ṭlìbtəlla.<sup>1</sup> hal-jálde jálde móra,<sup>1</sup> bálki mabərya tərte-xene.<sup>1</sup> híwəlla quşárta ta-mállə.<sup>1</sup> málla mùḥyəlla.<sup>1</sup> lèle wíḏa páča,<sup>1</sup> mṭüşyəlla quşárta.<sup>1</sup> (9) xə-yoma,<sup>1</sup> trè,<sup>1</sup> ṭlāθa,<sup>1</sup> xə-yarxa.<sup>1</sup> hadiya,<sup>1</sup> gáwəra móre ṭla-bəxta<sup>1</sup> kèla quşárta.<sup>2</sup> móra núbəlla málla.<sup>1</sup> móre sə-mətəla.<sup>1</sup> qímtəla zílta móra šwəta,<sup>1</sup> kèle málla.<sup>2</sup> móra hóle gu-bətə.<sup>1</sup> málla kèla quşárta.<sup>2</sup> hon-θíθə bəθra diya.<sup>1</sup> ’áyy!<sup>1</sup>

## A5 THE COOKING POT

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) Once mullah Naşradin wanted to cook *pača*. He did not have a cooking pot. He said to his wife ‘Go to our neighbours and bring a cooking pot so that we can cook some *pača*. She went, brought the cooking pot and cooked the *pača*. (2) He said ‘Wife, this cooking pot is very nice, I like it a lot.’<sup>1</sup> She said ‘But it is the cooking pot of our neighbours. What will you do with it?’ He said ‘I think this cooking pot should eventually belong to me.’ She said ‘What will the neighbours say to us?’ He said ‘That’s not your business. Don’t tell!’ (3) She said ‘No, what business is it of mine? Do whatever you want.’ He said ‘Go and bring the small cooking pot. Put it in it and take it to our neighbours’ house.’ He said ‘No. I shall take it.’ He said ‘Bring it!’ (4) She went and brought her cooking pot. She put the small one in the cooking pot of the neighbours and took it (to her husband). Now, go and take the cooking pot and go to the house of your neighbour!<sup>2</sup> ‘Greetings to you neighbours.’ They said ‘Welcome’. (5) He said ‘I have brought your cooking pot. She (the neighbour) came and saw it and said ‘Neighbour, what is that small one in it.’ He said ‘Neighbours, did you not say that this cooking pot is on the way (to giving birth)? It came to me and gave birth.’ (6) ‘How could it be that a cooking pot has given birth?!’ He said ‘How? But the cooking pot that I have brought you is an extra one for you. Your cooking pot was on the way (to giving birth) and it gave birth in our house. Now, I have brought another cooking pot.’ (7) She persisted, but the husband said ‘Leave it. He has brought another cooking pot. What is the matter with you? Say “Yes, you are right.”’ She went and took the cooking pot, ‘Thank you very much’, and the mullah went away. (8) A week later, he said to his wife ‘Go and bring the cooking pot of the neighbours. Say we want to cook *pače* in it.’ The wife went and requested it. ‘Give it quickly’, she said, ‘Perhaps it will give birth to two others.’ They gave the cooking pot to the mullah. The mullah brought it (home). He did not make *pača* but buried the pot. (9) One day, two, three, a month (went by). Now, the husband said to his wife ‘Where is the cooking pot?’ She said ‘The mullah took it.’ He said ‘Go and bring it.’ She went and said ‘Neighbour, where is the mullah?’ She said ‘He is in the house.’ ‘Mullah, where is the cooking pot? I have come looking for it.’

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: my heart goes to it much.

<sup>2</sup> Imperatives addressed by narrator to the protagonist of the story.

(10) 'ámər pšámən ràba! ṭ-in-màr̀̀lexu! quşartéxu mìθtela.<sup>1</sup> dàx-ila mìθta.<sup>2</sup>  
 'o-t-mabárya lɛ-mà̀yəθ!<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yomət mubrèla! xðèlexu bìya.<sup>1</sup> 'ádyo ṭ-ila mìθta,<sup>1</sup> hótú  
 pšàma 'ə̀lla díya.<sup>1</sup> hóla mìθta.<sup>1</sup> kízla xu-tàmma!<sup>1</sup> móre mìθtela.<sup>1</sup> ṃtumràle-w zìlla.<sup>1</sup>  
 málla píšla quşárta ta-mà̀lla.<sup>1</sup>

(10) 'Oh' he said 'I am very sorry to tell you that your cooking pot is dead.' 'How can it be dead?!' 'What gives birth must die.'<sup>3</sup> The day it gave birth, you rejoiced in it. Today when it has died, you are sad about it. It has died.' She remonstrated 'Surely it is here!' He said 'It has died. He buried it and it disappeared. So, the cooking pot became the mullah's.'

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: 'What gives birth—does it not die.'

A6 A HUNDRED GOLD COINS

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) *xá-ga xèta,*<sup>1</sup> *mállah Naṣṣràdin,*<sup>1</sup> *xázəx mòdi wíða.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-bèṭha wéwa,*<sup>1</sup> *har-zála-w θàya.*<sup>1</sup> *zála-w θàya,*<sup>1</sup> *mára ya-ʔálaha,*<sup>1</sup> *yawətlí ʔemma dáwe.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-hàwa ʔəççi-u ʔəçça maqəlbənnna.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔən-hàwa ʔemma-w-xà-zi,*<sup>1</sup> *la-bəyənna.*<sup>1</sup> *de-šùqla.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔemma gárəg háwa drəst.*<sup>1</sup> (2) *b-álaha hóle zála-w θàya,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔithwale xá-šwawwa huḍàya,*<sup>1</sup> *mašóthe ʔille dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *máre xázəx ʔawwa dūs-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *qémən mjarbənnne.*<sup>1</sup> *síqa l-gàre,*<sup>1</sup> *dóryele ʔəççi-u ʔəçça dáwe gu-ḍa-kista,*<sup>1</sup> *dórya b-kàwele.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔá báxta hàyyo!*<sup>1</sup> *hóle ʔaláha qəm-mšadərrən.*<sup>1</sup> (3) *muθéθela mājma.*<sup>1</sup> *msúrgəlla píšela mnáyalla l-xà-xa.*<sup>1</sup> *plíṭla ʔəççi-u ʔəçça.*<sup>1</sup> *trè,*<sup>1</sup> *trè,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəççi-u ʔəçça.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəšra,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəšra,*<sup>1</sup> *hàr-ʔəççi-u ʔəçça.*<sup>1</sup> *klèla,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔámər báxta dūs-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaláha là-xaləṭ.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəççi-u ʔəçça,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəxçi ʔána max-xšàwti,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya kista hóle mxožəbnəlla max-xà.*<sup>1</sup> *ha-šqul,*<sup>1</sup> *máttula tāmàha.*<sup>1</sup> (4) *huḍàya l-gàre ʔwírele l-pəlga,*<sup>1</sup> *yába ʔənən mšúdrəlla!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáy kálba ʔámər táma l-gàre mašóthe,*<sup>1</sup> *báyət šaqláṭla ʔap-ʔanna.*<sup>1</sup> *mrazgət gənux.*<sup>1</sup> *təmməl t-ásqəx kəs-qàzi.*<sup>1</sup> *huḍàya ʔəççi-u ʔəçça dáwe zile mənne,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəka t-áṭya šənthe?*<sup>1</sup> *hal-qedámta šənthe la-ṭèla.*<sup>1</sup> *hár-wele zála-w θàya.*<sup>1</sup> (5) *mállu múttəlle réše dmíxa.*<sup>1</sup> *ṭlīya,*<sup>1</sup> *kéfe basímta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-dáwe xo-rèše.*<sup>1</sup> *sáət ʔšta mbàdla ʔəṭyele huḍàya wáða təq-təq-təq l-tàra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-qàre l-tàra mòdila qəššət?*<sup>1</sup> (6) *pṭixəlle tára mállu,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔína huḍàya lwíša kášxa-w jülle xàṭe.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xmárte dīye msúrgəlla-w wíðəlla tàza.*<sup>1</sup> *ṭla-mòdila ʔáyya?*<sup>1</sup> *máre t-ásqəx kəs-qàzi.*<sup>1</sup> *máre sì kálba.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána là-ʔaṭən mənnox.*<sup>1</sup> *ṭla-mò la-ʔáṭət mənni?*<sup>1</sup> *sí là-ʔaṭən mənnox ʔána.*<sup>1</sup> (7) *ṭla-mò?*<sup>1</sup> *mòdila qəššət?*<sup>1</sup> *máre ʔaláha-w náše yàḍi.*<sup>1</sup> *xazéla ʔanna jüllux hətta,*<sup>1</sup> *kášxa-w ʔáyya xmərtux*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-sərga-w*<sup>1</sup> *w-ána b-ánna dašdəše-w*<sup>1</sup> *b-ánna çakəlle-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-šəxtàna-w*<sup>1</sup> *šərt qázi t-yawəlla ṭləlux.*<sup>1</sup>

## A6 A HUNDRED GOLD COINS

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) Let's see what mullah Naşraddin did on another occasion. He was at home, walking up and down,<sup>1</sup> walking up and down, saying 'Oh God, give me a hundred gold pieces. If they are ninety-nine, I shall return them. If they are even one hundred and one, I don't want them. That's that.'<sup>2</sup> They must be exactly a hundred. (2) Well, (while) he was going back and forth, he had a Jewish neighbour who was listening to him. He said 'Let's see whether he is truthful. I'll test him.' He went up to the roof and put ninety-nine gold coins in a bag, then put it by the window. 'Oh, wife, come! Look God has sent it to us.' (3) She brought a tray. They poured them out and began counting them one by one. They came to ninety-nine. (They counted them) two by two, (but still) ninety-nine. Ten by ten, still ninety-nine. He says 'Wife, it is right. God does not make a mistakes. (They are) ninety-nine, but according my opinion, he has reckoned this bag as one. Here take (them). Put them over there.' (4) The Jew on the roof jumped down into their midst 'It was me who sent them!' 'Oh (you) dog' he says 'listening there on the roof! So you want to take these (coins). Prepare yourself. Tomorrow we shall go to the the judge.' The Jew has lost ninety-nine gold coins. How could he sleep? Right up to the morning he did not sleep. He just went up and down. (5) The mullah lay down his head, lay down and slept sweetly,<sup>3</sup> with the gold coins under his head. At six in the morning, the Jew came making a knock-knock-knock at the door. He calls at the door 'What is happening?' (6) The mullah opened the door (and saw) that the Jew was wearing a smart suit and new clothes. He had saddled his donkey and groomed it well.<sup>4</sup> 'What is this for?' He said 'We are going to the judge.' He said 'Go away, dog. I shall not come with you.' 'Why won't you come with me?' 'Go away, I shall not come with you.' (7) 'Why? What is the problem?' He said 'Everybody knows.'<sup>5</sup> They will see these clothes of yours like this, the smart suit and this donkey of yours, with the saddle, while I am in these plain clothes and slippers, all dirty, and the judge will make a sentence in your favour.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: going and coming.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Leave it!

<sup>3</sup> Literally: slept, his pleasure sweet.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: made it beautiful.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: God and people know.



(8) qázi t-awóðla tlàlux,<sup>1</sup> lá-<sup>2</sup>awóðla tlàli.<sup>1</sup> móre là-<sup>2</sup>aθən,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ina júllux hálla tlàli.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-xmártux t-átwəθ <sup>2</sup>ána l-xáša.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>áti lus-júlli<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-t-àsqaθ.<sup>1</sup> hám-<sup>2</sup>ən <sup>2</sup>àsqaθ<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ap-<sup>2</sup>áyya qabül-ila.<sup>1</sup> (9) qímεle <sup>2</sup>aw-lwiša dašdāšət málla,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-čakállət málla,<sup>1</sup> málla lwíšele kášxa d-o-huðàya<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-tíwεle xásət xmàrta,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-sígela kəs-qàzi.<sup>1</sup> síqele kəs-qàzi,<sup>1</sup> wírela šart-qàzi.<sup>1</sup> mòðila qásšət.<sup>2</sup> (10) málla mərə<sup>1</sup> qázi t-áwət basìma.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ána kəmà dána t-in-mšalóye tla-márya <sup>2</sup>álaha<sup>1</sup> ta-t-yawólli <sup>2</sup>əmma dáwe.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>áwəwa huðàya wéle mašyóθe ntára <sup>2</sup>əlli l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>álaha šuxa-l-šómme qəm-mšadərri <sup>2</sup>əčči-u <sup>2</sup>əčča dàwe.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>ána mári baxta,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áp <sup>2</sup>ayya-kista<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>álaha mxožəbnəlla m-gēb-xà-dawa.<sup>1</sup> (11) <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>áwəwa-ži huðàya l-gàre<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>əlla,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ánna dáwe <sup>2</sup>ənən hiwóllux.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-hátxa be-bāxət-ile,<sup>1</sup> yá-qazi t-áwət basìma,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áwəwa huðàya,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni díya gu-pàθux<sup>1</sup> mdāgəl<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-sàru.<sup>1</sup> móre xzi hátxa be-nxəpθele.<sup>1</sup> lá <sup>2</sup>itle nxəpθa.<sup>1</sup> (12) díya t-ámər<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áp <sup>2</sup>anna-júlle t-ilà-llux<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>áyya xmàrta diyila.<sup>1</sup> w-áti xózyəlli <sup>2</sup>ána tíwa l-xáša.<sup>1</sup> huðàya mərə<sup>1</sup> diyila.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ina d-ənila.<sup>2</sup> qázi móre qù<sup>1</sup> kálba brət-kálba huðàya.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ámər sí šart-diyuxile.<sup>1</sup>

(8) The judge will make a decision in your favour, he will not make it in my favour.’ He said ‘I shall not come unless you give your clothes to me<sup>6</sup> and I sit on the back of your donkey. You put on my clothes and we’ll go. If you go (with me), that is acceptable (to me)’. (9) He put on the plain clothes of the mullah and the slippers of the mullah and the mullah put on the smart suit of the Jew, sat on the back of the donkey and they went to the judge. He went to the judge. They entered the court of the judge. ‘What is the case?’ (10) The mullah said ‘Judge, if you please, I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins. This Jew was listening and watching me on the roof. God—praise be to his name—sent me ninety-nine gold coins. I said “Wife, God has reckoned this bag as corresponding to one gold coin.” (11) But this Jew on the roof (said) “No, I gave you these gold coins.” This Jew is so lacking in honour, judge, if you please, that now he will lie to your face and deny it.’ He said ‘Look, he is so shameless. He has no shame. (12) He will say now that also these clothes that are on you and this ass are mine, while you have seen that I was sitting on its back.’ The Jew said ‘They are mine! Who else could they belong to?’ The judge said ‘Get up (and go), Jew, dog son of a dog’. He says (to the mullah) ‘Go (on your way). The judgement is in your favour’.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Literally: but give your clothes to me.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: The judgement is yours.

A7 A MAN CALLED ČUXO

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) *t-amrónnux* *ða-xéta šmma Čuxo-le*.<sup>1</sup> *'áwewa Čúxo xáyē gu-xà-maḥa*,<sup>1</sup> *gu-maḥwàḥa*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrx kàslən*,<sup>1</sup> *gu-Bèrwəx*.<sup>1</sup> *riyət-ðrwewa*,<sup>1</sup> *baqàrewa*.<sup>1</sup> *kùlla-məndi wéwa*.<sup>1</sup> *fāqirəwa*.<sup>1</sup> *šmme diye nášət máḥa y-amrúwale Čuxo*.<sup>11</sup> *'áwewa kú-mdit mšawəḥwa Čuxo*,<sup>1</sup> *Čuxo*,<sup>1</sup> *Čuxo*.<sup>1</sup> (2) *xá-yoma qəryele móre tla-réšət màḥa*<sup>1</sup> *'áwewa šmma mšaxəlpùle*.<sup>1</sup> *'áwewa šmmi Čuxo*,<sup>1</sup> *Čuxo*,<sup>1</sup> *Čuxo*.<sup>1</sup> *mattúli xá-šmma xəna*.<sup>1</sup> *móre yába mšaxəlpáxle šmmux*.<sup>1</sup> *'ázət táwrux pərmətle*.<sup>1</sup> *čədítla kùlla nášət màḥa*<sup>1</sup> *w-áwəḥət həfla*.<sup>1</sup> *t-àxləx*<sup>1</sup> *'u-pərqəx*<sup>1</sup> *'u-šətəx*<sup>1</sup> *'u-rəwəx*.<sup>1</sup> *pərqəx*,<sup>1</sup> *mattəxlux xá-šmma xàḥa*<sup>1</sup> *'u-pàtləx*.<sup>1</sup> (3) *'u-'áwewa-ži zilele*.<sup>1</sup> *príməlle táwre diye*.<sup>1</sup> *mbùšləlle*<sup>1</sup> *'u-kùl-məndi*<sup>1</sup> *'u-múḥyele štəḥa*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-čidele zóre-w gòre*,<sup>1</sup> *móre yába hàyyo*,<sup>1</sup> *'aḥitu*,<sup>1</sup> *čidetu*<sup>1</sup> *ta-mšaxəlpi šmmət Čuxo*<sup>1</sup> *mattúle xá-šmma xəna*.<sup>1</sup> *'ánna-ži 'əḥyela*.<sup>1</sup> *xilela-w*<sup>1</sup> *šətyela*.<sup>1</sup> *mubəsmela-w*<sup>1</sup> *riyela*,<sup>1</sup> *hál sa'ət-xà*,<sup>1</sup> *sa'ət-trə*<sup>1</sup> *bàr pəlgət-léle*.<sup>1</sup> (4) *mšúryela mbarbòze*.<sup>1</sup> *kút qimle-plàḥa*<sup>1</sup> *háwət basíma Čuxo*.<sup>1</sup> *plitlə*,<sup>1</sup> *háwət basíma*,<sup>1</sup> *háwət basíma*,<sup>1</sup> *háwət basíma*<sup>1</sup> *'u-hár šmme píšle Čuxo*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-plitlə*.<sup>1</sup> *'ámər tla-mùxtar*<sup>1</sup> *'ána mòdinwa mírəllux*?<sup>1</sup> *táwri xillux*.<sup>1</sup> *məndi xillux*,<sup>1</sup> *kùlla xilləxu*,<sup>1</sup> *štələxu*,<sup>1</sup> *mubšəmləxu*<sup>1</sup> *hár šmmi wele-Čuxo*.<sup>1</sup> (5) *qiməle dárt-yoma síqele l-gàre*,<sup>1</sup> *'ámər həy*<sup>1</sup> *kút-ile xiləlla xa-rəmšə-məndi*<sup>1</sup> *gu-bəḥi*<sup>1</sup> *'áḥe xarəla gu-bəḥi*.<sup>1</sup> *'əḥyela nášət máḥa kùlla*<sup>1</sup> *'ó-šula wiðəlla*.<sup>1</sup> *'aw-píšele tàma*.<sup>1</sup> *xà-yarxa*,<sup>1</sup> *trə*,<sup>1</sup> *qiməle mkúpšəlla kùlla 'ánna*,<sup>1</sup> *mbùrzəlla*,<sup>1</sup> *dəryəlla gu-xa-ḥəna*.<sup>1</sup> (6) *'u-šəlyele*,<sup>1</sup> *šəlyele*,<sup>1</sup> *šəlyele*,<sup>1</sup> *píšele 'árxa t-xa-šəx*<sup>1</sup> *'arabáya gu-xa-bəriyya*.<sup>1</sup> *múttəlle tene diye qúrbət kəwina d-ó 'arabàya*<sup>1</sup> *'u-túwele*.<sup>1</sup> *Čúxo xa-maxyánət šabiba-w zamára rešàya-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> *túwele b-léle mxáya šabiba rəš-d-ó-tene diye*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xməre l-gòte-diye*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name Čuxo means 'one who wears the woolen *čuxa* garment'.

## A7 A MAN CALLED ČUXO

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) I shall tell you another one called Čuxo. This Čuxo lives in a village, let's say in one of the villages of our community in Barwar. He was a shepherd of sheep and a minder of cattle. He was everything. He was poor. The people of the village used to call him Čuxo. On every occasion that he spoke (people would say) Čuxo, Čuxo, Čuxo. (2) One day he appealed to the head of the village saying<sup>1</sup> 'Change this name. This name of mine, Čuxo, Čuxo, Čuxo. Give me another name. He said 'We shall change your name. Go and slaughter your ox. Invite all the people of the village and hold a party. We shall finish eating, then drink and get drunk. (When) we finish, we shall give you a new name and leave.' (3) So, he went out and slaughtered his ox. He cooked it and (prepared) everything, and brought drink. He invited young and old saying 'Come, come, you are invited' in order for them to change the name Čuxo and give him a another name. They came. They ate and drank. They enjoyed themselves and got drunk, until one or two o'clock after midnight. (4) They began to disperse. Everyone who got up to leave (said) 'Thank you Čuxo' (Each) went out 'Thank you', 'Thank you', 'Thank you', and his name was still Čuxo. They left. He said to the village head 'What did I say to you? You ate my ox. you ate such-and-such. You ate everything. You drank. You enjoyed yourselves. But my name was still Čuxo.' (5) The next day he went up onto the roof saying 'Hey, everyone who has eaten my dinner<sup>2</sup> in my house, let him comse and defecate in my house. All the people of the village came and performed their business. He remained there for a month or two, then he gathered them all up, dried them, and put them in a saddle bag. (6) He went down, down, down and became the guest of an Arab sheikh in a desert. He put his saddle bag near the tent of that Arab and sat down. Čuxo was a pipe-player and a first class singer. He sat at night playing a pipe on that saddle bag of his, with his ass beside him.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: He called (and) said to the head of the village'.

<sup>2</sup> The word *mindī* following *xaramÁi* here is redundant.

(7) 'arabáya šmýalle qále dýe.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'áwɔwə 'ɛnile?<sup>1</sup> šɛx-məre<sup>1</sup> yàba<sup>1</sup> 'áyya dāx-t-awya?<sup>1</sup> 'ána háwən šɛx d-áyya hənna<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše lá-'aθa l-diwàni,<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá-hawə 'àrxɪ,<sup>1</sup> yátwi háwa rəhqa.<sup>1</sup> dāx-itu qbíle 'áwɔwə náša xārib t-ile 'əθya<sup>1</sup> hátxa l-xóðe gu-beríyya tíwa-w zmàra-w<sup>1</sup> létu múθyalle kəslɪ?<sup>1</sup> qíme so-mèθole 'əlli-dýi.<sup>1</sup> (8) qímela xíšela 'an-xulamwáθe dýe<sup>1</sup> xəzyalle 'o-Čúxo tíwa rəš-d-ó-tena zmàra,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šabiba b-'ìde.<sup>1</sup> šlàma-llux.<sup>1</sup> móre b-šéna b-ɬawàθa.<sup>1</sup> móra šɛx yába hole-mšúdra bārux,<sup>1</sup> mára 'áxnɪ 'arabàye<sup>1</sup> léla 'ádət dýən<sup>1</sup> t-áθət yátwət baràye,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xa-xārib 'ən-'áθe la-'áθe kəslɪ.<sup>1</sup> (9) gārəg 'ádət dýən<sup>1</sup> 'áθət kəsləm<sup>1</sup> 'àxlət,<sup>1</sup> šàtət<sup>1</sup> 'u-módit snìqa,<sup>1</sup> mo-t-óðəxxa tlahux.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni léla spà,<sup>1</sup> gārəg 'àθət.<sup>1</sup> móre yába 'ána t-àθən,<sup>1</sup> 'áxɛ 'ən-yáwəl ðámàn<sup>1</sup> šɛx<sup>1</sup> 'áwɔwə tɛni páyəs nřira<sup>1</sup> ta-t-čú-mdi là-'aθe bíye dýe,<sup>1</sup> sab-'íθli rába məndi tɛmàna gáwe dýe.<sup>1</sup> (10) zilla móra tla-šɛx.<sup>1</sup> móre hé yába<sup>1</sup> 'ən-háwe dāwa-žɪ<sup>1</sup> 'áxnɪ t-yawəxla xa-b-ɬlàθa 'əlle dýe.<sup>1</sup> qímɛle<sup>1</sup> 'áwɔwə zila<sup>1</sup> zmíra zmíra zmíra hal-mbàdla.<sup>1</sup> gu-mbadláθa 'əθyɛle dírə<sup>1</sup> l-téne dýe.<sup>1</sup> mšúryɛle mxáya gu-réše dráya háwə,<sup>1</sup> háwər-ila,<sup>1</sup> bāxət 'àlaha.<sup>1</sup> hátxa y-áwəð šɛx.<sup>1</sup> hátxa y-áwəð ðámàn.<sup>1</sup> (11) mòdila qəšsət?<sup>1</sup> 'ámər hayyo-xzò.<sup>1</sup> tɛni kúlla 'úwa mən-dāwa.<sup>1</sup> móre kúlle dāwa,<sup>1</sup> kúlle,<sup>1</sup> hóla gnìwalle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-dórye šəxta šópe dýe.<sup>1</sup> dāxi?<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela xəzye<sup>1</sup> 'ina tɛna kúlle mǎlyə šəxta.<sup>1</sup> šɛx hìwle xábɛ dýe.<sup>1</sup> yába xà-tena wéwa dáwa<sup>1</sup> kθùle tɬáθa tɛne.<sup>1</sup> (12) hìwle tɬáθa xmáre xéne.<sup>1</sup> dóryalla tɬáθa tɛne l-xasəy.<sup>1</sup> Čúxo hìwle bále l-bèθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-sìqɛle.<sup>1</sup> 'ámri θèle Čúxo<sup>1</sup> xázəx šəlyɛle b-xà tena 'əxre<sup>1</sup> 'u-θéle b-tɬáθa tɛne.<sup>1</sup> mòdila qəšsət?<sup>1</sup> la-yāðəx.<sup>1</sup> (13) síqɛle sìqa-w<sup>1</sup> wírele gu-màθa.<sup>1</sup> mòdile Čúxo?<sup>1</sup> 'ámər dāwɛla.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna ma-dāwɛla?<sup>1</sup> móra šlélux b-xà-tena 'əxre<sup>1</sup> θélux b-tɬáθa dāwe.<sup>1</sup>

(7) The Arab heard his voice. He says 'Who is he? The sheikh says 'But, how could this be?! (How could it be that) I am the sheikh<sup>3</sup> and people do not come to my reception and do not become my guest, but sit far away. How could you have agreed for that stranger who has come here alone into the desert to sit and sing and have not brought him to me?! Go and bring him to me.' (8) Those servants of his went and saw that Čuxo sitting on the saddle bag singing, with a pipe in his hand. 'Greetings to you!' He said 'Peace and blessings'. They said 'The sheikh has sent for you saying "We are Arabs. It is not our custom that you should come and sit outside" that is (it is not our custom) that if a stranger comes, he should not come to him. (9) According to our custom, you must come to us and eat and drink. Whatever you want, we shall do for you. That is, it is not good (like this), you must come.' He said 'Well, I'll come, only if the sheikh gives a guarantee that this saddle bag will be guarded so that nothing will happen to it, for I have something very valuable in it.' (10) They went and told the sheikh. He said 'Of course, even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold (if it is lost)'. He went (to the sheikh) and sang until morning. At dawn he went back to his saddle bag. He began beating his head yelling in anguish 'Oh what a calamity! Help for God's sake! So, this is how a sheikh behaves. This is how he makes a guarantee.' (11) 'What is the matter?' He says 'Come and see! My saddle bag was full of gold' He said 'They have stolen all the gold, all of it and put filth in its place.' 'How could that be?' They came and saw that the saddle bag was completely full of filth. The sheikh had given his word. It was one saddle bag of gold, so he wrote (that he should have) three saddle bags. (12) He gave him three other asses. They put the three saddles on their back. Čuxo set off for home and went up (the mountain). They say 'Čuxo has come back. We see that he went down with one saddle bag of excrement and he has come back with three saddle bags. What has happened? We do not know.' (13) He came all the way up and entered the village. 'What is it Čuxo?' He says 'They are gold coins'. 'What kind of gold are they?' They said 'You went down with a saddle bag of excrement and you have come back with three of gold.'

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: the sheikh of this thing.

(14) *móre míla b-rešëxu!* *gu-Mòsul!* 'áxre léla m̄táya b-ʔíða.<sup>1</sup> *xá-kilo* 'áxre b-ṭl̄áθa *dàwele.* *dàx-it mára.*<sup>2</sup> *hàtxa!* *hòla.* *náše mòdila wíde.*<sup>2</sup> *pl̄itt̄ela!* *gu-màθa,* *kút-xa q̄tála ḡðàðe!* 'u-ʔáxre *mkaṗòše.* (15) *hadíya mkop̄ášla šl̄ela.* *mútt̄olla gu-ða mən-d-ánna* 'álwət *Mósul,* *mšur̄ela q̄ràya!* 'áxre b-dàwe!<sup>1</sup> 'áxre b-dàwe!<sup>1</sup> *mošulnáyē j̄m̄iyela!* *mára kálbe b̄art-kálbe.* *m̄axyəlla,* *m̄axyəlla,* *m̄axyəlla.* *'ap-xmárey šq̄il̄əlla!* *dawérey ṭ̄r̄id̄əlla.* (16) 'áyya 'ámri! 'áwəwa kálba b̄art-kálba! *má-widle bíyən Čúxo.*<sup>2</sup> 'áyya *béna ṭ-ásq̄ax qat̄l̄əxle Čúxo.* *šiq̄ela.* *yáðe Čúxo módile wíða biȳy.* *dax-ṭ-ile x̄əzyəlla θàya,* *hádəx š̄r̄axa-w!* *xumθàne,* *Čúxo r̄iq̄ele,* *pl̄it̄ele gu-màθa,* *'aw-ràqa-w!* 'áni *bàθre.* (17) *z̄il̄ele x̄əzyəlle xa-r̄iyət ʔ̄r̄we,* *xa-šawàna.* *'ámər ṭ-amr̄ənnux xà-mənd̄i* *yà 'āz̄iz̄i.* *wúð ḏa-sṗayúθa m̄ənni.* *xz̄áyət ʔ̄án̄ha náše-ṭ-ila ráqa b̄əθri.*<sup>2</sup> *móre h̄e.* *móre 'itli ḏá br̄at̄ət-màma!* *hádəx-ila š̄tr̄ànta!* *max-d-àwəwa yóma.* (18) 'áni b-xéla *b̄āyi mbarx̄ila ʔ̄ll̄i.* *h̄əȳyo,* *hálla j̄ullux ṭl̄əl̄i,* *'u-j̄ull̄i ṭl̄əl̄ux.* *'u-si-múr h̄e! h̄e!* 'ána *gor̄ənn̄a,* *h̄e! h̄e,* *r̄àzi,* *r̄àzi.* 'áni *xášwi ʔ̄ati ʔ̄ən̄n.* *mur-ʔ̄ána š̄əm̄mi Čúxole.* *'u-l̄it̄lux š̄úla.* (19) *q̄imela mšux̄əlp̄e b-j̄ulle.* *'awəwá-zi z̄il̄ele.* *'ε-kos̄iθa múšl̄əlla gu-ʔ̄əne díye* *t-Čúxo.* *móre yába r̄àzi,* *r̄àzi,* *r̄àzi.* *'áθyela m̄ótye ʔ̄lle,* *ḏà-m-aw,* *ḏà-m-aw,* *šaql̄ile der̄ele gu-Žàwa.* *n̄ixl̄ən m-Čúxo,* *dr̄él̄ən t-Žàwa.* (20) *d̄orye t-Žàwa!* *d̄iyela t-b̄èθa.* *hàtxa wídl̄ən biye,* *dar̄mána d̄iyela.* *xákma m̄àrela!* *náša ta-mò q̄ṭill̄éxu.*<sup>2</sup> *k̄áwa xoš-ṭ-awéwa p̄iša.* *yáʔ̄ni hám-ʔ̄m widle hátxa ʔ̄əp-aw,* *'áp ʔ̄axni-xil̄əxwale táwre díye.* *hàtxəx wíde bi-d̄íye.* *xákma d̄wáqa xáše díye!* *'u-xákma darq̄ule díye.* (21) *p̄išt̄ela ʔ̄aš̄r̄ta.* *gu-sáʔ̄ət ʔ̄ášt̄a ʔ̄aš̄r̄ta šáwəwa gu-gn̄éθət yòma,* *hóle θéle Čúxo,* *xa-bár̄ra ʔ̄r̄we b̄əθre!* *šl̄ele gu-màθa!* *'u-kl̄èle gu-ṭ̄ár̄ət b̄éθe díye.* *'ən̄ile?* *'ən̄ile?* *mára Čúxon.* *Čúxo hox-xn̄iq̄əlle!* *pl̄it̄le m-gu-Žàwa.*<sup>1</sup>

(14) He said ‘Damn you!’<sup>4</sup> In Moşul dung is not available. One kilo of dung sells for three gold pieces.’ ‘What are you saying?’ ‘It’s like that, here they are!’ What did the people do? (After) the matter got about in the village, everyone fought with one another and gathered excrement. (15) After they had gathered it, they went down (to the plain). They laid it out in one of those auction houses of Moşul and started crying ‘Dung for gold! Dung for gold!’ The inhabitants of Moşul gathered and said ‘Dogs sons of dogs!’ They gave them a sound beating. They also took their asses and drove away their mules. (16) ‘Oh’ they say ‘That dog son of a dog Čuxo, what has he done to us? This time we’ll go up and kill Čuxo.’ They went up. Čuxo knows what he has done to them. When he saw them coming, shouting and angry, Čuxo ran out into the village, he running and they (coming) after him. (17) He went and saw a grazer of sheep, a shepherd. He says ‘Let me tell you something, my friend. Do me a favour. Do you see those people who are running after me?’ He said ‘Yes’. He said ‘I have a cousin who is as beautiful as this sunshine. (18) They want to marry her to me by force. Come, give your clothes to me and (I’ll give) my clothes to you. Then go and say “Yes, yes, I shall marry her. Yes, yes, I agree, I agree.” They will think that you are me. Say “My name is Čuxo” and you will have no trouble.’ (19) They exchanged clothes. He (the shepherd) went and lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes. He said ‘I agree, I agree, I agree!’ They came up to him (and he received) a (blow) from that one and a (blow) from another. They take him and throw him in the Zab. ‘We have got rid of Čuxo. We’ve put him in the Zab.’ (20) Having put him in the Zab, they returned home. ‘We have done such-and-such to him, its his comeuppance.’<sup>5</sup> Some say ‘Why have you killed the man?’ He should have remained alive. Although he did such a thing, we had eaten his ox. We have now done this to him. Some supported him and others were against him. (21) The evening came. At six or seven o’clock in the evening, at dusk, Čuxo came, with a horde of sheep following him. He came down into the village and stood in front of his house. ‘Who is he?’ ‘Who is he?’ He says ‘I am Čuxo’. ‘We have drowned Čuxo! He has come out of the Zab.’

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: ‘Blue be upon your head’. The colour blue was associated with grief and misfortune.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: his cure.



- (22) 'óθyela Čúxo mára hà,<sup>1</sup> lómu lax-xnìqəllux:<sup>2</sup> máre hè.<sup>1</sup> 'ína mòt wáða 'áxxa:<sup>2</sup> máre míla b-rešēxu.<sup>1</sup> qəm-derétuli đá-duka làtte.<sup>1</sup> 'm-hawétuwa doryəlli xáčča xéna biš-hódəx biš-<sup>2</sup>amòqta,<sup>1</sup> táma mpuləlléxu mən-d-anna<sup>1</sup> pazesór b-<sup>2</sup>əlyàθa,<sup>1</sup> hátxa b-qanàne.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'é-duka làtte-wawa.<sup>1</sup> qəm-darétuli tàma,<sup>1</sup> 'áxči muθéli 'anna.<sup>1</sup>
- (23) mòt mára:<sup>2</sup> 'áməx 'áwəwa Záva xzəyətule:<sup>2</sup> hóle məlyə 'ərwə,<sup>1</sup> kùt-tàhəx t-báyitu.<sup>1</sup> hàyyo!<sup>1</sup> bǎxət 'àlaha!<sup>1</sup> maxzilən!<sup>1</sup> músqəlla kúlla nǎšət máθa táma xá bar-d-o-xəna.<sup>1</sup>
- (24) 'óθyele xà'a<sup>1</sup> 'áməx<sup>1</sup> Čúxo,<sup>1</sup> 'ána dríli đa-dúka t-áwə kòčē.<sup>1</sup> sab-tǎrət gómi 'iqele.<sup>1</sup> tóti hóla mára<sup>1</sup> lá-məθət m-an-t-qanàne.<sup>1</sup> méθət m-an-kòčē.<sup>1</sup> máre kèla tóto:<sup>2</sup> máre hòla.<sup>1</sup> máre də-hàyyo.<sup>1</sup> máre 'áxxa kúlla kòčēla.<sup>1</sup> šaqólle 'awódle hátxa.<sup>1</sup> (25) mšuréla baqbòqe,<sup>1</sup> bǎq bǎq bǎq bàq.<sup>1</sup> mára mòdi mára,<sup>1</sup> bǎbi:<sup>2</sup> máre hóle mára múrra tóti t-áθya mheràli.<sup>1</sup> lán-mšaya paltənna.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-tóte 'awódla qráb bǎθre diyē.<sup>1</sup> kúlla nǎšət máθa xniqile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šléle Čúxo<sup>1</sup> tìwle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-məre də-là-mšaxəlpule šəmmi!<sup>1</sup>

(22) They came and said ‘Čuxo, well, have we not drowned you?’ He said ‘Yes’. ‘But what are you doing here?’ He said ‘Damn you!’<sup>6</sup> You threw me into a shallow place. If you had thrown me a little further along, (where it is) deeper, I would have brought out for you from there some of those big sheep with fat tails and horns (big) like this. But that place was shallow. You put me there and I have only brought these.’ (23) ‘What are you saying?’ He says ‘Do you see the Zab? It is full of sheep, every type you could want.’ ‘Come on, for God’s sake show us!’ He brought up all the people of the village there, one after the other. (24) One came up and said ‘Čuxo, throw me in a place where there are hornless sheep, since the door of my basement stable is narrow. My grandmother says “Don’t bring the ones with horns. Bring the ones that are hornless”’. He said ‘Where is grandma?’ He said ‘There she is’. He said ‘Come’. He said ‘Here they are all hornless sheep’. He takes him and threw him<sup>7</sup> like this. (25) A gurgling noise started. They said ‘What is he saying, my friend?’ He said ‘He is saying “Tell my grandmother to come and help me. I cannot bring them out.”’ He threw in also his grandmother after him, splash!’ He drowned all the people of the village. Čuxo then went and sat down. He said ‘So, don’t change my name!’

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<sup>6</sup> Literally: blue be upon your head.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: made him.

A8 GOZALI AND NOZALI

Informant: Nanəs Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) ʔána šmíyənwa xa-tuníθa<sup>1</sup> y-amríwala Gozáli ʔu-Nozáli,<sup>1</sup> šemma díya yáʔni tuníθət Gozáli ʔu-Nozáli.<sup>1</sup> dáx ʔiwáwa ʔayya.<sup>2</sup> ʔi-mšárəxwa tuníθa y-amríwa<sup>1</sup> (2) ʔíθwa-w líθwa<sup>1</sup> biš m-álaha gòra<sup>1</sup> líθwa gòra<sup>1</sup> hič-náša.<sup>1</sup> bas-ʔíθwa xá malkà<sup>1</sup> ʔíθwale xa-bróna.<sup>1</sup> ʔáw malkà<sup>1</sup> rába báyewale ʔaw-bróne díye.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-tábʔan málka<sup>1</sup> bróne díye páyəš šàwpe díye.<sup>1</sup> ʔiman-t málka<sup>1</sup> ʔi-màyəθ,<sup>1</sup> ʔiman-t páyəš gòra<sup>1</sup> bróna díye šáqəl šàwpe díye<sup>1</sup> bar-d-àw.<sup>1</sup> (3) ʔé-ga xa-yóma málka dmíxa-weewa b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> dmíxa wéwa,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xzéle b-xəlme díye<sup>1</sup> ʔíθ xa-náša gu-d-áy mðita<sup>1</sup> biš-fāqira m-kúlla náša.<sup>1</sup> rába fāqira-weewa ʔawwa-náša.<sup>1</sup> málka xzéle b-xəlme díye<sup>1</sup> mára ʔáwwa náša fāqira<sup>1</sup> t-awéle xá bronà<sup>1</sup> ʔáw páyəš málka šàwpat brónux.<sup>1</sup> lé-y-awe brónux málka.<sup>1</sup> (4) ʔu-ʔimət ʔíšle mən-šənθa málka<sup>1</sup> rába šxíšle-u<sup>1</sup> rába pšimle-u.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-píšle ʔáw-naša fāqira mašhūr-weewa<sup>1</sup> yáʔni rába kúlla náše yāðiwale.<sup>1</sup> málka yāðéwale ʔo-náša.<sup>1</sup> móre ʔá-naša fāqira<sup>1</sup> ʔá-naša ʔátxa məškəna,<sup>1</sup> dáx bróne díye páyəš málka.<sup>2</sup> dáx páyəš málka šàwpat bróni<sup>1</sup> w-áyya malkùθi<sup>1</sup> ʔu-māl-díyi kúlla pəša tla-d-àw.<sup>2</sup> (5) yáʔni lá qəm-basmále ʔayyà-w<sup>1</sup> xəlme díye lá qəm-basəmle.<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa náša<sup>1</sup> hál-la lítwale<sup>1</sup> yáʔni báxte díye láwa píšta b-ʔürxa.<sup>1</sup> zilla xákma šənne,<sup>1</sup> málka hár xzàya-weewa,<sup>1</sup> b-xzàya mbaqóre l-d-ò-naša.<sup>1</sup> ʔitle bróna.<sup>2</sup> lítle bróna.<sup>2</sup> t-awéle bróna.<sup>2</sup> ʔátxa məndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> ʔé-ga xárθa théle xa-jəwāb qa-málka<sup>1</sup> mára báxte díye hóla b-ʔürxa díya.<sup>1</sup> báxtə d-ó náša fāqira<sup>1</sup> píšla b-ʔürxa<sup>1</sup> qá-t mħaşəlla yàle.<sup>1</sup> (6) ʔu-málka məšuréle zdàya xácça,<sup>1</sup> mtaxmòne<sup>1</sup> xəlme díye pàlət.<sup>1</sup> t-amrèxi<sup>1</sup> wéla dánət mħaşòle,<sup>1</sup> ʔáy báxta mħuşəlla.<sup>1</sup> mħuşəlla jaməkke,<sup>1</sup> trè-yale,<sup>1</sup> xa-bróna<sup>1</sup> xa-bràta.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔán tre-yàle,<sup>1</sup> mən-breθèy,<sup>1</sup> mən-yóma qamáyə brèla,<sup>1</sup> ʔatxa-jwànqe-weewa,<sup>1</sup> ʔatxa-spáy ʔátxa šəkláne ʔu-xəlye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-náše mājóbe biyèy.<sup>1</sup> y-amríwala gu-tuníθa<sup>1</sup> xá pəççəmta díye<sup>1</sup> yáʔni pəççe díye<sup>1</sup> t-dáwa-w xa-t-səma.<sup>1</sup> hətta madmiwaléy.<sup>1</sup>

## A8 GOZALI AND NOZALI

Informant: Nanəs Bənyamən (ʔƏn-Nune)

(1) I have heard a story called Gozali and Nozali. Its name is the story of Gozali and Nozali. What was this?<sup>1</sup> We used to begin a story by saying: (2) There was and there was not, there was no man greater than God. But there was a king who had a son. The king loved his son very much. Of course the son would take the place of the king. When the king dies, when he becomes old, his son would take his place after him. (3) Now, one day the king was asleep at night, he was asleep, and he saw in his dream that there was a man in the town who was poorer than anybody else. The man was very poor. The king saw in his dream that they said ‘This poor man will have a son and he will become king instead of your son. Your son will not become king’. (4) When the king woke from his sleep, he became very shaken and became very upset. It happened that that poor man was well-known, everybody knew him very well. The king knew the man. He said ‘This poor man, this man who is so wretched, how can his son become king? How can he become king instead of my son and (how) can this kingdom of mine and this wealth of mine all become his?’ (5) This did not please him, his dream did not please him. This man, however, still did not have (a son), that is his wife was not expecting a child.<sup>2</sup> Several years went by and the king kept investigating and inquiring concerning the man: Has he or has he not a son? Will he have a son? Things such as these. Then, in the end, a report came to the king saying that his wife was expecting a child. The wife of the poor man was on the way to giving birth to children. (6) The king began to be rather afraid and think that his dream would come true. Let’s say it was the time of giving birth and the woman gave birth. She gave birth to twins, two children, a boy and a girl. Those two children, from their birth, from the first day (after) they were born, were so beautiful, so fine, so bonny and sweet that people marvelled at them. They say in the story regarding them that one forelock, one hair, of his was of gold and one was of silver. They compared them in this way.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: How was it?

<sup>2</sup> Literally: was not on the way.

(7) *málka šmíle b-àyya,<sup>1</sup> rába zdèle.<sup>1</sup> móre 'anna madám-t-ila 'átxa jwànqe w-átxa tàze,<sup>1</sup> lázəm 'aw-xálmi pàlèt.<sup>1</sup> 'o-xá-məndi 'ile xəzwa 'óθyalli<sup>1</sup> léle xəlma.<sup>1</sup> rába zdèle.<sup>1</sup> mù wídle?<sup>1</sup> mtuxmənne<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána gǎrəg mtalqǎnna 'anna-yàle.<sup>1</sup> móre gǎrəg mtalqǎnna<sup>1</sup> 'anna yàle.<sup>1</sup> gǎrəg le-pèšì.<sup>1</sup> 'anna kúlla θárwa díya b-šaqłıla-w<sup>1</sup> šàwpi b-šaqłıla-u<sup>1</sup> 'u-bróni le-y-ávele šamma-w<sup>1</sup> le-y-ávele málka.<sup>1</sup> dák bárya 'àyya?<sup>1</sup>*  
 (8) *hadíya mù wídle?<sup>1</sup> móre tlá polise<sup>1</sup> móre só l-béθət flàn-naša.<sup>1</sup> sógun l-béθət flàn-naša,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šáqlula 'an-tre-yale,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mtálquley.<sup>1</sup> la-šawqítuley sàxe<sup>1</sup> mtalqítuley.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya wéla sərri yá'ni,<sup>1</sup> xa-məndi<sup>1</sup> t-lá-yǎðe híç-naša bìya.<sup>1</sup> (9) xéna polise mù t-óði?<sup>1</sup> šáqlì 'áwámər.<sup>1</sup> málka<sup>1</sup> mo-t-ámərrey t-óði hādax.<sup>1</sup> zilla.<sup>1</sup> zilla polise b-lèle.<sup>1</sup> qəm-šaqłıla 'án-tre yàle<sup>1</sup> mən-babéy 'u-yəmmèy.<sup>1</sup> kéma yəmméy 'u-babéy mšorèla<sup>1</sup> b-bxàya-w<sup>1</sup> šàxa-w<sup>1</sup> dák šaqłítuley yàlən?<sup>1</sup> dák bárya 'àyya?<sup>1</sup> mòdi wéle?<sup>1</sup> xéna 'ámərət málkəle<sup>1</sup> lá-maša t-torile.<sup>1</sup> (10) 'u-polise qəm-maklıla bába-w yəmma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqłıla 'an-tre-yàle.<sup>1</sup> 'ımət qəm-šaqłıla polise 'an-tre-yàle,<sup>1</sup> 'an-polise wéla pyáša b-xəmmèy.<sup>1</sup> mára dák mtalqǎxla 'an-tre-yàle hatxa-jwànqe,<sup>1</sup> hátxa šətràne,<sup>1</sup> yàle zóre háde bərye?<sup>1</sup> xtiθela.<sup>1</sup> 'o-málka mó-t 'áwámər híwle-llèni?<sup>1</sup> le-y-bárya 'áyya 'o-šúla 'oðəxle.<sup>1</sup> (11) šléla ráxme gu-lábbə d-án polise.<sup>1</sup> mára 'áxni qéməx derəxley gu-xá sandùqa<sup>1</sup> 'u-yáwəxley xáčča kəkə<sup>1</sup> madúqəx b-íðèy<sup>1</sup> qa-t 'áxli xtiθèy-ila,<sup>1</sup> 'u-dérəxla gu-d-áy šaqíθa,<sup>1</sup> 'áy šaqíθa b-t-áza b-t-áza nabláley d-á-gotət dūnye.<sup>1</sup> t-ázi mīya<sup>1</sup> tálqi b-ganèy.<sup>1</sup> le-másəx 'áxni mtalqǎxla<sup>1</sup> xtiθèy-ila.<sup>1</sup> (12) qímela wíðe hátxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-polise xzéla 'an-yàle jwànqe,<sup>1</sup> qəm-mattíla b-sandùqe,<sup>1</sup> qəm-hawíla xáčča 'ixàla-w<sup>1</sup> qəm-xáðıla hátxa t-la-qeralèy<sup>1</sup> 'u-qəm-deréla gu-mīya.<sup>1</sup> qəm-deréla gu-mīya,<sup>1</sup> hátxa t-ázi b-šaqíθa.<sup>1</sup> zilla b-šaqíθa, zilla-w zilla-w zilla.<sup>1</sup>*

(7) The king heard about this and became very afraid. He said: If they are so beautiful and so fine, that dream of mine must come true. The thing is a vision that came to me, it is not a dream. He was very afraid. What did he do? He thought and said (to himself): I have to get rid of these children. He said: I have to get rid of these children. They must not live. They will now take all the wealth (of the kingdom) and will take my place. My son will have no title<sup>3</sup> and will not be king. How could this happen? (8) Now, what did he do? He said to the police, he said: Go to the the house of such-and-such a man. Go to the house of such-and-such a man, and take away the two children. Get rid of them. Do not leave them alive.<sup>4</sup> Get rid of them. This was (done) secretly, so that nobody would know about it. (9) Now, what should the police do? They take orders. Whatever the king tells them they should do. They went off. The police went off at night and took the two children from their father and mother. How their mother and father began to cry and scream: 'How can you take our children away?! How can that come about? What has happened?' You see, it was the order of the king and they cannot disobey it. (10) The police stopped the father and mother (screaming) and took the two children. When the policemen took the two children, the policemen began to become worried. They said: How can we do away with these two children, who are so beautiful and bonny, babies who have just been born? It is a sin. What orders has the king given us? It is impossible for us to do this thing. (11) The policemen felt compassion in their hearts.<sup>5</sup> They said 'We shall put them in a chest and give them some cakes, putting them in their hands for them to eat. What a pity for them! Then we shall put them in the stream. The stream will flow along and take them somewhere.<sup>6</sup> The water will flow along and they will perish by themselves. We cannot ourselves do away with them, it is a sin'. (12) They did as (they said they would). The policemen found the two beautiful children, put them in a chest, gave them some food, wrapped them up, like this, so that they would not be cold, and put them in the water. They put them in the water, so that they would go along in the stream. They went along in the stream, they went along for a long time.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: name.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: healthy.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: compassion went down in to the heart of those policemen.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: will take them to one side of the world.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: they went, they went, they went.

(13) 'íθwa xà-dukθa,<sup>1</sup> šaqíθa 'i-xǎðàwa<sup>1</sup> çäppa wéwa hátxa<sup>1</sup> léwa dǎrst rǎba.<sup>1</sup> liqley<sup>1</sup> b-xákma taqyáθat xelápe 'íθwa tǎma.<sup>1</sup> líqla sandúqa biya.<sup>1</sup> zílεwa xa-mǎsǎfa rǎhqa,<sup>1</sup> xá-tre kilométre hátxe,<sup>1</sup> zílεwa.<sup>1</sup>

(14) 'é-ga píšla tǎma 'o-yǒma.<sup>1</sup> dǎrtǎt yǒma<sup>1</sup> θéle brǒn málka b-šǎdǎfa,<sup>1</sup> brǒn-málka<sup>1</sup> 'ǎw brǒn-málka θéle jiwája tam-tǎma.<sup>1</sup> xírre tǎma gu-šaqíθa<sup>1</sup> 'ina-hóle xa-sandúqa.<sup>1</sup> máre xázǎn mǒdila gu-d-ǎw sandúqa?<sup>1</sup> zílεle,<sup>1</sup> xǎzyǎlla 'án tre-yále<sup>1</sup> mbašlǒše,<sup>1</sup> jiwǎnqe,<sup>1</sup> 'ǎw kawwǎy<sup>1</sup> zǎrda<sup>1</sup> 'u-hádǎx dax-t-ámrxǎx sǐma<sup>1</sup> 'u-hátxa šǎkláne 'u-šǎtráne.<sup>1</sup>

(15) máre 'ay-mǎrya 'ǎlaha<sup>1</sup> 'ánna tre-yále mánilé másyǎ dǎryǎlla gu-šaqíθa.<sup>1</sup> mánilé másyǎ zǎdyǎlléy laxxǎne?<sup>1</sup> 'ánna gǎrǎg xamǎxla-w<sup>1</sup> masímǎx bála 'ǎlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ánna gǎrǎg xázǎn t-ódǎn tahqǐq<sup>1</sup> mánilé wíðǎlla 'átxa 'ánna náše.<sup>1</sup> 'é qímle šqíla b-g'án díye brǒn-málka.<sup>1</sup> šqílla-w šqíla sandúqa<sup>1</sup> b-íde díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-síqa musqǎlla kǎs-bábe díye.<sup>1</sup>

(16) máre bǎbi.<sup>1</sup> máre há bróni.<sup>1</sup> máre xzéli xá-mǎndit 'ǎjǎbùθa.<sup>1</sup> máre mǒdi bróni?<sup>1</sup> mǒdi xzélǒx?<sup>1</sup> máre 'ánna tre-yále qǎm-xazǎnna<sup>1</sup> t-la marwàθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-zǎdye gu-d-ǎw sandúqa<sup>1</sup> 'u-zǎdye gu-d-áy šaqíθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xúr mpǎrǎj biyǎy.<sup>1</sup> xzi-'ánna yále kǎmǎ šǎtrǎnela<sup>1</sup> hátxa bašlǒše gu-lǎbbǎt náša.<sup>1</sup> dǎx-ila másyǎ 'ánna šarír wíðǎlley hátxa,<sup>1</sup> zǎdyǎlley.<sup>1</sup> (17) hǎ,<sup>1</sup> bábe díye xírre.<sup>1</sup> ðíle,<sup>1</sup> ðíle 'áwewa 'ámra d-ǎw-ile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-léš máše t-ǎrǎq mǎn-wǎqǎ.<sup>1</sup> mó t-ǎwǎð?<sup>1</sup> yǎ'ni la-šbára qǎm-bróné díye t-ámǎr 'anǎwǎn.<sup>1</sup> máre bróni 'ǎti mo-t-ámǎrǎt, mo-t-ámǎrǎt wíð hǎdǎx.<sup>1</sup> xzi 'ána lǎðǎn<sup>1</sup> 'ánna m-ǎkela 'óθye.<sup>1</sup> qímle b-zdáya m-bróné díye<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lǎ-'ámǎr<sup>1</sup> brǒn-díye<sup>1</sup> bálki yawǎlla qǎšǎš tla-bábe díye.<sup>1</sup> xzi-brónéle,<sup>1</sup> máše t-ámǎrre qa-mǒ 'ódǎt 'atxa-šíla?<sup>1</sup> la-spǎy.<sup>1</sup> (18) mò máre 'aw-yála,<sup>1</sup> brǒn-málka?<sup>1</sup> máre bǎbi.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'ána t-ódǎn 'ǎšǎf 'ǎllǎy,<sup>1</sup> yǎ'ni másimǎn bála-lla.<sup>1</sup> le-šǒqǎn lá xolamwàθa<sup>1</sup> wǎlla 'ǎti<sup>1</sup> wǎlla yǎmmi<sup>1</sup> wǎlla ču-náša.<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-g'áni t-ódǎn 'ǎšǎf 'ǎllǎy,<sup>1</sup> mǎn-'ixalǎy,<sup>1</sup> mǎn-lwišǎy,<sup>1</sup> mǎn-dmǎxtǎy,<sup>1</sup> mǎn-xalǎy,<sup>1</sup> mǎn-masyǎntǎt bála.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána le-šǒqǎnnǎy<sup>1</sup> le-farqǎnnǎy.<sup>1</sup> kút-yoma gǎrǎg háwǎn mǎnnǎy mǎnnǎy.<sup>1</sup> (19) bábe díye<sup>1</sup> máre lǎš mášǎn.<sup>1</sup> 'ǎyya píšla b-íðǎt bróni.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áwewa xǎlmi pǎlǎt hóle dmǎya.<sup>1</sup> qímle b-zdáya m-xǎlme díye t-wéwa xǎzyǎlle.<sup>1</sup>

(13) There was a place where the stream wound round, it was bendy like this, it was not straight. They became hooked to some branches of willows that were there. The chest became hooked to them. They had travelled a long way, they had travelled one or two kilometres, or thereabouts.

(14) So, they stayed there for that day. The next day the son of the king by chance, the son of the king came walking along there. He saw that in the stream there was a chest. He said: I'd like to see what is in the chest. He went (to the chest) and saw the two children, shining, beautiful, with blond hair, just like silver, so pretty and bonny. (15) He said: Oh Lord God, who could have put these two children in the stream? Who could have thrown them here? We must care for them and look after them. I must investigate to find out who has done this to these people. The son of the king went and took them by himself. He took them and he took the chest in his hands, then went up and brought them up to his father. (16) He said: Father. He said: Yes my son. He said: I have found something amazing. He said: What, my son? What have you found? He said: I have found these two children, without parents, thrown in this chest and thrown in the stream. Take a look at them. See how beautiful these children are, how they captivate one's heart.<sup>8</sup> How could people have done such a terrible thing to them and thrown them in (into the stream). (17) Well, his father looked and he knew, he knew that this was (by) his command. He cannot any longer run away from reality. What should he do? He does not dare to say in front of his son: It is me. He said 'My son, do whatever you think best.<sup>9</sup> You see I do not know from where they came.' He was afraid to tell his son. Perhaps his son would make a vendetta against his father. You see, he is his son, (how) can he say to him: Why would you do this thing? It would not be good. (18) What did the boy, the son of the king, say? He said: Father, I shall care for these children, that is I shall look after them. I shall not let servants, you, mother or anybody (look after them). I myself shall look after them, with regard to their food, their clothing, their sleeping, their eating, their care. I shall not leave them, I shall not be separated from them. I must be with them everyday. (19) His father said: I cannot (bear this) anymore. This has come about by the hand of my son. It appears that my dream is coming true. He began to fear his dream, which he had dreamt.

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<sup>8</sup> Literally: glowing so much in the heart of a man.

<sup>9</sup> Literally: whatever you say, whatever you say, do thus.



(20) *hadīya,*<sup>1</sup> *la-mārixəxla rāba,*<sup>1</sup> *pīšla gōre.*<sup>1</sup> *pīšla gōre.*<sup>1</sup> *hadīya,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔāyya tuniθən*<sup>1</sup> *mšaxləppa mən-d-áwəwa təqa,*<sup>1</sup> *t-áza l-xa-təqa xəna hadīya.*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni ʔánna hal-láxxa tuniθa diyéy θəla.*<sup>1</sup> *hadīya*<sup>1</sup> *mšárx xa-təqa xəna*<sup>1</sup> *ʔitle ʔáləqa bə-d-əyya yáʔni*<sup>1</sup> *hám líqta b-əyyela.*<sup>1</sup>

(21) *ʔiθwa xa-bəxta*<sup>1</sup> *rāba xəmθeəwəwa.*<sup>1</sup> *módiwəwa šəmma diyə.*<sup>2</sup> *Bəlbəl Hazār.*<sup>1</sup> *w-əyya ʔəkela.*<sup>2</sup> *hóla gu-réšət xa-túra ramàna,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-túra rāba ramàna.*<sup>1</sup> *náše lá-maši y-asqī-lle diyə.*<sup>1</sup> *dax-qúmmət Everèst-ile,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa ramàna.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-l-qámθe diyə*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiθ xa-čòl*<sup>1</sup> *dəšta*<sup>1</sup> *rāba gōrta.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *ʔu-náše kəmə-t-ila šmìye*<sup>1</sup> *b-o-zəwəna*<sup>1</sup> *Bəlbəl Hazār rāba xəmθela,*<sup>1</sup> *məlke-u*<sup>1</sup> *zəngine-u*<sup>1</sup> *náše dawlatmànde*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla mjúrbela t-məθéla Bəlbəl Hazār tla-bronèy,*<sup>1</sup> *tłá xa-bróna šətər,*<sup>1</sup> *šazàda,*<sup>1</sup> *jwànga,*<sup>1</sup> *d-ò-zəwəna.*<sup>1</sup> *mə̀to y-azíwa.*<sup>2</sup> *y-azíwa la-zrəqət yóma.*<sup>1</sup> *yə̀diwa Bəlbəl Hazār ʔila gu-d-ó tura la-zrəqət yóma.*<sup>1</sup> (23) *la-zrəqət yóma*<sup>1</sup> *y-azíwa.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-mašíwa l-tàma,*<sup>1</sup> *l-d-ó tura,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-šaléwa xá maláxa m-šməyya,*<sup>1</sup> *y-awə̀ðwala gān-díye bəř-nəša.*<sup>1</sup> *y-awə̀ðwala gān-díye xa-nəša səwa,*<sup>1</sup> *dəqne xwàra,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-káwse xwàra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xà bə́θa,*<sup>1</sup> *ðà mánzəl bás.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-béθa zòra*<sup>1</sup> *xa-kul-líxa y-ámrx ʔə̀xni b-súrəθ.*<sup>1</sup> *kullíxa ʔax-sopìθa y-amrə̀xle ʔátxa.*<sup>1</sup> (24) *ʔu-nəša səwa*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni ʔə̀w bə́θa d-ə̀w-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-mbaqə̀rwala nəše*<sup>1</sup> *lèketu zála.*<sup>2</sup> *y-ə̀we tíwe xāš-sùsa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rumxéy hə̀txa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-nəšət y-ə̀wa b-o-zəwəna jwə̀ja xāš-sùsa,*<sup>1</sup> *yə̀ðət dax-y-ə̀we.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔe-gə̀t-ʔó-nəša səwa y-ámər lèketu zála,*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri t-ə̀zəx mə́θəx Bəlbəl Hazār*<sup>1</sup> *magurə̀xla tla-brònən.*<sup>1</sup> (25) *w-ə̀w ʔiwéwa maláxa.*<sup>1</sup> *ə̀w yə̀ðéwala ʔāyya tuniθət Bəlbəl Hazār.*<sup>1</sup> *yə̀ðe rāba zə̀mət-ila,*<sup>1</sup> *híc xa-nəša lá-maše mə́θéla Bəlbəl Hazār.*<sup>1</sup> *w-ə̀y ʔitla xa-sə̀rr,*<sup>1</sup> *Bəlbəl Hazār,*<sup>1</sup> *yállə ʔə̀θya.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-sə̀rr ʔalə̀ha yə̀ðéle bás.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-maláxa yə̀ðe*<sup>1</sup> *bás léle gláya qa-nəše.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-sə̀rr gōra-wəwa.*<sup>1</sup> (26) *ʔimət ʔi-mbaqə̀rwa-ʔatxa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-amə̀rwa la-sògun.*<sup>1</sup> *xtiθə̀xula*<sup>1</sup> *w-ə̀xtu ʔən-zilləxu,*<sup>1</sup> *lá-mšitu mə́θitula,*<sup>1</sup> *talqitula ganə̀xu.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni har-doqíwa rə̀qqi t-azíwa.*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər har-t-azítu.*<sup>2</sup> *y-ámri hə̀l t-ə̀zəx.*<sup>1</sup> (27) *y-ámər zən,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána paqə̀ðnnəxu*<sup>1</sup> *t-azítu b-ʔúrxə mašítu ʔə̀lla.*<sup>1</sup> *m-tàma hòdə̀x*<sup>1</sup> *ə̀xtu ʔu-gʔanə̀xu.*<sup>1</sup> *mašítu mə́θitula là mə́θitula.*<sup>1</sup> *là mə́θitula*<sup>1</sup> *xəna hótu mára har-t-ə̀zəx ʔə̀xni,*<sup>1</sup> *líθ bə̀jə̀ra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔə̀lla b-t-ə̀zəx.*<sup>1</sup>

(20) Now—we shall not prolongate (the story) too much—they grew up. They grew up. Now, our story will change from this branch and go to another branch. That is, so far the story of these (children) has been told. Now we shall begin another branch, which has a connection with that and is related to it.

(21) There was a woman who was very beautiful. What was her name? Bəlbəl Hazar. Where is she? She is on the top of a high mountain, a very high mountain. People cannot climb up it. It is like the summit of Everest, as high as that. Before it lies barren countryside, a very large plain. (22) When people at that time heard that Bəlbəl Hazar was very beautiful, kings, rich people, important people, everybody tried to bring Bəlbəl Hazar (as a wife) for their son, for a son (of theirs, who was) a handsome young prince, at that time. How did they go? They would go towards the rising of the sun. They knew that Bəlbəl Hazar was in mountain (lying) towards the rising of the sun. (23) They would go to the rising of the sun. Before they arrived there, at that mountain, an angel would come down from the sky and make himself into a man. He would make himself into an old man, with a white beard and white hair. (There was) a house, only a room, a small house, we say *kullixa* (hut) in Assyrian. A *kullixa* is like a *sopiθa* (shed), as we say. (24) This was the house of the old man. He would ask the people: Where are you going? They were sitting on the back of a horse, with their spear like this, you know what they were like, the people who at that time went around on horseback. When the old man said: Where are you going? They would say: We are going to bring Bəlbəl Hazar to marry her to our son. (25) He was an angel. He knew the story of Bəlbəl Hazar. He knew that it was very difficult. Nobody could bring back Bəlbəl Hazar. Bəlbəl Hazar had a secret (as to what would make her) come. Only God knew that secret. Also the angel knew it, but he did not reveal it to people. This was a big secret. (26) When he asked them in this way, he would say: Don't go! It is a pity for you, for if you go, you will not be able to bring her back, but will destroy yourselves. They, however, still insisted on going. He would say 'Are you still going to go?' and they would say 'Yes, we shall go'. (27) He would say 'All right, I'll give you instructions in order that you go on a road by which you can reach her. From then onwards you are by yourselves, whether you can bring her back or not bring her back. If you do not bring her back, (remember that) you are saying (now) "We shall still go, there is no alternative, we must go."'

(28) *y-azíwa tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *mù y-oðíwa?*<sup>1</sup> *'é-ga 'áwwa m̀̀re m̀̀re t-azítu qam-d-o-gòppa,*<sup>1</sup>  
*'aw-gòppa rába ramànzele.*<sup>1</sup> *b-qarítu:*<sup>1</sup> *'ó Bálbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *mára mattítu bala.*<sup>1</sup> *'ən-θéla*  
*Bálbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *'áy párxa m-tàma*<sup>1</sup> *b-šálya t-àtwa*<sup>1</sup> *b-xášət súsə bathrèxu.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'əm-là*  
*θéla,*<sup>1</sup> *b-o-qála qamàya,*<sup>1</sup> *mattítu bala b-áqlət susèxu.*<sup>1</sup> *'áqlət susèxu 'ən-píšla kèpa,*<sup>1</sup>  
*léš mašítu jawèjítu.*<sup>1</sup> (29) *íla gáye b-qarítu,*<sup>1</sup> *xatmítu kèpa,*<sup>1</sup> *pɛšítu kèpa,*<sup>1</sup> *léš mašítu*  
*jawèjítu.*<sup>1</sup> *'axtu-w' susèxu-w' rumxèxu-w' lwištèxu,*<sup>1</sup> *pɛšítu kèpa tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *w-ən 'áθya*  
*Bálbəl Hazàr,*<sup>1</sup> *t-áθya 'u-mɛθítula.*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri OK báyyax t-àzəx.*<sup>1</sup> *t-awzítu də-sò.*<sup>1</sup> *'álaha*  
*t-áwe m̀̀nnèxu.*<sup>1</sup> *damxítwa kásle diyè*<sup>1</sup> *'o-lèle.*<sup>1</sup> *qemíwə mbàdla.*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər 'álaha t-áwe*  
*m̀̀nnèxu*<sup>1</sup> *'u-sò!*<sup>1</sup> *y-azíwa.*<sup>1</sup>

(30) *mo-t-amr̀̀nnux?*<sup>1</sup> *zìlela*<sup>1</sup> *'ammáyət náše mɛθóye Bálbəl Hazàr:*<sup>1</sup> *'i-matíwə tàma.*<sup>1</sup>  
*qála qamàya,*<sup>1</sup> *xeríwə b-áqlət susèy,*<sup>1</sup> *píša hal-b̀̀rkət súsə kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> *qálət trè,*<sup>1</sup> *'ó Bálbəl*  
*Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *xeríwə Bálbəl Hazàr l̀̀θ.*<sup>1</sup> *mattíwə bala b-áqlət susèy,*<sup>1</sup> *'ina,*<sup>1</sup> *'ap-aqlə-d-àw,*<sup>1</sup>  
*hál be-palge-díye píša kèpa,*<sup>1</sup> *'áxcí rešət-súsə*<sup>1</sup> *'u-palge-díye b̀̀r-eli*<sup>1</sup> *léle píša kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> (31)  
*'u-qaréwə qálət íl̀̀θa!*<sup>1</sup> *'ó Bálbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *béna xaráyə y-ámər zàr,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-páyəšwə kèpa*  
*külle.*<sup>1</sup> *'ap-rèše-díye páyəšwə kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> *xazótwa 'ax-qayəm̀̀θət kèpa,*<sup>1</sup> *súsə-w' r̀̀mxe-w'*  
*náše tíwə xàše.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-hár š̀̀klət bəř-náša-w súsə*<sup>1</sup> *'u-yá'ni čákke biye-díye*<sup>1</sup> *'u-píša kèpa.*<sup>1</sup>  
*'é-ga kút y-azólwə záyəwə gótə d-o-xèna.*<sup>1</sup> *kút y-azólwə záyəwə,*<sup>1</sup> *píše xá 'arb-šmma*  
*xamš-šmma náše réza r̀̀za,*<sup>1</sup> *külle píše kèpa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya qəššəttət Bálbəl Hazàr:*<sup>1</sup>

(32) *hadíya*<sup>1</sup> *qálbəx l-málka,*<sup>1</sup> *málka-w brone-díye*<sup>1</sup> *'u-Gúzali 'u-Nozàli.*<sup>1</sup> *xázəx*  
*tàma módi bràya.*<sup>1</sup> *br̀̀n-málka píšle b-tàli.*<sup>1</sup> *píšle b-tàli,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-m̀̀re málka*<sup>1</sup> *mjárbu méθu*  
*náše duxtùre-u*<sup>1</sup> *yan-náše spáy t-yáđi bud-màrra,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-náše gu-m̀̀díta kúlley mèθula,*<sup>1</sup>  
*xázi bróni íla-mòdi,*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi píša*<sup>1</sup> *b-tàli hatxá,*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-odíle xa-čàra.*<sup>1</sup>

(28) (When) they went there, what did they do? ‘Then’ he said ‘you should go to the cave, the cave is very high. You should cry ‘Oh Bəlbəl Hazar’. He said ‘Pay attention. If Bəlbəl Hazar comes, the bird will come down from there and sit on the back of the horse behind you. If she does not come, at the first call, take a look at the legs of your horse. If the legs of your horses have become stone, you will no longer be able to move. (29) Three times you will call and you will end up as stone, you will become (completely) stone and will no longer be able to move. You, your horses, your spears and your clothes will become stone there. If Bəlbəl Hazar comes, she will come and you can bring her back.’ They say ‘OK, we want to go’. ‘Go then, go! May God be with you’. They would sleep in his house that night. They would get up in the morning. He would say ‘May God be with you. Go!’ and they would go.

(30) What should I say to you. Hundreds of people went to bring back Bəlbəl Hazar. They would arrive there. At the first cry, they would look at the legs of their horse (and see that the part) up to the knees of the horse had become stone. On the second cry ‘Bəlbəl Hazar!’, they looked but Bəlbəl Hazar was not there. They checked the legs of their horse and behold, its leg, up to its middle had become stone. Only the head of the horse and its upper half had not become stone. (31) They would cry a third cry ‘Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!’ When he uttered (the syllable) ‘zar’ at the end, he would all become stone. It looked like<sup>10</sup> a statue of stone (consisting of) the horse, spears, people sitting on its back. It was just in the form of a man and a horse, with weapons, since it had become stone. Now, everybody who went (there) stood next to another person (who had already become stone). Everybody who went would stand (with the others until) they became about four or five hundred people in rows, all turned to stone. This is the story of Bəlbəl Hazar.

(32) Now, let’s return to the king, the king and his son and Gozali and Nozali. Let’s see what is happening there. The son of the king became ill. He became ill and the king said ‘Try to bring doctors, or fine people who know about the illness. Bring all the people in the town so that they can find out why my son has become ill in this way and cure him.’

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<sup>10</sup> Literally: You would see it as.

(33) *θéla rába náše xzèla<sup>1</sup> 'àsəq wéwa 'aw-brōn-málka rāba-w<sup>1</sup> là-wewa gwíra.<sup>1</sup> kúlla<sup>1</sup> mən-duxtúre 'u-mən-nāšē<sup>1</sup> mīra<sup>1</sup> málka t-áwət basíma,<sup>1</sup> brónux lét mgúrálle hal-díya.<sup>1</sup> wírre mən-ʔsri-w-xamšā-šonne.<sup>1</sup> qúrbət ṭlaθi šənnéle<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔašəqile<sup>1</sup> 'u-báye gàwər.<sup>1</sup> 'āti malkèwət<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔáwwa brónuxile.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa 'ən-lá-hoya Bálbəl Hazár 'ille díye<sup>1</sup> bāxta,<sup>1</sup> har-mátya Bálbəl Hazár lāxxa b-tàrəš.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni b-tàrəš brónux.<sup>1</sup> (34) málka m̀̀re<sup>1</sup> máni máše mēθéla Bálbəl Hazár?<sup>2</sup> kut-y-ázəl le-y-qáləb b-ay-úrxa.<sup>1</sup> kléle málka mtuxm̀̀nne<sup>1</sup> mára ṭla-mó la-mšadr̀̀nne Gozáli?<sup>2</sup> Gozáli rába jwàngele-u<sup>1</sup> rába zírək-ile.<sup>1</sup> bálki máše mēθéla.<sup>1</sup> muθyále Bálbəl Hazár,<sup>1</sup> p̣éša kálθi,<sup>1</sup> bāxtət br̀̀ni.<sup>1</sup> 'u-br̀̀ni tārəš.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔən-lá muθyále,<sup>1</sup> ham-zille xlíšli m̀̀nne-díye.<sup>1</sup> zille.<sup>1</sup> (35) x́ṭta-wewa m̀̀tta<sup>1</sup> yá'ni tré qəqwáne b-xà-kepa maxéwa.<sup>1</sup> hadíya,<sup>1</sup> qíméle mtuxm̀̀nne,<sup>1</sup> m̀̀re qa-Gozáli<sup>1</sup> m̀̀re Gozáli hay-lāxxa.<sup>1</sup> br̀̀ni-díyi dmíxa m̀̀skéna,<sup>1</sup> ḷéde b-áyya qásəšət cū-məndi.<sup>1</sup> hole-dmíxa.<sup>1</sup> m̀̀re Gozáli h̄ayyo.<sup>1</sup> m̀̀re m̀̀di?<sup>2</sup> h̄ál hawáal 'ətxela.<sup>1</sup> 'u-br̀̀ni<sup>1</sup> yāðətle 'āti<sup>1</sup> 'u-b̄yélux rāba<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔati-zi 'i-b̄yátle rāba.<sup>1</sup> z̄ən<sup>1</sup> duxtúre h̄ətxa m̀̀ra.<sup>1</sup> náše góre h̄ətxa m̀̀ra.<sup>1</sup> náše lípe h̄ətxa m̀̀ra.<sup>1</sup> (36) m̀̀re b̄yən m̀̀nnux Bəlbəl Hazár<sup>1</sup> mēθətla ṭla-br̀̀ni<sup>1</sup> ṭla-tārəš.<sup>1</sup> w-əti<sup>1</sup> qa-díyux<sup>1</sup> xa-gáləbúθa ḡörtelē<sup>1</sup> 'm-br̀̀ni tārəš.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-xšáwən n̄jərbət mēθətle l̄əla?<sup>2</sup> m̀̀re málka t-áwət basíma.<sup>1</sup> m̀̀re 'áyya gáni fad̄nna qa-br̀̀nux t-áwe sp̄y.<sup>1</sup> m̀̀re 'áy spayúθət wídle br̀̀nux m̀̀nni<sup>1</sup> ḡárəg 'ázən mēθənna Bálbəl Hazár qa-br̀̀nux.<sup>1</sup> (37) m̀̀re bas-b̄yən<sup>1</sup> b̄yən xa-súsa<sup>1</sup> t-áwe k̄oma<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-áwe xá m-ánna xəzžéma gu-be-ʔéne díye xwàrta<sup>1</sup> w-aqláθe díye t-áwa xwàre<sup>1</sup> 'u-súsa t-áwe šəklàna rāba.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-s̄ərga<sup>1</sup> mtaršətli<sup>1</sup> kəs-d-ánnət 'i-mtārši s̄ərgē<sup>1</sup> m-an-dəkkənàne,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-là-hawe s̄ərga sp̄y dax-d-áw.<sup>1</sup> 'u-qa-t-ətwəm<sup>1</sup> xáše díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-qá-t Bálbəl Hazár<sup>1</sup> 'ən-xazýàli<sup>1</sup> qa-t-áwela ðàwq<sup>1</sup> t-áθya k̄əsl̄i<sup>1</sup> tá-t mēθənna ṭla-br̀̀nux.<sup>1</sup> (38) m̀̀re 'áhlan wa-sáhlan d̄əx-lítlux x̄ətər.<sup>1</sup> hár dax-b̄yət<sup>1</sup> mu-b̄yət bas-t̄l̀̀bən,<sup>1</sup> dáwe-w z̄úze-u<sup>1</sup> m̀̀ndi-u<sup>1</sup> m̄əşraf̄<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'əlli.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔánna m̀̀ndiyáne t-ít-t̄l̀̀bəlla kúlla h̄əz̄əri-la.<sup>1</sup> 'ána m̄alkewəm.<sup>1</sup> kúlla b̄t-oð̄nna-llux.<sup>1</sup> mára 'áwwa sp̄y.<sup>1</sup> qíméle xəlál tre-yome<sup>1</sup> yómət t̄l̀̀əθa<sup>1</sup> kúll-məndi wéle h̄əz̄ər.<sup>1</sup>*

(33) Many people came and saw that the king's son was in love. He was not married. All of the doctors and the people said 'King, may you be well, you have still not arranged a marriage for your son. He is more than<sup>11</sup> twenty-five years old. He is almost thirty years old. He is in love and wants to marry. You are the king and he is your son. If Bəlbəl Hazar does not become his wife... As soon as Bəlbəl Hazar arrives here he will be cured, that is your son will be cured.' (34) The king said 'Who can bring Bəlbəl Hazar back? Everybody who goes on that road does not return.' The king stood and thought 'Why should I not send Gozali? Gozali is very handsome and is very strong. Perhaps he can bring her back. If he brings Bəlbəl Hazar back, she will become my daughter-in-law, the wife of my son, and my son will be cured. If he does not bring her back, (it would) also (be good since) he would perish and I would be free of him. He would perish.' (35) He had set a plan to kill two birds with one stone.<sup>12</sup> Now, he thought (of this plan) and said to Gozali, he said 'Gozali, come here. My son is sleeping, poor boy, and knows nothing about this business. He is asleep.' He said 'Gozali come (here)!' He said 'What is it?' 'The situation is like this. You know my son. He loves you a lot and you also love him a lot. Now, the doctors have said such-and-such. The leading people have said such-and-such. The learned people have said such-and-such.' (36) He said 'I would like you to bring Bəlbəl Hazar for my son, so that he will be cured. It would be a big achievement on your part if my son is cured. I think you will try to bring her, is that not so? He said 'King, may you be well.' He said 'I shall ransom myself in order for your son to get better.' He said '(For the sake of) the kindness that your son has done for to me, I must go and bring Bəlbəl Hazar to your son.' (37) He said 'But I want a horse that is black, that has some jewelry in its white forehead, that has white legs, a horse that is very beautiful. Also you should have a saddle made for me by those (craftsmen) who make saddles, in those shops, so that there will not be another saddle as fine as it, so that I can sit on its back, so that when Bəlbəl Hazar sees me, she will be keen to come to me and for me to bring her to your son.' (38) He said 'By all means. Don't worry. (It will be) just as you want. Whatever you want just ask, gold, money, expenses, it is all on me. All the things that you request are ready. I am the king.' He says 'Fine'. Then, within two days... on the third day everything was ready.

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<sup>11</sup> Literally: He has passed.

<sup>12</sup> Literally: He was striking two partridges with one stone.

(39) 'u-Gozáli tíwele tráb xaş-súsa.<sup>1</sup> múttalla 'áqle-diye gu-rkèwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-síqa xāş-súsa<sup>1</sup> 'u-híwalle bále la-zraqət yòma.<sup>1</sup> dax-t-amərwa xətni Wārda Halumnáya qunáxət t!áθa yomáθa qəm-azállá b-xamsà daqíqe.<sup>1</sup> maṭréwa maṭróye xelàna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-zìlele.<sup>1</sup> (40) zìlele,<sup>1</sup> maláxət márya 'aláha şlyele qámθe diye 'o-náşa sàwa.<sup>1</sup> şlyele çürup.<sup>1</sup> 'aşrtela,<sup>1</sup> xwéθət xúya yóma hole-gənya,<sup>1</sup> pyáşa xúya<sup>1</sup> w-áv hár hole-gu-çól b-tràya,<sup>1</sup> maṭróye xāş-súsa.<sup>1</sup> hant-ila xəzyəlla gane-diye tráb gu-ʔurxa<sup>1</sup> hóle xa-kullixa<sup>1</sup> xa-bèθa<sup>1</sup> zóra táma hátxa,<sup>1</sup> xa-náşa sáwa tíwa dáqne diye rixa,<sup>1</sup> tíwa gam-tárə d-o-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (41) móre šláma-llux,<sup>1</sup> náşa sàwa.<sup>1</sup> wíðele hátxa<sup>1</sup> tqílele réşe diye<sup>1</sup> wáy b-šəna<sup>1</sup> b-šəna.<sup>1</sup> móre 'a-šupra<sup>1</sup> hon-šəmya bas-diye.<sup>1</sup> lét Gozáli 'āti.<sup>2</sup> móre yá-naşa sàwa<sup>1</sup> m-əka qəm-yāðətli 'āti t-íwən Gozáli.<sup>2</sup> móre b-álaha l-bàli.<sup>1</sup> móre 'a-parşópa díyux hátxa jwànga<sup>1</sup> w-átxa šətrana,<sup>1</sup> w-átxa hot-ʔāti<sup>1</sup> hówən šmíya bas-díyux.<sup>1</sup> liθ bəp-náşa hátxa b-aw-pəšla díyux.<sup>1</sup> m-hàdəx qəm-yāðənnux.<sup>1</sup> (42) móre hè,<sup>1</sup> bəna mōdi bāyət.<sup>2</sup> móre də-háyyo puş-ʔərxi 'ədléle.<sup>1</sup> ləkət zála.<sup>2</sup> mára là<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'urxi rába rixtela.<sup>1</sup> 'urxi rába rixtela,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔiθ ða-muhəmma qàmθi<sup>1</sup> gárəg 'oðənna<sup>1</sup> jálde jálde,<sup>1</sup> sab-brōn-málka hóle b-ṭali.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-lá 'oðənna 'a-šula,<sup>1</sup> brōn-málka<sup>1</sup> yáni t-əzəl,<sup>1</sup> māyəθ,<sup>1</sup> xáye-diye təlqi.<sup>1</sup> (43) móre Gozáli<sup>1</sup> t-amrənnux mášiθ 'əlli!<sup>1</sup> 'ána xa-náşa gōrəwən,<sup>1</sup> wíra b-šənne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔitli xəbra gu-dúnye rába.<sup>1</sup> lá-hawət malyəzəna!<sup>1</sup> lá malyəzəti!<sup>1</sup> wúð b-xəbri xáčca<sup>1</sup> tu-tüwa!<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa qəm-mhaddèle<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa Gozáli hawnána-wewa rába.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána l-sàwa<sup>1</sup> šáqlən xa-dárs mənne diye.<sup>1</sup> šáqlən xa-məndi spáy mənne diye,<sup>1</sup> xázən mó b-t-amərri,<sup>1</sup> módi mnaşəht-əlli.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xərθa t-əzən<sup>1</sup> 'ána lə-kalən láxxa.<sup>1</sup> (44) móre 'ána b-kələn.<sup>1</sup> qímele şlyə m-xāş-súse diye.<sup>1</sup> móre zən.<sup>1</sup> 'āti<sup>1</sup> bāyət 'ázət méθət Bálbəl Hazār<sup>1</sup> lèla.<sup>2</sup> 'ána p̄rimli módile qəşşət.<sup>1</sup> bāyət méθətla Bálbəl Hazār.<sup>2</sup> móre hè!<sup>1</sup> brōn-málka hole-b-ṭali<sup>1</sup> gárəg məθənna Bálbəl Hazār 'əlle diye.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána mnaşəhənnux<sup>1</sup> dax-t-íwən míra t!a-kúlla<sup>1</sup> d-ánna t-ila-zíle b-áy 'urxà<sup>1</sup> 'u-bt-amrənnux<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ʔoðət xəbri,<sup>1</sup> 'oðət.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-lá 'oðət,<sup>1</sup> kliθà-llux-ila.<sup>1</sup> yáni 'ána biz-zóda m-hódəx là-maşən 'oðənnux<sup>1</sup> çü məndi.<sup>1</sup>

(39) Gozali sat—thud—on the back of the horse. He put his feet in the stirrups and got up onto the back of the horse. He then went off towards the East.<sup>13</sup> As my brother-in-law Warda from Halmun used to say, he travelled a stage of three days (journey) in five minutes. He drove (his horse) hard and went along. (40) He went along and the angel of the Lord God, the old man, came down to meet him. He came down, thud. It is evening, it is getting dark, the sun has set, it is getting dark and he is still riding in the countryside, riding on the back of the horse. All of a sudden he found himself on a road, and saw there a hut,<sup>14</sup> a small house, and an old man sitting there with a long beard, he was sitting in front of the door of the house. (41) He said ‘Greetings to you, old man’. He raised his head ‘Well, hello, hello’. He said ‘I have heard about this beauty. Are you not Gozali?’ He said ‘Old man, how<sup>15</sup> did you know that I am Gozali?’ He said ‘By God, it just occurred to me’. He said ‘That face of yours, so handsome, so comely, and indeed it is you, I have heard about you. There is nobody with such a (beautiful) figure as yours. That is how I knew you.’ (42) He said ‘Now, what do you want?’ He said ‘Come, stay tonight as my guest. Where are you going?’ He says ‘No. I have a long way to go. I have a long way to go and there is a duty ahead of me that I must carry out quickly, because the son of the king is ill. If I do not do this task, the son of the king will pass away, die, his life will be lost.’ (43) He said ‘Gozali, I’ll tell you, listen to me. I am an old man, advanced in age. I have a lot of experience in the world. Do not be hasty. Do not hurry. Do as I say. Sit down.’ He calmed him down. Gozali was very clever. He said (to himself) ‘I’ll take advice from the old man. I’ll accept good (advice) from him. I’ll see what he’ll say to me, what he’ll advise me (to do). Then I’ll go. I shall not stay here.’ (44) He said ‘I’ll stay (tonight only)’. He came down from his horse. He said ‘Good. You want to go and bring back Bəlbəl Hazar, right? I understand what is happening. Do you want to bring Bəlbəl Hazar back?’ He said ‘Yes! The son of the king is ill. I must bring Bəlbəl Hazar to him.’ He said ‘I advise you, as I have said to all those who have gone this way, and say to you that if you (want to) do as I say, do so. If you do not do so, it is up to you. I cannot do anything more for you.’

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<sup>13</sup> Literally: He gave his mind to the rising of the sun.

<sup>14</sup> Literally: Behold a hut.

<sup>15</sup> Literally: from where?



(45) *móre spàŷ.*<sup>1</sup> *múr mòdi bǎŷət.*<sup>1</sup> *móre la-sìgən.*<sup>1</sup> *kuṭ-ile-zila b-ay-ʔúrxa léle qliba.*<sup>1</sup> *móre har-t-àzən.*<sup>1</sup> *kəmət-njurəbble*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-náša sàwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni t-ámrxəx ʔawwéwa malàxa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaláha wéwa mšúdralle támara,*<sup>1</sup> *móre hár t-azəna.*<sup>1</sup> *móre hár t-azət.*<sup>2</sup> *móre hè!*<sup>1</sup>

(46) *móre xzi-ʔána paqðənnux m-diya.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati bṭ-àzet*<sup>1</sup> *ʔax-ʔána paqðənnux ʔəyyela ʔúrxa.*<sup>1</sup> *bṭ-àzət dax-t-it-zála la-zrāq-yòma*<sup>1</sup> *hal-t-àzət la-zrāq-yòma.*<sup>1</sup> *t-àzət*<sup>1</sup> *tre-ṭlá qunáxe xène,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni tre-ṭlá yománe xéne bṭ-áwət maṭróye xās-súsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔállá máṭət ṭla-d-ay-dúkṭa.*<sup>1</sup>

(47) *támara b-xázət xa-túra ramána*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-qámṭe díye xa-čöl.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xoránux ṭ-íla qám-mənnux zile mēṭóye Bálbəl Hazàr*<sup>1</sup> *hóla muryázze támara*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla píše képa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔána mürənnəy,*<sup>1</sup> *mári t-àzət zénət gótə d-o-xarəya.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-gəppa hóle gu-rēš-túra.*<sup>1</sup> *xazətle b-rēš-túra.*<sup>1</sup> *Bálbəl Hazàr hóla gu-d-áwəwa gəppa.*<sup>1</sup> (48) *ʔu-bəṭ-náša lé-məše máṭe támara,*<sup>1</sup> *ma-ṭ-íla ramánta ʔay-dúkṭa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ma-ṭ-íle ʔisára m-kúlla goyáṭa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-Bálbəl Hazàr xǎya támara*<sup>1</sup> *b-xa-ʔúrxa t-ʔəy*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəy ʔíla.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ámša xǎya támara.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-bəṭ-náša xéna lá-ʔaməš xǎye támara.*<sup>1</sup> *móre b-zənət*<sup>1</sup> *gótə d-an-xoránux xène*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-b-qàrət.*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrxət ʔó Bálbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *mára xérət b-áqlət sùsux.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔn-píšla képa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati-zi pészət képa.*<sup>1</sup> *hal-ṭla-gáye qàrət.*<sup>1</sup> *qáṭət ṭlāṭa*<sup>1</sup> *kúllux pészət képa.*<sup>1</sup> (49) *ʔu-ʔən théla Bálbəl Hazàr,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-xazyálux ʔati jwàŋqa,*<sup>1</sup> *yan-bǎyálux,*<sup>1</sup> *bǎya ṭ-àṭya,*<sup>1</sup> *qṭíla xəyála díya,*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámra hóle ʔəṭya*<sup>1</sup> *bálki yǎḏálux ʔati ṭ-it-Gozàli,*<sup>1</sup> *móre bálki ʔəṭya,*<sup>1</sup> *fa-mó ṭ-òḏət.*<sup>2</sup> *šaqłṭla xās-súsa ʔu-ṭ-àṭeti.*<sup>1</sup> (50) *móre: wáy b-šəna,*<sup>1</sup> *š-rəš,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-paqðətli.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána ʔáyya lèḏəmwala.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati qəm-paqðətli,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔat basíma rāba.*<sup>1</sup> *móre də-dmóx ʔádyo làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána w-áti xámləx hal-mbádla.*<sup>1</sup> *mbádla xùš.*<sup>1</sup> *hot-čiya.*<sup>1</sup> *wuḏ-b-xàbri!*<sup>1</sup> *móre bár qəm-amrətla ʔanna-xabráne ʔəlli*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-paqðətli*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa ṭ-òḏən b-xàbrux.*<sup>1</sup> (51) *qíməle*<sup>1</sup> *wíḏa b-xabre díye.*<sup>1</sup> *dmíxəle*<sup>1</sup> *hátxəle ʔítwale xákma šəwyáṭa šəfjəri ṭ-amrəxla.*<sup>1</sup> *dmíxəle xánč támara hal-mbádla.*<sup>1</sup> *jálde qəm-mxéṭət madənxə*<sup>1</sup> *ʔéka b-kále Gozàli.*<sup>2</sup> *qíməle jálde madənxə t-la-mxəya.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ṭla-sawùŋka.*<sup>1</sup> *qù!*<sup>1</sup> *qú qíma!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána šoqənnux b-šəna.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána bṭ-àzən.*<sup>1</sup>

(45) He said ‘Fine. Say what you want.’ He said ‘Do not go. Everyone who has gone on this road has not returned.’ He said ‘I’ll still go’. However much the old man tried—he, as we said, was an angel, whom God had sent there, he said ‘I’ll still go.’ He said ‘Will you still go?’ He said ‘Yes!’ (46) He said ‘Look, I’ll give you instructions from now on. You go off on the road that I direct you on.<sup>16</sup> You should go as you are going towards the East, until you arrive in the East. Go two or three more stages, that is you should ride on horseback two or three more days, then you’ll arrive in that place. (47) You will see there a high mountain, before which there is a plain. Your friends who went before you to bring Bəlbəl Hazar are lined up there. They have all become stone. I said to them, I said (to them what to do). Go and stand next to the last one (in line). The cave is on top of the mountain. You will see it on top of the mountain. Bəlbəl Hazar is in this cave. (48) Nobody can reach there, since the place is so high and since there is such a huge rock on all sides. Bəlbəl Hazar lives there in a her own special way.<sup>17</sup> She can live there but another person cannot live there.’ He said ‘Stand next to the others, your friends, and call out. Say “Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!”’ He says ‘Look at the legs of your horse. If they have become stone, you also will become stone. Call up to three times. The third time, all of you will become stone. (49) If Bəlbəl Hazar comes, (if) she has seen that you are a handsome youth or fallen in love with you and wants to come, has made up her mind (to come) saying “He has come!”—perhaps she knows that you are Gozali’, he said ‘Perhaps she will come, so then what should you do? Take her onto the back of the horse and come back.’ (50) He said ‘A hearty goodbye. You have instructed me. I did not know that. You have given me (valuable) instructions. Thank you.’ He said ‘Sleep here today. You and I will enjoy ourselves until the morning. In the morning, go (on your way)! You are tired. Do as I say!’ He said ‘Since you have said these things to me and have given me instructions, I’ll do as you say’. (51) He did as he said. He went to sleep. He had several travel beds as we call them. He slept awhile there until morning. Early, before the breaking of dawn, Gozali did not tarry.<sup>18</sup> He rose early before dawn broke. He said to the old man. ‘Get up! Get up! I’m leaving you, goodbye. I’m going’.

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<sup>16</sup> Literally: As I instruct you the road is that (one).

<sup>17</sup> Literally: in a way of hers, which she has.

<sup>18</sup> Literally: Where will Guzali stay?

(52) *móre har-zàlɛwət?*<sup>1</sup> *móre hè!*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʾaláha t-áwe m̀nnux<sup>1</sup> də-xùš!*<sup>1</sup> *ʾən-šállá b-qlábtux b-xazánna Bálbəl Hazàr m̀nnux.*<sup>1</sup> *móre puš-b-šèna<sup>1</sup> ʾu-tíwɛle xá-ga xéta xāš-súse díye d-o-kòma<sup>1</sup> ʾu-múttalla ʾáqle gu-rkèwe<sup>1</sup> ʾu-síqɛle gu-d-ó sàrga<sup>1</sup> mtúrša l-an-jaqsíye<sup>1</sup> t-m̀díta<sup>1</sup> m-an-rešáye rába sp̀y.*<sup>1</sup> (53) *ʾu-híwəlle bále la-zrāq-yóma ʾu-ṭryɛle.*<sup>1</sup> *zìlele.*<sup>1</sup> *mó t-ámrx.*<sup>2</sup> *lá m̀rixáxla rába.*<sup>1</sup> *móre xátni Wārda<sup>1</sup> qunáxət t̀láṭha yomáṭha zílalla b-xámša daqíqe<sup>1</sup> ʾu-m̀tyɛle qam-d-o-ṭura.*<sup>1</sup> *mətyéle qam-d-o-ṭura,*<sup>1</sup> *xirèle,*<sup>1</sup> *m̀ijbele.*<sup>1</sup> *muttélé bála b-an-ʾaskarwáṭha.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla ʾaskarwáṭha píše kəpa.*<sup>1</sup> (54) *ʾu-kúlla m̀çuk̀b̀nne.*<sup>1</sup> *yáʾni mən-d-ánna jundíye<sup>1</sup> rába rába rešáye,*<sup>1</sup> *suséy rába tàza<sup>1</sup> ʾu-šlamṭéy náše gabbàre<sup>1</sup> ʾu-náše jwànqe.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-kúlla m̀çuk̀b̀ne<sup>1</sup> ʾu-sepéy b-ay-gòta-w<sup>1</sup> t-amr̀nnux muləxme yáʾni<sup>1</sup> b-čákka-ží<sup>1</sup> rába sp̀y.*<sup>1</sup> (55) *móre ʾánna kúllu holá-ʾəṭhye lela-nublállá Bálbəl Hazàr.*<sup>1</sup> *t-áza t̀láli?*<sup>2</sup> *qímle xáčča lóbbɛ-díye mxàya.*<sup>1</sup> *hé b-zdàya xánč.*<sup>1</sup> *móre bálki ʾap-ʾána lá nabl̀nna,*<sup>1</sup> *lé-mašən nabl̀nna Bálbəl Hazàr.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʾala-kúllən ʾána wáʾdət málka xu-là tawr̀nne-u<sup>1</sup> xu-là-qalbən ʾána,*<sup>1</sup> *lele-éba ʾəlli?*<sup>2</sup> *ʾána háwən Gozàli<sup>1</sup> ʾu-t-ázən t-ámrxən t̀la-málka là-m̀šeli muṭyáli,*<sup>1</sup> *xuš-péšən kəpa<sup>1</sup> la-biš-sp̀y mən-kúlla d-ánna.*<sup>1</sup> *xuš-péšən kəpa ʾap-ʾána.*<sup>1</sup> (56) *qímɛle zína<sup>1</sup> mən-d-o-xaràya.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle xzáyəlle ʾo-xaràya xàṭha<sup>1</sup> bálki qam-xa-šəbṭɛle ʾəṭya.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾánna xéne kúlla hóla tíwta tos-əlla-w<sup>1</sup> láwən m̀šuxləpla xánč.*<sup>1</sup> *zìnele-u<sup>1</sup> mtuxm̀nɛle<sup>1</sup> móre ya-xáṭi Nozáli qəm-šoq̀nnax<sup>1</sup> wa-ʾána gu-xá h̀arj-əwən díya.*<sup>1</sup> *léðm b-xáym<sup>1</sup> ʾm-b-déym t-xaz̀nnax.*<sup>1</sup> (57) *bas-Nozàli,*<sup>1</sup> *xáṭe díye,*<sup>1</sup> *ṭáya l-bále díye.*<sup>1</sup> *w-la čú-məndi gu-dúnɛ lele txàra,*<sup>1</sup> *léle ham-b-m̀awṭe díye<sup>1</sup> ʾu-léle b-ràzi díye.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mára: xuš-m̀èṭən<sup>1</sup> bas-xáṭi Nozáli xaz̀nwala.*<sup>1</sup> *dóryɛle xéra b-gáne díye-u<sup>1</sup> híwəlle bála l-gəppa d-o-láya ʾu-qəryɛle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾó Bálbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *xirɛle<sup>1</sup> líṭ-čú-məndi plíta m-gu-gəppa.*<sup>1</sup> (58) *xirɛle b-áqlət súse díye,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾína hál bərkákət súsa píše kəpa.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʾá ʾúrxi ʾəyyɛla.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʾap-ʾána b-ay-úrxá d-ənnən ʾəṭya<sup>1</sup> ʾu-ʾáyya táli d̀yila.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-híwɛle lóbbá t̀la-gʾáne díye<sup>1</sup> qálət trè:*<sup>1</sup> *ʾó Bálbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *líṭ čú məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *xirɛle<sup>1</sup> ʾaqláṭe díye píše kəpa<sup>1</sup> hál naftáŋge díye<sup>1</sup> ʾu-ʾap ʾiṭáṭe díye.*<sup>1</sup>

(52) He said 'Are you going already?' He said 'Yes!'. He said 'May God be with you. Go! God willing when you return I'll see Bəlbəl Hazar with you.' He said 'Goodbye' and sat once again on the back of his black horse. He put his feet in the stirrups and went up onto the saddle, which was made by the town craftsmen, an excellent, first class one. (53) He set his sights on the East and rode off. He went along. What shall we say? We shall not protract (the story) too much. My father-in-law Warda said (when telling the story) 'he travelled a stage of three days in five minutes' and arrived in front of the mountain. He arrived in front of the mountain, he looked and was amazed. He directed his attention to those armies. All the armies had become stone. (54) They were armed with weapons, they included the top soldiers, their horses were very fine. They had the appearance of warriors, young men. They were all armed with weapons, with their sword on one side,<sup>19</sup> they looked<sup>20</sup> well prepared, that is very fine with their weapons. (55) He said 'All these have come but have not taken Bəlbəl Hazar. Will she come to me? His heart started pounding slightly. Yes, he was rather frightened. He said 'Perhaps also I shall not take her away, I shall not be able to take Bəlbəl Hazar away.' He said 'Well after all, surely I am not going to break the promise of the king, surely I am not going to return (empty-handed). Would not that be a shame on me? (If) I, Gozali, go and say to the king that I could not bring her, come let me turn into stone, (I am) no better than all these. Let me also turn into stone.' (56) He stood with the last one (in the row). He sees that the last one is new, that he has come perhaps a week ago. Dust had settled on all the others and their colour had changed a little. He stood and thought. He said 'Oh my sister Nozali, I have left you and I am in a predicament now. I do not know whether I am alive, whether I shall return and see you. (57) Only Nozali, his sister, came to his mind. He thinks of nothing (else) in the world, not even his death or his pleasure. He says 'Let me die. But, if only I could see my sister Nozali. He took courage and directed his attention to the cave, which was above, and cried 'Oh, Bəlbəl Hazar!' He looked, nothing came out of the cave. (58) He looked at the legs of his horse and saw that up to the knees of the horse it had turned stone. He said 'Oh, my way is the same'. He said 'I have come on the same way as these people. This is the end of me'. He took heart and (cried) a second cry 'Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!' Nothing. He looked, his legs had turned to stone up to his waist, and also his hands.

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<sup>19</sup> Literally: on that side.

<sup>20</sup> Literally: I would say to you.

(59) *hár hole-píša réšət sùsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-m-pálgə d-áw ʔu-bàr-eli*.<sup>1</sup> *bás ʔa-sàwθele mšáya mšáwəθ*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-móre bàssi m-xáye*,<sup>1</sup> *dánela qaránna qálət t̩làθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-áðe mašír díye modíle*.<sup>1</sup> *qàryele*:<sup>1</sup> *ʔó Bálbəl—wíðele Hazàr*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-píša kèpa*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp Gozáli píšle kèpa*!<sup>1</sup> *hadíya mu-t-ódəx m-áxxa-w hátxa*?<sup>1</sup>

(60) *hadíya*,<sup>1</sup> *mó ʔamrənnux*?<sup>1</sup> *xà yóma*<sup>1</sup> *Gozáli l̩θ*.<sup>1</sup> *trè yóme*<sup>1</sup> *Gozáli l̩θ*.<sup>1</sup> *t̩là yóme*.<sup>1</sup> *spírra Nozáli*,<sup>1</sup> *Gozáli l̩θ*.<sup>1</sup> *móra t̩la-málka*:<sup>1</sup> *málka t̩-áwət basíma*.<sup>1</sup> *xóni mšudərrux*.<sup>1</sup> *xóni z̩lle ʔu-lá θèle*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-díya ʔána hon-xšáwa leš-ʔəθe*.<sup>1</sup> *sab-ʔáy ʔurxa hon-šmíta rába náše z̩lela bíya*<sup>1</sup> *w-áp-xa léle díya-w ʔəθya*.<sup>1</sup> (61) *fa-xóni z̩lle*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔána gárəg ʔázən bar-xóni*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bar-ʔurxa t̩-íle-zila gárəg ʔazána*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-ile m̩θa*,<sup>1</sup> *gárəg m̩θən*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔən-ʔəθe ʔáθyən m̩nne*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔən-məθəxla Bálbəl Hazàr*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔána ʔu-áw məθəxla Bálbəl Hazàr*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔən-là*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔaxni tráθənən z̩llan*.<sup>1</sup> (62) *móre ʔáyya t̩-odətla m̩nni*?<sup>1</sup> *móra h̩!*<sup>1</sup> *mrázəgli xa-súsa xwàra*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔaqláθe díye kòme*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xá káxwa gu-be-ʔéne díye kòma*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔáksa d-o-t-xóna díya*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔáy xwàra*<sup>1</sup> *m̩tálbále sùsa*.<sup>1</sup> *hadíya móre málka*:<sup>1</sup> *kú-mdi t-báyyət hàzərile*.<sup>1</sup> *yóma t̩làθa*<sup>1</sup> *kúl-məndi m̩rúgzəle dax-t-wéwa wíða t̩la-Gozáli*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-wíða t̩la-Nozáli*.<sup>1</sup>

(63) *hadíya*<sup>1</sup> *qímtela qedámta j̩alde-u*<sup>1</sup> *muttotəlla ʔáqla díya gu-rkəwe*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-dax-t-wáwa hádəx xəmθa*,<sup>1</sup> *míra wéwa xətni Wàrda*,<sup>1</sup> *báláwala yabíšta xərqá xərqá gu-qđála díya mabyənwa*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-tíwtela xās-sùsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-híwtela bála-díya la-zrāq-yóma*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ya-ʔálaha*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ziltela*.<sup>1</sup> *zilta zilta dax-t-íwa*<sup>1</sup> ... *máto Gozáli xona-díya zila*<sup>1</sup> *hár bíš-bíš-xelántewawa m-àw*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bíš bəyyàwa*<sup>1</sup> *xazyàwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəkele Gozáli*.<sup>1</sup> *bíš ʔitwála hamás t̩la-zàla yáʔni*<sup>1</sup> *xazyáwa mòdi bráya*.<sup>1</sup> (64) *wa-l-hàšəl*<sup>1</sup> *la-mārixəxla rába šəlyele*<sup>1</sup> *malāxət*<sup>1</sup> *bábi ʔalàha*<sup>1</sup> *qámθa díya hár b-a-dúkθa t-wéwa šəlyə qámθət Gozáli*.<sup>1</sup> *móre há Nozáli*!<sup>1</sup> *lékewət b-zàla*?<sup>1</sup> *t̩áyyət xònəx*?<sup>1</sup> *áw yáðe módi qáššət*.<sup>1</sup> *móra h̩!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati m̩n̩iwət*?<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔána híwewən puqdána qa-xònəx*.<sup>1</sup> *léle mušìθəlli*.<sup>1</sup> *ap-t-yáwən puqdána t̩láləx-z̩i*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-ʔati mášmət ʔəlli*<sup>1</sup> *mašmyàti*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-là mašmyət*,<sup>1</sup> *sá méθele xònəx*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xza-ʔəkele*.<sup>1</sup>

(59) The head of the horse and from his middle and upwards were remaining. He could only utter his voice. He said ‘I have had enough of life’. It is time for me to call the third cry’. He knows what his fate will be. He called: ‘Oh Bəlbəl—’ he pronounced ‘Hazar’ and turned into stone. Also Gozali had turned to stone! Now, what can we do from now on?

(60) Now what should I tell you? Gozali was absent for one day. Gozali was absent for two days, three days. Nozali waited, Gozali was not there. She said to the king ‘Oh King, may you be well. You have sent my brother. My brother has gone and not come back. Now I am thinking that he will not come back any more, since I have heard that many people have gone that way but nobody has returned and come back. (61) My brother has gone and I must go after my brother. I must go on the road that he has gone on. If he is dead I must die. If he returns, I shall return with him. If he brings back Bəlbəl Hazar, he and I will bring back Bəlbəl Hazar. If not, both of us will die’. (62) He said ‘Will you do this for me?’ She said ‘Yes! Prepare a white horse for me, with black legs and a black star on its forehead’—the opposite of that of her brother. She requests a white horse. Now the king said ‘Anything you want will be prepared for you’. After three days, every thing was prepared, just as it was done for Gozali, so was it done for Nozali.

(63) She got up early the next morning and put her feet in the stirrups. She was so beautiful, as my father-in-law Warda used to say, that (when) she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck.<sup>21</sup> She sat on the back of the horse. She faced the East, and away she went, she went, as Gozali her brother had gone, but even faster than him, since she wanted so much to find where Gozali was. She had more motivation to go and see what was happening. (64) In short—we shall not prolong (the story)—the angel of God the Father came down to meet her, in the same place as he had come down to meet Gozali. He said ‘Ah, Nozali. Where are you going? Are you looking for your brother? He knew what the story was. She said ‘Yes! Who are you?’ He said ‘I gave instructions to the your brother, but he did not listen to me. I shall give instructions also to you. If you (want to) obey me, obey me. If you do not obey me, go and bring your brother and find where he is (yourself)’.

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<sup>21</sup> *xəŋqa* ‘ring (of cartilage) in neck’.

(65) *móra mòdile qáṣṣət xóni!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔat-yǎðət xá-məndi bas-diye!*<sup>1</sup> *móre hè!*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔáti hot-šmíta b-Bálbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-Bálbəl Hazàr yǎðátla ma-báxta xàmθela!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔékela šíθa gu-xà-ṭura,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-xà-gəppa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-čú bəṛ-náša la-máṭe-lla ʔálla b-rzáyət gána-diya ṭ-àṭya.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-ʔáti rába qam-xónəx zílela!*<sup>1</sup> *léla-məsyə wíðe čù-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔáti-ži hot-mára báyyən ṭ-àzən.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána hon-márəlləx là-sa!*<sup>1</sup> (66) *móra là!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána har-bṭ-àzən.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔálla xazyánne xóni.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔána paqðənnəx dax-ṭ-úwən pqiða ṭla-xónəx.*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle mírele kul-məndi,*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔən-ṭ-ázət tàma,*<sup>1</sup> *xónəx ʔo-xarəyēle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-tós lela-túwa ʔəlle-diye.*<sup>1</sup> (67) *ʔu-xónəx ʔax-ṭ-úwən xəzyálla jwánqa dax-ṭ-úwət ʔáti hátxa mṣuqálta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔáv daxwəθax-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-b-yǎðátte xónəx.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáv-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔávwa háykal diye képa ṭ-ile píša qayəṃθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xwára ʔax-tàlgəle,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔax-xəlyele.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rúmxe diye hətxele škəle diye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-súse diye kòməle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔót gu-be-ʔéne xwàrele.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-kúl-məndi ʔawšáf hùwəlla.*<sup>1</sup> (68) *móre b-zénət b-góte diye!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-b-qàryət Bálbəl Hazàr!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-θéla Bálbəl Hazàr,*<sup>1</sup> *θəla.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-là-θəla,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáti ʔu-xónəx ʔax-ʔəwəgetu hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> *móra ʔána hətxa báyyən.*<sup>1</sup> *móre hətxa báyyət!*<sup>1</sup> *móra hè!*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔána bṭ-ávən mənəx.*<sup>1</sup> *də-púš ləxxa!*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ay-šwíθa t-wewa-dmíxa xónəx,*<sup>1</sup> *hál qedámta!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-sa báθre diye.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔəxxəwa dmíxa!*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ay-šwíθa xónəx.*<sup>1</sup> (69) *qíməle dóryele ʔən-bəṭəniyə xoθa-diya t-wewa-dmíxa Gozáli rəša.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔəy-ži qəṭíθəlle ʔó-lela diya tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-hár dax-xóna diya qímtəla madənxə t-la mxáya jálde malyòze.*<sup>1</sup> *heš-biṣ qam-xóna diya qímtəla.*<sup>1</sup> *mírtəla ṭla-d-áv-naša sáwa puš-b-šəna!*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔálaha ṭ-áwe mənəx.*<sup>1</sup> *sà!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-šállə xèr hawya-ʔúrxa.*<sup>1</sup> (70) *ʔu-ṭríθəla zíltəla b-o-súsa,*<sup>1</sup> *xéna ʔo-súsa diya xwàra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔákəs d-o-t-xóna diya kòma.*<sup>1</sup> *zíltəla-w!*<sup>1</sup> *zílta-w zílta ṭriθa qùwəya!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-hál d-a-dánə ṭ-íla-mṭiθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xzíθəla túra m-rəḥqa.*<sup>1</sup> *móra ʔəwwele!*<sup>1</sup> *mabyóne túra gu-čól ramànele.*<sup>1</sup> *zíltəla mṭiθa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina hóle Gozáli píša képa.*<sup>1</sup> (71) *zvírtəla čənnəkére diye ʔu-bxiθa,*<sup>1</sup> *zvírta-w bxiθa,*<sup>1</sup> *zvírta bxiθa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-nšíqtəlle ʔəsri-gaye,*<sup>1</sup> *b-ʔéne diye,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-lóte diye ʔu-lóte diye nšíqtəlle,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bxiθa hál swáta diya.*<sup>1</sup> *sab-ʔəy xšáwəwa ʔəp-ay pəšəwa képa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya xarəθəla.*<sup>1</sup> *bxiθəla!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-zínta góte diye.*<sup>1</sup> *zínta góte diye,*<sup>1</sup> *xírtəla hóle gəppa ramàna!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-hadíya b-qàrya.*<sup>1</sup>

(65) She said ‘What is the story of my brother? Do you know something about him? He said ‘Yes!’ He said ‘You have heard about Bəlbəl Hazar and you know what a beautiful woman Bəlbəl Hazar is and where she is shut away in a mountain, in a cave. Nobody can reach her, she only comes of her own will. Many people went before your brother and could not do anything. You also are saying “I want to go”. I say to you: Do not go!’ (66) She said ‘No. I shall still go. I must see my brother.’ ‘I shall instruct you, as I instructed your brother’. He said everything (to her), he said ‘If you go there, your brother is the last one (in the row). Dust has not yet settled on him. (67) Your brother, as I have seen, is handsome, just as you are pretty, so he is like you. You will know your brother. His shape, the stone that has become a stature is white like snow, like milk. The shape of his spear is like this. His horse is black. (The mark) that is on its forehead is white’. He gave all the descriptions. (68) He said ‘You should stand by his side and call Bəlbəl Hazar. If Bəlbəl Hazar comes, (fine) she comes. If she does not come, you and your brother will be like a pair.’<sup>22</sup> She said ‘I want (to do) that’. He said ‘Do you want (to do) that?’ She said ‘Yes!’ He said ‘I shall be with you. Stay here, in the bed in which your brother slept, until morning, then go after him’. He said ‘Your brother slept here, in that bed.’ (69) He placed under her the blankets that Gozali had slept on and she also spent the night there. Just as her brother did, she rose before dawn had broken and quickly hastened on her way. She arose even before her brother had. She said to that old man ‘Goodbye!’ He said ‘God be with you. Go! God willing, the way will be good’. (70) She rode off on the horse, the white horse of hers, the opposite of the black one of her brother. She rode hard, until she arrived and saw the mountain from afar. She said ‘It is this one! It seems (from what I have been told) it is a high mountain in the countryside. She reached it and saw Gozali turned to stone. (71) She went around him and wept, she went around and wept, went around and wept. She kissed him twenty times, on his eyes, and kissed him on his cheek (this side) and on his cheek (that side). She wept until she was sated (with weeping), since she thought that also she would turn to stone. She was the last person. She wept and stood by his side. She stood by his side and looked at the cave on high. Now she is about to call out.

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<sup>22</sup> I.e. you will both be stone statues.



(72) *móra* 'anna-námu 'anna là-biš 'táwe m-áwowa Gozáli xóni!<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa párçe díye t-dàwa,<sup>1</sup> hátxa mazlòqe,<sup>1</sup> har-píša kèpa<sup>1</sup> hár t-dàwèle.<sup>1</sup> *móra* b-qáryən 'u-hèš-biš zàwda.<sup>1</sup> klìθela,<sup>1</sup> šwíqtalle xóna díya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-híwtalle bála l-Bálbəl Hazàr.<sup>1</sup> qriθela:<sup>1</sup> 'ó Bálbəl Hazàr!<sup>1</sup> qamáye xírta b-áqlət sùsa díya,<sup>1</sup> la-xírra gu-gèppa.<sup>1</sup> xírra b-áqlət sùsa,<sup>1</sup> liθ-wíya çu-màndi.<sup>1</sup> (73) *móra*: mírele t-láli 'aw-náša sàwa<sup>1</sup> qála qamáya pésət kèpa<sup>1</sup> hal-bərkákət sùsa.<sup>1</sup> hadíya sùsi sàxlām-ile<sup>1</sup> çu-màndi liθ-be.<sup>1</sup> 'á mòdila?<sup>1</sup> mujábtela.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yá'ni šgìšele háwna-díya<sup>1</sup> léla ðá'a módi bràya,<sup>1</sup> hadíya pésa kèpa<sup>1</sup> 'ən la-pésa kèpa.<sup>1</sup> (74) qála qamáya zille bōš<sup>1</sup> lá-pišla kèpa.<sup>1</sup> *móra* xázəyən bənət tré qəryən.<sup>1</sup> qriθela:<sup>1</sup> 'ó Bálbəl Hazàr!<sup>1</sup> xirtela b-áqlət sùsa.<sup>1</sup> çu-màndi liθ.<sup>1</sup> liθ çu-màndi.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xyárele gu-gèppa<sup>1</sup> 'u-liθ 'ap-Bálbəl Hazàr,<sup>1</sup> léla θàya.<sup>1</sup> zēn-Bálbəl Hazàr léla θàya<sup>1</sup> 'u-áqlət sùsa léla-pyaša kèpa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-qəšət mòdila?<sup>1</sup> *móra* 'itli xà-qala xéna.<sup>1</sup> mírəlli 'o-sáwa t-là-qale qáryət.<sup>1</sup> b-qálət t-làθa,<sup>1</sup> yálla t-awéləx jəwāb 'ati,<sup>1</sup> yán pésət kèpa<sup>1</sup> yán t-áθya Bálbəl Hazàr.<sup>1</sup> (75) *béna* 'áyya mərə<sup>1</sup> 'u-gu-xəyála díya hóla mərə<sup>1</sup> 'ána qaryanne 'o-qálət t-làθa<sup>1</sup> bálki kúlli b-xá-gaya pésən kèpa.<sup>1</sup> 'áy hátxela xšáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-léla mhaymòne.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya hola-mára har-gárəg pésən gōt-xóni.<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa xóni píša képa 'ap-ána gárəg pésən.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-hádəx biš-bāya.<sup>1</sup> lá-bāya t-áθya Bálbəl Hazàr.<sup>1</sup> *móra* xázəyən qálət t-làθa qaryanne<sup>1</sup> xázəyən mòdi.<sup>1</sup> (76) qriθela hó Bálbəl Hazàr!<sup>1</sup> 'u-Bálbəl Hazàr<sup>1</sup> príxtela m-tàma,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-o-gèppa plittela.<sup>1</sup> píšəlla xákma gulpàne<sup>1</sup> dāx d-an-t-tèra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-zvrtela rēs-d-ó-tura rēs-d-ó-gèppa xa-čàrxa hátxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-slíθela reša-xtàya,<sup>1</sup> trúp tūwta bāθər Nozàli,<sup>1</sup> xāš-súsa díya,<sup>1</sup> sùsa d-o-xwàra.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-híwtalle bála l-bàθra,<sup>1</sup> xziθəlla.<sup>1</sup> (77) *móra* há Bálbəl Hazàr,<sup>1</sup> θèləx!<sup>1</sup> *móra* hè<sup>1</sup> θèli.<sup>1</sup> *móra* lè-y 'amrúli qá-mo θèləx?<sup>1</sup> 'anna 'anna šazàde<sup>1</sup> 'anna jwànqe,<sup>1</sup> 'anna náše kulla-əθye t-làbəlləx.<sup>1</sup> lét wita-rázi b-kúlla diyéy?<sup>1</sup> 'ána xa-bàxta,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-diyəx.<sup>1</sup> dāx-it θàya 'ati?<sup>1</sup> dāx-it θàya 'əlli?<sup>1</sup> dāx-it θàya?<sup>1</sup>

(72) She said ‘Surely they are not better than Gozali, my brother!’. His golden hair, shining so much, even when turned to stone is still golden. She said ‘I’ll call still more.’ She stopped, then left her brother and directed her attention to Bəlbəl Hazar. She called ‘Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!’ At first she looked at the legs of her horse, she did not look into the cave. She looked at the legs of her horse, nothing had happened. (73) She said ‘The old man said to me “On the first cry you will turn to stone, up to the knees of the horse”. Now my horse is fine. There is nothing the matter with it. What is going on?’<sup>23</sup> She was surprised. Her mind was confused, she did not know what was happening, whether she would now turn to stone or not turn to stone. (74) The first cry was without any consequence.<sup>24</sup> She did not become stone. She said ‘I’ll see (what will happen) when I call the second time’. She called: ‘Oh Bəlbəl Hazar!’ She looked at the legs of her horse, nothing had happened. Nothing had happened. She looks at the cave, but there is no Bəlbəl Hazar, she is not coming. Now, Bəlbəl Hazar is not coming and the legs of her horse are not turning to stone. What is going on? She said ‘I have another cry. The old man said “You will cry out three cries”. Come on, either you will have an answer, or you will turn to stone, or Bəlbəl Hazar will come’. (75) Then she said, she said to herself<sup>25</sup> ‘I shall cry the third cry, perhaps all of me in one go will turn to stone’. She thought like that. She did not believe (Bəlbəl Hazar would come). She said ‘I just have to stay with my brother’. This brother of mine has turned to stone, I also must turn to stone.’ She wants this more, she does not want Bəlbəl Hazar to come. She said ‘I’ll see, I’ll cry the third cry and see what happens’. (76) She called ‘Ho, Bəlbəl Hazar!’ and Bəlbəl Hazar flew from there, she came out of the cave, she had acquired some wings, like those of birds. She went round above the mountain, above the cave in a circuit, like this, and went down, head first, and thud, sat behind Nozali, on the back of her horse, her white horse. She turned to look behind her and saw her. (77) She said ‘Oh Bəlbəl Hazar, you have come! She said ‘Yes, I have come’. She said ‘Will you not tell me why you have come?’ These many princes, these young men, these people have all come to seek your hand. Were you not satisfied with all of them? I am a woman, like you. Why do you come now? Why do you come to me?’

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<sup>23</sup> Literally: What is it?

<sup>24</sup> Literally: went empty.

<sup>25</sup> Literally: in her mind.

(78) *móra* 'ána *t-amránna sárr-diyi t̄läləx*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hiç *xa-náša le-yäðéwala*.<sup>1</sup> *móra mōdila sárr-diyəx*.<sup>2</sup> *móra* 'ána<sup>1</sup> *yäðánna qəşşət-diyax* 'u-t-xónəx<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-málka 'u-t-brōn-málka.<sup>1</sup> *yäðánna qəşşət̄ȳ*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána *m̄θewən*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni muméθewən b-'alaha*,<sup>1</sup> *muméθewən*,<sup>1</sup> *kámət 'úrət dúnye* 'áθa *báθri le-y-azána*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-hiç-'urza*.<sup>1</sup> *bas-'ən* 'áθya *xá-baxta nabláli qa-kut-bäya*,<sup>1</sup> *yan-qa-xóna diya*,<sup>1</sup> 'ána *b̄t-azána*.<sup>1</sup> (79) *móra* 'áwwəle *qawola-diyi*.<sup>1</sup> *w-áti θéləx*,<sup>1</sup> 'a-qaməθa *báxta θéləx*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yäðánne *xónəx hole-gótəx*.<sup>1</sup> *móra zēn-'ána hon-nabólləx t̄la-brón málka*.<sup>1</sup> *móra* 'ána *şar̄t-diyi 'áyyela*.<sup>1</sup> 'áti *mò-bäyət mánni*.<sup>2</sup> *had̄iya mò-bäyət mánni*.<sup>2</sup> (80) *móra* 'ána *bäyən mən̄nəx*<sup>1</sup> 'áwwə *xóni*<sup>1</sup> 'odátle *xá-ga xéta mädərat̄le náşma diye*.<sup>1</sup> *mädərat̄le t-páyəş náşa*,<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-nablánne 'ap-əw*,<sup>1</sup> *xéna táma mqārərx* 'áti *báxtə d-əni t-əwət*.<sup>1</sup> *táma* 'áti *kut-bäyət górat 'əw*.<sup>1</sup> *xázəx* 'ahwaláttət *málka*,<sup>1</sup> *mó t-amárrən málka*,<sup>1</sup> 'áxn̄i *xoθ-tagbártət málkəx*,<sup>1</sup> *lá-maşəx mən-qāwan̄in d-əw pältəx*.<sup>1</sup> (81) *móra* 'ap-'áyya *bəř-əqəl-ila*.<sup>1</sup> *móra Bəlbəl Hazār*,<sup>1</sup> *móra* 'ána<sup>1</sup> 'imət *xónəx mädəranne*<sup>1</sup> 'odánne *náša xa-ga-xéta qa-diyəx*,<sup>1</sup> *rába 'əbèle-lli qa-t kúlla 'anna-jwánqe xéne şoqánna kəpa*.<sup>1</sup> *móra kúlla mädəranm̄ȳ*.<sup>1</sup> *mädəranney*.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'ána-w *áti-w xónəx*<sup>1</sup> 'úln̄ *əláqa m-gəðəde-əxn̄i t̄láθa*.<sup>1</sup> 'anna *xène*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa 'ázəl bəθa diye*.<sup>1</sup> (82) *móra* 'ən-'odátla 'áyya *rába spáy-ila*<sup>1</sup> *qa-kúlla d-ánna náşe*,<sup>1</sup> *qa-marwaθəȳ*,<sup>1</sup> *qa-kúlla 'álma b-şáme Bəlbəl Hazār*<sup>1</sup> *rába spáy baxtəla*.<sup>1</sup> *móra də-yälla*.<sup>1</sup> *mōdila wíðta*.<sup>2</sup> *har-xə-gaya m̄suléθela qa-'álaha-w p̄şit̄la 'ída-diya l-şməyya*.<sup>1</sup> *móra ya-'álaha*<sup>1</sup> *hal-róxa qa-d-ánna náşe t̄-ila píşe kəpa*,<sup>1</sup> *róxa hal-'əlləy qá-t xa-ga-xéta dəri p̄éşi náşe*.<sup>1</sup> (83) *xéna 'álaha gōřele*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áyya<sup>1</sup> *mátlab diya gōřele*.<sup>1</sup> 'álaha *qəm-şáméle qála diya*.<sup>1</sup> *dax-t-mirtela*,<sup>1</sup> *róxa 'áwra gu-d-ánna képe p̄éşi náşe*<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúlla 'áskar qlíbelə *píşe náşe xa-ga-xéta*.<sup>1</sup> 'iman *t̄-ila-píşe náşe*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kút-xa *şráxa b-o-xəna*.<sup>1</sup> (84) 'o-mára 'ənən *múθyalla Bəlbəl Hazār*,<sup>1</sup> 'áni *hola-xzálla Bəlbəl Hazār hōla*.<sup>1</sup> *kút-ile mára 'ənən múθyalla Bəlbəl Hazār*,<sup>1</sup> 'áy *mōdi wíðla*.<sup>2</sup> *qəm-marmála 'ída-diya rəş-kulləy*<sup>1</sup> *móra 'áp-xa mən̄néxu lá-mşawəθ máşit̄u 'əlli*.<sup>1</sup> 'áni *kúlla m̄şit̄hela*<sup>1</sup> 'əlla-diya.<sup>1</sup> *móra 'áp-xa mən̄néxu la-'əmər*.<sup>1</sup> 'ána *múθyonna Bəlbəl Hazār*.<sup>1</sup> *Bəlbəl Hazār*<sup>1</sup> 'ile *múθyalla lēle 'úrza*.<sup>1</sup> *brətela*,<sup>1</sup> *hóla láxxa Nozálila*,<sup>1</sup> *xáθət Gozáli*.<sup>1</sup> (85) 'áwwə *Gozáli ləwən θiθa b-xabre diye*.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *xáθe diyela*.<sup>1</sup> *b-xábrət xáθə diyən θiθa*.<sup>1</sup> 'áy *nubláli*.<sup>1</sup> 'áxtu *kúlləxu 'azítu bəθa*.<sup>1</sup> *bas-'áxtu kúlləxu č̄detu*<sup>1</sup> 'əl-bəθət *málka*<sup>1</sup> *t̄-ila Gozáli* 'u-*Nozáli gu-bēθ-diye*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*t-ázəx masyəxəx m-brōn-diye*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*brōne diye şoqəxle bəşəm*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*Gozáli 'u-Nozáli táma mqārərx*<sup>1</sup> *mó-b̄t-awe māşit̄r diyəy*.<sup>1</sup>

(78) She said 'I shall tell you my secret. Nobody knew it before'. She said 'What is your secret?' She said 'I know the story of you and your brother, and of the king and the son of the king. I know their story. I have sworn, that is taken an oath by God, I have taken an oath that however many men in the world may come after me I shall not go to any man. But, if a woman comes to take me to anyone she wants, or to her brother, I shall go'. (79) She said 'This is my word. Now, you have come. You are the first woman to come. I know that your brother is by your side'. She said 'Well, I shall take you to the son of the king'. She said 'My condition is this. What do you want from me? Now, what do you want from me?' (80) She said 'I want you to make my brother (alive) again and return his breath to him, make him become a man again, so that I can take him away, then we shall decide whose wife you will be. There, you can marry anybody you like. Let us see what the circumstances of the king are, what the king says. We are under the administration of the king. We cannot deviate from his laws.' (81) She said 'Also this (decision) is wise'. Bəlbəl Hazar said 'When I bring your brother back and make him a man again for you, it would be a great shame for me to leave all these other young men stone'. She said 'I shall bring them all back, I shall bring them back. But I, you and your brother, we three have a bond together. These other ones, each will go to his home'. (82) She said 'If you do that, it would be very good for all those people, for their families, so that everybody will hear that Bəlbəl Hazar is a very good woman'. She said 'Go ahead!' What did she do? She prayed once to God and stretched her hand to heaven. She said 'Oh God, give spirit to these people who have become stone, give them spirit so that they will once again become men'. (83) Now, God is great and her request was great also. God heard her voice. As she said, a spirit entered the stones and they became men. All the army returned and became men once again. When they had become men, they were all shouting at one another. (84) One said 'It was I who brought Bəlbəl Hazar, (since) they saw that Bəlbəl Hazar was there. Everybody who said 'It was I who brought Bəlbəl Hazar', what did she do (to him)? She raised her hand over all of them and said 'None of you talk, but listen to me!' They all listened. She said 'None of you should say "I brought Bəlbəl Hazar"'. Bəlbəl Hazar was brought by somebody who was not a man, but a girl. She is here, Nozali, the sister of Gozali. (85) I did not come at the word of this Gozali. She is his sister. I came at the word of his sister. I have taken her (with me). You all go home. But, you are all invited to the house of the king, in which Gozali and Nozali are staying. We shall go and visit his son and we shall make his son get better. We shall decide there what the future of Gozali and Nozali will be.'

(86) 'an-xéne kúlla skíte.<sup>1</sup> mo-bt-ámri:<sup>2</sup> qārār-díya 'àwwele.<sup>1</sup> kúlla šmilà-lle.<sup>1</sup> mára kulléxu báθrən báθrən t-ázəx l-béθət málka.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'àskar,<sup>1</sup> Gozàli<sup>1</sup> 'u-áy Nozàli<sup>1</sup> b-xāš-sùsa-w<sup>1</sup> Bálbəl Hazár mənney.<sup>1</sup> 'u-pišla gu-háflla gòrta<sup>1</sup> 'u-tréla gu-d-a-čòl<sup>1</sup> zilla.<sup>1</sup> (87) zilla mšéla l-a-dúkθa t-íwa maláxa qamθèy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-maláxa xá-ga xéta qəm-mšadərre 'aláha,<sup>1</sup> šlèle.<sup>1</sup> táma maláxa yáðe módi bràya.<sup>1</sup> 'aláha šúxa l-šomme yáðe<sup>1</sup> módi bràya.<sup>1</sup> hè,<sup>1</sup> qārār d-ànile.<sup>1</sup> hadíya móre hà!<sup>1</sup> 'o-náša sáwa θèle.<sup>1</sup> tráθna dréla šláma 'ille 'u-qəm-našqíle m-ay-góta l-àyya.<sup>1</sup> mára 'áti rába wíðət spayùθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-'átit pqiðəllən.<sup>1</sup> (88) móre Nozàli<sup>1</sup> spáy wíðəx zilləx.<sup>1</sup> 'ána yáðəm Bálbəl Hazár mátoła θiθa.<sup>1</sup> θiθa b-xábrət diyəxila.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'aláha t-áwe mónnəx 'u-mən-xónax.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána xášwən 'áp-brón-málka b-tàrəš.<sup>1</sup> bas-tàma<sup>1</sup> qəššət diyəx<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-xónəx<sup>1</sup> péša màtya<sup>1</sup> l-xarayúθa diyə<sup>1</sup> 'u-haqquθéxu le-y-tálqa,<sup>1</sup> sab-'áxtu mən-zoruθéxu gārəg pəšitu tliqe b-'ámrrət málka<sup>1</sup> 'ina málka b-xáyər biyèxu<sup>1</sup> 'áxtu pyáša b-šáwpe diyə.<sup>1</sup> só 'aláha t-áwe mənneyxu.<sup>1</sup>

(89) hadíya qímela zile.<sup>1</sup> šwiqəlle sáwunka tàma.<sup>1</sup> dwiqəlle 'ide diyə<sup>1</sup> 'u-zile.<sup>1</sup> wa-l-hásəl mətýela<sup>1</sup> qúrbət mđítət málka<sup>1</sup> 'u-siqəlla náše t-íla xózyəlley gu-čòl<sup>1</sup> mašxóde qa-málka.<sup>1</sup> mára málka t-áwət basima,<sup>1</sup> θéla xa-'áskar gòrta,<sup>1</sup> 'əstəqbál diyux yá'ni<sup>1</sup> b-xzəyəllux<sup>1</sup> θáya masýoxe m-brónux mənnux<sup>1</sup> wúð qunáxa gòra,<sup>1</sup> rába nàšela.<sup>1</sup> rába nàšela.<sup>1</sup> (90) málka šgəšele,<sup>1</sup> plítéle gu-čòl,<sup>1</sup> mútta bəle-lla.<sup>1</sup> čól mlíθa susəwáθa 'u-'áskar 'u-θáya qšáda l-béθe diyə.<sup>1</sup> hadíya málka wíðəlle 'əstəqbəl.<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'á'əla diyə 'u-náše diyə šəlyela.<sup>1</sup> béna Nozàli qamèθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-Bálbəl Hazár bàθra<sup>1</sup> 'u-Gozàli bàθra<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áskar kúlla bàθra.<sup>1</sup> (91) málka mərə<sup>1</sup> mənnəx təlbən Nozàli<sup>1</sup> 'áti múrri mōdile.<sup>2</sup> mōdile.<sup>2</sup> 'áyya θeθéxu mōdila.<sup>2</sup> 'ána mšúdrən Gúzali 'u-'áti.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna mōdila-'áyya.<sup>2</sup> mára 'ána lá-məšən 'amrənnux čü-məndi.<sup>1</sup> t-amrálux Bálbəl Hazár.<sup>1</sup> 'áti mšúdrət Bálbəl Hazár báyət.<sup>1</sup> mára là báyət Bálbəl Hazár:<sup>2</sup> móre yé 'áyya báyəm.<sup>1</sup> (92) mára 'áyya bt-amrálux.<sup>1</sup> mo-bt-amrálux bt-awðət.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là-'awðət,<sup>1</sup> b-təlqət.<sup>1</sup> mára y-ámša Bálbəl Hazár,<sup>1</sup> b-'ámrrət 'aláha<sup>1</sup> b-talqálux.<sup>1</sup> mára 'áy hatxa-múrtəlli t-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup> mbáqər b-gánux t-amrálux.<sup>1</sup> (93) qlíbele málka,<sup>1</sup> 'əθya zína qám Bálbəl Hazár.<sup>1</sup> móre Bálbəl Hazár 'ána málkewəm.<sup>1</sup> bás 'ána b-tlábewəm mənnəx<sup>1</sup> t-yàwət<sup>1</sup> xa-daršana qa-bróni.<sup>1</sup> bróni myəθele.<sup>1</sup> fa-'áti mó mqārərət<sup>1</sup> háðəx t-àwe.<sup>1</sup> múrri mōdila 'áyya qəššátta.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya lən-praməlla 'áyya qəššátta<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'ánna náše θèla.<sup>1</sup>

(86) All the others were silent. What could they say? This was her decision. Everybody obeyed it. She said 'All of you (follow) behind us and we shall go to the house of the king.' The army (went along), Gozali and Nozali, on horseback, with Bəlbəl Hazar with them. It became a big party. They rode in the countryside and went along. (87) They came to the place where the angel met them. God once again sent the angel and he came down. The angel knew what was happening there. God, praise be upon his name, knows what happens. Yes, it was their decision. Now he (the angel) said 'Ah!' The old man came. They both greeted him and kissed him on this side and on that. They said 'You did a lot of good and you instructed us'. (88) He said 'Nozali, it is good that you went. I know how Bəlbəl Hazar came. She came by your word. May God be with you and with your brother. I think, furthermore, that the son of the king will be cured. There your story and that of your brother will reach its end, but your lawful right will not be lost. In your childhood, indeed, you were supposed to disappear by the command of the king, but the king will watch you take his place. Go! May God be with you'.

(89) Now, they went off. They left the old man there. They shook his hand and went off. In short, they arrived near to the town of the king and people who had seen them in the countryside went up to give the good news to the king. They said 'King, may you be well. A large army has come to visit you, that is to see you, to make a visit to you and your son. Make a big feast. They are many people. They are many people.' (90) The king was shaken. He went out into the countryside and made towards them. The countryside was full of horses and an army was coming towards his house. Now, the king made a reception. His family and his relatives came down. Nozali was first, Bəlbəl Hazar behind and Gozali behind her, with all the army behind them. (91) The king said 'I ask you, Nozali, tell me, what is it? What is this procession of yours? I sent you and Gozali. These people—what is this?' She said 'I cannot tell you anything. Bəlbəl Hazar will tell you. You sent (us) and wanted Bəlbəl Hazar'. She said 'Don't you want Bəlbəl Hazar?' He said 'Yes. I want her'. (92) She said 'She will tell you. You must do as she says. If you do not do it, you are lost'. She said 'Bəlbəl Hazar can do so, by God's command she will obliterate you'. She said 'She told me to tell you this. Ask (her) yourself and she will tell you'. (93) The king turned round and went and stood before Bəlbəl Hazar. He said 'Bəlbəl Hazar. I am the king. All I request from you is to give a cure to my son. My son is dying. Whatever you decide, so be it. Tell me what this is all about. I do not understand this. All these people have come'.

(94) *mára yǎḏət mòdila?*<sup>1</sup> *ʾána mírtewən le-y-ʾáthyən b-xábrət cū-ʾurza,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾílla t-áthya báxta maḥyàli.*<sup>1</sup> *mára kəmə t-ilá-ʾəthye nəšə,*<sup>1</sup> *kəmə t-ilá-ʾəthye šazáde-u jwàŋqe,*<sup>1</sup> *lèn θiθa ʾu-le-y-ʾáthyən.*<sup>1</sup> *háttá Gozáli b-gáne mšudrǝtle lèn θiθa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾána míθənwa l-márya ʾalàha*<sup>1</sup> *ʾílla t-áthyáwa báxta bàθri,*<sup>1</sup> *t-azámwa.*<sup>1</sup> (95) *mára θéla Nozáli,*<sup>1</sup> *hon-θiθa,*<sup>1</sup> *b-xábrət Nozáli.*<sup>1</sup> *w-ána hon-mírta tla-Nozáli*<sup>1</sup> *ʾána lə-gáwrən ʾílla xóna díya Gozáli.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾína ʾən-ʾáti mwáfqət qa-t-goránne Gozáli,*<sup>1</sup> *brónux b-tàrəš*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-b-qâyəm.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾína Nozáli ʾu-Gozáli*<sup>1</sup> *b-t-áwi m-gēb-brónux*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-áwwa bəθux.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-lá ʾamrǝtla cū-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-lá-qemət ʾəlləy.*<sup>1</sup> (96) *gu-d-áwwa bəθux t-àwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-ʾáni pəšǝ málke.*<sup>1</sup> *mən-ʾədyo*<sup>1</sup> *malkùθa*<sup>1</sup> *m-bnónux qǎta.*<sup>1</sup> *páyəš Gozáli málka,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-Bǝlbəl Hazár báxte díye,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-xáθe díye princess t-óya,*<sup>1</sup> *yáʾni hátxa xá šazátta gu-béθa ʾap-ày.*<sup>1</sup> *yáʾni ʾu-xzi màto t-óya.*<sup>1</sup> *hèl xèna-w*<sup>1</sup> *pǝšle xo-ʾámr al-wàqə*<sup>1</sup> *mo-t-àwəð.*<sup>2</sup> *ləš-ile mǝsya.*<sup>1</sup> (97) *ʾu-qiməle*<sup>1</sup> *màre*<sup>1</sup> *bas-bróni tàrəš,*<sup>1</sup> *kú-mdit bǎyati*<sup>1</sup> *t-óðəx hədəx.*<sup>1</sup> *mára ʾá puqdánət ʾalàhele.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾən-lá-ʾoðət b-xábrət ʾalàha,*<sup>1</sup> *b-talqəti.*<sup>1</sup> *qiməle,*<sup>1</sup> *məðya*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-wiða tawqǝ*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-kúl məndi,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t ʾáyya ləš-dàre bas-díya*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-litlə šùla-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʾánna pəšǝ ʾax-bnóne díye gu-bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> (98) *ʾu-bróne díye tàrəš.*<sup>1</sup> *brón-díye trǝšle*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-pǝštela bəna tǎθa yomáθa xlùla,*<sup>1</sup> *mbaróxəlla Bǝlbəl Hazár*<sup>1</sup> *l-Gozáli.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-xa-šadlaxána gǝrta,*<sup>1</sup> *mírewa xǝtni Wàrda*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-bríθela zmàrta-w*<sup>1</sup> *lèlyàna-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-ràwe-u*<sup>1</sup> *bándət Muḥámmad ʾÁrəf*<sup>1</sup> *lèla šwiqe zmàrtət lèla mǝre,*<sup>1</sup> *kùlla zmaryáθa.*<sup>1</sup> *wiðela xlùla rába tàza.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-t-ámrx ʾax-t-wewa míra xǝtni Wàrda*<sup>1</sup> *ʾána šwiqáli táma ʾu-θèli-laxxa.*<sup>1</sup>

(94) She said 'Do you know what it is? I said that I would not come by the word of any man, unless a woman came to fetch me'. She said 'However many people came, however many princes and young men came, I did not come, and I would not come'. Even when you sent Gozali himself, I did not come. I had sworn to the Lord God that only if a woman came after me would I go'. (95) She said 'Nozali came and I came by the word of Nozali. I said to Nozali that I would only marry her brother Gozali. But, if you agree for me to marry Gozali, your son will be cured and will get up (off his sickbed). Nozali and Gozali, however, will stand in place of your son in this house of yours. You will not say anything to them nor will you turn against them. (96) They will be in this house of yours and they will become kings. From this day kingship will be cut off from your son. Gozali will become king and Bəlbəl Hazar his wife. His sister will be princess, that is a princess in the house, also she. See how it will turn out'. Yes, indeed it came into effect. What could he do? He could no longer do anything. (97) He said 'Only let my son be cured. We shall do everything you want'. She said 'This is God's command. If you do not do the word of God, you will be obliterated.' He signed and authorized it, and so forth, (pledging) that he would never again talk about it, that he would not interfere and that they would become like his children in the house. (98) His son recovers. His son recovered and after three days there was a wedding. They married Bəlbəl Hazar to Gozali. There was a big party, as my father-in-law Warda used to say. There was singing, *lelyana* songs, *rawe* songs, the songs of Muḥammad 'Arif. There was not a song that they did not sing. They sang all the songs and made a beautiful wedding. We say, as my father-in-law Warda said, I have left it there and come here.



A9 THE SCORPION AND THE SNAKE

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošəba Kena (Dure)

(1) 'ithwa xa-nāša' 'áwwa zille zrə'a. 'zoryele xáčča', xərθa, 'brōn-diye' 'éle šənthe diye, 'qəm-madməxle. 'ithwa xáčča míya šlāya, 'šaqiθa. 'qəm-mathéle tāma. 'dmixle kəs-d-əy šaqiθa. 'o-xéna zrəyele. 'xərθa 'əθyele xəzyele 'ina l-ay-gōt-hódəx t-šaqiθa' 'ithwa δa-pəqqe. (2) m-əy-gota' pəqqe šwirra l-a-gōt-hódəx t-šaqiθa. 'klèla, 'síqla dá 'aqərwa xáša diya. 'síqla xáša diya' 'u-mašurála b-a-gōt-míya 'áthe làxxa. 'brōn-d-o-nāša dmixele támma, 'aqərwa šléla m-xás-t pəqqe, 'théla wirra xo-réšə d-o-yála. (3) 'u-šqille xá-kepa bābe diye, 'bābə d-o-yála, 'móre qatłnna yáha 'aqərwa diya. 'áyya pəqqe zilla muθyála 'aqərwa m-ay-gōt-hódəx miya. 'muθyála láxxa ta-t-nesále brōni, 'brōni məyəθ. 'qatłnna yáha 'aqərwa. 'xərθa xá-ga xéta klèle. (4) 'móre škíra šəmmux ya-əalaha. 'ən-əti báyət brōni máyəθ b-əyya 'úrxa, 'oðštla 'áyya pəqqe bəlam, 'əzəl m-d-ay-góta xətə šaqiθa, 'šaqlála 'aqərwa l-xáša diya, 'máθya l-əyya gota, 'u-əθya tla-t-nesále brōni məyəθ, 'xləpux ya-əalaha. 'hár 'əjbóna diyux-ile. (5) rapéle 'o-kəpa' là qəm-qatəlla 'aqərwa. 'o-xišle' píšle zrəya zrəya. 'xá-palgət sət, 'xá-sət xəna, 'əw léle ráhat. 'móre brōn-diya hār hóle míθa. 'aqərwa nistəlle. 'zilele' mùkləlla táwre t-wéwa zrəya. 'šqille bróne diye' 'móre šaqlənna jənəze diye' nablənna bəθa. (6) dorya 'ide b-brōn-diye. 'brōn-diye qimwale. 'móre ha-bābi mò báyət? 'móre cū-məndi báyən. 'prìqlì' t-əzəx bəθa. 'xírre xo-réšə d-o-yála. 'ithwa xá-boyət xúwwe. 'xá-xúwwe plíta táma báyə nayásle tla-brōn d-ó falləh. 'áyya 'aqərwa θiθa' gu-réšə d-o-bəya' qitləlle, 'qəm-qatləle 'o-xúwwe. 'móre 'ən-əna hawənwə qitləlla 'əyáha 'aqərwa, 'áwwa xúwwe t-awéwa qitla tla-brōni. 'šqille brōn-diye' zille bəθa.

## A9 THE SCORPION AND THE SNAKE

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošāba Kena (Dure)

(1) There was a man, who went to plough. He ploughed a little, then his son became sleepy and he laid him down to sleep. There was some water flowing, a channel. He took him there. He went to sleep by that channel while the other one (his father) was ploughing. Then he came back and he saw that on the farther side of the channel there was a frog. (2) From one side the frog jumped to the other side of the channel. It stood still and a scorpion mounted onto its back. It mounted its back and it (the frog) took it across to this side of the water so that it came here. The son of that man was sleeping here. The scorpion got down from the back of the frog and went underneath the pillow of the child. (3) His father, the father of the boy, took a stone and said 'I'll kill that scorpion right now. This frog has brought the scorpion from the other side of the water. It has brought it here to bite my son, my son will die. I shall kill that scorpion.' Then he refrained. (4) He said 'Praise be your name, oh God, if you will that my son die by this means, that you make this frog into a boat to go from the other side of the channel and take a scorpion on its back, bringing it to this side, for it to bite my son that he should die, let it be as you wish<sup>1</sup> oh God, it is your will.' (5) He threw away the stone and did not kill the scorpion. He went off and continued to plough. Half an hour, an hour later, he was not comfortable. He said 'My son is already dead. The scorpion has bitten him'. He went and stopped the oxen, which were ploughing. He took his son and said 'I'll take his coffin and carry him home'. (6) He put his hand on his son, his son was awake.<sup>2</sup> He said 'Ah, father, what do you want?' He said 'I don't want anything. I have finished. Let's go home. He looked under the head of the boy. There was a snake's hole. A snake had come out of there wanting to bite the son of that peasant. The scorpion had come to the opening of the hole and killed it, it killed the snake. He said 'If I had killed that scorpion, that snake would have killed my son'. He took his son and went home.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: It is for your sake.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: had risen.

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošāba Kena (Dure)

(1) 'áþ-ʔana dāqrən<sup>1</sup> 'ax-déwa kòra<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa mòdi qəššət.<sup>21</sup> xa-šāwána qam-ʔrwe<sup>1</sup> rāya,<sup>1</sup> y-azəlwa qam-ʔrwe,<sup>1</sup> kút-yum xá 'ərbe-díye tələqwa.<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma mgošəqle,<sup>1</sup> mərə xázən 'an-ʔrwe 'əkəla xása,<sup>1</sup> tla-mòdi tlāqa.<sup>1</sup> síqle xa-dùkθa<sup>1</sup> gu-xa-gāra.<sup>1</sup> muttūle rāqāba d-an-ʔrwe díye.<sup>1</sup> xzélé xa-ʔrba ríqle síqle l-túra.<sup>1</sup> (2) 'áþ-ʔaw 'àsəq báθre,<sup>1</sup> 'àsəq, 'àsəq.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-ʔrba wírre gu-xa-gəþpa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xa-déwa kòra táma,<sup>1</sup> kòra.<sup>1</sup> dmíxa qam-d-o-déwa<sup>1</sup> 'o-déwa píšle xála mən-d-o-ʔrba,<sup>1</sup> qəm-axəlle.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-ʔəθyēle<sup>1</sup> wírele xázya 'o-déwa xála 'ərbe díye.<sup>1</sup> bāye qatəlwalē<sup>1</sup> (3) xá-ga xéta kléle.<sup>1</sup> mərə škíra šəmmət 'álaha,<sup>1</sup> mərə 'áwwa déwa léle šálya gu-ʔrbi.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa 'rbi<sup>1</sup> m-gáne díye θéle ríqle l-túra.<sup>1</sup> dmíxle qam-d-áwwa déwa,<sup>1</sup> hóle xəlalle.<sup>1</sup> kléle mtuxmənnē<sup>1</sup> mərə yá-marya 'álaha,<sup>1</sup> mərə 'o-déwa léle lá plíxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá zərya<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá xzída,<sup>1</sup> hot-yàwəlle rəsqe díye<sup>1</sup> hóle xála.<sup>1</sup> 'áþ-ʔana šələn dāmχən bəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áti májbur t-yàtli rəsqi.<sup>1</sup> (4) šléle l-b-èθa.<sup>1</sup> báxte díye mərə<sup>1</sup> kēla 'rwe,<sup>1</sup> gāwra.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'rwe hòla gu-túra.<sup>1</sup> bāyət,<sup>1</sup> sε-mkàpəšla!<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xa-kàwe<sup>1</sup> l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> dmíxle bārqūl d-ay-kàwe.<sup>1</sup> dəryēle šwíθe díye tāmā.<sup>1</sup> bāxta síqta muθéθəlla 'rwe díye.<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma-w<sup>1</sup> tré-u t-làθa<sup>1</sup> har-hóle dmíxa.<sup>1</sup> (5) mərə gāwra!<sup>1</sup> qu-sí qam-ʔrwe!<sup>1</sup> 'axni mò t-áxləx.<sup>21</sup> mò šátəx.<sup>21</sup> mára 'áþ-ʔana dāqrən 'ax-déwa d-o-kòra.<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma mbuqərra mərə mòdi m-áyya qəššət díye 'o-déwa kòra.<sup>21</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> 'rwe<sup>1</sup> 'o-xá-dewa kóra dmíxa gu-túra.<sup>1</sup> kút-yum xá-ʔrwe<sup>1</sup> y-arəqwa y-ásəq qám. . . d-o-déwa,<sup>1</sup> 'aw y-axəlwalē.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'áþ-ʔana dāqrən 'ax-d-ó-dewa kòra.<sup>1</sup> hát 'álaha yállli rəsqi b-áyya kàwe,<sup>1</sup> 'axxa t-áwən dmíxa.<sup>1</sup> (6) 'áyya bāxta<sup>1</sup> lá-mšela mxuməla 'rwe.<sup>1</sup> 'rwe qəm-zabnəla.<sup>1</sup> píšla fāqire.<sup>1</sup> kút-yum 'azáwa l-túra maθyáwa ḏa-kérta qésa l-xása díya<sup>1</sup> 'u-zabnəwa.<sup>1</sup> šáqla xa-ləxma,<sup>1</sup> pálga tla-gāwra<sup>1</sup> pálga tla-d-əy,<sup>1</sup> y-axlīwa.<sup>1</sup> (7) xá-yoma síqla l-túra,<sup>1</sup> šléla 'áqla díya gu-xa-čāle.<sup>1</sup> šaqlála 'áqla,<sup>1</sup> 'ina xa-qadálta dāwe.<sup>1</sup> tfiqla dāwe xo-ʔáqla díya.<sup>1</sup> mərə b-álaha hóle híwəlle rəsqa d-áwra gāwra t-wéwa mára 'ána dāqrən 'ax-déwa d-o-kòra.<sup>1</sup> šqiltəla mən-dāwe,<sup>1</sup> šlíθəla kəs-gāwre díye.<sup>1</sup>

A10 I AM WORTH THE SAME AS A BLIND WOLF

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošāba Kena (Dure)

(1) I am worth the same as a blind wolf—What is the story? A shepherd used to go to look after sheep. Every day one of his sheep was lost. One day he looked and said ‘Let me see where these sheep are going, why are they disappearing’. He went up to a place on a hill. He set up an observation point for his sheep. He saw one sheep running up the mountain. (2) He went up after him. He went up and up. The sheep entered a cave. There was a blind wolf there, blind. It slept in front of that wolf. The wolf started eating the sheep, and ate it up. He came inside and saw the wolf eating his sheep. He wanted to kill him. (3) Then he refrained and said ‘Praise be the name of God’, he said ‘This wolf has not come down among my sheep. This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord. It went to sleep before this wolf and it is now eating it.’ He stood and thought, he said ‘Oh Lord God’, he said ‘That wolf has neither worked, nor cultivated, nor harvested, but you are giving it its sustenance and it is eating it. I also shall go down and sleep at home. You will be obliged to give me my sustenance’. (4) He went down to his home. His wife said ‘Where are the sheep, husband?’ He said ‘The sheep are in the mountains. If you want, go and gather them up!’ There was a window in the roof. He slept opposite that window. He put his bed there. His wife went up to bring back his sheep. One day, two, three, he just slept. (5) She said ‘Husband! Go and look after the sheep! What shall we eat? What shall we drink?’ He said ‘I am worth as much as that blind wolf’. One day she asked saying ‘What is this story about the blind wolf?’ He said ‘Our sheep—such a blind wolf is sleeping in the mountains. Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf and he would eat it. I am worth as much as that blind wolf. Until God gives me my sustenance through this window, I shall sleep here.’ (6) The woman could not keep the sheep. She sold the sheep. They became poor. Everyday she would go to the mountains and bring a load of wood on her back. She would sell it and buy a loaf of bread, half for her husband and half for her, and they would eat. (7) One day she went up the mountain and her foot went down into a hole. She took away her foot and there was a pot of gold coins. She found gold coins under her leg. She said ‘By God, He has provided the sustenance of this husband (of mine), who said that I am worth as much as that blind wolf.’ She took some of the gold coins and went down to her husband.

(8) *mára qú gàwra.*<sup>1</sup> *móre mòdi.*<sup>2</sup> *mára hóle 'álaha híwle rəsqux.*<sup>1</sup> *t-ásqəx məθəxla.*<sup>1</sup> *móre là,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa lèle rəsqi.*<sup>1</sup> *rəsqi šále b-àyya káwe.*<sup>1</sup> *kízla gàwra!*<sup>1</sup> *lá-hawət šedàna.*<sup>1</sup> *qú 'álaha híwle rəsqux.*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'áwwa lèle rəsqi.*<sup>1</sup> (9) *qímta zílta kəs-d-aw-šwawəy.*<sup>1</sup> *mára šwàwa,*<sup>1</sup> *màra!*<sup>1</sup> *'ána síqli fəllən dükθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-dukθa hon-xzíθa hátxa dāwe,*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya qadálta dāwe,*<sup>1</sup> *mára lèle rəsqi,*<sup>1</sup> *'əlla 'álaha dāre b-àyya káwe.*<sup>1</sup> *t-ásqəx məθəxle!*<sup>1</sup> *pálga tšələn!*<sup>1</sup> *pálga tšəlux.*<sup>1</sup> *qímela síqe rəš-d-é dükθa.*<sup>1</sup> *'o-náša xzéle 'anna dāwe!*<sup>1</sup> *dūs dāwela.*<sup>1</sup> (10) *qáyəm dāwəqla 'áqlət 'idə d-áy-baxta 'asərra.*<sup>1</sup> *rapəla!*<sup>1</sup> *l-'əra.*<sup>1</sup> *šaqəl 'an-dāwe,*<sup>1</sup> *mašléla l-bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> *šléle 'urxa-'urxa xzéle 'ina pyáša dəbbòre,*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla práxa čənnəxəre dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya xmàrta!*<sup>1</sup> *'anna dāwe 'an-dəbbòrela.*<sup>1</sup> *də-klá maxzənnə gáwəx.*<sup>1</sup> *t-ásqən 'anna mattəna l-d-əy káwe.*<sup>1</sup> *naššəna kúlla b-réše dīye,*<sup>1</sup> *šáli təma,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa dmíxa gu-d-aw 'ətax.*<sup>1</sup> *'áni b-nəsile b-məyəθ.*<sup>1</sup> *nəxət mənne dīye.*<sup>1</sup> (11) *'áwwa síqe le l-gəre.*<sup>1</sup> *múttə qadálta,*<sup>1</sup> *'o-amàna,*<sup>1</sup> *rəš-d-àyya káwe.*<sup>1</sup> *npišəlla.*<sup>1</sup> *kú t-ile šláya xo-qárše 'əltəx,*<sup>1</sup> *pyáša dāwa,*<sup>1</sup> *šláya npála 'ərele.*<sup>1</sup> *'o-t-ile pyáša 'ùllul!*<sup>1</sup> *'aw pyáša dəbbòrele!*<sup>1</sup> *'u-zàla.*<sup>1</sup> *xàrθa!*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle síqa!*<sup>1</sup> *'a-báxta šəryəlla 'aqláθa dīya.*<sup>1</sup> (12) *mára šwàwi,*<sup>1</sup> *tla-mò wídlux hátxa bíyi?*<sup>2</sup> *'ána wídlu špayùθa,*<sup>1</sup> *maxzəyəllux dāwa.*<sup>1</sup> *'ati qəm-asrətla 'áqli w-iθəθi,*<sup>1</sup> *mrapətli lāxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *móre šwàwta.*<sup>1</sup> *báxta xáčča zəbbun-ila.*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'ána móri t-là...!*<sup>1</sup> *'ati šályət t-ámərt 'ána xzéli dāwe!*<sup>1</sup> *'u-šwàwa qəm-šaqəlla-w!*<sup>1</sup> *'u-náše t-yādi məndiyəne!*<sup>1</sup> *'u-mátya l-hükma!*<sup>1</sup> *šáqli 'anna dāwe mənən.*<sup>1</sup> *hon-múšəlyə dāwe!*<sup>1</sup> *múttəlla kəs-gəwəx.*<sup>1</sup> *šáləx pəlxəla.*<sup>1</sup> (13) *'áyya-zi qímtəla!*<sup>1</sup> *šəryəlla 'áqlə w-ide!*<sup>1</sup> *'u-šəlyə l-bəθele.*<sup>1</sup> *šəlyə bəθele,*<sup>1</sup> *də-súq sùq!*<sup>1</sup> *hadíya gáwəx píša jənàzəle.*<sup>1</sup> *mára yá mút jənàza?!*<sup>1</sup> *mára 'áni làwa dāwe.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla dəbbòre-wəwə.*<sup>1</sup> *hon-npišəlla gu-'otáxə gáwəx.*<sup>1</sup> *díya gáwəx mīθa.*<sup>1</sup> *'ásqa t-pəθxàle təra!*<sup>1</sup> *'ina gáwra dīya mpəlóye gu-d-an-dāwe,*<sup>1</sup> *liθ!*<sup>1</sup> *'an-t-wáwa šəlye 'əltəx!*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla píše dāwe.*<sup>1</sup> *'é-ga 'álaha qəm-yawólle rəsqa d-o-náša.*<sup>1</sup> *mára bíš qəm-madqərrə mən-d-ó déwa t-axəlwa 'ərbə dīye.*<sup>1</sup>

(8) She said 'Get up, husband'. He said 'What is it?' She said 'God has provided your sustenance. Let's go up and fetch it'. He said 'No, that is not my sustenance. My sustenance will come down through this window'. She tried (to persuade him by saying) 'Husband! Don't be mad. Get up, God has provided your sustenance'. He said 'That is not my sustenance'. (9) She went to their neighbour. She said 'Neighbour', she said 'I went up to such-and-such a place and in a certain place I have found gold coins like this, a pot of gold coins. He (my husband) says "It is not my sustenance unless God puts it through this window". Let's go up and fetch it, half will be for us and half for you'. They went up to that place. That man saw those gold coins. They were truly gold coins. (10) He seized the leg and hand of that woman and bound them. He threw her to the ground. He took the gold coins and took them down to his home. He went down and on the way saw that they were becoming hornets, all flying around him. 'That she-ass! These gold coins are now those hornets. Let me show your husband. I'll go up and put them in that window. I'll shake them all over him and they will go down there (in the house), while he is sleeping in that room. They will sting him and he will die. You will then be free of him.' (11) He went up onto the roof. He placed the pot, the container, on the window. He shook it. Everything that fell down under the beams became gold and fell down onto the floor. That which remained above remained hornets. He went on his way. Then, he went up and untied the legs of that woman. (12) She said 'Neighbour, why did you do this to me? I did you a favour by showing you the gold. You bound my legs and hands and left me here'. He said 'Neighbour, a woman is rather weak'. He said 'I said (to myself, I'll do this) so that you do not go down and say "I have found gold coins and the neighbour has taken them", and so that people would not know things, and the matter would be made known to the government and they would take these gold coins from us. I have taken the gold coins down and deposited them with your husband. Let's go down and divide them'. (13) She got up. He released her feet and hands and he went down to his home. He went down to his home (and he said) 'Go, your husband is now dead'. She said 'Why is he dead?' He said 'They were not gold coins. They were all hornets. I shook them in the room of your husband. Now your husband is dead'. She went up to open the door and saw her husband sorting the gold coins! Those (hornets) that had fallen below had all become gold. So, God provided the sustenance of that man. The story tells that He (God) considered him worth more than the wolf that ate his sheep.

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(1) 'iθwa xa-Xáno Lapzèrin.<sup>1</sup> b-<sup>2</sup>ǎšəl dīye 'iwéwa qārāčāya.<sup>1</sup> 'ina rāba gabbàra,<sup>1</sup> xelāna-wewa.<sup>1</sup> zille xa-béna 'árya θéle tálbe dīye,<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa qǎille tla-'árya,<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'árya 'ide dīye qəm-axəlla.<sup>1</sup> málka šmīle bíye dīye,<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> 'o-náša hóle qǎila 'árya.<sup>1</sup>

(2) mšodərre báθre dīye<sup>1</sup> móre xázəx dāx-it qǎila 'áti 'aw-'árya.<sup>1</sup> móre m-áyka<sup>1</sup> har-là-m.šən t-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'amrənnux 'áp-'ati b-šānət.<sup>1</sup> móre mürri<sup>1</sup> là.<sup>1</sup> dāx-it qǎila 'árya.<sup>2</sup> móre la-zǎdət.<sup>2</sup> móre la-zǎdən.<sup>1</sup> (3) šrixéle xa-qála rāba xelāna,<sup>1</sup> málka šnyele,<sup>1</sup> nǎpile.<sup>1</sup> qíméle málka mərə<sup>1</sup> 'áti péšət xulāmi.<sup>1</sup> péšət mənni.<sup>1</sup> 'ide dīye doryəlla dāwa.<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa Xáno Lapzèrin.<sup>1</sup> (4) píšle mən-málka,<sup>1</sup> xulámət málka.<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma plítewa šèda.<sup>1</sup> zille xa-dúkθa,<sup>1</sup> málka dmixele.<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa-ži zamàrele<sup>1</sup> b-dudəkθa.<sup>1</sup> dúdəkθe dīye múttəlla rəš-sátlət másta.<sup>1</sup> (5) plítéle xa-dídwa mən-naxírət málka,<sup>1</sup> reša-réša d-a-dudəkθa,<sup>1</sup> t-wawa rəš-d-à-masta,<sup>1</sup> zille wírre gu-xá-burət kèpe.<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa<sup>1</sup> Xáno xzèle 'o-dídwa plítéle mən-naxírət málka mujəble.<sup>1</sup> wéle spàra,<sup>1</sup> xárθa xá-ga xéta xzèle<sup>1</sup> 'o-dídwa<sup>1</sup> plítéle mən-d-ó búrət kèpe,<sup>1</sup> θéle wírre gu-naxírət málka.<sup>1</sup>

(6) málka řišle.<sup>1</sup> řišle<sup>1</sup> málka kč̄xa,<sup>1</sup> zədyā.<sup>1</sup> móre mà-lux zədyā.<sup>2</sup> mà-lux málka t-áwət basíma.<sup>2</sup> móre mà-li.<sup>2</sup> móre xzéli xa-xəlma<sup>1</sup> rāba mazdiyāna.<sup>1</sup> móre mōdi xəlma.<sup>2</sup> 'u-dāx-wewa.<sup>2</sup> xēr-wawa.<sup>2</sup> (7) móre b-xəlmi zála reša-réša ḏa-yāma rāba gōrta,<sup>1</sup> yāma xwàrta.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa tre-xoriyáθa,<sup>1</sup> gəšra.<sup>1</sup> mára hon-zála réšə d-ò gəšra,<sup>1</sup> 'ina rāba zdā'a<sup>1</sup> t-là-naplən gu-d-a-yāma.<sup>1</sup> m-tāma zálən wáran gu-xa-gəppa,<sup>1</sup> xa-řura.<sup>1</sup> mára xzáyən xa-xəzzinət dáwe,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni lítle tyāma,<sup>1</sup> dáwət dūnye hóle táma.<sup>1</sup> (8) 'u-mára xá-ga xéta<sup>1</sup> dīrən<sup>1</sup> 'əθyən reša-réša d-àn qariyáθa,<sup>1</sup> reša-réša d-áy yāma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hádəx-in zdā'a<sup>1</sup> hát-in šwírəlle gōt-lāxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-řišli hadíya.<sup>1</sup> (9) 'aw-mtunéle 'aw-xəlma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin.<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa móre b-álaha<sup>1</sup> har-xá-məndi 'iθ b-áyya dúkθa t-íle wira.<sup>1</sup> 'áw xzèle 'o-dídwa 'éka wírre.<sup>1</sup> qam-t-ázəl,<sup>1</sup> šwíqəlla xa-kiste dīye tāma,<sup>1</sup> garášwa tūtun qalínke.<sup>1</sup> múttəlla tāma.<sup>1</sup> zilla xáčča mərə<sup>1</sup> málka t-áwət basíma<sup>1</sup> munšyáli<sup>1</sup> kísti t-tūtun fəllən dúkθa.<sup>1</sup> t-ázən mayənnā-w 'u-'àθən.<sup>1</sup>

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(1) There was a certain Xano the Golden Hand.<sup>1</sup> In origin he was a gypsy. He was a great warrior and very strong. A lion once attacked him. He killed the lion, but the lion ate his hand. The king heard about him and said ‘That man has killed a lion’. (2) He sent for him and said ‘Let’s see how you killed that lion’. He said ‘I cannot tell you how. If I tell you, you will faint’. He said ‘No, tell me! How did you kill the lion?’ He said ‘Are you not afraid?’ He said ‘I am not afraid’. (3) He shouted a mighty shout. The king fainted and fell. The king got up and said ‘You shall become my servant. You shall remain with me’. He made his hand out of gold and they called him Xano the Golden Hand. (4) He remained with the king, as the servant of the king. One day they went out hunting. They went to a place and the king fell asleep. He (Xano) was a singer with a pipe. He put his pipe down on a can of yoghurt. (5) A fly came out of the nose of the king, (went) across the pipe that was over the yoghurt, and entered a pile of stones. Xano saw the fly come out of the nose of the king and was astonished. He waited and then he saw the fly come back out of the pile of stones and go back into the nose of the king. (6) The king woke up. The king woke up, tired and afraid. He (Xano) said ‘Why are you afraid? What is the matter with you king—may you be well?’ He said ‘What is the matter with me?’ He said ‘I had a very frightening dream’. He said ‘What dream? How was it? I hope it was good.’ (7) He said ‘In my dream I went across a great sea, a white sea. There were two poplars (forming) a bridge’. He said ‘I went over the bridge, in great fear that I would fall into the sea. From there I went into a cave, a mountain. I saw a treasure of gold, (immense) without end, the gold of the entire world was there.’ (8) He said ‘I returned and went back over the (poplar) beams, across the sea and was afraid like this until I leapt across to this side and I woke up (as you see me) now. (9) He told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand. He said (to himself) ‘By God, there must be something in this place where it entered’. He saw where the fly had entered. Before leaving, he left a (tobacco) bag of his there—he used to smoke pipe tobacco. He put it down there. They went on a little then he said ‘King, may you be well, I have forgotten my tobacco bag in some place or other. I shall go to fetch it, then come back’.

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<sup>1</sup> Kurd. *lep zêrîn* ‘golden hand’.



(10) ᾿θθυε<sup>1</sup> *wíðele* ᾿a-dúkθa *nišànqa*,<sup>1</sup> ᾿a-dúkθa *t-wéwa* ᾿o-dídwa *wíra tàma*.<sup>1</sup>  
 ᾿u-zílele *kàs-málka*.<sup>1</sup> *pišele mèn-málka*,<sup>1</sup> *móre málka* ḡ-áwət *basíma*,<sup>1</sup> *zila xákma dána*,<sup>1</sup>  
*báyən ḡálbən xa-mátlab mènñux*.<sup>1</sup> *móre mòdi*?<sup>1</sup> *móre dúkθət xá-gəldət tàwra*<sup>1</sup> *hálli*  
*banənni xa-béθa*.<sup>1</sup> (11) *móre si-bnílux dúkθət tré-gəldət tàwre*.<sup>1</sup> *móre là*.<sup>1</sup> *har-xà gəldət*  
*táwra*,<sup>1</sup> *dúkθət xá-gəldət táwra banənni xa-béθa*.<sup>1</sup> ᾿áp-᾿ana *xḡiθila*.<sup>1</sup> *móre si-bni-᾿áwra*  
*bèθux*.<sup>1</sup> (12) *qímēle zila b-a-dúkθa*.<sup>1</sup> *zila*,<sup>1</sup> *múthyēle xa-gəldət táwra rāba góra*.<sup>1</sup> *núbləlle*  
*kàs-xá m-ánna ḡ-óði tásmə sàwle*.<sup>1</sup> *móre ᾿odátli hádəx*,<sup>1</sup> ᾿o-gólđa *hádəx ᾿odátli*<sup>1</sup> *naqíđa*  
*ta-t-᾿áwər bar-bóyət xmáta*.<sup>1</sup> *wíðəlle hádəx ᾿əlle díye*.<sup>1</sup> *híwəlle zúze*.<sup>1</sup> *zila ᾿a-dúkθa*.<sup>1</sup>  
 (13) *kúlla dúkθə d-ó-gəldət táwra*,<sup>1</sup> *lele-wíđa gódđa zòra*?<sup>1</sup> *xzi-kəmə māsàħa dwíqle*.<sup>1</sup>  
 ᾿a-dúkθa *qímle bnàya*<sup>1</sup> *Dəmdəma*,<sup>1</sup> *bnàya Dəmdəma*.<sup>1</sup> *zílle xpírre tàma*,<sup>1</sup> *plítte dàwa*.<sup>1</sup>  
*qímle muθéle banàye*<sup>1</sup> *bnéle gúđa Dəmdəma*<sup>1</sup> ᾿áp-díya *pyàsəle*<sup>1</sup> ᾿o-gúđa.<sup>1</sup> *bnàya gúđa*  
 ᾿u-dráya *rāšāš*,<sup>1</sup> *tá-t ᾿áp-ən maxíle mādfa*<sup>1</sup> *t-lə-taləxwa gúđa*.<sup>1</sup> (14) *bnéle bnéle bnéle*  
*Dəmdəma*<sup>1</sup> ᾿u-gríšle *míya m-ḡura*<sup>1</sup> *muθéle xóθa-xoθət ᾿ùpra*,<sup>1</sup> *muwórrre gu-Dəmdəma*.<sup>1</sup>  
 ᾿u-dwíqle *béna ᾿askar*,<sup>1</sup> *dwáqəlle nášə ᾿askar*.<sup>1</sup> ᾿ina *lā-kul gáwra*.<sup>1</sup> *muθéle nášə gùre*,<sup>1</sup>  
*dəqnáy gǎréwale bríza m-àxxa*<sup>1</sup> *masəqwa*.<sup>1</sup> *ku-ḡ-ile wáđa ᾿ih*.<sup>1</sup> *lá šaqəlwale*.<sup>1</sup> *y-amórwə*  
 ᾿átí *lát xoš-gəwra*.<sup>1</sup> (15) *dwíqle ᾿askar ᾿əlle díye*.<sup>1</sup> *nášə zílle kàs-málka*.<sup>1</sup> *móra málka*  
 ḡ-áwət *basíma*.<sup>1</sup> ᾿áwra *náša hətəle wáđa*.<sup>1</sup> *màra*<sup>1</sup> *mú ḡ-áwəd*?<sup>1</sup> *xa-dúkθət gəldət*  
*tàwərən híwəlle báne béθa*.<sup>1</sup> *móra yába bnéle Dəmdəma-w*<sup>1</sup> ᾿u-hóle *dwáqa ᾿askar*.<sup>1</sup>  
 (16) *wéle ᾿ási málka*.<sup>1</sup> *xárθa wéle plāša*,<sup>1</sup> *wéle plāša bēn-᾿askar-t málkət ᾿Írən*<sup>1</sup> ᾿u-᾿áw.<sup>1</sup>  
*xa-plāša rāba xelána-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> *b-čū-᾿urxa léwa mšáya málka ḡ-áwər šaqəlle Dəmdəma*,<sup>1</sup>  
*ma-t-wéwa mùsyəlle*,<sup>1</sup> *míya ᾿itle*,<sup>1</sup> ᾿askar ᾿iθwa.<sup>1</sup> *xálta ᾿itwale*,<sup>1</sup> *zúze ᾿itle*,<sup>1</sup> *kül-xa-məndi*  
 ᾿itwale.<sup>1</sup> (17) ᾿ina *bráta d-o-Xáno Lapzèrin*,<sup>1</sup> *d-o-t-wéwa bənyə Dəmdəma*,<sup>1</sup> *báyáwa*  
*ta-brōn-málka*.<sup>1</sup> *qímila kθúla xa-kθàwa*,<sup>1</sup> *mšudórra bəd-qəzəd*.<sup>1</sup> *móra b-čū-᾿urxa*  
 ᾿o-Dəmdəma *lé šaqlítule*<sup>1</sup> ᾿əlla *qáḡítula míyət Dəmdəma*.<sup>1</sup> ᾿u-kθútela *gu-d-ò kθáwa*<sup>1</sup>  
 ᾿èkela ᾿énə *míya*,<sup>1</sup> *m-èkela θáya*.<sup>1</sup>

(10) He came and made a sign in that place, the place where the fly had entered. Then he went to the king. He stayed with the king and said ‘King, may you be well, some time has gone by and I would like to request something from you’. He said ‘What?’ He said ‘Allow me to build myself a house in a place (the size of) an ox skin’. (11) He said ‘Go and build for yourself in a place (the size of) two ox skins’. He said ‘No, only one ox skin, I shall build for myself a house in a place (the size of) one ox skin. It is a pity for me (that I have not such a house)’. He said ‘Go and build this house of yours’. (12) He went off to that place. He went and brought and a very large ox skin. He took it to one of those people who make shoelaces. He said ‘Make it for me thus, make this skin a fine (thread) so that it will go through the eye of a needle’. He did this for him and he gave him money. He went to the place. (13) The place (enclosed by) the ox skin covered a great area, since he had made it into a fine thread. In that place he began to build (the fortress of) Dəmdəma, to build Dəmdəma. He dug there and gold was discovered. He brought builders and built the wall of Dəmdəma—that wall remains even now. He built the wall and put lead into it, so that, even if it was hit by artillery, it would not be destroyed. (14) He went on building Dəmdəma and drew water from the mountain, bringing it under the ground and directing it into Dəmdəma. Then he recruited an army, recruiting people for an army. But (he did not accept) any man. He brought valiant men. He would shave their beard dry from here, moving (the knife) upwards. He did not take anybody who went ‘ih!’<sup>2</sup> He would said ‘You are not a good man’. (15) He recruited an army for himself. People went to the king. They said ‘King, may you be well. That man is doing such-and-such’. He said ‘What could he do? I have given him the space of an ox skin to build a house’. They said ‘But he has built Dəmdəma and he is recruiting an army’. (16) He rebelled against the king. Then there was a war between him and the army of the king of Iran. It was a very fierce war. Yet by no means could the king enter to capture Dəmdəma, so well had he (Xano) fortified it, and, moreover, he had water, there was an army, he had food, he had money, he had everything. (17) But the daughter of that Xano the Golden Hand, who had built Dəmdəma, loved the son of the king. She wrote a letter and sent it by a messenger. She said ‘By no means will you capture Dəmdəma unless you cut off the water of Dəmdəma’. She wrote in the letter where the water spring was, from where (the water) came.

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<sup>2</sup> I.e. anybody who reacted to the pain.

(18) *ma-t-wéwa brōn-málka qóryalle 'o-kθàwa, 'móre spày! qíme sìqe' xpíre 'an-míya qótyalla mən-'énət miya' t-wáwa mən-d-o-Dəmdəma. 'píšla t-là míya 'anna-náše. 't-la-míya la-xāyi. 'xá-ga xéta tlibla mən-márya 'álaha, 'kúlla wéla bráka tlibla, 'šléla məttra. 'šléla məttra, 'dwiqla xəzzíne məndiyáne miya. 'hal-xá-ga xéta priqla miyèy. ' (19) xárθa mtašlòmalle' 'u-málka d-áni wárele gu-Dəmdəma. 'wára 'ina' yómma d-o-Xáno Lapzérin hóla tíwta gu-tárət qàšra, 'xa-qalúnka m-áxxa l-tāmàha, 'xà-palla b-réše díye. ' (20) móre mù-t kálba mubrétθa 'áti? 'o-plàša, 'áwwa dómma mattùle, ' 'o-spayúθa t-in-'ána wiððille. 'móra 'áwwa lèle kálba, ' 'àtit kálba. ' 'áyya móra tla-málka. ' (21) 'a-pállá t-wawa-rəš-qalúnka' wiðtəlla hátxa šliθela, ' 'è-ga' b-á-dukθa xóθa 'íθwa barùd. ' lwixele Dəmdəma' 'u-pqitela, ' kúlla náše qtiltəlla. '*

(18) When the son of the king had read the letter, he said ‘Good!’ They went up and dug and cut off the water from the water spring of Dəmdəma. The people were without water. Without water they could not live. Then they made a request from the Lord God, they all knelt and made a request, and (as a consequence) rain fell. They kept the water in tanks and the like, until their water ran out again. (19) Finally, they surrendered it and the king entered Dəmdəma. He entered, but the mother of Xano the Golden Hand was sitting in the door of the palace, with a pipe from here to there, with a burning coal in its bowl. (20) He said ‘What dog have you given birth to? The war, he sheds this blood, after the goodness that I did to him’. She said ‘He is not a dog. *Ŷou* are a dog’. She said this to the king. (21) She moved the burning coal that was in the pipe like this and it fell. At that time there was gunpowder underneath that place. Dəmdəma burst into flames. She blew up and killed all the people.

## A12 THE KING WITH FORTY SONS

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošəba Kena (Dure)

(1) 'iθwa xa-màlka' 'iθwale 'arbi bnòne.<sup>1</sup> brón-diye 'o-zòra' 'iθwale 'arbi šónne.<sup>1</sup> zílle tla-babe-diye' máre 'àna' 'úmri'le 'arbi šónne.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'ánna xonāwàθi,<sup>1</sup> 'arbi xonāwàθi,<sup>1</sup> kúššət magúrət xà,<sup>1</sup> páyəs 'úmri tnàni šónne.<sup>1</sup> 'ána báyan gàwərən.<sup>1</sup> máre b-álaha bróni dūs-it.<sup>1</sup> díya 'ána t-àzən' xàzən' máčxən 'arbi baxtàθa' kúlləxu magurónnəxu b-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> (2) qyáməle' mbaqòrele,<sup>1</sup> zála mára 'iθ-xa-nàša' 'iθe 'arbi bnàθa.<sup>1</sup> záləle l-xa-'áθra xəna' 'u-xzáyalle' 'o-nàša tfaqa bi-diye.<sup>1</sup> mára ma-yxàlǝf' t-yánna 'arbi bnàθi' tla-'arbi bnònu,<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'iman t-aθitu láxxa tálòbe,<sup>1</sup> lá damxítu lá gu-kàrma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá gu-màrga' 'u-lá gu-qàšra.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'ánna mtáməmàtla,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-yánna-llux.<sup>1</sup> (3) brón-diye 'o-zòra šómme diye Barzəkkò.<sup>1</sup> máre bróni Barzəkkò' 'ati t-àwəθ' qáəd d-áyya hónna t-àzítu,<sup>1</sup> 'ina hóle m̀ira' bába d-ánna bnàθa' lá damxítu lá gu-màrga,<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá gu-kàrma' 'u-lá gu-qàšra.<sup>1</sup> máre ma-yxàlǝf bábì.<sup>1</sup> (4) qyáməla zála,<sup>1</sup> zála m̀təyela,<sup>1</sup> yóma gnəyēle,<sup>1</sup> dmáxela gu-xa-màrga,<sup>1</sup> dawàrela,<sup>1</sup> məndiyànela,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iθə 'énət m̀iya táma.<sup>1</sup> m̀ra biš m-áyya dúkθa 'əka xázəx.<sup>2</sup> 'áxni dáməx ləxxa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla dmáxela.<sup>1</sup> 'o-yála pyášele naθòra d-áni,<sup>1</sup> h̀arəs.<sup>1</sup> (5) xa-béna 'o-xzáyēle,<sup>1</sup> 'ina xzáyēle xa-nàša,<sup>1</sup> xá'a lwíša kòma,<sup>1</sup> síse kòma,<sup>1</sup> rúmxe múttəlla bən-náθ sùsta' 'ap-áy kùmta.<sup>1</sup> θáyēle xðárele çənnəxəra d-an-nàše.<sup>1</sup> m̀təya l-d-àw' máre Barzəkkò' 'ati pàltət gu-d-ánna,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna kúlla díya t-òðánna qàlyə,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni qatłənna.<sup>1</sup> 'è,<sup>1</sup> xátər 'alàha,<sup>1</sup> lá-'òðət 'o-šùla,<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa l-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna har-xonāwàθi,<sup>1</sup> nàšile.<sup>1</sup> máre m̀arənnux plút m-àxxa,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ánna.<sup>1</sup> 'ina' kúlla b-qatłənna.<sup>1</sup> 'ati lúlux šùla mən-d-ánna.<sup>1</sup> (6) 'áw ráqa zála l-t̀ura,<sup>1</sup> ráqa sáqa báθre diye.<sup>1</sup> 'awwa-nàša wárele gu-xa-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθe xonāwàθa táma 'u-yəmma.<sup>1</sup> máre rzúgu šàləx.<sup>1</sup> hambišəyela.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa t̀lāθi hambišəyē gu-xa-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> mára rzúgu šàləx.<sup>1</sup> hóla gu-màrga,<sup>1</sup> hóla dórəyē náše t̀ama.<sup>1</sup> šàləx,<sup>1</sup> qatłəxla,<sup>1</sup> 'axləxla.<sup>1</sup> tla-ðà-šeta malílən.<sup>1</sup> (7) Barzəkkò módi wíðle.<sup>2</sup> hóle kəlyə l-t̀arət gəppa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna plàtəla.<sup>1</sup> kút-ile plàtə' xa-səpa gu-káse qámət gəppa.<sup>1</sup> yómma d-an-hambišəyē' m̀arela tla-brón d-o-zòra' bróni,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'ana mεθíli xá... 'átmət sísa t-àxlən.<sup>1</sup> bálki 'ánna xonāwàθux là mεθíli.<sup>1</sup> plàtəle,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'aw q̀táləlle.<sup>1</sup> wárele Barzəkkò táləb d-ay,<sup>1</sup> yómət hambišəyē.<sup>1</sup> máre 'àna' mεθónnəx 'átməd xzùra.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'ay q̀táləlla.<sup>1</sup>

## A12 THE KING WITH FORTY SONS

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošāba Kena (Dure)

(1) There was a king who had forty sons. His youngest son was forty years old. He went to his father and said 'I am forty years old. If each year you marry off one of these forty brothers of mine, I'll be eighty years old (before I marry). I want to marry'. He said 'By God, my son, you are right. I shall go now to see whether I can find forty women so that I can marry you all off together'. (2) He set off and made inquiries. People said that there was a man with forty daughters. He went to another country, found that man and met him. He said 'Fine (I agree). I shall give my forty daughters to your forty sons, but when you come here to seek their hands in marriage, you must not sleep in an orchard, in a meadow or in a palace. If you fulfil these (conditions), I shall give them to you'. (3) His youngest son was called Barzəkko. He said 'My son Barzəkko, you will be the leader of this thing. Go on your way, but the father of these girls has said that you must not sleep in a meadow, in an orchard or in a palace'. He said 'Fine, father'. (4) They set off and, when the sun was setting, they came to rest in a meadow, in which there were mules and the like, and there was a spring of water. They said 'Where could we find a better place than this? We shall sleep here'. They all slept. That young man became their guard. (5) Suddenly he saw a man, somebody dressed in black, his horse black, with his spear, which he had put between the ears of the mare and was also black. He came and rode around those people. He came up to him and said 'Barzəkko, you should leave them, I am now going to make them all fried meat, that is I shall kill them'. 'Oh, for God's sake, don't do that' and so forth. 'They are my brothers, my relatives'. He said 'I am telling you, leave this place, (leave) them. I shall kill them all. You have no business with them'. (6) He ran off to the mountain and he ran up after him. The man went into a cave. He had brothers there and a mother. He said 'Get ready, we are going down'. They were giants. There were thirty giants in a cave. He said 'Get ready, we are going down. Some people have set up camp in the meadow. Let's go down, kill them and eat them. They are enough for us for one year'. (7) What did Barzəkko do? He was standing at the entrance of the cave. As they went out, he (lunged) a sword into the belly of each one who went outside the cave. The mother of the giants said to the youngest son 'My son, bring me also a thigh of a horse for me to eat. Perhaps those brothers of yours will not bring it'. As he went out, he killed also him. Barzəkko went in attacking her, the mother of the giants. He said 'I shall bring you the thigh of a pig'. He killed also her.

(8) 'o-šlāyele.<sup>1</sup> 'itwale xulāma.<sup>1</sup> sūse diye mtaslómalle tla-xulāma.<sup>1</sup> wára gu-čádre diye,<sup>1</sup> dmáxa hal-mbàdla.<sup>1</sup> mbàdla,<sup>1</sup> qyàmela,<sup>1</sup> kúlla báyi t-àzi,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwele dmíxa Barzókko.<sup>1</sup> mára də-mārəšúle Barzókko!<sup>1</sup> hal-'ima dāməx.<sup>2</sup> mārósalle m-tāma<sup>1</sup> b-yòma,<sup>1</sup> qyáma zála.<sup>1</sup> (9) zála, zála,<sup>1</sup> mťáya,<sup>1</sup> mťáya kārma.<sup>1</sup> xa-kārməle<sup>1</sup> rába gōra.<sup>1</sup> 'ənuwe 'iθ gáwe,<sup>1</sup> 'enáθə mīya,<sup>1</sup> mēndiyāne,<sup>1</sup> kúll-xa mōndi.<sup>1</sup> mťáyele xa-náša xēna.<sup>1</sup> 'anna kúlla dmāxela.<sup>1</sup> Barzókko pyáša hārəš-ile.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyele xá-naša xēna,<sup>1</sup> lwiša lwišta smòqta,<sup>1</sup> sūsa smòqta,<sup>1</sup> rúmxa smòqta.<sup>1</sup> b-léle rúmxe diye hóla mxáya kizəkke,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-ile 'o-náša rába xelāna.<sup>1</sup> (10) plút m-d-anna<sup>1</sup> 'ati šəmmux zilele.<sup>1</sup> pišele<sup>1</sup> kízle mparpóle biye:<sup>1</sup> náša,<sup>1</sup> 'anna xonāwəθila,<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa l-tāmma.<sup>1</sup> mára mārənnux<sup>1</sup> 'ati grúš gánux<sup>1</sup> 'anna diya<sup>1</sup> kúlla parqənnə.<sup>1</sup> mára 'áp-'aw hóle pliša.<sup>1</sup> 'áw-w 'ó-naša plāša,<sup>1</sup> plāša,<sup>1</sup> plāša<sup>1</sup> hál gu-mbadlāθa.<sup>1</sup> gu-mbadlāθa mxéθət yóma 'ó-naša tliqele.<sup>1</sup> rxíšele<sup>1</sup> 'o-Barzókko zila dmíxa.<sup>1</sup> (11) dart-yóma qímela zile<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'aw qúnəx t-láθa mətýe l-qəšra.<sup>1</sup> mətýela l-qəšra,<sup>1</sup> móre b-álaha mürele xəmyáni lá damxítu láxxa tāmáha.<sup>1</sup> 'anna xonāwəθe 'o-gōra<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa kàze, Barzókko<sup>1</sup> yába là dāməx gu-d-áwəwa qášra.<sup>1</sup> dāməx l-wəðər.<sup>1</sup> xəmyáni hətxele míra.<sup>1</sup> (12) móra gu-márga-w kərma mù xzélux ta-t-xázət láxxa.<sup>2</sup> 'áxni láxxa dāməx.<sup>1</sup> móre mə-yxaləf<sup>1</sup> dmúxu!<sup>1</sup> dmíxela tāma.<sup>1</sup> 'anna kúlla dmíxela<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa qíma hārəš-ile.<sup>1</sup> gu-mbádla 'əθyele xà<sup>1</sup> xá, xá-susa xwəra,<sup>1</sup> rúmxe xwərtə,<sup>1</sup> kúlla lwište xwərtə.<sup>1</sup> 'əθya mərə<sup>1</sup> Barzókko 'ati šəmmux<sup>1</sup> šəmyəx b-šāmáθə šəmmux.<sup>1</sup> plút mən-d-áwəwa qəšra,<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa t-oðənnə əðl.<sup>1</sup> (13) kízle 'áxxa-w tāmma,<sup>1</sup> mparpóle biye,<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa là.<sup>1</sup> mxáyele rúmxe 'alle diye.<sup>1</sup> mára mu-mxélux gu-xəši.<sup>2</sup> móre cū-məndi,<sup>1</sup> tabzīya qítile gu-xásux.<sup>1</sup> mxáya sépa gu-rəše,<sup>1</sup> cū-məndi.<sup>1</sup> kàze b-cū-urxa léle mšáya biye.<sup>1</sup> (14) xárθa móre xzí t-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup> t-lúb mətáləb diyux.<sup>1</sup> módi bəyət<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-oðənnux.<sup>1</sup> 'əxci<sup>1</sup> šoqətlən<sup>1</sup> 'əxni<sup>1</sup> t-ázəx 'ay-wəjəbúθa mkamləxla.<sup>1</sup> móre mətáləb diyi<sup>1</sup> t-ázət məθətli Čəlkəze Bədəl Sahəre.<sup>1</sup> məθətla t-óya báxta t-láli,<sup>1</sup> šoqənnux<sup>1</sup> t-azítu.<sup>1</sup> 'əlla<sup>1</sup> gárəg mqəwələt<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là<sup>1</sup> kúlləxu qətlənnəxu.<sup>1</sup>

(8) He went down. He had a servant. He handed over his horse to the servant. He entered his tent and slept until morning. In the morning they got up and all wanted to go, but Barzəkko was sleeping. They said ‘Wake up Barzəkko! For how long will he sleep?’ They woke him at day break and went on their way. (9) They went a long way and arrived at an orchard. It was a large orchard. There were grapes in it, springs of water, and the like, everything. Another man arrived. They all went to sleep. Barzəkko became the guard. Another man came, dressed in red clothing, with a red horse, a red spear. In the night his spear was giving off sparks, so powerful was that man. (10) ‘Go away from these people. You are famous<sup>1</sup> (so I shall not kill you)’. He tried to dissuade him by begging him ‘Man, these are my brothers’ and so forth. ‘I’m telling you, you take yourself away. I shall finish off all of these people here’. Now, he fought also him. He and that man fought. They continued fighting until dawn. At dawn, the break of day, the man disappeared. Barzəkko went and slept. (11) The next day they set off and on the third day’s stage (of the journey) they arrived at the palace. They arrived at the palace and he said ‘By God, my father-in-law said do not sleep here and also there (in the orchard and meadow). His brothers—the elder one—Barzəkko tried (to persuade them saying) ‘Let’s not sleep in this palace. Let’s sleep outside. My father-in-law said such-and-such’. (12) They said ‘What have you seen in the meadow and the orchard that (you fear) to see here? We shall sleep here’. He said ‘Fine. Sleep!’ They slept there. While they all slept, he stood guard. In the morning a man came, with a white horse, a white spear and all his clothes were white. He came and said ‘Barzəkko, we have heard the news about your reputation. Go out of this palace. I am going to make it a desert.’ (13) He tried to dissuade him by begging him, and so forth, but he did not (agree). He (Barzəkko) struck him with his sword and he (the other) said ‘What have you struck on my back?’ He (Barzəkko) said ‘Nothing, a rosary has hit your back’. He struck his head with a sword and nothing (happened). He tried but he could not prevail against him in any way. (14) Then he said ‘Look, I’ll tell you something. Make your demands. I’ll do for you whatever you want. Just let us go to complete this task’. He said ‘My demand is that you go and bring back Čəlkāze Bādal Sahare. Bring her back for her to be my wife, then I shall release you and you can all go. But you have to promise, otherwise I shall kill all of you’.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: You name has gone (into the world).



(15) *máre wadùtha,*<sup>1</sup> *šúqlən t-ázəx t-àθəx láxxa,*<sup>1</sup> *m-gu-d-àwwa qásra*<sup>1</sup> *ʾána l-béθa*  
*là-ʾazən,*<sup>1</sup> *mεθánna Čalkáze Bádál Sahàr-əllux.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-bráta šəmma*<sup>1</sup> *Čalkáze,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾárbi*  
*šo,siyàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *kürdəθ-ila.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-Bádál Sahàre,*<sup>1</sup> *yaʿni káxwət gu-mbadlàθa.*<sup>1</sup> *šəmma d-è-brata,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ma-t-íla šapírta.*<sup>1</sup>

(16) *záləle kəs-d-o-xəmyáne diyē.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾamərre*<sup>1</sup> *šūrūt-diyi mkumlilux?*<sup>1</sup> *mkumliləxu?*<sup>2</sup>  
*máre hè!*<sup>1</sup> *máre là*<sup>1</sup> *lētun mkúmləlla.*<sup>1</sup> *máre hótú dmíxe gu-màrga.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-mòditu xázye?*<sup>1</sup> *ʾà,*<sup>1</sup>  
*paxálta.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾán naθyáθa d-àn hambišáye*<sup>1</sup> *nəšyənna.*<sup>1</sup> *prīməlla-w*<sup>1</sup> *dóryalla gu-xúrje diyē.*<sup>1</sup>  
*máre dmíxetu gu-kàrma*<sup>1</sup> *mòditu xázye?*<sup>1</sup> (17) *xóna ʾo-góra máre čú-məndi lax-xázye.*<sup>1</sup>  
*w-an-xonāwáθa xéne mára čú-məndi lax-xázye.*<sup>1</sup> *máre bas-lè-y-yənna bnáθi-lləxu.*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʾo-xóna zóra ʾəθyēle máre hè,*<sup>1</sup> *dūs-it.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾəθyəx dóryəx gu-màrga.*<sup>1</sup> (18) *ʾəθyēle xá-naša*  
*ʾəlbən.*<sup>1</sup> *zilən mpurəpla býe*<sup>1</sup> *lèle wíya.*<sup>1</sup> *ríqa síqa l-ṭúra.*<sup>1</sup> *síqən bəθre.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-xa-gəppa*  
*hambišáye-waawa.*<sup>1</sup> *plītəla.*<sup>1</sup> *kút-ile plītə*<sup>1</sup> *qṭilənəlle.*<sup>1</sup> *ha-t-yəmméy wírən ʾəlbə*<sup>1</sup> *qṭilənna,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʾánna naθyathə.*<sup>1</sup> *mripyəlla qáme diyē.*<sup>1</sup> (19) *máre dūs-it.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾəyya dā.*<sup>1</sup> *yómə tré ʾəkətu*  
*dmíxe?*<sup>2</sup> *máre dmíxəx gu-kàrma.*<sup>1</sup> *máre ʾla-d-an-xonāwáθe diyē*<sup>1</sup> *mòditu xázye?*<sup>2</sup> *mára*  
*čú-məndi lax-xázye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾáwwa máre dák xəzəyəx!*<sup>1</sup> *máre ʾəθyēle xa-nāša*<sup>1</sup> *xa-súsa smòqa,*<sup>1</sup>  
*kúlle lwíša smòqa,*<sup>1</sup> *wíyəx pláša m-ʾasərta hal-gu-mbadlàθa.*<sup>1</sup> *lan-másya býe diyē.*<sup>1</sup>  
*gu-mbàdla*<sup>1</sup> *ríqa zúlele.*<sup>1</sup> *mxéθət šəmša tliqele.*<sup>1</sup> (20) *máre ʾəp-ʾay dūs-it.*<sup>1</sup> *máre gu-qásra*  
*mòditu xázye?*<sup>1</sup> *máre gu-qásra ʾəθyēle xà,*<sup>1</sup> *dewərris-ile,*<sup>1</sup> *lən-ðəʾa mo-qaríwale,*<sup>1</sup>  
*dewərris.*<sup>1</sup> *màra*<sup>1</sup> *kízən mpurəplən býe ta-šawəqlən,*<sup>1</sup> *lèle zíla.*<sup>1</sup> *mára maxánwale sépa*  
*gu-xàse.*<sup>1</sup> *yáha máre mù-mxəlux gu-xási.*<sup>1</sup> *tabzýa qítla bíyux.*<sup>1</sup> *maxánwale rúmxi ʾəlle*  
*diyē*<sup>1</sup> *mù-qítte bíyi?*<sup>2</sup> *kút-dana xa-həṭta.*<sup>1</sup> (21) *mára b-əpaxír*<sup>1</sup> *múrri mātáləb diyux*  
*mòdila.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾána t-òðənnə-llux.*<sup>1</sup> *máre mātáləb diyi máre ʾázət mεθítla Čalkáze Bádál*  
*Sahàre.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla p-əpe šawwə yamáθa.*<sup>1</sup> *mεθətta-lli,*<sup>1</sup> *šoqónmux t-àzət.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾən-là,*<sup>1</sup> *là-šoqən*  
*t-azítu.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *máre dūs-it.*<sup>1</sup> *qímele híwəlla bnáθe diyē*<sup>1</sup> *ʾla-d-an-nàše,*<sup>1</sup> *bəd-xátər*  
*d-ó-xona zòra.*<sup>1</sup> *ziləle mátyele l-kérma ʾu-məndiyáne*<sup>1</sup> *ʾu-l-qásra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʾo-qásra ʾo-náša*  
*hàdəx-ile wíðəlle,*<sup>1</sup> *ʾəsrə-gəye bəna qamáya.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-qúnəx wíðəlle tàza,*<sup>1</sup> *kanəpe-w*<sup>1</sup> *xaliye-w*<sup>1</sup>  
*mexòlta,*<sup>1</sup> *kùl-xa məndi.*<sup>1</sup>

(15) He said 'I promise. Let us come and go here. I shall not go home from this palace, but shall bring for you Čălkăze Bădal Sahare, a girl called Čălkăze, forty tresses. It is Kurdish. As for Bădal Sahare, this means the star of dawn. This was the name of that girl, so beautiful was she.

(16) He went to his father-in-law and he said to him 'Have you fulfilled my conditions? Have you all fulfilled them?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'No. You have not fulfilled them'. He said 'You slept in the meadow. And what did you see?'—Sorry, I have forgotten about the ears of the giants. He cut them off and put them in his saddle-bag.—He said 'You slept in the orchard. What did you see?' (17) The eldest son said 'We saw nothing?' The other brothers said 'We saw nothing'. He said 'I shall not give my daughters to you.' The youngest brother came and said 'Yes, you are right. We came and laid down (our loads) in the meadow. (18) Then a man came towards us. I went to expostulate with him, but that did not work. He ran up the mountain and I went up after him. There were giants in a cave. They came out. I killed every one that came out. I entered attacking even their mother and killed her. These are their ears'. He threw them in front of him. (19) He said 'You are right. That is one thing. Where did you sleep on the second day?' He said 'We slept in the orchard'. He said to those brothers of his 'What did you see?' They said 'We did not see anything'. He (the youngest brother) said 'What do you mean, we did see (something)!' He said 'A man came, on a red horse, all dressed in red. We fought from evening until morning. I could not prevail against him. In the morning he ran away. At day-break he disappeared'. (20) He said 'You are right about also that'. He said 'What did you see in the palace?' He said 'In the palace a man came. He was a vagabond, I do not know what they call him, a vagabond'. He said 'I tried to persuade him to leave us, but he did not go'. He said 'I struck a sword on his back and he said "What did you strike on my back", (Barzəkko said) "A rosary has hit you". I struck my spear into him (and he said) "What has hit me?" Every time (I gave him) an excuse'. (21) He said 'In the end I said "What are your demands? I shall fulfil them for you". He said "My demand is that you should go and bring back Čălkăze Bădal Sahare. She is beyond seven seas. If you bring her here, I shall let you go. If not, I shall not let you go"' (22) He said 'You are right.' He gave his daughters to those people for the sake of that young brother. He went to the orchard etc, and the palace. That man had made the palace ten times (bigger than) before. He made a beautiful guesthouse, with armchairs, carpets, food, everything.

(23) 'ó-xona zóra 'ámər tla-xonāwáθa d-an-xène<sup>1</sup> 'áyya báxti nàblula<sup>1</sup> mənnèxu.<sup>1</sup>  
 'ána m-axxa-húdxə lè-y-azəm.<sup>1</sup> 'ítli šùla.<sup>1</sup> 'áni zùlela.<sup>1</sup> mátye l-bεθày<sup>1</sup> wíðela xlùla.<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-čídla nàše,<sup>1</sup> dùnye qəm-čédila.<sup>1</sup> wíðla xa-ħàfla,<sup>1</sup> xa-xlùla<sup>1</sup> ràba xelána.<sup>1</sup>

(24) 'o-xóna zóra lìθ.<sup>1</sup> xóna zóra píšle gu-qàšra,<sup>1</sup> kəs-d-o-nàša.<sup>1</sup> märe háyyo mùrri<sup>1</sup>  
 'ay-mòdi,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya Čalkāze Bādal Sahāre mòdila-w<sup>1</sup> 'əkela.<sup>1</sup> märe 'áyya<sup>1</sup> t-àzət<sup>1</sup> máťət  
 l-yāma qamèθa,<sup>1</sup> ða-yāma.<sup>1</sup> 'áy hóla p-ápe šawwà yamáθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ítla šawwà xonāwáθa.<sup>1</sup>  
 'ítla xa-qásra pàťəl.<sup>1</sup> kút yašílət qàšra<sup>1</sup> 'iθ ða-yāwona gáwe dýe,<sup>1</sup> yāwona.<sup>1</sup> (25) mára<sup>1</sup>  
 'ánna šáwwa yamáθa pεðàtla,<sup>1</sup> máťət l-ò-qasra.<sup>1</sup> 'o-qásra hóle pθàla,<sup>1</sup> qášta-w gèra<sup>1</sup>  
 kut-yāwona maxètla.<sup>1</sup> máxətla yāwona,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-yašila xéna xaðər-əllux.<sup>1</sup> mára há-t 'ánna  
 šáwwa yawnáθa qaťlètla,<sup>1</sup> mára qásra kàle.<sup>1</sup> b-kàle,<sup>1</sup> xárθa 'àsqət,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-màsət.<sup>1</sup>

(26) 'ítla šawwà xonāwáθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-màsət šaqlètla Čalkāze,<sup>1</sup> mεθàtla lāxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-'āti  
 sàxi,<sup>1</sup> xēr-ala-xēr.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ən-là māsət,<sup>1</sup> 'áni qaťlilux.<sup>1</sup> zēn<sup>1</sup> märe<sup>1</sup> 'ánna šáwwa yamáθa<sup>1</sup>  
 'ana mù pεðánna.<sup>2</sup> lítli tayyàra,<sup>1</sup> helikòptər<sup>1</sup> dax-t-ila dýa.<sup>1</sup> märe hà<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'ay dūs-it.<sup>1</sup>

(27) märe t-àzət<sup>1</sup> l-yāma qamèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'àzət,<sup>1</sup> 'iθgena xa-ťura.<sup>1</sup> trè turánela,<sup>1</sup> wàdila<sup>1</sup>  
 bēl-ťura l-ťura.<sup>1</sup> šálət xázət xa-képa l-márzət yāma.<sup>1</sup> dérət 'iðux xo-d-ò-kepa,<sup>1</sup> b-xázət  
 xá ləxxàwət sùsa,<sup>1</sup> mattíle gu-púmmət sùsa,<sup>1</sup> lìθ.<sup>1</sup> mára zadátte hátxa gu-yāma.<sup>1</sup> pálťa  
 sústət yamáθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-pàrxə.<sup>1</sup> (28) mára<sup>1</sup> 'aw-ləxxáwa t-áthe púmma dýa.<sup>1</sup> t-áttət xásə  
 dýa.<sup>1</sup> mára maqðánnux gu-šmšət šmāyya.<sup>1</sup> 'āti 'ámrrət šálən xo-kàsəx.<sup>1</sup> móra mašəlyan-  
 nux šáttət yamáθa,<sup>1</sup> 'āti 'ámrrət t-áttən xàsəx.<sup>1</sup> (29) märe hát 'óða wadúθa l-'iθàðux,<sup>1</sup>  
 wadúθa ťlá gáye.<sup>1</sup> mára 'à-dana<sup>1</sup> 'áyya nablàlux,<sup>1</sup> mapərxàlux šawwà yamáθa,<sup>1</sup> máťət  
 l-d-o-qàšra.<sup>1</sup> máťət l-d-ò-qasra,<sup>1</sup> háwət hášyər 'ina 'áyya sùsta là marpóla.<sup>1</sup> märe 'ina  
 mò t-óðen bíya.<sup>2</sup> märe 'asřàtla xa-dúkθa,<sup>1</sup> t-la-šarťa-w 'àza.<sup>1</sup> märe ma-yxàləť.<sup>1</sup>

(30) 'áp-'aw qyàməle<sup>1</sup> táwa xásət sùse dýe-w<sup>1</sup> šlàya.<sup>1</sup> šlàya,<sup>1</sup> šlàya<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-íle  
 pqiðəlle.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa t-wéwa šlàya l-márzət xa-yāma,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-íle pqiðəlle.<sup>1</sup> xzéle xa-képa  
 rába gòra.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəð 'íde xo-d-ò képa,<sup>1</sup> 'ina xa-ləxxáwət sùsta.<sup>1</sup> daréle gu-yāma hàšyər.<sup>1</sup>  
 'á sustə-yamáθa plitťela.<sup>1</sup> túwəle xásə dýa.<sup>1</sup>

(23) The young brother said to the other brothers ‘Take this wife of mine with you. I shall not go beyond here. I have a job’. They went off and arrived at their home. They held a wedding. They invited people, they invited many people. They held a party, a huge wedding.

(24) The youngest brother was not there. The youngest brother remained in the palace with that man. He said ‘Come, tell me, who<sup>2</sup> this Čalkāze Bādal Sahare is and where she is’. He said ‘Go to the first sea, one sea. She lies beyond seven seas. She has seven brothers. She has a palace that spins round. On every corner of the palace there is a dove’. (25) He said ‘You should cross those seven seas and reach that palace. As the palace spins round, hit each dove with a bow and arrow. Hit a dove and another corner will turn round towards you’. He said ‘Until when you have killed the seven doves, the palace will stop. It will stop and then you should go up, if you can. (26) She has seven brothers. If you can take Čalkāze and bring her here while remaining unharmed, good for you! If you cannot, they will kill you’. ‘Well’, he said ‘how can I cross these seven seas?’ I have no aeroplane or helicopter’, as they (would be called) now. He said ‘You are right in this also’. (27) He said ‘Go to the first sea, go and (you will find that) there is a mountain. There are two mountains, with a valley between one mountain and the other. Go down and you will find a stone on the shore of the sea. Put your hand under that stone and you will find a bit of a horse, which they put in the mouth of a horse, don’t they?’ He said ‘Throw it like this into the sea. The mare of the seas will come out. She can fly’. (28) He said ‘This bit should be put on her mouth. Sit on her back. If she says “I shall burn you in the sun of the sky”, you say “I shall go down under your belly”. If she says “I shall take you down to the bottom of the seas”, you say “I shall sit on your back”’. (29) He said ‘(Do this) until she makes a promise in your presence, a promise three times, then she will take you, she will fly you over the seven seas and you will reach that palace. When you arrive at that palace, be careful not to let that horse go’. He said ‘But what should I do with her?’ He said ‘Tether her somewhere, so that she does not escape and go away’. He said ‘Fine’.

(30) He sat on his horse and went down. He went down a long way, as he had instructed him. He went down to the shore of the sea, as he had instructed him. He saw a very large stone. He put his hand under the stone and found the bit of a mare. He put it in the sea carefully and the mare of the seas came out. He sat on her back.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: what.

(31) *mára maqðánnux gam-šmàyya, m-núrá šmàyya, šmša. móre šalən xo-kàsəx. mára mašlánnux gu-úmqət yamàθa móre t-áttən xàsəx. de-hádəx dè ha-t-íla wíðta tóba l-iðáθe díye.* (32) *mára mòdi báyyət. móre nábəlli l-qàsət Čəlkáze Bádál Sahàre. mára prìxtela, nubáltəlle l-d-è-dukθa. xzìθəlle xa-qàsra'ina pθàla, ax-t-wéwa mìra. šawwə yəšile bíye díye. kut-yašila' da-yáwna tàma. áwəwa-zi' iθwale qásəta-w géra d-è-ga, lìθ. dóryəlla xá črək 'u-màxyəlla. ap-a-xéta θiθa. qàsra kəlyə.* (33) *'áyya Čəlkáze Bádál Sahàre' yáðàwa' áwəwa hóle θáya. xonāwáθa díya mšudártəlla l-túra l-šəda, xúšu wúðu šəda! sab-áp-ay báya t-gorəwa, žare. áwəwa síqa tálba díya' mára jálde jálde, xonāwáθi t-la-mašilux. ap-ay θiθela mənne' əka. 'ina súsəte díye həzər' t-yamàθa. tíwa xāš-sústa, 'u-áy múttəlla bəθre díye' u-réša-reša yamàθa. (34) xéna mərə' kəpe mára tla-xonāwáθa nubləlla Čəlkáze. 'iləne mára nubləlla Čəlkáze, tla-xonāwáθa díya. 'ani riqe, 'əθye l-b-èθa, xəzye 'ina qàsra sapíqa. mátti bála gu-yəma, 'ina' a-sústat yamàθa' nabóləlla Čəlkáze. mára si-nubləlux. háwya haləl táləlux. b-xélət gənnux nubləlux. (35) 'əθyela hìwəlla' ay mára ləkət nabóləlli. móre 'ana lən tálali nabóləlləx. nabóləlləx tla-d-áwəwa dewərrəš. mára hārām-ile gávra 'əlli' šúq mən-diyux. móra hārām-ile gávra tálali' šúq mən-diyux. móre xéna hətəxela qásət. mára 'ati nábəlli tàma. 'ana t-òðən xa-xəttə. xəzəx' qatləxle 'áwəwa náša. mo-t-òðəx. qatləxle. (36) móre 'ana mjürbən, kézən mxəya. mxéli rúmxa gu-rəše' čú-məndi la-wíðla. mxéli sépa 'əlle, čú-məndi la-wíðla. móra šúqle-'əlli. 'ana mtagəbránne. zála nabòle, zilla mīləla l-qàsra. o-dewərrəš plītele l-šəda. 'əθyete, 'da-'iləna' hóla rš-rúše díye' mlīθela mən-rəjbət 'ərə, dèwela, tèlela, harnùwela. har-qíla dórya múθya l-b-èθa. (37) xa-afrit-wewə. xðele bíya díya, qəm-dawəqle qádra díya' xá-mdit 'qəbùθa. píšla trè-yome tàma. 'áw-w bəxta, Čəlkáze' o-yàla, wíðla xəbra-xa' móra là-azət' šoqətli yàla. móra 'ana xəzyən 'áwəwa xéle díye 'əkele. dàxi mášəx bíye díye, ta-t-pàrqəx mənne díye. 'u-'ana t-àθyən mənnux.*

(31) She said 'I shall burn you in the sun, from the fire of the sky, the sun'. He said 'I shall go down under your belly'. She said 'I shall take you down into the depth of the seas'. He said 'I shall sit on your back'. He continued like this, until she submitted to him. (32) She said 'What do you want?' He said 'Take me to the palace of Čalkāze Bādal Sahare'. So, she flew and took him to that place. She saw a palace and it was spinning, as he had said. There were seven corners on it. On each corner there was a dove. He had a bow and arrow (typical) of that time, is that not so? He shot one, twang, and hit it. Another one came round. The palace stopped. (33) This Čalkāze Bādal Sahare knew that he was coming. She had sent her brothers to the mountain hunting 'Go off hunting!', since she also wanted to marry, poor soul. He went up towards her and she said 'Quickly, quickly, so that my brothers do not catch you'. She came with him. 'Where to?' His mare of the seas was ready. He sat on the back of the mare, put her behind him and (they went) across the seas. (34) Now, the stones told her brothers that he had take Čalkāze. The trees said to her brothers that he had taken Čalkāze. They ran home and found that the palace was empty. They looked at the sea and saw the mare of the seas taking away Čalkāze. They said 'Go, you have taken her. Let her be permitted to you. You have taken her with your own force'. (35) They went back and conceded her.<sup>3</sup> She said 'Where are you taking me?' He said 'I am not taking you for myself. I am taking you for this vagabond'. She said 'Any man is forbidden to me except you'. She said 'Any man is forbidden to me except you'. He said 'Well, this is the story'. She said 'You take me there. I'll make a plan. Let's see if we can kill this man. What should we do? We shall kill him'. (36) He said 'I have tried. I have tried to strike him. I struck a spear on his head, but it did nothing. I lunged a sword into him, but that did nothing'. She said 'Leave him to me. I'll deal with him'. He took her on the way and they arrived at the palace. The vagabond had gone out to hunt. He came back with a tree on his shoulder, full of wildlife,<sup>4</sup> including wolves, foxes and rabbits. When he killed them, he put them (on the tree) and brought them home. (37) He was a demon. He was happy to receive them. He showed them extraordinary respect. They remained two days there. He and the woman, that is Čalkāze and the young man, made an agreement. She said 'Don't go and leave me, young man'. She said 'I shall find out where his strength is, and how we can prevail over him so that we can finish him off, then I shall come with you'.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: gave her.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: reptiles of the earth.

(38) *de-pišla* 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ay *báxtə d-àwwa dewərrəš. <sup>1</sup> *kút-yum* 'áθya *xa-hàjətta daryáwa* *bíye díye* 'áti *xélux* 'èkəle.<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> *róxux* 'èkəla-w.<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> 'u-dáx-it *xyá'a. <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> *mùðən mó,* <sup>1</sup> *bàxtəla dé!* <sup>1</sup> *də,* <sup>1</sup> *də,* <sup>1</sup> *xàρθa* <sup>1</sup> *kút-yum* *y-amə̀rwa* <sup>1</sup> *xà-yoma. (39) *xà-yoma* *mə̀re* <sup>1</sup> *xéli hóla gu-d-áyya* *kanóšta. <sup>1</sup> *qəm-šaqlàla kanóšta,* <sup>1</sup> *daryála gu-nùra. <sup>1</sup> *čù-mə̀ndi* *lìθ. <sup>1</sup> 'ay-mára *là* <sup>1</sup> *gxiklux* *bíyi. <sup>1</sup> *lèle xélux gu-d-áy kanóšta. <sup>1</sup> *dárt-yoma* *θèle* <sup>1</sup> *mə̀re* 'ána *xéli hóle gu-xa-qésa xə̀na. <sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>aw *dárt-yoma* 'aw-qésa *šqilla,* <sup>1</sup> *muqidla,* <sup>1</sup> *čù-mə̀ndi. (40) *mára xzí t-amrə̀nnux. <sup>1</sup> 'áti *hot-gkàxa bíyi. <sup>1</sup> *lìtlux* *θə̀qa bíyi. <sup>1</sup> 'ána *bàxtux-iwən. <sup>1</sup> 'ən-lá *galə̀tli* <sup>1</sup> *róxux gu-mòdila* 'u-dáx-it *xyá'a, <sup>1</sup> 'ána *xà-yoma kə̀slux la-pə̀šən. <sup>1</sup> *mə̀re xzá t-amrə̀nnəx. <sup>1</sup> *róxi hóla gu-táwrət wàla. <sup>1</sup> *gu-šádre díye* 'iθ *dá qoṭṭiya. <sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ó qoṭṭiya* 'íla *xa-šə̀pra, <sup>1</sup> (41) *mə̀re* 'á-šə̀pra 'íla *ròxi, <sup>1</sup> 'ən-lá *qaṭlile* 'o-táwrət *wàla, <sup>1</sup> *šaqlile* 'o-šə̀pra. <sup>1</sup> *kút-dana* 'a-šə̀pra *mùle, <sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'ana-mə̀θən. <sup>1</sup> *mə̀re* 'ó *tawrət-wàla-ži* *là máyə̀θ, <sup>1</sup> 'álla *gríša ṭlá gérat qə̀šta-w* *gèra, <sup>1</sup> *mən-sadánə Mə̀šr. <sup>1</sup> *ṭlá gére gríše mən-d-àw, <sup>1</sup> *b-d-àw yálla máyə̀θ. (42) 'áwwa *zilele. <sup>1</sup> 'ə̀θyēle 'o-yálat *bə̀yàwale. <sup>1</sup> *mə̀re* 'áh *qə̀šsət mòdila. <sup>1</sup> *mára b-álaha hál-u qə̀šsət* *hàtxəla. <sup>1</sup> *mára* 'áwwa *sadánət Mə̀šr-ži* *là pə̀qe. <sup>1</sup> *mə̀re* 'ána *pə̀qə̀nne. <sup>1</sup> *mára dāxi? <sup>2</sup> *pθiltə̀lle* *xá mən-káwəsa díya, <sup>1</sup> *mára* 'ázət *ṭlá yománe* <sup>1</sup> *ha-t-dóqət sárṭ mən-d-ò <sup>1</sup> *náša. (43) *múrrə* 'ána *pálxən rə̀š-d-ò sadána* <sup>1</sup> *hat-pə̀qe. <sup>1</sup> 'ən-pə̀qe, <sup>1</sup> *gársə̀tli ṭlá-gere-w* *qə̀šta* *mánne díye. <sup>1</sup> 'ən-lá *mpūqə̀li, <sup>1</sup> 'ána *pálxən b-réše díye bālāš. <sup>1</sup> *mára kút-yum* *pálxət* *b-réše mbádla hal-<sup>2</sup>ašə̀rta. <sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *báska patlə̀tle* *hàtxa. <sup>1</sup> *lìtlux* *šùla, <sup>1</sup> 'ázət *də̀mxət. (44) 'áwwa-ži *zila* <sup>1</sup> *mbùqrele, <sup>1</sup> *ṭfiqele* *rə̀š-d-ó sadánə Mə̀šr. <sup>1</sup> *wíðele* *mə̀qə̀wə̀la mánne* *díye. <sup>1</sup> *mə̀re* 'ána *rə̀š-d-áwwa bālāš. <sup>1</sup> 'ən-mpūqə̀li *garšə̀tli ṭlá-gere mánne díye. <sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ən-lá *mpūqə̀li, <sup>1</sup> 'ána *pálxən b-réše bālāš. <sup>1</sup> *mə̀re* *nāša* <sup>1</sup> *zlamət gə̀nux <sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *mə̀ni mpə̀qə̀le? <sup>2</sup> *mə̀re* *b-álaha* *hàtxa. <sup>1</sup> 'ən-pə̀qə̀nne, <sup>1</sup> *t-yátli ṭlá-gère-w-qə̀šta. <sup>1</sup> 'ən-lá, <sup>1</sup> *čù-mə̀ndi. <sup>1</sup> *mə̀re* *ma-yxələ̀f. <sup>1</sup> *plux. (45) 'áwwa-ži *pálx kút-yum* *mbádla hal-<sup>2</sup>ašə̀rta. <sup>1</sup> 'ašə̀rta 'o-báska *t-Čə̀lkə̀ze* *maxə̀wa, <sup>1</sup> *šayə̀pwale gu-d-ò sadána, <sup>1</sup> 'u-y-azə̀lwa. <sup>1</sup> *xà-yoma, <sup>1</sup> *yómə̀ trè, <sup>1</sup> *yómə̀ ṭlāθa, <sup>1</sup> *gu-mbadlāθa, <sup>1</sup> *gu-b-lə̀le, <sup>1</sup> *šmíya xa-pə̀mma. <sup>1</sup> *pqile. <sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *zila, <sup>1</sup> *qíma* *mbádla zila* 'ína 'o-pə̀qya. <sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'ó-mara *d-o-sadánə Mə̀šr* *qímele wíðele ṭlá-gere* *mən-d-ò sadánə Mə̀šr. <sup>1</sup> *qímele dírele zila. <sup>1</sup>***

(38) Now, she became the wife of that vagabond. Every day she came with a pretext (to ask him) 'Where is your strength? Where is your spirit? How do you live?', I don't know what (else she asked), she is woman! Everyday he would say 'One day (I shall tell you)'. (39) One day he said 'My strength is in this broom'. She took the broom and put it in the fire, but nothing happened. She said 'No, you have mocked me'. Your strength is not in that broom'. The next day he came and said 'My strength is in another piece of wood. The next day she took that piece of wood and burnt it, but nothing (happened). (40) She said 'Look, I'll tell you. You are mocking me. You don't trust me. I am your wife. If you do not reveal to me in what your spirit lies and how you live, I shall not stay with you a single day longer'. He said 'Look, I'll tell you. My spirit is in a wild ox, in its chest there is a box. In that box there is a sparrow'. (41) He said 'That sparrow is my spirit. They must not kill that wild ox and take that sparrow. If ever that sparrow dies, then I shall die'. He said 'That wild ox, moreover, will not die, unless three arrows of a bow and arrow are produced from the anvil of Egypt. Three arrows produced from it—by this it will die'. (42) He went away and the young man whom she loved came. He said 'So, what is the story?' She said 'By God, the story is this'. She said 'This anvil of Egypt will not split'. He said 'I shall split it'. She said 'How?' She twisted off one of her hair locks and said 'Go for three days until you make an agreement with that man. (43) Say to him "I shall work over this anvil until it splits. If it splits, you will produce three arrows and bows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free". She said 'Every day work over it from morning until evening. Twist this lock of hair like this. Don't worry, go and sleep'. (44) He went off and made inquiries, and found that anvil of Egypt. He made a contract with him (the owner). He said 'I shall (work) over this for free. If I split it, you will produce for me three arrows from it. If I do not split it, I shall work over it for free'. He said 'Man, you are wronging yourself. Who can break it?' He said 'By God, it is so. If I split it, you will give me three arrows and a bow. If not, nothing'. He said 'Fine. Get to work!' (45) He worked every day every day, from morning until evening. In the evening he rubbed the lock of Čalkäze on the anvil and went away. One day, the second day, the third day, in the morning, in the early morning, he heard a bang—it was split. He went (to look). He got up in the morning and went (to look) and saw that it was split. Then the owner of the anvil of Egypt made three arrows from that anvil of Egypt. He (Bazəkko) then returned.



(46) 'ó dewərrəs b-yóma y-azəlwa l-túra,<sup>1</sup> b-lèle y-aθéwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áw b-yóma zila kəs-d-a-Čəlkəze.<sup>1</sup> máre θéli hó 'an-tlá gerə-qəšta.<sup>1</sup> mára xzi.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa túra 'iθgena δa-<sup>2</sup>énət míya támara.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa táwrat wála<sup>1</sup> yomíyya xá-bena šále š-d-ε-<sup>2</sup>énət míya<sup>1</sup> šáte míya.<sup>1</sup> 'ázət máttət xa-<sup>1</sup>tafiya.<sup>1</sup> náblət xáčča qira.<sup>1</sup> (47) mára 'áyya máttátla gu-míya,<sup>1</sup> 'a-qira<sup>1</sup> darátla b-rəša.<sup>1</sup> 'an-míya kàtpi.<sup>1</sup> là-palti míya.<sup>1</sup> dárət xáčča xámra,<sup>1</sup> xáčča biš hódəx mənna-díya,<sup>1</sup> xámra.<sup>1</sup> mára 'áwwa táwra t-áθe xáze míya liθgena,<sup>1</sup> mayəxle rixə d-o-xámra<sup>1</sup> lè-y-šate.<sup>1</sup> t-ázəl túra xá-ga xéta t-àθe.<sup>1</sup> páyəs májbur béna xaráya šáte,<sup>1</sup> mən-d-ó-xámra b-ràwe.<sup>1</sup> t-áθe l-dmàxa.<sup>1</sup> (48) mára 'è-ga<sup>1</sup> maxátla 'anna qəšta-w gére 'alle diye.<sup>1</sup> qatlətle,<sup>1</sup> màyəθ.<sup>1</sup> parmətle,<sup>1</sup> paθxátle šádre diye.<sup>1</sup> 'a-qotíya,<sup>1</sup> xa-qotíya 'ax-d-àwwele,<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> m-gu-šádre diye<sup>1</sup> šaqlətle<sup>1</sup> meθətle tlàli.<sup>1</sup> (49) 'áwwa-zi zàlele,<sup>1</sup> nabòlalla<sup>1</sup> xámra mánna díya,<sup>1</sup> l-d-à-dukθa.<sup>1</sup> xzəyalla 'éna.<sup>1</sup> mdabòqəlla<sup>1</sup> máttóye qira,<sup>1</sup> taifiya-w qira.<sup>1</sup> míya ktəpəla.<sup>1</sup> dráyele biš-hódəx mánna díya xáčča xámra.<sup>1</sup> 'áw máttóyalla gáne diye.<sup>1</sup> hóle xpírala xa-dúkθa<sup>1</sup> mtašəyalla.<sup>1</sup> mtišyalla.<sup>1</sup> xa-béna 'əθyele 'aw-táwrat wála<sup>1</sup> tla-šáte míya.<sup>1</sup> (50) míya léle xəzya.<sup>1</sup> zilele<sup>1</sup> míxele 'ina rixət xámra.<sup>1</sup> lèle štya mánna.<sup>1</sup> zila xá-ga xéta l-túra.<sup>1</sup> šiya-wewa,<sup>1</sup> xà-ga xéta théle,<sup>1</sup> xà-ga xéta léle štya.<sup>1</sup> béna tla<sup>1</sup> théle štèle.<sup>1</sup> štèle,<sup>1</sup> guyžənne,<sup>1</sup> rwèle.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-naša hóle tíwa gu-čəpər támara.<sup>1</sup> maxéle tla<sup>1</sup> qəšta-w géra 'alle diye<sup>1</sup> npilele.<sup>1</sup> (51) zila pɹiməlle,<sup>1</sup> pθixa šádre diye.<sup>1</sup> 'ina δá qotíya hátxa zəra.<sup>1</sup> šqiləlla,<sup>1</sup> mùsqəlla,<sup>1</sup> híwəlla tla-Čəlkəze,<sup>1</sup> tla-d-a-báxtə t-wéwa mùθyalla.<sup>1</sup> máre Čəlkəze<sup>1</sup> hòla.<sup>1</sup> mára háwət basíma ràba.<sup>1</sup> (52) 'o-dewərrəs<sup>1</sup> 'imə t-ile-máxyəlle táwrat wála<sup>1</sup> rišele<sup>1</sup> mgunəgzəle.<sup>1</sup> hátxewa,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-mərya.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyele l-béθa 'ina mərya.<sup>1</sup> mára 'a-mà-lux?<sup>1</sup> máre b-àlaha,<sup>1</sup> làn-δa'a,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa táwrat wála lán-δa'a módi 'əθya biye,<sup>1</sup> npilele b-<sup>2</sup>isàra,<sup>1</sup> 'awwa xà-məndile qíθa biye.<sup>1</sup> lán-δa'a módila qəšət.<sup>1</sup> díya hon-ràba mərya.<sup>1</sup> máre çü-ga hátxa lan-márya.<sup>1</sup> (53) dəryəlla xa-šwiθa<sup>1</sup> dmixele.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-zi pθixtəlle 'o-sandüqa<sup>1</sup> mára hòle<sup>1</sup> çüčkka.<sup>1</sup> mára dwiqtəlle<sup>1</sup> 'odále rúše hátxa,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-aw nayəðwa rúše diye.<sup>1</sup> nçiltəlle rəše-w<sup>1</sup> rúše-w<sup>1</sup> kúlla rupəθəlla.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-aw mütəwəle<sup>1</sup> har-a-dána.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyele 'o-gəwəra díya,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-wéwa mùθyalla.<sup>1</sup> muxbərtəlle,<sup>1</sup> 'əθyele l-béθa.<sup>1</sup> šqiləlla.<sup>1</sup> pišele támara kəmə-dána.<sup>1</sup> šqiləlla 'u-zila l-béθa.<sup>1</sup>

(46) The vagabond used to go to the mountains in the day and come back at night. He (Barzəkko) went to Čəlkäze in the day-time. He said 'I've come back and here are the three arrows of a bow'. She said 'Look, in this mountain there is a spring of water. This wild ox once a day goes down to the spring of water and drinks water. Go and lay down a woolen mat. Take some tar'. (47) She said 'Put it in the water and put the tar on it. The water will stop flowing, the water will not come out. Put some wine further along'. She said 'This ox will come and see that there is no water. It will smell the odour of the wine and not drink. It will go to the mountain, then come back again. In the end it will be forced to drink and will become drunk from the wine. It will come to sleep'. (48) She said 'At that time, strike it with those arrows and a bow. You will kill it and it will die. Slaughter it and open up its chest. The box, a box like this' She said 'take it from his chest and bring it to me'. (49) He went and took them, together with wine to that place. He saw the spring. He pressed it down, put down tar, the woolen mat and tar. The water stopped flowing. He put some wine further up from them. He positioned himself. He dug a place to hide. He hid. Then that wild ox came to drink water. (50) It did not find water. It went and sniffed, and smelt the odour of wine. It did not drink it. It went again to the mountain. It was thirsty and came back again, but again did not drink. The third time it drank. It drank and felt dizzy. It became drunk. That man (Barzəkko) was waiting in ambush there. He struck it with three arrows of a bow and it fell. (51) He went and slaughtered it, opened its chest and found a box, small like this. He took it, brought it back and gave it to Čəlkäze, to the woman whom he had brought. He said 'Čəlkäze, here it is'. She said 'Thank you very much'. (52) When he struck the wild ox, that vagabond felt it and shivered. He was like this, as if he were ill. He came back home ill. She said 'Ah, what is the matter with you?' He said 'I don't know. I don't know what has happened to that wild ox, whether it has fallen on a rock, whether a thing such as that has happened to him. I don't know what is going on. Now I am very ill'. He said 'I have never been ill like this'. (53) He laid down a bed and went to sleep. She opened the box and said 'Here is a sparrow'. She seized it and moved its shoulder like this, he also shook his shoulder. She pulled apart its head and its shoulder and threw everything down. At the same time he also died. Her husband (to be) came back, the one who had brought her. She notified him and he came back to the house. He took her and he remained there for some time. He took her and went home.

(54) *zila l-béθət bābe diye.<sup>1</sup> bābe diye mālkele.<sup>1</sup> hóle xa-pláša gu-d-a-màθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ajəbùθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa bāxte diye múttalla gu-ða-dúkθa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xa-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> zilele móre mòdila qósšət?<sup>2</sup> mòdila qósšət?<sup>2</sup>* (55) *mára b-àlaha,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa málka 'itwale xá bróna.<sup>1</sup> bāxte diye mùθyalla.<sup>1</sup> 'imə t-ila zála mùθyalla 'arbi baxtəθa,<sup>1</sup> mùθyalla bāxte diye.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-málka báyē kálθe diye,<sup>1</sup> bāxtət brónə diye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bāxtət brón-diye là-qabla.<sup>1</sup> 'an-'arbi baxtəθa kúlla xaθwàθela,<sup>1</sup> dárqul d-a-məndila.<sup>1</sup> 'u-málka hóle mhuyəra,<sup>1</sup> mára 'əlla gárəg 'áyya bráta gorónna.<sup>1</sup> (56) mšadóre náše l-d-ó qəšra.<sup>1</sup> kút-yum pləšela<sup>1</sup> ta-t-doqila 'a-bràta,<sup>1</sup> doqila 'a-bràta<sup>1</sup> mεθéla ta-t-gávra málka,<sup>1</sup> bābe diye.<sup>1</sup> bábə diye báyē gávra.<sup>1</sup> bābe diye málkewa.<sup>1</sup> (57) mára 'áp-aw qimele zilele,<sup>1</sup> pišele xuláma t-málka.<sup>1</sup> mšoxəpləlla júlle diye. pišele<sup>1</sup> xolámət málka,<sup>1</sup> maštóye susāwáθa miya.<sup>1</sup> kút-yum 'anna palṭiwa pləša.<sup>1</sup> mòdila qósšət?<sup>2</sup> móre l-d-o-qəšra t-wéwa 'arbi bnəθa gávwe diye,<sup>1</sup> xaθwəθa diya.<sup>1</sup> móre mòdila gu-d-áwwa qəšra?<sup>2</sup> (58) móre b-àlaha<sup>1</sup> 'iθgena 'arbi bnəθa,<sup>1</sup> kaláθət málka,<sup>1</sup> ḏá-mənnə zúrta,<sup>1</sup> gávra diya zila b-dùnye,<sup>1</sup> báyē málka gawərra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'anna hólə 'əsi 'əlle diye.<sup>1</sup> móre ga-béna 'anna kúlla t-ila zála léla mšáya b-an-'arbi bnəθa?<sup>2</sup> kút-yum zála hətxa<sup>1</sup> jěš m-anna 'atwánə xásə susāwəθa,<sup>1</sup> swariye.<sup>1</sup> léla mšáya b-an-'arbi bnəθa?<sup>2</sup> 'ana t-ázən mεθónna.<sup>1</sup> (59) mṭáyele xábra l-málka.<sup>1</sup> mṭáyele xábra l-málka<sup>1</sup> móre málka t-áwət basima,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa saqáwa d-ánna susāwəθa,<sup>1</sup> móre 'ana t-ázən šaqlónna-ana.<sup>1</sup> móre mšádrule t-àθe.<sup>1</sup> zila móre mòdi báyət?<sup>2</sup> málka t-áwe basima,<sup>1</sup> kúlla<sup>1</sup> 'arbi bnəθela lāxxa,<sup>1</sup> baxtəθela,<sup>1</sup> dāx létu mšáya biya?<sup>2</sup> 'ana t-ázən.<sup>1</sup> hállule xa-súsa.<sup>1</sup> təmməl mbádla 'əzəl.<sup>1</sup> (60) šqála dárt-yoma xə-susa<sup>1</sup> táwa xáše diye zála<sup>1</sup> hē<sup>1</sup> 'ana fəllən,<sup>1</sup> háyyo,<sup>1</sup> háyyo plùtu.<sup>1</sup> kut-báyē pələš mənni pələš mənni.<sup>1</sup> 'ani pišela mərə<sup>1</sup> ḏa-tla-ḏa-xəta,<sup>1</sup> xáθi hóle xa-pliṭa,<sup>1</sup> hóle šráxa mərə<sup>1</sup> kut-báyē 'áθe pələš mənni 'áθe pələš mənni.<sup>1</sup> (61) plitṭela ḏə,<sup>1</sup> mára 'ana pəlṭən.<sup>1</sup> plitṭa,<sup>1</sup> pláša pláša<sup>1</sup> mbádla 'ašərtə.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa là báyē máxe.<sup>1</sup> 'ašərtə<sup>1</sup> gu-gnəθət yóma 'áyya riqtela wirtela gu-qəšra.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa máxyele sépe l-qódalə d-o-súsa t-ile 'iθya b-xáše diye,<sup>1</sup> qitlille.<sup>1</sup> zilele kəs-málka,<sup>1</sup> móre málka t-áwət basima<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa mù-susət híwəlli 'ati?<sup>2</sup>*

(54) He went to the home of his father. His father was a king. There was a battle in the town, a remarkable event. He had put his (Barzəkko's) wife in a certain place. There was a house (there). He went and said 'What is happening? What is happening?' (55) They said 'By God, this king had a son. He brought back his wife. When they went and brought back forty wives, he brought back his wife. The king loves his daughter-in-law, the wife of his son. The wife of his son does not accept him. Those forty wives are all sisters and are against this thing. The king is confounded and says "I must marry this girl"'. (56) He sends people to the palace. Every day they fight (attempting) to seize the girl, seize the girl and bring her to marry the king, his father. His father wants her to marry (him)'. His father was the king. (57) Now, he went off and became a servant of the king. He changed his clothes and became a servant of the king, giving water to the horses. Every day they would go out to fight. 'What is happening?' He (a bystander) said '(They are going) to the palace', in which there were forty girls, her sisters. He said 'What is in the palace?' (58) He said 'By God, there are forty girls, the daughters-in-law of the king. The husband of a young girl among them has gone out into the world and the king wants to marry her. They are protesting against him'. He said 'Well, cannot all these people who are going (to fight) prevail against the forty girls? Everyday an army of riders on the back of horses goes (to fight), horseman. Cannot they prevail against forty girls? I am going to bring her'. (59) Word reaches the king. Word reaches the king, he (a courtier) said 'King, may you be in good health, the servant who gives water to the horses has said "I shall go and take her"'. He said 'Send for him and let him come'. He went and he said 'What do you want?' 'King, may you be in good health, in all there are forty girls here, they are women, how is it that you cannot prevail against them? I shall go.' 'Give him a horse. Let him go tomorrow morning'. (60) The next day he took a horse, sat on its back and went off. 'Hey, I am so-and-so, come on, come out! Whoever wants to fight with me, let him fight with me'. They started saying to one another 'Sister, a man has come out, he is shouting saying "Whoever wants to come and fight with me, let him come and fight with me"'. (61) One girl went out. She said 'I shall go out'. She went out and fought and fought, morning and evening. He did not want to strike. In the evening, at sunset, she ran away and entered the palace. He struck his sword on the neck of the horse on whose back he had come and killed it. He went to the king. He said 'King, may you be in good health, what kind of horse did you give me?'

(62) *móre mó bǎyət.<sup>21</sup> hálli xa-súsa spà.<sup>1</sup> ʼána b-doqónna ʼanna bnàθa.<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yałəf.<sup>1</sup> móre xa-súsa<sup>1</sup> ʼanna xamsā šónne<sup>1</sup> ʼáp-xa léle másyá mátya ʼalle díye.<sup>1</sup> ga-móre mo-sùsele.<sup>21</sup> ʼèkele.<sup>2</sup> móre hóle fəllən dükθa,<sup>1</sup> gu-fəllən béθa.<sup>1</sup> móre hátta mexólta b-kàwe dárəx ʼalle-díye.<sup>1</sup> (63) móre málka t-áwət basíma<sup>1</sup> də-hálli ʼána t-ásqən,<sup>1</sup> xu-là ʼaxálli,<sup>1</sup> xu-lèle ʼarya.<sup>1</sup> la-ʼarya,<sup>1</sup> sùsele.<sup>1</sup> ʼáwəwa-zi mərə<sup>1</sup> ʼáwəwa qđila.<sup>1</sup> də-sùq!<sup>1</sup> ʼáwəwa yǎðele<sup>1</sup> susət-gáne díye.<sup>1</sup> sùsət gáne díye yǎðele ʼèkele.<sup>1</sup> móre míðən ʼo-béθa ʼèkele.<sup>1</sup> šádər xa-náša mənni.<sup>1</sup> (64) šúdra xa-náša,<sup>1</sup> móre súq máxzi.<sup>1</sup> ga-sàqa,<sup>1</sup> mátye móre hòwile<sup>1</sup> ʼawəwáʼha tǎra<sup>1</sup> d-o-sùsele.<sup>1</sup> ʼáwəwa-zi sàqele.<sup>1</sup> pθaxəlle tǎrət sùsa,<sup>1</sup> tǎrət gòma.<sup>1</sup> sùsa θáya wáða naθyáθe hátxa,<sup>1</sup> báye maxèle.<sup>1</sup> (65) máxyəlla ʼide hátxa gu-nartúmə sùsa.<sup>1</sup> móre kǒra<sup>1</sup> lás-it dǎʼəlli.<sup>21</sup> wǎ-law t-ín ʼanna-xámša šónne zíla b-dúnye,<sup>1</sup> nómu lat-dǎʼəlli.<sup>21</sup> mára sùsa kəlyə,<sup>1</sup> dýya máre díyele.<sup>1</sup> kəlyele sùsa.<sup>1</sup> ʼáwəwa mtüməzəlle sùse díye.<sup>1</sup> kəmā-dana táma zǎre<sup>1</sup> la-kniša,<sup>1</sup> la-mtüməza,<sup>1</sup> cü-məndi.<sup>1</sup> doryəlle sǎrga xáše díye.<sup>1</sup> (66) mbádla tíwa xáše díye ʼu-pliṭele.<sup>1</sup> ʼé-ga sùsa kəmā-dana léle-xəzya šəmša,<sup>1</sup> hóle pràxa.<sup>1</sup> šəlyele,<sup>1</sup> máxyele xa-fǎrra çənnəkérə d-o-qǎsra.<sup>1</sup> móre hè<sup>1</sup> həyyo<sup>1</sup> təmməl ʼana-ʼəθyən<sup>1</sup> plíša mənne-xu.<sup>1</sup> ʼáp-ʼədyo ho-θəli.<sup>1</sup> lá də-mənne-xu,<sup>1</sup> lá páltə də-də.<sup>1</sup> plútu<sup>1</sup> xəmməš,<sup>1</sup> ʼəššət,<sup>1</sup> ʼəssər,<sup>1</sup> kùllexu plútu.<sup>1</sup> (67) bǎxtət gáne díye<sup>1</sup> ʼa-zürtewa-ʼay.<sup>1</sup> mára tla-xaθwàθa,<sup>1</sup> xáθi ʼána páltən.<sup>1</sup> plíttela ʼay.<sup>1</sup> ʼé-ga plásela gu-düwən,<sup>1</sup> ʼay ʼu-gáwra díya.<sup>1</sup> ʼay-ləða t-íle gáwra díya zǎre.<sup>1</sup> plásə mxàya,<sup>1</sup> ʼay-mxàya,<sup>1</sup> ʼaw-wáða müqàwǎma,<sup>1</sup> ʼay-mxàya,<sup>1</sup> ʼaw-wáða müqàwǎma,<sup>1</sup> həl gnéθət yóma.<sup>1</sup> (68) gnéθət yóma<sup>1</sup> ríqtela báya t-óra gu-qǎsra.<sup>1</sup> sùse díye xələnəle.<sup>1</sup> dwiqəlle tǎra.<sup>1</sup> dwiqəlle tǎra,<sup>1</sup> mürməlle kóse díye.<sup>1</sup> móre həštīm,<sup>1</sup> nómu lát-dəʼəlli.<sup>21</sup> lát-dəʼəlle sùsi.<sup>21</sup> ʼá-dana qríθela b-xaθwáθa díya.<sup>1</sup> mára həyyo!<sup>1</sup> ʼáwəwa ʼile gəwri.<sup>1</sup> ʼáwəwa ʼile gəwri.<sup>1</sup>*

(62) He said 'What do you want?' 'Give me a good horse and I shall seize those girls'. He said 'Fine'. He said 'There is a horse that for these five years nobody has been able to get near'. Then he (Barzəkko) said 'What horse is it? Where is it?' He said 'It is in such-and-such a place, in such-and-such a house'. He said 'We even give food to it through the window'. (63) He (Barzəkko) said 'King, may you be in good health, give it to me, I shall go up (and ride it), surely it will not eat me, surely it is not a lion. It is a horse, not a lion. He (the king) said 'This is the key. Off you go'<sup>5</sup> He knows it, (since it is) his own horse. He knows where his own horse is. He said 'I don't know where that house is. Send a man with me'. (64) He sent a man. He said 'Go, show him'. Now, when they went up and arrived, he said 'Look, there it is. That door is the one of the horse'. He went up and opened the door of the horse, the door of a basement stable. The horse came moving his ears like this, intending to strike him. (65) He put his hand like this on the snout of the horse. He said 'Poor creature, don't you know me anymore? Although I have been away in the world for these five years, don't you know me any more?' Now, the horse stood still, he knew he was his master. The horse stood still. He cleaned his horse. The poor thing had been there for so long, without being groomed or cleaned, nothing. He put a saddle on it. (66) In the morning he sat on its back and went out. The horse had not seen the sun for so long and it flew off. He went down and made a circuit around the palace. He said 'Hey, come here! Yesterday I came and fought with you. I have come also today. Not one of you, don't come out one by one. Five, six, ten come out. All of you come out!' (67) His own wife was the youngest. She said to her sisters 'My sister, I shall go out'. She went out. Then she fought in the reception room, she and her husband. The poor thing did not know that he was her husband. She fought and struck. She struck and he defended himself, she struck and he defended himself, until sunset. (68) At sunset she ran off intending to enter the palace. His horse was strong. He held the door fast. He held the door fast and lifted up his hair. He said 'You fool, don't you know me? Don't you know my horse?' Then she shouted to her sisters. She said 'Come! He is my husband. He is my husband'.

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<sup>5</sup> Literally: Go up!

(69) *xéna xaθwáθa díya kúlla šlèla,<sup>1</sup> kəmà-t-íla!<sup>1</sup> wéla xa-šadlaxàna.<sup>1</sup> ’áwə  
 gu-d-o-qàšra<sup>1</sup> wéla xlùla.<sup>1</sup> mbádla qiméle<sup>1</sup> ’o-yála.<sup>1</sup> plítete l-gáre šixele.<sup>1</sup> móre kú-t-ile  
 bàθri<sup>1</sup> méθe xa-kértə qèsa<sup>1</sup> máttu gu-tárəd bèθi.<sup>1</sup> kú-t-ile bar-màlka,<sup>1</sup> bàbi,<sup>1</sup> máttu  
 xa-kértə qésa qam-tárət málka.<sup>1</sup> (70) mára kəmà-t-íla moθéla muttúla qésa<sup>1</sup>—ðila  
 módila qásšət<sup>1</sup>—qam-tárə díye.<sup>1</sup> móre de-méθole málka!<sup>1</sup> ’áwəwə wazíre kúlla<sup>1</sup> másqula  
 láxxa màqðula!<sup>1</sup> kúlla qəm-məθíla qaþlíla.<sup>1</sup> ’áwəwə šqille báxte díye,<sup>1</sup> ’u-xonāwáθe  
 díye-w<sup>1</sup> ’áwəwə píšle málka šópət bábə díye.<sup>1</sup> šwiqáli táma ’u-θéli làxxa.<sup>1</sup>*

(69) Then all her sisters came down, how many they were! There was a party. He went into the palace and there was a wedding. In the morning the young man got up. He went out onto the roof and shouted. He said 'Whoever supports me,<sup>6</sup> let him bring a bundle of wood and put it at the door of my house. Whoever is behind the king, my father, put a bundle of wood before the door of the king'. (70) Now, many people brought wood and put it before his door—they knew what the story was. He said 'Bring the king! Bring him and all his ministers here and burn them!' He brought them all and killed them. He took his wife and his brothers, and he became king in place of his father. I have left it there and come here.

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<sup>6</sup> Literally: behind me.



Informant: Yuwarəš Xošāba Kena (Dure)

(1) 'iθwa tré málke,<sup>1</sup> xonāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> xá gu-Bàbəl-wewa,<sup>1</sup> xá gu-Nīnwe.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-Bàbəl muxóna mən-xóne dīye gu-Nīnwe.<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> t-ásqəx tápqəx b-xóni gu-Nīnwe.<sup>1</sup> mára mo-<sup>2</sup>iba!<sup>1</sup> qyáma sàqela.<sup>1</sup> (2) maləkθa,<sup>1</sup> málka plītele mən-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> wídlā xa-ħàfta.<sup>1</sup> kúlla kpíše tàma.<sup>1</sup> maləkθa mərə<sup>1</sup> kút-xa t-íle rqáða mənna<sup>1</sup> dàməx mónna dīya.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa gáwra dīya síqele l-Nīnwe,<sup>1</sup> díra 'əθyele.<sup>1</sup> (3) bár xačča-dàna,<sup>1</sup> bár xákma šənne,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-Nīnwe mərə šələn 'ána tápqən b-xóni gu-Bàbəl.<sup>1</sup> mára šályele tñiqā bīye dīye.<sup>1</sup> móre xòni<sup>1</sup> tómməl t-ázəx šəda,<sup>1</sup> xàmləx,<sup>1</sup> tla-xmàla.<sup>1</sup> xóne dīye 'o-t-Nīnwe<sup>1</sup> móre xóni 'ána hon-kčxa.<sup>1</sup> là-mšən 'ádyo páltən.<sup>1</sup> hòla 'áqli mrá'a,<sup>1</sup> pèšən bəθa.<sup>1</sup> (4) 'anna xène,<sup>1</sup> málka rīwā xábra t-ázi šəda,<sup>1</sup> qíme plīte zīle xðàra,<sup>1</sup> šəda.<sup>1</sup> báxtət málka,<sup>1</sup> wídlā 'o-məndi t-wáwa wíðta 'ó-yoma xèna.<sup>1</sup> wídlā ħàfta,<sup>1</sup> mára kút-xa t-íle rqáða mónna<sup>1</sup> dàməx mónna.<sup>1</sup> (5) xónət málka xzèle 'áwwa mándi.<sup>1</sup> 'anna ləwa xzáyalle.<sup>1</sup> tíwa xa-dúkθa,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa xzáyalla,<sup>1</sup> 'anna ləwa xzáyalle.<sup>1</sup> xóne dīye θèle,<sup>1</sup> móre xòni<sup>1</sup> 'ána xašwónwa har-<sup>2</sup>ána hon-zlíma,<sup>1</sup> 'áti biš-zlíma mónni!<sup>1</sup> móre mòdila xóni?<sup>1</sup> móre hətəxela qəšəat.<sup>1</sup> (6) qyàməle,<sup>1</sup> lèle mheymóne.<sup>1</sup> yómə trè<sup>1</sup> móre xòni<sup>1</sup> lan-mhaymòne,<sup>1</sup> t̄l̄àθa<sup>1</sup> móre xá-ga mūr 'ána t-ázən šəda<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-ay- góta xéta gnù gánux.<sup>1</sup> háyyo làxxa,<sup>1</sup> b-áyya dúkθa t-ín táwa<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áyya tərma.<sup>1</sup> xzī mo-bàre.<sup>1</sup> (7) yómə t̄l̄àθa<sup>1</sup> mərəle xóne dīye xá-ga xéta 'o-t-Bàbəl<sup>1</sup> yáwəlle xábra tla-náše dīye<sup>1</sup> mára t-ázəx šəda.<sup>1</sup> 'anna plàtəla,<sup>1</sup> kúlla zála šəda,<sup>1</sup> m-a-góta xéta málka gnàwəlla gān-dīye.<sup>1</sup> θəyēle<sup>1</sup> kəs-xóne dīye<sup>1</sup> 'u-tíwəle gu-xa-pálkon,<sup>1</sup> lèla xzáyalle,<sup>1</sup> 'əp-xa léle-ðiya bīye,<sup>1</sup> sərr-ile.<sup>1</sup> (8) mára maləkθa plīt̄təla<sup>1</sup> xá-ga xéta nəfšə-šay.<sup>1</sup> 'əy<sup>1</sup> 'u-xolamwàθa<sup>1</sup> kúlla rqáða gðáðe zmàra,<sup>1</sup> mára xa-<sup>2</sup>ábíd kòma<sup>1</sup> dmáxela mánne dīye 'əy.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa xzáyalla,<sup>1</sup> móre xzélux xòni?<sup>1</sup> t-là-<sup>2</sup>amrət 'ána wáðm<sup>1</sup> be-baxtùθa 'əllux.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya bəxtux<sup>1</sup> xzi-mòdila wáða.<sup>1</sup> (9) mára grīšle sèpa,<sup>1</sup> tràθna<sup>1</sup> kúlla-<sup>2</sup>ani qəm-qat̄lila.<sup>1</sup> málka<sup>1</sup> 'u-xóne dīye<sup>1</sup> 'an-<sup>2</sup>ábíd 'u-bàxta<sup>1</sup> kúlla-<sup>2</sup>ani qəm-qat̄lila.<sup>1</sup> móre xóni t-ázəx dūnyē<sup>1</sup> xázəx 'ən-<sup>2</sup>iθ náše biš-zlíme mónnən,<sup>1</sup> dèrəx.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-lìθ biš-zlíme mónnən,<sup>1</sup> har-t-àzəx.<sup>1</sup>

### A13 A TALE OF TWO KINGS

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošāba Kena (Dure)

(1) There were once two kings, brothers. One was in Babylon and one in Nineveh. The one in Babylon missed his brother in Nineveh. He said 'Let's go up and meet my brother in Nineveh'. They said 'That's fine'.<sup>1</sup> They went off. (2) The queen, when the king left the house, held a party. Everybody gathered there. The queen said that whoever danced with her would sleep with her. Her husband went up to Nineveh, then returned home. (3) After some time, after a few years, the king of Nineveh said 'I shall go down and meet my brother in Babylon'. So, he went down and met him. He said 'Brother, tomorrow let's go hunting and have a good time, for fun'. His brother from Nineveh said 'Brother, I am tired. I cannot go out today. My leg hurts. I shall stay at home.' (4) As for the others, the king announced that they would go hunting, so they went off around (the countryside) on a hunt. The wife of the king did what she had done the day before. She held a party. She said that whoever danced with her would sleep with her. (5) The brother of the king saw this, but they did not see him. He was sitting in a place where he saw them but they did not see him. His brother came back and he said 'Brother, I thought that only I was wronged, but you are more wronged than me'. He said 'What is it brother?' He said 'The situation is like this'. (6) He stood up in disbelief. The next day he said 'Brother, I do not believe it'. On the third day he said 'Say again "I am going hunting" and hide yourself elsewhere. Come here, in the place where I am sitting, in the porch. Watch what happens'. (7) On the third day his brother, the one from Babylon, again made an announcement to the people saying 'Let's go hunting'. They went out, they all went hunting, but the king hid somewhere else. He came to his brother and sat on a balcony, where they did not see him. Nobody knew about him, it was a secret. (8) Now, the queen came out and again the same thing (happened). She and her servants all danced and sang together. She slept with a black slave. He saw her and said 'Have you seen, brother? Don't say that I am being deceitful to you. Look what your wife is doing'. (9) He drew his sword and both of them killed all those (present). The king and his brother killed all the slaves and the wife. He said 'Brother, let's go out into the world. If we find that there are people more wronged than us, we shall return. If there are none more wronged than us, we shall continue on our way.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: What is there in it?

(10) *m-táma šláyele l-Bàšra.<sup>1</sup> šláyele l-Bàšra,<sup>1</sup> táma manyóxela xo-xa-<sup>2</sup>ilánət xùrme,<sup>1</sup> ‘al-<sup>2</sup>asás t-átəya ða-bàxəra<sup>1</sup> xa-məndi<sup>1</sup> t-átwi gáwe, t-àzi.<sup>1</sup> mára xá-bena xzəla gu-yàma,<sup>1</sup> gu-yàma plítəle xa-tənna<sup>1</sup> síqle gu-šməyya.<sup>1</sup> plítəle <sup>2</sup>əθyele<sup>1</sup> xa-‘afrit<sup>1</sup> plítəle gu-yàma,<sup>1</sup> hóle xá-sanduqa dʷíqa hátxa rəš-rúše dīye.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>əθyele,<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>əθyele l-d-ay-<sup>2</sup>ilána.<sup>1</sup>*  
 (11) *‘ánna ríqela síqela rəš-d-ay-<sup>2</sup>ilána m-zdúθa.<sup>1</sup> múttəlle <sup>2</sup>o-sandúqa m-áxxa l-támàha.<sup>1</sup> ‘áw hóla šawwà-qəfle bíye dīye,<sup>1</sup> b-d-ò-sanduqa.<sup>1</sup> pθixə xá-w tré-w t-láθa-w ‘árpa,<sup>1</sup> xá-bena plítəle xa-bràta.<sup>1</sup> ‘ína mù-brata!<sup>1</sup> šúprə dúnje hóle ‘əlla-dīya.<sup>1</sup> mára plítəle<sup>1</sup> móre de-zmùr-u rquð,<sup>1</sup> mára ‘áy-brata zmirta,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>o-‘afrit móre tla-d-áy,<sup>1</sup> píšla har-rqàða,<sup>1</sup> zmàra-w rqàða, zmàra.<sup>1</sup>*  
 (12) *mára tíwtəla mārətə yàma.<sup>1</sup> ‘aw-múttəlle rəše-dīye rəš-néka dīya.<sup>1</sup> ‘áyya xéra hátxa gu-<sup>2</sup>ilána,<sup>1</sup> xzəla ‘an-tre-náše tàma.<sup>1</sup> ‘áwwa t-lile ‘awwa-‘afrit.<sup>1</sup> šqilta rəše mattóye mtútəlle l-àra.<sup>1</sup> mára háyyo šlə!<sup>1</sup> móra là šalitu,<sup>1</sup> hadīya mārəšánne ‘áwwa ‘afrit qatəlləxu.<sup>1</sup>*  
 (13) *‘áni-zi qímela šəlyela,<sup>1</sup> mò-bəyət.<sup>2</sup> móra həlluli<sup>1</sup> ‘isəqyaθəxu.<sup>1</sup> mpúləlla ‘isəqyáθa dīya.<sup>1</sup> mpulátəle xa-zənjir.<sup>1</sup> ‘arbá-mma-w xamšī ‘isəqyáθa b-d-á zənjir.<sup>1</sup> ‘áp-‘ani driθəlla,<sup>1</sup> mára háyyo hátxa wíðu!<sup>1</sup>*  
 (14) *kízla ‘áxxa l-tamma<sup>1</sup> móra hóle b-θáya ‘axəlləxu.<sup>1</sup> móra xzò.<sup>1</sup> ‘ána t-líbtənwə l-brónət mami.<sup>1</sup> ‘ó-yomət gorənwa,<sup>1</sup> ‘əθyele ‘áwwa ‘afrit gnùwəlli.<sup>1</sup> ‘u-gu-d-àwwə sandúqa<sup>1</sup> ‘u-məm-d-àwwə ‘afrit<sup>1</sup> ‘arbá-mma-w xamšī náše hon-dmíxta mənney.<sup>1</sup> ‘ən-là,<sup>1</sup> mārəšánne t-axəlləxu.<sup>1</sup>*  
 (15) *píšela mājbur,<sup>1</sup> ‘əp-‘ani.<sup>1</sup> zílela mənna,<sup>1</sup> dmíxe mənna-dīya.<sup>1</sup> xàrθa,<sup>1</sup> ‘áy mūrəštəlle ‘aw-‘afrit.<sup>1</sup> móre mò-bəyət.<sup>2</sup> móra mápərxli gu-šməyya.<sup>1</sup> mára dʷíqəlla hátxa gu-<sup>2</sup>íde dīye<sup>1</sup> muprəxəlla gu-šməyya,<sup>1</sup> prixe<sup>1</sup> ‘u-zile.<sup>1</sup>*  
 (16) *móre xòni<sup>1</sup> lá har-‘áxni zlime,<sup>1</sup> xá-mənna tla-d-o-xəna mára.<sup>1</sup> móre lá har-‘áxni zlime.<sup>1</sup> ‘áwwa ‘afrit biš-zlimele mánən.<sup>1</sup> mára ‘áwwa ‘afrit,<sup>1</sup> xzi-‘áyya baxta<sup>1</sup> gu-d-àwwə sandúqa<sup>1</sup> šawwà-qəfle bíya dīya<sup>1</sup> ‘arba-mmà-naše hóla dmíxta mənney.<sup>1</sup> ‘áwwa biš-zlimele.<sup>1</sup> háyyo déyax l-‘Iràq.<sup>1</sup> qíməla díyra l-‘Iràq.<sup>1</sup> díyra xá-ga xéta l-‘aθrəy.<sup>1</sup>*

(10) From there they went down to Baṣra. They went down to Baṣra and rested there under a date palm tree, waiting for a boat to come, in which they could board and continue on their journey. Then, they saw in the sea, they saw a plume of smoke come out of the sea and go up into the sky. A demon came out, came out of the sea, holding a box like this on his shoulders. He came to that tree. (11) They ran and climbed the tree out of fear. He put the box on one side.<sup>2</sup> There were seven locks on that box. He opened, one, two, three, four, then a girl came out, but what a girl! She was of a unique beauty.<sup>3</sup> She came out and he said ‘Sing and dance’, then the girl sang—the demon said to her—she started dancing and singing, dancing and singing. (12) Then she sat on the shore of the sea. He put his head on her thigh. She looked thus into the tree and saw those two men there. The demon was asleep. She took his head and put it on the ground. She said ‘Come down!’ She said ‘If you don’t come down, I shall wake this demon and he will kill you’. (13) So, they came down (and said) ‘What do you want?’ She said ‘Give me your rings’. They took off their rings. She took out a chain. There were four hundred and fifty rings on that chain. She put also these (on it). She said ‘Come and do (as I say)’. (14) They tried (to remonstrate) in this way and that, but she said ‘He will come and eat you’. She said ‘Look, I was engaged to my cousin. The day I would have got married, this demon came and stole me away. (Travelling) in this box together with this demon, I have slept with four hundred and fifty men. If (you) do not (sleep with me), I shall wake him and he will eat you’. (15) They were forced (to submit). They also went with her and slept with her. Then she woke the demon. He said ‘What do you want?’ She said ‘Make me fly up into the sky’. He held her like this with his hand and made her fly into the sky and they flew off. (16) He said ‘Brother, we are not the only ones that are wronged’, said one of them to the other. ‘We are not the only ones that are wronged. This demon is more wronged than us’. They said ‘This demon—look this woman in the box with seven locks has slept with four hundred men. He is more wronged (than us). Come, let us return to Iraq. They got up and returned to Iraq. They returned again to their land.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: from here over there.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: She had the beauty of the world.

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošāba Kena (Dure)

(1) *xa-mālka*<sup>1</sup> *kút-yum* *ḏà-brata* *gawəṛwa*.<sup>1</sup> *mbádla* *qayámwa* *qaṭṭlɛwala*.<sup>1</sup> *wǎzír*<sup>1</sup> *xḏírre* *xḏírre*,<sup>1</sup> *bnáṯa* *prìqla*.<sup>1</sup> *kút-yum* *ḏà*,<sup>1</sup> *liṯ*.<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa* *wǎzír* *'iṯwale* *ḏa-bràta*.<sup>1</sup> *'a-bráta* *mára* *ṯla-wǎzi*,<sup>1</sup> *ṯla-bába* *díya*,<sup>1</sup> *mára* *bábi* *'ána* *nàbèlli*<sup>1</sup> *gawrànnè* *'áwwa* *málka*<sup>1</sup> *m̄parqànnux* *m-áyya* *qǎṣṣət*.<sup>1</sup> (2) *qimṯela*<sup>1</sup> *'iṯwala* *ḏa-qàṯu*,<sup>1</sup> *nubáltəlla* *mónna* *díya*.<sup>1</sup> *nubáltəlla* *qáṯu* *mónna* *díya*,<sup>1</sup> *gwírṯəlle* *málka*.<sup>1</sup> *'aw-dmìxəle*,<sup>1</sup> *píṣṯela* *mtanóye* *ḏa-qǎṣṣət*<sup>1</sup> *ṯla-qàṯu*.<sup>1</sup> (3) *mára* *ṯla-d-à-qatū*<sup>1</sup> *mərə*<sup>1</sup> *qáṯu* *léle* *rìxəle*<sup>1</sup> *mtányən* *ḏa-qǎṣṣət*.<sup>1</sup> *'é-dana* *mbádla* *qáyəm* *málka* *qaṭṭəlli*.<sup>1</sup> *sab-kəmà-ṯ-ile* *gwára*,<sup>1</sup> *'aṣṛta* *gawərra*<sup>1</sup> *mbádla* *qaṭṭəlla*.<sup>1</sup> *yǎḏána* *mbádla* *qaṭṭəlli* *'aw-málka*.<sup>1</sup>

(4) *mára* *'iṯwa* *liṯwa*,<sup>1</sup> *biš-m-álaha* *góra* *čú-məndi* *liṯwa*.<sup>1</sup> —*'áyya* *tuníṯa* *ṯla-qàṯu* —*mára* *'iṯwa* *xá* *bàxta*,<sup>1</sup> *'iṯwala*<sup>1</sup> *xa-bróna* *šəmme* *díye* *Kǎrīm-addīn*.<sup>1</sup> *mára* *'áwwa*,<sup>1</sup> *'ó* *Kǎrīm*,<sup>1</sup> *bábe* *mìtle*.<sup>1</sup> *bábe* *díye* *mìtle*,<sup>1</sup> *'áyya* *bàxta*<sup>1</sup> *kút-yum*<sup>1</sup> *goyàwa*,<sup>1</sup> *maxláwa* *ṯla-bróna* *díya*.<sup>1</sup> (5) *qím̄la* *mšodərra* *brōn-díya* *mədrása*.<sup>1</sup> *bróna* *díya* *gu-mədrása* *kút-yum* *y-awéwa* *m̄xáya* *l-aw-yála*,<sup>1</sup> *šqála* *čánta* *d-áwwa*,<sup>1</sup> *sràṯa* *məndiyáne*.<sup>1</sup> *mšodərra* *bār*<sup>1</sup> *yámme* *díye*,<sup>1</sup> *mára* *mürre*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa* *brōnəx*<sup>1</sup> *màləple*<sup>1</sup> *là-awəḏ* *hátxa*.<sup>1</sup> (6) *'m-awəḏ* *hátxa*,<sup>1</sup> *lèla* *spáy*,<sup>1</sup> *ṯarḏəxle* *m-mədrása*.<sup>1</sup> *hóle* *masqóde* *yáḷət* *mədrása*.<sup>1</sup> *kízla* *bróni* *lá-wuḏ* *hátxa* *məndi*.<sup>1</sup> *qémi* *ṯarḏile* *m-mədrása*.<sup>1</sup>

(7) *píšle* *gu-mǎḥàlle*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-mǎḥàll-zi*<sup>1</sup> *kút-yum* *gánu* *kṯéṯa* *d-áwwa*,<sup>1</sup> *'é-ga* *y-azéwa* *féka* *d-áwàha*.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwəḏwa* *xràwe* *gu-mǎḥàlle*.<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maqəḏla* *mǎḥàlle*,<sup>1</sup> *ma-t-wéwa* *šumána*.<sup>1</sup> (8) *mára* *'o-yála* *yatùməle*.<sup>1</sup> *de-maxəxle*?<sup>1</sup> *bába* *litle*.<sup>1</sup> *mò-ʾoḏəx* *bíye* *díye*?<sup>1</sup> *'iṯwa* *xa-honàna-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> *qəm-qarəle*,<sup>1</sup> *móre* *Kǎrīm*!<sup>1</sup> *móre* *mò*?<sup>1</sup> *Kǎrīm-addīn* *móre* *mòdi*?<sup>1</sup> (9) *móre* *zonəxxux* *xa-xmàra*.<sup>1</sup> *ṯ-áṯət* *mənnən*<sup>1</sup> *kút-yum* *l-ṯura*<sup>1</sup> *ṯ-óḏəx* *qəse*<sup>1</sup> *mzàbənnə* *ṯla-yəmmux*.<sup>1</sup> *kút-yum* *xá-ṯena* *qəsa* *xáyítu* *bíye*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *qà-mo* *lá*?<sup>1</sup> *móre* *'áyya* *b-álaha* *xòš-məndila*.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Yuwarəš Xošāba Kena (Dure)

(1) A king would marry a girl everyday. In the morning he would get up and kill her. The minister searched and searched, but the girls had run out. Every day (he had killed) one and there were no more. The minister had a daughter. That daughter said to the minister, to her father, she said ‘Father, take me, I shall marry this king and rid you of this business’.

(2) She went off. She had a cat and she took it with her. She took the cat with her and married the king. He slept and she began to tell a story to the cat. (3) She said to the cat, she said ‘Kitty, the night is long, I shall tell a story. Then, in the morning, the king will get up and kill me, since whenever he marries (a girl), he marries her in the evening and kills her in the morning. I know that the king will kill me in the morning.

(4) She said: There was, was there not, there was nothing greater than God—this story was (told) to the cat—there was a woman, who had a son called Karimaddin. Now, the father of this Karim died. (After) his father died, everyday the woman would beg to feed her son. (5) She sent her son to school. Her son everyday in school would beat one child, take the bag of another, tear things. They sent for his mother and said ‘Talk to this son of yours and teach him not to behave like this. (6) If he continues with this bad behaviour,<sup>1</sup> we shall expell him from the school. He is annoying the children of the school’. She tried (to stop him and said) ‘Son, don’t do such a thing’. But they expelled him from the school.

(7) He remained in the neighbourhood. Every day in the neighbourhood he would steal the chicken of one person, then go (and steal) the fruit of another. He wrought havoc in the neighbourhood. He burnt the neighbourhood, so delinquent was he. (8) They said ‘That boy is an orphan. Should we beat him? He does not have a father. What shall we do with him?’ There was a man who was clever. He called him and said ‘Karim!’ He said ‘What?’ Karimaddin said ‘What?’ (9) He said ‘We shall buy a donkey for you. Come with us every day to the mountains to gather wood and sell it for your mother. Everyday you will make a living by a bundle of wood’. He said ‘Why not?’ He said ‘This is a good deal, by God’.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: If he does thus—it is not good.

(10) qímela nášət maḥàlle<sup>1</sup> júmyela zùze.<sup>1</sup> zwinela xa-xmàra.<sup>1</sup> mtúršàlle qurtàna<sup>1</sup> xašə-xmàra.<sup>1</sup> yíwalle xa-nàra.<sup>1</sup> nablùwale,<sup>1</sup> kút-yum y-asáqwa mənáy l-ṭura.<sup>1</sup> masqíwale l-ṭura,<sup>1</sup> y-áwəð xà-tena,<sup>1</sup> trè-tena qése,<sup>1</sup> y-áthe mزابónwa ṭla-d-àw-u yómme díye.<sup>1</sup> y-axlíwa lóxma bəð-an qése.<sup>1</sup>

(11) xa-yóma plítela m-mátha y-asqíwa l-ṭura.<sup>1</sup> mátyela gu-xá...<sup>1</sup> ax-ṭuràne,<sup>1</sup> gəppe məndiyàne.<sup>1</sup> wéla mátra xelánta<sup>1</sup> mátra mətra.<sup>1</sup> 'áni-zi mòdila wíde?<sup>1</sup> qímela<sup>1</sup> kúlla wíre gu-xa-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> mára kálya mətra.<sup>1</sup> wíre gu-xa-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> (12) 'o-yála zóra žàre,<sup>1</sup> šqíla 'aw-nàre mənne díye,<sup>1</sup> nàra,<sup>1</sup> zíla gu-xa-gəppa xèna.<sup>1</sup> tíwa hətxa,<sup>1</sup> mxáyalle nàra,<sup>1</sup> plítle xa-qərsa,<sup>1</sup> xa-žəda,<sup>1</sup> xa-prəzla,<sup>1</sup> xa-képa gəra,<sup>1</sup> xa-yáddət prəzla bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> (13) 'u-ríqele zíla kəs-d-àn-našə<sup>1</sup> háyyo həyyo!<sup>1</sup> xzéli xāzina!<sup>1</sup> də-xzi!<sup>1</sup> mára 'áp-axxa báye ṭ-awəðm zəj 'áwwa Kārīm-addūn.<sup>1</sup> yà-xāzina xzélux?<sup>1</sup> mərə də-háyyo xzə.<sup>1</sup> qímela zíle xəzye 'ina dūs<sup>1</sup> xa-képa hətxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-ḏa-yádde gáwe díye,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-prəzla.<sup>1</sup> (14) dári xèla<sup>1</sup> di-di-dí šaqlile,<sup>1</sup> 'ina xa-balí'a mállya hal-pəmma díya dūsə,<sup>1</sup> hal-pəmma díya mállya dūsə.<sup>1</sup> mára hā-Kārīm<sup>1</sup> mò-ṭ-oðax?<sup>1</sup> mò-ṭ-oðax?<sup>1</sup> 'áni kúlla mò-ṭ-oðax.<sup>1</sup> mərə šálax šaqlax zəqqe.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'áwwa dūsə šálax mزابnəxxe,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-óðax zúze,<sup>1</sup> pāləxxa b-ğđáde.<sup>1</sup> (15) píšla béna gráša kúllət yóma mən-d-o-dūsə<sup>1</sup> hál 'ašərtə.<sup>1</sup> 'ašərtə<sup>1</sup> tre-sléla sàqewa<sup>1</sup> mára ga-mo-xəðye b-áwwa dūsə?<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa dūsə šále Kārīm ṭ-ámər 'ənən xəzyalle,<sup>1</sup> diyile.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni šaqlax hāqqət 'əjara mənne díye.<sup>1</sup> (16) 'o-xéna mərə senəyila.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa Kārīm,<sup>1</sup> la-bàba 'ítile,<sup>1</sup> la-yəmma 'ítile.<sup>1</sup> ṭ-ámrx háyyo šlí Kārīm 'átí gu-d-áwwa balí'a.<sup>1</sup> pálətle 'aw-dūsə ṭ-ile pyāša.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šálax 'anna zúze pāləxxa b-ğđáde.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'aw-šále táma mrapəxle xáwola b-réše díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áyya qāpáxta mattəxxa rəš-d-o-túrət gəppa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšálax ṭla-yómme díye 'áwwa qurtánət xmàra.<sup>1</sup> (17) mərə tšəxle qurtánət xmàra dəmma.<sup>1</sup> ṭ-ámrx<sup>1</sup> Kārīm zílle bar-xmàre díye<sup>1</sup> ṭla-məθéwa xmàre díye,<sup>1</sup> 'əḫyela déwe gu-ḏa-lawürta<sup>1</sup> xíləlle 'aw-u xmàre díye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ləx-xəzye cū-məndi šuq-mən-d-ánna.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna jülle díye xəzye bás.<sup>1</sup>

(10) The people of the neighbourhood collected money and bought a donkey. They arranged a cloth on the back of the donkey and gave him an axe. They took him with them everyday up into the mountains. They would take him up into the mountains and he made one or two loads of wood. Then he would come back and sell them for himself and his mother. They would eat bread by this wood.

(11) One day they went out from the village and went up into the mountains. They arrived at some mountain caves, or the like.<sup>2</sup> There was heavy rain, a lot of rain. What did they do? They all went into a cave. They said 'Let the rain stop'. They entered a cave. (12) The young boy, poor thing, took the axe with him, the axe, and went into another cave. He sat like this, striking the axe, and a lid appeared, a handle, a piece of iron, a large stone with an iron handle on it. (13) He ran to those people (saying) 'Come! Come! I have found a treasure'. Now look (how stupid he was telling others)! They said 'This Karimaddin wants to trick us even here. What treasure have you found?' He said 'Come and see'. They went and saw that it was true, there was a stone like this, with a handle of iron in it. (14) They applied force and eventually removed it, revealing a conduit, full to the brim with honey, full to the brim with honey'. They said 'So, Karimaddin, what shall we do?' They all (said) 'What shall we do?' He said 'Let's go down and fetch water-skins'. He said 'Let's go down and sell this honey and make some money, then divide it among ourselves'. (15) All day they continue to draw out that honey, until evening. In the evening two men went down and, as they were coming up again, they said 'Why are we so happy about this honey? Karim will go down and say "I found this honey, it is mine". We shall receive wages from him'. (16) The other said 'It is easy. This Karim has no father and has no mother. We shall say "Come Karim, go down into this conduit. Take out the honey that is left". Then we shall go down and share the money among us'. He said 'When he goes down there, we shall throw the rope onto his head and shall put this cover over the opening of the cave. Then we shall take down to his mother this donkey blanket'. (17) He said 'We shall daub the donkey blanket with blood and say "Karim went after his donkey, to fetch his donkey, and wolves came into a valley and ate him and his donkey. We did not find anything except these. We found only these clothes of his"'.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: They arrived at a...like mountains, caves, things.



(18) *móre b-álaha xòš-məndila.<sup>1</sup> sígela tàma<sup>1</sup> móra Kārīm<sup>1</sup> móre mòdi.<sup>21</sup> 'áxni sqıldən.<sup>1</sup> háyyo şli gu-d-áwewa balı'a<sup>1</sup> 'o-dúša t-ile pyáša tàma<sup>1</sup> drile gu-d-ánna güðe<sup>1</sup> 'u-şálax xòš-zuzəx wíðe,<sup>1</sup> pāláxla kúlla<sup>1</sup> b-gðáðe b-xonùða.<sup>1</sup> (19) 'áwewa məşkəna žàre,<sup>1</sup> yála zòra,<sup>1</sup> lèðe módi<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yxàləf,<sup>1</sup> ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> şlàyele.<sup>1</sup> şléle gu-d-o-balı'a.<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa dúša t-wéwa pyáša<sup>1</sup> kúlla qəm-daréle gu-d-an-guðanyàða<sup>1</sup> 'u-grışla.<sup>1</sup> móra prıqle.<sup>21</sup> móre prıqle.<sup>1</sup> (20) móra de-puş-şòpux.<sup>1</sup> mrapile xáwla b-réşe diyə.<sup>1</sup> pársa grışla b-réşe.<sup>1</sup> dóryela xáçça mən-d-a-purta b-réşe<sup>1</sup> purtət 'ərbe.<sup>1</sup> zılla xmára qəm-qatlıle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áwewa jáket d-o-Kārīm-addın,<sup>1</sup> piştewa wàðə;<sup>1</sup> 'áp-ay tēşila dəmma<sup>1</sup> 'u-məndiyəne,<sup>1</sup> 'u-şléla tla-yómme diyə,<sup>1</sup> şléla xaşşəne l-béða.<sup>1</sup> (21) şléla<sup>1</sup> yómme diyə θéla,<sup>1</sup> spırta spırta<sup>1</sup> bróna díya là théle.<sup>1</sup> zılla kèle xátər 'aláha?! kèle bróni?! móra yába 'áxni báyəxwa t-aθəxwa.<sup>1</sup> xu-lən-məşaya t-aθəxwa t-amrəxwaləx.<sup>1</sup> brónəx,<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa xməre diyə zılle gu-ðə laiwırta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-brónəx zılle tla-məθəwale.<sup>1</sup> (22) 'əθye xakma-dəwe,<sup>1</sup> məxyəlle<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'u-xməre diyə<sup>1</sup> 'u-xiləlle.<sup>1</sup> 'əxçı xəzyəx 'áwewa mändi nişənge diyə.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya məşkənta piştela mxəya<sup>1</sup> dráya qəşma gu-réşa díya.<sup>1</sup> bróna díya zılle!<sup>1</sup> 'u-'an-zúze plıla b-gðáðe.<sup>1</sup> zılla.<sup>1</sup>*

(23) *díya m-éka mtannəxu.<sup>21</sup> mtannəxu mən-Kārīm-addın.<sup>1</sup> 'ó Kārīm-addın məşkəna<sup>1</sup> şléle táma gu-d-o-hənnə.<sup>1</sup> móre yá-mərya 'álaha<sup>1</sup> móre ga-mü<sup>1</sup> qwála tla-'aláha,<sup>1</sup> ya-'aláha<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána bəryən.<sup>21</sup> bábı şqılətle,<sup>1</sup> müða,<sup>1</sup> yatüma.<sup>1</sup> xu-lanwa-mirəllux maxzətli xəzına.<sup>1</sup> muxzélux 'áwewa xəzına-'əlli.<sup>1</sup> qəm-darətli gu-d-áwewa qünəya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána mü-n wíða.<sup>21</sup> 'ána lənəwa wíða<sup>1</sup> là xərbəyúða<sup>1</sup> là spəyúða tla-çú-naşa.<sup>1</sup> (24) har-yála zòrewa.<sup>1</sup> tíwa táma mtaxməne.<sup>1</sup> kpinne žàre.<sup>1</sup> xille xáçça mən-d-o-dúša.<sup>1</sup> şéle miya,<sup>1</sup> xa-təppıða miya liθ.<sup>1</sup> pişle hál gu-mbadlāða táma.<sup>1</sup> pişle yəma<sup>1</sup> hár-wewa xðəra,<sup>1</sup> xzéle xa-bəşlışa zòra,<sup>1</sup> bəra,<sup>1</sup> pürəya.<sup>1</sup> (25) móre b-álaha hóle xa-pürəya láxxa zòra<sup>1</sup> 'áw har-xá-mdi 'ile.<sup>1</sup> yála zòra<sup>1</sup> xzi-məndi<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa skınta mənne<sup>1</sup> 'o-nəra mənne diyə.<sup>1</sup> 'a-skınta t-wéwa gráða dúša biya,<sup>1</sup> xpırre, xpırre, xpırre.<sup>1</sup> plıtle gu-xa-dahlız.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána zála har-zılən biya,<sup>1</sup> b-t-ázən b-d-aw-dahlız xázən hal-'éka máte.<sup>1</sup>*

(18) He said 'By God, that's a good idea!' They went up there and said 'Karim'. He said 'What is it?' 'We are fed up. Come and go down into this conduit. Put the honey that is left into these skins. We shall go down (the mountain) when we have made good money and we shall share it among ourselves in fellowship'. (19) The poor young boy did not know what (was happening). He said 'All right, all right'. He went down into the conduit. He put all the honey that was left into the skins and they pulled them up. They said 'Is it finished?' He said 'It is finished'. (20) They said 'Stay where you are' and they threw the rope onto his head. They pulled the stone over him then put some manure over it, sheep's manure. They went and killed the donkey. The jacket of the Karimaddin had remained outside. They daubed it in blood and the like, then went down to his mother, went down, sad, to her house. (21) They went down and his mother came. She waited and waited, but her son did not come. She went (and asked) 'Where is he, for God's sake?! Where is my son?!' They said 'Well, we wanted to come back, but we could not come back to tell you. Your son's donkey went into a valley and your son went to fetch it. (22) Wolves came and attacked him and his donkey and ate him. We only found this sign of him'. The poor woman began to beat (herself) and put ash on her head. Her son had gone! They divided the money among them and went on their way.

(23) Now what<sup>3</sup> should I tell you about? I shall tell you about Karimaddin. The poor Karimaddin went down into that thing. He said 'Oh Lord God', he said complaining to God 'Oh God, why was I born? You have taken my father (and I am) an orphan. I did not tell you to show me a treasure, but you showed this treasure to me. You have put me in this hole, but what have I done? I did not do evil or good to anybody'. (24) He was only a young boy. He sat there thinking. The poor thing became hungry. He ate some of the honey. He became thirsty for water, but there was not a drop of water. He remained there until the morning. Day came and he was still searching about, when he saw a small ray of light. (25) He said 'By God, there is a small chink of light here. It must be something'. (He was) a young boy, you see, and he had a knife with him, (and had also) the axe. He scraped the honey with the knife, digging, digging and digging. He came out into a corridor. He said 'I am finished<sup>4</sup> (so I have nothing to lose). I shall go along this corridor and see where it leads to'.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: where.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: I have gone with it.

(26) zílle, zílle, zille<sup>1</sup> gu-d-a-dahlíz ðèle<sup>1</sup> l-xa-tàra.<sup>1</sup> ðéle l-xa-tàra 'u-xzéle 'ína tàra<sup>1</sup> b-qèsa<sup>1</sup> xa-kilòn<sup>1</sup> sèma-w<sup>1</sup> qðilá séma b-rèšè.<sup>1</sup> léle dàwa.<sup>1</sup> pθixalle,<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa plítsele gu-ða-dúnye xèta,<sup>1</sup> šmša milànta,<sup>1</sup> 'ára milànta.<sup>1</sup> (27) móre ya-márya 'àlaha<sup>1</sup> 'áyya mòdila.<sup>2</sup> 'ána zála har-zilàn bíya!<sup>1</sup> zíla zíla,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-íle síya míya mǎškéna,<sup>1</sup> xzéle milanùθa.<sup>1</sup> šále xázya ða-'ilàna,<sup>1</sup> ríqle kəs-d-à 'ilàna<sup>1</sup> 'u-xzéle xáčča míya tàma.<sup>1</sup> tíwele šótya míya,<sup>1</sup> mxúlla páthe díye,<sup>1</sup> mšúlya tla-'álahe díye.<sup>1</sup> yála zòra,<sup>1</sup> mǎškéna dmìxele tàma.<sup>1</sup> (28) dmìxele,<sup>1</sup> xá-ga xéta ríšele<sup>1</sup> móre har-t-àzèna<sup>1</sup> xázax 'éka màtən.<sup>1</sup> zàlewa,<sup>1</sup> xá-bena xzéle m-ráhqa xá-mdi xwàra<sup>1</sup> gu-d-á milanùθa.<sup>1</sup> zílele mət̄ya<sup>1</sup> qúrbe díye.<sup>1</sup> xzéle xa-qášra ràba góra.<sup>1</sup> zílele máxya tàra.<sup>1</sup> čú-naša liθ.<sup>1</sup> (29) móre b-àlaha<sup>1</sup> 'ána har-'a-díyi zála xišta,<sup>1</sup> t-órən xázən mò 'íθ lǎxxa.<sup>1</sup> wíra xázya 'ína kúl-xa mexólta hóla mbušle wíðe hàzər,<sup>1</sup> šaxinta,<sup>1</sup> čü-naša liθ.<sup>1</sup> d̄ryele<sup>1</sup> xilele.<sup>1</sup> wírele gu-xà-'otax xéta<sup>1</sup> gòrta<sup>1</sup> hóla xákma kursǎwàθa<sup>1</sup> m-ày-gota<sup>1</sup> xákma m-ày-gota,<sup>1</sup> ða-qǎnǎpa muttét̄a tǎmàha.<sup>1</sup> kúlla mtúrše b-képe t̄emàne gáwa.<sup>1</sup> (30) 'áwewa-ži sígele tíwa tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-dmìxele.<sup>1</sup> dmìxele xá-bena řàyəs<sup>1</sup> 'ína mò řáyəs!<sup>1</sup> hòla<sup>1</sup> kút xùwwe<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa la-'áwewa<sup>1</sup> púmme díye pθixalle 'ille díye tàma.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-móre škíra šómmux 'alàha!<sup>1</sup> lóbbe díye p̄qile.<sup>1</sup> (31) mára xa-béna xázya 'óθyele xa-xùwwe<sup>1</sup> 'ax-pràxa.<sup>1</sup> šmíle qàle<sup>1</sup> ðéle wírre gu-tàra.<sup>1</sup> 'ína xa-senìye<sup>1</sup> dáwa xaše-díye xá-xùwwe zòra,<sup>1</sup> réšət nàša<sup>1</sup> 'u-gánət xùwwe,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-à senìye.<sup>1</sup> xá mən-xúwwe gòrè<sup>1</sup> zílele šqíla senìye<sup>1</sup> mùθyolla.<sup>1</sup> síqa síqa<sup>1</sup> múttella kəs-d-ó Kǎrīm-addīn.<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa zíla híwolla tíwa tàma.<sup>1</sup> (32) 'o-xúwwe 'ámər t̄la-Kǎrīm-addīn<sup>1</sup> Kǎrīm-addīn,<sup>1</sup> b-šèna θélux!<sup>1</sup> 'ádyo 'àrx-i-wət<sup>1</sup> 'u-là-zǎdət.<sup>1</sup> tu-mànyax.<sup>1</sup> tíwele 'áp-'aw mǎškéna,<sup>1</sup> píšele ràhat.<sup>1</sup> moθéla mexólta,<sup>1</sup> moθéla mǎndi,<sup>1</sup> tíwele xille kul-xá-mǎndi m-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup>

(33) móra Kǎrīm-addīn<sup>1</sup> 'áti múrri qǎššət díyux.<sup>1</sup> m-èkət 'óθya lǎxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-dǎx-it 'óθya.<sup>2</sup> malákθa t-óyət basímta.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána qǎššət-díyi ràba ríxtela.<sup>1</sup> lá-mšən mtanónnax kúlla.<sup>1</sup> móra léle rixele.<sup>1</sup> mtáni qǎššət díyux.<sup>1</sup> dǎx-it 'óθya lǎxxa.<sup>2</sup>

(26) He went a long way along the corridor and came to a door. He came to a door and saw that the door was of wood and had a lock of silver with a silver key on it. It was not gold. He opened it and he came out into another world, with a blue sun and a blue land. (27) He said 'Oh Lord God, what is this? I'm finished'. He went along—how thirsty he was, poor boy—and saw blueness. He went down and saw a tree. He ran to the tree and saw some water there. He sat down and drank the water, washed his face and prayed to his God. The young boy, poor thing, went to sleep there. (28) He went to sleep, then woke up and said 'I'll just walk and let's see where I come to'. As he was going along he suddenly saw from afar something white in the blueness. He went and came close to it. He saw a very large palace. He went and knocked on the door. There was nobody. (29) He said 'By God, I'm done for,<sup>5</sup> so I shall go in and see what there is there'. He went in and saw that all kinds of food were cooked and made ready there and warm, but nobody was there. He served it out and ate. He went into another room, a large one, with some chairs on one side and some on the other, and a sofa placed over there. They were all decorated with precious stones (inlaid) in them. (30) He approached and sat there, then went to sleep. He went to sleep, then woke up, but what (a surprise when) he woke! There were snakes, each bigger than the other<sup>6</sup> with its mouth open towards him. He said 'Your name be praised, God!' His heart burst (in fear). (31) Then he saw a snake come, as if flying. He heard its voice, it came and entered through the door. He saw a gold tray on which there was a small snake with the head of a man and the body of a snake. One of the large snakes went and took the tray and brought it. He came up and put it next to Karimaddin. He went and delivered it and sat down again. (32) The snake said to Karimaddin 'Karimaddin, welcome! Today you are my guest. Do not be afraid. Sit and rest'. The poor boy sat down and felt comfortable. They brought food and so forth. He sat down and ate everything in one go.

(33) She (the queen of the snakes)<sup>7</sup> said 'Karimaddin, tell me your story. From where have you come here and how have you come?' Queen, may you be well, my story is very long. I cannot tell you all of it'. She said 'The night is long. Tell me your story. How did you come here?'

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<sup>5</sup> Literally: That (fate) of mine as gone. I.e. I have nothing to lose.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: this one is not this one.

<sup>7</sup> It transpires that the snake on the tray was the queen of the snakes.

(34) *mtunyàlè<sup>1</sup> màrè<sup>1</sup> zlímyət bəṛ-našùθa.<sup>1</sup> bəṛ-našùθa<sup>1</sup> zlímalli.<sup>1</sup> 'ána spayùθən wáðda,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔáyo mṭéli 'ána làxxa.<sup>1</sup> mára 'áp-ʔana 'áwwa rēši<sup>1</sup> t-áθe práma bəd-ʔiθàθux.<sup>1</sup> máre dàxi t-óya<sup>1</sup> 'ána parmónne rēšəx.<sup>2</sup>* (35) *mára 'ána hon-màra<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa rēši<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xá-yoma práma<sup>1</sup> bəd-ʔiθáθa diyux.<sup>1</sup> 'àti parmátle rēši.<sup>1</sup> máre maləkθa t-óyət basímta,<sup>1</sup> maləkθət xuwəwəwàθa,<sup>1</sup> màrè<sup>1</sup> 'àti qəm-xalšàtli<sup>1</sup> mən-d-áwwa mòθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ána skínta mattónna l-qðàli<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá mattónna l-qðàləx.<sup>1</sup> rēši parmónne<sup>1</sup> 'u-rēšəx là parmónne.<sup>1</sup> mára 'ána màri hátxa<sup>1</sup> de-tú mtanənnux 'é-ga.<sup>1</sup> mára 'áp-ʔana báyyən mtanənnux ða-qəššət<sup>1</sup> diyi.<sup>1</sup>*

(36) *məre de-pàqəð maləkθa.<sup>1</sup> màra<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa liθwa<sup>1</sup> mára 'iθwa xa-málka t-Yáman.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale xa-bróna<sup>1</sup> yǎkàna-wewə.<sup>1</sup> 'u-qíme 'áw 'u-brón-díye 'u-tre-wázíre plíte šèda.<sup>1</sup> plítela šèda,<sup>1</sup> zìlela<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-béna xzèla xa-xǎžǎliya<sup>1</sup> gu-dášta<sup>1</sup> 'u-nìqla bar-xǎžǎliya.<sup>1</sup>* (37) *hal-xǎžǎliya ríqtela ríqtela ríqta.<sup>1</sup> šlíθela l-márzət yàma.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xa-bálam zúrta tàma.<sup>1</sup> wírta gu-d-a-bálam.<sup>1</sup> xárθa 'áni mátyela tàma<sup>1</sup> l-márzət yàma.<sup>1</sup> šályele 'o-brónət málka.<sup>1</sup> brónət málka 'u-ʔan-tre wázíre šályela ta-t-dóqi xǎžǎliya m-gu-d-a-gáni zúrta.<sup>1</sup>* (38) *'u-xa-bèna<sup>1</sup> gáni tṛiθela.<sup>1</sup> wírtela gu-yàma.<sup>1</sup> xíšla-w xíšla-w xíšla,<sup>1</sup> tṛyela gu-yàma.<sup>1</sup> píšla 'ap-ʔáni mənna,<sup>1</sup> qémi doqila xǎžǎliya pərmila.<sup>1</sup> kṛinna.<sup>1</sup> qəm-axlila-w xilla 'o-básra<sup>1</sup> 'u-štéla m-an-míyət bəḥar.<sup>1</sup> ziltela,<sup>1</sup> mṭiθa l-xa-jǎžira xèta<sup>1</sup> 'a-bálam,<sup>1</sup> kliθela.<sup>1</sup>* (39) *'ína xa-jǎžira<sup>1</sup> rába šapírta,<sup>1</sup> 'iláne məndiyáne gáwa diyə.<sup>1</sup> kliθa l-márzə d-a-jǎžira.<sup>1</sup> xárθa qímela šályela mən-d-a-bálam.<sup>1</sup> sírela bálam diyéy táma b-ðà 'ilána.<sup>1</sup> mára dé t-órəx gu-d-əyya.<sup>1</sup>* (40) *brónət-málka máre ta-d-an-wázíre<sup>1</sup> wúru gu-d-əy-jǎžira xzo-mò xazítu.<sup>1</sup> 'áni xíšela xáçça 'u-díre.<sup>1</sup> 'əθye màra<sup>1</sup> zdàləx,<sup>1</sup> la-šábrəx t-órəx.<sup>1</sup> mára háyyo 'ap-ʔati mənən.<sup>1</sup>* (41) *'áp-aw qíma<sup>1</sup> tláθna zíle wíre gu-d-a-jǎžira.<sup>1</sup> zilla,<sup>1</sup> xḍírta xḍírta xa-bəṛ-náša lèla xzəya.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'a-jǎžira kul-fəkət dùnye hóla gáwa.<sup>1</sup> zilla,<sup>1</sup> xárθa m-rəḥqa xzèla xa-məndi xwàra.<sup>1</sup>* (42) *qrúla qrúla kásle diyə<sup>1</sup> 'ína xa-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> xa-qásra rába šapíra.<sup>1</sup> mára mašmòyət Karīm-addīn.<sup>2</sup> máre hè.<sup>1</sup> mára qímela wíre gu-d-o-qásra.<sup>1</sup> wíre xəzye məxòlta-w<sup>1</sup> mezəwàθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúl-məndi ḥasb-əl-ʔušùl<sup>1</sup> 'ína bəṛ-náša liθ.<sup>1</sup>*

(34) He told her '(It is because of) the injustice of mankind. Mankind has wronged me. I was doing good and today I have come here'. She said 'Even me—this head of mine will be cut off by your hands'. He said 'How could it be that I shall cut off your head?' (35) She said 'I say that this head of mine will one day be cut off by your hands. You will cut off my head'. He said 'Queen, may you be well, queen of the snakes'. He said 'You have saved me from death.<sup>8</sup> I shall put the knife to my neck, I shall not put it to your neck. I shall cut off my head. I shall not cut off your head'. She said 'I have said so. Sit down and I shall tell you a story then'. She said 'I also want to tell you a story of mine'.

(36) He said 'Please go ahead, queen'. The story goes: There was, was there not—she said—there was a king of Yemen. He had a son who was an only child. He and his son together with two ministers went out hunting. They went out hunting, they went along for a while and then they saw a gazelle on the plain. They ran after the gazelle. (37) The gazelle ran and ran and ran. It went down to the shore of the sea. There was a small boat there. It went into that boat. Then they arrived there, by the shore of the sea. The son of the king went down. The son of the king and the two ministers went down to catch the gazelle (and take it) from that small boat. (38) But suddenly the boat sailed off. It went into the sea. They travelled and travelled and travelled, they sailed on the sea. They remained with it. They caught the gazelle and slaughtered it. They were hungry. They ate it, they ate the meat and drank the water of the sea. The boat went along and reached another island, then came to rest. (39) It was a very beautiful island, with trees and the like in it. It came to rest on the shore of the island. Then they got up and alighted from the boat. They tied their boat there to a tree. They said 'Let us go into the interior'. (40) The son of the king said to the ministers 'Go into the island and see what you can see'. They went off for a short while then returned. They came back and said 'We are afraid. We dare not enter (the island)'. They said 'You also come with us'. (41) He also got up and the three of them went and entered the island. They went and walked around for a long time but did not see a single person. The island contained all the fruits of the world. They went along and then, from afar, they saw something white. (42) They came near to it and (saw that) it was a house, a very beautiful palace.—She said 'Are you listening Karimaddin?' He said 'Yes'. She said—They went into that palace. They went in and saw food, tables, everything arranged, but there was nobody.

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<sup>8</sup> Literally: from this death.

(43) mára xílela šátyela mára brōn-málka tíwele l-d-a-tàxta.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xá-wāzír díye rāš-d-áwwa-kursa<sup>1</sup> xa-rāš-d-āwàha,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ṭàlyela<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wáwa kĕxe.<sup>1</sup> mára xa-béna řēšī<sup>1</sup> ʔina mò-řēšī<sup>1</sup> qálət maymüne<sup>1</sup> řàxa,<sup>1</sup> mĕçalwòle.<sup>1</sup> dax-t-ìla maymüne,<sup>1</sup> šwárele l-ʔiláne mṭawòle.<sup>1</sup> (44) máttu bàla,<sup>1</sup> ʔina ʔalḫàye maymüne píše táma.<sup>1</sup> ʔan-wāzírē grīšela sépa-w qášta-w gèra<sup>1</sup> báyi máxi ṭla-d-an-maymüne.<sup>1</sup> móre xa-qaṭlitu,<sup>1</sup> trē-qaṭlitu,<sup>1</sup> mò bṭ-òðax b-ánna.<sup>2</sup> ʔan-pálšax mən-d-áni qatlılən.<sup>1</sup> móre klo-xàzax<sup>1</sup> mòdila qáşşət.<sup>1</sup> (45) mára xa-béna ʔəyēle xa-máymun rāba,<sup>1</sup> m-ánna gorǐlle gòře.<sup>1</sup> ʔəyēle,<sup>1</sup> pθixalle tǎra.<sup>1</sup> wíra zila qam-málka,<sup>1</sup> kípā qam-málka.<sup>1</sup> móre málka ṭ-áwət basima<sup>1</sup> ʔati díya píşlux málka diyən,<sup>1</sup> málkət maymüne.<sup>1</sup> móre dàx píşli málkət maymüne.<sup>2</sup> (46) ʔax-t-ile málka Šlémun kθiwa.<sup>1</sup> móre málka Šlémun mírele kθiwele<sup>1</sup> ku-brónət bér-naša ʔəthe l-d-áy jāzira qamàye,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa ṭ-áwe málka diyèxu.<sup>1</sup> hadiya ʔati málkən-it<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hál ʔámra ṭ-òðax xadùṭha.<sup>1</sup> yāba<sup>1</sup> hal-mbádla dmáxta liṭha.<sup>1</sup> řqàðtela-w xálta-w štèṭhela.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hal-xábra ṭla-d-ánna maymüne<sup>1</sup> ku-məndi báyi xoš-ʔòðī.<sup>1</sup> (47) híwele xábra ṭla-d-àn maymüne<sup>1</sup> ga-wírra xa-xadùṭha gáwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔanna píşla táma.<sup>1</sup> mó ṭ-òðax.<sup>2</sup> mó ṭ-òðax.<sup>2</sup> málka móre ṭla-d-o-māymun,<sup>1</sup> d-o-górət maymüne<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> báymən t-xazənne úpra diyi<sup>1</sup> knèla<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya bilād-díyi gòrta.<sup>1</sup> móre báymən xáðrən gu-úpra díyi xazənne.<sup>1</sup> (48) qíma dart-yòma,<sup>1</sup> njúməlla maymüne<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xðirele.<sup>1</sup> qímela mətṭyela<sup>1</sup> xa-ṭura<sup>1</sup> ʔina<sup>1</sup> xzéle xákma dèwe-u maymüne mìṭhe táma.<sup>1</sup> móre ʔanna mòdila.<sup>2</sup> móre hál-ʔaxxa šiwən diyən-ile.<sup>1</sup> m-támma hódax ṭura ʔáθrə d-ánna dèwele.<sup>1</sup> (49) móre hammáša y-áwe pláša bélən ʔu-bél-d-ánna dèwe.<sup>1</sup> móre zèn,<sup>1</sup> bar-siqléxu hal-ʔekēle hūdūd-t-dèwe.<sup>2</sup> mára hal-gu-réşət ṭura táma hūdūd-t-dèwele.<sup>1</sup> táma hóle málka Šlémun kθiwa xa-qayəmṭha.<sup>1</sup> (50) móre m-áxxa húdxa ʔila wádi-t šəkwàne.<sup>1</sup> móre kú-məndit ʔáwər gu-d-áyya wàdi<sup>1</sup> ʔanna šəkwàne ṭ-axlıle.<sup>1</sup> móre m-táma hódax ṭ-ázət máṭət xa-nèra<sup>1</sup> ʔáxcī yómət šábṭha bərəz.<sup>1</sup> kút yomət-šábṭha míya là-hawe gu-nèra.<sup>1</sup> l-a-páṭha xétət nèra<sup>1</sup> ʔiṭ xa-máṭət huðàye.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya mərə<sup>1</sup> hal-tàma<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya ʔùrxa.<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yxələf<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xðirele,<sup>1</sup> ʔəyēle ʔaşrta.<sup>1</sup>

(43) Now, they ate and drank, the son of the king sitting on the throne, one minister sitting on a chair and one on another chair; then they went to sleep, since they were very tired. Then they woke up, but what (a surprise when) they woke up, there was the sound of monkeys crying, wailing, as monkeys do, jumping on the trees, playing. (44) He looked and saw that thousands of monkeys had appeared there. The ministers drew their sword as well as their bow and arrow, intending to strike the monkeys. He said 'You may kill one, you may kill two, but what will we do with (all the rest of) them? If we fight with them they will kill us'. He said 'Wait and let's see what happens'. (45) Then a large monkey came, one of those big gorillas. It came and opened the door. It came in and went up to the king<sup>9</sup> and bowed to the king. It said 'King, may you be well, you have now become our king, the king of the monkeys'. He said 'How have I become the king of the monkeys?' (46) 'It is as King Solomon has written'. It said 'King Solomon wrote and said "Whichever person<sup>10</sup> comes to the island first, he will be your king". Now you are our king. Give us an order for us to celebrate'. Now, there was no sleep until dawn. There was dancing, eating and drinking. 'Announce to the monkeys that they may do whatever they want'. (47) He gave word to the monkeys and then they became very happy. They remained there. 'What shall we do? What shall we do?' The king said to the monkey, the leader of the monkeys, he said 'I want to see my land, (to see) how big my country is. He said 'I want to go around my land to see it'. (48) The next day he gathered the monkeys together and toured around. They arrived at a mountain and he saw dead wolves and monkeys there. He said 'What are these?' He (the monkey) said 'Our border is here. From here to yonder mountain is the land of the wolves'. (49) He said 'There is constant warfare between us and these wolves'. He (the king's son) said 'Now, when you go up, where is the border of the monkeys?' He said 'The border of the monkeys is the top of the mountain there. There King Solomon has written a monument'. (50) He said 'From here onwards is the valley of the ants'. He said 'Everything that enters this valley will be eaten by the ants'. He said 'If you go onwards from there, you will reach a river, except that it dries up on Saturdays. Every Saturday there is no water in the river. On the other side of the river there is a village of Jews'. It (the monument) said 'This road goes as far as there'. He said 'Fine. He toured about and came back in the evening'.

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<sup>9</sup> I.e. the king's son. It transpires in what follows that he was treated by the monkeys as their king.

<sup>10</sup> Literally: son of a human being.



(51) 'áwowa mšawóthe mən-wūzārā<sup>2</sup>-diye<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> b-áyya 'úrxa mšārṭəx<sup>1</sup> m-áxxa.<sup>1</sup> mára dāxi?<sup>2</sup> máre 'ána ṭ-ámṛən ta-d-ánna maymúne kəpšī<sup>1</sup> 'áxni w-ánna déwe pālšəx.<sup>1</sup> pālšəx mən-dəwe,<sup>1</sup> máṭəx l-réšət ṭura.<sup>1</sup> máṭəx l-réšət ṭura,<sup>1</sup> l-wádi-t šəkwàne.<sup>1</sup>

(52) máre ṭ-órəx gu-d-ay-wádi.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'áxni chance diyən,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'axlilən šəkwàne ṭ-axlilən.<sup>1</sup> w-ən-mšurəṭlən,<sup>1</sup> mšurəṭlən.<sup>1</sup> qiməle dart-yòma,<sup>1</sup> qəryele 'ó...górət maymúne,<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> 'ána b'áyyən 'ánna déwe maxənnna.<sup>1</sup> máre dāxi?<sup>2</sup> máre 'ána xzáyən 'an-maymúne, šəb-diyi líθ?<sup>2</sup> hóla xáləlla qṭələlla.<sup>1</sup> pālšəx 'áni w-ána šaqłənna 'áθra mənney.<sup>1</sup>

(53) máre hal-xábra ṭla-maymúne<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúlla quwāt-diyən 'àṭi.<sup>1</sup> híwele xábra ṭla-maymúne,<sup>1</sup> kpišela maymúne b-<sup>2</sup>alpəye.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya mānile mtanóyəlla?<sup>2</sup> malákθət xuwáwəṭa ṭla-Karīm-addūn.<sup>1</sup> mára mašmōyət Karīm-addūn.<sup>2</sup> máre hē.<sup>1</sup> (54) mára 'əṭhe xelāwáṭət maymúne dart-yòma 'u-pliṭela.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-málka,<sup>1</sup> bronət-málka,<sup>1</sup> 'u-wūzārā<sup>2</sup>-diye šqilla sepəy,<sup>1</sup> qəšta-w gèra,<sup>1</sup> pliṭela<sup>1</sup> pláša mən-dəwe.<sup>1</sup> mára plišla plišla dómma šléle b-lawuryəṭa.<sup>1</sup> (55) de-de-dē,<sup>1</sup> xa-béna déwe šmiṭela<sup>1</sup> w-ánna báθər šmiṭəlla,<sup>1</sup> sígela gū-rēš-ṭura.<sup>1</sup> 'ina hóla xá-qaymṭa kṭiwota tàmna,<sup>1</sup> málka Šlémun kṭiwəlla.<sup>1</sup> hál-'axxa 'áθər dəwele.<sup>1</sup> m-áxxa húdxa 'íla wádi-t šəkwàne.<sup>1</sup> ku-nášət 'əwər,<sup>1</sup> ku-xayúṭət 'əwər gu-d-ay-wádi<sup>1</sup> 'ánna šəkwàne ṭ-axlila.<sup>1</sup> (56) máre ma-yxələf.<sup>1</sup> mára qréle ṭla-d-o-górət maymúne.<sup>1</sup> máre kúlla xoš-dāmxi.<sup>1</sup> kúlləxu dmuxu,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni ṭ-áwəx hurrās,<sup>1</sup> sab-'axtu hótu kēixe rába.<sup>1</sup> maymúne kúlla dmixela.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-béna 'áni qimela,<sup>1</sup> gnúwəlla gāna,<sup>1</sup> wíre gu-d-a-wádi-t šəkwàne.<sup>1</sup>

(57) xa-béna hədəx<sup>1</sup> ríšela 'ánna maymúne,<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áni líθ.<sup>1</sup> qréla b-o-gorəy,<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> líθ,<sup>1</sup> hóla riqe.<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> npúlu bəθra.<sup>1</sup> kú-dukθət xazitu<sup>1</sup> qatlitula.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna-zi wírela,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna maymúne,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-a-lawúrtət šəkwàne.<sup>1</sup> béna péšī 'áni šəkwàne pláša,<sup>1</sup> xákma šəkwàne gōre támara.<sup>1</sup> (58) xa-mən-wāzírē<sup>1</sup> šəkwàne qəm-axlile,<sup>1</sup> xa-wāzír.<sup>1</sup> pišle brōn-málka<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-wāzír.<sup>1</sup> zíle máṭye l-d-o-nèra.<sup>1</sup> ləwa yómət šábṭa<sup>1</sup> 'ina šláya xelànele.<sup>1</sup> doryəlla gáne gu-nèra.<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa wāzír xéna-zi zílele b-miya,<sup>1</sup> xniqle.<sup>1</sup> bas-šriṭle brōn-málka.<sup>1</sup> bronət-málka šriṭle l-a-gōt-hòdəx<sup>1</sup> nèra.<sup>1</sup> zíla níxa níxa wíra gu-d-a-məṭele.<sup>1</sup>

(51) He spoke with his ministers and said 'By this road we shall escape from here'. They said 'How?' He said 'I shall tell these monkeys to gather together. We and these wolves shall fight. We shall fight with the wolves and reach the top of the mountain. We shall reach the top of the mountain and the valley of the ants'. (52) He said 'We shall go into that valley. Then we (shall take) our chance. If the ants eat us, they eat us. If we escape, we escape'. The next day he called the leader of the monkeys and said 'I want to attack these wolves'. He said 'How?' He said 'I see that they are eating and killing the monkeys, my people, is that not so? Let us fight them and I shall take the land from them'. (53) He said 'Give notice to the monkeys and let all our forces come here'. He gave notice to the monkeys and the monkeys gathered in thousands.—Who is telling this? The queen of the snakes to Karimaddin. She said 'Are you listening Karimaddin? He said 'Yes'.—(54) Now, the forces of the monkeys came the next day and they set off. Also the king (of the monkeys, that is) the son of the king and his ministers took their sword together with their bow and arrow and set out to fight the monkeys. They fought and fought and blood flowed into the valleys. (55) After a time the wolves were defeated. After they had defeated them, they went up into the mountain. They found there an inscribed monument, which King Solomon had written: 'Thus far is the land of the wolves. From here onwards is the valley of the ants. Every man who enters, every living creature that enters in this valley will be eaten by the ants'. (56) He said 'Fine'. He called the leader of the monkeys. He said 'Let everybody sleep. You all sleep and we shall be the guards, since you are very tired'. All the monkeys slept, then they got up and stole away and went into the valley of the ants.

(57) After a while the monkeys woke up, but they (the others) were not there. They called their leader and said 'They are not here, they have fled'. He said 'Follow after them! Wherever you find them, kill them!' The monkeys went into the valley of the ants. The ants began fighting, some large ants that were there. (58) One of the ministers was eaten by the ants, one minister. The son of the king and one minister remained. They went along and arrived at the river. It was not Saturday and it was flowing in force. They threw themselves into the river. The other minister disappeared in the water and was drowned. Only the son of the king escaped. The son of the king escaped to the other side of the river. He went along slowly and entered the village.

(59) máxyele xa-tàra,<sup>1</sup> mšawóthe mènne,<sup>1</sup> móre mò báyyat:<sup>2</sup> m-èkət 'áθya:<sup>2</sup> mòdi qáşşət:<sup>2</sup> móre b-álaha qáşşət díyi rába rìxtela.<sup>1</sup> 'an-mxamətli,<sup>1</sup> pészən xa-xulàma gu-béθux.<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> wírele móre gu-šàbθela.<sup>1</sup> móre mexólta hóla tāmaha.<sup>1</sup> báyyət 'àxlət,<sup>1</sup> xùl.<sup>1</sup> kpinət.<sup>1</sup> míya šti.<sup>1</sup> 'ána la-qéθən b-čù mənđi.<sup>1</sup> sab-luđáye yomə-šábθa lè palxi.<sup>1</sup> (60) mára 'áp-aw kpinəwa məskéna.<sup>1</sup> dóryele mexólta xilele.<sup>1</sup> tūwele.<sup>1</sup> píšta 'aşərtə,<sup>1</sup> móre díya mtánili,<sup>1</sup> díya mtánili qáşşət díyux mòdi.<sup>1</sup> móre b-álaha 'ána brónət málkət Yāman-in.<sup>1</sup> hál-u qəşşət-díyi.<sup>1</sup> (61) há móre díya xíşla tajəríθət bábux m-áxxa,<sup>1</sup> m-d-áyya màθa.<sup>1</sup> tajəríθət bábux<sup>1</sup> kút-ŋla šənne xa-béna y-áθya lāxxa.<sup>1</sup> móre pészət kásli lāxxa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mxamənnux ha-ŋ-áθya tajəríθət bábux lāxxa xá-ga xəta,<sup>1</sup> tá-t mtaşəlmənnux ŋla-bábux,<sup>1</sup> sab-bábux spəy-naşele,<sup>1</sup> xàwərn-ile.<sup>1</sup> (62) xəðle yála.<sup>1</sup> móre čù-mənđi la-'òđət.<sup>1</sup> kút-yom pálŋət 'u-xàðrət,<sup>1</sup> 'aşərtə 'áθət bəθa.<sup>1</sup> kút-yom páləŋt xəðara xəðara<sup>1</sup> gu-máθa xá-yoma tre-u-ŋlāθa.<sup>1</sup>

(63) xá-yoma šmíle xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> hèy<sup>1</sup> máni páyəş xuləmi<sup>1</sup> mbádla hal-'aşərtə<sup>1</sup> 'əsri-w 'arbə-sə'əte?<sup>2</sup> ŋ-áθe t-yánne 'əmmə-dawe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-léle t-yánne xa-bàxta-ži,<sup>1</sup> xa-jariya.<sup>1</sup> 'o-móre b-álaha xoş-šülela.<sup>1</sup> mbádla hal-'aşərtə 'u-'əmma dáwe d-é-ga xu-ləla xáčca.<sup>1</sup> (64) zíla móre 'ána pészən.<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazəle<sup>1</sup> móre là,<sup>1</sup> xŋiθux,<sup>1</sup> 'áti yála.<sup>1</sup> la-báyyən.<sup>1</sup> xoş-mbáqər bábux.<sup>1</sup> móre mə-lux?<sup>2</sup> 'ána pészən.<sup>1</sup> 'an-'əmma dáwe maşlila ŋla-bábux<sup>1</sup> 'u-həyyo.<sup>1</sup> (65) hole-şqíla 'an-dáwe<sup>1</sup> 'əθyele kəs-d-o-náša t-wéwa kəsle díye.<sup>1</sup> móre yába 'an-'əmma dáwe,<sup>1</sup> xu-là mbaqrətəlli.<sup>1</sup> ŋ-ázən 'aşərtə ŋ-àθən.<sup>1</sup> móre hey-nàša<sup>1</sup> la-'əzət<sup>1</sup> 'áθe mtaşəlxux 'əw.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána bŋ-ázən.<sup>1</sup>

(66) qíma<sup>1</sup> síqa kəs-d-o-náša,<sup>1</sup> 'aşərtə.<sup>1</sup> píšta mbádla.<sup>1</sup> mbádla qiməle.<sup>1</sup> móre ŋ-amrənnux<sup>1</sup> díya kú-mənđi-t 'amrənnux gārəg 'òđət.<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> šqíla xa-sùsa.<sup>1</sup> šqíləlla xa-skínta xəta 'əlle díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-zilele.<sup>1</sup> zíla, zíla zíla,<sup>1</sup> qam-xákma ŋurəne<sup>1</sup> rába rəme.<sup>1</sup>

(59) He knocked on a door and (the occupier of the house) spoke to him and said 'What do you want? Where have you come from? What is (your) story?' He said 'By God, my story is very long. If you look after me, I shall become a servant in your house'. He said 'Fine'. He went in. He said 'It is Sabbath'. He said 'The food is over there. If you want to eat, eat! You are hungry. Drink some water. I shall not touch anything'. This is because Jews on the Saturday do not work. (60) Now he was hungry, the poor man. He put out some food and ate. He sat down. Evening came and he said 'Now, tell me, tell me what your story is'. He said 'By God, I am the son of the king of Yemen. My story is such-and-such'. (61) 'Ah', he said 'the merchants of your father have just departed from here, from this village. The merchants of your father come here every three years'. He said 'Stay with me here and I shall look after you until the merchants of your father come here again and I can hand you over to your father, because your father is a good man, he is our friend'. (62) The young man was happy. He (the Jew) said 'You shall not do anything. Every day go out and wander about and then in the evening come back home'. Every day he went out and wandered about in the village, for one day, two, three.

(63) One day he heard a man 'Hey, who will become my servant, from morning until evening, for twenty-four hours? Let him come and I shall give him one hundred gold coins and at night I shall give him also a woman, a maidservant'. He said 'By God, that is a good deal!' From morning until evening (for a hundred gold coins)—a hundred gold coins at that time were indeed not a small amount. (64) He went and said 'I shall be (your servant)'. He saw him and said 'No, it is a pity for you (to do so), you are a young man. I do not want (to accept). Go and ask your father'. He said 'What is the matter with you? I shall become (your servant)'. 'Take those hundred gold coins to your father and come here'. (65) He took the gold coins and went back to the man with whom he was staying. He said 'Well, do not ask me about those hundred gold coins (that I have brought). I shall go and come back in the evening'. He said 'Don't go, man. He will eventually destroy you'. He said 'I shall go'.

(66) He went up to that man and evening (came). Morning came. He got up in the morning. He said 'I say to you this: you must do everything that I tell you'. He said 'Fine'. He took a horse. He took another knife with him and went off. He went a long way (and came) to some very high mountains.

(67) *móre šlí m-xāš-sūsux!*<sup>1</sup> *šəlyā.*<sup>1</sup> *q̄tülle sūsa!*<sup>1</sup> *q̄tülle sūsa.*<sup>1</sup> *móre prūmle!*<sup>1</sup> *m-áxxa-w*  
*bar-tāxti!*<sup>1</sup> *rāpile q̄ðāle-diye!*<sup>1</sup> *rāpile.*<sup>1</sup> *móre de-wúr gu-d-áwwa gūrba,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-šádrə d-áwwa*  
*sūsa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿu-xūt̄le m-gāwe.*<sup>1</sup> *kəmá-t šámət taq-taq-tāq,*<sup>1</sup> *lā-palt̄ət,*<sup>1</sup> *hal-t̄-amrənnux plūt̄gena!*  
*ʿé-ga pált̄ət.*<sup>1</sup> (68) *móre ma-yxāləf.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿáwwa-ži šəlyele gu-d-a-hənnā.*<sup>1</sup> *wítela xáčča*  
*b-yóma xəmma,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena ʿəθyela xákma t̄ere y-ámri simārxa.*<sup>1</sup> *máxyela l-d-o-šádrət*  
*sūsa.*<sup>1</sup> *músq̄lle gu-réšə d-ò-t̄ura ta-t̄-axlíwale táma.*<sup>1</sup> *har-wéla taq-tāq mxàya!*  
*ʿu-taq-tāq,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena-w tr̄e,*<sup>1</sup> *w-áwwa sq̄idle.*<sup>1</sup> (69) *maxéla skínta l-d-ó-gəldət wéwa*  
*xit̄alle m-gāwe!*<sup>1</sup> *ʿu-pált̄ət!*<sup>1</sup> *ʿax-t̄-ile pl̄iṭa ʿo-simārxa pr̄ixele,*<sup>1</sup> *z̄ila.*<sup>1</sup> *máttu bála b-gáne*  
*d̄iye!*<sup>1</sup> *nubálle rəš-d-o-t̄ura.*<sup>1</sup> *líθ xa-ʿúrxa!*<sup>1</sup> *ta-šāle.*<sup>1</sup> (70) *ʿé-ga ʿo-táj̄r t-wéwa híwəlle*  
*z̄uze!*<sup>1</sup> *móre rāp̄ili m-an-k̄epe t̄-íla t̄ama,*<sup>1</sup> *ga-maxz̄ənnux ʿúrxa šālət.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿən-lá t̄ama*  
*t-áwət,*<sup>1</sup> *p̄éšət táma m̄éθət ʿax-d-an-t̄-íla míṭe t̄ama.*<sup>1</sup> (71) *móre x̄d̄ur t̄ama,*<sup>1</sup> *xázət*  
*gér̄mət náš̄e! t̄-íla míṭe t̄ama.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿáp-ʿati m̄éθət táma.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿáp-ʿaw x̄d̄ura!*<sup>1</sup> *x̄z̄ya gér̄mət náš̄e*  
*t-wawa-miṭe t̄ama.*<sup>1</sup> *móre b-álaha d̄ūs-iwa.*<sup>1</sup> (72) *q̄im̄ele ga-rap̄óye m-àn-kepe,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿáni*  
*kúlla ʿalm̄ās-ila,*<sup>1</sup> *m̄ən-d-o t̄ura.*<sup>1</sup> *rúpyele rúpya h̄al ʿaš̄orta.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿaš̄orta!*<sup>1</sup> *ʿo-táj̄r núblele*  
*náš̄e x̄ene!*<sup>1</sup> *xulamwáṭha m̄onne d̄iye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿan-k̄epe!*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla gr̄iše nuble l-b-èṭa!*<sup>1</sup> *ʿu-š̄wìq̄alle*  
*ʿáwwa táma.*<sup>1</sup>

(73) *p̄iše t̄ama!*<sup>1</sup> *móre mo-t̄-óð̄ən ʿána?*<sup>2</sup> *mo-t̄-óð̄ən?*<sup>2</sup> *ʿu-léka t̄-áz̄ən x̄d̄ara?*<sup>2</sup> *ʿúrxa*  
*líθ,*<sup>1</sup> *m̄əndi líθ.*<sup>1</sup> *p̄iše x̄iṭya,*<sup>1</sup> *dm̄ixle táma ʿo-léle.*<sup>1</sup> *dart-yóma q̄ima!*<sup>1</sup> *xá-ga x̄éta x̄d̄ara!*  
*móre ʿáp-ʿana p̄éš̄ən lāxxa,*<sup>1</sup> *m̄éθ̄ən ʿax-t̄-íla-ʿanna míṭe.*<sup>1</sup> (74) *máxyele b-o-t̄ura,*<sup>1</sup> *x̄išele*  
*móre xáz̄əx ʿəka t̄-áz̄ən,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿəka pált̄ən.*<sup>1</sup> *móra maš̄mòyət Kar̄im-addīn?*<sup>2</sup> *móre h̄e.*<sup>1</sup> *mára*  
*q̄im̄ele z̄ila z̄ila!*<sup>1</sup> *hal-z̄ila b-o-t̄ura!*<sup>1</sup> *z̄ila z̄ila m̄t̄ele!*<sup>1</sup> *xz̄ele xa-kóxa z̄ora,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-béṭa z̄ora.*<sup>1</sup>  
(75) *màra!*<sup>1</sup> *ʿo-béṭa z̄ora,*<sup>1</sup> *z̄ila ʿáp-ʿaw,*<sup>1</sup> *wið̄ele q̄ázd d-ò-béṭa,*<sup>1</sup> *máxyele l-t̄āra.*<sup>1</sup> *pl̄iṭele*  
*xa-náša sàwa,*<sup>1</sup> *d̄oq̄ne xwàra.*<sup>1</sup> *x̄z̄ya móre ha-b̄əṭ-náša!*<sup>1</sup> *ʿati dāx-it ʿəṭya lāxxa?*<sup>2</sup> *m-èkət*  
*ʿəṭya lāxxa?*<sup>2</sup> *móra b-álaha,*<sup>1</sup> *sàwa,*<sup>1</sup> *q̄əš̄ət d̄iyi rāba rix̄tela.*<sup>1</sup> *š̄uql̄i t̄-òr̄m.*<sup>1</sup> *hálli xáčča*  
*m̄iṭya š̄āt̄ən,*<sup>1</sup> *m̄it̄li m-k̄əp̄na.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿálaha yállux.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿən-ʿati yáñni x̄èrət b̄iyi,*<sup>1</sup> *mrx̄m̄ət-əlli,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʿálaha mrx̄m̄-əllux.*<sup>1</sup>

(67) He said 'Get off the back of your horse!' He got off 'Kill the horse!' He killed the horse. He said 'Cut it from here downwards and throw away its neck, throw it away'. He said 'Go into its torso, into the chest of this horse and sew it from inside. However much you hear a taq-taq-taq (noise), do not come out, until I say to you "Come out!", then you come out'. (68) He said 'Fine'. So, he went down into that thing. It became rather hot during the day, then some birds known as *simarxa* came. They struck the chest of the horse (with their beaks). They took it up to the top of the mountain in order to eat it there. They continually made a taq-taq knocking noise, taq-taq, once, then twice, then he became fed up. (69) He struck the knife into the skin that he had sewn from inside and came out. When he came out, the *simarxa* bird flew away. He realized that it had taken him onto the mountain. There was no road down. (70) Then, the merchant who had given him money said 'Throw me the stones that are there, then I shall show you the way down. If not, you will remain there, you will stay there and die like those who have already died there'. (71) He said 'Wander around there and you will see the bones of people who have died there. You also will die there'. He wandered around and saw the bones of people who had died there. He said 'By God, he was right'. (72) He began to throw some of the stones from the mountain, they were all diamonds. He threw and threw until evening. In the evening the merchant brought other people, servants, with him. They carried all those stones home and left him there.

(73) He remained there and said 'What shall I do? What shall I do? Where can I go? There is no road, there is nothing'. It became dark and he slept there that night. The next day he got up and again wandered around. He said 'I also shall remain here and die like these people have died'. (74) He struck into the mountain and went off saying 'Let's see where I can go, where I shall come out'.—She said 'Are you listening Karimaddin? He said 'Yes'—Now, he went off, until he came to the mountain. He went a long way until he came across a small hut, a small house. (75) Now, he made his way towards that house and knocked at the door. An old man came out, with a white beard. He saw him and said 'Hey, man, how have you come here? From where have you come here?' He said 'By God, old man, my story is very long. Let me come in. Give me some water to drink, I am dying of hunger. May God give you (it in return). If you look after me and take pity on me, God will take pity on you'.

(76) *móre hè bróni,<sup>1</sup> hè bróni,<sup>1</sup> wúr gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> múθyele míya s̄ətyele.<sup>1</sup> ’u-híwəlle mēxólta x̄ilele.<sup>1</sup> ’u-p̄išele mánne díye.<sup>1</sup> de-qíma mtúnyəlla qəşşətte kúlla t̄la-d-o-sàwa.<sup>1</sup> máre mò ’odónnux.<sup>2</sup> har-ħérən b-gàni<sup>1</sup> lé-y-yāðən ’ána ’èka,<sup>1</sup> ’ána lé-y-yāðən ’èkən.<sup>1</sup> ’u-lé-y-yāðən m-ékən ’əθya.<sup>1</sup> (77) p̄išele táma,<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma tre-’u-t̄lāθa,<sup>1</sup> xa-bèna<sup>1</sup> ’íθwa ða-bárkat miya<sup>1</sup> gam-tárət bèθa.<sup>1</sup> wítela bar-’o-náša sáwa š̄lyele mtāmòzəlla çənnəḳéra díya,<sup>1</sup> ’áp-’aw š̄lyele mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa.<sup>1</sup> móre ’ay-mòdi.<sup>2</sup> móre ’áyya b̄áyən z̄árən çənnəḳéra díya xáçça wàrde.<sup>1</sup> (78) móre báhər t-áθi xákma náše sáxi gáwa díya.<sup>1</sup> móre ’an-náše mán̄ila.<sup>2</sup> mòdila.<sup>2</sup> móre hon-b̄ayəllux,<sup>1</sup> t-amr̄ənnux.<sup>1</sup> móre t̄la-bnāθət málka,<sup>1</sup> Q̄áşar Hòzər,<sup>1</sup> mára Q̄áşar Hòzərila,<sup>1</sup> láwš̄i j̄úllət yawənáθa,<sup>1</sup> t-áθi yátwi rəş-d-áy ’ilána.<sup>1</sup> šáli sáxi gu-d-ánna miya.<sup>1</sup> (79) móre bnáθa bnáθa.<sup>2</sup> móre hè<sup>1</sup> qíma kút-yoma yóma š̄lāya,<sup>1</sup> šále ’u-zārəwa wàrde<sup>1</sup> ’u-maštəwala-w<sup>1</sup> qímle mtugb̄ərale<sup>1</sup> raba t̄m̄əz.<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa sáwa xírre biye<sup>1</sup> ’ina xa-yála raba n̄ājīb-wewə.<sup>1</sup> móre madām t-íwətwə pláxa ’átxa m̄əndiyáne<sup>1</sup> t-amr̄ənnux mò-’odət.<sup>2</sup> móre mòdi.<sup>2</sup> (80) móre ’áti t-ázət t-yátwət tammāha.<sup>1</sup> šáli šalx̄ila julléy t-yáwne tamma.<sup>1</sup> ’áti xázət ’ay-mənnə b̄áyət<sup>1</sup> šaql̄itla ’ánna jülle,<sup>1</sup> mēθətla-lli<sup>1</sup> lítlux š̄ula.<sup>1</sup> (81) ’áwwa-zi qímele š̄lyele.<sup>1</sup> kút-yoma šále,<sup>1</sup> wíðwale xa-dúkθa m̄əšəwa t̄ama.<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma šlèle,<sup>1</sup> ’ina šm̄ile xzélé ’ina t̄əlləθ-yawne tíwla táma.<sup>1</sup> š̄lyela,<sup>1</sup> tíwela l-’ára.<sup>1</sup> šlíp̄alla julla,<sup>1</sup> ’u-xzélé b̄ər-náše<sup>1</sup> yá’ni m̄əxawəðe.<sup>1</sup> (82) mattúle b̄ala<sup>1</sup> ’a-zúrta raba šap̄irtəwa.<sup>1</sup> ’áni š̄lyela sx̄aya,<sup>1</sup> ’áwwa r̄áp r̄ixa<sup>1</sup> ’an-júllət,<sup>1</sup> ’a-lwíšta d-a-zúrta,<sup>1</sup> gn̄iwəlla,<sup>1</sup> ’u-r̄iqele.<sup>1</sup> héy náša náša qímela ş̄r̄axa.<sup>1</sup> z̄ilele kəs-d-ó-naša sàwa.<sup>1</sup> (83) ’áp-’ani qímela lwíšta julla,<sup>1</sup> z̄ilela kəsle díye,<sup>1</sup> d-ó-naša sàwa.<sup>1</sup> mára b̄aba sáwa mòdile.<sup>2</sup> m-èket múθyəlle l̄axxa.<sup>2</sup> móre çü-m̄əndi líθ.<sup>1</sup> móre çü-m̄əndi líθ.<sup>1</sup> díya ’áwwa b̄áyə ta-d-áyya bráta zúrta.<sup>1</sup> mq̄áwəlt gor̄atle,<sup>1</sup> t-yálla julla.<sup>1</sup> ’ən-là,<sup>1</sup> har-t-yálla julləx b-k̄əfəx.<sup>1</sup> (84) ’áp-’aw z̄ila múθya jülle<sup>1</sup> híwəlla julla.<sup>1</sup> píšla táma m̄ənnə.<sup>1</sup> qím̄la<sup>1</sup> ’áni zilla ta-t̄lā-yomane,<sup>1</sup> píšla t̄la-yārxe,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-xm̄illa m̄ən-d-o-yála.<sup>1</sup>*

(76) He said ‘Yes, my son, yes my son, come into the house’. He brought water and he drank it. He gave him food and he ate it. He stayed with him. He told all his story to the old man. He said ‘What can I do for you? I myself am confused. I do not know where I am, I do not know where I am, nor do I know where I have come from’. (77) He stayed there, one day, two, three. Now, there was a pool of water in front of the house. When that old man went down to clean around it, he went down to help the old man. He said ‘What is that?’ He said ‘I want to plant around it some flowers’. (78) He said ‘In Spring some people come and swim in it’. He said ‘Who are those people? What are they?’ He said ‘I like you so I shall tell you’. He said ‘Three daughters of a king, from Qaşr Hozər—it is called Qaşr Hozər—put on the clothes of doves and come and sit on that tree. They go down and bathe in this water’. (79) He said ‘Real girls?’<sup>11</sup> He said ‘Yes’. Now, everyday he would go down and plant flowers and water them. He looked after it (the pool) very well. The old man looked at him and saw that he was a very conscientious young man. He said ‘Since you have been doing such things, should I tell you what to do?’ He said ‘What?’ (80) He said ‘You go and sit over there. They will go down and take off their doves’ clothes. See which one you like and take the clothes (belonging to her) and bring them to me, and all will be fine’. (81) He went down. Every day he went down—he had made a place to hide in. One day he went down and heard (something) and saw that three doves had alighted there. They went down and settled on the ground. They slipped off their clothes and he saw (that they were) humans, who were talking. (82) He noticed that the young one was very beautiful. They went down to swim. With a swift movement, he stole the clothes of the young one and ran. They began shouting ‘Hey man, hey man!’. He went to that old man. (83) They put on their clothes and went to him, to that old man. They said ‘Dear old man, what is it? From where have you brought him here?’ He said ‘There is nothing the matter. There is nothing the matter. Now, he loves this young girl. If you promise to marry him, he will give back the clothes. If not, he will still give you the clothes, if you want them’. (84) He went and brought the clothes and gave her clothes to her. They remained there with him. They went there for three days, but stayed three months, so much did they enjoy themselves with that young man.

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<sup>11</sup> Literally: Girls girls.



(85) xárθa 'o-bába sáwa móre ta-d-àni<sup>1</sup> díya babáxu hóle spàrèllaxu.<sup>1</sup> lóbbe biyáxu tliqetu.<sup>1</sup> dúru sógena kəs-babàxu,<sup>1</sup> xàrθa<sup>1</sup> 'áyya xaθáxu 'àθya.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'ani qimela,<sup>1</sup> zilela,<sup>1</sup> l-Qášar Hòzər<sup>1</sup> kəs-babáy málka.<sup>1</sup> (86) móra hàtxela qásšət.<sup>1</sup> 'íθ xa-yàla,<sup>1</sup> 'ána mquiwáltən mənne<sup>1</sup> gárəg gawrànne,<sup>1</sup> gárəg déʔən 'ána l-tàma.<sup>1</sup> móre bráti ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> dùr.<sup>1</sup> qéma lwàšəlla 'an-júlla díya.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'aw mšadóre xákma náše həməya díya,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-nəšre<sup>1</sup> 'ina náše lóšī pàrre.<sup>1</sup> (87) ziltela tàma.<sup>1</sup> píštela mánne díye kəma dāna.<sup>1</sup> xàrθa<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma síqa l-gàre,<sup>1</sup> hátxa xá-dukθa rəmta.<sup>1</sup> θéle qāhər-'əlle.<sup>1</sup> txírre bəθət bábə 'u-d-àni.<sup>1</sup> pille šnəle.<sup>1</sup> 'táya báθre díye la-xzəyàlle.<sup>1</sup> (88) xárθa tfiqe biye xəzyàlle 'ina šənya,<sup>1</sup> npila.<sup>1</sup> qəm-mbaqràle<sup>1</sup> móra ta-mò.<sup>2</sup> mòdi qásšət díyux.<sup>2</sup> ta-mót hàtxa.<sup>2</sup> móre b-àlaha<sup>1</sup> móre 'áp-'ana là-xazyatli.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'ana brónət xa-málka,<sup>1</sup> spàrəlli déʔən.<sup>1</sup> bābi məyəθ,<sup>1</sup> 'ána bṭ-awəm málka šəpe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hon-díya npila làxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-lé-y-yāðən 'ána 'əkəm.<sup>1</sup> (89) móra ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> móra 'āna<sup>1</sup> t-lawšānna 'ānna júllət yāwne,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-asrānnux xəšī,<sup>1</sup> pàrxən,<sup>1</sup> nablānnux l-'áθrət bābux,<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī 'ən-yāðətla 'àθya,<sup>1</sup> t-la-nablátlən xa-dúkθa xéta naxrəθa,<sup>1</sup> 'odílən māsəkəl.<sup>1</sup> (90) móra yāðətle.<sup>2</sup> 'ən-'ázəx 'áθrət bābux,<sup>1</sup> yāðətle.<sup>2</sup> móre ṭáb'an yāðənnə 'áθrət bābi.<sup>1</sup> dàx la-yāðənnə.<sup>2</sup>

(91) 'ay-lwištəlla júlla díya.<sup>1</sup> móra ta-d-o-səwa<sup>1</sup> de-puš-b-šəna.<sup>1</sup> ṭ-àzəx.<sup>1</sup> nšiqəlle 'o-səwa,<sup>1</sup> mupišəlle b-šəna,<sup>1</sup> 'ay-prixətela.<sup>1</sup> zilla zilla xa-yòma,<sup>1</sup> trè-yome,<sup>1</sup> xárθa kəixtela<sup>1</sup> šlíθela munixtela xa-dúkθa.<sup>1</sup> yómə ṭlāθa 'árba xá-bena pàxa<sup>1</sup> 'ámər klá klá làxxa.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa 'áθrə díyən-ile.<sup>1</sup> (92) 'əka xzəle.<sup>2</sup> xzəle 'əkə t-wəwa<sup>1</sup> tíwa gu-d-a-bālam zúrta.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-a-bālam,<sup>1</sup> 'ina hurrás 'iθwa t-málka ṭ-ila-mútte tàma.<sup>1</sup> móre xazítu bróni bálki xniqele,<sup>1</sup> bálki lášše díye pálta gu-yàma.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-xá-naša méθelaxu xābra<sup>1</sup> bəd-bròni,<sup>1</sup> kut-məθéli xābra bəd-bròni,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-míθa 'ən-sàxi,<sup>1</sup> pālgət dáwi de-t-yānne 'əlle díye.<sup>1</sup> (93) málkəle mára.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər kla-klá šla-làxxa.<sup>1</sup> šəlyela tàma.<sup>1</sup> xa-bəna<sup>1</sup> xirela hàtxa<sup>1</sup> 'ina brónət málka θèle<sup>1</sup> 'u-ðà mənne díye.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-qəm-xazéle riqə<sup>1</sup> lázəm ṭ-ámər ta-málka.<sup>1</sup> (94) xa-xéna móre mòdile qásšət.<sup>2</sup> móre bròn-málka hóle θèle.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-ráqa 'u-'aw-xéna šaqəlla xa-kílo dāwe mánne díye,<sup>1</sup> máxe gu-réše díye,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-npílele.<sup>1</sup> 'o-xéna riqəle.<sup>1</sup> kázi mòdi,<sup>1</sup> lèle gláya.<sup>1</sup>

(85) In the end, the old timer said to them ‘Your father is waiting for you now. He thinks you are lost. Go back to your father, then afterwards this sister of yours will come back (here)’. So, they went off to Qaşr Hözər, to their father, the king. (86) She (the young girl) said ‘The story is this. There is a young man. I have given him a promise and I must marry him, I must return there’. He said ‘My daughter, that’s fine. Go back!’ She put on those clothes of hers. He sent also some people to protect her, like eagles, but they were people wearing feathers. (87) She went there. She stayed with him for some time. Then, one day, he went up onto the roof, a very high place. Sadness came upon him. He remembered the house of his father and his family. He fell and fainted. They searched for him but did not find him. (88) Then they came across him and found that he had fainted and fallen. She asked him saying ‘Why? What is your story? Why are you like this?’ He said ‘By God, you do not see me (as I really am). I also am the son of a king and he is waiting for me to return. When my father dies, I shall be king in his place. Now I am lying here and I do not know where I am’. (89) She said ‘It’s all right’. She said ‘I shall put on those doves’ clothes and tie you to my back, then fly off and take you to the land of your father, so long as you know the land, and do not take me to another strange land and make problems for us’. (90) She said ‘Do you know it? If we go to the land of your father, will you recognize it?’ He said ‘Of course I shall recognize the land of my father. How could I not recognize it?’

(91) She put on her clothes. They said to the old man ‘Farewell. We are going’. They kissed the old man, bid him farewell and she flew off. She travelled for one day, two days and then became tired and descended and rested somewhere. On the third or fourth day, as she was flying, he said ‘Stop, stop here. This is our land’. (92) Where was it that he saw? He saw where he had sat in that small boat. (It was the place) in that boat, but there were guards of the king who were posted there. He (the king) said ‘You must find my son, perhaps he has drowned, perhaps his body has gone out into the sea. If somebody brings you word about my son—whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I’ll give him half of my gold’. (93) It is the king who is saying this. He (the king’s son) said ‘Stop, stop. Go down here. They went down there. Then they (the guards) looked and saw that the son of the king had come and that a girl was with him. The one who saw him ran, he had to tell the king. (94) Another said ‘What is going on?’ He said ‘The son of the king has come’. While he was running the other took a kilo of gold in his hands and hit him (with it) on his head. He fell and the other ran off. They tried (to find out) what it was, but he did not reveal anything.

(95) *mátyele kəs-málka,*<sup>1</sup> *móre málka brònuv théle.*<sup>1</sup> *málka npilele<sup>1</sup> šnyele žáre*  
*mən-xaðùthe díye.*<sup>1</sup> *xéna řışele.*<sup>1</sup> *bróne díye théle.*<sup>1</sup> *říqa qímle plítle qámθat bróne díye,*<sup>1</sup>  
*dáwla-w zòrna,*<sup>1</sup> *zilla<sup>1</sup> bróne díye tliqa kəma-dána,*<sup>1</sup> *brōn-málka.*<sup>1</sup> (96) *qəm-mεθéla*  
*đá mənne-díye,*<sup>1</sup> *ràba xđéle b-d-a-bràta.*<sup>1</sup> *móre tla-brōn-díye<sup>1</sup> dāxi thélux:<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> *móre b-álaha*  
*qásšat díyi rába řixtela,*<sup>1</sup> *’áyya basímta.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-’itwala ’ánna júllat pñixla bíya,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-tənáli*  
*xáša díya,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa,*<sup>1</sup> *thélən làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> (97) *zille qəm-qaréla ’a-bràta.*<sup>1</sup> *móre háyyo ’ati*  
*’úwat díya maləkθa.*<sup>1</sup> *múr kú-mđi-t bāyət,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ay-dūnye,*<sup>1</sup> *t-ođđənnəx.*<sup>1</sup> *móra hìç-məndi*  
*la-bāyən.*<sup>1</sup> *’ána háli m-haləxu.*<sup>1</sup> *’axčī banátli xà—’ánna bεθáy kúlla kxwìne-wewə<sup>1</sup>*  
*’arabāye<sup>1</sup>—móra banátli xa-béθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-bùrj,*<sup>1</sup> *’ax-t ’ana bāyən.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup>*  
*’áwəwa-ži qíməle bnáya búrj ’álla díya.*<sup>1</sup>

(98) *’o-yála brōn-málka mtuxmənne<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> bálki ’áthe xa-yóma ’ε-bráta kəřba mánni<sup>1</sup>*  
*lošála ’ánna júlla díya<sup>1</sup> ’u-párxa ’áza bέθə bába díya.*<sup>1</sup> *māni nabəlli.<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> *mu-t-yāđən*  
*’ékəla.<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> (99) *mo-wídle.<sup>2</sup>*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle zila mútta ’án-júlla díya gu-d-o-sandúqa,*<sup>1</sup> *múttəlla*  
*gu-’asəsət bέθa,*<sup>1</sup> *’u-bányele gúda b-réše.*<sup>1</sup> *de-’áyya ləđa,*<sup>1</sup> *lábba šəpya žáre.*<sup>1</sup> *ziltəla*  
*bár t-ile-béθa pñíqa,*<sup>1</sup> *’áza xázya júlla,*<sup>1</sup> *júlla liθ.*<sup>1</sup> (100) *’áyya šaqləwəle řixət júlle,<sup>1</sup>*  
*šaqləwəle.*<sup>1</sup> *xđírra xđírra bar-júlla díya,*<sup>1</sup> *lèla xzáyəlla.*<sup>1</sup> *de-de-dè,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-yoma šléla*  
*gu-gòma.*<sup>1</sup> *řixət júlla díya théle.*<sup>1</sup> *móra hóla làxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *xđírra xđírra xđírra bəθra.*<sup>1</sup> *đila*  
*m-əkəla.*<sup>1</sup> (101) *xpírra,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-paltəle sandúqət júlle.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-yóma lošála júlla díya<sup>1</sup> pářxa*  
*’átwa l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> *qréla b-o-gáwra díya.*<sup>1</sup> *móra ’ána bíθənnux θíθən bəθrux.*<sup>1</sup> *w-ana-léđən*  
*t-awátwa ’ati xəyən palítəwa mánni.*<sup>1</sup> *júlli mattətəwala gu-gúda<sup>1</sup> ’u-bánətwə ’o-gúda*  
*b-réša.*<sup>1</sup> (102) *’ən bāyətli,*<sup>1</sup> *’áθət bəθri ’ap-’ati.*<sup>1</sup> *’ána zilli kəs-bábi.*<sup>1</sup> *’ána bəθən<sup>1</sup>*  
*šəmmət qásrən Qářar Həzər-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *’ən-bāyətli,*<sup>1</sup> *’áθət təma.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-káze mxáya gu-réše.*<sup>1</sup>  
*’áyya zilla.*<sup>1</sup>

(95) He came to the king and said ‘King, your son has come’. The king fell down. He fainted, poor man, on account of his joy. Then he woke up again. His son had come back! He ran out to meet his son, together with a drum and pipe, since his son, the son of the king, had been lost for some time. (96) He had brought a girl with him and he was very happy with that girl. He said to his son ‘How have you come?’ He said ‘By God, my story is very long but she is the one to thank. She had these clothes with which she flew and carried me on her back, and so on, and so on, and we came here’. (97) He went and called the girl. He said ‘Come, you are now the queen. Tell me anything you want in the world and I shall do it for you’. She said ‘I do not want anything. I shall live like you.<sup>12</sup> Only, build me a’—all their homes were tents, (they were) Arabs—she said ‘Build me a house, a tower, in the way that I like’. He said ‘Fine’. He built a tower for her.

(98) The young man, the son of the king thought and said ‘Perhaps a day will come when that girl will be angry with me, put on those clothes of hers and fly back to her father’s house. Who will take me there? How shall I know where she is?’ (99) What did he do? He put her clothes in a box and placed it in the foundations of the house, then built a wall over it. She did not know, she was innocent, poor thing. After the house was finished, she went to find her clothes, but her clothes were not there. (100) She could smell the scent of the clothes, she could smell it. She looked around for her clothes, but did not find them. Now, one day she went down into the basement. The scent of her clothes came to her. She said ‘They are there’. She searched and searched and searched for them. She knew where they were. (101) She dug and brought out the box of clothes. One day she put on her clothes, flew up and sat on the roof. She called to her husband saying ‘I loved you and followed you, while not knowing that you would turn out to be treacherous to me, that you would put my clothes in the wall and build the wall over them. (102) If you love me, you now can follow me. I am going to my father’s home. Our home, the name of our palace is *Qaşr Hozar*. If you love me, go there. He tried (to supplicate with her) and beat his head, but she went off.

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<sup>12</sup> Literally: My condition corresponds to your condition.

## A15 THE MONK AND THE ANGEL

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'iθwa<sup>1</sup> xa-ràbbən,<sup>1</sup> tíwewa gu-xa-gəppìθa.<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-náša swaríya,<sup>1</sup> rakáwa.<sup>1</sup> šléle rəs-xa-<sup>2</sup>èna.<sup>1</sup> tíwle,<sup>1</sup> xille mändi,<sup>1</sup> štéle miya.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale xákma zúze.<sup>1</sup> qímle šqilile.<sup>1</sup> mut-tile<sup>1</sup> rəs-d-ε-<sup>2</sup>èna.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa<sup>1</sup> munšile zúze diye.<sup>1</sup> zille.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa zille b-<sup>2</sup>ürxa.<sup>1</sup> (2) θéle xá rakáwa xèna,<sup>1</sup> swaríya.<sup>1</sup> zille rəs-<sup>2</sup>èna.<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazèla<sup>1</sup> 'əmma dináre.<sup>1</sup> šqilile jal-jálde<sup>1</sup> muttile gu-jèbe<sup>1</sup> 'u-zille.<sup>1</sup> 'o-qamàya<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'əh<sup>1</sup> zúzi munšli.<sup>1</sup> qémən dèrən<sup>1</sup> 'ázən šáqlən zúzi<sup>1</sup> m-rəs-<sup>2</sup>èna.<sup>1</sup> (3) ha-t-<sup>2</sup>áθe 'o-náša qamàya<sup>1</sup> máte l-<sup>2</sup>èna<sup>1</sup> 'áθe xa-náša sàwa.<sup>1</sup> máte rəs-<sup>2</sup>èna<sup>1</sup> mattúla kárte<sup>1</sup> 'u-tíwle manyòxe.<sup>1</sup> 'o-qamàya t-<sup>2</sup>ile zúze mùnšya<sup>1</sup> θéle 'šlle diye.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər<sup>1</sup> mpálətla zúzi,<sup>1</sup> 'əmma dináre 'ána hon-mùnšəlla láchxa.<sup>1</sup> lázəm yawətla.<sup>1</sup> yába lán-xəzya zúze,<sup>1</sup> lá 'áxxa-w tàmma<sup>1</sup> 'u-kízle b-ay-gòta.<sup>1</sup> là.<sup>1</sup> (4) móre qatlənnux.<sup>1</sup> móre qtül!<sup>1</sup> litli.<sup>1</sup> zúze lán-xəzya.<sup>1</sup> qímle<sup>1</sup> qəm-qatəlle.<sup>1</sup> qəm-qatəlle.<sup>1</sup> rəbbən<sup>1</sup> yăðət-mà-yle.<sup>2</sup> rəbbən<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa t-i-sàxəð l-<sup>2</sup>álaha<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-i-m.sàle-u<sup>1</sup> lé-y-<sup>2</sup>axəl bəsrə-w<sup>1</sup> 'áw y-amrile rəbbən.<sup>1</sup> hóle tíwa gu-xa-gəppìθa<sup>1</sup> 'arbi-šənnə.<sup>1</sup> (5) qiməle<sup>1</sup> móre mádam hátxela<sup>1</sup> t-ázən táyən bəθər haqqúθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-na-haqqúθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ənila haqqúθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ənila na-haqqúθa.<sup>1</sup> mára šəlyele<sup>1</sup> ta-t-<sup>2</sup>ázəl 'ürxa.<sup>1</sup> 'álaha mšúdrəlle malàxa.<sup>1</sup> (6) móre šli qamθə-d-áwwa náša,<sup>1</sup> rəbbən,<sup>1</sup> t-là-xalət.<sup>1</sup> šólyele qámθe diye.<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> ha-gəni,<sup>1</sup> ləkət zála.<sup>2</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> hon-zála táyə bəθər haqqúθa-w na-haqqúθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'ap-<sup>2</sup>ána hówən zála táyə bəθər haqqúθa 'u-na-haqqúθa.<sup>1</sup> (7) mərə,<sup>1</sup> malàxa móre tla-rəbbən,<sup>1</sup> móre t-áwðət b-xàbrì<sup>1</sup> kú-məndi t-amrənnux.<sup>2</sup> 'ámər hè.<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yxələf.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána w-átì xonāwəðəx.<sup>1</sup> zilela,<sup>1</sup> zíle, zile, zile gu-ðà-maθa.<sup>1</sup> 'aşərtela,<sup>1</sup> b-áyya dána hátxa,<sup>1</sup> máxyela l-tárrət bəθət xa-náša.<sup>1</sup> wìrela gu-béθa.<sup>1</sup> (8) šlàma-lləxu!<sup>1</sup> b-šéna b-tawàθa,<sup>1</sup> páqðu tíwe!<sup>1</sup> tíwela tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-xilela 'ixàla<sup>1</sup> 'u-píše dmixe.<sup>1</sup> dmixela,<sup>1</sup> b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> malàxa mürəšle<sup>1</sup> qa-rəbbən<sup>1</sup> móre qù!<sup>1</sup> qù!<sup>1</sup> móre há də-šúqlən dāmxx.<sup>1</sup> lét-mira t-ódən b-xàbrux.<sup>2</sup> qu-šqúlla 'áyya skìnta.<sup>1</sup> si-prúmle 'áwwa yála zòra<sup>1</sup> t-ile gu-dudíya.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was once a monk who lived in a cave. A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring. He sat down, ate something and drank some water. He had some money. He took it and put it on top of the spring. He forgot his money. He went off. He went off on the road. (2) Another rider came, a horseman. He went to the spring. He saw the hundred dinars. He quickly took them, put them in his pocket and went off. The first (rider) said 'Oh, I have forgotten my money. I'll return and go to take my money from on top of the spring.' (3) Before the first man reached the spring, an old man came. He went up to the spring, laid down his load and sat down to rest. The first man, who had forgotten his money, came to him. He said 'Give back<sup>1</sup> my money! I have forgotten one hundred dinars here. You must give it (to me).' 'I have not seen any money'. (He could) not (find it) here and there, he tried (looking) on the other side, but no. (4) He said 'I'll kill you'. He said 'Kill (me). I have not got it. I have not seen any money'. He killed him. He killed him. Do you know what a monk is? A monk is somebody who worships God, who prays and does not eat meat. He is called a monk. He was dwelling in a cave for forty years. (5) He arose and said 'If (the world) is like that, I shall go and search for what is lawful and what is unlawful, for what is lawful and what is not lawful'. So, he went down to set off on the road. God sent an angel to him. (6) He said 'Go down to meet this man, the monk, so that he does not make a mistake'. He went down to meet him. He said 'Hey, my soul,<sup>2</sup> where are you going?' He said 'I am going to search for what is lawful and what is unlawful'. He said 'I also am going to search for what is lawful and what is unlawful'. (7) He said, the angel said to the monk, he said 'Will you do as I say, whatever I tell you?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'Fine'. He said 'You and I are brothers'. They went a long way until they came to a village. It was evening, this time of day,<sup>3</sup> they knocked on the door of a person. They entered the house. (8) 'Greetings to you!' 'You are welcome, please sit down'. They sat there, ate food, then slept. They slept. In the night the angel woke the monk. He said 'Get up! Get up!' He said 'Oh, let us sleep'. 'Did you not say "I shall do as I say"? Get up and take this knife. Go and slaughter this baby boy who is in the cradle'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: take out.

<sup>2</sup> Respectful address to a holy man.

<sup>3</sup> The information was telling the story in the evening.

(9) 'aw-mère<sup>1</sup> dák pèrmónne 'àwwa.<sup>21</sup> mút haqqútha na-haqqùθela.<sup>21</sup> móre nómu lét-múra t-ódðan b-xàbrux.<sup>21</sup> 'àyyela.<sup>1</sup> báyyat báyyat.<sup>1</sup> la-báyyat si-prúmle yála.<sup>1</sup> bába-w yómmat yála<sup>1</sup> xamsi-šonne 'ithwala 'umra<sup>1</sup> líθwala bnòne.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa yála yíwalle 'álaha 'állà díya 'àštà yárxe.<sup>1</sup> (10) 'u-'áp-'awwa qəm-parmile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-zilla.<sup>1</sup> b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> zilla,<sup>1</sup> síqla xa-mátha xèta.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áyya mút haqqútha na-haqqùθela,<sup>1</sup> ya-'axòni.<sup>21</sup> hátxa máləpəti haqqútha 'u-na-haqqútha.<sup>1</sup> zilela gu-ða-mátha xèta.<sup>1</sup> mərə,<sup>1</sup> 'imət síqla<sup>1</sup> gu-d-è-maθa,<sup>1</sup> wírra gu-xa-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (11) muttúla 'ixála xàla.<sup>1</sup> xa-tásət dàwa<sup>1</sup> qəm-meθèla,<sup>1</sup> mattila tàma,<sup>1</sup> miya gáwa díya.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna xilela 'ixàla<sup>1</sup> 'u-léla štye miya mən-d-ε-tàsa.<sup>1</sup> wítela b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> maláxa mūrəšle qa-ràbbən,<sup>1</sup> móre qù.<sup>1</sup> šqúlla 'áyya tàsa<sup>1</sup> 'u-háyyo mənni.<sup>1</sup> (12) šqíləlla tása b-lèle<sup>1</sup> 'u-núbləlla zədyəlla gu-ða-dərta.<sup>1</sup> šqíləlla mən-d-ε-dərta,<sup>1</sup> núbləlla zədyəlla gu-ða-xèta.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áyya mút haqqútha na-haqqùθela.<sup>21</sup> mút farqùθela,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áyya dərta 'aw-gu-d-əyàha.<sup>21</sup> 'ámər háyyo.<sup>1</sup> háyyo mənni.<sup>1</sup> nómu lan-mírəllux ku-mdi-t-ámərən t-ódðət b-xàbri.<sup>21</sup> móre hè.<sup>1</sup> (13) márele síqela gu-xa-túra,<sup>1</sup> túra 'isáre ramàne.<sup>1</sup> xa-náša sàwa<sup>1</sup> 'umre díye..., yá'ni dəqne díye mətáya l-àra,<sup>1</sup> hóle tina kértət qèse<sup>1</sup> l-xàše.<sup>1</sup> hóle tíwa l-kəpa,<sup>1</sup> hátxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna pìðela mónne díye,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-šlāma léla doryəlle.<sup>1</sup> maláxa móre tla-ràbbən<sup>1</sup> móre xzi-kəméle lxìma.<sup>1</sup> si-mxi-'áqlux gu-xáše díye l-àyya kérta<sup>1</sup> 'u-hállə šàle,<sup>1</sup> šámət qðále díye.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'ámər mút haqqútha na-haqqútha.<sup>21</sup> na-haqqútha là 'awðónna.<sup>1</sup> móre nómu lat-mqúla mənni.<sup>21</sup> móre hè.<sup>1</sup> móre də-si.<sup>1</sup> zilele maxéla-'aqle 'ille díye<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áw šàle<sup>1</sup> šámətle qðále.<sup>1</sup> móre tla-mò hátxa,<sup>1</sup> ya-xòni.<sup>21</sup> tla-mò wídlux hátxa bìyi.<sup>21</sup> 'ána zála báθər haqqútha na-haqqútha t-'álaha<sup>1</sup> w-áxxa-w támma 'ədyo 'ədyo<sup>1</sup> mu-štímlux bəθi,<sup>1</sup> 'áti wídlux hátxa hátxa bìyi.<sup>21</sup> (15) móre mùt xəzya qam-'énux.<sup>21</sup> móre xəzyewən 'ána 'imə t-ín tíwa láxxa 'arbi-šənnə,<sup>1</sup> hon-tíwa láxxa gu-d-áy gəppíθa,<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-náša swaríya,<sup>1</sup> θéle zille rəš-'əna.<sup>1</sup> xille mənndi<sup>1</sup> 'u-šwíqlə zúze díye táma zille.<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-xəna,<sup>1</sup> 'an-zúze šqílilə 'u-zille.<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-náša sàwa.<sup>1</sup> dírye 'o-qamáya qəm-qaťille 'o-sàwa.<sup>1</sup> tla-mòdi.<sup>21</sup>

(9) He said 'How can I slaughter him? What is lawful and what is unlawful?' He said 'Did you not say "I shall do as you say". That is that. Whether you want to do so or not, go and slaughter the baby.' The father and mother of the baby did not have children for fifty years. God gave this baby to them six months ago'. (10) They slaughtered him and went on their way. At night they went off, and went up to another village. He said 'What is there lawful or unlawful in this, my brother? You should teach me what is lawful and what is unlawful'. They went to another village. Then, when they had gone up to that village, they entered a house. (11) They (the inhabitants) laid food to eat. They brought a golden bowl. They placed it there, with water in it. They ate the food, but did not drink the water from that bowl. In the night the angel woke the monk, he said 'Get up! Take this bowl and come with me'. (12) They took the bowl in the night, took it away and threw it into a house enclosure. They took it from that enclosure, took it away and threw it into another one. He said 'What is lawful or unlawful in this? What is the difference (whether it is) in this enclosure or that one?' He said 'Come, come with me. Did I not say to you "Do everything I tell you"?' He said 'Yes'. (13) Then they went up into a mountain, a mountain with high rocks. An old man, whose age... that is his beard reached the ground, was carrying a load of wood on his back. He was sitting on a stone, like this. They passed by him, but did not even greet him. The angel said to the monk, he said 'Look how fit he is! Go and kick his back on the load (he is carrying) and let him go down (the mountain) and break his neck.' (14) He said 'What is there lawful or unlawful (in this)?' I shall not do what is unlawful.' He said 'Have you not promised me?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'Go on!' He went and kicked him, and he went down (the mountain) and broke his neck'. He said 'Why this, my brother? Why have you done this to me? I am seeking what is lawful and what is unlawful to God, and so forth, but why have you ruined me today<sup>4</sup> and done such a thing to me?' (15) He said 'What did you see before your eyes?' He said 'I saw, when I had sat there for forty years, had sat in that cave, that a horseman came, he came to a spring. He ate something. He left his money there and went off. Another man came. He took that money and went off. An old man came. The first man returned and killed that old man. Why?'

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: destroyed my house.



(16) *móre yǎðæt,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-gawáyə šqilile zùze<sup>1</sup> ʔáni zúzət bábe diyē,<sup>1</sup> dǝmmɛla.<sup>1</sup> ʔénile qṭilalle?<sup>2</sup> qṭilalle ʔo-náša sàwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyo ʔo-sáwa qəm-qaṭǎlle.<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yxàlǎf,<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya ðiyáli.<sup>1</sup> ʔina módi bəd-bròna<sup>1</sup> ʔiṭwala xámši-w xámša šǝnne<sup>1</sup> líṭwala bnòne?<sup>2</sup> har-ʔawɛwa.<sup>1</sup> (17) *móre xzi ṭ-amrǝnnux,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-màsyəθ.<sup>1</sup> mǝre<sup>1</sup> hál xámši-w xámša šǝnne<sup>1</sup> y-awɛwa sxáða ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> y-ámər ya-ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> yawətlən xa-bròna.<sup>1</sup> ʔimət ʔalàha yáwle ʔálléy bròna<sup>1</sup> šuréla manšóyǎlle ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> là txára ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-là-mšalɛwa qa-ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> har-dbíše b-bronèy.<sup>1</sup> là,<sup>1</sup> móre šaqlǎxle bronéy ta-t-taxrile ʔalàha xá-ga xèta.<sup>1</sup> ʔámər ma-yxàlǎf,<sup>1</sup> ʔap-ʔáyya qbiláli.<sup>1</sup> módi bəd-manáyə d-áyya ṭàsa<sup>1</sup> dàwa,<sup>1</sup> šqilálən m-àxxa,<sup>1</sup> nublálən gu-d-yáha dǝrta?<sup>2</sup> (18) *móre ʔáwɛwa bəṭha xǎlǎla-wɛwa<sup>1</sup> bás ʔáyya ṭasa dàwa<sup>1</sup> gnàwa-wawa gnúta.<sup>1</sup> ʔɛ-dértə zədyálux gáwa díya kúlla genàwɛla.<sup>1</sup> ʔalàha b-dayǝnna.<sup>1</sup> káwa ṭla-d-àni.<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yxàlǎf,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwɛwa náša sáwa ṭla-mó qəm-maqəṭlǎtɛ biyi?<sup>2</sup> (19) *ʔáwɛwa náša sáwa rába ṭàwa-wɛwa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-y-azǎlwa b-úrxət ʔalàha.<sup>1</sup> léwɛwa xlǎṭa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šuréle ʔajòze<sup>1</sup> yáʔni kǎxa.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-t-lá xǎlǎṭ<sup>1</sup> ṭ-ámər ya-ʔalàha šqùlli<sup>1</sup> ya-ʔalàha hátxa mǝnni.<sup>1</sup> qámət xǎlǎṭ.<sup>1</sup> (20) *ʔánna kúlla t-widǎli qámux<sup>1</sup> ðilux módila?<sup>2</sup> móre hé qəm-yǎðǝnna.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mǝre si-dúr l-šəpux,<sup>1</sup> ʔax-ʔarbi-šǝnne ṭ-it-ʔáti plixa qa-ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-pǎlxeti.<sup>1</sup> ʔána malàxən.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-lá-ʔawðət b-xábra diyí<sup>1</sup> gánux šaqlǎnna.<sup>1</sup> (21) *ʔámər xǎṭər ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xǎṭər mšixa,<sup>1</sup> bas-lá dáqrət biyi.<sup>1</sup> ṭ-ázən šəpi.<sup>1</sup> ṭ-axlǎnne lǎxmi hál ʔo-yómət mǝθən<sup>1</sup> har-ʔúrxət ʔalàha dóqən b-ìði.<sup>1</sup> šwiqáli tàma<sup>1</sup> ʔu-θéli lǎxxa.<sup>1</sup>******

(16) He said 'You know, the second one, who took the money, this is the money of his father, it is his blood (money). Who killed him? That old man killed him. Today that old man killed him'. He said 'Fine, I have understood this (now), but what about the child, (whose parents) had not had children for fifty-five years? He was the only one (they had)'. (17) He said 'Look, I'll tell you, so listen.' He said 'For fifty-five years they were worshipping God, he (the man) would say "Oh God, give us a son". When God gave them a son, they began to forget God, they did not remember God and did not pray to God. They were constantly attached to their son. No, he told us to take their son so that they remember God again.' He said 'Fine, I now accept that. What about the meaning of that golden bowl, which we took from here and took away to that house enclosure?' (18) He said 'That house was pure, but the bowl was stolen. The enclosure where you threw it, they are all robbers there. God will judge them. May they get what they deserve'.<sup>5</sup> He said 'Fine, but why did you make me kill that old man?' (19) 'That old man was very good and went in the way of God. He had not committed any (sinful) error. He started to get incapable and tired. In order for him not to commit an error, he said 'Oh God, take me, oh God, while I am like this', before he committed any error. (20) Do you now understand everything that I did before you?' He said 'Yes, I have understood them.' He said 'Go back to your place and continue to serve God as you have served him for forty years. I am an angel. If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life'. (21) He said 'For the sake of God and the Messiah, do not touch me. I shall go to my place. I'll eat my bread (there) and until the day I die I shall always keep to God's way'. I have left it there and come here.

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<sup>5</sup> Literally: Let it be for them.

A16 THE MONK WHO WANTED TO KNOW  
WHEN HE WOULD DIE

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) xa-ràbbən xéna,<sup>1</sup> ràbbən,<sup>1</sup> móre báyən t-yáðən 'ána 'iman méθən.<sup>1</sup> móre báyən t-yáðən 'ána 'iman méθəna.<sup>1</sup> mbùgrəle<sup>1</sup> mbútətele 'áxxa-w tàmma<sup>1</sup> móre 'iθən xà'a<sup>1</sup> hóle gu-Kàrkuk,<sup>1</sup> 'áw yáðe<sup>1</sup> 'iman méθən.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa yála<sup>1</sup> Dàwið-weəwa šəmme.<sup>1</sup> 'o-Dáwið mòdi šúle diye?<sup>1</sup> máxəwa darmàna<sup>1</sup> l-šàwle<sup>1</sup> xáyətwə šàwle.<sup>1</sup> (2) θíθəla xa-bràta<sup>1</sup> mxáya šáwla diya darmàna.<sup>1</sup> xázýlla 'áqla diya 'áxxa.<sup>1</sup> 'áw qiməle<sup>1</sup> 'éne diye wíðəlla kòre.<sup>1</sup> qəm-maxéla 'urədxə<sup>1</sup> gu-'éne diye.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər qa-mó gárag 'ázəl kúlla páxri gu-núra,<sup>1</sup> gu-jáhənnam.<sup>2</sup> bas-'əni t-xzəla 'əy xoš-'áza gu-jahənnam.<sup>1</sup> qəm-pərəla 'əne.<sup>1</sup> píšle Dáwið kòra.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'áwəwa náša ràbbən<sup>1</sup> šmíle gu-d-o-Dàwið.<sup>1</sup> 'ín 'ámər<sup>1</sup> túra mšanéle m-áxxa<sup>1</sup> mšanéle tāmaha,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wéwa krəstyána,<sup>1</sup> mhamənána b-'alaha.<sup>1</sup> 'o-ràbbən zúlle mṯéle l-Kàrkuk.<sup>1</sup> mboqərre<sup>1</sup> yába 'ékele<sup>1</sup> Dáwið kòra,<sup>1</sup> 'ékele māhálle diye<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa-w tàmma.<sup>1</sup> mṯéle<sup>1</sup> l-mahálle diye.<sup>1</sup> (4) 'imət mṯéle,<sup>1</sup> dréle šláma,<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazèle<sup>1</sup> dréle šláma 'álle diye,<sup>1</sup> šláma lləxu.<sup>1</sup> b-šéna b-ṯawəθa.<sup>1</sup> móre páqəð tū.<sup>1</sup> tūwe.<sup>1</sup> móre há xə,<sup>1</sup> mòdi báyət?<sup>1</sup> móre b-álaha hon-'əθya<sup>1</sup> 'ána báyən 'itli xáčča šúla mónnux.<sup>1</sup> móre mà-yxaləf.<sup>1</sup> parqənnə šúli<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-ásqəx l-bəθa.<sup>1</sup> (5) mára qiməle<sup>1</sup> hal-'ašərtə plixəle.<sup>1</sup> 'o-pəlxána t-íle plixəlle<sup>1</sup> ho-nášəla 'əθye<sup>1</sup> kásle diye<sup>1</sup> 'u-qiməla sìqe.<sup>1</sup> qám d-áyya qəššət<sup>1</sup> t-mirəli<sup>1</sup> Dáwið kòra<sup>1</sup> dbíšla bábe-w yəmme biye<sup>1</sup> móra 'álla magurəxlux.<sup>1</sup> yába kízle 'áxxa-w tàmma,<sup>1</sup> là-gawrən<sup>1</sup> mò-hoyali gwárta-w.<sup>2</sup> là-báyən,<sup>1</sup> 'ána là-gorən.<sup>1</sup> (6) kízla biye diye,<sup>1</sup> móra 'əlla gáwərt.<sup>1</sup> móre b-gáwərt.<sup>2</sup> magurítuli.<sup>2</sup> móra hə.<sup>1</sup> qiməla zúle xəzýe<sup>1</sup> 'a-bràta.<sup>1</sup> xa-bráta xəzýəlla<sup>1</sup> mùθyəlla.<sup>1</sup> móra 'áyya ṯaləxlà-llux.<sup>1</sup> 'imə t-íla múθyəlla 'a-bràta,<sup>1</sup> 'imə t-íla múθyəlla 'a-bráta 'əlle diye,<sup>1</sup> mbürxəlla.<sup>1</sup> (7) xàrθa<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'álla diya<sup>1</sup> t-amrənnəx xa-məndi.<sup>1</sup> móra mùr.<sup>1</sup> móre léwət 'ati<sup>1</sup> 'ə-bráta t-in-'ána wíðəlla gáni kóra b-rəšəx,<sup>1</sup> máxyəlla 'urədxə<sup>1</sup> gu-'əni.<sup>2</sup> móra yəhe.<sup>1</sup>

A16 THE MONK WHO WANTED TO KNOW  
WHEN HE WOULD DIE

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) Another monk, a monk, said 'I want to know when I shall die'. He said 'I want to know when I shall die'. He asked, he investigated here and there. He said 'There is somebody in Kirkuk who knows when I shall die. He is a lad called David.' What is the profession of that David? He used to polish shoes and sew shoes. (2) A girl came to have her shoes polished. He saw her leg here. He got up and made his eye blind. He stuck the needle into his eye. He said 'Why should all my body go to the fire, to Hell? Let only my eye, which saw it, go to Hell'. He burst his eye. He became blind David. (3) The monk had heard about that David that if he says he will move a mountain from here, he will move it there, so (devout) a Christian was he, so believing in God. The monk went to Kirkuk. He asked 'Now, where is blind David? Where is his place (of work)?' and so forth. He reached his place. (4) When he arrived, he greeted him, he saw him and greeted him 'Greetings to you!' 'You are welcome!' He said 'Please sit down!' He sat down. He said 'Now, what do you want?' He said 'By God, I have come, since I have some business I'd like to do with you'. He said 'Fine. I'll finish my job, then we shall go up to the house'. (5) So, he worked until the evening. He did the work.<sup>1</sup> People came to him and went away. Before this story that I have told you, the father and mother of blind David pressed him and said 'We must marry you'. He tried to (avoid it), in this way and that (and said) 'I shall not marry. What (good) would marriage be to me? I don't want it. I shall not marry'. (6) They tried (to persuade) him, saying 'You must marry'. He said 'Shall I marry? Will you marry me?' They said 'Yes'. They went to find the girl. They found a girl and brought her. They said 'We shall ask for her to be betrothed to you'. When they brought that girl, when they brought that girl to him, they wedded her (to him). (7) Afterwards he said to her 'I'd like to say something to you'. She said 'Tell me'. He said 'Are you not the girl on account of whom I made myself blind, by putting the needle into my eye?' She said 'Yes'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: (It is) the work that he did.

(8) *móre xzá t-amrənnəx.<sup>1</sup> la-<sup>2</sup>ámrxəx 'ána w-áti gáwra-w bəxta.<sup>1</sup> t-ámrxəx 'ána w-áti<sup>1</sup> xóna-w xàθa.<sup>1</sup> mbúrəllən l-gðàðe<sup>1</sup> ka-xóna 'u-xàθa,<sup>1</sup> lá ka-gáwra-w bəxta.<sup>1</sup> móra hè.<sup>1</sup> móre la-<sup>2</sup>ámrxət<sup>1</sup> tla-<sup>2</sup>əp-xa.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni xóna-w xáθewəx.<sup>1</sup> (9) mára qimsele,<sup>1</sup> báθəw hādəx,<sup>1</sup> θéle siqlə<sup>1</sup> kəs-Dáwið kóra 'ó rəbbən.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána báyəw t-yáðən 'iman məθən.<sup>1</sup> móre mayxələf<sup>1</sup> basitela.<sup>1</sup> xilela xa-rəmsə<sup>1</sup> 'u-priqela,<sup>1</sup> 'u-dəryəlle šiwiθa.<sup>1</sup> dmixele Dáwið kóra ləxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-bəxta dmixtela ləxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>o-rəbbən dmixele ləxxa.<sup>1</sup> múttela xa-sállət miya.<sup>1</sup> múttela qam-<sup>2</sup>aqlaθəy.<sup>1</sup> (10) sállət miya yáðət mèla?<sup>1</sup> béna miya kálye gu-sállə?<sup>1</sup> béna 'əw<sup>1</sup> ma-t-íwa hal-hādəx,<sup>1</sup> báyəwa qa-<sup>2</sup>aləha<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>aləha báyəwale,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-miya muklèle gu-d-ε-sállə.<sup>1</sup> (11) 'ánna léla dmixe,<sup>1</sup> 'o-rəbbən múttəlla 'áqlə díye rš-áqəl bəxta.<sup>1</sup> rrrrr<sup>1</sup> miya šályela b-rešəy.<sup>1</sup> móre há xəzəx<sup>1</sup> mù wídlux rəbbən?<sup>1</sup> móre cū-məndi,<sup>1</sup> xđárəwəwə l-əy-goti,<sup>1</sup> 'áqlə tíwəla š-<sup>2</sup>áqlət bəxta.<sup>1</sup> móre qu-plút m-əxxa!<sup>1</sup> 'áti xa-nása xərəmət.<sup>1</sup> móre 'úp 'aləha la-yáðe 'áti 'iman məθéti.<sup>1</sup> 'u-tríðəlle m-gu-bèθa<sup>1</sup> ziləle.<sup>1</sup>*

(8) He said 'Look, let me say (this) to you: Let's not say that I and you are husband and wife. Let us say that I and you are brother and sister. They have wed us together while we are brother and sister, and not husband and wife'. She said 'Yes'. He said 'Do not tell anybody. We are brother and sister.' (9) So, after this the monk came up to visit blind David. He said 'I want to know when I shall die'. He said 'Fine. It is easy'. They ate dinner and finished (the meal), then he made him up a bed. Blind David slept here, the woman slept here and the monk slept here. They had put out a basket of water, they put it in front of their legs. (10) Do you know what a basket of water is? But, can water stay in a basket? He was so (holy), he loved God and God loved him, that he made even water stay in the basket. (11) While they were asleep, the monk put his leg onto the leg of the woman, rrrrr, the water came down onto their heads. He said 'Oh look, what have you done, monk?' He said 'Nothing. I was turning over to my (other) side and my leg fell on the leg of the woman'. He said 'Get up and get out of here! You are a villainous person'. He said 'Even God does not know when you will die'. He drove him from the house and he went away.

## A17 THE WISE YOUNG MAN

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'íθwa xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> gòra<sup>1</sup> zála b-'ùrxa.<sup>1</sup> zílle xá taqriban pálgə-sa'əta, xá-sa'əta, b-'ùrxa,<sup>1</sup> xa-yála zóra... là-zora,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mótya... tmanessər, 'əsri-šənnə,<sup>1</sup> zílle bàre.<sup>1</sup> zílle bàre dīye<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazéle xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> mīθa<sup>1</sup> nabólalle m̄tamòrəlle.<sup>1</sup> (2) 'o-yála zòra<sup>1</sup> 'ábu 'əsri-šənnə<sup>1</sup> móre tla-d-ó gòra,<sup>1</sup> náša gòra,<sup>1</sup> móre xàli<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa náša mīθele 'ən-b-xàyele.<sup>21</sup> móre hay-hátxa-w hátxa m̄nnux.<sup>1</sup> la-hóle mīθa.<sup>1</sup> lət-xzàya bíye dīye t-íle mīθa.<sup>21</sup> hóla nabólalle m̄tamòrəlle.<sup>1</sup> w-áti hot-màra<sup>1</sup> mīθele 'ən-b-xàye.<sup>21</sup> la-hóle mīθa.<sup>1</sup> (3) zìlele,<sup>1</sup> lèle rhíwa.<sup>1</sup> zìlele xa-fàtra<sup>1</sup> m̄tyela,<sup>1</sup> xəzyéla nərə,<sup>1</sup> mīya.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər xàli<sup>1</sup> lá 'awðáxle 'áwowa gəšra<sup>1</sup> šáwrəx réša réša d-ánna mīya.<sup>21</sup> ham-mšawòre 'álle dīye.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána m-éka mēθónnux qèse.<sup>21</sup> m-éka mēθónnux bəzmàre.<sup>21</sup> m-éka mēθónnux nasàrta<sup>1</sup> ta-t-nasrənnux qèse t-odónnux gəšra,<sup>1</sup> šáwrəx réše réše dīye.<sup>21</sup> ham-móre ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> (4) qímela síqela b-xa-tùra.<sup>1</sup> mære 'álle dīye<sup>1</sup> xàli<sup>1</sup> námú la-'awðáxle 'áwowa tura<sup>1</sup> dārajyàθa,<sup>1</sup> dārəje,<sup>1</sup> t-ásqəx l-áwowa tura.<sup>21</sup> móre hay<sup>1</sup> kálba brət-kálba<sup>1</sup> t-úwət xa-xəna.<sup>1</sup> m-éka píšlux baláya 'əlli.<sup>21</sup> móre 'ána m-éka mēθónnux kulənga,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mēθónnux kəpe<sup>1</sup> 'u-mēθónnux čimànto<sup>1</sup> 'u-ta-t-odónnux dārəje<sup>1</sup> 'u-ta-t-ásqət rəša dīya.<sup>21</sup> (5) 'áwowa yála là rhíwle.<sup>1</sup> píðela síqela tura.<sup>1</sup> síqela,<sup>1</sup> dàšta-wawa<sup>1</sup> 'u-ðá m̄dita gòrta,<sup>1</sup> tàma.<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa lítle náše gu-d-a-m̄dita.<sup>1</sup> 'o-náša sàwa<sup>1</sup> móre tla-d-ó-yala zòra,<sup>1</sup> mære<sup>1</sup> 'éka t-ázət.<sup>21</sup> 'ána čú-dukθa lítli.<sup>1</sup> t-ázəm gu-jàma.<sup>1</sup> xámən gu-jàma.<sup>1</sup> (6) 'áwowa qíma zíla l-bèθe dīye<sup>1</sup> 'o-náša gòra.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale xa-bràta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-zàngīn-wewa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwale qàsra.<sup>1</sup> qàsre dīye spày-wewa.<sup>1</sup> mára qiməle,<sup>1</sup> wírele gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> bráte dīye mára há bàbi,<sup>1</sup> dāx-wawa 'úrxux.<sup>21</sup> spày-itwa.<sup>21</sup> 'əθyət rāhat,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là.<sup>21</sup> (7) móre bráti rába rāhat-inwa,<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'əθyēle xa-yála,<sup>1</sup> xa-'asòta.<sup>1</sup> m̄čəzəlla xəyàli.<sup>1</sup> mára dàxi.<sup>21</sup> móre 'əθyəx<sup>1</sup> mótəx pálgət 'ùrxa<sup>1</sup> xa-náša hóle mīθa,<sup>1</sup> zála m̄tamòrəlle.<sup>1</sup> hóle mára mīθele 'ən-b-xàye.<sup>21</sup> la-hóle mīθa,<sup>1</sup> hola-zála m̄tamòrəlle.<sup>1</sup>

A17 THE WISE YOUNG MAN

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was once a man, an elderly man, who was going along the road. He went along for about half an hour, an hour, along the road. A young boy... not young, that is one who was eighteen or twenty years old, followed him. He followed him and saw a dead person, whom they were taking to bury. (2) The youth, who was twenty years old, said to the older man, the older person, he said 'Uncle, is that person dead or alive?' He said 'This and that (curse) be upon you. He is indeed dead. Don't you see that he is dead? They are taking him to bury and you say "Is he alive or dead?"'. He is indeed dead'. (3) He went along and did not speak. After a while, they came upon a river,<sup>1</sup> water. He said 'Uncle, should we not make a bridge for it so that we can cross over this water?' He cursed him again. He said 'From where should I bring you wood? From where should I bring you nails? From where should I bring you a saw so that I could saw for you the wood to make a bridge, so we can cross it?' He said again 'Fine'. (4) They went up a mountain. He said to him 'Uncle, should we not make for this mountain steps, so that we can go up the mountain?' He said 'Oh, you dog son of a dog, who are another (son of a dog)! Why<sup>2</sup> are you such a trouble to me?' He said 'From where could I bring you a pickaxe, or bring you stones, or bring you cement, so that I could make steps for you to go up?' (5) The youth did not speak. They passed on and went up the mountain. They went up, there was a plain, with a big town there. He had no relatives in that town. The old man said to the youth, he said 'Where will you go?' 'I have nowhere to go. I'll go to the mosque. I'll stay in the mosque.' (6) The elderly man went to his house. He had a daughter. He was rich and had a large residence. His residence was (very) fine. Now, he went into the house and his daughter said 'Oh, father, how was your journey? Was it good? Was it peaceful or not?' (7) He said 'My daughter, I was very peaceful, but a tiresome youth came along and annoyed me'. She said 'What happened?'<sup>3</sup> '(When) we reached the middle of the journey, (we found) a man had died and they were going to bury him. He says "Is he dead or alive?"' He was indeed dead, they were going to bury him'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: they arrived and they saw a river.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: from where.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: How?



(8) *mára bábi mò mórux-alle?*<sup>1</sup> *máre qəm-şarənnə.*<sup>1</sup> *ta-mò<sup>1</sup> bábi?*<sup>1</sup> *la-<sup>2</sup>aw-dūs-zewwa!*<sup>1</sup>  
*máre dāx t-ile-dūs?*<sup>1</sup> *hóla zála m̄tamòrəlle.*<sup>1</sup> *mára hè bábi,*<sup>1</sup> *hè.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mòdi-xenət xázya?*<sup>2</sup>

(9) *máre ʔəθyax xa-néra benàθən!*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mára!*<sup>1</sup> *bábi t-òðaxle gəşra.*<sup>1</sup> *mári m-éka mēθónne*  
*qèse,*<sup>1</sup> *m-éka mēθónne bəzmàre!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-nasàrta,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-òðənnə gəşra!*<sup>1</sup> *şawər réşe réşe.*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi*  
*márux-alle?*<sup>2</sup> *máre m̄şuwərrı ʔəlle díye.*<sup>1</sup> (10) *máre θələn b-áwwa túra şima.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle*  
*mára t̄lali!*<sup>1</sup> *t-òðaxle dārəje xáli.*<sup>1</sup> *mári ʔána m-éka mēθən kulənga,*<sup>1</sup> *m-éka mēθéna*  
*čimànto,*<sup>1</sup> *m-éka mēθən kəpe!*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-òðənnə dārəje ta-t-ásəq gu-réşe.*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi m̀rux-alle?*<sup>2</sup>  
*máre qəm-şarənnə.*<sup>1</sup> (11) *lá bábi,*<sup>1</sup> *là!*<sup>1</sup> *lèka zille?*<sup>2</sup> *zille gu-jàma.*<sup>1</sup> *mára ma-yxələf!*  
*m̄şádrən mēxòlta ʔəlle díye,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔixàla.*<sup>1</sup> *qim̄tela,*<sup>1</sup> *şliqta!*<sup>1</sup> *bəʔe,*<sup>1</sup> *şawwa bəʔe.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-muttéθela*  
*t̄lathi ləxme!*<sup>1</sup> *gu-čànta.*<sup>1</sup> *mára bábi nábəlla gu-jàma!*<sup>1</sup> *hàlle!*<sup>1</sup> (12) *áwwa zilele b-ʔurxa,*<sup>1</sup>  
*xa-bəta!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xa-ləxma xiləlla.*<sup>1</sup> *zilele nubləlla!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəlle díye.*<sup>1</sup> *máre hà!*<sup>1</sup> *áwwa ʔixàla!*<sup>1</sup> *t̄lax,*<sup>1</sup>  
*xùl!*<sup>1</sup> *p̄θixəlla xəzyəlla,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina ʔəştà-beʔe.*<sup>1</sup> *ləxma p̄θixle!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina xáze ʔsri ʔəçça ləxme.*<sup>1</sup>

(13) *ámər là bəyónna,*<sup>1</sup> *şqúl!*<sup>1</sup> *ámər t̄la-mòdi?*<sup>2</sup> *máre ʔəxni!*<sup>1</sup> *kəslən!*<sup>1</sup> *şəbθa!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔila şawwà-*  
*yome!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-yàrxa!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔile t̄lathi-yome.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəxtu şəbθəxu ʔəştà-yomela?*<sup>2</sup> *yàrxəxu ʔsri-w-ʔəçça-*  
*yomele?*<sup>2</sup> *là bəyónna.*<sup>1</sup> *şqúl si!*<sup>1</sup> *qim̄ele şqila-ʔani!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-müdəryəlla.*<sup>1</sup> *nubləlla qa-bráte díye.*<sup>1</sup>

(14) *mára hà bábi,*<sup>1</sup> *mára xázəx müdəryilux.*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-mò?*<sup>2</sup> *máre ʔo-mára hətxa,*<sup>1</sup> *hətxa.*<sup>1</sup>  
*nublili!*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mára t̄lali!*<sup>1</sup> *lè y-axlənna.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəxni şəbθəni!*<sup>1</sup> *şawwà yománəla!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-yàrxəni*  
*t̄lathi yómele.*<sup>1</sup> *məre!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəxtu şəbθəxu ʔila ʔəştà-yome!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-yàrxəxu ʔile ʔsri-w-ʔəçça-*  
*yome.*<sup>1</sup> *máre là bəyónna,*<sup>1</sup> *si.*<sup>1</sup> (15) *mára dūs!*<sup>1</sup> *bábi.*<sup>1</sup> *b-ʔurxa!*<sup>1</sup> *lát-xila xa-ləxma-w xa-bəta?*<sup>2</sup>  
*máre yè.*<sup>1</sup> *máre m-éka ðile?*<sup>2</sup> *mára ʔána muttəθənwə yománə şəbθa!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-muttəθənwə*  
*yománət yàrxa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati xa-bəta hot-şqiləlla mən-şəbθa!*<sup>1</sup> *píşe ʔəştà-yome.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xa-ləxma*  
*hot-şqiləlle mən-yàrxa,*<sup>1</sup> *hóla píşe ʔsri-w-ʔəçça-yome.*<sup>1</sup> (16) *mára bábi hawnənəle.*<sup>1</sup>  
*si-méθəlle ləxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-məra!*<sup>1</sup> *imə t-itu ʔəθye,*<sup>1</sup> *xəzye!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-náşa miθa,*<sup>1</sup> *yáðət módi-wawə*  
*qázde díye?*<sup>2</sup> *mərəwə!*<sup>1</sup> *har-ʔəwwele!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-ʔitle nawəge,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-ʔitle bəba,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-ʔitle yəm̄ma,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔən-ʔitle xonəwəθa?*<sup>2</sup>

(8) She said ‘Father, what did you say to him?’ He said ‘I cursed him’. ‘Why father? He was indeed right!’ He said ‘How was he right? They were going to bury him’. She said ‘Father, and what else did you see?’ (9) He said ‘We came to a river between us (and the town). He says “My friend, let’s make a bridge for it”. I asked from where I should bring him wood, from where I should bring him nails and a saw so that I could make a bridge for him to cross over’. ‘What did you say to him?’ He said ‘I cursed him’. (10) He said ‘We came to this huge mountain. He says to me “Let’s make steps for it, my uncle”. I asked him from where I should bring a pickaxe, from where should I bring cement, from where I should bring stones to make him steps to climb it’. ‘What did you say to him?’ He said ‘I cursed him’. (11) ‘No, father, no! Where has he gone?’ ‘He has gone to the mosque’. She said ‘Fine. I shall send food to him, some food’. She boiled eggs, seven eggs, and put thirty loaves of bread in a basket. She said ‘Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him’. (12) He went off on the road and ate one egg and one loaf of bread. He went and took them to him. He said ‘Here is some food for you. Eat it!’ He opened it and saw that there were six eggs. He opened (the basket of) bread and saw that there were twenty-nine loaves of bread. (13) He said ‘I don’t want them. Take them!’ ‘Why (not)?’ He said ‘A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days. Is your week six weeks? Is your month twenty-nine days? I don’t want them. Take them and go!’ He took them and returned them. He took them to his daughter. (14) She said ‘Oh father’, she said ‘I see you have brought them back. Why?’ He said ‘He says such-and-such has happened. I took them and he says to me “I shall not eat them. Our week is seven days and our month is thirty days”. He said “Your week is six days and your month is twenty-nine days”. He said “I don’t want them, go away!”’ (15) She said ‘(He’s) right, father. On the way did you not eat a loaf of bread and an egg?’ He said ‘Yes’. He said ‘How did he know?’ She said ‘I had put (in the basket the number of) the days of the week and I had put (the number of) the days of the month. You took an egg from the week and it became six days. You took a loaf of bread from the month, and it became twenty-nine days’. (16) She said ‘Father, he is clever. Go and bring him here’. She said ‘When you came and saw that dead man, do you know what his intention was? He meant<sup>4</sup> “Is he alone or does he have grandchildren, does he have a father, does he have a mother, does he have brothers?”’

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: He was saying.

(17) 'imə-t mərə<sup>1</sup> har-<sup>2</sup>awwəle<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là.<sup>2</sup> m̩θele<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là.<sup>2</sup> xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bába la-yámma la-<sup>2</sup>áp-xa,<sup>1</sup> 'áw y-amrile<sup>1</sup> lítle náše.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa m̩θele.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa mádam 'ithwale<sup>1</sup> bāxta,<sup>1</sup> 'ithwale bnòne,<sup>1</sup> 'ithwale náše,<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa lèle míθa.<sup>1</sup> (18) móre dūs-üwət.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ína m-èka<sup>1</sup> t-óðəm<sup>2</sup>wale góšra.<sup>2</sup> 'aw-móre là t-óðítli góšra b-qèsa<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa-w támma.<sup>1</sup> xa-männéxu tayánwa 'o-xèna,<sup>1</sup> tayánwale l-xàše,<sup>1</sup> payášwa góšra.<sup>1</sup> xà-männéxu b-taréwa<sup>1</sup> 'o-xèna là taréwa.<sup>1</sup> móre dūs-it<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>áyya.<sup>1</sup> (19) móra b-túra,<sup>1</sup> 'imə thélexu sáqa l-túra,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-là-zeewa qázde díye ta-t-xaprítu tura.<sup>1</sup> móre t-amrítu tuniyáθa,<sup>1</sup> mšawθítu m-góðəde,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-túra ja-jálde pàrəq.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-lèwa qázde díye ta-t-ázət 'awóðtle xaprítle tura,<sup>1</sup> 'awóðtle dārəje<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa-w támma.<sup>1</sup> móre b-álaha dūs-it.<sup>1</sup> (20) si-múrre t-áθe làxxa.<sup>1</sup> qíməle zíla xá-ga xèta,<sup>1</sup> mírəlle 'u-<sup>2</sup>ðyēle.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyēle l-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> wírele gu-béθa xəzyəlle,<sup>1</sup> 'ámər<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa tārəxu pçílele.<sup>1</sup> bábət bráta mərə<sup>1</sup> m-èkele pçíla.<sup>2</sup> har-gubbān-ix wíðəlle.<sup>1</sup> ya-nàša<sup>1</sup> hot-mára hātxa.<sup>1</sup> mùt hole-pçíla.<sup>2</sup> 'o-tára drəst-ile,<sup>1</sup> lèle pçíla.<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa l-támma.<sup>1</sup> (21) xárθa mərə<sup>1</sup>—mšuwótlə m-góðəde,<sup>1</sup> yála-w yálta<sup>1</sup>—móra 'ána bāyānmux.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ap-<sup>2</sup>ána bāyānməx.<sup>1</sup> gwírela l-góðəde.<sup>1</sup> gwíre l-góðəde,<sup>1</sup> málka<sup>1</sup> šmíle<sup>1</sup> 'al-<sup>2</sup>asās<sup>1</sup> xa-yála hóle 'əθya táma kəsləy,<sup>1</sup> rába hawnānele,<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>up-báxte díye<sup>1</sup> t-íle gwírəlla<sup>1</sup> rába hawnāntela.<sup>1</sup> (22) yíwle xábra ta-d-ò-yala<sup>1</sup> móre t-ázət 'askariya.<sup>1</sup> móre t-ázət 'askariya,<sup>1</sup> lázəm 'àzeti.<sup>1</sup> kút 'áθe gu-<sup>2</sup>úpra díyi<sup>1</sup> lázəm 'áwəð 'askariya.<sup>1</sup> 'awəwa 'askariya díye<sup>1</sup> t-là-kəma dánəla.<sup>2</sup> qa-t-là-yarxe.<sup>1</sup> móra qíməle<sup>1</sup> móre ma-yxələf,<sup>1</sup> t-àzena.<sup>1</sup> (23) 'áwəwa ðíle<sup>1</sup> manay-díye mòdila.<sup>1</sup> qíməle mtúrşəlla xa-táxta,<sup>1</sup> wíðəlla semálta.<sup>1</sup> múttəlla gu-ħādiqa,<sup>1</sup> mpúltele bəzməre.<sup>1</sup> kúlla<sup>1</sup> mən-<sup>2</sup>əltəx<sup>1</sup> wíðəlla bəzməre.<sup>1</sup> 'ítte tára gu-ħādiqa<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ítte dārəgə-žigən.<sup>1</sup> xa-béna 'áwəwa zílele,<sup>1</sup> l-àskar.<sup>1</sup> (24) 'áwəwa xèna<sup>1</sup> théle málka b-lèle.<sup>1</sup> théle málka b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> síqle gáwa-gawət ħādiqa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-síqle b-dārəje.<sup>1</sup> síqle wírre kəs-bràta.<sup>1</sup> wírre kəs-bràta<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'ədléle 'arxa t-áwəm láxxa kəsləx.<sup>1</sup> móra málka dax-lítlux xətə.<sup>1</sup> (25) móra t-ázəm máθyən xáčca štəθa,<sup>1</sup> mázza,<sup>1</sup> məndi-hàle,<sup>1</sup> t-átwəx šátəx 'ána w-àti.<sup>1</sup> qímtəla zíltəla<sup>1</sup> ja-jálde muθéθəlla štəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-tiwəla.<sup>1</sup> muθéθəla tré glāse.<sup>1</sup> t-la-d-áy dráyəla xáčca<sup>1</sup> t-la-d-áw rəba.<sup>1</sup> 'a-d-áy m̩láyəlla kúlle míya<sup>1</sup> 'a-d-áw har-məlyə.<sup>1</sup> štáyəla-w práqəla bíya díya<sup>1</sup>

(17) That is, when he said “Is he alone or not? Is he dead or not?”, (this is because) a man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody, they say that he has no relatives. He is dead (in this case). So long as he had a wife, he had sons, he had relatives, he is not dead’.

(18) He said ‘You are right. But from where could I have made him a bridge?’ ‘He did not mean “Make me a bridge of wood” and so forth. (Rather his meaning was that) one of you should carry the other, carry him on his back, and he would become a bridge. One of you would get wet and the other would not get wet’. He said ‘You are right, also in this’.

(19) She said ‘On the mountain, when you came to go up the mountain, it was not his intention that you should dig the mountain. He meant that you should tell stories, you should speak with one another, so that the mountain would finish quickly. It was not his intention that you should go and dig the mountain and make him steps, and so forth’. He said ‘By God, you are right’.

(20) ‘Go and tell him to come here’. He went again and told him, and he came. He came to the house. He entered the house and saw it, then said ‘This door of yours is crooked’. The father of the girl said ‘How can it be crooked? We made it exactly according to a spirit-level, man, but you say that! What (do you mean by saying) it is crooked?! The door is straight, it is not crooked’. And so forth.

(21) Afterwards she said—the boy and girl talked with one another—she said ‘I love you’. He said ‘I also love you’. They married one another. They married one another and the king heard that a young man had come to their home, that he was very clever and that also his wife, whom he had married, was very clever.

(22) He gave an instruction to that youth saying ‘You have to go to the army’. He said ‘You have to go to the army, you must go’. Everybody who comes to my land, must serve in the army’. For what time is this army of his for? For three months. So, he said ‘Fine, I’ll go’.

(23) He knew what his intention was. He constructed a board and made it into a ladder. He put them in the garden. He fetched nails and put all the nails underneath. There was a door in the garden and there was also a main gate. Then he went to the army.

(24) The other, the king, came at night. The king came at night and went up through the garden. He went up the steps, he went up and went in (to visit) the girl. He went in (to visit) the girl. He said ‘Tonight I shall be a guest in your home’. She said ‘Oh king, you are welcome’.

(25) She said ‘I shall go and bring some drink, nibbles, and so on, so that we can sit and drink, you and me’. She went and quickly brought drink and they sat down. She brought two glasses. For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot. She fills hers all with water. His was continuously full. They drink and finish it.

(26) *móra də-yàlla,*<sup>1</sup> *jàlde,*<sup>1</sup> *ští ta-t-dàmɣəx.*<sup>1</sup> *málka rwèle.*<sup>1</sup> *rwèle*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-doqále*  
*p-àqle,*<sup>1</sup> *xrrr garšále nablále gu-čàčma,*<sup>1</sup> *w-ačmále tára bàre.*<sup>1</sup> *'ay-θéla dmixla gu-òtəx*  
*díya.*<sup>1</sup> *xlíqla tára,*<sup>1</sup> *dmixla.*<sup>1</sup> (27) *wítela qedámta sáət 'árpa b-lèle,*<sup>1</sup> *rišele*<sup>1</sup> *málka*<sup>1</sup>  
*'ína gu-čàčma.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa léle múdwa*<sup>1</sup> *ja-jálde pθíxəlle tára,*<sup>1</sup> *riqele.*<sup>1</sup> *riqa zìlele.*<sup>1</sup> *zìlele,*<sup>1</sup>  
*qedámta qímtela bràta-w*<sup>1</sup> *mxúláltəlla 'ay-dùkθa*<sup>1</sup> *'áxxa-w tàmma.*<sup>1</sup> (28) *báθər tlá-*  
*yarxe θéle yàla.*<sup>1</sup> *θéle yàla,*<sup>1</sup> *zille rá'san qəm-xazéle dāvəje*<sup>1</sup> *'ína dāwa*<sup>1</sup> *liqa b-bəzmāre.*<sup>1</sup>  
*léle múttəlla 'áqle diyə*<sup>1</sup>—*sáwəət málka*<sup>1</sup> *'iwéwa dāwa*<sup>1</sup>—*múttəlla rš-d-ən bəzmāre,*<sup>1</sup>  
*'o-bəzmāra xila mən-dāwa,*<sup>1</sup> *šqila mən-dāwa.*<sup>1</sup> (29) *māre málka hóle 'əθya lāxxa kəs-*  
*bāxti.*<sup>1</sup> *'əθyele,*<sup>1</sup> *qóryəlle xəmyáne diyə.*<sup>1</sup> *māre háyyo t-amrənnux.*<sup>1</sup> *māre há xər,*<sup>1</sup> *mòdila.*<sup>21</sup>  
*māre háyyo*<sup>1</sup> *'ána brátux là bǎyənna.*<sup>1</sup> (30) *māre sí-mur tla-málka.*<sup>1</sup> *'iθwali xa-kārma.*<sup>1</sup>  
*zriyəmwale*<sup>1</sup> *múttə-wəwa dalyáθa 'u-xabúše 'u-kúll xa-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *múttə-wəwa 'ixála.*<sup>1</sup> *θéle*  
*xa-nāša qəm-šaqqəlle 'o-kārmi.*<sup>1</sup> *lá-karmi lele-mādōre*<sup>1</sup> *'u-la-háqqət kārmi lele-yāwa.*<sup>1</sup>  
*si-hátxa múrgən tla-málka*<sup>1</sup> *xzi-mò b-mjawəblux málka.*<sup>1</sup> (31) *qíməle xəmyána diyə*<sup>1</sup>  
*zille kəs-málka.*<sup>1</sup> *'imə zille kəs-málka,*<sup>1</sup> *dūwənt málka hóle mliθa náše rābe.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla 'əθye*  
*'itléy šārāte t-amríla qa-málka.*<sup>1</sup> *'aw-tíwəle xarəya.*<sup>1</sup> *mboqərre mən-d-o-qamāya*<sup>1</sup> *módit*  
*'əθya.*<sup>21</sup> *módi šārət diyux?*<sup>2</sup> *módi mquma 'əllux?*<sup>21</sup> *'o-qamāya mirəle,*<sup>1</sup> *'o-t-tré mirəle,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ha-t-mtəle gárra 'əlle diyə.*<sup>1</sup> (32) *mṭéle gárra 'əlle diyə*<sup>1</sup> *māre 'āti*<sup>1</sup> *módila qəšəət diyux.*<sup>21</sup>  
*māre ya-málka t-áwəət basíma.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle 'əθya xa-nāša.*<sup>1</sup> *'iθwale xa-kārma.*<sup>1</sup> *zriyəmwale*  
*b-iθəθi*<sup>1</sup> *'u-rábənwa kčixa bíye diyə.*<sup>1</sup> *ha-t-qa-mamṭónna tunte diyə.*<sup>1</sup> (33) *'imət mṭéla*  
*tunte diyə,*<sup>1</sup> *θéle xa-nāša,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-šaqqəlla 'e-tunte diyə.*<sup>1</sup> *'o-kārmi qəm-šaqqəlle.*<sup>1</sup> *lá-karmi*  
*léle mādōre*<sup>1</sup> *'u-lá háqqət kārmi lele yāwa.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána hírən b-gəni*<sup>1</sup> *mò bǎyən t-odéna*<sup>1</sup> *lan-*  
*mšəya čü-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *w-āti mò t-amrətli.*<sup>21</sup> (34) *māre 'ána marən-əllux*<sup>1</sup> *hé dūs,*<sup>1</sup> *'iθwalux*  
*'o-kārma.*<sup>1</sup> *'ína wírele gáwe diyə 'arya*<sup>1</sup> *'u-pliṭele tēla.*<sup>1</sup> *māra 'imə t-ile*<sup>1</sup> *mírəlle hátxa,*<sup>1</sup>  
*'áwəwa xəmyáne diyə léle dṭya módila manəy.*<sup>1</sup> *málka dīle.*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle díya 'əθyele.*<sup>1</sup> *māre*  
*tla-yàla*<sup>1</sup> *māre hátxa mjuwəble 'əlli málka.*<sup>1</sup> *māre mòdi māre.*<sup>21</sup> (35) *māre hé dūs*<sup>1</sup> *'iθwalux*  
*kārma*<sup>1</sup> *'u-θéle náša qəm-šaqqəlle mánnox*<sup>1</sup> *'u-la-hàqqa yíwəle*<sup>1</sup> *'u-la-kərmux müdərre.*<sup>1</sup>  
*'ína wírele gáwe diyə 'arya*<sup>1</sup> *'ína pliṭele max-tála*<sup>1</sup> *m-gu-kārma.*<sup>1</sup> *māre dūs hátxa māre.*<sup>21</sup>  
*māre hē.*<sup>1</sup> *māre 'ána m-díya m-bəθər*<sup>1</sup> *brátux bǎyənna.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xətna l-bəθa pəšəna.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-hadíya*  
*dīli 'ána manəy diyux módila*<sup>1</sup> *'u-t-málka.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-háwəət basíma rāba.*<sup>1</sup>

(26) She said 'Come, quickly, drink so that we can go to sleep'. The king became drunk. He became drunk and she grasped him by his legs, dragged him along and took him to the bathroom, then closed the door behind him. She came back and went to sleep in her room. She locked the door and went to sleep. (27) In the morning, at four o'clock in the morning, the king woke up (and saw) that he was in the bathroom. He did not delay and quickly opened the door, then ran away. He ran and went away. He went away and in the morning the girl got up and cleaned the place, and so forth. (28) After three months the young man came back. (After) the young man came back, he went immediately and saw that on the steps gold had stuck to the nails. While he placed his foot—the shoes of the king were made of gold—he placed them on the nails, the nail ate the gold, took some of the gold. (29) He said 'The king has come here to visit my wife.' He came back and called his father-in-law. He said 'Come. I'll tell you'. He said 'Is everything all right? What is the matter?' He said 'Come. I don't love your daughter'. (30) He said 'Go and tell the king "I had an orchard. I had cultivated it. It was laid out with vines, apple-trees, everything. It was laid out with food. A man came and took away my orchard. He does not return my orchard nor does he pay the price". Go and say this to the king. See what the king replies'. (31) His father-in-law went to the king. When he went to the king, the audience chamber of the king was full of many people. They had all come with cases to present to the king. He sat last (in the queue). He (The king) asked the first one 'Why have you come? What is your case? What has befallen you?' The first one told him (his case), the second one told him, until his turn came. (32) His turn came, he (the king) said 'What is your story?' He said 'King, may you be well. A man has come (to me). He had an orchard. (He said) "I had cultivated it with my hands and toiled greatly in it in order to make it produce its fruit. (33) When its fruit became ripe, a man came and took its fruit. He took my orchard. He is neither returning my orchard nor paying the price of my orchard. I am confused as to what I should do. I cannot do anything. What do you say to me?"' (34) He (the king) said 'I say to you: Yes, it's true. You had an orchard. But a lion entered it and came out as a fox'. Now, when he said that to him, his father-in-law did not understand what the meaning was. The king knew. He came back. He said to the young man, he said 'The king replied to me in this way'. He said 'What did he say?' (35) He said 'It is true. You had an orchard and a person came and took it from you. He did not pay its price nor did he return your orchard. A lion entered the orchard and came out as a fox'. He said 'Did he really say that?' He said 'Yes'. He said 'I from now on love your daughter and shall become a son-in-law in the house. I now know what you mean and what the king means'. Thank you.

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune)

(1) 'iθwa xa-mālka.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale 'árba bnòne.<sup>1</sup> 'an-'árba bnòne,<sup>1</sup> δá-xaθa tlibəlla,<sup>1</sup> δá-xaθa yaḵànta.<sup>1</sup> bás bǎyéwa δá-xaθa yaḵànta.<sup>1</sup> qəm-hawéla xáθa yaḵànta.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-xáθa yaḵànta<sup>1</sup> zòrta-wawa.<sup>1</sup> gu-dargúšta qəmàwa,<sup>1</sup> šaryáwa bǎnúda díya<sup>1</sup> 'u-'azáwa gu-màθa,<sup>1</sup> 'axláwa xa-bròna,<sup>1</sup> 'aθyàwa,<sup>1</sup> damxàwa.<sup>1</sup> (2) 'áp-xa lè-y-yǎðewa bíya díya.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa škáya qa-mālka.<sup>1</sup> málka t-áwət basíma,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya mut-máθela.<sup>2</sup> 'ánna mut-hàrs-it mattóye.<sup>2</sup> bróni hóle xila 'ədléle,<sup>1</sup> gu-dargúšta dmíxa.<sup>1</sup> dǎx hàtxa báre 'o-móndi.<sup>2</sup> (3) móre so-dúqu náwoba.<sup>1</sup> zilla dǎwíqla náwoba l-ǎyà'ha qunǰíltá t-hódəx,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya gu-d-ε-qunǰíltá xèta.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-dártət-yoma qímila,<sup>1</sup> dártət-yoma zilla wídla hàdəx.<sup>1</sup> b-léle qímila šárya bǎnúda díya,<sup>1</sup> t-àza,<sup>1</sup> pθixla tǎra qðila.<sup>1</sup> zilla xilla xà-yala xéna<sup>1</sup> 'u-θéla dmíxla.<sup>1</sup> (4) hár hola-škàya<sup>1</sup> har-líba fáyda.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-dártət-yoma hàdəx,<sup>1</sup> yómət t!àθa.<sup>1</sup> yómət 'àrba<sup>1</sup> xóna díya 'o-zóra řišle,<sup>1</sup> 'o-zórət kùlla.<sup>1</sup> nřirre 'əlla-díya.<sup>1</sup> nřirre.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áwəwa móndi hàtxele.<sup>1</sup> kléle,<sup>1</sup> kléle.<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazèla.<sup>1</sup> là-glele qamáye.<sup>1</sup> (5) móre xázən 'áp 'ədléle mjàrbəm.<sup>1</sup> xázən 'áp 'ədléle t-áθε náše škáya ta-bàbi.<sup>1</sup> bǎbi málkele.<sup>1</sup> 'áp 'aw-léle xéna qímila,<sup>1</sup> sǎət t!àθa b-léle,<sup>1</sup> šárya bǎnúda díya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áza 'áxla xá-brona xéna 'u-déya,<sup>1</sup> dǎmxa.<sup>1</sup> (6) páθxa tǎra,<sup>1</sup> dǎmxa gu-dudíya.<sup>1</sup> 'áy Leliθela.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa la-yǎðe bíya.<sup>1</sup> Leliθa y-áxla náše.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna là-yǎði.<sup>1</sup> xšiwola bratey-zòrtela,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna là-yǎði.<sup>1</sup> (7) qúne bǎbi,<sup>1</sup> 'áp 'o-léle 'əθye šǎkyela.<sup>1</sup> móre tǎmməl t-ámřən ta-bàbi.<sup>1</sup> mbádla qímle.<sup>1</sup> zilla náše,<sup>1</sup> přiqla.<sup>1</sup> móre bǎbi,<sup>1</sup> t-amrónnux xa-xàbra.<sup>1</sup> yǎ'ni 'ən-'áti kàrbət mónni,<sup>1</sup> 'ána brónnux 'iwən.<sup>1</sup> là-karbət mónni.<sup>1</sup> (8) hátxa bába xqirewət.<sup>1</sup> yǎ'ni 'ána mǎjbur-in<sup>1</sup> qa-t 'ána xzéli xá-mdi qam-'éni gǎřəg 'amrónne.<sup>1</sup> la-bàrya.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni 'iwəx málke.<sup>1</sup> xázəx mǎndiyáne bràya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá-'axləx xámma d-áyya bǎlad,<sup>1</sup> la-bàrya.<sup>1</sup> móre pàqəð bróni.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾEn-Nune)

(1) There was a king. He had four sons. The four sons prayed for a sister, a single sister. All they wanted was a single sister. An only sister was born to them. The only sister was a small (baby). She stood up in the cradle, untied her bands, went into the village, ate a child, then came back and went to sleep. (2) Nobody knew about her. They came to complain to the king. King, may you be healthy, what kind of village is this? What kind of guard are you appointing? My son was eaten tonight while asleep in his cradle. How can such a thing happen?’ (3) He said ‘Go and keep guard’. They went and kept a guard in that far corner, and one in this other corner. Also the next day she got up, the next day she went and did the same. At night she got up, untied her bands, then went and opened the door with a key. She went and ate another child, then came back and went to sleep. (4) They continued to complain but it was still no use. Also the next day, the third day, the same happened. On the fourth day, her young brother, the youngest one, woke up. He watched her, he watched. He said ‘This is what is happening!’<sup>1</sup> He stayed still. He saw her, but at first he did not reveal (what he had seen). (5) He said ‘I shall see and investigate also tonight. I shall see whether also tonight people come to complain to my father. My father is the king’. Also the next night she got up, at three o’clock in the morning, untied her bands, went and ate another child, then returned and went to sleep. (6) She opened the door and went to sleep in the cradle. She was Leliθa. Nobody knew about her. Leliθa would eat people. They (the parents) did not know. They thought their daughter was a small (baby). They did not know. (7) My dear, also that night they came to complain. He (the young brother) said ‘Tomorrow I shall tell my father’. In the morning he got up. (When) the people had gone and finished, he said ‘Father, I’d like to tell you something. If you get angry with me, (remember) I am your son. Don’t get angry with me. (8) You are are a very respected father, but I am forced (to tell you) that I have seen something before my very eyes that I must tell. It should not happen. We are kings. If we see things happening and do not care for this country, it is not right’. He said ‘Go ahead, my son’.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: This thing is like this.



(9) *móre yáððat 'áwwa mándi t-íle bràya' gu-bèðan-ile bráya. 'móre mùt mára bróni. 'móre b-álaha bàbi. 'móre xzèli' xàthi' šréla bānūde, 'šqilla qðila, 'pθixla tára, 'plītila. 'u-θèla, 'u-módre qam-paθxàle tára, 'òra, 'dàmxa, 'asʔàla bānūda dīya. 'dárt-yoma náše θéla škèla. (10) 'móre 'áy xàθila. 'móre lá' gárag là-'amrət hátxa. 'móre bābi b-kèfux. 'ána hon-màrəllux. 'lá hāmónəlle bróne dīye.*

(11) *šqille gāne' zille 'u-xyəle gu-mðíta xéta. 'xíšle 'u-xíšle ta-mðíta xéta. 'xilla, 'kúlla mátha qəm-axlála. 'kúlla yále zóre qəm-parqàla. 'píšla bābe-u yámme-u xonāwátha lèla hāmóne. 'xa-léle xilla bàba. 'xa-léle xilla yəmma. 'áp-xa là-yāðe. 'kúlla qəm-axlála. (12) 'o-bróna t-íle zila ða-bázər xéta, 'yáni ða-mðíta, 'ða-màtha, 'píšle rába mparòje, 'masyóthe l-béθət bābe dīye. 'píšle šónne rábe 'árbe xámməš 'áššət šónne la-zille. 'móre θèle, 'mawtánət bābi θèle, 'xonāwáthi θéla qam-'əni, 'yámme-u bàbi. 'dàx-iley. 't-ázən xázən mòdi píše 'an-náše. (13) qímle tíwle xáš-súsa bàbi. 'áv 'u-báxte mtufšqila m-gðàðe. 'íθwale tre-bnóne 'u-ða-bràta. 'móre tla-báxte dīye 'ána, 'ya-bàxta, 'áyya 'isəqθi yawánna qàləx. 'ítli 'àrye. 'ən-'áyya 'isəqθi xərət, 'ən-túwət 'isəqθi bdìlele, 'mšadrátla 'árye t-àtha, 'ána gu-'awqənən. (14) 'u-'àti, 'móra ta-gəwəra, 'ap-'ána 'ítli tre-bòçe. 'áp-'ay brāt-màlkəwa. 'ánna tre-bóçe šaqlətila, 'mattítla gu-jèbux. 'ən-θéla píšla xàtar 'əllux qúrba, 'drila 'an-bóçe l-'àra, 'qəmi tre-xóre t-ásqət rəša' párqət xàyyux, 'bálki 'ən-šàlla hal-'ə-gə-máta 'àrye. (15) móra ta-gðàðe. 'qímle, zíla, zila, 'mátya xà-yoma, 'trè-yome. 'rəhqeila. 'mátye le l-bázərət bābe dīye. 'máttu bála gu-màtha, 'la-dige' 'u-la-kθayàtha, 'la-náše' 'u-la-baxtàtha, 'la-qàla, 'u-la-yále zòre, 'cū-məndi. 'cū-qala líθ. 'cū-qala líθən mənnəy. (16) 'móre ma-píštət kəwəlla. 'móre har-'ásqən gu-qásrət bàbi, 'har-šáqlən rixə mənne. 'bálki xa-xóni, 'xáthi xázən, 'xa-nàši. 'har-xáthe 'i-bāyela. 'har-xàθmila.*

(9) He said 'You must know that this thing that is happening, is happening in our house'. He said 'What are you saying, son?' He said 'By God, father', he said 'I have seen my sister untie the bands, take the key, open the door and go out. She came back, again opened the door, entered, lay down to sleep and tied her bands. The next day people came to complain'. (10) He said 'It is my sister'. He said 'No, you must not say that'. He said 'Father, that is up to you. I am telling you'. He did not believe his son.

(11) He (the son) took himself off and went to live in another town. She ate, she ate all the village. She finished off all the young children. His father and mother and her brothers still did not believe it. One night she ate her father. One night she ate her mother. Nobody knew. She ate everybody. (12) The son who had gone to another town, that is a town, a village, remained watching intently, listening (for news) about his father's family. For many years, four, five six years, he did not go there. He said 'The land of my father, my brothers, my mother and father, are in my thoughts.<sup>2</sup> How are they? I shall go and see what has become of those people'. (13) He set off and sat on the back of his horse. He and his wife made an agreement. They had two sons and a daughter. He said to his wife 'Wife, I shall give to you this ring of mine. I have some lions. If you watch this ring, if the gem of my ring changes (in colour), send the lions so that they come (to me), for I am in trouble'. (14) 'And you', she said to her husband 'I also have two seeds'—she also was the daughter of a king—'Take these two seeds, put them in your pocket. If danger comes near to you, put these two seeds in the ground and two poplar trees will grow up which you can climb and perhaps save your life before the lions arrive'. (15) They told each other (these things). He set off and went on his way. After a day or two he arrived. It was a long way. He arrived at the town of his father. He looked around the village, there were no cocks, no hens, no men, no women, no sound, no young children, nothing. There was no sound. There was no sound of them. (16) He said 'How you have become a ruin!' He said 'I shall just go up to my father's palace, I shall just have a quick look,<sup>3</sup> perhaps I shall find a brother of mine, my sister, a relative or mine'. He still loved his sister. 'She is still our sister'.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: have come before my eyes.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: take a smell of it.

(17) *mxéle l-tàra, t̄q t̄q t̄q. 'aw-wíðalla kére diyé. 'šqílele xa-tumbàna. 'sírele júlla bíye diyé, 'mályele q̄t̄ma. 'sír̄ele, 'mùthyalle. 'móre báre xa-màndi qa-d-áwwa 'áwəð xa-č̄era, 'ən-t̄áwe ràqa, 'qa-t-áwəð xa-č̄era qa-gáne. (18) xz̄i mut-t̄-áwəð. 'qím̄ele sírele wírele 'moxya l-tàra. 'ina xáthe he-xòni! 'az̄iz-t-xàthi! b-š̄ena! m-èka thélux. 'máto m̄š̄uq̄elux. 'u-máto m̄t̄elux. 'móre xáthi théli théli. (19) 'áy 'a-dána 'àrqa. 'móre 'ána-w s̄isi. 'árye diyé! k̄as-báxte diyé hóla. 'šlithela 'é-dana gu-gòma. 'aw-ðile. 'šlithela gu-hàwš̄e! xilt̄alla 'áqla s̄use diyé. 'xilt̄alla síqta. (20) 'móra xóni dax-'ít̄le t̄l̄áθa 'aql̄áθa! 'móre xáthi théli 'ít̄le t̄l̄áθa 'aql̄áθa, 'l̄nḡo l̄nḡo! hal-t̄amma. 'móre théla l-báli xáthi t̄-áθm̄ xaz̄ənn̄ax. (21) 'xáč̄ča xéna mum̄ž̄əlla, 'kléla h̄at̄xa. 'š̄alya, 'ap-xa-xéta 'axl̄ála. 'móra xóni 'o-s̄usa! d̄ax-ile 'áθya tré 'aql̄áθa! 'móre har-θéli m-t̄áma l-áxxa b-tré 'aql̄áθa. 'thélex l-báli. 'š̄alya 'ap-xa-xéta 'axl̄ála, 't-t̄l̄áθa t-àrbe. 'móra p̄əčk̄anta. (22) 'p̄iš̄ta 'áy 'aw-gúrba t̄-axl̄ále. 'mòdile wíða b̄abi? 'šq̄il̄lele ḡane, 'mútt̄ele m̄andi xo-'àqle, 'síqele ða-káwe l̄əθa. 'sírele 'o-tumbáne diyé! b-pr̄əzle. 'áy heš̄-hóla gu-gòma. 'aw-š̄r̄it̄le! r̄iqle. (23) 'u-áw 'málya q̄t̄ma, 'qa-t-áθya 'àxla m̄anne! 'š̄ále gu-əna! qa-d-áw mádu 'àr̄q. 'q̄im̄la b̄abi, 'wírra, 'xá-'aqle 'axl̄awale, 'q̄t̄ma külle š̄léle gu-p̄áθa diyá. 'aw-r̄iqle bar-'àrbe-u! bar-x̄amm̄əš̄, 'bar-'əš̄š̄ət, 'ax-t̄-amr̄áxla 'áxni b-B̄àrw̄ə, 'bar-'àrbe-u! bar-x̄amm̄əš̄, 'bar-'əš̄š̄ət, 'yá'ni b̄aze. (24) xa-báza r̄iqle, 'tre-r̄iqle, 't̄l̄áθa r̄iqle. 'zille yá'ni. 'xárθa q̄m-xazyále gu-d̄ášt̄a. 'hó 'šárxa bíye diyé! m-èka léka?! 'š̄áwpe r̄íh̄qa m-áxxa 'j̄yára d̄emma, 'ma-t-zd̄ile t̄-axl̄ále. (25) 'báxte diyé 'xá-bena kn̄àša-waawa, 'xírta h̄at̄xa t̄úwət 'is̄əqθa, 'ina b̄d̄ila. 'móra 'kóre 'ana, 'rm̄eli. 'q̄im̄t̄ela z̄ilt̄ela gu-háwš̄e 'mpul̄t̄t̄əlla 'árye. 'móra s̄ò! 'ȳəð̄itu mar̄éxu 'ək̄ele.*

(17) He knocked at the door. He prepared himself (for a fight). He took some trousers. He tied a cloth on them and filled them with ash. He tied them up and brought them (with him). He said '(In case) something happens', so that he could find a way out (of trouble), so that, if he had to flee, he could find for himself a way out (of trouble). (18) Look what he will do. He went up and knocked at the door. There was his sister 'Hey my brother!' 'My dear sister!' 'Welcome! Where have you come from? Why have you taken pains (to come)? How have you come?' He said 'Sister, I have come'. (19) Then she ran away. He said '(Only) I and my horse (have come)'. His lions were with his wife. Then she went down into the basement stable. He knew this. She went down into the courtyard and ate the leg of his horse. She ate it and came back up. (20) She said 'Brother, why does it have three legs?' He said 'Sister, I came here, while it had three legs, limping up to here'. He said 'It came to my mind, sister, to come to see you'. (21) She delayed a little, waited, then went down and ate another one. She said 'Brother, that horse, how has it come with two legs!?' He said 'I have indeed come from there to here with two legs (on my horse). You came to my mind'. She went down and ate another one, the third and the fourth. She said 'It is useless'. (22) She began to eat the torso. What did he do, my dear? He took himself off, put something under his feet and went up to an upper window. He tied those trousers of his with some iron. She was still in the basement stable. He fled and ran away. (23) It was full of ash, so that when she comes to eat it, it will go into her eyes and he will manage to escape'. She came in, my dear. She bit<sup>4</sup> one of his legs and the all the ash fell into her face. He ran away (very fast) with four, five or six (bounds), as we say in Barwar, with four, with five, with six, that is bounds. (24) He fled with one bound, he fled with two, he fled with three. He went off. Afterwards she saw him on the plain. She shouted at him 'Where are you from and where are you going?' He was—pardon me<sup>5</sup>—urinating blood, so scared was he that she would eat him. (25) While his wife was sweeping, she looked at the diamond of the ring and saw that it had changed colour! She said 'Dear me, oh woe to me!'<sup>6</sup> She went into the courtyard and took out the lions. She said 'Go! You know where your master is'.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: ate.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: (May) its place be far from here.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: (May) I (be) blind. I have been afflicted.

(26) 'əθyela 'ərye. 'əθye, 'əθye, 'həʃ-léwa mátye 'əlle-díye, 'há há ga-mátya t-axlále, 'dóryalla bòçé. 'dóryalla bòçé, 'qíme tre-xüre. 'síqa ʃ-xa-xüra. (27) mətye 'ərye. 'móre mətyela. 'móre xülula. 'ap-dəndəkkə başòra, 'xa-dəndəkkət xa-tüpra' mənni, 'har-xàθila. 'qəm-axlila. 'muləpela 'ap-'áni. (28) 'áyya tuniθa qəşşətıla 'dax-t-ıla mırəlla nəše 'əxni dax-t-ámrxə 'ap-'əxni. 'šviqəlla 'o-qəttə zòra. 'móre har-xàθi. 'ham-muttúle gu-gúbbe díye. 'aw-naşáqla 'ərye díye, 'túwle xásət 'ərye díye, 'u-zille. 'əy' qəm-axlila. (29) 'o-qəttə təprət 'ída díya 'muttúle gúbbe. 'píşle čučəkkə. 'píşle nəşma 'píşle kərməkkə xələlle. 'qímle nyəsəlle. 'móre murşənnə 'ay-dükti. (30) píşla čučəkkə, 'píşla şəppərθa, 'u-píşla gáwe díye kərməkkə. 'ax-xuwwiθa, 'mátya ləbbe 'axlále. 'wídle hátxa, 'ína kúlla trīθa. 'móre ta-'ərye mxó lišanéxu làxxa. (31) qəm-maxéle lišanèy. 'móre mxó lišanéxu býya. 'xúlu t-la pəša dundəkkə mənna díya. 'ləş bəyənna. 'zille túwle xásət-'ərye 'u-zilla l-bəθəy. 'mṯéle l-bəθe kəixa. (32) móra baxte díye mə-wət kəixa. 'móre šüqlí. 'lá-maşən díya tanənnə. 'rába qəşşət rəbθəla. 'bar-t-'ána pəşən şəy, 'xə-yarxa, 'trè-yarxe, 'ən-t-áθe l-bàli, 'rába kəixewən. 'móra mú b-t-əwe. 'ína xípəle 'u-munixəle. 'rába xziθa 'éne díye 'm-d-ə-məndi.

(26) The lions came. They came, but they had not yet reached him. 'Hah, hah' she is about to eat him. So, he cast the seeds. When he cast the seeds, two poplar trees grew up. He climbed one poplar tree. (27) The lions arrived. He said 'They have arrived'. He said 'Eat her! (Leave) a small piece, a small piece, a fingernail for me, she is still my sister'. They ate her. They were well trained. (28) This story is like that, as people have told it, so we are telling it. They left a small piece. He said 'She is still my sister'. He put it in his pocket. He kissed the lions, sat on the back of his lions and went off. They had eaten her. (29) He put that piece, the nail of her hand, in his pocket. It became a sparrow, it became a live being, it became a worm and started eating him. It started biting him. He said 'This place here on me has become numb'. (30) It became a small bird, it became a sparrow. It became a worm inside him, like a small snake, reached his heart and ate it'. He put (his hand here) like this and found it was all wet. He said to the lions 'Lick here'. (31) They licked. He said 'Lick her. Eat her so that a even a small piece of her does not remain. I do not like her any more'. He went and sat on the back of the lions and they went home. He arrived home exhausted. (32) His wife said 'Why are you tired?' He said 'Don't ask.'<sup>7</sup> I cannot tell the story now, it is very long. After I have recovered, after one or two months, if I remember, I am very tired now'. She said 'It does not matter'.<sup>8</sup> He washed and rested. He had suffered a lot from that affair.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Literally: Leave me.

<sup>8</sup> Literally: What will it be?

<sup>9</sup> Literally: His eyes had seen a lot.

## A19 THE LELIṬA FROM ČĀL

Informant: Dawiḏ 'Adam (Dure)

(1) *hadīya*<sup>1</sup> 'iṭwa *xa-Leliṭa* *θiṭa mən-Čāl*<sup>1</sup>. *θéla šlèla*<sup>1</sup> *l-ʔárxət be-Xàmmo*<sup>1</sup>. *xa-náša*<sup>1</sup> 'iṭwale 'àrxə<sup>1</sup> *šámme díye Xàmmo-wewa*<sup>1</sup>. 'iṭwale *kálṭa*<sup>1</sup>, 'iṭwale *bnòne*<sup>1</sup>. 'áyya *šlèla*<sup>1</sup>, *dréla šláma ʔəllèy*<sup>1</sup>. *mára šláma ʔəlléxu*<sup>1</sup>, 'ax-náša<sup>1</sup>. *šléla dréla šláma*<sup>1</sup> *móre b-šéna b-ṭawàṭa*<sup>1</sup>. (2) *dríṭa xəppə b-réša*<sup>1</sup>, *bás ṭəppəryáṭa qəm-xazyála kálṭa*<sup>1</sup>. *ṭəppəryáṭət heywàne*<sup>1</sup>, *dəbba*<sup>1</sup>. *qəm-xazyála*<sup>1</sup>. *šuréla mšawòṭe*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa ṭ-ix-mšawóṭe ʔəxni*<sup>1</sup>. *mára ʔána báxtət ʔəgət Čāl-iwən*<sup>1</sup>. 'áyya *xmáṭa díya homənna*<sup>1</sup>. *xəmyána homənne*<sup>1</sup>. *bróna homənne*<sup>1</sup>. *kúlla homənna*<sup>1</sup>. *kálṭa là homənna*<sup>1</sup>. 'iṭla *ṭlā-bnone*<sup>1</sup>. (3) *wítela b-lèle*<sup>1</sup>, *dána t-dmàxa*<sup>1</sup>, *xílela mändi*<sup>1</sup>. *wítela dána t-dmàxa*<sup>1</sup>, *xəmmərṭa*<sup>1</sup>, *xəmmərṭə šnṭa*<sup>1</sup> *šqiltəlla*<sup>1</sup>, *muttəṭəlla rəš-šádrət xmáṭa díya*<sup>1</sup>. 'u-*kálṭa díya ðila*<sup>1</sup>. *kálṭa díya ðila*<sup>1</sup>, *gu-šwiṭa*<sup>1</sup>, *ðila bíya díya*<sup>1</sup>. *qímtela šqiltela xa-bróna*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*nobáltəlle ta-ṭ-axlələ*<sup>1</sup>. *muttəṭəlle rəḥqa*<sup>1</sup> *mən-màṭa*<sup>1</sup>. (4) 'u-ʔáyya *gu-dyàṛta*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi wídla*<sup>1</sup>. *qimla*<sup>1</sup>, *qəm-ʔačmələ tára*<sup>1</sup>. 'u-*b-pálgət b'éṭa wídla nùra*<sup>1</sup>. 'ánna-*t ʔárxə har-y-odíwa nùra gu-b'éṭa*<sup>1</sup>. *šísət prəzla*<sup>1</sup> *t-ʔárxə*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-mattála kúlla gu-nùra*<sup>1</sup>. 'u-ʔ-*Leliṭa* *ṭəla*<sup>1</sup>. 'áy *kúlla dònəla*<sup>1</sup>, *dóna*<sup>1</sup>, *məšxa*<sup>1</sup>. 'ína *ṭéla l-tàra*<sup>1</sup>. (5) *mattóyəlla ʔiḏa pṭáxa tára*<sup>1</sup>, *qəm-maxyála ʔáyya prəzla*<sup>1</sup> *l-ʔiḏa díya qəm-maqḏàla*<sup>1</sup>. *kúlla mášxa šléle m-tàma*<sup>1</sup>. *šuréla šmáṭa tára*<sup>1</sup>, *là mšéla*<sup>1</sup>. (6) *síqla l-gàre*<sup>1</sup>, 'iṭwa *bóya*<sup>1</sup>. *šuréla xriṭla*<sup>1</sup>, *šlèla*<sup>1</sup>. *pálga šlèla*<sup>1</sup>, *pálga pišla*<sup>1</sup>. 'u-ʔáyya *har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíšə*<sup>1</sup> *mattàwa*<sup>1</sup> 'álla *díya*<sup>1</sup> *hál ʔé-gət qəm-qatləla*<sup>1</sup>. *qəm-qatləla*<sup>1</sup>, 'áy *pišla tàma*<sup>1</sup>. (7) *qímtela*<sup>1</sup>, *qèdamta*<sup>1</sup> *léla mírta ṭla-xmáṭa-w xəmyána-w ʔáxxa-w tàmma*<sup>1</sup>. *ziltela* *θiṭa l-bróna díya*<sup>1</sup>. *muṭṭəṭəlle*<sup>1</sup> 'ína *bróna lèla xiltəlle*<sup>1</sup>. *har-nobáltəlle muttəṭəlle mattóyə*<sup>1</sup>. *muṭṭəṭəlle bróna díya*<sup>1</sup>, *muwártəlle pṭixtəlle tára*<sup>1</sup>. (8) *mára ṭla-xmáṭa xmàṭi*<sup>1</sup> *mára mòdile bábí*<sup>1</sup>. *mára háyyo xzégən báxtət ʔága Čāl*<sup>1</sup>. *háyyo xzèla*<sup>1</sup>. *mára ʔáṭya gəšqa*<sup>1</sup> 'ína *xazyála Leliṭa*<sup>1</sup>. *hóla qṭiltəlla táma*<sup>1</sup>. (9) 'è-ga<sup>1</sup> 'ánna *məndiyáne wiyela*<sup>1</sup>, *ḥaqiqi*<sup>1</sup>. *béna* *θiṭela wíḏtəlla gān-díya báxtət ʔága Čāl*<sup>1</sup>. *bas-mjárrad mšawṭàwa*<sup>1</sup>. *xzi hambišəyela*<sup>1</sup>, *xzi-mù-təḥər-ila*<sup>1</sup>. *hàdəx-wawə*<sup>1</sup>. *šwiqáli táma ʔu-ṭéli làxxa*<sup>1</sup>.

A19 THE LELIṬA FROM ČĀL

Informant: Dawiḏ 'Adam (Dure)

(1) Now, there was a Leliṭa who came from ČĀl. She came down to the water-mill of the family of Xammo. A man had a water-mill and his name was Xammo. He had a daughter-in-law. He had sons. She came down and greeted them. She said 'Greetings to you', like a human. She came down and offered greetings and he said 'You are welcome'. (2) She had put a veil on her head, but the daughter-in-law saw her finger-nails, they were the claws of an animal, of a bear. She saw them. She began to talk just as we are speaking. She said 'I am the wife of the āga of ČĀl.' Her mother-in-law believed it. Her father-in-law believed it. The son believed it. Everybody believed it. The daughter-in-law, however, did not believe it. She had three sons. (3) At night, the time of sleep, they ate something. At the time of sleep, she (Leliṭa) took a bead, a bead of sleep, and put it on the chest of her mother-in-law. Her daughter-in-law realized (what was happening). Her daughter-in-law, in bed, realized this. She got up and took a son (of hers) and took him for her to eat. She put him down far away from the village. (4) What did she do on her return? She closed the door and in the middle of the house she made a fire. People who had mills would always make a fire in the house. She put all the iron bars of the mill into the fire. The Leliṭa came. She was all (made of) fat, fat, oil. She came to the door. (5) As she put her hand to open the door, she (the daughter-in-law) struck the iron bar into her hand and burnt it. All the oil ran down from there. She started (to try to) break the door, but she could not. (6) She went up onto the roof. There was a hole. She started to gouge it out and (tried to) come down. Half of her came down but half remained. She (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her. She killed her, and she remained there. (7) She got up in the morning, but did not tell her mother-in-law and father-in-law, and so forth. She went and came to her son. She brought him back. She did not eat the boy. She just took him and put him down. She brought her son back. She brought him in and opened the door. (8) She said to her mother-in-law 'Mother-in-law!' She said 'What is it my dear?' She said 'Come and see the wife of the āga of ČĀl. Come and see her. So, she came and looked. She saw Leliṭa. She had killed her there. (9) Those things happened at that time, they are true. So, she came and made herself into the wife of the āga of ČĀl, but she only spoke (like a woman). You see she was a giant, you see what kind (of creature) she was. I left it there and came here.



## A20 THE BEAR AND THE FOX

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) xà-yoma<sup>1</sup> dóbba xðára-wawa gu-turàne.<sup>1</sup> tfigla b-xa-tèla.<sup>1</sup> 'o-tèla<sup>1</sup> móre há lèkət zála,<sup>1</sup> ya-gáni dèbba.<sup>2</sup> b-álaha xðáran báθar rəsqi<sup>1</sup> bálki xa-móndi táfəq biyi<sup>1</sup> t-axlən mándi,<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa m-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər ma-lat-ðáya b-gánəx qàrθela.<sup>2</sup> dāx-it jwəja.<sup>2</sup> 'áxxa l-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> móra là<sup>1</sup> ču-qárθa lèla 'áxxa.<sup>1</sup> (2) móre 'ən-bəyət<sup>1</sup> zaqrənnəx<sup>1</sup> xa-qərtəla,<sup>1</sup> sàla y-amrəxle,<sup>1</sup> xa-sàla,<sup>1</sup> tla-sətwə<sup>1</sup> ta-t-lá qerəti.<sup>1</sup> t-lá-hoya qàrθa-əlləx,<sup>1</sup> t-lá-hawe təlga-əlləx.<sup>1</sup> hóla rəs-tura,<sup>1</sup> ttwetela.<sup>1</sup> móre də-həyyo.<sup>1</sup> (3) qiməle múθya ture<sup>1</sup> 'u-čənnəxéra díya di-di-di,<sup>1</sup> móre tígən 'ati gəwe.<sup>1</sup> ttwetela.<sup>1</sup> zqirəlla<sup>1</sup> hal-ləxxa.<sup>1</sup> móra də-kliɡən.<sup>1</sup> pəltən m-gəwe.<sup>1</sup> móre là<sup>1</sup> ta-t-óðən qəpəx 'əp tla-rəsəx,<sup>1</sup> ba'dən pəltət.<sup>1</sup> (4) qiməle,<sup>1</sup> xθiməlle.<sup>1</sup> kulle zqirəlle-w<sup>1</sup> pištela hádəx dóbba gəwe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-maxəla 'áqlə díye 'əlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəlyə.<sup>1</sup> nəpla,<sup>1</sup> šəlyə-w<sup>1</sup> šəlyə,<sup>1</sup> šəlyə<sup>1</sup> b-o-tura<sup>1</sup> hal-šəttət hənna,<sup>1</sup> gu-rawúlta.<sup>1</sup> šléla tàma.<sup>1</sup> 'ina kulla gérme díya šmíte.<sup>1</sup> pišta be-saruber,<sup>1</sup> hat-šmítile 'ə-sála t-wéwa zqirəlla.<sup>1</sup> kulla šmítla.<sup>1</sup> (5) módi wídle.<sup>2</sup> 'aw-téla riqlə.<sup>1</sup> téla riqlə,<sup>1</sup> 'áy hédi-hédi qimla.<sup>1</sup> xà-yoma,<sup>1</sup> trè,<sup>1</sup> tlaθa,<sup>1</sup> bar-pišla spəy,<sup>1</sup> zilla.<sup>1</sup> zilla bəre bəre díye.<sup>1</sup> wírre gu-xa-bəya.<sup>1</sup> wírre gu-xə 'isára.<sup>1</sup> hóle 'iθən bóya zəra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-əp bəxte díye hóla tàma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ítile 'ayəle<sup>1</sup> 'o-tèla.<sup>1</sup> (6) wírre tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-dóbba ziltela tàma.<sup>1</sup> ziltəle dóbba<sup>1</sup> 'u-drəyalla 'ída díya 'əlle díye,<sup>1</sup> léla pšəta,<sup>1</sup> sab-bəya zərele<sup>1</sup> 'u-téla wírrele gəwe.<sup>1</sup> piše hādəx,<sup>1</sup> qimtela dóbba zilta,<sup>1</sup> muθéθa θa-qənnət dəbbəre.<sup>1</sup> muθéθəlla muttəθəlla<sup>1</sup> qam-tərat<sup>1</sup> d-ó-boyət tèle.<sup>1</sup> har-dəbbəre záləla-w θáya dúrr dúrr dúrr.<sup>1</sup> (7) 'áni xšiwela dəbbəla tàma.<sup>1</sup> léla šbára pəlti.<sup>1</sup> pišela kəpəne,<sup>1</sup> téla móre tla-bəxte díye<sup>1</sup> móre mò-əðəx bəxta.<sup>2</sup> móre 'itlən tla-bnəne ləxxa.<sup>1</sup> w-áxni mítlən kəpna.<sup>1</sup> mò 'əðəxi.<sup>2</sup> móre mò-t-əðəx.<sup>2</sup> pərməxle 'o-zəra<sup>1</sup> t-axləxle,<sup>1</sup> hal-ə-gət t-áza dóbba m-tàma.<sup>1</sup>

A20 THE BEAR AND THE FOX

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) One day a bear was wandering around the mountains. She met a fox. The fox said 'Hey, where are you going, my dear bear?' 'By God, I'm looking for my sustenance. Perhaps something will come my way, so that I shall be able to eat something', and so forth. He said 'Don't you know yourself that it is cold. Why are you going from place to place?' She said 'No, it is not cold here'. (2) He said 'If you want, I'll weave you a large basket, we call it a basket, a basket for winter, so that you will not get cold, so that the cold will not get to you, so that the snow will not get to you'. She was on a mountain, sitting down. He said 'Come!' (3) He went and brought twigs (and laid them) around her... He said 'Sit inside'. She sat down. He wove them up to here. She said 'Stop!' I (want to) get out of it'. He said 'No, not until I make a lid also for your head, then you come out'. (4) He finished it. He wove it all and the bear remained inside it. He kicked her and she went down (the mountain). She fell and went down, down, down the mountain until the bottom of it, the valley. She went down there and all her bones were broken, she was mutilated. The basket that he had woven was shattered. It was all shattered. (5) What did he do? The fox ran. The fox ran. The fox ran. She (the bear) slowly got up. One, two or three days (later), after she had got better, she went on her way. She went after him. He entered a hole. He entered a rock. There was a small hole (in it). His wife was there also, and the fox had children. (6) The fox entered there and the bear went there. The bear went there and put her paw into it, but it did not fit in, since the hole was small. The fox, however, entered into it. They remained there and the bear went off and brought back a hornets' nest. She brought it and put it before the door of the fox's hole. The hornets flew back and forth, durr, durr, durr. (7) They thought the bear was there and did not dare come out. They remained hungry. They remained hungry and the fox said to his wife. He said 'What shall we do, wife?' He said 'We have three children here and we have (almost) died of hunger. What shall we do?' He said 'What shall we do? Let's slaughter the young one and eat him, (and wait) until the bear goes away from there.'

(8) qímela 'o-zóra primallela<sup>1</sup> 'u-xilallela.<sup>1</sup> 'u-píštela 'an-dəbbòre<sup>1</sup> har-zála-w θàya,<sup>1</sup> zála-w θàya,<sup>1</sup> zála-w θàya.<sup>1</sup> máre 'é-ga dábba lèla jwája m-láxxa.<sup>1</sup> léðe módila qàššat.<sup>1</sup> máre mò-t-òðax báxta.<sup>2</sup> máre mò.<sup>2</sup> gárrə d-o-trèle.<sup>1</sup> (9) qímela 'ap-'o-t-tré primalle,<sup>1</sup> xilalle.<sup>1</sup> 'imət xilla 'ap-'o-t-tré,<sup>1</sup> píšla xà-šabθa,<sup>1</sup> tré šabbàθa,<sup>1</sup> kpinna.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'o-t-tl̥aθa qəm-βermile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dəbbóre hár-hola qam-tárət bòya.<sup>1</sup> pišela<sup>1</sup> har-'ani-tre l-xoðéy.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər báxta díya dáxi.<sup>2</sup> (10) máre díya mò t-òðexi.<sup>2</sup> qú npila-xila.<sup>1</sup> qú npila-xila.<sup>1</sup> trípela l-gðàðe<sup>1</sup> npille téla.<sup>1</sup> móra há mòt mára.<sup>2</sup> máre 'áqli qítla b-kanòšta.<sup>1</sup> xá-bena xéta gðilela.<sup>1</sup> npille téla.<sup>1</sup> móra mà-lux.<sup>2</sup> móra t-axlannux.<sup>1</sup> máre 'áqli šléla gu-màqle.<sup>1</sup> (11) bənə t̥l̥l̥əθ<sup>1</sup> nàpla<sup>1</sup> bəxta.<sup>1</sup> trāk.<sup>1</sup> púmme díye l-qðála díya 'axəlla.<sup>1</sup> 'axəlla píšle tàma<sup>1</sup> xa-fàtra.<sup>1</sup> mò-'oðən.<sup>2</sup> máre lo-t-axláli dəbba<sup>1</sup> lo-pal̥təna.<sup>1</sup> mò-'oðən.<sup>2</sup> xo-la-méθən làxxa.<sup>1</sup> (12) 'u-pl̥t̥e<sup>1</sup> riqele<sup>1</sup> ta-t-'árəq 'u-gásəq bāre díye<sup>1</sup> 'ina<sup>1</sup> la-dəbba,<sup>1</sup> la-čū məndí.<sup>1</sup> dəbbòre tàma<sup>1</sup> mútte tàma.<sup>1</sup> máre bəθi št̥imla dəbba.<sup>1</sup> t̥l̥á-bnone xilili,<sup>1</sup> báxta xilàli,<sup>1</sup> xátər t-ínwa m̥konədrəlla.<sup>1</sup> šwiqáli tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-θéli làxxa.<sup>1</sup>

(8) They slaughtered the young one and ate it. The hornets continued flying back and forth, back and forth, back and forth. He said 'Still the bear is not moving from here'. He does not know what is happening.<sup>1</sup> He said 'What shall we do wife?' He said 'What? It is the turn of the second one'. (9) They slaughtered also the second one and ate him. After they had eaten the second one, a week, two weeks went by and they became hungry. They slaughtered also the third one. The hornets were still before the door of the hole. Only the two of them remained. He said 'Wife, now what?' (10) He said 'Now what shall we do? Come on (let's fight and whoever falls (first) will be eaten'. They attacked each other and the fox fell. She said 'Hey, what do you have to say?' He said 'My foot hit the broom'. They wrestled once again. The fox fell. She said 'What is the matter with you?' She said 'I shall eat you'. He said 'My foot went into the cooking pot'. (11) The third time the wife fell, thump, his mouth was on her neck and he ate her. He ate her and remained there for a while. 'What shall I do'. He said 'Either the bear will eat me or I shall escape. What shall I do? I shall not die here'. (12) He went out and ran, until while running he looked behind him and saw that there was no bear, nothing, (only) hornets there, which had been placed there. He said 'The bear has ruined my house. I have eaten the three children, I have eaten the wife, all because I rolled her (down the hill). I have left it there and come here.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: what the story is.

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'iθwa xa-málka.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale xa-bràta,<sup>1</sup> gu-béθa har-y-oyáwa dmíxta<sup>1</sup> 'u-xàla,<sup>1</sup> dmíxta-w xàla.<sup>1</sup> 'ítwala xa-qaràwət gòrta.<sup>1</sup> meθíwala xadamyáθa díya 'ixàla,<sup>1</sup> y-axlàwa-w<sup>1</sup> damxàwa,<sup>1</sup> lè-y palxáwa.<sup>1</sup> píšla yóma ðla-yòma,<sup>1</sup> yóma ðla-yòma,<sup>1</sup> píšla b-šmne.<sup>1</sup> 'áy hár-lipla dmàxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-xàla.<sup>1</sup> trísla rába.<sup>1</sup> (2) málka hírra b-gáne díye bíya díya.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa léle gwàrəlla.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána mò-'oðən?<sup>1</sup> xa-čára xazəna<sup>1</sup> qa-t-'áyya bràti.<sup>1</sup> qréle b-wázər díye.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'ille díye.<sup>1</sup> háyyo xázəx mhàyərn<sup>1</sup> bəd-taxmàntux.<sup>1</sup> mò-t-'oðəx qa-d-'áyya bràta t-íla har-dmíxta,<sup>1</sup> b-lèle b-yòma,<sup>1</sup> har-xàla-w dmàxa,<sup>1</sup> xàla-w dmàxa?<sup>1</sup> (3) móre xáðrəx xázəxi xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> t-íle palàxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-yáxla 'ille díye.<sup>1</sup> 'àw mtagbərara.<sup>1</sup> mboqərara,<sup>1</sup> mboqərara,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xa-yàla.<sup>1</sup> bas-yəmma 'iθwale.<sup>1</sup> bába liθwale.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale xa-tàwra<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-xmàra.<sup>1</sup> (4) kút-yum šúle díye mòdi-weewa?<sup>1</sup> šaqəlwale táwre díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqəlwə xmàre díye<sup>1</sup> qədəmta<sup>1</sup> y-azəlwə zərəwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-aθéwa l-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> y-axəlwə mändi 'i-daməxwa.<sup>1</sup> (5) šmíla bud-díye.<sup>1</sup> móra b-álaha 'áwəwa xoš-yàléle,<sup>1</sup> mabyòne,<sup>1</sup> nabláxla t-yàxla 'ille díye.<sup>1</sup> mára qimela,<sup>1</sup> 'àw zílewa l-pəlxàna,<sup>1</sup> zràya.<sup>1</sup> qimela múttəlla gu-'atnəbəl<sup>1</sup> 'u-wajjúwa díya kúlla,<sup>1</sup> 'e-'ótəx díya.<sup>1</sup> múttəlla gu-'atnəbəl<sup>1</sup> 'u-nùbləlla.<sup>1</sup> 'àw 'ítle ða-'ótəx 'ax-d-'áyya,<sup>1</sup> zürteła,<sup>1</sup> qaràwət d-àwəwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-yəmmə díye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'al-'àra<sup>1</sup> líθ cū-məndi,<sup>1</sup> lá kursíya<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-cū-məndi.<sup>1</sup> (6) mára nùbləlləla... bràta.<sup>1</sup> mára ðla-yəmmət yàlunka.<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> yába 'áyya bràta<sup>1</sup> hox-múθyəlla ðlələx,<sup>1</sup> ðla-brònux.<sup>1</sup> lá-mšəla mšuwəttla.<sup>1</sup> mára brátət málkəla.<sup>1</sup> lá-mšəla mšuwəttla cū-məndi.<sup>1</sup> mò-t-'oðə?<sup>1</sup> mára dróla rəš-qaràwət.<sup>1</sup> (7) dóryəlla rəš-qaràwət<sup>1</sup> múθyəlla qaràwət díya<sup>1</sup> múttəlla.<sup>1</sup> bəθa dwiq<sup>1</sup> qaràwət díya.<sup>1</sup> dóryəlla š-qaràwət,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna wajjúwe díya-zi múttəlla tàma.<sup>1</sup> píštəla tàma.<sup>1</sup> (8) yála θéle mən-zrìta.<sup>1</sup> táwre müríle gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-síqle ta-t-áxəl mändi<sup>1</sup> xazéle 'ina bəθe məlyə.<sup>1</sup> hày!<sup>1</sup> móre 'ay-mòdila?<sup>1</sup> móra bróni hátxəla qađiya<sup>1</sup> málka hóle múθyəlla bráte díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóle míra 'áyya bràti qa-brònux.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni pəša bəxtux.<sup>1</sup>

## A21 THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was a king. He had a daughter, who would just sleep in the house and eat, sleep and eat. She had a big bed. Her servants would bring her food, she would eat then go to sleep. She did not work. She went on (like this) from day to day, day to day, she went on for years. She only knew how to sleep and eat. She became very fat. (2) The king was at his wits end regarding her. Nobody would marry her. He said 'What should I do? I should find a solution for this daughter of mine'. He called to his vizier and said to him 'Come, let's see whether you can help me with any ideas.<sup>1</sup> What should we do to this girl who constantly sleeps, night and day, constantly eats and sleeps, eats and sleeps?' (3) He said 'Let's look for a man who is a hard worker and give her to him. He will look after her'. They made inquiries (and found that) there was a young man. He had only a mother. He did not have a father. He had an ox and an ass. (4) Everyday what was his job? He would take his ox and take his ass early in the morning and go to cultivate (his field). He would then come back home, eat something and go to sleep. (5) They heard about him. They said 'By God, he is a good lad, it seems, let's take her and give her to him'. They set off, he had gone to work, to cultivate (his field). They put her in a car, with all her effects, (the contents) of her room. They put her in a car and took her off. He had one room like this one, it was small, his bed and his mother's, on the floor there was nothing, no chair, nothing. (6) They took the girl and said to the mother of the young man, they said 'We have brought this girl for you, for your son'. She could not speak'. They said 'She is the daughter of the king'. She could not speak a word. What should she do? She said 'Put her on the bed'. (7) They put her on the bed. They brought her bed and laid it down. The house was filled by her bed. They put her on the bed and they also put her effects there. She remained there. (8) The young man came back from his cultivating. He put the oxen in the basement stable. He went up to eat something and saw that his house was full 'Hey', he said 'What is this?' She said 'My son, this is the situation: the king has brought his daughter and said "This daughter of mine is for your son, that is she will become your wife"'.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: Let's see, help me with your thought.

(9) 'ámər mùt mára?<sup>1</sup> mára hè b-álaha,<sup>1</sup> hátxele míra màlka<sup>1</sup> múthyella làxxa<sup>1</sup> 'áw-u wázīr<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóla wajjūwe díya làxxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-dmíxta š-qarawət,<sup>1</sup> kéfa díya basímta<sup>1</sup> léla maxrówella kéfa.<sup>1</sup> (10) 'ámər yómmi hé hē,<sup>1</sup> lítla xàm,<sup>1</sup> xoš-áθya b-šəna.<sup>1</sup> píštela hādəx.<sup>1</sup> qíməle léle qaməya,<sup>1</sup> mərə qa-yómme díye<sup>1</sup> bás mattátla xa-kawázət mīya.<sup>1</sup> mərə mattátla xa-kawázət mīya kəs-réša-w bās,<sup>1</sup> la-ixála,<sup>1</sup> la-ləxma,<sup>1</sup> la-čū-məndi.<sup>1</sup> bās<sup>1</sup> 'é kawázət mīya mattátla kəs-réša díya 'u-bās.<sup>1</sup> (11) mára bábī hē<sup>1</sup> dāx lítlux xátər.<sup>1</sup> qíməle qədəmta.<sup>1</sup> yómme díye múttəlle čəy,<sup>1</sup> múttəlle bē'e<sup>1</sup> 'u-xiləle-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-tugbärtəlle<sup>1</sup> 'u-dwíqtəlle 'ixála gu-čānte díye,<sup>1</sup> jarrəta y-amrāxla.<sup>1</sup> jarrəta dwíqtəlla<sup>1</sup> 'u-másta gu-bürra-w<sup>1</sup> driθəlle gu-čānte díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-bəṛ-zára gu-čānte<sup>1</sup> 'u-ziləle.<sup>1</sup> (12) šqíləlle xmāra<sup>1</sup> 'u-təwra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ziləle.<sup>1</sup> šúryele zráya.<sup>1</sup> šúryele zráya hāl-ʔašrta.<sup>1</sup> 'ašrta 'áθe l-bēθa.<sup>1</sup> mənnyəx,<sup>1</sup> 'ázəl saxe<sup>1</sup> 'u-əwəx.<sup>1</sup> dánət xa-rámša muθéla yómme díye xa-rámša 'əlle díye,<sup>1</sup> šuréle ta-t-əxəl.<sup>1</sup> (13) mərə yómmi 'énile plíxa?<sup>1</sup> mára bábī plíxət 'əti,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xmāra-w təwra<sup>1</sup> 'u-ána mtugbärtən bēθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa ləle-plíxa?<sup>1</sup> mára là.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'ó-t là pāləx<sup>1</sup> lə y-áxəl.<sup>1</sup> mašmóye 'əlla díya.<sup>1</sup> mərə kūt la-pāləx<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áwəwa bēθa<sup>1</sup> 'ixála lə y-áxəl.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-pāləx<sup>1</sup> 'əw t-áxəl.<sup>1</sup>

(14) mára yómət trē<sup>1</sup> 'ay-là xilla.<sup>1</sup> ləla múttəlla 'ixála.<sup>1</sup> yómət trē<sup>1</sup> qíməle.<sup>1</sup> xá-gaya xéta qímtəla yómme díye wíðtəlle ftàrta.<sup>1</sup> fīrəle<sup>1</sup> 'u-məndi xəna kúlla muttəθəlle gu-čānte díye,<sup>1</sup> kú-məndi t-íθwala,<sup>1</sup> ləxma,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-másta,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-kú-məndi 'íθwaley<sup>1</sup> 'u-šqíla təwre<sup>1</sup> zíla zráya.<sup>1</sup> šuréle zílle zráya,<sup>1</sup> 'ašrta θèle.<sup>1</sup> (15) 'ámər hà yómmi<sup>1</sup> mùt mára?<sup>1</sup> 'énile plíxa 'ədyo?<sup>1</sup> mára bábī har-ətīt plíxa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xmāra-w təwra,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ána mquzqáztən bēθa.<sup>1</sup> mərə har-əxni bṭ-áxləx.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-ile plíxa 'əw bṭ-áxəl.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-léle plíxa là sáḫər t-áxəl.<sup>1</sup> (16) šraxele qa-t-šāma<sup>1</sup> brátət màlka.<sup>1</sup> kpínna<sup>1</sup> yómə t!làθəla.<sup>1</sup> dmíxela.<sup>1</sup> xá-bəna xéta qíməla<sup>1</sup> qədəmta.<sup>1</sup> yála-žigən qíməle fīrəle<sup>1</sup> mxúlləlla páθe díye-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-ziləle šúle díye.<sup>1</sup> šúle hóle zráya hál 'ašrta.<sup>1</sup> (17) 'ašrta 'əθe.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-l-həmmam saxe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yómme díye mtugbárra 'ixála-w<sup>1</sup> muttəlla-w<sup>1</sup> hásba l-ʔšūl<sup>1</sup> mərə hà yómmi,<sup>1</sup> 'ədyo dàxi.<sup>1</sup> mára b-álaha 'ədyo<sup>1</sup> xāncī plíxəx.<sup>1</sup> mərə l'at xāncī t-áxləx.<sup>1</sup> qíməla xiləla.<sup>1</sup> qíməla šqílela xa-ámána xāncī zóra.<sup>1</sup> múttəlla kəs-réša díya.<sup>1</sup>

(9) He said 'What are you saying?' She said 'Yes, by God. That is what the king said. He and his vizier brought her here, and her effects are here'. She was asleep on the bed, very content, and they did not disturb her. (10) He said 'Mother, there is nothing to worry about, she is welcome'. She remained like that. The first night he said to his mother 'Put out for her just a jar of water'. He said 'Put out for her a jar of water by her head and that's all, no food, no bread, nothing. Put out for her only that jar of water by her head and that's all'. (11) She said 'My dear, yes, I'll do as you say'. He got up in the morning. His mother served him tea, served him eggs. He ate and she looked after him. She packed food in his bag—we call it a *jarreta* ('lunchbox'). She packed the lunchbox, (put) yoghurt in a pot and placed it in his bag. (She also put) seed in his bag. Then he set off. (12) He took the ass and the ox and went off. He began cultivating. He began cultivating (and continued) until evening. In the evening he came home. He rested, went to bathe and entered (the house). At dinner time his mother brought dinner to him and he began to eat. (13) He said 'Mother, who has worked?' She said 'My dear, you have worked, the ass and the ox, and I have attended to the house'. Has anybody (else) worked?' She said 'No'. He said 'Whoever does not work, will not eat'. He (was saying this) for her ears.<sup>2</sup> He said 'Whoever does not work in this house will not eat food. Whoever works will eat'.

(14) Now the next day she did not eat. She (the mother) did not put out food for her. The next day he got up. Again his mother got up and made him breakfast. He ate breakfast and she put everything else into his bag, everything they had, bread, yoghurt, everything they had. He took his ox and went to cultivate. He set off to cultivate. In the evening he came back. (15) He said 'So, mother, what do you say? Who has worked today?' She said 'My dear, only you have worked, the ass and ox, and I have put the house in order'. He said 'Only we shall eat. Whoever has worked will eat. Whoever has not worked should not expect to eat.' (16) He was shouting so that the daughter of the king would hear. She went hungry when the third day came. They went to sleep. Again they got up in the morning. The young man got up and had breakfast, washed his face and went to his work. His work was to cultivate until evening. (17) In the evening he came back. He washed in the bathroom. His mother prepared food and laid it out. As usual he said 'Well, mother, how was today?' She said 'By God, today, we have worked a little'. He said 'So, we'll eat a little'. They ate. Then they took a small container and put it at her head.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: to make her hear.



(18) *šawθa liθn.*<sup>1</sup> *šawθa lèle mšawóθe mánna díya.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔáy-žigən lèla qyáma.*<sup>1</sup> *har-dmíxtela bəd-lábbá gu-béθət bába díyela.*<sup>1</sup> *mεθíla xadáme ʔixála.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp-xa léle mεθóyalla ʔixála.*<sup>1</sup> *qímela múttella xáčča ʔixála.*<sup>1</sup> *b-léle qímtela*<sup>1</sup> *štíθa miya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xíltella ʔo-ʔixála.*<sup>1</sup> (19) *ʔay-gu-gána mtuxmənna,*<sup>1</sup> *móra ʔən-ʔázən b-áyya ʔurxa,*<sup>1</sup> *mèθana.*<sup>1</sup> *la qémən jálde*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-ódən pəlxána*<sup>1</sup> *ʔla-gàni*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-àxlən.*<sup>2</sup> (20) *yómət ʔarpa*<sup>1</sup> *m-báθər t-íle...*<sup>1</sup> *yaʔni fʔirele yála-w*<sup>1</sup> *qímeye*<sup>1</sup> *zíla l-šúla,*<sup>1</sup> *yómma mtugbártelle,*<sup>1</sup> *zíla l-šúla,*<sup>1</sup> *qímtela,*<sup>1</sup> *mxmláta ʔamáne*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-kníšta bèθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mtugbarta.*<sup>1</sup> (21) *ʔθyele yála,*<sup>1</sup> *dírele,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔámər hà yómmi,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔódyo ʔènile plíxa.*<sup>2</sup> *móra bábi kúllən plíxəx.*<sup>1</sup> *móre láʔat kúllən t-àxləx.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔθyela l-mès,*<sup>1</sup> *hábsa l-ʔšùl.*<sup>1</sup> *qímtela θíθa tíwtela.*<sup>1</sup> *šúryela xílela m-gðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *yómət xámša,*<sup>1</sup> *qímela ʔáy m-báðal xmáθa díya,*<sup>1</sup> *m-báðal yómət yála.*<sup>1</sup> *wídla ʔixála ʔla-yála.*<sup>1</sup> *xille.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-čánte díye dviqla zwàðe,*<sup>1</sup> *dréla gu-čante*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bar-zára hàðəx.*<sup>1</sup> (23) *šléla mónne gu-gòma.*<sup>1</sup> *mpulʔíla táwra-w xmàra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-qəm-paštále b-ʔurxa-w zille-w*<sup>1</sup> *w-áy θéla síqla.*<sup>1</sup> *síqla,*<sup>1</sup> *pišla plàxa-w*<sup>1</sup> *knáša-w mšáya ʔáxxa l-tàmma.*<sup>1</sup> *móra ʔla-xmáθa díya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati là pálxət.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati tù.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔàna pálxən.*<sup>1</sup> (24) *šúrela plàxa-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bráta-w ʔáxxa l-tàmma,*<sup>1</sup> *yóma ʔla-yóma,*<sup>1</sup> *yóma ʔla-yóma.*<sup>1</sup> *lípla pəlxána.*<sup>1</sup> *šuréla zabòne.*<sup>1</sup> *móre b-xšàwən*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya bráta*<sup>1</sup> *brátət bèθela*<sup>1</sup> *w-áxní làx-ðíye bíya díya.*<sup>1</sup>

(25) *xá-yoma málka*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔla-wážr*<sup>1</sup> *yába t-ázəx xázəx*<sup>1</sup> *ʔε-braténi mà mánna.*<sup>1</sup> *bálki t-íla miθta,*<sup>1</sup> *bálki t-íle xa-móndi θíθa bíya.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔámər də-qú-malka t-àzəx.*<sup>1</sup> *qímela,*<sup>1</sup> *ziléla.*<sup>1</sup> *xmáθa díya*<sup>1</sup> *hóla zílta kəs-xəzmáne šwàwe.*<sup>1</sup> *yála hóle zíla šúle.*<sup>1</sup> (26) *ʔáy hóla wáða kùbbe.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla ʔiθáθa gu-léša,*<sup>1</sup> *lyáša kùbbe,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔθyele*<sup>1</sup> *bába díya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-wážr,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔθyela tərəwəθna,*<sup>1</sup> *máxe l-tára.*<sup>1</sup> *máxe l-tára.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiθáθa qámxele,*<sup>1</sup> *pθíxtəllela tára.*<sup>1</sup> *pθíxtəlle tára,*<sup>1</sup> *xziθəlle bába díya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔup-wážr mənne.*<sup>1</sup> (27) *hà bráti,*<sup>1</sup> *dàx-it,*<sup>1</sup> *dàx-let.*<sup>2</sup> *móra bábi spəy-in*<sup>1</sup> *basíma rəba.*<sup>1</sup> *móre xázəx ʔiθáθəx ʔiše.*<sup>1</sup> *hon-wáða ʔixála.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔàit wáða ʔixála.*<sup>2</sup> *móra hè bábi.*<sup>1</sup> *dax-íla, dax-lèla?*<sup>!</sup> *móra hà*<sup>1</sup> *ʔàna b-pəlxánən.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla pəlxána,*<sup>1</sup> *pəlxánət bèθa hóle b-qðàli*<sup>1</sup> *ʔànən wəðólle.*<sup>1</sup>

(18) There was no speech (with this). He did not speak to her at all. She did not get up. She continued sleeping, thinking that she was in her father's house and that the servants would bring her food. Nobody, however, was bringing her food. They put out a little food. In the night she got up, drank water and ate that food. (19) She thought to herself, she said 'If I go on in this way, I'll die. Should I not get up early to work for myself, so that I can eat?' (20) The fourth day, after... the young man had breakfast and went to work, his mother looked after him and he went off to work, she got up and washed the dishes, swept the house and tidied it. (21) The young man came back, he returned and said 'So, mother, who has worked today?' She said 'My dear, we all have worked'. He said 'So, we shall all eat.' They went to the table, as usual. She came and sat down. They began to eat together. (22) The fifth day, she got up instead of her mother-in-law, instead of the mother of the young man. She made food for the young man. He ate. She packed his bag with provisions. She put them in his bag together with seed. (23) She went down with him into the basement stable. She got out the ox and the ass. She set him on the way and he went off, then she came back and went up (to the house). She went up and began working, sweeping, polishing, and so forth. She said to her mother-in-law 'Don't you work. You sit down. I'll work'. (24) She began working, with the girl doing this and that, day after day, day after day. She learnt how to work. She began selling. He said 'I think this girl is a good housewife, but we did not know this about her.'

(25) One day the king said to the vizier 'Let's go and see what has become of that daughter of ours. Perhaps she is dead, perhaps something has happened to her'. He said 'Let's go king'. They set off. Her mother-in-law had gone to visit some relatives who were neighbours. The young man had gone to his work. (26) She was making meat-balls. Her hands were in dough, while kneading the meat-balls. Her father and the vizier came, the two of them came and knocked on the door. They knocked on the door. While there was flour on her hands, she opened the door. She opened the door and saw her father and also the vizier who was with him. (27) 'Hey, daughter, how are you?'<sup>3</sup> She said 'Father, I am well, thank you'. He said 'It seems that your hands are covered (in flour)'. 'I am making food'. 'You are making food?' She said 'Yes father'. 'How she has turned out!' She said 'Yes, I am hard-working. All the work, the work of the house is my duty.<sup>4</sup> It is me who does it'.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: How are you, how are you not?

<sup>4</sup> Literally: is on my neck.

(28) *móra de-tùwe,*<sup>1</sup> *t-ódən* 'ixála,<sup>1</sup> *xá'a mən-d-ánna kúbbe gòre.*<sup>1</sup> *xá'a tla-xmàθila*<sup>1</sup>  
*'u-xá tla-gàwri.*<sup>1</sup> *'a-t-ila tlláli*<sup>1</sup> 'awódánna trè-qəsmə,<sup>1</sup> *t-yánna xa-tlàlux*<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá tla-wàžr.<sup>1</sup>

(29) 'ámər tla-mòdi bráti?<sup>2</sup> *móra sábab* 'áwəwa yàla<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-la-pàləx<sup>1</sup> lè y-áxəl,<sup>1</sup> *litle sáma*  
*gu-d-áwəwa bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> *háyyo mùt mára?*<sup>2</sup> *móra hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> 'ána sámi t-yánne tllaləxu<sup>1</sup> 'ána  
 lè-y-axlən.<sup>1</sup> (30) *móre bráti lá là.*<sup>1</sup> 'áti 'àxlət.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni t-àzəxi.<sup>1</sup> *lá pəšəx tla-xàdàya.*<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-qíməle málka<sup>1</sup> xəðya<sup>1</sup> *gu-gàne-w*<sup>1</sup> 'áw-u wàžr<sup>1</sup> 'u-zilela.<sup>1</sup> *zilela*<sup>1</sup> 'ay-qímətəla wíðtəla  
 kúbbe-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-qlíθəlla *gu-məšxa.*<sup>1</sup> (31) *muttəθəlla tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *túwtəla xmáθa díya.*<sup>1</sup> 'áy-u  
 xmáθa díya xilela-w<sup>1</sup> šwíqətəla tla-gáwra díya.<sup>1</sup> *θéle gáwra díya-žigən xilele.*<sup>1</sup> 'ámər  
 kəma-basimətəla 'ixála,<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa l-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> *šúryəla pšàxa.*<sup>1</sup>

(32) *xá-yoma*<sup>1</sup> *móre hátxa la-hàwya.*<sup>1</sup> *málka mərə*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa la-hàwya.*<sup>1</sup> *mádam bráti*  
*wéla b-pəlxàna*<sup>1</sup> 'u-lípla *pəlxàna*<sup>1</sup> *báyyən t-yàðən*<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa bəŋ-náša mòdile,<sup>1</sup> *dáx mšəle*  
 'áyya bráta qəm-<sup>2</sup>awódla *b-pəlxánət bəθa,*<sup>1</sup> 'u-ká-t brátət málka,<sup>1</sup> 'u-lípta *har-dmáxa-w*  
*xála,*<sup>1</sup> *dmáxa-w xála.*<sup>1</sup> 'ádyo pəša 'áy maxóle tla-náše.<sup>1</sup> (33) *móre làzəm*<sup>1</sup> *yáðən mòdila*  
*qəšəšət.*<sup>1</sup> *mára qiməle.*<sup>1</sup> *qəryele*<sup>1</sup> *yúwele jáwəba tla-yàla.*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'àθeti*<sup>1</sup> 'itli šúla mənnox.<sup>1</sup>  
 'áwəwa zdilele.<sup>1</sup> *zdille,*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'à,*<sup>1</sup> *xzi-málka b-t-áwəð biyi.*<sup>1</sup> (34) *zilele móre 'alle díye*<sup>1</sup>  
*yà bróni,*<sup>1</sup> *bás 'amrətli*<sup>1</sup> *b-duzùθa*<sup>1</sup> *dáx 'áyya bráta wiðálux brátət bəθa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-palàxta-w<sup>1</sup>  
*mbašòle*<sup>1</sup> 'u-xyàpa-w<sup>1</sup> *mšàya-w*<sup>1</sup> *knàša-w*<sup>1</sup> *mbašòle*<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúl-xa mándi wàða,<sup>1</sup> *ká-t*  
*gu-béθi qimta brìθəla,*<sup>1</sup> *léla plixta-w*<sup>1</sup> 'u-hàl 'ádyo yóma?<sup>2</sup> *dáx 'úrxa muxzélux 'əlla*  
*lípla 'àwəwa šúla?*<sup>2</sup> (35) 'ámər *b-àyyət mšúdrəlli?*<sup>2</sup> *móre hè.*<sup>1</sup> *móre xzi-málka t-áwət*  
*basima.*<sup>1</sup> *hadíya*<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-amrənna-llux.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hámənni *har-hàdəx-ile dús.*<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'ap-díya<sup>1</sup>  
 'áyya 'úrxa t-in 'ána zála bíya díya<sup>1</sup> lè-y manšənnə hál yomət-màwəθa.<sup>1</sup> (36) *móre 'itli*  
*xəyál*<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-la-pàləx *gu-bəθi*<sup>1</sup> *litle sáma,*<sup>1</sup> *lè y-áxəl.*<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-pàləx *gu-bəθi b-t-áxəl.*<sup>1</sup> 'àti<sup>1</sup>  
 díya 'áθət *gu-bəθi la-pàlxət,*<sup>1</sup> *lè-y-yannux* 'ixála.<sup>1</sup> 'ána<sup>1</sup> tllà-yome<sup>1</sup> *qam-mjarbənna.*<sup>1</sup>  
 (37) *məri qa-yəmmi*<sup>1</sup> *bas-míya máttət qam-réša díya.*<sup>1</sup> tllà-yome *míya wéla qam-réša díya.*<sup>1</sup>  
*píšla b-gána mājbur*<sup>1</sup> 'ána yómmi *y-awəðáwali fjaríta* 'ixála *y-azənwə,*<sup>1</sup> 'u-mtagəbráwa  
 qənyàni,<sup>1</sup> *y-azənwə plàxa*<sup>1</sup> *w-áy dmíxta.*<sup>1</sup>

(28) She said ‘Sit down, I’ll make food, one of these big meat-balls. One is for my mother-in-law, one is for my husband. The one that is for me I’ll divide into two parts and give one to you and one to the vizier’.

(29) He said ‘Why, daughter?’ She said ‘Because this young man (has made a rule that) whoever does not work will not eat, does not have a share in this house. What do you say (to that)?’ She said that. ‘I shall give my share to you. I shall not eat’. (30) He said ‘My daughter, no, no. You eat. We shall go. We shall not stay for lunch’. The king left, cheerful in spirits, together with the vizier and went on their way. They went off and she made meat-balls and fried them in oil. (31) She then served them. Her mother-in-law sat down. She and her mother-in-law ate and she left some food for her husband. Her husband also came back and he ate. He said ‘How delicious the food is’, and so forth. He began to rejoice.

(32) One day he (the king) said ‘This cannot be’. The king said ‘This cannot be’. If my daughter has become hard-working and has learnt to work, I want to know what (kind of person) this man is, how could he have made this girl a hard-working housewife, while she is the daughter of the king and is used to sleeping and eating, sleeping and eating. Today *she* has begun to feed people’. (33) He said ‘I must know what the story is’. Now, he sent a message to the young man. He said ‘Come, I have business with you’. He was afraid. He was afraid and said ‘Ah, see the king will do something to me’. (34) He went and he said to him ‘My boy, just tell me, in truth, how have you made this girl a housewife, hard-working, cooking, washing, polishing, sweeping, cooking and doing everything, while in my house (from the day) she was born she has not worked, until today? How did you show her the way to learn this work?’ (35) He said ‘Was it for this that you sent for me?’ He said ‘Yes’. He said ‘Look king, if you please, I shall now tell you and believe me it is really like this. I shall not give up<sup>5</sup> until the day I die the way I am following now’. (36) He said ‘In my opinion<sup>6</sup> whoever does not work in my house has no share and will not eat. Whoever works in my house will eat. If you come now, come to my house and do not work, I shall not give you food. I tested her for three days. (37) I said to my mother “Place only water by her head”. For three days water was by her head. She was obliged to stay by herself. My mother would make breakfast for me and food, and I would go. She would look after my animals and I would go to work. She, however, was asleep.

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<sup>5</sup> Literally: forget.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: I have a thought.

(38) 'ána majbúr-iwən t-ázən qátlən gáni pálxən w-áy dmíxta maxlənna.<sup>2</sup>  
na-múmkən.<sup>1</sup> yómə t̥l̥àθa<sup>1</sup> m-báθər 'ána zilli šùla<sup>1</sup> qímla šléla knāša.<sup>1</sup> móri qa-yámmi  
'ənila plíxa.<sup>2</sup> móra bābi<sup>1</sup> hox-plíxe xāncī.<sup>1</sup> 'əni? móra hóla plíxta xāncī.<sup>1</sup> (39) móri  
lá<sup>2</sup>at xāncī 'áxla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-muttéθalla hátxa xāncī.<sup>1</sup> muttéθalla kəs-rəša.<sup>1</sup> qímtela b-lèle<sup>1</sup>  
'ay-xiltela,<sup>1</sup> štíθela miya<sup>1</sup> hal-yómət 'ərpa.<sup>1</sup> yómət 'ərpa<sup>1</sup> píšla mājbur<sup>1</sup> qímla b-gàna,<sup>1</sup>  
mxulólilla 'amàne<sup>1</sup> kníšla b-èθa,<sup>1</sup> wídlā f̥t̥árta 'əlli,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xíllən kúllən m-gōðāðe.<sup>1</sup>  
(40) 'u-zílli t-šùla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dīrri.<sup>1</sup> wídlā 'ixála 'áy b-gàna<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-pəlxána b-gána zála-w  
θáya gu-b-èθa,<sup>1</sup> b-èθa píšele biya diya.<sup>1</sup> 'əyyən 'ána wíða biya diya.<sup>1</sup> lán məxyəlla.<sup>1</sup>  
'u-lán məšürəlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-lán mülpəlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-čũ-məndi.<sup>1</sup> bas-móri 'o-t-là pálx<sup>1</sup> na-múmkən  
t-áxəl gu-b-èθi.<sup>1</sup> (41) qímele dwíqəlle nšiqəlle.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər bríxta dudíya t-íwət 'áti qíma  
gáwa.<sup>1</sup> mádam t-íwət hátxa<sup>1</sup> háyyo láxxa t-awðənnux w-əz̥r̥.<sup>1</sup> p-éšət mónni mənni<sup>1</sup>  
'u-t-yánnux 'úpra kəmā-t b-áyyət<sup>1</sup> 'u-plóx gáwe diye 'u-mápləx nāše.<sup>1</sup> (42) 'ámər là'a.<sup>1</sup>  
'aláha hóle yíwəlli 'áyya 'ürxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána t-ázən b-áyya 'ürxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-rába rəðya.<sup>1</sup> 'úpra 'itli<sup>1</sup>  
məlyànele.<sup>1</sup> 'ána-w yámma 'u-bàxtəwəx.<sup>1</sup> t-əmməl yámmi mìtla,<sup>1</sup> p-éšəx 'ána-w bəxti.<sup>1</sup>  
'itli 'úpra<sup>1</sup> məlyànele.<sup>1</sup> háwət rába rába basima.<sup>1</sup> (43) kízle málka 'áxxa-w t-əmma<sup>1</sup>  
háyyo puš-mənni.<sup>1</sup> móre là'a.<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-əmməl 'àθena,<sup>1</sup> 'áti mxazdətli.<sup>1</sup> t-ámreti t̥l̥àli<sup>1</sup> hà<sup>1</sup>  
'ána hon-yiwəllux 'úpra<sup>1</sup>. w-hon yiwəllux bràta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ədyo 'áti lat-wáða b-xàbri.<sup>1</sup> bálki  
lá-awðən xàbrux.<sup>1</sup> 'e-dána<sup>1</sup> bálki 'əp-rəši p-ermótle.<sup>1</sup> (44) 'ámər də-xùš.<sup>1</sup> bráta hóya  
bríxtəllux.<sup>1</sup> 'u-háwət bríxa<sup>1</sup> yomànux.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-šállā 'álaha yállux b-əyya dúnyə<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-ə-xèta.<sup>1</sup>  
'u-šwíqələn tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-θéli láxxa.<sup>1</sup>

(38) Was I obliged to kill myself working to feed her while she slept? No way. On the third day, after I went to work, she went down (to the basement) to sweep. I said to my mother “Who has worked?” She said “My dear, we have worked a little”. “Who”. She said “She has worked a little”. (39) I said ‘So, she will eat a little’ and she put a little (food) out for her, she laid it by her head. She got up in the night, she ate and drank the water, until the fourth day. On the fourth day, she was forced to get up of her own accord, she washed the dishes, swept the house, made breakfast for me and we all ate together. (40) I went to work and returned. She made the food by herself and did the chores by herself, going to and fro in the house and she ran the house.<sup>7</sup> I did this to her. I did not beat her. I did not curse her. I did not teach her, nothing. I only said “Whoever does not work cannot eat in my house”. (41) He (the king) held him and kissed him. He said ‘Blessed be the cradle in which you grew up. If you have done this,<sup>8</sup> come here and I shall make you the vizier. Stay with me and I shall give you as much land as you want. Work on it and employ people’. (42) He said ‘No. God has given me this way. I shall go on this way very contently. I have land that is sufficient. We are (three), myself, mother and the wife. (If) my mother dies tomorrow, we shall remain, myself and my wife. I have land that is sufficient. Thank you very much’. (43) The king tried (to persuade him) and so forth (saying) ‘Come, stay with me’. He said ‘No. If I come tomorrow, you will blame me. You will say to me “Ah, I have given you land and have given you a daughter, and now you are not obeying me”. Perhaps I shall not obey you. Then, perhaps you will even cut off my head’. (44) He said ‘Go. Let the girl be blessed for you and you be blessed throughout your days. May God grant you (bounty) in this world and the next. I have left it there and come here.

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<sup>7</sup> Literally: the house became by her.

<sup>8</sup> Literally: If you are like this.

## A22 THE SALE OF AN OX

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) mára 'íθwa xa-gáwra-w bàxta.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwala bnòne.<sup>1</sup> kùt-yum<sup>1</sup> šaléwa gáwra<sup>1</sup> l-šùqa<sup>1</sup> msawòqe<sup>1</sup> 'u-čú-məndi lé meθéwa.<sup>1</sup> báxta mára xzi-kəmə t-ázəl 'áwra táwra,<sup>1</sup> mزابən.<sup>1</sup>  
 (2) mára 'áp-aw qíməle šqílalle táwra<sup>1</sup> šəlyele<sup>1</sup> mزابònalle.<sup>1</sup> šəlyele gu-réšət mðíta<sup>1</sup> šríxele hè<sup>1</sup> 'əni b-záwən táwra?<sup>1</sup> náše 'əθyela kùlla<sup>1</sup> lìθ hátxa məndi wíya gu-mðíta<sup>1</sup> lèla xázye.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela jmíye.<sup>1</sup> (3) théle mälla.<sup>1</sup> mälla mərə<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-zawənəne<sup>1</sup> 'úna 'ən-háwe t-là 'aqláθa.<sup>1</sup> 'yá'ni δá-'ída parəmla,<sup>1</sup> páyəs t-là 'aqláθa.<sup>1</sup> qímle táwra<sup>1</sup> primále δá 'íde díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-táwra píšle mangóle 'áxxa l-tamma.<sup>1</sup> (4) 'ámər də-sì<sup>1</sup> 'ána<sup>1</sup> 'é-gə t-wéwa 'ərbe la-zwínni.<sup>1</sup> zawənəne t-əlləθ?<sup>1</sup> là zawənəne.<sup>1</sup> de-yába 'əni b-zawənəne hátxa?<sup>1</sup> lá b-xa-zúza rába məndi hèle<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa l-tamma.<sup>1</sup> (5) mu'álləm théle.<sup>1</sup> mu'álləm mərə 'ən-háwe b-tərte 'aqláθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-zawənəne.<sup>1</sup> qímle 'áqla xéta... qəm-parəmla.<sup>1</sup> táwra npille.<sup>1</sup> táwra npille théle fəqih.<sup>1</sup> mərə yába b-zabnətle 'əlli 'ən-háwe b-δà-'aqla?<sup>1</sup> mərə zilla θəla<sup>1</sup> δa-'aqla!<sup>1</sup> 'áti 'áqla šqùlla<sup>1</sup> mxíla gu-yəmmət gənux!<sup>1</sup> (6) qəm-parəmlə táwra.<sup>1</sup> t-là 'aqláθa.<sup>1</sup> píšle δà-'aqla.<sup>1</sup> píšle təma,<sup>1</sup> píšle təma<sup>1</sup> hərəj.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa la-šqille.<sup>1</sup> táwra zille<sup>1</sup> b-xarəθa.<sup>1</sup> (7) síqlə l-bəθa<sup>1</sup> pšīma-w<sup>1</sup> bxáya mxáya l-gáne díye<sup>1</sup> bnóne díye t-la-'ixələla.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər báxta hāl-u qəššət hátxela.<sup>1</sup> mərə šléli<sup>1</sup>... šléli gu-mðíta<sup>1</sup> qréli hátxa kut-záwən táwra?<sup>1</sup> (8) théle mälla<sup>1</sup> mərə t-ləli<sup>1</sup> 'ən-háwe t-là 'aqláθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-zawənəne.<sup>1</sup> 'ána qímli primáli δà-'aqlə díye.<sup>1</sup> məri bálki zawənəne.<sup>1</sup> xázən xkikle bíyi<sup>1</sup> mərə 'ána b-ərbe lánwa zwánalle<sup>1</sup> zawənəne b-t-əlləθ?<sup>1</sup> (9) théle bəre díye<sup>1</sup> théle mu'álləm.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'ána b-zawənəne 'ən-háwe b-tərte 'aqláθa.<sup>1</sup> qímən δa-xéta primən-əlla.<sup>1</sup> píšele tərte.<sup>1</sup> táwra npille.<sup>1</sup> théle fəqih,<sup>1</sup> mərə yába 'ən-íla hátxa-hala,<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-zawənəne 'ən-háwe b-δà 'áqla.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'áp-əy 'áqla primáli,<sup>1</sup> zədyáli tāmaha.<sup>1</sup> táwra mitle npille təma.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa lá-θele šqəlalle-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-zílle hərəmāt<sup>1</sup> 'u-kálwe qəm-axlíle-w zille.<sup>1</sup> mərə hátxa gáwra?<sup>1</sup> mərə hè.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was a man and a wife. They had children. Every day the man would go down to the market to do shopping, but would bring nothing back. (His wife) said 'See how much this ox will go for, sell it'. (2) So, he took the ox and went down to sell it. He went down to the top of the town and cried 'Hey, who will buy an ox?' Everybody came. Nothing like that had happened in the town. They had not seen (such a thing). They came and gathered together. (3) A mullah came. The mullah said 'I shall buy it, but only if it has three legs'. That is, he should cut off one foot so that it would become three-legged. He cut off one of the ox's feet and the ox began to limp back and forth. (4) He said 'Get away with you! When it was four-legged I did not buy it. Should I buy it three-legged? I shall not buy it. Who will buy it like that? (A person) would not buy it for one coin. (Even that would be) a lot', and so forth. (5) A teacher came. The teacher said 'If it were two-legged, I would buy it'. He cut off another leg. The ox fell down. The ox fell down and a jurist came. He said 'Will you sell it to me if it has one leg?' He said 'All this fuss,<sup>1</sup> now one leg! Take the leg and stick it in your mother!' (6) He cut up the ox. (He had cut off) three legs and one leg remained. It remained there, it remained there at a bargain price, but nobody bought it. Finally the ox died. (7) He went up to the house, sad, weeping, beating himself (thinking that) his children would be without food. He said 'Wife, the situation is like this'. He said 'I went down to the town and cried out like this 'Is there anybody who will buy an ox?'' (8) A mullah came and said to me 'If it is three-legged, I shall buy it'. I cut off one of its legs. I said "Perhaps he will buy it", but I saw that he laughed at me. He said "I would not buy it with four legs, would I buy it with three?" (9) After him a teacher came. He said "I shall buy it if it has two legs". I cut off another one. (Only) two remained. The ox fell down. A jurist came and said "If the situation is like this, I shall buy it if it has one leg". He said 'I cut off also that leg and threw it away. The ox died, it collapsed there. Nobody came to buy it. It went for nothing. Dogs ate it and it was finished'. She said 'Is that so husband?' He said 'Yes'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: They have gone, they have come.



(10) bεθéy dàx-ile?<sup>1</sup> 'itla trè 'otáxe.<sup>1</sup> ða-òtəx<sup>1</sup> 'áni dāmxi gəwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-xèta<sup>1</sup> heywànela.<sup>1</sup> gòmεla t-ámrxəx,<sup>1</sup> xùya.<sup>1</sup> mátti tàxta,<sup>1</sup> mátti tàxta hàtxa<sup>1</sup> ta-t-àzi,<sup>1</sup> líθən dārəje,<sup>1</sup> ta-şáli gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup> táxtela mútte hàtxa<sup>1</sup> ta-şáli tàma.<sup>1</sup> (11) móra gəwəra ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-şalyàna.<sup>1</sup> şlíθela bàxta<sup>1</sup> xziθa qa-màlla.<sup>1</sup> mälla 'itle dəkkánət 'aparùθa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni šəkəx-u<sup>1</sup> çəy-u<sup>1</sup> pàrça,<sup>1</sup> mən-d-àнна məndiyáne,<sup>1</sup> 'u-şəbun.<sup>1</sup> (12) driθela şláma 'əlle dıye<sup>1</sup> móra 'a-màlla dàx-it?<sup>1</sup> dāx-ile kəfux?<sup>1</sup> 'əxxa l-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> móre spəy-iwən,<sup>1</sup> basımta rəba.<sup>1</sup> xér 'əxxa?<sup>1</sup> móra b-álaha hon-θiθa<sup>1</sup> báyən msóqən xákma məndiyáne<sup>1</sup> tla-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (13) 'əmər şqúl kù-məndi-t báyət.<sup>1</sup> mxithəlle 'əna<sup>1</sup> mälla xəðyεle.<sup>1</sup> móre kù-məndi-t báyət şqúl.<sup>1</sup> şqiltela xa-čánta hàtxa m̀lithela.<sup>1</sup> móra mälla<sup>1</sup> t-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup> móre mòdi?<sup>1</sup> (14) b-óma xéna 'əθeti tla-kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> čidət kəsləni.<sup>1</sup> móre 'əkεle bεθəxu?<sup>1</sup> móra fəllən dükθa.<sup>1</sup> móre qəm-yəððənnε.<sup>1</sup> móra tla-kawùθra<sup>1</sup> 'əθət 'ána mbəşlən mánđi.<sup>1</sup> móre sùq.<sup>1</sup> (15) lá-şqille zúze mənna.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya sığla,<sup>1</sup> musóqla pàrça,<sup>1</sup> musóqla şəbun,<sup>1</sup> musóqla šəkəx,<sup>1</sup> kù-məndi-t béla musóqla.<sup>1</sup> móra xzi gəwəra,<sup>1</sup> xzi-maşitheti.<sup>1</sup> (16) şléla yómət trè<sup>1</sup> 'al-fəqih,<sup>1</sup> 'itle dəkkána.<sup>1</sup> kúlla dəkkancəyεla.<sup>1</sup> mára dréla şláma l-fəqih<sup>1</sup> dàx-it?<sup>1</sup> dāx-ləwət?<sup>1</sup> dāx-ile kəfux?<sup>1</sup> şúlux dàx-ile?<sup>1</sup> móre basımta spəy-ila<sup>1</sup> xèr-ila?<sup>1</sup> móra báyən xákma məndiyáne zəwənən tla-bnóni gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> móra bəşra,<sup>1</sup> kəθayàθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'itlux,<sup>1</sup> šəkəx,<sup>1</sup> çəy,<sup>1</sup> 'anna məndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> (17) móre kù-məndi báyət şqúl.<sup>1</sup> şqiltela.<sup>1</sup> móra fəqih,<sup>1</sup> móra t-amrənnux xə-məndi,<sup>1</sup> lá-əmrət tla-əp-xa.<sup>1</sup> móre mò?<sup>1</sup> móra čidεwət 'aşórta tla-xa-rəmša<sup>1</sup> yómət tlaθa.<sup>1</sup> yómət tlaθa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni bar-tre-yòme,<sup>1</sup> yómət tlaθa,<sup>1</sup> 'əθət kəsləni.<sup>1</sup> móre 'əkεle bεθəxu?<sup>1</sup> móra fəllən dükθa.<sup>1</sup> móre há yəððənnε t-àθən tàma.<sup>1</sup> (18) yómət tlaθa<sup>1</sup> har-şléla.<sup>1</sup> şléla,<sup>1</sup> tfiqla mu'əlləm.<sup>1</sup> mu'əlləm,<sup>1</sup> dəkkána gòrtela.<sup>1</sup> kúl xa-təhər mánđi 'itle gəwa.<sup>1</sup> ziltela,<sup>1</sup> driθela 'ida dıya 'al-rüşε dıye,<sup>1</sup> 'əxxa-w tàmma.<sup>1</sup> háyyo t-amrənnux,<sup>1</sup> gxəkεla mónne dıye,<sup>1</sup> 'əwıwa θéle kəfε.<sup>1</sup>

(10) What was their house like? They had two rooms. In one room they slept. The other one was (for) the animals, it was a basement stable, as we call it. It was dark. They would put a board down, they would put a board down like this to go into it, there were no steps, to go down to the basement stable. They put a board down like this to go down there. (11) She said 'Husband, it's all right. I shall go down (to the town). The woman went down (to the town) and saw the mullah. The mullah had a shop of household goods, that is sugar, tea, fabrics, such things as these, and soap. (12) She greeted him and said 'Hey mullah, how are you? How are you doing?' and so forth. He said 'I am well, thank you very much. How are things?' She said 'Indeed I have come with the intention of buying a few things for the house'. (13) He said 'Take everything you want'. She winked her eye at him. The mullah was happy. He said 'Take anything you want'. She took a basket that was full like this. She said 'Mullah, let me tell you something'. He said 'What?' (14) 'The day after tomorrow come to lunch, you are invited to our home'. He said 'Where is your house?' She said 'In such-and-such a place'. He said 'I see'.<sup>2</sup> She said 'Come to lunch and I shall cook something'. He said 'Go up (back home)'. (15) He did not take money from her. She went up and took up (with her) material, she took up soap, she took up sugar, she took up everything she wanted. She said 'Look husband, look listen (to what I have to say)'. (16) She went down the next day to the jurist, who had a shop. They were all shopkeepers. She greeted the jurist 'How are you?<sup>3</sup> How are you doing? How is your work?' He said 'Thank you, all is well. How are things?' She said 'I want to buy a few things for my children at home'. She said 'meat, chickens, if you have them, sugar, tea, such things as that'. (17) He said 'Take anything you want'. She took it and said 'Jurist', she said 'Let me tell you something. Don't tell it to anybody'. He said 'What?' She said 'You are invited in the evening to dinner on the third day (from now), on the third day, that is after two days, the third day,<sup>4</sup> come to us'. He said 'Where is your house?' She said 'In such-and-such a place'. He said 'Yes, I know it, I'll come'. (18) On the third day she went down again. She went down and met the teacher. The teacher was in a big shop. He had every kind of thing in it. She went and put her hand on his shoulder, and so forth 'Come, let me tell you'. She was merry with him and he became happy.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: I (now) know it.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: How are you, how are you not?

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the day after tomorrow.

(19) *qəm-dawqàle.*<sup>1</sup> *móra xzí t-amránnox mu‘álləm.*<sup>1</sup> *‘áti ràba bǎyánnux.*<sup>1</sup> *bas-msǎ‘adli xáčča.*<sup>1</sup> *hállli xákma mǎndi<sup>1</sup> masqánne l-bèθa<sup>1</sup> ‘u-‘ašǎrta b-léle ‘áθeti kǎsli.*<sup>1</sup> *‘ána zúza lítli,<sup>1</sup> fǎqǎrten.*<sup>1</sup> (20) *‘ámər dǎx lítlǎx xǎtǎr.*<sup>1</sup> *dǎx lítlǎx xǎtǎr bǎxta,<sup>1</sup> ‘u-bt-àθm<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ánna ‘éni bt-àθm.*<sup>1</sup> *‘u-šqul kù-mǎndi-t bǎyǎt<sup>1</sup> ‘áyya dǎkkána qǎmǎx.*<sup>1</sup> *kù-mǎdi-t bǎyǎt šqúl.*<sup>1</sup> (21) *šuréla šqilla šqilla kù-mǎndi-t mǎšela.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-šaqlála dréla gu-čánta dǎya.*<sup>1</sup> *šuréla b-úrxa sìqla.*<sup>1</sup> *sìqla móra tla-gǎwǎra.*<sup>1</sup> *móra gǎwǎra.*<sup>1</sup> *xzi-‘ánna tla-nǎše<sup>1</sup> t-íla prímalle tǎwra,<sup>1</sup> tǎláθna hon-yíwtǎlla mǎ‘ad.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *‘ina t-áθi lǎxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *‘áti kúl fǎtra<sup>1</sup> mǎšǎtla gǎmux barǎye.*<sup>1</sup> *dánət kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> har-wéla dǎnət kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> xzélux xa-nǎša θǎya,<sup>1</sup> málla bt-àθe,<sup>1</sup> t-áwǎr gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> yǎ‘ni xamšǎ daqǎqela hal-‘ǎšra<sup>1</sup> ‘áti ‘áθeti.*<sup>1</sup> *šǎrxət xa-qǎla<sup>1</sup> ‘ahè!<sup>1</sup> ‘ahè!<sup>1</sup> hǎtxa<sup>1</sup> ‘u-‘ána ta-t-yǎðm.*<sup>1</sup> *‘u-‘áti lítlux šúla.*<sup>1</sup> (23) *xǎrθa,<sup>1</sup> pǎlteti<sup>1</sup> ‘ap-‘ašǎrta hǎdǎx.*<sup>1</sup> *‘u-‘áti har-hǎwǎt barǎye<sup>1</sup> ‘u-sǎprət kut-áθe lǎxxa.*<sup>1</sup> *m-báθər xámša daqǎqe<sup>1</sup> ‘áti ‘ǎwreti.*<sup>1</sup> *‘u-hǎl ‘ašǎrta,<sup>1</sup> hál ‘ǎdlǎle,<sup>1</sup> hal xa-rǎmša.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ma-yxǎlǎf bǎxti.*<sup>1</sup>

(24) *wíyεle yómət tǎàθa<sup>1</sup> ‘áwwa ftǎrele<sup>1</sup> ‘u-plǎtεle.*<sup>1</sup> *plǎtεle zǎlele hóle gašǎqe.*<sup>1</sup> *dánət kawùθra θéle málla.*<sup>1</sup> *móre málla<sup>1</sup> šlǎma-llǎx<sup>1</sup> mǎra<sup>1</sup> w-áy b-šéne málla θélux!*<sup>1</sup> *‘áhlán wa-sǎhlán rǎš-rèš.*<sup>1</sup> *ya-‘áhlán wa-sǎhlán.*<sup>1</sup> *pǎqǎð tù!<sup>1</sup> pǎqǎð tù!<sup>1</sup> (25) málla-žǎgǎn tǎwle,<sup>1</sup> ‘áxxa l-tǎmma.*<sup>1</sup> *šoréla moθéla mǎya.*<sup>1</sup> *mtǎle kǎsle dǎye,<sup>1</sup> šoréle štáya mǎya<sup>1</sup> ‘áxxa l-tǎmma.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-bèna<sup>1</sup> gǎwǎra dǎya<sup>1</sup> hó šekǎro!<sup>1</sup> líθ lǎ-xmara mǎnne dǎye<sup>1</sup> la-čù-mǎndi.*<sup>1</sup> *šǎxεle ‘al-‘asǎs hóle síqa l-qèse,<sup>1</sup> mεθóye qèse<sup>1</sup> gǎwǎre dǎye θèle.*<sup>1</sup> (26) *móra málla<sup>1</sup> šqúl ‘áwwa qésa l-‘ǎdux,<sup>1</sup> xa-qésa rǎxa,<sup>1</sup> šqúl l-‘ǎdux,<sup>1</sup> wúr gu-d-áwwa bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *čúmle tǎra bǎrux.*<sup>1</sup> *hǎwǎt hǎšyǎr ‘ǎtlǎn jǎnne.*<sup>1</sup> *‘ǎtlǎn jǎnne.*<sup>1</sup> *satǎne ‘ǎtlǎn,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áwwa bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *hǎwǎt hǎšyǎr t-là-‘áθi ‘ǎllux.*<sup>1</sup> *ha-t-gǎwǎri ‘ǎzǎl.*<sup>1</sup> (27) *‘áwwa mòdile wǎða?<sup>1</sup> ja-jǎlde qǎmεle<sup>1</sup> ‘u-zǎla šqǎlǎlle ‘o-qésa rǎxa<sup>1</sup> ‘u-wǎrele gu-d-o-bèθa<sup>1</sup> rǎš-d-ò-dapa<sup>1</sup> ‘u-tǎra čǎmtǎlle bǎre.*<sup>1</sup> *tǎra čǎmtǎlle bǎre dǎye-w<sup>1</sup> ‘áw pǎšεle tǎma.*<sup>1</sup>

(19) She held him and said 'Look, let me tell you teacher. I love you a lot. Only, help me a little. Give me something to take up to the house and tonight come to me. I do not have a penny. I am poor'. (20) He said 'Of course, you are welcome, my lady. I shall come. (I promise) by these eyes (of mine) that I shall come. Take whatever you want. This shop is before you. Take whatever you want'. (21) She began to take (things) and took everything she could. She took them and put them in her bag. Then she set off on the road and went up (home). She went up and said to her husband, she said 'Husband, take note that the three people who slaughtered the ox,—I have made an assignation with the three of them. (22) They will come here. Each time you hide yourself outside. At lunch-time, as soon as lunchtime has come and you have seen a man coming—the mullah will come and enter the house—after five or ten minutes you come back. Shout out "ahə, 'ahə", like that, so that I know. You have nothing (else) to do. (23) Then, you go out, and in the evening (do) the same. You be outside all the time and wait for whoever comes here. After five minutes you should come in, and (do the same) in the evening, tonight, at dinner-time'. He said 'Fine, wife'.

(24) The third day came. He had his breakfast and went out. He went out, went off and kept watch. At lunchtime the mullah came. The mullah said 'Greetings to you' She said 'Welcome mullah! Welcome! Welcome! Please, sit down. Please, sit down'. (25) The mullah sat down, and so forth. She began by bringing water. He put it by him and began to drink water, and so forth, then her husband (cried) 'Wo!'<sup>5</sup> There was not, however, an ass with him, nothing. He cried out (pretending) that he had gone up for wood, to fetch wood. Her husband came back. (26) She said 'Mullah, take this stick in your hand, a long stick, take it in your hand and go into this room. Close the door behind you. Be careful, since we have jinn, we have jinn. We have demons in this house. Be careful they do not accost you. (Stay there) until my husband goes'. (27) What did he do? He quickly got up, took the long stick and entered the room, by the board. She closed the door behind him. She closed the door behind him and he remained there.

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<sup>5</sup> Call made to stop an animal.

(28) *dí zilla dána<sup>1</sup> θèla dána<sup>1</sup> ʔu-saʔtela<sup>1</sup> wéla ʔaʂrta.<sup>1</sup> b-áyya dána,<sup>1</sup> ʔθyéle fáqih.<sup>1</sup> θéle fáqih<sup>1</sup> śláma-llax.<sup>1</sup> háy b-šéna b-ṭawàθa, fáqih.<sup>1</sup> yába rəš-réʂi ʔáhlān w-sàhlān,<sup>1</sup> b-šéna.<sup>1</sup> páqəð tù!<sup>1</sup> páqəð tù!<sup>1</sup> tíwéle ʔəp-ʔaw.<sup>1</sup> mǝlé moθéθalle xáçça miya.<sup>1</sup> mára maθyánnux xa-çày,<sup>1</sup> b-šatèxi.<sup>1</sup> ʔəp-xa liθ láxxa gu-béθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔayále díye hóle mšùdrəlla xa-dúkθa xéta.<sup>1</sup> (29) mára tíwéle<sup>1</sup> háš stákána šətya<sup>1</sup> t-la-štáya çày.<sup>1</sup> xa-qála ʔáθe m-qam-tárət b-èθa<sup>1</sup> hó šekāro!<sup>1</sup> ʔámər ʔaw ʔənile.<sup>2</sup> mára gáwri θéle mǝási gānux.<sup>1</sup> yíwla xa-qésa xéna ʔille díye.<sup>1</sup> mára háwət həšyər<sup>1</sup> ʔiθən jənnə saʔáne gu-d-áyya ʔətəx.<sup>1</sup> háwət həšyər.<sup>1</sup> har-qítla biyux,<sup>1</sup> qaṭlilux t-axlilux.<sup>1</sup> (30) máre ma-yxəlǝf.<sup>1</sup> qíméle šqílele qésa b-ʔíde díye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-wíwéle.<sup>1</sup> ʔax-t-íle wíra,<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa dúkθa ta-t-kaləwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-çimtəlle tára báre díye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-píšéle ʔəp-aw təma.<sup>1</sup>*

(31) *θéle b-ʔaʂrta<sup>1</sup> b-léle ta-t-áxla xa-rəmša,<sup>1</sup> xa-béna hādax<sup>1</sup> ʔθyéle muʔálləm.<sup>1</sup> rába śláma-llax<sup>1</sup> dāx-it.<sup>2</sup> dāx ləwət.<sup>2</sup> mára b-šéna ṭawàθa,<sup>1</sup> rába b-šéna.<sup>1</sup> háwət basíma rəba<sup>1</sup> qa-d-áwwa ʔixála t-it-yíwəlle qa-diyi<sup>1</sup> mən-kθayàθa,<sup>1</sup> mən-bəsrə,<sup>1</sup> mən-šékər-u çáy-u šàbun.<sup>1</sup> kùl-xa mǝndi<sup>1</sup> hot-yíwəlla<sup>1</sup> háwət basíma rəba.<sup>1</sup> ʔina páqəð tù.<sup>1</sup> mšaxnánne ʔixála<sup>1</sup> ta-t-áxləx ʔána-w ʔati m-gǝðəde.<sup>1</sup> (32) ʔámər líθ ʔəp-xa gu-b-èθa.<sup>2</sup> mára là<sup>1</sup> har-ʔána,<sup>1</sup> xəðiwən.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya šwíθa ṭláli ʔu-ṭlálux-ila.<sup>1</sup> máre xoš-məndila.<sup>1</sup> šuréθa mbarxóše ʔixála,<sup>1</sup> xa-béna gáwra díya ʔəθe,<sup>1</sup> hó šekāro!<sup>1</sup> máre ʔənile.<sup>2</sup> mára gáwri θéle.<sup>1</sup> zílewa be-šwəwe.<sup>1</sup> xzi-θèle.<sup>1</sup> (33) máre mǝ-ʔoðən.<sup>2</sup> mára mo-t-ððəx.<sup>2</sup> šqul ʔáwwa qésa<sup>1</sup> wúr gu-d-áyya ʔətəx,<sup>1</sup> ʔina háwət həšyər.<sup>1</sup> hóla ʔiθən jənnə gáwa<sup>1</sup> t-la-qaṭlilux.<sup>1</sup> ʔámər háyyo mùt-mara.<sup>2</sup> mára yé b-alàha<sup>1</sup> xzi-háwət həšyər.<sup>1</sup> (34) qíméle šqílele ʔəp-ʔaw qésa.<sup>1</sup> wíwéle gu-ʔətəx<sup>1</sup> ʔu-lá-mur qáyəθ b-o-t-íle dəpne,<sup>1</sup> qáyəθ b-fáqih.<sup>1</sup> fáqih qáyəθ b-màlla.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šáli gu-gòma,<sup>1</sup> mxáyela l-gǝðəde.<sup>1</sup> xúyele.<sup>1</sup> (35) tára çimtela baréy.<sup>1</sup> xúyele.<sup>1</sup> xa-mxáyele l-o-xéna.<sup>1</sup> xa-mxáyele l-o-xéna.<sup>1</sup> ʔánna xšiwela jənnela.<sup>1</sup> dú dú dú mxéla l-gǝðəde<sup>1</sup> ha-t-ṭláθna mùtla.<sup>1</sup> ʔimət mùtla ṭlathnèy,<sup>1</sup> qímtela pθixtela tára<sup>1</sup> ʔina léla šmáya qálət ʔəp-xa.<sup>1</sup> hóla ṭláθna miθe.<sup>1</sup>*

(28) Time passed, the hours passed, and it became evening. At that time the jurist came. The jurist came (and said) 'Greetings to you'. 'Welcome, jurist. Welcome. Please sit down'. He also sat down. When he came, she brought some water. She said 'Let me bring some tea and we shall drink. There is nobody here in the house. He (my husband) has sent his children to another place.' (29) He (the jurist) sat down. He had not yet drunk the glass of tea when a voice came from outside the house 'Wo!' He said 'Who is that?' She said 'My husband has returned. Hide yourself!' She gave another stick to him. She said 'Be careful. There are jinn and demons in this room. Be careful. As soon as they hit you, they will kill you and eat you'. (30) He said 'Fine'. He got up, took the stick in his hand and entered (the room). When he entered, there was space for him to stand. She closed the door behind him and he also remained there.

(31) The late evening came, time for her to eat dinner, then the teacher came (and said) 'Many greetings. How are you?'<sup>6</sup> She said 'Welcome, welcome. Thank you very much for this food that you have given me, chicken, meat, sugar, tea, soap. You have given me all kinds of things. Thank you very much. But please sit down. I shall heat the food so that you and I can eat together'. (32) He said 'There is nobody in the house?' She said 'No, only me. I am alone. This bed is for me and you'. He said 'That's good'. She began to stir the food, then her husband came back 'Wo!' He said 'Who is it?' She said 'My husband has come back. He had gone to our neighbours' house. Look he has returned'. (33) He said 'What should I do?' She said 'What should we do? Take this stick and go into this room. But be careful. There are jinn in it, (be careful) they do not kill you'. He said 'Come on, what are you saying?' She said 'Yes, by God, look, be careful!' (34) He also got up and took the stick. He entered the room and, what do you say,<sup>7</sup> he knocked into the one next to him, he knocked into the jurist. The jurist knocked into the mullah. They slid down into the basement stable, beating each other. It was dark. (35) She had closed the door after them and it was dark. One was beating the other, one was beating the other. They thought they were jinn. They beat one another until the three of them died. When the three of them died, she opened the door and did not hear the voice of anybody. The three were dead.

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<sup>6</sup> Literally: how are you, how are you not?

<sup>7</sup> Literally: Do not say.

(36) *b-lèlela*,<sup>1</sup> *plittèla* *ziltela*<sup>1</sup> *xziθalle xa-nàša*.<sup>1</sup> *màra*<sup>1</sup> *háyyo ya-gáni t-amrànnux*.<sup>1</sup> *màre mò*?<sup>1</sup> *màra* <sup>2</sup>*áti pésət hammála*—*hammála yá'ni* <sup>2</sup>*o-t-táyən nàše*,<sup>1</sup> *táyən m̀ndi*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áw y-amríle hammála*—*màra háyyo*.<sup>1</sup> *háyyo kəsłéni t-amrànnux*.<sup>1</sup> (37) <sup>2</sup>*áp-áw qíméle zílele kəsłé*.<sup>1</sup> *màre há bàxta*,<sup>1</sup> *mùt-mara*?<sup>1</sup> *màra t-yánnux* <sup>2</sup>*əsrà dináre*.<sup>1</sup> *bàs*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áwwa náša nablátte tamr̀tli*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ina háwət həsýər*<sup>1</sup> *miθéni d̀eri*.<sup>1</sup> *m̀tamr̀tite spáy ta-t-là dáyər*.<sup>1</sup> *màre h̀è*?<sup>1</sup> (38) *hóle mpúlta m̀lla qamáye*,<sup>1</sup> *mpúltele gu-ótəx diya*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áp-áw ráp* <sup>2</sup>*ide diye l-áqlət m̀lla*,<sup>1</sup> *deréle bátər q̀ðəle*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-de-b-lèlela*,<sup>1</sup> *zílele zílele xázyele xa-lawúrta*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-dáryəlle gáwa diya*.<sup>1</sup> *dáryəlle gáwa diya*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-əθyale*.<sup>1</sup> (39) *ha-t-ile* <sup>2</sup>*əθya*,<sup>1</sup> *mpuláttela f̀əqih*.<sup>1</sup> *mpuláttelle*<sup>1</sup> *muttèθəlle f̀əqih táma*.<sup>1</sup> *màra nómu la-móri-llux dáyər*,<sup>1</sup> *míθa dáyər*?<sup>1</sup> *hóle d̀irre*.<sup>1</sup> *háyyo mut mára*?<sup>1</sup> *màra b-r̀əšux*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áti múttət-əlle táma*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áw qam-m̀nnux hóle* <sup>2</sup>*əθya láxxa*.<sup>1</sup> *háyyo mut mára*?<sup>1</sup> (40) *tqiləlle*,<sup>1</sup> *tinəlle l-xáše*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-nùbləlle*.<sup>1</sup> *zədyəlle gu-xa-dúkθa* <sup>2</sup>*amúqta rába*.<sup>1</sup> *màre ta-t-là pálət*.<sup>1</sup> *zadéle šàle*<sup>1</sup> *gu-xa-čále g̀orta*.<sup>1</sup> (41) <sup>2</sup>*u-qíméle mpúltele mu'álləm*.<sup>1</sup> *mpuláttela mu'álləm táma*.<sup>1</sup> *màra* <sup>2</sup>*éka zdelux ja-jáldə* <sup>2</sup>*éle* <sup>2</sup>*áwwa qàm-m̀nnux*?<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ámər m̀dit mára*?<sup>1</sup> *hon-dáryəlle gu-xa-čále* <sup>2</sup>*amúqta lá-áməš ču-ga ču-ga pálət*.<sup>1</sup> *màre hálle láxxa*<sup>1</sup> (42) *kribəle*.<sup>1</sup> *dáryəlle l-xáše diye*,<sup>1</sup> *siqele*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ərxə*,<sup>1</sup> *siqele gu-kotála*,<sup>1</sup> *rəs-kotála dáryəlle gu-miəya*.<sup>1</sup> *šəlyele*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áwwa* <sup>2</sup>*əžvána*—<sup>2</sup>*áw-t mtágbər* <sup>2</sup>*ərxə*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríle* <sup>2</sup>*əžvána*.<sup>1</sup>—<sup>2</sup>*áwwa*<sup>1</sup> *pθixele tára*,<sup>1</sup> *xáze* <sup>2</sup>*ərxə klèla*.<sup>1</sup> (43) *xáze m̀dila q́ššət*<sup>1</sup> *míya lèla θáya*.<sup>1</sup> *hóle šólya* <sup>2</sup>*o-náša gu-miəya*.<sup>1</sup> *paθəxle tára*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ina xazéle* <sup>2</sup>*o-əžvána táma*.<sup>1</sup> *maxéle xa-qésa* <sup>2</sup>*šlle diye*,<sup>1</sup> *qaťəlle* <sup>2</sup>*əžvána*.<sup>1</sup> *qaťəlle* <sup>2</sup>*əžvána táma*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-ərəq*.<sup>1</sup> (44) <sup>2</sup>*ázəl tla-báxta* <sup>2</sup>*ámər*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ámər há xàzəx*<sup>1</sup> *la-d̀irre*?<sup>1</sup> *la-d̀irre*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*o-miθm*?<sup>1</sup> *màra mut-dáyər*?<sup>1</sup> *yáđət* <sup>2</sup>*ékəm dáryəlle*?<sup>1</sup> *màra* <sup>2</sup>*éka*?<sup>1</sup> (45) *màre dáryəlle gu-kotálat* <sup>2</sup>*ərxə*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-báyéwa pálət-u plitlə*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-báyéwa pálət-u pθixəlle tárad* <sup>2</sup>*ərxə*,<sup>1</sup> *báyéwa páləttwa*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*u-ána máxyən-əlle qésa gu-réše diye*,<sup>1</sup> *hon-q̀təllə*.<sup>1</sup> *hóle táma*.<sup>1</sup>

(36) At night she went out and found a man. She said ‘Come, my dear, let me tell you something’. He said ‘What?’ She said ‘Please be a porter—a porter, that is somebody who carries people, carries something, he is called a porter—she said ‘Come, come to our home and I’ll tell you’.

(37) He went to their home. He said ‘So, woman. What do you want to say?’ She said ‘, but be careful, our dead return. Bury him well so that he does not return.’ He said ‘Yes’.

(38) The mullah was taken out first, he was taken out into their room. Woosh his hand (caught hold of) the leg of the mullah and he put him behind his neck. Now, while it was night, he went off and found a valley, and he put him into it. He put him into it and came back.

(39) Before he came back, she took out the jurist. She took out the jurist and placed him there. She said ‘Did I not tell you that he would return, that the dead would return? Look he has returned’.

‘Come on. What are you saying?’ She said ‘(I swear) by your head. You put him there, but he has come back here before you’.

‘Come on. What are you saying?’

(40) He lifted him up, loaded him on his back and took him away. He threw him in a very deep place. He said ‘So that he will not come out’. He threw him down into a deep pit.

(41) The teacher was then brought out. She brought out the teacher there (in the house). She said ‘Where did you throw him that he has come back before you so quickly?’ He said ‘What are you saying? I put him in a deep pit from which he could never come out’.

He said ‘Give him to me here’.

(42) He was angry. He put him on his back and went up to the water-mill. He went up to the water tank<sup>8</sup> and placed him in the tank in the water. The mill caretaker went down—the person who looks after the water-mill is called the caretaker (*ažvana*)—he opened the door and sees that the water-mill has stopped.

(43) He saw what the problem was. The water was not flowing. That man (the teacher) had come down into the water. He (the porter) opened the door and saw the caretaker there. He beat the caretaker with a stick and killed him. He killed the caretaker there and fled.

(44) He went to the woman and said, he said ‘Well, has he not returned? Has that dead man of ours not returned?’ She said ‘Why should he return?’

‘Do you know where I put him?’ She said ‘Where?’

(45) He said ‘I put him in the tank of the water-mill. He wanted to come out and he did come out. He wanted to come out and he opened the door of the mill, he wanted to come out, but I hit him with a stick on his head and killed him. He is (still) there’.

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<sup>8</sup> The *kotāla* is the tank that feeds water to the mill (§0.0.0.).



- (46) *háy bèθi!* *hot-qṭilalle* *ʔažvána!* *màre* *lèle* *ʔažvána,* *ʔàwwa.* *móra* *là,* *ʔáti*  
*hot-qṭila* *ʔažvána* *díyən,* *šákən* *ʔllux.* *ʔámər* *là-bāyənna* *lá* *zùzəx* *ʔu-la-čù-məndi.*  
*ʔu-ya-ʔàlaha,* *zílɛle* *rìqɛle.* *ʔan-zúze* *ṭla-d-àw,* *ṭla-d-o-ḥammàla* *là-yiwla.*  
(47) *ʔánna* *ṭláθna* *qəm-qaṭlála* *ʔu-zílla* *díṛra* *l-bèθa.* *réša* *mtùla,* *móra* *ṭla-gáwɔra*  
*díya* *xzèlux?* *hàtxa* *ʔodéti* *b-náše!*

(46) 'Oh dear!<sup>9</sup> You have killed the caretaker'. He said 'He is not the caretaker'. She said 'No, you have killed *our caretaker*. I'll make a complaint about you'. He said 'I don't want your money or anything' and he was off, he fled. She did not give the money to him, to that porter. (47) She killed the three of them and she returned home. She lay down her head and said to her husband 'You see. That is how you should treat people!'

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<sup>9</sup> Literally: oh my house.

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) *mára* 'ithwa<sup>1</sup> *xá nàša*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-qurðàya*.<sup>1</sup> *móre kúlla nàša hóle zála l-šúla*.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ana *b-t-ázən šúla*<sup>1</sup> *pàlxən*.<sup>1</sup> *qimsele*,<sup>1</sup> *šəmmət máθa díye wéwa Barwòre*.<sup>1</sup> 'ámte *díye*<sup>1</sup> *hóla gu-Sàrzar*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*xále díye*<sup>1</sup> *hóle gu-Daštàne*.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *móre tla-bábe díye-w yómme díye mære*<sup>1</sup> *bábi-w yəmmi*<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ana *t-ázən pàlxən*<sup>1</sup> *xa-pəlxána ta-t-ləpena*.<sup>1</sup> (2) *bábe-w yómme díye mərə*<sup>1</sup> *bròni*<sup>1</sup> *qá-mo là*?<sup>1</sup> *sì*!<sup>1</sup> *kúlla nàša hole-plàxa*.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ati *sì*<sup>1</sup> *pàlxeti*.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *zilele be-ámte díye*.<sup>1</sup> 'ámte *xáθət bábē*.<sup>1</sup> *há bròni*,<sup>1</sup> *m-əkət θáya*?<sup>1</sup> *b-álaha m-b-èθən θáya*,<sup>1</sup> 'ámte.<sup>1</sup> *lèka*?<sup>1</sup> (3) *móre báyən t-ázən kəs-xàli*.<sup>1</sup> *xáli zàngin-ile*,<sup>1</sup> *t-yállì xa-šúla pàlxən* 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ana.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla nàša hóle plàxa*,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ana *pàlxən mánne díye*.<sup>1</sup> *móra qá-mo là*?<sup>1</sup> (4) *qimtelə*<sup>1</sup> *wiðtəlle 'ixàla*,<sup>1</sup> *b'è*.<sup>1</sup> *qədamtəla*,<sup>1</sup> *wiðtəlle 'ixàla*<sup>1</sup> *b'è-w mósxa-w qàlya*,<sup>1</sup> *mərə*<sup>1</sup>—*šómme díye 'Ummo-wewa*<sup>1</sup>—*móra 'Ummo*,<sup>1</sup> 'ána *qémən 'ázən náblən 'ixàla*<sup>1</sup> *tla-xətnux*<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>áti *xùl*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*sí l-be-xàlux*.<sup>1</sup> *móre ma-yxàləf 'ámte*.<sup>1</sup> (5) *xá-bena 'ay-ziltəla məskánta*.<sup>1</sup> 'áw *píšele*,<sup>1</sup> *xiləlle 'o-'ixála t-ile kəsle*.<sup>1</sup> *mære*<sup>1</sup> *bálki zillì b-úrxa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*kpìnni*.<sup>1</sup> *qémən šaqlənni xákma məndi mənni b-'iði*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-ázən b-úrxa*,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-*kpìnni*,<sup>1</sup> *t-axlənne*.<sup>1</sup> (6) *qimsele*<sup>1</sup> *báθər t-ile príqa mən-'ixàla*,<sup>1</sup> *qimsele*<sup>1</sup> *šqila xa-árba xamšà b'è*.<sup>1</sup> *šqilele xa-árba xamšà b'è*<sup>1</sup> *múttəlla xo-kosìθe*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*šqilele qàlya*,<sup>1</sup> *dóryalle gu-jebàne*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*hóla t-amrəxi xa-kawàza*<sup>1</sup> *məšxa gáwa*.<sup>1</sup> (7) 'áwwa *dóryalla 'ide gáwe díye ta-t-mpálət məšxa*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ide *díye šiθela gáwe*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*báyə mpálətle külle*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*lèle pláta*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*hírele b-gáne díye*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*píšele gu-d-ε-hyàšta*<sup>1</sup> *há-t-ila θiθa 'ámte díye*.<sup>1</sup> *θéla 'ámte díye mərə*<sup>1</sup> *há 'Ummo*<sup>1</sup> *müt wáða*?<sup>1</sup> *móre 'ámte dūs báyət*?<sup>1</sup> (8) *móre 'ána báyəwwa šaqlənwali xáčča məšxa*<sup>1</sup> *móre ta-t-áxlən b-úrxa*<sup>1</sup> *xáčča məšxa-w ləxma*<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'iði *šéla gu-d-áwwa hónna lintə*,<sup>1</sup> *lèla pláta*,<sup>1</sup> *t-məšxa*.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-*móra qətma b-rəšux*!<sup>1</sup> *de-sì*!<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maxyéle hátxa gu-réše díye*,<sup>1</sup> *šléla b'è*<sup>1</sup> 'àx-<sup>2</sup>axxe *díye*.<sup>1</sup> (9) 'áyya *mòdila*?<sup>1</sup> *móre šqilənni xákma b'è-žigən*<sup>1</sup> *məri bálki*,<sup>1</sup> *bálki kápna kápna*.<sup>1</sup> *hóle qurbət nurele*.<sup>1</sup> *núra qurbəle*,<sup>1</sup> *šxinne qàlya*.<sup>1</sup> *məšxət qàlya plitlə b-jebàne díye*.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was a man, a Kurd. He said 'Everybody goes to work. I also shall go to work and work. He set off. The name of his village was Barwore. His aunt was in Sarzar and his uncle was in the Daštane. He said to his father and mother, he said 'Father and mother, I also shall go and work, so that I can learn (how to do) a job'. (2) His father and mother said 'My son, why not? Go on. Everybody works. You also go and work'. He went to the house of his aunt, his aunt, the sister of his father. 'Hey, my son, where are you coming from?' 'By God, I'm coming from home, aunt' 'Where (are you going)?' (3) He said 'I want to go to my uncle. My uncle is rich, he will give me a job so that also I can work. Everybody works, I also shall work with him'. She said 'Why not?' (4) She made him food, some eggs. (When) it was morning, she made him food, eggs, oil and roasted meat. She said—his name was Ummo—she said 'Ummo, I am going to take food to my husband.<sup>1</sup> You eat and go to the house of your uncle'. He said 'Fine, aunt'. (5) Then she, poor thing, went off while he stayed and ate the food that was in front of him. He said 'Perhaps when I have set out on the road, I shall be hungry. I'll take something for myself with me in my hand so that when I go on the road, if I get hungry, I can eat it'. (6) When he had finished the food, he took four or five eggs. He took four or five eggs and put them under his hat. He took roasted meat and put it in his pockets. There was what we call a *kawaza* ('jar') with oil in it. (7) He put his hand in it to take out some oil, but his hand got stuck in it. He tried to take it all out, but it did not come out. He was perplexed. He remained in that predicament until his aunt came. His aunt came and she said 'Hey, Ummo, what are you doing?' He said 'Aunt, do you want the truth?' (8) He said 'I wanted to take a little oil to eat on the way, a little oil and bread, but my hand has got stuck in this thing, pot of oil, and it does not come out'. She said 'Confound you!<sup>2</sup> Go!' She struck him like this on his head and the eggs ran down on him here. (9) 'What is this?' He said 'I also took some eggs. I thought perhaps I shall be hungry'. He was near the fire. The fire was near and the roast meat heated up. The oil of the roast meat came out of his pockets.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a paraphrase. The term *xatna* has the sense here of the husband of a maternal aunt.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Ash on your head!

(10) *mára* 'áwɔwa mòdìle?¹ *móre* šqílənɔwa xáčča xéna qàlyá¹ ta-ʔ-axlónne b-ʔ-úrxa.¹ *mára míla l-hàlux.*¹ *de-sìgən.*¹ 'áti cù-pəlxana la-pəlxət.¹ *har-bliḡət b-kàsux.*¹ *mára qímtela mtugbàrtəlle.*¹ *móra de-sì.*¹

(11) 'áwɔwa zìlele b-ʔ-úrxa,¹ *zìlele be-xàle.*¹ 'ámər šláma-llexu xàli.¹ 'ámər ya-b-šéna ʔawàθa,¹ *b-šéna.*¹ *ha-mò báyət.*²¹ *móre báyən t-yawótli xa-šùla.*¹ *móre mò palxéti?*²¹ *móre 'ána hàden pláta,*¹ *léðən cù pəlxána.*¹ (12) *móre 'itli šawwà xmáre.*¹ *kùt-yum*¹ 'ásqət masqátla 'an-šáwɔwa xmáre l-túra.¹ *méθət qése biyè.*¹ 'áwɔwele sùlux.¹ *báyət?*²¹ *móre hè,*¹ 'áwɔwa xòš-šulele xàli.¹ 'áwɔwa qiméle¹ *músqəllele 'an-xmáre l-túra.*¹ (13) 'é-ga šáwɔwa xmáre ràbela hal-é-gə mjáméla qése,¹ *ta-dérela l-xásət xmàre.*¹ 'áθi dèwe.¹ 'axlila xmáre díye.¹ 'áw mòdi wídle?¹ *qiméle¹ tìnəlla,*¹ *tìnəlla 'an-qurʔáne.*¹ *qurʔánət t-xmàre.*¹ *tìnəlla l-xáše šawwà qurʔáne-w*¹ *mùšlyəlla.*¹ (14) *mùšlyəlla dīwən,*¹ *dīwən t-xále díye hóla dīwìqta.*¹ 'áyya dīwən làxxela¹ 'aw-gàrele.¹ *har-ʔəθyele mən-túra réša-reša d-o-gàre.*¹ 'u-ʔáni l-xáše díye mrūpyəlla gu-dīwən-t xále.¹ (15) 'án-naše kúlla xírra bíye díye¹ 'ína qurʔánət xmáre tàma.¹ *qəryele xále díye bíye díye*¹ *móre 'Úmmo,*¹ 'Úmmo hàyyo.¹ *móre 'ína mòdila?*²¹ *móre xàli¹ xmàre,*¹ *šáwɔwaθna hóla xile l-dèwe,*¹ *móre qəm-méθəna qurʔanè.*¹ 'ámər mà-yxələf.¹ (16) 'áni zilla,¹ *fədiwa ʔəllux.*¹ *mára sigən baxt-xàlux.*¹ *xzi-mó pəlxána xazyàlux.*¹ *phúx gu-bèθa.*¹ *móre hè.*¹

(17) *xá-yoma bəθa hóle šya.*¹ *yáni wída xàθa-w*¹ 'ùpra-w¹ *šyàlle,*¹ 'u-parošyáθa hátxa glòle,¹ *šənduxyàθa y-amrəxla,*¹ *šənduxyàθa.*¹ *hóle 'iθən làxxa¹ stərra.*¹ *stərra mòdìle?*²¹ *xəttəle*¹ 'u-šišmele¹ 'u-prəge¹ 'u-sàre,¹ *kúlla dórye gu-mzìde,*¹ 'u-mútte hátxa pummè.¹ (18) 'u-xa-línta górtá hátxa t-nepòxta¹ *hóla muttéθa 'áp-ʔay kəslyè.*¹ 'u-móra 'əlle díye,¹ *baxt-xále díye mára xzi*¹ 'áyya 'ótəx hox-šyəlla.¹ *là-qablət*¹ *là bəp-náša ʔ-áwɔw gáwa*¹ 'u-là héwən.¹ *móre ma-yxələf.*¹ *tíwele gu-tàra.*¹

(10) She said ‘What is this?’ He said ‘I took a little more roasted meat to eat on the way’. She said ‘Confound you!<sup>3</sup> Go! You will not be able to do any work, you are always concerned about your stomach’. So, she prepared things for him and said ‘Off you go!’

(11) He went on his way, he went to his uncle’s house. He said ‘Greetings to you uncle’. He said ‘Welcome. Well, what do you want?’ He said ‘I want you to give me a job’. He said ‘What kind of work do you do?’ He said ‘This is the first time I am going out (to work). I don’t know any (kind of) work’. (12) He said ‘I have seven asses. Every day go up and take those seven asses up the mountain. Bring back wood with them. That is your job. Do you want it?’ He said ‘Yes. That is a good job, uncle’. He went off and took those asses up the mountain. (13) Well, seven asses were a lot for him to collect wood and put on their backs. Wolves came and ate his asses. What did he do? He put the blankets, the blankets of the asses, he loaded the seven blankets on his back and brought them down. (14) He brought them down to the meeting room, the meeting room of his uncle was full. The meeting room was here and this was its roof (adjacent to the mountain). He came straight from the mountain across the roof and threw those things on his back into the meeting room of his uncle. (15) All the people looked at it and saw that asses’ blankets were there. His uncle called him and said ‘Ummo, Ummo, come here’. He said ‘But what is this?’ He said ‘Uncle, the asses, the seven of them have been eaten by wolves’. He said ‘I have brought their blankets’. (16) He said ‘Fine. They died and you are safe.<sup>4</sup> He said ‘Go to the wife of your uncle.<sup>5</sup> See what job she can find for you. Work in the house’. He said ‘Yes’.

(17) One day the house had been plastered, that is newly decorated, with mud, they plaster it, with round flat stones, which we call *šənduxyatha*. There was a food store. What is a food store? It is wheat, sesame, millet, barley, everything put in leather bags, with their mouth placed thus (facing forward). (18) A large pot of date syrup also was placed in their store. She said to him, the wife of his uncle said ‘Look, we have (newly) plastered this room. Don’t let any person or animal enter it’. He said ‘Fine’. He sat at the door.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: Blue on your condition!

<sup>4</sup> Literally: (as) a redemption for you.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. his wife.

(19) *tíwεle gu-tàra,*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya ta-t-bàrza,*<sup>1</sup> *θíθεla xa-qàtu*<sup>1</sup> *'u-šwírtεla-w*<sup>1</sup> *b-tàra wírtεla,*<sup>1</sup> *kliθa kəs-d-ó-linət nepòxta.*<sup>1</sup> *'aw-màre*<sup>1</sup> *baxt-xàli hóla mírta lá bəṛ-nàša*<sup>1</sup> *'u-lá héwən 'áwər gu-d-áyya 'òtəx.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya kúlla qəm-maxərwàla*<sup>1</sup> *b-aqláθa díya,*<sup>1</sup> *béθa šíya.*<sup>1</sup> (20) *šqíləlla xá šəndúxta.*<sup>1</sup> *šqíləlla ta-t-deréla b-qàtu,*<sup>1</sup> *là-qεθa b-qàtu,*<sup>1</sup> *qéθa b-bé-palgət nepúxta,*<sup>1</sup> *d-o-linət nepúxta.*<sup>1</sup> *'áv bāze,*<sup>1</sup> *šəməṭ.*<sup>1</sup> *nepòxta šuréla plàta.*<sup>1</sup> *bízla nepúxta gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> (21) *'áwəwa zille*<sup>1</sup> *šqála mən-púmmət präge,*<sup>1</sup> *m-mzída,*<sup>1</sup> *šqála 'o-júlla mən-púmmət präge ta-t-mattúle gu-púmmət lintət nepòxta.*<sup>1</sup> *'an-präge kúlla šáli gu-nepòxta.*<sup>1</sup> *píšla nepòxta 'u-präge gu-gòðəde.*<sup>1</sup> *'o-béθa m̀lèle mənney.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *θéla baxt-xále díye*<sup>1</sup> *móra ha-ʾÚmmo mùt wída?*<sup>2</sup> *móre b-álaha látwa mírta*<sup>1</sup> *la-héwən 'u-lá bəṛ-nàša 'áwər gu-ʾòtəx.*<sup>2</sup> *θéla qàtu,*<sup>1</sup> *wírra,*<sup>1</sup> *kléla kəs-linta.*<sup>1</sup> *'áp-ʾana šqíləli šəndúxta*<sup>1</sup> *dəryáli biya.*<sup>1</sup> *là-qitla biya díya.*<sup>1</sup> *qitla b-linta.*<sup>1</sup> *linta šmitla.*<sup>1</sup> (23) *qímli zilli šqilli 'áwəwa júlla t-ile gu-púmmət mziðət präge.*<sup>1</sup> *móri mattónne gu-nepòxta t-là-bəza.*<sup>1</sup> *'ap-präge šléla gàwa.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána mò-ʾoðən?*<sup>2</sup> *léle gnəyi.*<sup>1</sup> (24) *móra ham-ma-ɣxələf,*<sup>1</sup> *lilita xám.*<sup>1</sup> *qiméle,*<sup>1</sup> *zila*<sup>1</sup> *mtugəbrəlla,*<sup>1</sup> *háde m-hàde-w*<sup>1</sup> *wíðəlla 'əy-u*<sup>1</sup> *'u-tàra čiməlle ta-t-lá-ʾawər 'áp-xa náša gàwa.*<sup>1</sup>

(25) *xále díye mərə*<sup>1</sup> *xzi*<sup>1</sup> *har 'ənən*<sup>1</sup> *'Abda-Raḥmán,*<sup>1</sup> *'Abda-Raḥmán-bək*<sup>1</sup> *'ile šəmmi.*<sup>1</sup> *kut-ʾàθe*<sup>1</sup> *'ámər 'Abda-Raḥmán-bək,*<sup>1</sup> *tàra la-paθxátte 'alle díye.*<sup>1</sup> *bas-har-ʾənwən,*<sup>1</sup> *'àna.*<sup>1</sup> *'iθwa xá'a masyòθe*<sup>1</sup> *báθər tàra.*<sup>1</sup> *masyòθe-wəwa*<sup>1</sup> *'imə t-wəwa-mára tla-ʾÚmmo,*<sup>1</sup> *mára-wəwa har-ʾàna 'Abda-Raḥmán,*<sup>1</sup> *'áp-xa la-qáblət t-áwər gu-béθa,*<sup>1</sup> *'al-ʾasás ta-t-ázəl l-bàxte.*<sup>1</sup> (26) *'áp-ʾawəwa čiməlle tàra.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-béna wítεla hádəx b-lèle*<sup>1</sup> *máxyele taq-taq-táq l-tàra.*<sup>1</sup> *ha-mə̀niwət?*<sup>2</sup> *'ámər 'ána 'Abda-Raḥmán-iwən,*<sup>1</sup> *pθúx tàra.*<sup>1</sup> *pθixəlle tàra.*<sup>1</sup> *wírεle zila*<sup>1</sup> *dmixéle kəs-báxtət 'Abda-Raḥmán-bək,*<sup>1</sup> *kəs-baxt-xále.*<sup>1</sup> (27) *bar-hádəx θéle xa-xéna mxéle l-tàra,*<sup>1</sup> *ha-mə̀niwət?*<sup>2</sup> *móre 'Abda-Raḥmán-iwən.*<sup>1</sup> *móre kəmà 'Abda-Raḥmán 'iθ?*<sup>2</sup> *xà 'Abda-Raḥmán?*<sup>2</sup> *trə 'Abda-Raḥmán?*<sup>2</sup> *'ána tla-d-əni páθxən tàra?*<sup>2</sup> *móre 'o-t-ile wíra 'áv xərəmεle.*<sup>1</sup> *genəwεle 'áv,*<sup>1</sup> *qaqòlele.*<sup>1</sup> *pθúxli tàra t-àwərən*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-qaṭləxle.*<sup>1</sup>

(19) He sat at the door, until it dried, but a cat came, leapt, entered through the door and stood by that pot of date syrup. He said ‘The wife of my uncle said that no person and no animal should enter this room. This (cat) has messed everything up with its feet’—the room was (newly) plastered. (20) He picked up a small stone, he picked it up to throw it at the cat, but it did not hit the cat but rather hit right in the middle of the date syrup, of the pot of date syrup. It was pierced and broke. The date syrup began to run out. The date syrup spilt into the room. (21) He went to take from the mouth of the bag of millet, take the cloth from the mouth (of the bag of) millet to put it in the mouth of the pot of syrup. All the millet fell down into the syrup. The syrup and the millet seed were mix together. The room was filled with them. (22) The wife of his uncle came and said ‘Ummo, what have you done?’ He said ‘By God, did you not say that no animal and no person should enter the room? A cat came, entered and stood by the pot. I picked up a small stone and threw it at him. It did not hit it, but hit the pot. The pot broke. (23) I went and took the cloth that is in the mouth of the bag of millet. I thought I would put it in the (pot of) syrup so that it does not pour out. The millet fell down into it. What should I do? It is not my fault’. (24) She said ‘Its is all right, don’t worry’. They went and put (the room) in order once again. They closed the door so that nobody would go into it.

(25) His uncle said ‘Look, only I am ‘Abda-Raḥmān, ‘Abda-Raḥmān-bēk is my name. If anybody comes and says ‘‘Abda-Raḥmān-bēk’, do not open the door to him. It is only me (who is called ‘Abda-Raḥmān’). There was somebody who was listening behind the door. He was listening when he said to Ummo ‘I am the only ‘Abda-Raḥmān, do not let anybody come in the house’. (He was listening) so that he (the intruder) could go to his wife. (26) So, he (the uncle) closed the door. Then, when it was night, there was a knock at the door. ‘Who are you?’ He said ‘I am ‘Abda-Raḥmān, open the door’. He opened the door and he (the intruder) entered and went to sleep with the wife of ‘Abda-Raḥmān-bēk, with the wife of his uncle. (27) Afterwards somebody else knocked on the door ‘Who is it?’ He said ‘I am ‘Abda-Raḥmān’. He said ‘How many ‘Abda-Raḥmāns are there? One ‘Abda-Raḥmān, two ‘Abda-Raḥmāns? For whom should I open the door?’ He said ‘The person who has gone in (before me) is a villain. He is a thief, he is a murderer. Open the door to let me in so that we can kill him’.



(28) *pθixälle tāra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiθwa bərzōma,*<sup>1</sup> *bərzōma yáʔni ta-t-šáli gu-gōma,*<sup>1</sup> *b-semàlta.*<sup>1</sup>  
*pθixälle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-šəlyele gu-gōma.*<sup>1</sup> *tárət góma hóle čma.*<sup>1</sup> *wírele xále dýye t-haqqùθa.*<sup>1</sup> *móre*  
*kèle* *ʔAbda-Raḥmān-t-tre,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxxa l-tàmma.*<sup>1</sup> (29) *hóle šəlyə gu-gōma.*<sup>1</sup> *šəlyele gu-gōma,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔitle tāwre.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔitle dawère,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔitle məndiyáne,*<sup>1</sup> *hóle gu-gōma.*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa mánna šqílalle*  
*xa-skínta ríxta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-šəlyele.*<sup>1</sup> *šəlyela,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔAbda-Raḥmān táyela,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔAbda-Raḥmān táyela,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔáxxa l-tàmma.*<sup>1</sup> *xíyeye,*<sup>1</sup> *púrya liθ,*<sup>1</sup> *bərqə liθən.*<sup>1</sup> (30) *xazéle xa-tàwra,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔÚmmo*<sup>1</sup>  
*xazéle tāwra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-parəmlə réšə tāwra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔámər xáli p̄rimli tāwra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔámər ham-ma-yxələf,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔAbda-Raḥmān də-la-ʔərəq.*<sup>1</sup> *zila mátya l-sùsele,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-súsa p̄riməlle.*<sup>1</sup> (31) *zila ta-t-máte*  
*ʔAbda-Raḥmān,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔAbda-Raḥmān páθəx tára ʔu-pələt,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔərəq.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəwəwa q̄tílle xmàre,*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔu-q̄tílle sùsa,*<sup>1</sup> *q̄tílle tāwra,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔánna kúlla q̄tíllə,*<sup>1</sup> *har-móre ma-yxələf.*<sup>1</sup> (32) *ʔu-ríqle*  
*ʔAbda-Raḥmān,*<sup>1</sup> *ríqle ʔu-zílle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəθyele ʔámər ʔşul-gānux,*<sup>1</sup> *şigən ʔati bəθi muxrùlux.*<sup>1</sup>  
*hátxa pəlxána pəlxeti.*<sup>2</sup> *čü pəlxána la-pəlxət ʔati.*<sup>1</sup> *qímle qəm-ṯarədle.*<sup>1</sup> (33) *qəm-ṯarədle*  
*θéle zílle*<sup>1</sup> *be-ʔámte dýye,*<sup>1</sup> *kəs-d-ε-ʔámte dýye t-wéwa şqíla bəʔe mútta xo-réşe dýye.*<sup>1</sup> *móra*  
*ha-ʔÚmmo d̄ir̄rux.*<sup>1</sup> *móre hē,*<sup>1</sup> *xáli liθwale şúla qəm-yállí,*<sup>1</sup> *d̄ir̄ri.*<sup>1</sup> (34) *móra dūs.*<sup>2</sup> *mòdít*  
*wíða.*<sup>2</sup> *mòdila.*<sup>2</sup> *móre b-álaha dūs bāyátla.*<sup>2</sup> *móra hē.*<sup>1</sup> *móre qəm-yállí şúla,*<sup>1</sup> *móre yállí*  
*şawwà xmàre.*<sup>1</sup> *súq méθi qèsa biyéy.*<sup>1</sup> *həyyo.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔáp-ʔana síqən ləbbi şəpya lèðən,*<sup>1</sup>  
*şiqən*<sup>1</sup> *mjāmòyella qése,*<sup>1</sup> *dráya rəš-ğəðəde.*<sup>1</sup> (35) *şáwəwa xmàrela.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána mjāmóye qése,*<sup>1</sup>  
*déwe blige b-xmàre xála.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-axlila xmàre.*<sup>1</sup> *qímən şqíləlla qurtàne*<sup>1</sup> *tyánəlla l-xəşi*<sup>1</sup>  
*muşəlyən-əlla*<sup>1</sup> *zşdyən-əlla gu-bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> *móra bád módi xəna.*<sup>2</sup> (36) *móre baxt-xáli*  
*şítewəlle bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-θéla qátu wírra tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-dəryáli şənduxta,*<sup>1</sup> *qítla gu-nepuxta.*<sup>1</sup>  
*nepuxta-w p̄rage wéla gu-ğəðəde.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-lə-qbilla*<sup>1</sup> *baxt-xáli.*<sup>1</sup> *móra si-m-àxxa.*<sup>1</sup> (37) *xárθa*  
*xáli mərə*<sup>1</sup> *lá lá l̄itla xám.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ṯláli hátxa ʔiθm*<sup>1</sup> *bas-ʔənən* *ʔAbda-Raḥmān.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp-xa*  
*la-qáblət t-áwər gu-bəθa.*<sup>1</sup> *θéle xà-xena* *ʔAbda-Raḥmān.*<sup>1</sup> *θéle xà-xena* *ʔAbda-Raḥmān,*<sup>1</sup>  
*məri ʔána*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəni* *ʔAbda-Raḥmān.*<sup>2</sup> *yăðən ʔána ʔənilə*<sup>1</sup> *xáli*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəni lə.*<sup>2</sup>

(28) He opened the door. There was a hatch,<sup>6</sup> a hatch for them to go down into the basement stable, by a ladder. He (the intruder) opened it and went down in the basement. The door of the basement was closed. His real uncle went in. He said ‘Where is the second ‘Abda-Raḥmān?’’, and so forth. (29) ‘He has gone down into the basement’. Each of them took a long knife and went down. They went down searching for ‘Abda-Raḥmān, searching for ‘Abda-Raḥmān, and so forth. It was dark. There was no light and no electricity. (30) He saw an ox. Ummo saw an ox and cut off the head of the ox. He said ‘Uncle, I have slaughtered an ox’. He said ‘That’s all right, so long as ‘Abda-Raḥmān does not get away’. He went and came to the horse. He slaughtered also the horse. (31) He went to catch ‘Abda-Raḥmān but ‘Abda-Raḥmān opened the door, went out and ran away. He had killed the asses, killed the horse, killed the ox. He had killed them all. He (the uncle) still said ‘That is all right’. (32) ‘Abda-Raḥmān (the intruder) ran away and disappeared. He (the uncle) came back and said ‘Be off with you! Go away! You have destroyed my house! Is this the kind of work that you do? Don’t do any more work’. He drove him away. (33) He drove him away and he went back to his aunt’s house, his aunt’s house, where he had taken eggs and put them on his head. She said ‘Hey, Ummo, you have returned!’ He said ‘Yes, my uncle did not have any work to give me, so I returned’. (34) She said ‘Is that so? What did you do? What happened?’ He said ‘By God, do you want the truth?’ She said ‘Yes’. He said ‘He gave me a job’. He said ‘He gave me seven asses “Go up and fetch wood with them. Get on with it!”’. He said ‘So, I went up (the mountain)—I was innocent, I did not know (what I was doing)—I went up and collected the wood and piled them up. (35) There were seven asses. While I was collecting wood, wolves were busy eating the asses. I took the saddle blankets, loaded them on my back, brought them down and threw them into the house’. She said ‘Then, what else?’ (36) He said ‘The wife of my uncle had plastered a room. A cat came and entered. I threw a stone, but it hit some date syrup. Syrup and millet seed got mixed together. The wife of my uncle did not tolerate this. She said “Go away”. (37) Then my uncle said “No, no, don’t worry”. He said to me as follows “There are (other men), but it is only me who is called ‘Abda-Raḥmān. Do not let anybody come into the house. Another ‘Abda-Raḥmān came. Another ‘Abda-Raḥmān came and I said “Which ‘Abda-Raḥmān? (How) do I know which is my uncle and which not?”’”

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<sup>6</sup> The term *bərzoma* properly means a storage room in the basement.

(38) *máre šléleni gu-gòma<sup>1</sup> táya l-ó ‘Abda-Raḥmān.<sup>1</sup> xzéli tàwra<sup>1</sup> ’ána bəd-lábbi ‘Abda-Raḥmān-ile<sup>1</sup> prīmli.<sup>1</sup> xzéli sùsa,<sup>1</sup> ’áp-’aw prīmli.<sup>1</sup> ’ána lèðena,<sup>1</sup> bəd-lábbi nàšele.<sup>1</sup>*  
 (39) *’imə t-ìn prámalle,<sup>1</sup> xzáyən naḥyàðe<sup>1</sup> ’ina t-ħewàne.<sup>1</sup> mára hátxət wíða.<sup>2</sup> mára hot-štiməlle béðət xálux.<sup>1</sup> ’ap-béði báyyət šaṭmàtle.<sup>2</sup> xús šqúl gànux<sup>1</sup> si-l-bèða.<sup>1</sup>* (40) *qíməle zila l-bèða.<sup>1</sup> ziləle l-bèða,<sup>1</sup> bábe yómme díye mára hà,<sup>1</sup> xázəx kéle ma’áyšux.<sup>2</sup> máre mút ma’áyša muttāli.<sup>2</sup> máre hátxən wíða be-xàli,<sup>1</sup> hátxən wíða be-’àmti.<sup>1</sup> ’u-’əḥyən.<sup>1</sup> ’ána xéna šúla la-pàlxən<sup>1</sup> ’u-la-bāyànne.<sup>1</sup> šwiqáli tàma<sup>1</sup> ’u-θéli làxxa.<sup>1</sup>*

(38) He said 'We went down into the basement stable, searching for that (intruder) 'Abda-Raḥmān. I found an ox. I thought he was 'Abda-Raḥmān and slaughtered him. I found a horse and slaughtered it also. I did not know. I thought it was a man. (39) When I was slaughtering it, I saw that its ears were those of animals'. She said 'Have you done this?' She said 'You have ruined your uncle. Do you want to ruin also me? Go, take yourself off. Go home'. (40) He went back home. He went back home and his father and mother said 'Ah, let's see, where are your earnings?' He said 'What earnings could I make?' He said 'I did such-and-such in the house of my uncle, I did such-and-such in the house of my aunt, then I came home. I shall not do any more work. I don't want it.' I have left it there and come here.

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'iθwa xa-mālka.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale<sup>1</sup> t̄lā bnóne.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-malka wírre b-<sup>2</sup>ùmra,<sup>1</sup> taqriban m̄t̄ele 'ás̄ti šáwwi š̄anne.<sup>1</sup> sm̄ele,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni píšle k̄òra.<sup>1</sup> (2) qím̄ele m̄ore qa-bnóne d̄iye.<sup>1</sup> bnòni<sup>1</sup> wúðuli xa-č̄ara.<sup>1</sup> xzól̄i xa-dar̄mána qa-<sup>2</sup>èni,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-y-ám̄s̄an xáz̄an b̄ar-našútha m̄andi h̄ale.<sup>1</sup> sm̄eli.<sup>1</sup> l̄és-in xz̄àya,<sup>1</sup> lán-m̄s̄aya jwàja.<sup>1</sup> (3) qím̄ele yíw̄olla kút-xa m̄anna z̄úze.<sup>1</sup> yíw̄olla kút-xa m̄anná 'um̄m̄a dináre.<sup>1</sup> m̄ore so-m̄éθo dar̄mána<sup>1</sup> qa-<sup>2</sup>èni.<sup>1</sup> qím̄ela t̄l̄áθna t-bnóne d̄iye<sup>1</sup> 'u-z̄ilela.<sup>1</sup> t̄l̄áθna bnóne d̄iye z̄ilela<sup>1</sup> gu-d̄ũnye,<sup>1</sup> t̄àyele<sup>1</sup> 'al-d-ò<sup>1</sup> dar̄mána ta-t-xázi qa-<sup>2</sup>én̄at... bab̄èy.<sup>1</sup> (4) z̄ilela m̄át̄ye gu-ðá m̄ðita.<sup>1</sup> 'o-gòra<sup>1</sup> m̄ore 'ána p̄és̄an l̄axxa gu-d-áyya m̄ðita.<sup>1</sup> mò t̄-òð̄at.<sup>2</sup> m̄ore xaz̄ónne xa-š̄ùla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mbáqr̄an xáz̄an<sup>1</sup> bud-dar̄mána t̄l̄a 'én̄at b̄abi.<sup>1</sup> z̄ille t̄fiql̄e<sup>1</sup> b-x̄à<sup>1</sup> n̄áša<sup>1</sup> wáða k̄ab̄abe.<sup>1</sup> m̄ore yába 'ána b̄áyyan p̄álx̄an k̄àslux,<sup>1</sup> map̄əlx̄ət̄li.<sup>2</sup> m̄ore hé qá-mo là.<sup>2</sup> (5) m̄are<sup>1</sup> k̄am̄a t-yát̄li.<sup>2</sup> m̄ore t-yánnux xám̄ši dináre kut-yàrx̄a.<sup>1</sup> kut-yàrx̄a t-yánnux xám̄ši dináre,<sup>1</sup> 'u-pl̄ux m̄an-d-ànna paloxáye.<sup>1</sup> m̄ore ma-yx̄àl̄əf.<sup>1</sup> 'o-góra píšle t̄ama.<sup>1</sup> qím̄ela 'an-tre-xéne z̄ile.<sup>1</sup> (6) z̄ilela 'an-tr̄e.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>o-gawàya<sup>1</sup> m̄t̄ele ða-m̄ðita.<sup>1</sup> m̄ore xóni 'ap-ána p̄és̄an l̄axxa,<sup>1</sup> mbáqr̄ena bud-š̄ùla,<sup>1</sup> xáz̄ax xa-š̄ùla l̄axxa,<sup>1</sup> qa-dar̄mána t̄la-b̄abi mbáqr̄ax.<sup>1</sup> z̄ilsle x̄əzyele<sup>1</sup> xa-š̄āv̄ana.<sup>1</sup> y-amr̄ile b-súr̄əθ 'at̄iqta r̄iya,<sup>1</sup> r̄iyət 'ər̄be.<sup>1</sup> (7) m̄are<sup>1</sup> 'ána b̄áyyan p̄és̄an r̄iya,<sup>1</sup> š̄āv̄ana.<sup>1</sup> b̄āyituli lá.<sup>2</sup> m̄ore qá-mo là.<sup>2</sup> t-yáxlux xám̄ši dináre<sup>1</sup> kut-yàrx̄a.<sup>1</sup> m̄ore ma-yx̄àl̄əf.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>aw píšle t̄ama.<sup>1</sup> píšle 'o-z̄òra.<sup>1</sup> 'o-z̄óra z̄ille b-<sup>2</sup>ùrx̄a.<sup>1</sup> z̄ille, z̄ille, z̄ille,<sup>1</sup> 'ás̄ta š̄áwwa yom̄ane,<sup>1</sup> m̄t̄ele xa-n̄áša s̄awa,<sup>1</sup> d̄əqne<sup>1</sup> hal-<sup>2</sup>àra<sup>1</sup> m̄ətya.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawiḏ 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was once a king. He had three sons. The king became advanced in age, he became about sixty or seventy years old and became blind, that is he became sightless.<sup>1</sup> (2) He said to his sons 'My sons, cure me!<sup>2</sup> Find a remedy for my eyes, so that I can see people and the things around me.'<sup>3</sup> I have become blind. I can no longer see and I cannot walk.' (3) He gave each of them money. He gave each of them a hundred dinars. He said 'Go and bring a remedy for my eyes.' The three sons of his set off and went on their way. The three sons of his went on their way in the world, searching in order to find the remedy for the eyes of their father. (4) They travelled and arrived in a certain town. The eldest one said 'I shall remain here in this town.' 'What will you do?' He said 'I'll find a job and I'll make inquires in order to find a remedy for the eyes of my father.'<sup>4</sup> He went off and met a person who was making kebabs. He said 'Now, I want to work with you. Will you employ me?' He said 'Yes, why not?' (5) He said 'How much will you give me?' He said 'I shall give you fifty dinars each month. Each month I shall give you fifty dinars, now work with these labourers.' He said 'Fine.' The eldest one remained there. The other two went off. (6) The two went off. Also the middle one came to a town and said 'My brother, I also shall stay here and ask for a job, in order to find a job here, and for us to ask about a remedy for my father. He went off and found a shepherd. In ancient Syriac this is called *ṛiya* ('shepherd'), *ṛiyat l'aybe* ('a shepherd of sheep').<sup>5</sup> (7) He said 'I want to become a shepherd, a shepherd.'<sup>6</sup> Don't you want me?' He said 'Why not? We'll give you fifty dinars every month.' He said 'Fine.' He also stayed there. That left the young one.<sup>7</sup> He went on the road. He went along for six or seven days and came upon an old man, whose beard reached the ground.

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<sup>1</sup> This phrase is a gloss on the meaning of the verbal form *smele*.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Make a cure for me.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: a thing and circumstances.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: I'll ask—and find—about a remedy...?.

<sup>5</sup> These are, in fact, modern dialect forms, not Classical Syriac. The word *šavana* is a Kurdish loan-word.

<sup>6</sup> The second word is a gloss of the first.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: The young one remained.

(8) *dóryele* *šlâma* 'šlle *dýe*,<sup>1</sup> *móre* *šlâma-llux*<sup>1</sup> *sáwi* *šópət* *bàbi*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *há* *xèrila* *bróni*.<sup>2</sup> *mò* *báyət*.<sup>2</sup> *móre* *b-álaha* *báyən* *t-àzena*.<sup>1</sup> *hon-šâmya* *bud-qəşşəttət*<sup>1</sup> *Wárda-w* *Nêrgis*.<sup>1</sup> (9) *Parizáda* 'tla *xa-têra*.<sup>1</sup> 'ò-*têra*,<sup>1</sup> *mən-d-án-parre* *dýe* *màxən*<sup>1</sup> *b-énət* *bàbi*,<sup>1</sup> 'énət *bàbi* *bàsmi*,<sup>1</sup> *sábab* *màlkele*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*hóle* *səmya*,<sup>1</sup> 'úle 'úmre *imani-šonne*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *he-bróni*,<sup>1</sup> 'ána *t-amrənnux*.<sup>1</sup> *xa-nāšýət* *t-yánma* *tlàlux*.<sup>1</sup> 'ina<sup>1</sup> *là-mxalləfət*,<sup>1</sup> *lá-awəðət* *xá-mdi* *xéna* *t-la-b-diyi*.<sup>1</sup> (10) 'u-*úp-ana* *sàwən*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-*éni-žigən* *hóla* *bšire*.<sup>1</sup> *bálki* 'àzeti<sup>1</sup> *máteți* *l-ó-têrət* *Parizáda*,<sup>1</sup> *məθətli* *ta-t-màxən* 'áp-*ana* *b-èni*<sup>1</sup> *bàsmi*.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'iθən *šürüt*.<sup>1</sup> 'an-*šürüt*<sup>1</sup> *lázəm* *yəðətla* *mòdila*.<sup>1</sup> (11) *móre* *mòdila*.<sup>2</sup> *mürre-lli*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* 'ána *t-amrənnə-llux*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*lázəm* *hàdax* *háwi*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *mür*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* 'iθən *xa-túra*.<sup>1</sup> *túra* *t-ásqət* *býe* *dýe*<sup>1</sup> *külle* *skinýàθele*.<sup>1</sup> 'áti 'imə *t-ít* *sàqa*,<sup>1</sup> 'áti 'u-*sùsux*,<sup>1</sup> *sùsux* *báyə* *t-kále*.<sup>1</sup> *là-šəqət* *t-kále*.<sup>1</sup> *máxət* 'šlle *dýe* *ta-t-ásəq* *payədle* 'o-*túra*.<sup>1</sup> (12) 'imət *pidle* *túra*,<sup>1</sup> *šàle*<sup>1</sup> 'əltəx.<sup>1</sup> *rəša* *xtáya* *külle* *məlxəle*.<sup>1</sup> *sùsux*<sup>1</sup> 'aqláθe *mdurbənnela*,<sup>1</sup> *məlxə* *maxéla* 'aqláθe *dýe*,<sup>1</sup> *t-áwe* *súsa* *mşarşöre*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*áp* 'o-*túra* *pəðətle*.<sup>1</sup> (13) *gu-šlétə* *d-ò* *gallýya*,<sup>1</sup> *máxi* *tre-pánxe* *t-árxe* *góre* *l-gəðəde*.<sup>1</sup> 'o-*t-áwe* *l-xáşət* *dawəra*,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-*b-nəpəl*.<sup>1</sup> *báxta* *yaqúrta*<sup>1</sup> 'i-*màbra*<sup>1</sup> *mən-d-án-kepe*<sup>1</sup> *t-máxəlla* *gəðəde*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*şálat* *rəş-míya*.<sup>1</sup> *xazótla* *tərtə* *bnáθa*<sup>1</sup> *t-áθi* *méθi* *qáhwa*.<sup>1</sup> *là-şəqlətle* *qáhwa* *mánna*.<sup>1</sup> *maxətle* *sépuş* *l-qəðaləy*<sup>1</sup> *pərmətle* *rešəy*.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'u-*taxrətli*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*mşálət*<sup>1</sup> *rəş-d-án-míya*,<sup>1</sup> 'an-*míya* *péši* *trə-qəsmə*,<sup>1</sup> *káli*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*pəðətla* 'an-*míya*.<sup>1</sup> *mátət* *l-qásrət* *Parizáda*.<sup>1</sup> 'arbi 'otàxele.<sup>1</sup> (15) *hóle* 'àrya<sup>1</sup> *l-àyya* *góta*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*əzza*<sup>1</sup> *hóla* *l-àyya* *góta*.<sup>1</sup> *qam-àrya* *hóle* 'iθən<sup>1</sup> *gəlla*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*qam-əzza* *hóle* 'iθən<sup>1</sup> *bəsrə*.<sup>1</sup> *şqúl* *bəsrə*<sup>1</sup> *m-qam-əzza*<sup>1</sup> *drile* *qam-àrya*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*gəlla*<sup>1</sup> *şqúlle* *m-kəs-àrya*<sup>1</sup> *drile*<sup>1</sup> *qa-əzza*.<sup>1</sup>

(8) He greeted him and said 'Greetings to you, my old man, (you have) a place (like that of) my father (in my respect).' He said 'How are things, my son?<sup>8</sup> What do you want?' He said 'Indeed, I want to go (on a journey). I have heard of the story of Warda and Nargis. (9) Parizada has a bird. I'll put some of the feathers of that bird in the eyes of my father and the eyes of my father will be cured, since he is a king and has become blind, he is eighty years old.' He said 'Yes, my son. Let me tell you something. I'll give you some advice. Now, do not oppose (me), do not do anything else without my advice.'<sup>9</sup> (10) I also am an old man and my eyes have also deteriorated. Perhaps you will go and find the bird of Parizada and bring it back to me, so that I also can put it in my eyes, so that they will be cured. But, there are conditions. You must know what these conditions are.' (11) He said 'What are they? Tell them to me.' He said 'I'll tell them to you and they must be abided by.'<sup>10</sup> He said 'Tell (me)'. He said 'There is a mountain. You should go up the mountain, it is all (covered in) knives. When you are going up, you and your horse, if your horse wants to stop, do not let him stop. Strike him so that he will go up and cross over that mountain. (12) When he has crossed over the mountain, he will go down. Down hill it is all salt. (When) the legs of your horse have become wounded, he will get salt on his legs and will screech. You should cross also that mountain. (13) When going down into that valley, two large mill-stones will knock together. The one<sup>11</sup> that is on the back of the mule will fall down. A pregnant woman will give birth because of the stones that knock together. You should go down to the water. You will see two girls, who will come and bring coffee. Do not accept the coffee from them. You should strike your sword into their neck and cut off their head. (14) You should remember me. Pray over the water. The water will become (divided into) two parts. It will stop. You should cross the water. Then you will arrive at the palace of Parizada. It consists of forty rooms. (15) There is lion on this side and a she-goat on the other side. Before the lion there is grass and before the she-goat there is meat. Take the meat from before the goat and put it before the lion. Take the grass from the lion and offer it to the she-goat.

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<sup>8</sup> Literally: Is it good?

<sup>9</sup> Literally: without me.

<sup>10</sup> Literally: they must be.

<sup>11</sup> I.e. the mill-stone.



(16) 'u-t-àwreti.<sup>1</sup> 'asri 'otáxe<sup>1</sup> hòla<sup>1</sup> čime.<sup>1</sup> 'áni paθxàtla.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-ila pθixe<sup>1</sup> 'ačmàtla.<sup>1</sup> máfat 'ε-xaréθat 'òtəx<sup>1</sup> hóle t̄era díya mútta gu-kàwe.<sup>1</sup> qám t-qáre 'ax-diga,<sup>1</sup> šáqlət mən-d-ó 'ixàla<sup>1</sup> dérat qa-t̄era,<sup>1</sup> t̄era bt-àxəl.<sup>1</sup> t-àwreti.<sup>1</sup> (17) hóla 'arbi malápe,<sup>1</sup> malápe b-rəša.<sup>1</sup> 'áy hóla dmixta.<sup>1</sup> 'yómət 'arbi b-qéma.<sup>1</sup> 'arbi yomàne<sup>1</sup> dmixtewa,<sup>1</sup> 'ilita.<sup>1</sup> šaqłítle<sup>1</sup> hóle 'ítla kθàwa<sup>1</sup> xo-réša díya.<sup>1</sup> hole-'ítla qəlunka táma.<sup>1</sup> bá'yət gáršət qalunka,<sup>1</sup> bá'yət 'áxlət 'ixàla.<sup>1</sup> (18) 'u-šaqłítle kθàwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-'àθət.<sup>1</sup> šaqłítlux<sup>1</sup> mən-d-ó 'ixálat t̄era,<sup>1</sup> dérat gu-jebàlux<sup>1</sup> 'u-t̄era<sup>1</sup> la-hàru.<sup>1</sup> šaqłítle mattátle gu-čàntux,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'àθeti.<sup>1</sup> 'móre p̄urmèlux<sup>1</sup> bròni?<sup>1</sup> 'móre hè.<sup>1</sup> 'móre hātxa?<sup>1</sup> 'móre hè.<sup>1</sup>

(19) q̄imele.<sup>1</sup> z̄ilele.<sup>1</sup> z̄ilele<sup>1</sup> b-ürxa.<sup>1</sup> 'móxyele l-t̄ura,<sup>1</sup> 'siqele,<sup>1</sup> 'áx-t-wewa m̄ira,<sup>1</sup> 'aqłáθə s̄use díye kúlla p̄rimla,<sup>1</sup> 'dámma šláya bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> xuláša 'siqele rəš-t̄ura.<sup>1</sup> 'báθər hádax šurèle šláya<sup>1</sup> gu-màlxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-màlxa p̄idále.<sup>1</sup> (20) m̄téle l-án tre-képe t-qítla b-ḡòðə.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'ani p̄idile.<sup>1</sup> 'm̄téle rəš-miya.<sup>1</sup> 'θéla tre-bnàθa<sup>1</sup> qəm-parómle rešəy-u<sup>1</sup> p̄idle.<sup>1</sup> xuláša 'áyyət miráli 'šllux<sup>1</sup> kúlla widále.<sup>1</sup> 'θèle,<sup>1</sup> 'zille,<sup>1</sup> 'šqille t̄era<sup>1</sup> 'u-θèle.<sup>1</sup> (21) 'imə θèle,<sup>1</sup> 'm̄téle kəs-sáwe díye 'aw-gòra,<sup>1</sup> 'm̄téle m̄re,<sup>1</sup> 'hóli moθéli t̄era.<sup>1</sup> 'q̄imele šqilele xa-pàrra.<sup>1</sup> 'móxyelle b-'éne díye,<sup>1</sup> 'éne díye<sup>1</sup> p̄išela sp̄ay<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóle xz̄aya.<sup>1</sup> 'm̄re<sup>1</sup> bròni,<sup>1</sup> 'háwya bríxta gur̄ùθux.<sup>1</sup> 'si-nábəl t̄la-bàbux,<sup>1</sup> 'u-básəm bábux bìya.<sup>1</sup> (22) 'áw 'ítle 'úm̄ma dinàre gu-jèbe díye,<sup>1</sup> 'léle šrifalla.<sup>1</sup> 'q̄imele,<sup>1</sup> 'd̄irele,<sup>1</sup> 'z̄ilele 'o-xóne díye t-pàlax<sup>1</sup> 'riya,<sup>1</sup> 'šāvàna.<sup>1</sup> 'z̄ilele 'móre t̄la-márət 'ərbe<sup>1</sup> 'm̄re<sup>1</sup> 'lá m̄zabnótle 'áwwa 'šlli?<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa šāvànux<sup>1</sup> 'là m̄zabnátllali?<sup>1</sup> (23) 'móre hè.<sup>1</sup> 'kəmà zonátle?<sup>1</sup> 'móre b-zonónne b-xamšì dinàre.<sup>1</sup> 'móre 'ána yánwale xámšì dinàre,<sup>1</sup> 'aw t-yállì xámšì dinàre<sup>1</sup> 'mà-yxaləf<sup>1</sup> 'móre hál!<sup>1</sup> 'q̄imele yíwle xámšì dinàre,<sup>1</sup> 'xóne díye šqila m̄ùθyalle.<sup>1</sup> 'pyášele xámšì xène.<sup>1</sup> 'z̄ilele mátyele l-xóne díye d-o-t-mzabánwa k̄ábàbe.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'aw qəm-šaq̀lle<sup>1</sup> 'u-xámšì dinàre xéne h̄iwile.<sup>1</sup> 'p̄išle t-la-zùze.<sup>1</sup> (24) 'q̄imela 'əθye.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela,<sup>1</sup> 'mátyela l-q̄urbat b̄éθa.<sup>1</sup> 'mátyela l-q̄urbat qásrət málka.<sup>1</sup> 'xa-bèna,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xa-bustàna,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xabùše gáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'xa-'éna be-pàlga-wawa.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-xoney zóra m̄re<sup>1</sup> 'xonáwáθi 'ána lán dmíxa,<sup>1</sup> 'là-b-łele,<sup>1</sup> 'là-b-yoma.<sup>1</sup> 'hóla θáya šnθi,<sup>1</sup> 'dámxən xánčì.<sup>1</sup> 'manixəx xácčā<sup>1</sup> 'u-ba'đén t-ásq̄exi l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>

(16) Then, you should enter. Twenty rooms are closed. You should open these. Close the ones that are open. You will reach the last room. Her bird is situated in the window (there). Before it calls out like a cock, take some of the food and place it before the bird. The bird will eat. Then, you should enter. (17) There are forty sheets, forty sheets on top of her. She is asleep. On the fortieth day she will get up. She has been lying down, asleep, for forty days. She has a book under her head—you should take it. She has a pipe there. (If) you want to smoke a pipe, or want to eat food (it is there). (18) You should take the book and come back. Take some of the food of the bird and put it in your pockets, the bird will not speak (in protest). Take it and put in in your bag and come back.’ He said ‘Have you understood my son?’ He said ‘Yes’. He said ‘Is that so?’ He said ‘Yes’.

(19) He went off. He went off on the road. He travelled to the mountain. He went up and, as he had said, the legs of his horse were all cut and blood flowed down it. In the end, he went up onto the mountain and afterwards began to come down in the salt. He crossed also the salt. (20) He reached the two stones that knocked together. He passed also these. He reached the water. Two girls came and he cut off their head. In short, he did everything that I have said to you. He came back, then went and took the bird, then returned. (21) When he returned, he came to his elderly man, the old one, he came and said ‘I have brought the bird.’ He took a feather. He put it on his eyes and his eyes became well, he was able to see. He said ‘My son, may your bravery be blessed. Go and take it to your father and cure your father with it.’ (22) He has the hundred dinars in his pocket, he has not spent them. He returned and went to the brother of his who was working as a shepherd. He went and said to the owner of the sheep, he said ‘Won’t you sell me this man? Won’t you sell to me this shepherd of yours?’ (23) He said ‘Yes. How much will you buy him for?’ He said ‘I shall buy him for fifty dinars’. He said ‘(Since) I gave for him fifty dinars and he will give me fifty dinars, that’s fine.’ He said ‘Give (them to me)!’ He gave him fifty dinars, took his brother and brought him back. The other fifty remained. He went off and came to his brother who was selling kebabs. He took him also and gave away the other fifty dinars. He became penniless. (24) They came back. They came back and came near to home. They came near to the palace of the king. Now, there was a garden, in which there were apples. In the middle there was a spring. The young brother among them said ‘My brothers, I have not slept, neither at night nor during the day. I am feeling sleepy, I’ll sleep a little. Let’s rest a little, then we shall go up to our home’.

(25) *móre ma-yxàlɛf*<sup>1</sup> *xa-bèna*,<sup>1</sup> *'aw-dmìxɛle*,<sup>1</sup> *xóna 'o-gòra*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi móre*?<sup>1</sup> *móre tla-d-o-xóna gawàya*<sup>1</sup> *qu-dùqle xónux*!<sup>1</sup> *xartáxla 'éne diye*<sup>1</sup> *'u-šaqłáxle ṭera*.<sup>1</sup> *masqàxle ṭ-ámrx* *'áxnix múthyalle ṭera*.<sup>1</sup> *mára qimɛle*,<sup>1</sup> *xóna díya dmìxɛle*.<sup>1</sup> *xa-béna 'əthyela*<sup>1</sup> *dwiqəlle yála*.<sup>1</sup> *dwiqəlle*,<sup>1</sup> *'éne díye xritəlla*,<sup>1</sup> *'u-zódyalla ṭama*.<sup>1</sup> (26) *'u-'áni siqela*.<sup>1</sup> *siqela*,<sup>1</sup> *mátɣe l-bèθa*.<sup>1</sup> *babéy léle dyála m-áxxa l-áxxa*.<sup>1</sup> *móre hà*<sup>1</sup> *muθélexu ṭera*?<sup>1</sup> *mára hè*.<sup>1</sup> *šuréla mxàya*<sup>1</sup> *biš-ila mráya*.<sup>1</sup> *mšuréla mráya 'éne diye*<sup>1</sup> *sab-léle xíla mən-d-ó 'ixàle díye*,<sup>1</sup> *hóle gu-jébat xonəy*.<sup>1</sup>

(27) *mára qimɛle*,<sup>1</sup> *šwiqəlle hádax*.<sup>1</sup> *θiθɛle xa-yàwna*.<sup>1</sup> *tíwta rəš-d-é 'ilana*,<sup>1</sup> *t-xabùše*.<sup>1</sup> *mára 'ille díye xzi*<sup>1</sup> *'ón-it riša*,<sup>1</sup> *màsɣəθ*!<sup>1</sup> *'u-'ón-it ṭli'a*,<sup>1</sup> *riš*!<sup>1</sup> *hadíya b-zadránna gáni*,<sup>1</sup> *šáli pàrre mənni*<sup>1</sup> *kəslux*.<sup>1</sup> *njámətla*.<sup>1</sup> *maqðətla*.<sup>1</sup> *'énux t-čáppe hóla fəllən dúkθa*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'énux t-yámne hóla fəllən dúkθa*.<sup>1</sup> *šaqłətla*<sup>1</sup> *mattətla b-šopəy*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-gamšətla 'ánna miyət pàrra*<sup>1</sup> *b-rešəy*<sup>1</sup> *tàza*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-bàsmeti*.<sup>1</sup> (28) *yáwna žigən θiθɛla zdirtəlla gána*.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla pàrre npilela ṭama*.<sup>1</sup> *qimɛle*,<sup>1</sup> *njūməlla-w*<sup>1</sup> *mùqðəlla*.<sup>1</sup> *šqiləlla 'éne diye*<sup>1</sup> *müttəlla*,<sup>1</sup> *xánči pč̣ile-wela*.<sup>1</sup> *vərra pišle*.<sup>1</sup> *qəm-deréla 'an-miyya*<sup>1</sup> *mən-d-an-pàrre*<sup>1</sup> *rəš-'éne diye*,<sup>1</sup> *bsimla xánči*.<sup>1</sup> (29) *siqele*.<sup>1</sup> *siqele*,<sup>1</sup> *móre tla-d-an-nàše*<sup>1</sup> *yàba*<sup>1</sup> *lá yawítuli xa-šùla*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-móndi hàle*,<sup>1</sup> *pàlxən*<sup>1</sup> *be-málka*?<sup>1</sup> *mərə*<sup>1</sup> *čú-pəlxana ḷilən*.<sup>1</sup> *bás 'itleni*<sup>1</sup> *mtāməzət*<sup>1</sup> *gómə susāwəθa*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-mtāməzətla 'áni bás*.<sup>1</sup> *móre ma-yxàlɛf*<sup>1</sup> *qimɛle*<sup>1</sup> *šəlyə pišɛle*<sup>1</sup> *gu-gòma*,<sup>1</sup> *knáša 'u-mšàya*,<sup>1</sup> *tagbóre susāwəθa*.

(30) *mtánəx bud-Parizáda*.<sup>1</sup> *Parizáda rišla*,<sup>1</sup> *ṭera liθ*.<sup>1</sup> *qimɛla*,<sup>1</sup> *príxta θiθɛla*<sup>1</sup> *báθər rixa*.<sup>1</sup> *'ékɛla ṭera díya θiθa tíwta báθər d-è-maθa*.<sup>1</sup> *tíwɛla*,<sup>1</sup> *mxiθəlla čádra díya*.<sup>1</sup> *mára həy*<sup>1</sup> *kú-ṭ-ile múthyalle ṭeri*,<sup>1</sup> *'ána gawrənne*.<sup>1</sup> *bas-b-šərət*<sup>1</sup> *dàx-ile múthyalle 'amərra-lli*.<sup>1</sup>

(25) He said 'Fine.' Then, while he slept, what did the eldest brother say? He said to the middle brother 'Come, seize your brother. Let's gouge out his eye and take the bird. We shall take it up (home) and say that it is we who have brought the bird.' Now, their brother went to sleep. Then they came and seized the boy. They seized him and gouged out his eyes, and threw them over there. (26) They went up, went up, and reached home. Their father did not see from here to here.<sup>12</sup> He said 'Oh, have you brought the bird?' They said 'Yes'. They started to put it (on his eyes), but they hurt more (than before). His eyes began to hurt since they had not eaten any of its food, which was in the pocket of their brother.

(27) The story goes, they left him like that. A dove came and sat on the apple tree. It said to him (the youngest brother) 'Look, if you are awake, listen! If you are asleep, wake up! Now I shall shake myself and feathers will fall from me near you. Gather them and burn them. Your left eye is in such-and-such place and your right eye is in such-and-such a place. Take them and put them in their place. Then wring out well the water of the feather upon them and you will be cured.' (28) The dove came and shook herself. All the feathers fell down there. He gathered them up and burnt them. He took his eyes and put them (back in their place). They were rather crooked. He became squint-eyed. He applied the water from the feathers to his eyes and they were cured to some extent. (29) He went up and said to the people 'Won't you give me a job, something or other, so that I can work in the house of the king'. They said 'We have no work. But we do have (the job of) cleaning the horse stable basement, cleaning them out, that's all (we have).' He said 'Fine'. He went down and stayed in the basement, sweeping and polishing, looking after the horses.

(30) We shall tell now of Parizada. Parizada woke up (and saw that) the bird was not there. She flew after the smell (of the bird). She came and settled behind the village where her bird was. She settled and set up her tent. She said 'Hey, I'll marry whoever has brought back my bird, but on condition that he tells me how he has brought it back'.

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<sup>12</sup> I.e. He could not see even a short distance.

(31) *màra,*<sup>1</sup> *sìqe*<sup>1</sup> *xóna* <sup>o-gòra,</sup> *sìqe*<sup>1</sup> *màre*<sup>1</sup> *màre* *zìlən,*<sup>1</sup> *šqilanne,*<sup>1</sup> *mùthyalle.*<sup>1</sup>  
*màra* *prìmu* *rèšə,*<sup>1</sup> <sup>áwəwa</sup> *prìm* *rèšə.*<sup>1</sup> *qímele* <sup>o-trè,</sup> *qímele* <sup>o-t-trè,</sup> *sìqe*<sup>1</sup>, *màre*  
<sup>ànən</sup> *mùthyalle.*<sup>1</sup> *màra* *dàx-it* *mùthyalle* <sup>àti,</sup><sup>2</sup> *mùt-urxət* *mùthyalle.*<sup>2</sup> *módit* *xózya* *qam-*  
*énux.*<sup>2</sup> *módit* *xózya.*<sup>2</sup> *màre* *čù-màndi* *lan-xózya* <sup>ána,</sup> *téra* *hon-mùthyalle,*<sup>1</sup> *hòle.*<sup>1</sup> *màra*  
*prìmle* *rèšə* *díye!*<sup>1</sup> <sup>áp-aw</sup> *rèšə* *díye* *prìma.*<sup>1</sup> (32) *pišle* <sup>èni,</sup><sup>2</sup> *pišle* <sup>ó</sup> *t-ile* *gu-gómət*  
*susāwàtha.*<sup>1</sup> *qímele,*<sup>1</sup> *sìqe.*<sup>1</sup> *yíwla* *xábra-lle* *díye!*<sup>1</sup> *màra* *hāl* *qáššət* *hàtxela.*<sup>1</sup> *màre* *t-ásqən*  
<sup>ána,</sup> *sìqe.*<sup>1</sup> *vèrra-wewa,*<sup>1</sup> *piša* *vèrra.*<sup>1</sup> *màra* *hà,*<sup>1</sup> <sup>àtit</sup> *mùthyalle* *téri.*<sup>2</sup> *màre* *hè*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ànən</sup>  
*mùthyalle* *térax.*<sup>1</sup> (33) *màra* *dàxi.*<sup>2</sup> *màre*<sup>1</sup> <sup>iθwa</sup> *xa-túra* *skinyàtha.*<sup>1</sup> *muttéthətwa* *qámi*  
*xa-túrət* *skinyàtha.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>áw</sup> *piðm-əlle.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-túra* *xéna* *t-məlxə,*<sup>1</sup> <sup>áw</sup> *piðm-əlle.*<sup>1</sup> *tórte* *xamátha*  
<sup>axwáθəx</sup> <sup>əθyela,</sup> *prìmən-əlle* *réša.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>iθwa</sup> *nàra,*<sup>1</sup> <sup>áp-aw</sup> *múklən-əlle* *šwìrən.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>iθwaləx</sup>  
<sup>árya</sup> *l-èy-gota!*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-ázza</sup> *l-èy-gota.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-árya* <sup>iθwa</sup> *gəlla.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-ázza* <sup>iθwa</sup> *bəsrə.*<sup>1</sup>  
*šqilən* *bəsrə* *m-kəs-əzza,*<sup>1</sup> *múttə* *tla-árya.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-mən-àrya!</sup> *šqilən* *gəlla!* *múttəlle* *qa-əzza.*<sup>1</sup>  
(34) *wìrən.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>arbi-otaxə</sup> <sup>iθwaləx.</sup> <sup>əsrì</sup> *mónna!* *pθixə-wəwə,*<sup>1</sup> *dwìrən-əlla.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-əsri</sup>  
*mónna* *dwìrə-wəwə,*<sup>1</sup> *pθixən-əlla.*<sup>1</sup> *térax* *gu-kàwə-wəwə.*<sup>1</sup> *dóryən-əlle* *làqta!* *xìlele.*<sup>1</sup>  
*wìrən* *gu-bèθəx.*<sup>1</sup> *kθáwəx* *hon-šqiləlle.*<sup>1</sup> *mən-qálunkəx* *grìšən.*<sup>1</sup> *mən-ixála* *grìšən,*<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>u-ərbə-gayə</sup> *nšiqən-əlləx!*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-əθyən.</sup> (35) *màra!* *madam-t-úwət* <sup>áyya</sup> *wìðəlla* *kúlla,*<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>si-méθili</sup> *qəššəttət* *Wérda-w* *Nèrgis.*<sup>1</sup> *màre* *ma-yxələf!* *qímele* *šəlya.*<sup>1</sup> *šqilele* *mən-d-ó*  
<sup>ixála!</sup> *dóryəlle* *qa-téra.*<sup>1</sup> *téra* *xìlele.*<sup>1</sup> *šqilele* *mən-párrət* *téra.*<sup>1</sup> *máxyəlle* *b-énət* *bábe*  
*díye,*<sup>1</sup> *bábe* *díye* *bsiməle.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-qímele</sup> *lwíša* *júllə* *brónət* *málkəle.*<sup>1</sup> *lwíšəle* *júllə.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-sìqe.</sup>  
(36) *màra* *həyyo,*<sup>1</sup> *həyyo!*<sup>1</sup> *madam-t-úwət* <sup>àti,</sup> *həyyo!*<sup>1</sup> *là-azət.*<sup>1</sup> *màre*<sup>1</sup> *na-mùmkən!*<sup>1</sup>  
*màre* *t-àzən,*<sup>1</sup> <sup>əlla</sup> *məθónna* *qəššəttət* *Wérda-w* *Nèrgis.*<sup>1</sup> *màra* *qímele,*<sup>1</sup> *zìlele.*<sup>1</sup> *zìlele,*<sup>1</sup>  
*zìla,*<sup>1</sup> *zìla,*<sup>1</sup> *zìla.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-tré* *tłá-yomane* *tíwəle* *l-súsa* *díye* <sup>u-zìlele.</sup> *mátyəle* *l-xa-màθə.*<sup>1</sup>  
*máθa* *gòrtəla,*<sup>1</sup> *mđita* *gòrtəla,*<sup>1</sup> *málkəle* *gáwə* *díya.*<sup>1</sup>

(31) Now, the eldest brother came up and said, he said 'I went and took it and brought it back'. She said 'Cut off his head!' His head was cut off. The second one got up. The second one got up and came up and said 'It was me who brought it back'. She said 'How did you bring it back? By what way did you bring it back? What did you see before your eyes. What did you see?' He said 'I did not see anything. I have brought back the bird, that's all.' She said 'Cut off his head!' Also his head was cut off. (32) Who was left? There remained the one who was in the horse stable. He went up. They passed the word on to him and said 'The situation is like this'. He said 'I'll go up'. He went up. He was squint-eyed. He had become squint-eyed. She said 'Ha, was it you who brought back my bird?' He said 'Yes. It was me who brought back your bird'. (33) She said 'How?' He said 'There was a mountain of knives. You had placed before me a mountain of knives. I crossed it. There was another mountain of salt and I crossed that. Two young women like you came and I cut off their head. There was a river, I stopped it and and jumped over. You had a lion on this side and a she-goat on that side. Before the lion there was grass. Before the she-goat there was meat. I took the meat from the she-goat and laid it down for the lion. From the lion I took the grass and I laid it down for the she-goat. (34) I entered. You had forty rooms. Twenty of them were open and I closed them. Twenty of them were closed and I opened them. Your bird was in the window. I offered it some food and it ate it. I entered your house. I took your book. I smoked your pipe. I took some food. I kissed you four times and came back.' (35) She said 'If you have done all of this, go and bring me the story of Warda and Nargis.' He said 'Fine'. He went down, he took some of the food and offered it to the bird. The bird ate it. He took a feather of the bird. He put it on the eyes of his father and his father was cured. Then he put on the clothes of the son of a king.<sup>13</sup> He put on his clothes and went up. (36) She said 'Come, come. Since it is you. Come, don't go'. He said 'That's impossible'. He said 'I shall go. I must bring the story of Warda and Nargis.' The story goes: He set off and went on his way, he sat on his horse one, two, three days and went on his way. He arrived at a village. It was a large village. It was a large town. The king was (resident) in it.

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<sup>13</sup> I.e. his royal clothes.

(37) *zilele wirele gu-d-è-maθa.*<sup>1</sup> *pišele 'arxa kas-xa-báxta sáwta t̃òto.*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'alla*  
*díya*<sup>1</sup> *lé-y-yatli xáčča miya.*<sup>2</sup> *qim̃tela,*<sup>1</sup> *yíwtalle xáčča miya.*<sup>1</sup> *plitt̃ela baràya.*<sup>1</sup> *jirt̃ela*  
*gu-qàwwa*<sup>1</sup> *'u-yíwtalle 'alle díye.*<sup>1</sup> *š̃tyalle.*<sup>1</sup> *'aw-miðe.*<sup>1</sup> *bəd-lóbbe miya m̃lxànela.*<sup>1</sup> *ha-*  
*t̃òti,*<sup>1</sup> *xázax 'anna miyéxu m̃lxàne.*<sup>1</sup> (38) *móra b̃abi miya litl̃n.*<sup>1</sup> *kut-šáwwa yomàne*<sup>1</sup>  
*xúwwe marpél̃n miya.*<sup>1</sup> *móra litl̃n miya.*<sup>1</sup> *plitt̃li baràya jir̃li,*<sup>1</sup> *muθ̃li-llux.*<sup>1</sup> *móre dàxi*  
*q̃šš̃at.*<sup>2</sup> *dàx litléxu miya.*<sup>2</sup> *móra kut-šáwwa yomàne,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áxəl xa-bràta,*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-marpél̃n*  
*miya,*<sup>1</sup> *ja-jálde dáwq̃x miya*<sup>1</sup> *qa-tmánỹa yomàne.*<sup>1</sup> *móre lá maxzát̃le 'illi 'éka p̃alət̃.*<sup>2</sup>  
*móra t̃amm̃əl brát̃at m̃alka,*<sup>1</sup> *'áy masq̃la ta-t-ax̃lla,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-ta-t-maxz̃ele 'allux 'ékele.*<sup>1</sup>  
(39) *qim̃ele yomət-tr̃e,*<sup>1</sup> *s̃iq̃ele l-'úrxa.*<sup>1</sup> *x̃z̃ỹele brāt-m̃alka.*<sup>1</sup> *móre há l̃eka.*<sup>2</sup> *móra t̃-ásq̃n*  
*ta-t-ax̃lli xúwwe.*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'ána t̃-áθ̃n m̃nñx.*<sup>1</sup> *'ati xúwwe lá 'ax̃ll̃x.*<sup>1</sup> *'ina 'ána léỹð̃n*  
*b-éni d̃ána t̃-àθ̃e xúwwe.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána d̃am̃x̃n xáčča,*<sup>1</sup> *matt̃ñne réš̃i r̃əš-àql̃x.*<sup>1</sup> *kut-d̃anət 'àθ̃e*  
*xúwwe*<sup>1</sup> *m̃ar̃əš̃at̃li.*<sup>1</sup> *móra sp̃à.*<sup>1</sup> (40) *móra xa-b̃ena,*<sup>1</sup> *dm̃ix̃ele 'áv.*<sup>1</sup> *dm̃ix̃ele,*<sup>1</sup> *wit̃ela*  
*b-l̃èl̃e*<sup>1</sup> *xúwwe θ̃èl̃e.*<sup>1</sup> *'áy bx̃èla.*<sup>1</sup> *lá š̃birra m̃suw̃ət̃la.*<sup>1</sup> *bx̃èla,*<sup>1</sup> *š̃l̃éla d̃omme r̃əš-p̃àθ̃e.*<sup>1</sup>  
*r̃iš̃le.*<sup>1</sup> *qim̃ele ja-jálde.*<sup>1</sup> *'óθ̃ỹele xúwwe 'ille díye.*<sup>1</sup> *béna 'áṽwa 'iθ̃wale r̃um̃xa.*<sup>1</sup> *kú-*  
*reš̃ət̃ xúwwe θ̃èl̃e,*<sup>1</sup> *q̃m-max̃èl̃e*<sup>1</sup> *'u-q̃m-par̃əm̃le réš̃e díye.*<sup>1</sup> (41) *xúwwe móre 'ána l̃àn*  
*b-xá-reša*<sup>1</sup> *b-š̃áwwa reš̃áw̃áθ̃n.*<sup>1</sup> *'aw-móre 'ána l̃àn b-xá-rum̃xa,*<sup>1</sup> *b-šáwwa r̃um̃xew̃n.*<sup>1</sup>  
*kú-reš̃ət̃ θ̃èl̃e*<sup>1</sup> *q̃m-par̃əm̃le.*<sup>1</sup> *kú-reš̃ət̃ θ̃èl̃e*<sup>1</sup> *q̃m-par̃əm̃le.*<sup>1</sup> *q̃m-qař̃alle.*<sup>1</sup> *q̃m-par̃əm̃la*  
*naθ̃yáθ̃a d-an-xuww̃àw̃e,*<sup>1</sup> *der̃éla gu-č̃ante.*<sup>1</sup> *bráta m̃òdi wídl̃a.*<sup>2</sup> *q̃m-max̃yála 'iða*  
*gu-d̃emma*<sup>1</sup> *'u-max̃yála gu-xáše díye,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-xáša d-o-yála.*<sup>1</sup> (42) *'u-móre t̃la-bràta*<sup>1</sup> *rùq,*<sup>1</sup>  
*š̃l̃ég̃an*<sup>1</sup> *m̃t̃ég̃n ñàš̃e.*<sup>1</sup> *múr t-lá-š̃ati m̃n-d-ánna miya.*<sup>1</sup> *'anna miya d̃emma*<sup>1</sup> *'u-náz̃l̃t*  
*xúww̃ela.*<sup>1</sup> *xúwwe q̃t̃illi.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya riqt̃ela*<sup>1</sup> *š̃l̃iθ̃ela*<sup>1</sup> *h̃àw̃r̃ila.*<sup>1</sup> *lá š̃at̃étu miya.*<sup>1</sup> *lá š̃at̃étu*  
*miya.*<sup>1</sup> *xúwwele q̃t̃ila.*<sup>1</sup> *'áxxa-w t̃amma.*<sup>1</sup> *'áni har-š̃r̃ax̃ela-biya,*<sup>1</sup> *dr̃áya k̃èpe,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-'ásqa*  
*ta-t-ax̃lla xúwwe.*<sup>1</sup> *xuww̃e q̃t̃il̃ele.*<sup>1</sup>

(37) He went and entered that village. He became the guest of an old woman. He said to her 'Won't you give me a little water?' She got up and gave him some water. She went outside, urinated in a pot and gave it to him. He drank it. He did not know. He thought<sup>14</sup> the water was salty. 'Hey, my old woman, this water of yours seems to be salty.' (38) She said 'My dear, we have no water. Every seven days a snake releases water for us.' She said 'We do not have water. I went outside and urinated it, then brought it to you.' He said 'What is the story? How is it that you do not have water?' She said 'Every seven days, it eats a girl, in order for it to release water and we quickly gather water for eight days'. He said 'Won't you show me where it comes out?' She said 'Tomorrow they will take up the daughter of the king in order for it to eat her and in order to show you where it is.' (39) He got up the next day and went up on the road. He saw the daughter of the king. He said 'Hey, where (are you going) to?' She said 'I am going up in order for the snake to eat me.' He said 'I shall come with you. The snake will not eat you. But I do not know at what time the snake will come. I shall sleep a little. I shall put my head on your leg. As soon as the snake comes, wake me.' She said 'Fine!' (40) The story goes: Then he lay down to sleep. He went to sleep. He went to sleep and during night the snake came. She wept. She did not dare to speak. She wept and the tears fell on his face. He woke up. He quickly got up. The snake came to him. Now, he had a spear. He struck each head of the snake that came (his way) and cut its head off. (41) The snake said 'I do not have just one head, I have seven heads.' He said 'I do not have one spear', I have seven spears'. Every head that came to him he cut off. Every head that came to him he cut off. He killed it. He cut off the ears of those snakes and put them in his bag. What did the girl do? She put her hand in the blood and then put it on his back, on the back of that boy. (42) He said to the girl 'Run, go down to the people.<sup>15</sup> Tell them not to drink this water. This water is the blood and pus of the snake. I have killed the snake.' She ran down (crying) 'Beware! Do not drink the water! Do not drink the water! The snake has been killed!', and so forth. Yet they shouted at her, throwing stones at her, (telling) her to go up for the snake to eat her. 'The snake is killed!'

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<sup>14</sup> Literally: in his heart.

<sup>15</sup> Literally: go down and reach the people.



(43) *xa-béna hādax, 'əθyela šəlye miya, 'u-kút-xa mšuréle là-dwaqa miya. 'prìqela. 'šlyela miya spàyi 'šəpye. 'xárθa 'aw-zilele kəs-tòte diye. 'zilele, 'móre tla-tóte diye 'qəm-qatłonne xúwwe. 'xáčča šápi miya 'u-sógən duq-miya. 'málka yíwle xábra. 'kú-t-ile qtilalle xúwwe 'áθe páyəs málka 'w-ána péšən wázir 'əlle diye.*  
 (44) *xa-béna, 'zilela xákma yàle 'mára 'əxnix qtilalle 'w-əxnix qtilalle, 'ta-dùgle. 'bráta mərəla mǎrmu šúdre. 'marəmla šúdre, 'léla xzáyá 'ída mxíθa gu-xàše. 'mára prímu rəše. 'pràmalle réše diye. 'árba xámša nàše 'har-hādax wídla b-réše. 'xárθa, 'móre hóle 'iθən xà 'kəs-tòtò 'sàwta. 'bálki t-ile 'àw. (45) mára qiméle, 'yíwle xábra 'əlle diye. 'zilele, 'móre 'àitit qtilalle xúwwe. 'móre hè. 'múrmalla šúdre diye 'xziθa 'idət brátət málka 'mxíθa gu-xàše diye. 'mxíθəlla gu-dəmma, 'mxíθəlla gu-xàše. 'mára 'àwwele bábí. 'móre puš-málka 'u-ána péšən wázir. 'móre là'a. 'ána 'iθ šùla qámi. 'ána bṭ-àzəna. 'ap-ána brónət málkəwən, 'ina 'itli šùla. 'báyən t-ázən mətənnə šùli. 'šúlux mòdile. 'móre le-y-əmrónne t̄l̄lux.*

(46) *'u-qiméle 'zilele 'mátyele xa-derübə, 'xa-'ilána gòrta, 'y-amrəxla xúra. 'simərxə 'simərxə 'itla záye gu-qənnə. 'xa-xúwwe 'hammáša y-asəqwa y-axəlɔwala 'an-zəye. 'o-náša, 'brónət málka, 'módi wídle. 'qəm-qatəlle 'o-xúwwe. 'qəm-mqadqədle 'u-deréle qam-yálat simərxə. 'imət qəm-axlila, 'xére zille mṭušyàle gáne. 'mṭušyàle gáne diye 'ta-t-là 'axlále simərxə. (47) xa-béna hādax, 'simərxə θiθela. 'θiθela čarčóre šrəxa 'há rixət náša naxrəyēle. 'aw-mṭušyēle gáne. 'u-ánna bnónət simərxə šrixela 'mára hàyyo. 'hàyyo. 'o-t-ile y-axəlɔwala bnònəx 'hóle qtilalle. 'šrixela tre-tl̄ə-gaye. 'mára hàyyo plit̄. 'kú-məndit báyət 'ána t-yənnux. 'lèle plita. 'mára wə'dùθa, 'kú-məndit báyət 'ána t-awdənnux. (48) plit̄ele. 'xá-bəna 'əθyēle. 'mára mòdi báyət. 'móre báyən t-àzəna, 'nablətl̄i 'l-qásr Wérda-w Nərgis. 'mára mājāl xa-ššta šáwəwa yòmə, 't-axlónne xáčča bəsrə 'u-əlyáθət 'rba, 'u-tá-t mǎčli pàrri. 'ta-t-y-ámšən mamtənnux, 'rəhqele qásra.*

(43) Shortly afterwards the water came down. Everybody began (to agree) not to gather water. It finished. Then good, pure water came down. Later he went to his old woman. He went and said to his old woman 'I have killed the snake. Shortly the water will become pure, then go and gather water.' The king made an announcement 'Whoever has killed the snake, let him come and become king. I shall become the vizier for him.' (44) Then some boys went and said 'We killed it. We killed it', (telling) lies. The girl says 'Lift up his shirt!' He lifts up his shirt and they do not see a (mark of a) hand placed on his back. She says 'Cut off his head!' They cut off his head. They did the same to the head of four or five other people. Then he said 'There is somebody at the home of the old woman. Perhaps it is him.' (45) The story goes: He went and delivered the message to him. He went and said 'Was it you who killed the snake?' He said 'Yes'. She lifted up his shirt and saw (the mark of) the hand of the king's daughter placed on his back. She had placed it in the blood and put it on his back. She said 'It is him, father'. He said 'Become king and I shall become the vizier.' He said 'No. I have a job to do. I must go. I also am the son of a king, but I have a job. I want to go to my job.' 'What is your job?' He said 'I shall not tell you.'

(46) He went off and came to a wood, to a large tree, which we call a poplar. (There was) a *simarxa* bird, a *simarxa*, which had fledglings in the nest.' A snake always used to go up and eat the fledglings. That man, the son of the king, what did he do? He killed that snake. He chopped it up and put it before the young of the *simarxa*. When they had eaten them,<sup>16</sup> he quickly went and hid himself. He hid himself, so that the *simarxa* would not eat him. (47) Shortly afterwards the *simarxa* came. She came, screeching and crying 'Ha, there is the smell of a foreign man'. He was hidden. The young of the *simarxa* cried out and said 'Come! Come! He has killed the one who used to eat your young.' They cried two or three times. She said 'Come out! I'll give you anything you want.' He did not come out. She said 'I promise, I'll do for you anything you want.' (48) He came out and came (to her)'. She said 'What do you want?' He said 'I want to go, (I want) you to take me to the palace of Warda and Nargis. She said '(Give me) the space of six or seven days, so that I can eat some meat and tail-fat of sheep, so that my feathers will regrow, so that I can take you, since the palace is far away.'

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<sup>16</sup> I.e. the pieces.

(49) mára píšele 'ášta sáwowa yománe tàma.<sup>1</sup> qíméle,<sup>1</sup> zìlele.<sup>1</sup> 'ášta sáwowa yománe spùrele.<sup>1</sup> 'u-θìθela simèrxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mára tu-l-xàši.<sup>1</sup> tíwele l-xáša simèrxa,<sup>1</sup> 'tayyàrela.<sup>1</sup> zìlele hal-mátyela l-qàšra,<sup>1</sup> rəš-qàšra.<sup>1</sup> mára šqúl 'anna-tré párrì mənni.<sup>1</sup> ku-dána sàñqət,<sup>1</sup> maqððìla,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-áθyən làxxa.<sup>1</sup> qíméle šqìla,<sup>1</sup> máre ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> (50) síqele l-xáša dīya<sup>1</sup> 'u-múçmalla 'éne dīye<sup>1</sup> 'u-zìltela.<sup>1</sup> mára pθùx 'énux!<sup>1</sup> pθìxalla 'éne dīye<sup>1</sup> 'u-tíweley rəš-qàšra.<sup>1</sup> qàšra hóle külle bónya b-qarqupyáθə nàše.<sup>1</sup> 'əy<sup>1</sup> šqíltele tré-parre mánna dīya<sup>1</sup> yíwtəlla 'álle dīye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-θìθela.<sup>1</sup> dírtele 'áy.<sup>1</sup> xa-bəna<sup>1</sup> 'əw<sup>1</sup> qíméle šəlyele.<sup>1</sup> šəlyele,<sup>1</sup> dáryele šláma.<sup>1</sup> (51) har-Wérda-w Nərgis-ila.<sup>1</sup> làtla,<sup>1</sup> lá bnòne,<sup>1</sup> lá çù-məndi.<sup>1</sup> ya-b-séna-w 'əwəθa θélux!<sup>1</sup> m-əka θélux?<sup>2</sup> máre b-álaha 'úrxi rəhqa-wawə.<sup>1</sup> théli m'téli làxxa kəsləxu.<sup>1</sup> há mòdile šúlux?<sup>2</sup> máre théli báyən t-yàðéna qəššəttəxu mòdila,<sup>1</sup> mòdi ləla.<sup>1</sup> tanitula-lli.<sup>1</sup> mára xzáyət-əlle 'əwəwa qàšra.<sup>2</sup> külle b-qarqupyáθa bónyeye.<sup>1</sup> pyáša xà-kawə.<sup>1</sup> 'əyya-zi šəp-rəšux-ila.<sup>1</sup> 'əxni t-amrəxlux qəššəttən-əllux.<sup>1</sup> 'u-báθər priqálən qəššəttən<sup>1</sup> réšux pərməxlə<sup>1</sup> mattəxlə gu-d-əyya káwə.<sup>1</sup> (52) máre ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup> 'ax-báyitu.<sup>1</sup> máre xázəx mšəro,<sup>1</sup> qəššət dīyéxu mòdila.<sup>2</sup> mára qímtela Nərgis,<sup>1</sup> mšurəθela páya ləxma,<sup>1</sup> lyáša ləxma.<sup>1</sup> Wérda šqílele xa-qésət harmóna rixə,<sup>1</sup> máxyele gu-xáša.<sup>1</sup> máre pəšət xa-sùsta.<sup>1</sup> píšla sùsta.<sup>1</sup> tíwele l-xáša dīya-w<sup>1</sup> zìlele gu-<sup>2</sup>aqàra<sup>1</sup> gu-gəlla<sup>1</sup> 'əxxa-w tàmma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mùθyalla.<sup>1</sup> (53) máre brōn-málka 'álle dīye<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> wùdla xá-bena xéta<sup>1</sup> t-dəya xá-bena xéta.<sup>1</sup> mərə báyət dəya?<sup>2</sup> máxyəlla 'lā šarbətáne xéne t-qəse,<sup>1</sup> máxyele 'əlla.<sup>1</sup> dírtele píštele hədəx.<sup>1</sup> qímtela 'əp-<sup>2</sup>ay<sup>1</sup> mxiθela 'álle dīye,<sup>1</sup> 'əp-<sup>2</sup>aw píšele dawəra,<sup>1</sup> 'u-tíwtela l-xáše dīye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-zìltela<sup>1</sup> maxðórəlle gu-<sup>2</sup>aqàra.<sup>1</sup> xá-bena hədəx,<sup>1</sup> máre mādərre xtiθi dīye,<sup>1</sup> lá-wudle hədəx.<sup>1</sup> qímtela mxiθela 'lā-qese xéne,<sup>1</sup> 'əp-<sup>2</sup>aw dīrele.<sup>1</sup> (54) píštele ləle.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwala xmərta t-šənθa.<sup>1</sup> mattáwala rəš-šádrət Wérda.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-azáwa 'iθwa hambišəye y-amrəxla.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa xa-gəppa gáwə dīye 'ərbi hambišəye.<sup>1</sup> y-azáwa,<sup>1</sup> y-atwáwa gawəy,<sup>1</sup> xamláwa mənney,<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-athyáwa.<sup>1</sup> xə-yoma,<sup>1</sup> yóma t-trè,<sup>1</sup> yóma t-!lāθa,<sup>1</sup> 'əw-yála qímle npílle bəra<sup>1</sup> zìlle<sup>1</sup> máre xázəx ləkəla zála.<sup>1</sup>

(49) The story goes: He stayed six or seven days there, then went off. He waited six or seven days, then the *simarxa* came. She said 'Sit on my back'. He sat on the back of the *simarxa*. She was (like) an aeroplane. They went until they arrived at the palace, on top of the palace. She said 'Take from me these two feathers of mine. Whenever you need (me), burn them and I shall come here'. He took them and said 'Fine'. (50) He went up onto her back and closed his eyes. She went off. She said 'Open your eyes! He opened his eyes. They settled on top of the palace. The palace was built completely of human skulls. She took two feathers from her and gave them to him. She went back, she returned. Then he went down. He went down and offered his greetings. (51) Only Warda and Nargis were there. They had no children, nothing. 'Welcome! Where have you come from?' He said 'By God, my journey was long. I have come here to your home.' 'Well, what is your business?' He said 'I have come seeking to know what your story is.'<sup>17</sup> Tell it to me. They said 'Do you see this palace? It is all built of skulls. One gap remains. That is the place of your head. We shall tell you our story and after we have finished our story, we shall cut off your head and put it in this gap'. (52) He said 'Fine. As you like.' He said 'Let's see, start (telling), what is your story?' The story goes: Nargis got up and began to bake bread, to knead bread. Warda took a long pomegranate stick and struck it on her back. He said 'You shall become a mare'. She became a mare. He sat on her back and went off into the meadow, in the grass, here and there, and brought her back.' (53) The son of the king said to him, he said 'Do it once again, so that she turns back again'. He said 'Do you want to turn back?' He hit her with three other wooden canes, he struck her. She turned back to what she was. Also she struck him and he became a mule and she sat on his back. She went and drove him round the meadow. After a while he said 'Make him come back, I feel sorry for him. Do not make him like that'. She struck him three more strokes and he also turned back. (54) It became night. She had a bead of sleep. She used to put it on the chest of Werda and go to what we call *hambišaye* ('giants'). There was a cave in which there were forty giants. She would go and sit among them and make merry with them. Then she would come back. One day, the next day and the day after,<sup>18</sup> the boy went and followed her. He said 'Let's see where she is going.'

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<sup>17</sup> Literally: what your story is, what it is not.

<sup>18</sup> Literally: the second and the third day.

(55) *zìlle 'ína xazéla hóla gu-d-án hambišâyé,<sup>1</sup> mṭawòle mónna díya.<sup>1</sup> yómət 'àrpa,<sup>1</sup> qíméle šqíləlla xmərta,<sup>1</sup> múttəlla rəs-šádra díya.<sup>1</sup> 'áy ḷlètela.<sup>1</sup> qíméle zìlele.<sup>1</sup> qṭíləlla 'an-'árbi hambišâyé.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dóryəlla naṭyaθəy,<sup>1</sup> príməlla-w<sup>1</sup> dóryəlla gu-xúrje díye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əṭhyele.<sup>1</sup> 'əṭhyele síqa l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> síqa l-gàre<sup>1</sup> 'u-qḏixilla 'an-tre-pàrre,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xárθa simérxa θiθela.<sup>1</sup> simérxa θiθela-w<sup>1</sup> tíwəle l-xášət simèrxa-w<sup>1</sup> (56) xa-bèna,<sup>1</sup> 'əṭhyele.<sup>1</sup> 'əṭhyele ta-t-ázəl bəṭhe díye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ríšəle Wèrda,<sup>1</sup> wíðele gáne 'ax-nəšra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šətyele bára díya.<sup>1</sup> šətyele bára díya<sup>1</sup> ta-t-maxèle.<sup>1</sup> xa-béna Parizáda šrixtele.<sup>1</sup> plíttəla 'áp-'ay gu-hàwa.<sup>1</sup> ziltela,<sup>1</sup> mára lá-daqrət bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> xətnux-ile.<sup>1</sup> lá-daqrət bíye díye<sup>1</sup> xətnux-ile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-qíméle,<sup>1</sup> dīyēle Wèrda<sup>1</sup> zila l-qàšre.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ap-'aw<sup>1</sup> 'əṭhyele,<sup>1</sup> muttəθəlle kəs-béθa díya.<sup>1</sup> m-táma-w hòdax,<sup>1</sup> tíwəle l-xášə súde díye<sup>1</sup> 'əṭhye díra l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (57) dīyēle l-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> Parizáda mərə<sup>1</sup> qəm-mεθáila qəššəttə.<sup>2</sup> máre kúlla muṭyáli qəššəttə.<sup>1</sup> báyət t-amrənnə-llax.<sup>2</sup> mára lá, là,<sup>1</sup> lá mürra 'əlli.<sup>1</sup> 'ána mṭurṭmáli,<sup>1</sup> hot-mùṭyəlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-gánux bàsma-w<sup>1</sup> b-gawərànnux.<sup>1</sup> qíme m-táma hòdax,<sup>1</sup> gwírela gḏàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šwiqáli tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-θéli làxxa.<sup>1</sup>*

(55) He went off and saw her among the giants, playing with them. The fourth day he took the bead and put it on her chest. She slept. He went off and killed those forty giants. He put their ears—he cut them off and put them in his saddle bag. He came back. He came back and went up to the roof. He went up to the roof and kindled the two feathers. Then the *simarxa* came. The *simarxa* came and he sat on the back of the *simarxa*. (56) Then he came back, he came back to go to his home. Warda woke up and made himself like an eagle and swooped down after her. He swooped after her to strike him. Then Parizada shouted and she also went out into the air. She went and said ‘Do not touch him. He is your son-in-law. Do not touch him. He is your son-in-law. Warda returned and went back to his palace. He (the king’s son) also returned back, she put him in her home. Afterwards he sat on the back of his horse and returned home. (57) He returned home and Parizada said ‘Have you brought the story?’ He said ‘I have brought the whole story. Do you want me to tell it to you?’ She said ‘No, no, don’t tell me. I understand that you have brought it. Well done! I shall marry you. Then they were married to one another. I have left it there and come here.

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'iθwa xa-málka gu-ða-màθa.<sup>1</sup> 'o-málka<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale tərte bnáθa.<sup>1</sup> xóne ðiye fāqira-weewa.<sup>1</sup> xóna d-o-málka fāqira-weewa.<sup>1</sup> šəttət màθa-weewa tíwa 'o-xóna fāqira.<sup>1</sup> málka tíwa gu-rəšət máθa.<sup>1</sup> (2) xa-yóma síqe-wawa l-šəda,<sup>1</sup> síqe-wawa l-šəda tràθna xonāwáθa.<sup>1</sup> baxtáθa tərwoθna hóla yaqüre.<sup>1</sup> málka móre tla-d-o-xóne fāqira,<sup>1</sup> móre xòni<sup>1</sup> baxtáθm hóla yaqüre tərwoθna.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-báxtux muθéla bràta<sup>1</sup> 'u-báxti muθéla bróna,<sup>1</sup> brá-tux qa-bròni.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'ən-báxti muθéla bràta<sup>1</sup> 'u-báxtux muθéla bróna,<sup>1</sup> 'a-bráti qa-brónux.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya 'əni mirále?<sup>1</sup> málka.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna šəlyela.<sup>1</sup> (4) wítela dánət mabròye,<sup>1</sup> tərwoθna mubrèla<sup>1</sup> hār 'o-yóma.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya mòdi γ-oðáwa 'ε-bráta<sup>1</sup> zúrta?<sup>1</sup> mən-d-é-danət brèla<sup>1</sup> hál d-ε-dánət mṯéla l-yála,<sup>1</sup> wéla bxàya.<sup>1</sup> šəmmə d-ε-bráta mòdile?<sup>1</sup> Səttiye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəmmət yála 'ile Fàrxo.<sup>1</sup> Fàrxo 'u-Səttiye.<sup>1</sup> (5) mára qimṯela,<sup>1</sup> har-'ó-yomə t-íla brìθa,<sup>1</sup> dəryəlla gu-dudīya,<sup>1</sup> dargūšta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šlìθela,<sup>1</sup> šlìθa, šlìθa, šlìθa,<sup>1</sup> muttəθəlle púmma gu-pummət<sup>1</sup> Fàrxo,<sup>1</sup> šuréla myàša<sup>1</sup> 'ə-danəla kólye.<sup>1</sup> 'úp-xa mónna lá-weewa klàya<sup>1</sup> har-bxàya-wawa.<sup>1</sup> (6) qimṯela yəmmət Səttiye,<sup>1</sup> móra xázəx 'əkela bráti,<sup>1</sup> táyá 'əlla.<sup>1</sup> 'əni baxtəla mubrèθa?<sup>1</sup> móre baxtət 'əðməx<sup>1</sup> hóla mubrèθa.<sup>1</sup> šléla tàma<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazyála,<sup>1</sup> 'ina hóla tràθna<sup>1</sup> dmíxe gu-dudīya.<sup>1</sup> (7) qimṯela šqiltəlla bràta,<sup>1</sup> mosəqtəlla.<sup>1</sup> mosəqtəlla bráta l-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> šuréla xá-bena xéta bxàya,<sup>1</sup> bxàya,<sup>1</sup> bxàya.<sup>1</sup> b-lèle<sup>1</sup> šuréla xá-bena xéta šléla.<sup>1</sup> šléla har-hàdəx wídla.<sup>1</sup>

(8) qimla,<sup>1</sup> málka krìble.<sup>1</sup> málka krìble<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-gáne málka mírewa 'ən-hawéli bràta<sup>1</sup> t-yánna qa-bronəxu.<sup>1</sup> málka krìble<sup>1</sup> bud-hàtxa məndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> qiməle,<sup>1</sup> šqiləlle yála.<sup>1</sup> yála zòrəle.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni l-xá-yarxa lèle mátya.<sup>1</sup> (9) qiməle<sup>1</sup> móre máttule qam-'ənət miya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-susāwəθa<sup>1</sup> la-maxlúla.<sup>1</sup> là maštóla míya,<sup>1</sup> bás maxlitula<sup>1</sup> 'u-ta-t-'ázi marçile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bába-w yəmmət... t-yála<sup>1</sup> mxéla b-dünye<sup>1</sup> zilla l-Süriya.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was a king in a village. That king had two daughters. His brother was poor. The brother of that king was poor. The poor brother lived at the bottom of the village. The king lived at the top of the village. (2) One day they had gone up (the mountains) out hunting, the two brothers had gone up hunting. The two wives were pregnant. The king said to the poor brother, he said 'My brother, our wives are both pregnant. If your wife gives birth to a girl and my wife gives birth to boy, your daughter (will be married) to my son. (3) If my wife gives birth to a daughter and your wife gives birth to a son, my daughter (will be married) to your son'. Who said this? The king. They came down (from hunting). (4) The time of giving birth arrived. They both gave birth on the same day. What did that little girl do? From the time she was born she started weeping, (and continued) until the time that she came to the boy. What was the name of the girl? Səttiye. The name of the boy was Farxo. Farxo and Səttiye. (5) Now, she got up, on the very day on which she was born and they put her in the cradle, the cot, and she went down, down, down, down, put her mouth on the mouth of Farxo and began sucking. At that time they stopped (crying). Neither of them had stopped (beforehand), but were constantly crying. (6) The mother of Səttiye said 'Let's see where my daughter is' and looked for her. 'Which woman has given birth?' He said 'The wife of your brother-in-law has given birth'. She went there and saw her, the two of them were asleep in the cradle. (7) She took the girl and brought her up. She took the girl up to the house and she again began crying, crying, crying, crying. At night she began again to go down (the village). She went down and did the same as before.

(8) The king became angry. The king became angry, although the king himself had said if I have a daughter I shall give her to your son. The king became angry about these events. He took the boy. He was a baby, that is he was not yet a month old. (9) He said 'Put him before the water spring and do not feed the horses. Do not give them water to drink, but only feed them so that they will go (to the water spring) and crush him.' The father and the mother of the boy went out into the world, they went to Syria.



(10) yála théla dá'a Hùre,<sup>1</sup> šamma dīya,<sup>1</sup> qəm-šaqlàle,<sup>1</sup> 'Áme.<sup>1</sup> m̀re:<sup>1</sup> 'Áme,<sup>1</sup> 'amánəx máttula tàma,<sup>1</sup> šqullī,<sup>1</sup> nàbəlī,<sup>1</sup> máttuli b-díwənt m̀mī.<sup>1</sup>

(11) bábe yómme díye trīðela.<sup>1</sup> m̀re 'áxni t-ázəx. lá xazáxle brònən<sup>1</sup> q̄tīla.<sup>1</sup> qəm-daréle gu-'órət susāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'imət qəm-daréle gu-'órət susāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> susāwàθa lēla xīle 'u-šətye.<sup>1</sup> qəm-daréle tàma,<sup>1</sup> m̀ra b-qat̄līle.<sup>1</sup> šurēle zmírre b-súsa smòqa.<sup>1</sup>

(12) m̀re báyan m̀nnux<sup>1</sup> hálma t-yáwət b-rèšī.<sup>1</sup> 'u-be-má'na tīzux yawótte l-gùda.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-súsa kòma,<sup>1</sup> b-súsa xwàra,<sup>1</sup> kùlla zmírre hàdəx.<sup>1</sup> xárθa málka m̀re šlò<sup>1</sup> díya hóla m̀purápsalle Fàrxo.<sup>1</sup> šqùlule,<sup>1</sup> zdòle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-dro-gállā xàθa<sup>1</sup> qam-susāwàθa.<sup>1</sup>

(13) 'anna šàli<sup>1</sup> 'ina mò šàli!<sup>1</sup> hóla susāwàθa<sup>1</sup> j̄mye b-réše díye<sup>1</sup> wáða h̀lma<sup>1</sup> b-réše díye.<sup>1</sup> síqla yíwla xàbra<sup>1</sup> m̀ra<sup>1</sup> 'ágay<sup>1</sup> hàtxela qazíya,<sup>1</sup> ya-málka.<sup>1</sup> m̀re síqu mèθole.<sup>1</sup> m̀ra qimela<sup>1</sup> mùsqalle táma.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'áwəwa suréle zm̀ra,<sup>1</sup> m̀re 'álaha qəm-xaləqli<sup>1</sup>

yóma qamàya<sup>1</sup> rèša.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yómə tré qəm-xaləqli 'iθàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yómə t̄lāθa qəm-xaləqli 'əna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yómət 'àrba<sup>1</sup> hál yarxət-'əççə.<sup>1</sup> m̀re 'ána qəm-xaləqli 'álaha.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ədyo,<sup>1</sup> kí-məndit báyyət wùdli.<sup>1</sup> wùd-bi.<sup>1</sup> (15) 'ámər lá qat̄l̄nnux.<sup>1</sup> p̄éšət ləxxa<sup>1</sup> gu-bèθa<sup>1</sup> xòna<sup>1</sup> mən-d-ánna bnàθi.<sup>1</sup> 'itli t̄l̄l̄θ.<sup>1</sup> Nàze 'e-gòrta,<sup>1</sup> Zīne 'u-Səttīye 'e-xarèθa,<sup>1</sup> zúrta.<sup>1</sup> m̀re 'anna xaθwàθuxila.<sup>1</sup> m̀re ma-yxàləf.<sup>1</sup>

(16) m̀ra qimela xà-yoma<sup>1</sup> m̀ra t-ázəx sàxəx.<sup>1</sup> 'anna qimela zīle sxàya.<sup>1</sup> Nàze 'e-gòrta<sup>1</sup> m̀re Fàrxo,<sup>1</sup> máttu xa-képa ləxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-ləxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-ləxxa.<sup>1</sup> kèpa.<sup>1</sup> m̀re t̄la-Səttīye tu-ləxxa.<sup>1</sup> Səttīye tu-ləxxa xarèθa.<sup>1</sup> (17) 'u-Zīne tíwla 'a-t-bàθra,<sup>1</sup> 'u-Nàze 'e-qamèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'e-qamèθa gòrta Nàzela.<sup>1</sup> w-a-t-tárte zúrta Zīne.<sup>1</sup> w-a-t-t̄l̄l̄θ Səttīye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá-kepa muttèθəlle tāmà'ha.<sup>1</sup> m̀ra Fàrxo tu-tāmà'ha.<sup>1</sup> Fàrxo tíwele rəš-d-wá'ha kèpa.<sup>1</sup> Nàze m̀ra<sup>1</sup> múr 'əni-mənnən<sup>1</sup> biš-šap̄irtela.<sup>1</sup>

(18) 'ámər:<sup>1</sup> Nàze,<sup>1</sup> 'āti gánəx nàzik-iwət<sup>1</sup> rába šap̄irtəwət,<sup>1</sup> 'ina t̄úwe l-ó yòma,<sup>1</sup> b-xazónnəx 'āti 'əni b-gáwəwət.<sup>1</sup> m̀re Zīne 'āti b-gánəx šap̄irtət,<sup>1</sup> 'up-'āti Zīne.<sup>1</sup> 'ina t̄álbən mən-márya 'álaha ta-t-'ó-yomət górat ta-t-háwəwən m̀nnəx.<sup>1</sup> m̀rele m-rəš-kùlla d-áni 'ila Səttīye.<sup>1</sup> žére Fàrxo<sup>1</sup> t-íwən 'ána b-hìwi díya.<sup>1</sup>

(10) A woman called Hure came and took the boy. Ame<sup>1</sup> took him, he said 'Ame, put your vessel down there. Take me, take me off and put me in the meeting room of my uncle'.<sup>2</sup>

(11) His father and mother were expelled. He said 'Let's go. We shall not see our son, he has been murdered. They have put him in the horses' manger'. When they put him in the horses' manger, the horses did not eat or drink. They put him there and said 'The horses will kill him' He started singing to a brown horse. (12) He said 'I want you to blow on me and—excuse me<sup>3</sup>—turn your bum to the wall. He sang the same to a black horse and a white horse. Afterwards the king said 'Go down, by now they have pulled Farxo apart. Take him and throw him away and put new grass out for the horses'. (13) They went down but what (a surprise when) they went down. The horses were gathered over him, blowing onto him. They went up and gave word (to the king), saying 'My lord, the situation is like this, oh king' He said 'Go and bring him'. Now, they brought him there. (14) He began to sing, he said 'God has created for me on the first day a head. On the second day he created for me hands. On the third day he created for me an eye. On the fourth day—until the ninth month. He said 'God created me. Today, do to me whatever you like. Do it to me'. (15) He said 'I shall not kill you. Stay here in the house, brother, with these daughters of mine. I have three, Naze the eldest, Zine and Söttiye, the last, the youngest'. He said 'These are your sisters'. He said 'Fine'.

(16) Now, they got up one day and they said 'Let's go and swim'. They went off to swim. Naze, the eldest one—Farxo said (to her) 'Put a stone here, one here and one here. A stone'. He said to Söttiye 'Sit here. Söttiye sit here in the last place.' (17) Zine sat after her and Naze the first. The first, eldest girl was Naze. The second youngest was Zine and the third Söttiye. She put a stone far away. She said 'Farxo sit far over there'. Farxo sat on that far stone. Naze said 'Say which of us is the most beautiful'.

(18) He said 'Naze, you yourself are delicate, you are very beautiful. I look forward to the day when I see who you will marry'. He said 'Zine, you yourself are beautiful, also you Zine. I beseech the Lord God that I may be with you on the day that you marry'. He said 'Above all is Söttiye. Poor (me), Farxo, (I) who am waiting in hope for her'.

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<sup>1</sup> An alternative name of Hure.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the king.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: without meaning.

(19) 'àyya<sup>1</sup> Nàze,<sup>1</sup> 'ε-gòrtela,<sup>1</sup> c̣rra.<sup>1</sup> zilla móre ṭla-bába diya.<sup>1</sup> mára babì,<sup>1</sup> yáðət 'ádyo módi wídle Fárxo biyən.<sup>2</sup> máre módi wídle.<sup>2</sup> mára zillən,<sup>1</sup> muttúle 'əllən,<sup>1</sup> 'ána gamèθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-Žine bàθra<sup>1</sup> 'u-Səttíye xarèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-túwle tāmā'ha.<sup>1</sup> (20) m̀̀re<sup>1</sup> Nàze hàtxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-Žine hàtxa,<sup>1</sup> máre 'ána báyyən Səttíye.<sup>1</sup> 'áy biš-šapírtela Səttíye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa képe hàtxa biyèni,<sup>1</sup> lá-qabəlwə 'áxni saxəxiwa.<sup>1</sup> dráya képe 'áxni sxàya<sup>1</sup> šluxayàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áw y-azólwa xayórwə hàtxa biyən,<sup>1</sup> dráya kèpe.<sup>1</sup> máre là,<sup>1</sup> 'áti duglántət.<sup>1</sup> máre 'ána mbàqrena<sup>1</sup> Žine,<sup>1</sup> 'a-t-t̀̀rte.<sup>1</sup> (21) máre há bràti<sup>1</sup> mót mára 'àti.<sup>2</sup> módi-wawə<sup>1</sup> q́ššət t-Fárxo diyèxu.<sup>2</sup> m̀̀ra<sup>1</sup> b́abi d̀̀s báyyət.<sup>2</sup> máre h̀̀.<sup>1</sup> mára Nàze mára ṭla-Fárxo<sup>1</sup> máttu xa-képa làxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-képa làxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-làxxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-muttéθəlle ṭla-Fárxo.<sup>1</sup> mára 'èni m̀̀nnən biš-šapírtela.<sup>2</sup> (22) zmírre bíya diya,<sup>1</sup> máre Nàze hàtxa-w<sup>1</sup> zmírre b-Žine<sup>1</sup> máre raš-kúlla d-áni 'ila Səttíye.<sup>1</sup> 'ána qa-Sittíye báyyən.<sup>1</sup> 'əm̀̀r<sup>1</sup> q́tma b-rešèxu.<sup>1</sup> xóna m̀̀nnèxule,<sup>1</sup> l̀̀la ta-t-<sup>2</sup>amráti ṭliba ma-ṭliba.<sup>1</sup> xóna m̀̀nnèxule.<sup>1</sup> pišle xóna m̀̀nnéy.<sup>1</sup>

(23) xa-yòma<sup>1</sup> qímila zilla m̀̀ra<sup>1</sup> t-ázəx l-<sup>2</sup>ərwə.<sup>1</sup> zilla l-<sup>2</sup>ərwə.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'iθən Ćixàlo<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>Ašəbaṭalo,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna tráθna šávàna... t-màlkəla.<sup>1</sup> kú-bratə t-ila briθa mən-málka,<sup>1</sup> qamáya báyéwa Nàze.<sup>1</sup> máre šawwá-šənne p̄éšən xulàma,<sup>1</sup> bas-yátla Nàze 'əlli.<sup>1</sup> (24) šétə t̀̀rte bréla Žine.<sup>1</sup> zille m̀̀re<sup>1</sup>—áwəwa Ćixàlo hóle mára<sup>1</sup>—zille m̀̀re<sup>1</sup> málka 'áti har-t-yàtli brátux.<sup>2</sup> yátla Žine 'əlli.<sup>1</sup> máre ma-yxàləf<sup>1</sup> 'áti ṭumla<sup>1</sup> šáwəwa šənnux,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-yànnə<sup>1</sup> Žine 'əllux.<sup>1</sup> (25) mára šetə-ṭl̄l̄θ wítela<sup>1</sup> Səttíye.<sup>1</sup> ham-zílele kásle diye<sup>1</sup> m̀̀re<sup>1</sup> málka t-áwət basima-àti.<sup>1</sup> har-t-yàtli ḏa-bráta,<sup>1</sup> là.<sup>2</sup> máre h̀̀.<sup>1</sup> máre yátli Səttíye.<sup>1</sup> máre ma-yxàləf<sup>1</sup> t-yánnux Səttíye.<sup>1</sup> 'áti ṭumla<sup>1</sup> šáwəwa šənnux,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-yánnux Səttíye.<sup>1</sup> (26) mára pišela hàdəx.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'imə t-ila wíta Səttíye,<sup>1</sup> 'áy biš-xámθela m-kúlla,<sup>1</sup> qímela zile<sup>1</sup> m̀̀móše 'ərbe,<sup>1</sup> m̀̀móše páre.<sup>1</sup> wítela d̀̀na,<sup>1</sup> mišela 'ərbe,<sup>1</sup> páre mən-yəm̄maθəy,<sup>1</sup> máre paršəxla m-g̀̀d̀̀de.<sup>1</sup> 'Ašəbaṭalo<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa máxe b-zòrna.<sup>1</sup> (27) 'ərbe máxe l-g̀̀d̀̀de,<sup>1</sup> t-ázi xa-fàtra,<sup>1</sup> 'al-salíqə zòrna.<sup>1</sup> máxe zòrna xa-salíqa xèna,<sup>1</sup> 'ərbe b-d̀̀eri,<sup>1</sup> b-ganəy,<sup>1</sup> t-la-mădóre la-šávàna<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-<sup>2</sup>əp-xa.<sup>1</sup>

(19) Naze, the eldest, turned away in anger. She went to her father. She said ‘Father. Do you know what Farxo did to us?’ He said ‘What did he do?’ She said ‘We came and he arranged us, me first, Zine next and Sättiye last. He sat far away. (20) He said ‘Naze is like this, Zine is like this’ but he said ‘I love Sättiye. Sättiye is the most beautiful’. He threw stones at us and did not allow us to swim. He threw stones when we were swimming in the nude. He went and looked at us, throwing stones’. He said ‘No, you are a liar’. He said ‘I shall ask Zine, the second one’. (21) He said ‘Hey, daughter, what do you say? What went on with your Farxo?’<sup>4</sup> She said ‘Father. Do you want the truth?’ He said ‘Yes’. She said ‘Naze said to Farxo “Put a stone here, a stone here, and one here” and put one for Farxo. She said “Which of us is the most beautiful?” (22) He sang to her and said “Naze is like this”. He sang to Zine and said “Above all is Sättiye. I love Sättiye”’. He said ‘Confound you!’<sup>5</sup> He is a brother to you. You should not say that he is a betrothed or something. He is a brother to you’. He became their brother.

(23) One day they set off and said ‘Let’s go to the sheep’. They went to the sheep. At that time there (were two men), Čixalo and Ašebačalo, they were both shepherds of the king. Every daughter that was born to the king—first he (Čixalo) loved Naze. He said ‘I’ll remain a slave for seven years, so long as you give me Naze’. (24) In the second year Zine was born. He went and said—it is Čixalo saying this—he went and said ‘King, will you still give me your daughter? You should give me Zine’. He said ‘Fine. You finish your seven years, and I’ll give Zine to you’. (25) Now, in the third year Sättiye was born. He went again to him and said ‘King, if you please. You will still give me a daughter, is that not so?’ He said ‘Yes’. He said ‘You should give me Sättiye’. He said ‘Fine. I’ll give you Sättiye. Finish your seven years and I’ll give you Sättiye’. (26) Now, when Sättiye was born, she was the most beautiful of all. They went to make sheep suck (from their mothers), make lambs suck. (When) the season came and the sheep sucked, the lambs sucked from their mothers, he said ‘Let’s separate them from one another.’ Ašebačalo played the pipe. (27) He gathered the sheep together and they went off for a while according to the tune of the pipe. He played another tune on the pipe and the sheep returned, by themselves, without a shepherd driving them back or anybody.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: What was the story of your Farxo.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: Let there be ash on your head!

(28) 'o-xèna<sup>1</sup> Ċixàlo,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-blìgele,<sup>1</sup> báye t-gàwær.<sup>1</sup> mára 'imət zilla móre pársəx  
 'ərwe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-bejīye l-xà-gota<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ərwe l-xà-gota.<sup>1</sup> xa-pàra<sup>1</sup> wiðále gáne max-qəšta.<sup>1</sup>

(29) Fàrxo 'u-Səttiye hóla kəs-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hátxa hóla dwiqe kúlla rəza<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ərwe yáwəlla  
 hátxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-bejīye mpalòtəlla.<sup>1</sup> xá-paɾa 'awódla gáne 'ax-qəšta,<sup>1</sup> maxéla bən-Səttiye  
 l-Fàrxo.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa ʔla-gáne šuréle dwəqa.<sup>1</sup> šúdrət Səttiye<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa xálqa nçille,<sup>1</sup> Fàrxo  
 qəm-xazéle šàdra. (30) Ċixàlo,<sup>1</sup> m-yaha-góta xèta,<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazéla 'ina xzéle šàdra diya,<sup>1</sup>  
 krìble.<sup>1</sup> qíməle zíla šəkyá<sup>1</sup> qa-málka.<sup>1</sup> máre 'iθən xà'a<sup>1</sup> hóle márəlle šómme Fàrxo,<sup>1</sup> hóle  
 zila<sup>1</sup> hátxele wáða b-bnáða,<sup>1</sup> hátxele wáða,<sup>1</sup> hatxà,<sup>1</sup> hatxà,<sup>1</sup> hatxà,<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa-w tàmma.<sup>1</sup>  
 máre xa-mándi wiðle<sup>1</sup> b-rəš-bnàða<sup>1</sup> har-šúqla.<sup>1</sup> málka hummənne.<sup>1</sup>

(31) 'áwwa módi wiðle?<sup>1</sup> qímle,<sup>1</sup> maxéwa 'áwwa b-zòrna,<sup>1</sup> 'Ašəbaʔàlo,<sup>1</sup> mərə'  
 'áwwa mò-təhər násəle?<sup>1</sup> là-'amratti?<sup>1</sup> zála škáya 'əlli,<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa-w tàmma.<sup>1</sup> hár hole-  
 mára 'əlle diye.<sup>1</sup> qíməle 'ap-Fàrxo šqiləlle zòrna,<sup>1</sup> mxáya zòrna,<sup>1</sup> bejīye hóla xa-gòta<sup>1</sup>  
 'ərwe xa-gòta.<sup>1</sup> máre 'áw xoš-'ázəl gu-yámmət gáne diye.<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'àti báym.<sup>1</sup> (32) máre  
 'ána mò,<sup>1</sup> xo-là pəšən šāvána-llux.<sup>1</sup> Fàrxo hóle mára.<sup>1</sup> máre 'ána bt-àzəna.<sup>1</sup> Səttiye<sup>1</sup>  
 šmìla<sup>1</sup> bába diya hóle mütta<sup>1</sup> jallàde,<sup>1</sup> b-jáldi rəšət Fàrxo.<sup>1</sup> sàbab<sup>1</sup> 'áwáha škèle,<sup>1</sup> máre  
 liθba fáyda.<sup>1</sup> (33) qíməle cəntət Ċixàlo<sup>1</sup> máljəllele kèpe,<sup>1</sup> Fàrxo,<sup>1</sup> 'u-rəpyeləlla.<sup>1</sup> kúlla  
 wiðəlla,<sup>1</sup> julle diye kúlla bəzyəlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-nçiləlla cənte diye<sup>1</sup> 'u-ziləle.<sup>1</sup> ziləle,<sup>1</sup> mərə'  
 'ən-Fàrxo hawənənele,<sup>1</sup> ləzəm 'áθe 'áwəð navəže,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mšàle<sup>1</sup> 'u-ba'dèn 'ázəl bəθa.<sup>1</sup>  
 (34) muttəθəlla ʔəlləθ xəmməryáθa,<sup>1</sup> m-an-xməryáθə tabziye.<sup>1</sup> muttəθəlla rəš-pársət  
 'əna,<sup>1</sup> əa-smòqta,<sup>1</sup> əa-xwàrta,<sup>1</sup> əa-milánta.<sup>1</sup> Fàrxo<sup>1</sup> 'əθyēle máre là-'awrən gu-máθa.<sup>1</sup>  
 máre ʔ-ázən rəš-'əna,<sup>1</sup> šátən miya,<sup>1</sup> mxállən pəθi,<sup>1</sup> mšələn,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ba'dèn ʔ-awrən gu-máθa.<sup>1</sup>  
 (35) mára ziləle xəzyəlla 'ənnə<sup>1</sup> kxikəle. 'imə ʔ-ile kxika,<sup>1</sup> šqiləlla<sup>1</sup> máre 'áyya smòqta  
 'ila dəmmi<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áyya milánta 'ila rəxi,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áyya xwàrta 'ila nəšmi.<sup>1</sup> (36) máre 'ənnə'  
 Səttiye<sup>1</sup> muttəθəlla láxxa.<sup>1</sup> yáðm<sup>1</sup> la-málka mami<sup>1</sup> hóle yomya b-rəši.<sup>1</sup> máttu jallàde<sup>1</sup>  
 'əlla b-qaʔəlli.<sup>1</sup> 'ána le-y-àzən.<sup>1</sup> kəs-mami le-y-àzən.<sup>1</sup> 'áy-ga xəyéwa kəs-máme diye.<sup>1</sup>

(28) The other one, Čixalo, he was busy (with the girls). He wanted to marry. Now, when they (the girls and Farxo) set off, he (Čixalo) said 'Let's separate the sheep, the young lambs on one side and the sheep on the other side.' One lamb made itself like a bow. (29) Farxo and Səttiye were together. They (the sheep) were all standing in a row. They put the sheep like this and took out the young lambs. One lamb made itself like a bow and pushed itself between Səttiye and Farxo. Each of them started grasping the other. The button of the blouse of Səttiye was torn off and Farxo saw her breast. (30) Čixalo, from nearby, saw them and noticed that he saw her breast, and became angry. He went and complained to the king. He said 'There is a person, called Farxo, he has gone to do such-and-such to the girls, to do such-and-such, and so forth'. He said 'He has done something unmentionable to the girls'.<sup>6</sup> The king believed him.

(31) What did he (Farxo) do? He said to Ašebaṭalo (when) he was playing the pipe 'What kind of person is he (Čixalo)—won't you tell me?—going complaining about me?' and so forth. While saying this to him, Farxo also took up the pipe and played pipe music, the young lambs were one side and the sheep the other. He (Ašebaṭalo) said 'Let him go (and complain), (a curse be) upon his mother. I want you (Farxo as a shepherd)'. (32) He (Farxo) said 'What am I? I shall not become a shepherd for you'—Farxo was speaking. He said 'I shall go'. Səttiye heard that her father had appointed executioners, who would cut off the head of Farxo. This was because he (Čixalo) had complained. He (the king) said 'It is no use' (he should be executed)'. (33) Farxo filled the bag of Čixalo with stones and threw it down. He did the works.<sup>7</sup> He put holes in all his clothes, tore up his bag and went off. He went off, and she said 'If Farxo is wise, he must come and make an ablution, that is pray, and then go home'. (34) She laid down three beads, beads of rosaries. She put them on the stone slab of the spring, one red, one white and one blue. Farxo came and said 'I shall not enter the town'. He said 'I'll go to the spring, drink water, wash my face, pray, then I shall enter the town'. (35) Now, he went and saw them (the beads) and he laughed. When he laughed he took them, saying 'This red one is my blood. This blue one is my spirit. This white one is my soul.' (36) He said 'It was Səttiye who put these here. I understand. Indeed the king my uncle has sworn on my head (to execute me). He will appoint executioners and (has sworn) he will kill me. I shall not go. I shall not go to my uncle.' At that time he was living with his uncle.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: He has done something to the girls, just leave it.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: He did everything.

(37) qímele zílele gu-<sup>2</sup>alòle.<sup>1</sup> dmíxele gu-<sup>2</sup>alólát màtha.<sup>1</sup> Səttiye xðirtela<sup>1</sup> 'ína xzi-<sup>2</sup>thəlle<sup>1</sup> máre 'álla dýya<sup>1</sup> màre<sup>1</sup> mò 'óðən 'ána.<sup>2</sup> ta-módi... hátxa wíða bàbəx.<sup>2</sup> mára xzi-<sup>2</sup>t-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup> hóle yómya b-rəšux.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya béna Ćixálo hàtxele míra.<sup>1</sup> (38) mára 'ína-šlí be-xàlux.<sup>1</sup> šligən,<sup>1</sup> puš-<sup>2</sup>árxa be-xàlux.<sup>1</sup> bas-<sup>2</sup>àna t-yáðánnux<sup>1</sup> 'èkewət.<sup>1</sup> máre ma-yxàljf.<sup>1</sup> qímela dmíxe<sup>1</sup> nšiqəlla gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyēle xa-màlla.<sup>1</sup> sa'ət-<sup>2</sup>ərpa-wela.<sup>1</sup> 'éle xa-màlla,<sup>1</sup> 'ína xazəla.<sup>1</sup> xazéla dmíxe kəs-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> (39) máre qa-màlla,<sup>1</sup> máre yà-màlla,<sup>1</sup> mòt mǵašóqe bíyi.<sup>2</sup> ləðeti 'áyya<sup>1</sup> t-íla mən-hás t-la-bràya<sup>1</sup> 'áyya 'íla yíwta qa-dýyi.<sup>2</sup> bàxtila.<sup>1</sup> máre màlla<sup>1</sup> mà 'ítli šúla mən-d-ánna.<sup>2</sup> šwíqile tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-zílele l-jàma.<sup>1</sup>

(40) 'áwwa qímēle qedàmta,<sup>1</sup> šqíləlle xa-mən-súsət xàle,<sup>1</sup> tíwa l-xáše dýye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəlyə.<sup>1</sup> šəlyə,<sup>1</sup> t-<sup>2</sup>ámrexi mən-Dùre,<sup>1</sup> tháya šláya l-<sup>2</sup>Amedíya.<sup>1</sup> qímēle tíwa l-xáše súsē dýye<sup>1</sup> 'u-síqa-w síqa-w síqa gu-réšət 'Amedíya.<sup>1</sup> síqele gu-réšət 'Amedíya,<sup>1</sup> 'ína<sup>1</sup> núrət xàle<sup>1</sup> t-íwa síqa l-tàma<sup>1</sup> gu-zòma<sup>1</sup> hála lèle çəmya.<sup>1</sup> (41) múttəlla cǵadre dýye<sup>1</sup> rəš-d-ò núra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-tíwēle rəš-d-ò-nura.<sup>1</sup> 'éle tálga xa-θəθa<sup>1</sup> gu-réšət 'Amedíya y-aθéwa tálga qúmtət bər-nàša.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ramənzēle túra.<sup>1</sup> 'éle tálga,<sup>1</sup> 'éle, 'éle, 'éle, 'éle, 'há-t kléle zàga<sup>1</sup> t-rəš-čàdra.<sup>1</sup> kléle,<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'u-súsē wíre gu-čàdra.<sup>1</sup> (42) qímēle plìtēle,<sup>1</sup> zmírele xa-bànda<sup>1</sup> b-tálga.<sup>1</sup> máre 'àna<sup>1</sup> hon-<sup>2</sup>əθya,<sup>1</sup> ríqən qam-màmi<sup>1</sup> bǵyən šálən kəs-xàli.<sup>1</sup> y-ámər ya-<sup>2</sup>àlaha,<sup>1</sup> qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi,<sup>1</sup> mēθóye dwáqəlla 'úrxi<sup>1</sup> ta-t-lá-məən šálən be-xàli.<sup>2</sup> (43) 'u-zílele,<sup>1</sup> múttəlle réše dýye<sup>1</sup> dmíxele.<sup>1</sup> dmíxele,<sup>1</sup> qáyəm qèdamta<sup>1</sup> 'ína xepùθa<sup>1</sup> ryáma mən-<sup>2</sup>àra.<sup>1</sup> kúlle tálga<sup>1</sup> pšíra.<sup>1</sup> šúrele zmàra.<sup>1</sup> tère<sup>1</sup> hóla b-θáya l-qàle.<sup>1</sup> rába zamàra-wewə<sup>1</sup> 'u-qàle dýye rába basiməwa.<sup>1</sup> (44) mút qála dýyi.<sup>2</sup> kəmə-gayəx tíwe m-<sup>2</sup>gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> har-lán mǵsya 'axwáθe dýye.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa rába zamára.<sup>1</sup> tǵrpe naθríwa mən-<sup>2</sup>iláne.<sup>1</sup> (45) mára 'əθya síqa-wewə xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> b-xmàra,<sup>1</sup> síqa mēθóye qəše.<sup>1</sup> qəm-šáméle qále dýye.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər hà<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa 'əmma mən-<sup>2</sup>əmma 'íle Fǵrxo,<sup>1</sup> sǵbab xále dýye mtanéwa bíye dýye.<sup>1</sup> xále dýye mòdile.<sup>2</sup> góřət 'Amedíya.<sup>1</sup> (46) mára 'áw<sup>1</sup> ríqele<sup>1</sup> ja-jálde šəlye<sup>1</sup> máre tla-xále dýye.<sup>1</sup> máre ya-málka t-áwət basíma.<sup>1</sup> máre hóle 'éle xa-nàša,<sup>1</sup> rába qále basíma<sup>1</sup> 'u-zmàra<sup>1</sup> 'ímə t-íle zmàra,<sup>1</sup> bulbúle jmá'ela l-qàle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-tǵrpat dərúbər hóla b-nθàra.<sup>1</sup>

(37) He went off into the alleys. He slept in the alleys of the village. Səttiye searched and found him. He said to her, he said 'What should I do? Why has your father done this?' She said 'Look, I'll tell you. He has sworn on your head (to execute you). Ćixalo has said such-and-such'. (38) She said 'But go down to your maternal uncle's house, go down and lodge in the house of your maternal uncle. Only I will know where you are'. He said 'All right'. They slept and kissed one another. A mullah came. It was four o'clock. A mullah came and saw them. He saw them sleeping next to each other. (39) He said to the mullah, he said 'Mullah, why are you looking at me? Don't you know that she has been betrothed to me since before she was born? She is my wife'. The mullah said 'What business have I with these people? He left them there and went to the mosque.

(40) He got up in the morning, took one of his father's horses, sat on its back and went down. He went down, let's say from Dure going down to Amedia. He sat on the back of his horse and went all the way up to the top of Amedia. He went up to the top of Amedia and saw that the fire in the summer house of his maternal uncle, where he was making for, had not yet gone out. (41) He pitched his tent over the fire and sat over the fire. Heavy snow fell. At the top of Amedia snow used to fall to the height of a man. The mountain is high. More and more snow fell, until the bell that was over the tent stopped (ringing). It stopped (due to the heavy snow) and he together with his horse entered the tent. (42) He came out and sang a song in the snow. He said 'I have come, running away from my paternal uncle, wishing to go to stay with my maternal uncle'. He said 'Oh God, why have you done this to me, bringing (snow) and blocking my road, so that I cannot go down to the house of my maternal uncle?' (43) He went and laid down his head and went to sleep. He slept and (when) he got up in the morning he found that fog was rising from the ground. All the snow melted. He started singing and birds came at (the sound of) his voice. He was a fine singer and his voice was very beautiful. (44) What is my voice (in comparison with his)? However many times we sit together, I shall never be able to be like him. He was a fine singer, (to the extent that) leaves fell from the trees. (45) Now, a man came up with an ass, he came up to fetch wood. He heard his voice. He said 'Ah, that is Farxo (I am) a hundred percent (sure)'. This was because his maternal uncle used to talk about him. What was his maternal uncle? The chief of Amedia. (46) Now, he quickly ran down and said to his maternal uncle. He said 'King, if you please'. He said 'A man has come, whose voice is very beautiful, and when he sings, nightingales gather at his voice and the leaves of the wood fall'.



(47) 'ámər l'at 'áw 'íle.<sup>1</sup> Fārxo,<sup>1</sup> xwarz'ayile 'áw.<sup>1</sup> t-àθe,<sup>1</sup> t-áwər gu-mðita,<sup>1</sup> dére šlāma 'əlləxu,<sup>1</sup> 'úp-xa mənəxu là-mqabəlle šlāme.<sup>1</sup> t-áwər gu-mðita,<sup>1</sup> dére šlāma,<sup>1</sup> là-mqablītule šlāme.<sup>1</sup>

(48) mərə<sup>1</sup> 'o-xále díye mòdile wíða.<sup>2</sup> hóle múθya t'la 'amáne,<sup>1</sup> t'la-'amáne làxxa.<sup>1</sup> xá-mənnə gəwəze<sup>1</sup> šm'itē<sup>1</sup> 'u-qənnə gáwa<sup>1</sup> hóla mútte làxxa.<sup>1</sup> xá-mənnə bāsra-wa gèrme.<sup>1</sup> xá-mənnə yab'ise<sup>1</sup> 'u-qənnə<sup>1</sup> m-gəðáðe 'u-múttəlla làxxa.<sup>1</sup> hóle dórya jùlla b-réša.<sup>1</sup>

(49) mərə<sup>1</sup> 'm-ile xwarz'ayi,<sup>1</sup> t-áθe t-yáðéla 'anna mòdila<sup>1</sup> 'u-módi l'ela<sup>1</sup> xo-d-áwəwa jùlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóle šwíqa xa-dúkθa<sup>1</sup> kəs-xále díye t-yātu.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyēle dóryēle šlāma 'əlləxu,<sup>1</sup> ba'dən<sup>1</sup> 'əp-xa léle mqúbləlle šlāme.<sup>1</sup> b-gáne mərə<sup>1</sup> b-šəna thélux<sup>1</sup> 'əmma-šəne.<sup>1</sup>

(50) 'ámər<sup>1</sup> kályēle gu-tára hətxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər<sup>1</sup> xwárza mquzádle kəs-xála<sup>1</sup> 'ina mútta qáme nále-w bəzməre.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa nále-w bəzmərele.<sup>1</sup> móre xwarz'aya mqazóde kəs-xála,<sup>1</sup> mútta<sup>1</sup> bāsra-w gèrme qáme díye.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'anna mürile.<sup>1</sup> ðiy'ile<sup>1</sup> 'o-párca b-rešəy.<sup>1</sup> (51) mərə<sup>1</sup> hó ta-t-yáðítu t-ile<sup>1</sup> xwarz'ayi.<sup>1</sup> dwíqəlle, nšiqəlle, múttəlle šəpe.<sup>1</sup> múttəlle šəpe díye,<sup>1</sup> kəlyēle,<sup>1</sup> šuryēle mšawóθe 'axxa-w tamma.<sup>1</sup> yálat tuniθele,<sup>1</sup> pišle gəwəra.<sup>1</sup>

(52) pišla b-lèle.<sup>1</sup> siqele<sup>1</sup> l-gəre.<sup>1</sup> móre xzáyətəlla b-dürbīn,<sup>1</sup> kəmə t-it-xz'aya b-dürbīn<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'úpri.<sup>1</sup> bas-'áwə'ha qásra<sup>1</sup> 'áw léle 'úpri.<sup>1</sup> móre xəli<sup>1</sup> módila qəššət d-ə-qəšra.<sup>2</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> šúqla<sup>1</sup> xwarz'ayi<sup>1</sup> 'áy qəššətta rixtəla.<sup>1</sup> la-'áθya l-mtanəye.<sup>1</sup> móre də-mürra<sup>1</sup> xázəx šáməxla mòdila.<sup>1</sup>

(53) 'ámər 'iθən táma ðá'a,<sup>1</sup> rába zamàrtəla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'aw-qásra kúlle b-qarqəpyáθət nəšele.<sup>1</sup> hóla bniθəlle 'o-qásra kúlle b-qarqəpyàθa.<sup>1</sup> har-šúqla təma.<sup>1</sup> la-báyən 'o-qásra.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər hé xəli<sup>1</sup> ðili díya.<sup>1</sup> dmixela.<sup>1</sup> (54) dmixela,<sup>1</sup> qimele b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> tíwa l-xásə suse díye,<sup>1</sup> ya-'àlaha,<sup>1</sup> zille, zille, zille, zille, m'èle l-o-qásra.<sup>1</sup> šúrə d-o-qásra<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'amrənnux xamšī mètrele,<sup>1</sup> xamšī-metre ramùθe.<sup>1</sup> (55) t'la gáye suse díye<sup>1</sup> théle ta-t-šəwər<sup>1</sup> là mšele.<sup>1</sup> zmírre xa-qála b-suse díye,<sup>1</sup> suse díye šwírele reša-rəš-díye,<sup>1</sup> šəlyēle.<sup>1</sup>

(47) He said 'Surely it is him. It is Farxo, my nephew. (When) he comes and enters the town and greets you, none of you should accept his greeting. (When) he enters the town and offers a greeting, do not accept his greeting.

(48) Now, what did his maternal uncle do? He brought three vessels, three vessels (and put them down) here. One of them had cracked walnuts, with walnut kernels, placed in it. One of them (contained) meat and bones, one raisins and walnut kernels together. He placed them here. He put a cloth over them. (49) He said 'If he is my nephew, he will come and will know what these are<sup>8</sup> under this cloth'. He left a place so that he could sit by his maternal uncle. He came and said 'Greetings to you', after which nobody accepted his greetings. He himself said 'Welcome, a hundred welcomes'. (50) Now, he stood at the door like this. The nephew went over to the uncle, but he put before him horseshoes and nails. He (put) horseshoes and nails. The nephew went over to the uncle and said that he had put meat and bones before him. He said them all. He knew them, while the cloth was on them. (51) He said 'Look now you know<sup>9</sup> that he is my nephew'. He held him, kissed him and put him in his place. He put him in his place, he stood up and began talking, and so forth. He is the child of the story. He has grown up.

(52) Night came. He went up onto the roof. He said 'You see it with binoculars, as far as you can see, that is my land'. But that palace far over there, that is not my land'. He said 'Uncle, what is the story of that palace?' He said 'Drop (the subject), nephew. That is a long story, which cannot be told'. He said 'Tell it. Let's hear what it is'.

(53) He said 'There is a woman there, who is a fine singer. That palace is all (built) with the skulls of people. She has built all that palace with skulls. Leave alone over there. I don't want (anything to do with) that palace'. He said 'Well, uncle. Now I know'. They went to sleep. (54) They went to sleep and he got in the night. He sat on the back of his horse and off he went, he went on and on and on, until he reached the palace. I tell you the wall of the palace was fifty metres, its height was fifty metres. (55) Three times his horse came up to jump but could not do so. He sang a song to his horse and his horse jumped over it and came down (the other side).

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<sup>8</sup> Literally: what these are and are not.

<sup>9</sup> Literally: so that you know.

(56) 'áy 'ítla xa-bàrke<sup>1</sup> gòrta hátxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dòryále gáne<sup>1</sup> gu-bàrke,<sup>1</sup> sxàyele.<sup>1</sup> súsé diyé hóle mrúpyàlle gu-màrga.<sup>1</sup> xaddámtha diyá<sup>1</sup> šléla 'ímət qəm-xazyàle,<sup>1</sup> təktha,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya təktha y-amrəxla,<sup>1</sup> šəryòxe,<sup>1</sup> t-xaddámtha nǎlle<sup>1</sup> mən-qəm-xazyále šapíra.<sup>1</sup> (57) 'u-píšla rəš-éna.<sup>1</sup> ha-t-sìqla<sup>1</sup> drangètha<sup>1</sup> síqla mára tla-xàtun.<sup>1</sup> mára 'illa diyá<sup>1</sup> tla-mò thélx drangètha?<sup>2</sup> mára lédət módila qəšət?<sup>2</sup> mára là.<sup>1</sup> (58) holá-təkthi nǎlta.<sup>1</sup> xa-yála rába šapíra<sup>1</sup> hóle 'əθya,<sup>1</sup> súsé mrúpyàlle gu-màrgax.<sup>1</sup> hóle dóryalla gáne gu-bàrke diyax.<sup>1</sup> hóle sxàya,<sup>1</sup> yonátha hóla reše-reše-diyé.<sup>1</sup> mút 'áti tíwta làxxa,<sup>1</sup> qu-xzà.<sup>1</sup> mpárəj bíye diyé.<sup>1</sup> (59) qimta<sup>1</sup> mǎšóqe hátxa,<sup>1</sup> mo-mǎšqa.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áw kéfe basimta.<sup>1</sup> hóle dóryalle gáne gu-míya.<sup>1</sup> šríxtela m-gu-barbèhn.<sup>1</sup> y-ámrxəx 'ay-panjára barbèhn y-ámrxəx.<sup>1</sup> (60) šríxtela mərə<sup>1</sup> há gáni.<sup>1</sup> 'áti mòt wáða táma?<sup>2</sup> 'e-éna t-là-našela?<sup>2</sup> t-lá marəwàθele 'o-márga<sup>1</sup> t-it-súsux dóryalle táma?<sup>2</sup> lat-mtaxmóne mən-nàše?<sup>2</sup> lat-mtaxmóne 'áwwa qàšra<sup>1</sup> t-ile külle qarqupyàtha?<sup>2</sup> xa-qarqúþθela pyáša qa-rèšux.<sup>1</sup> mòdit mára?<sup>2</sup> (61) mərə xázəx mírra šáwtha xà-gaya xéta.<sup>1</sup> mərə námú 'áyya bərke d-ènila<sup>1</sup> t-it-'áti sxàya gàwa?<sup>2</sup> mərə diyila.<sup>1</sup> mərə diyá diyila.<sup>1</sup> 'ána hon-sxàya gàwa.<sup>1</sup> báyyət t-áθyət sàxyət?<sup>2</sup> də-háyyo sxà?<sup>1</sup> (62) mərə xzì,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-amrənnux.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-šárət diyí qəm-yǎðtla,<sup>1</sup> xo-b-gawrənnux.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-šárət diyí là qəm-yǎðtla,<sup>1</sup> réšux mattánne gu-d-yàha káwe<sup>1</sup> t-íla pyáša.<sup>1</sup> mərə mùr.<sup>1</sup>

(63) 'áy zamàrtela.<sup>1</sup> 'áy b-zàmra,<sup>1</sup> 'áw mjàwəb.<sup>1</sup> mára zmírra<sup>1</sup> mára pèšən xa-simèrxa,<sup>1</sup> xa-tèra,<sup>1</sup> t-yátwən l-xàsux.<sup>1</sup> t-ásqən šmáyya<sup>1</sup> t-àθyən,<sup>1</sup> máxyən 'əllux,<sup>1</sup> tábánnux šàleti<sup>1</sup> l-šítət... t-yamàtha.<sup>1</sup> mərə pèšən xa-nəšra<sup>1</sup> t-yátwən l-xàsəx<sup>1</sup> mǎmrənnəx gu-úpra.<sup>1</sup> (64) mərə pèšana<sup>1</sup> sonìtha,<sup>1</sup> mǎxádrən bàrux<sup>1</sup> dawqànnux.<sup>1</sup> mərə pèšən jutyàra,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni pèšən 'akàra<sup>1</sup>—mù-y-amri?<sup>2</sup>—zaràya.<sup>1</sup> kulla 'an-waríðəx qǎtənnə.<sup>1</sup> kulla waríðəx qǎtənnə.<sup>1</sup> (65) kú-məndit mərə<sup>1</sup> 'áw qəm-mjəwəðbla.<sup>1</sup> là-mšela bíye diyé.<sup>1</sup> xártha mərə<sup>1</sup> yába 'ána píšli bəxtux.<sup>1</sup> qiməle<sup>1</sup> síqa kəsla-díya<sup>1</sup> 'u-xílela məndi<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšúθela m-ǧðàðe<sup>1</sup> 'u-yíwtəlle 'isəqtha<sup>1</sup> mšuxəlpólla 'isəqyàtha,<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa-w tamma.<sup>1</sup> (66) mərə xza-t-amrənnəx.<sup>1</sup> 'ána làn-'əθya l-gwára.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'ina 'ána t-ázən bèθa.<sup>1</sup> t-ázən bəθə be-xàli.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-θeli<sup>1</sup> xó bəxtiwət.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ən-là-θeli,<sup>1</sup> kú-məndit 'áwðət wùð.<sup>1</sup> tlibele xátər mənna<sup>1</sup> 'u-zílele bəθət xále.<sup>1</sup> zílele.<sup>1</sup>

(56) She had a large pool. He immersed himself in the pool and swam. He had released his horse in the meadow. Her maid-servant came down when she saw him. The waist cord—we call it a waist cord—the straps, of the maid-servant snapped, since she saw that he was handsome. (57) She remained at the water spring, and then she went up, late, she went up and told her mistress. She (the mistress) said to her ‘Why have come late?’ She said ‘Don’t you know what happened?’ She said ‘No’. (58) My waist cord broke. A very handsome youth has come and released his horse in your meadow. He has immersed himself in your pool and is swimming. Doves are (flying) over him. Why are you sitting here? Get up and see! Look at him!’ (59) She got up and looked and what a sight she sees! He was enjoying himself. He had immersed himself in the water. She shouted from the casement. We call that (type of) window a casement. (60) She shouted and said ‘Hey, my dear! What are you doing there? Does that spring not belong to somebody? Is the meadow in which you have put your horse without owners? Don’t you think of people? Don’t you think about this palace, which is all skulls. One (space for) a skull remains for your head. What do you say?’ (61) He said ‘We’ll see, repeat what you said again’. She said ‘Whose is this pool in which you are swimming?’ She said ‘It is mine’. He said ‘Now it is mine. I am swimming in it. Do you want to swim? Come and swim!’ (62) She said ‘Look, I’ll tell you. If you know (the answer to) my test, I shall indeed marry you. If you do not know (the answer to) my test, I shall put your head in that opening that remains’. He said ‘Tell me’.

(63) She is a singer. She sings and he answers. Now, she sang and said ‘I shall become a *simarxa*, a bird, and sit on your back. I shall go up to the sky and come back, striking you and causing you to sink and go down to the bottom of the seas’. He said ‘I shall become an eagle and sit on your back, burying you in the ground’. (64) She said ‘I shall become a thorn bush and search after you and seize you’. He said ‘I shall become a farmer, that is a peasant—what do they say?—a sower. I shall cut all those roots of yours. I shall cut all your roots’. (65) Everything she said he replied to. She could not beat him. Afterwards she said ‘I have become your wife’. He went up to her and ate something. They spoke to each other and she gave him a ring, they exchanged rings, and so forth. (66) He said ‘Look, I’ll tell you. I have not come to marry’. He said ‘I shall go home. I shall go to the house of my uncle’s family. If I come back, then you are my wife. If I do not come back, do anything you want’. He said goodbye to her and went to the house of his uncle. He went (home).

(67) 'ayya<sup>1</sup> kùlla<sup>1</sup> b-lèlela.<sup>1</sup> zilele,<sup>1</sup> dmìxele<sup>1</sup> xále dīye lè-y-yāðe.<sup>1</sup> dmìxela xa-béna,<sup>1</sup> rišela qedámta,<sup>1</sup> qímela xíle m̀ndi,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-léle dmìxa.<sup>1</sup> qímela xíle m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər xáli lá 'amrótli qásšət d-áwewa qásra m̀dila.<sup>2</sup> Fárxo hóle mára tla-xále dīye.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər lat-m̀nšəlla.<sup>2</sup> kùlla lèlela l-bálux.<sup>2</sup> (68) m̀re lan-tlíya kùlla lèle.<sup>1</sup> báym t-yāðanna qásšəttə d-áwewa qásra m̀dila.<sup>1</sup> m̀re xa-bráta hóla táma,<sup>1</sup> 'ána m̀ri 'əllux,<sup>1</sup> bráta zamàrtela.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa lele-mšáya bíya dīya.<sup>1</sup> kú-t-ile zíla hóla réše p̀rìmtəlle.<sup>1</sup> (69) m̀re<sup>1</sup> xáli 'ay-bàxtila.<sup>1</sup> m̀re kóra mùt mára.<sup>2</sup> m̀re<sup>1</sup> 'ádlele 'ána táma kəsla-dīymwa.<sup>1</sup> 'imət m̀re hátxa mšuyðanne.<sup>1</sup> m̀re liθ hatxa-m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> m̀re hóla 'isəqθa dīya.<sup>1</sup> muxzále 'isəqθa-w<sup>1</sup> muxzále yaləxθa<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa-w tamma.<sup>1</sup> m̀re dàxi.<sup>2</sup> m̀re zmìrra,<sup>1</sup> là-mšela bíyi.<sup>1</sup> là-mšela.<sup>1</sup> m̀re hóya brixtà-llux.<sup>1</sup>

(70) pišela hədax.<sup>1</sup> mtànəx<sup>1</sup> xa-šārət<sup>1</sup> hóle gu-dīwənt máme dīye,<sup>1</sup> máme dīye t-wéwa max-qtələlle.<sup>1</sup> hóle gu-dīwənt máme dīye,<sup>1</sup> máme dīye t-wéwa max-qtələlle,<sup>1</sup> máme dīye,<sup>1</sup> m̀lka.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa léle mšáya 'e-šārət t-awəddla.<sup>1</sup> (71) qiməle,<sup>1</sup> q́rya qa-bnəðe dīye<sup>1</sup> m̀re leðitu 'ékele Fárxo.<sup>2</sup> m̀ra là.<sup>1</sup> Zíne m̀re 'ána ləðən.<sup>1</sup> Náže m̀re ləðən.<sup>1</sup> Səttíye,<sup>1</sup> mšúdra-weewa kəðawa<sup>1</sup> xo-gúləpət yəwəna,<sup>1</sup> xo-gúləpət yəwəna,<sup>1</sup> mšúdrəlle.<sup>1</sup> (72) 'áni xyəpa,<sup>1</sup> zílele yəwəna<sup>1</sup> zdíθəlle ləka-Səttíye.<sup>1</sup> Səttíye ziltela<sup>1</sup> dwíqtəlla yəwəna hátxa,<sup>1</sup> šqiltəlle.<sup>1</sup> kəðawa qriθəlle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-qimətela njuwəbtəlle<sup>1</sup> 'u-yíwtəlle qa-yəwəna<sup>1</sup> m̀ra tla-Náže<sup>1</sup> sa-dúqla 'ayya-yəwəna.<sup>1</sup> zilla dwáqəlla p̀rixla.<sup>1</sup> Zíne zilla dwáqəlla p̀rixla.<sup>1</sup> Səttíye zilla qəm-dawqəla<sup>1</sup> kləla.<sup>1</sup> (73) qəm-yawála 'o-wáraq 'əlla dīya.<sup>1</sup> qəm-maşlále tla-Fárxo.<sup>1</sup> m̀ra t-áθyən 'əllux.<sup>1</sup> lá-jawjət mən-kəs-xəlux.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga ləða dax-šálya.<sup>1</sup> xábra mtəle<sup>1</sup> 'al-ʔasəs<sup>1</sup> Səttíye yáða 'ékele Fárxo.<sup>1</sup> (74) bábə Səttíye 'u-Náže 'u-Zíne<sup>1</sup> m̀re 'ati yáðət 'ékele.<sup>2</sup> m̀ra hé yáðanne.<sup>1</sup> 'ina b-ε-šārət.<sup>1</sup> 'ána lá-mšən šályən hátxa.<sup>1</sup> báyanni 'əmma bnəθa<sup>1</sup> t-áwa 'abu tāj<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əmma bnəθa<sup>1</sup> t-áwa 'aqall mənna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əmma bnəθa t-áwa<sup>1</sup>... yá'ni xamša-'əmma 'askərayáθa bnəθa kùlla,<sup>1</sup> kùlla b-rùtba<sup>1</sup> 'u-dubbət.<sup>1</sup> kùlla mən-d-ánna 'àskar xelánta.<sup>1</sup>

(67) This was all at night. He went (home). His uncle slept and did not know (what had happened). They slept then woke in the morning, got up and ate something. He did not sleep. They got up and ate something. He said 'Uncle, will you not tell me what the story of this palace is?' Farxo is saying this to his uncle. He said 'Have you not forgotten it? Has it been on your mind all night?' (68) 'I did not sleep all night. I want to know what the story of this palace is'. He said 'A girl is there. The girl is a singer—as I said to you. Nobody can beat her. She has cut off the head of anybody who has gone there'. (69) He said 'Uncle, that is my wife'. He said 'My poor boy, what are you saying?' He said 'Last night I was there with her'. When he said that, he went mad. He said 'That is impossible'.<sup>10</sup> He said 'Here is her ring'. He showed the ring and showed the (wedding) scarf, and so forth. He said 'How (could this be)?' He said 'She sang and could not beat me. She could not'. He said 'Congratulations'.<sup>11</sup>

(70) Now, we shall tell of another trial, taking place in the social gathering of his paternal uncle, his paternal uncle who almost killed him. This happened in the social gathering of his paternal uncle, who almost killed him, his paternal uncle, the king. Nobody could fulfil that condition. (71) He got up and called to his daughters. He said 'Don't you know where Farxo is?' They said 'No'. Zine said 'I do not know'. Naze said 'I do not know'. As for Səttiye, he had sent a letter (for her) under the wing of a dove. He sent it under the wing of a dove. (72) While they were bathing, the dove went and threw it by Səttiye. Səttiye went and grabbed the dove like this and took it. She read the letter. She answered it and gave it to the dove. She said to Naze 'Go and grab that dove'. She went to grab it but it flew off. Zine went to grab it but it flew off. Səttiye went and grabbed it, it stood still. (73) She gave it the paper and it took it to Farxo'. She said 'I shall come to you. Do not move from your maternal uncle's home'. At that time she did not know how to go (to see him). It was announced that Səttiye knew where Farxo was. (74) The father of Səttiye, Naze and Zine said 'Do you know where he is?' She said 'Yes, I know. But there is a condition. I cannot go down just like that (without conditions). I want for myself a hundred girls wearing crowns, a hundred girls who are of lesser rank, a hundred girls who..., that is five hundred soldiers, all girls, all with a rank and officers. All of these, forming a powerful army.

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<sup>10</sup> Literally: There is not such a thing.

<sup>11</sup> Literally: May she be blessed to you.

(75) *bāyanna biya<sup>1</sup> b-susa<sup>1</sup> b-rāšm diyéy kùlla,<sup>1</sup> ta-sályan maθyànnē.<sup>1</sup> ’aw-’an-là,<sup>1</sup> ’ána là-mšm maθyànnē.<sup>1</sup> mára t-awðótla ’ayya?<sup>2</sup> móre hē<sup>1</sup> t-awðōnna.<sup>1</sup> màlkele.<sup>1</sup>*

(76) *qimεle,<sup>1</sup> múθyεle ’askar xelánta<sup>1</sup> xamšá-mma bnàθa<sup>1</sup> kùlla lwiše jùllət ’urze<sup>1</sup> ’u-dubbàtla,<sup>1</sup> kùlla b-’askārāyela.<sup>1</sup> šəlyela.<sup>1</sup> šəlyela,<sup>1</sup> mātýela gu-’Amedia.<sup>1</sup> yá’ni ’anna tla yománela mātýe.<sup>1</sup> yá’ni mən-máθət t-ámrx Dūre<sup>1</sup> hal-šáli l-’Amedia tla-yome.<sup>1</sup> ’aw b-xà-yoma šlyállεle.<sup>1</sup> (77) mára šəlyela,<sup>1</sup> yomət-tlāθa mətýela<sup>1</sup> l-Amedia.<sup>1</sup> ’Amedia mṭūwəqəlla.<sup>1</sup> ’askārāyela.<sup>1</sup> mṭūwəqəlla ’Amedia,<sup>1</sup> čixəlla.<sup>1</sup> mára ’áp-xa la-jávəj mən-gu-’Amedia.<sup>1</sup> (78) Səttiyē<sup>1</sup> qimṭela čadra díya mxìθəlla<sup>1</sup> be-pálgət ’Amedia.<sup>1</sup> ’itla hurrás ’áxxa-w tàmma.<sup>1</sup> mára hātxele,<sup>1</sup> hātxele,<sup>1</sup> hātxele.<sup>1</sup> léduwa rābe<sup>1</sup> Fárxo màtole.<sup>1</sup> ’ay<sup>1</sup> mára ’ən-dawqitule Fárxo,<sup>1</sup> là maxitule.<sup>1</sup>*

(79) *qédamta qimεle xále diyē,<sup>1</sup> ’ina xəzyəlla ’án ’askārāyē,<sup>1</sup> kùlla xđirta<sup>1</sup> ’Amedia,<sup>1</sup> ’əmər,<sup>1</sup> Fárxo tla-xále diyē ’əmər<sup>1</sup> xáli mòdila?<sup>2</sup> xázəx ’askārāyē.<sup>1</sup> kùlla ’Amedia píšla ’askārāyē.<sup>1</sup> móre xá-məndi ləla.<sup>1</sup> qārāčāyē<sup>1</sup> y-áθi hātxa<sup>1</sup> ’u-péšī xa-tre-tla-yomāne,<sup>1</sup> xárθa y-àzi,<sup>1</sup> jəwji.<sup>1</sup> (80) xárθa mšúrela mxáya l-nàše.<sup>1</sup> šúrela mxáya l-nàše<sup>1</sup> ’u-dwáqa nāše ’áxxa-w tàmma.<sup>1</sup> móre xəli<sup>1</sup> hóla dwáqa nāše!<sup>1</sup> xa-bəna<sup>1</sup> dawqile.<sup>1</sup> dawqile,<sup>1</sup> mawrile kəs-Səttiyē.<sup>1</sup> Səttiyē hóla lwišta jùllət ’askārāyē,<sup>1</sup> ’u-qə’ədila,<sup>1</sup> ’āqídila górtā.<sup>1</sup> (81) xa-béna hādəx,<sup>1</sup> mára ’ille diyē<sup>1</sup>—’aw-ləðe t-ila bāxta,<sup>1</sup> ’aw-xšiwεle ’urzele<sup>1</sup>—mára ’ille diyē<sup>1</sup> ’āti hot-wáða xákma šulàne<sup>1</sup> bāxta mən-gáwra hot-šqələlla<sup>1</sup> ’u-hot-baróxəlla l-gənux.<sup>1</sup> ’u-hon-šmya hot-wáða rába xrəwe,<sup>1</sup> zála l-qásrə nāše<sup>1</sup> ’u-zála maxrəwe,<sup>1</sup> ’u-’áxxa l-tàmma.<sup>1</sup>*

(82) *šúrela šráxa biye diyē<sup>1</sup> móra ’āti hātət wáða,<sup>1</sup> léwət d-áwəwa ’əθra.<sup>1</sup> ’u-kizle<sup>1</sup> ’ána lán-wiða čù-məndi-w<sup>1</sup> b-’ayya-gota<sup>1</sup> ’u-b-’ay-gota,<sup>1</sup> du-du-dù<sup>1</sup> ’áxxa l-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> xārθa<sup>1</sup> šqiltəlla kosíθa díya hātəx m-rəša,<sup>1</sup> muttəθəlla l-āra.<sup>1</sup> (83) gásəq biya díya,<sup>1</sup> ’ina Səttiyē.<sup>1</sup> móre há<sup>1</sup> xázəx ’āti Səttiyē!<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> gwirtət<sup>1</sup> ’m-t-la-gwàra?<sup>2</sup> móra lán-gwirta.<sup>1</sup> ’ána spárən ’əllux.<sup>1</sup> ’ána lè-gorən,<sup>1</sup> la-’āti gáwrət.<sup>1</sup> móre ’əp-ana lən-gwira.<sup>1</sup> (84) móre há xər<sup>1</sup> mòdila qášət.<sup>1</sup> móra ’iθm xa-šárət gu-dúwənt bəbi,<sup>1</sup> ’áp-xa lele-ðā’alla.<sup>1</sup> móre tla<sup>1</sup> Fárxo yāðəla<sup>1</sup> šla-mèθεle.<sup>1</sup> ’u-’ána hon-muθéθa ’ayya quwəwət láxxa<sup>1</sup> b-xábra ta-diyi<sup>1</sup> ta-t-’àsqeti<sup>1</sup> t-awðótla ’ε-šārət.<sup>1</sup>*

(75) I want them all with their horse and rations. This is in order for me to go down to bring him back. If not, I cannot bring him back'. She said 'Will you do this?' He said 'Yes, I shall do it'. He was the king.

(76) He brought a powerful army, five hundred girls, all wearing men's clothes, they (consist also) of officers, together with the soldiers. They went down and arrived at Amedia. They arrived in three days. That is, from the village, let's say, of Dure until they came down to Amedia was three days. He came down this (way) in one day. (77) Now, they came down and on the third day arrived at Amedia. They encircled Amedia. They were soldiers. They encircled Amedia, surrounded it. She said 'Let nobody move from Amedia' (78) Söttiye pitched her tent in the middle of Amedia. She had guards, and so forth. She said 'He (Farxo) looks like this', since many did not know what Farxo was like. She said 'If you seize Farxo, do not strike him'.

(79) The next morning his maternal uncle got up and saw those soldiers and (saw that) Amedia was completely surrounded. He said, Farxo said to his maternal uncle, 'What is the matter uncle? We can see soldiers. The whole of Amedia has become soldiers'. He said 'It is nothing. It is gypsies, who come in this way and stay one, two or three days, then go, move on'. (80) After that they (the soldiers) started beating people. They started beating people and seizing people, and so forth. He said 'Uncle, they are seizing people!' After a while they seized him. They seized him and brought him into the presence of Söttiye. Söttiye was dressed in the clothes of soldiers. She was a commander, a colonel, important (in rank). (81) After a while, she said to him—he did not know that she was a woman, he thought she was a man—she said to him 'You are doing (bad) things, you are taking a woman from her husband and wedding her to yourself. I have heard that you are doing many wicked things, going to people's palaces, going and doing mischief, and so forth.

(82) She began shouting at him and said 'You are doing this (mischief), you are not from this land'. He remonstrated 'I have not done anything, in this place or that place,' etc. and so forth. Then, she took her hat from her head like this and put it on the ground. (83) He looked at her and saw it was Söttiye. He said 'Oh, it seems you are Söttiye!' He said 'Are you married or are you unmarried?' She said 'I have not married. I am waiting for you. I shall not marry, so long as *you* do not marry'. He said 'I also am not married'. (84) He said 'How are things? What has happened?' She said 'In the meeting of my father there is a riddle and nobody knows it. He said to me "Farxo knows it, go and bring him". I have brought this force here, which is at my command, so that you would come back and solve the riddle'.



(85) *móre ma-yxàlɔf*<sup>1</sup> *qimɛle*<sup>1</sup> *móre* *ʼáxtu* *ʼasqitu* *ʼədyo*<sup>1</sup> *ʼərɔbuʂeba*<sup>1</sup> *ʼu-xámʂuʂeba*  
*rúta*<sup>1</sup> *màtɛtu*<sup>1</sup> *ʼána* *t-ásqən* *rúta* *maʂənnɛxu*<sup>1</sup> *mára* *qimela*<sup>1</sup> *ʼáni* *sìqela*<sup>1</sup> *ʼaw-mrúzgalla*  
*gáne* *dìye*<sup>1</sup> *yómət* *rúta* *sìqele*<sup>1</sup> *ʼánna* *mətyela*<sup>1</sup> (86) *ʼax-t-ila* *mətye*<sup>1</sup> *Səttíye* *mèθa*<sup>1</sup>  
*yomət-tláθa* *Səttíye* *mítela* *gu-màθa*<sup>1</sup> *mítla*<sup>1</sup> *qimla* *prímila* *ʼərbe*<sup>1</sup> *síqela* *qəm-mʂamrila*<sup>1</sup>  
*qədámta*<sup>1</sup> (87) *yále* *zóre* *mʂawóle* *b-čəkke* *y-ámrxla*<sup>1</sup> *ʼánna* *čəkke* *mò* *y-amrila*<sup>2</sup>  
*hàtxa* *mʂaləxxwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʼánna* *mən-ʼərbe* *y-áwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʼáqlət* *ʼərba*<sup>1</sup> *Fárxo* *mère*<sup>1</sup> *ʼáp-ana* *mʂálən*  
*mənnɛxu*<sup>1</sup> *zòrele*<sup>1</sup> (88) *mára* *là*<sup>1</sup> *ʼáti* *ʂli-be-málka*<sup>1</sup> *brátət* *málka*<sup>1</sup> *hóla* *mìθta*<sup>1</sup> *hóla*  
*príme* *ʼərbe*<sup>1</sup> *mèθilən*<sup>1</sup> *mèθilən* *m-d-an-čəkke* *mʂaləx*<sup>1</sup> *móre* *ʼèni* *mánna*<sup>2</sup> *mára* *ʼe-zórta*  
*Səttíye* *hóla* *mìθta*<sup>1</sup> (89) *ʼaw-là-ʂlele* *l-béθa*<sup>1</sup> *ʼánna* *náʂe* *hóla* *spára* *ʼille* *dìye*<sup>1</sup> *díwənt*  
*málka* *hóle* *spára* *ʼille* *díye* *ta-t-àθe* *Fárxo*<sup>1</sup> *qimɛle* *síqela* *l-bɛθ-qòra*<sup>1</sup> *síqele* *l-bɛθ-qòra*<sup>1</sup>  
*gu-qawràθa*<sup>1</sup> *xáze* *ʼénila* *qáwra* *xàθta*<sup>1</sup> *réʂa* *díya* *záməɾ*<sup>1</sup> *záməɾ*<sup>1</sup> *záməɾ*<sup>1</sup> *záməɾ*<sup>1</sup> *qáwra*  
*pθixla*<sup>1</sup> (90) *qáwra* *pθixla*<sup>1</sup> *rəhqa* *m-anna-dukâne*<sup>1</sup> *mpílle* *ʼáp-aw* *gáwa* *díya*<sup>1</sup> *har-dmíxle*  
*réʂa* *díya* *hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʼáp-aw* *táma* *mítile*<sup>1</sup> *ʼánna* *hóla* *spàra*<sup>1</sup> *hál* *yomət-šàbθa*<sup>1</sup> *qimela*  
*šàbθa* *qedámta*<sup>1</sup> *ʼína* *lá* *Fárxo*<sup>1</sup> *lá* *ču-mindì*<sup>1</sup> *liθ*<sup>1</sup> (91) *xáʼa* *mère*<sup>1</sup> *ʼána* *šəmyənlə*  
*xa-qála* *gu-bɛθ-qòra*<sup>1</sup> *zmàra*<sup>1</sup> *bálki* *háwe* *ʼəθya* *l-bɛθ-qòra*<sup>1</sup> *ʼàsqi*<sup>1</sup> *ʼína* *xazèla*<sup>1</sup> *qáwra*  
*pθixta*<sup>1</sup> *ʼáp-aw* *míθa* *gàwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʼu-qəm-mʂamrile* *tàma*<sup>1</sup> *ʂwiqálən* *tàma*<sup>1</sup> *ʼu-θélən* *làxxa*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʼu-hawétu* *basíme* *ràba*<sup>1</sup>

(85) He said 'Fine'. He said 'You go up today, Wednesday, and you will arrive on Thursday or Friday. I'll come up on Friday and catch you up'. They set off and went up. He prepared himself and went up on Friday. They arrived. (86) When they arrived, Səttiye died. On the third day Səttiye arrived in the village and died. They slaughtered sheep<sup>12</sup> and went up and buried her in the morning. (87) The young children were playing with *čəkke* ('anklebones'), as we call them. What is the meaning of *čəkke*? We used to play like that. They are from sheep, the feet of sheep. Farxo said 'I also shall play with you'. He was young. (88) They said 'No. You go down to the house of the king. The daughter of the king has died. They have slaughtered sheep, bring us some of the anklebones (of the sheep) for us to play with'. He said 'Which of them?' They said 'The young one Səttiye has died'. (89) He did not go down to the house. The people were waiting for him. The assembly of the king was waiting for Farxo to come. He went down to the cemetery. He went down to the cemetery and among the graves he saw which of them was a new grave. (Whilst sitting) on it, he sang and sang and sang, then the grave opened. (90) The grave opened and—God forbend—he fell into it. No sooner had he lain down over her than also he died there. They waited for him until Saturday. On Saturday morning they set off (to find him) but there was no Farxo or anything (associated with him to be found). (91) Somebody said 'I have heard a voice in the cemetery, singing, perhaps he has gone to the cemetery'. They went up and found the open grave with him also dead in it. They buried him there. We have left it there and come here. Thank you.

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<sup>12</sup> For the meal that is traditionally eaten when somebody dies.

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) *hadīya mšārəx qəššəttət Māmo-w Zīne.*<sup>1</sup> *Māmo*<sup>1</sup> 'iweewa gu-<sup>2</sup>*Alān*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*Zīne*<sup>1</sup> 'iwāwa gu-*Jazīre Bōta.*<sup>1</sup> *jənnə*<sup>1</sup> *t-šmāyya*<sup>1</sup> *qimla wídla tàgbir.*<sup>1</sup> *jmíla lə-gđəde*<sup>1</sup> *məra*<sup>1</sup> *bāyax xázexi xa-yála*<sup>1</sup> *rāba šapira*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*xa-brāta*<sup>1</sup> *rāba šapirta.*<sup>1</sup> *tərwəθna*<sup>1</sup> *t-áwa muqábal*<sup>1</sup> 'əğdəde.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*məθəxla*<sup>1</sup> *mbarxəxla l-gđəde.*<sup>1</sup> (2) *māra qimela tiwela,*<sup>1</sup> *widela tàgbir*<sup>1</sup> *xəzyela*<sup>1</sup> *Zīne gu-Jazīra Bōta*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*Māmo gu-<sup>2</sup>Alān.*<sup>1</sup> *šurəla mjawóde m-gđəde*<sup>1</sup> 'əni *nábləx kəs-d-əni.*<sup>1</sup> *Zīne nábləx kəs-Māmo*<sup>1</sup> *lo-Māmo nábləx kəs-Zīne.*<sup>2</sup> *māra lə,*<sup>1</sup> *bəxta*<sup>1</sup> *be-bəxət-ila.*<sup>1</sup> *maqətləle gáwra*<sup>1</sup> *nabləxi Zīne kəs-Māmo.*<sup>1</sup> (3) *māra qimela*<sup>1</sup> *b-lələ*<sup>1</sup> *trípəlla Zīne*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*múθyalla,*<sup>1</sup> *núbləlla kəs-Māmo.*<sup>1</sup> *núbləlla kəs-Māmo,*<sup>1</sup> *dmixela.*<sup>1</sup> *rištela,*<sup>1</sup> *zìptəllela*<sup>1</sup> *fla-Māmo.*<sup>1</sup> *māra flə-módit*<sup>1</sup> 'əθya *dmixə*<sup>1</sup> *gu-šwíθi.*<sup>2</sup> (4) *móre yə-baxta*<sup>1</sup> *lan-<sup>2</sup>əna*<sup>1</sup> 'əθya *dmixə gu-šwíθəx.*<sup>1</sup> 'ətit *θíθa dmixta gu-šwíθi.*<sup>1</sup> 'ən-*in*<sup>1</sup> 'əna 'əθya *gu-šwíθəx,*<sup>1</sup> *qrégən xaddáməx,*<sup>1</sup> *xaddamyəθəx,*<sup>1</sup> *šəmma Šáləm*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*Sürma.*<sup>1</sup> *qrəla!*<sup>1</sup> 'ən-*mjuwəbla,*<sup>1</sup> *xo-<sup>2</sup>ənan*<sup>1</sup> 'əθya *kəsləx.*<sup>1</sup> 'ən-*lə mjuwəbla,*<sup>1</sup> 'ətit *θíθa kəslí.*<sup>1</sup> (5) *qríθela qála b-Šáləm*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*Sürma,*<sup>1</sup> *ču-jwába la-yiwəllela.*<sup>1</sup> *šurəla bxàya.*<sup>1</sup> *Māmo qiməle rəs-gəne,*<sup>1</sup> *qəryele Bangina xuláme diyə.*<sup>1</sup> *móre Bangina,*<sup>1</sup> 'əti *rāba šərīf-nəšət.*<sup>1</sup> *ču-məndi la-bəyən mənənux.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-ləmpa mətəθət b-<sup>2</sup>idux,*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*háyyo ləxxa kəslí.*<sup>1</sup> (6) *xzīgən*<sup>1</sup> 'əyya *bráta šapirtə t-íla dmixta kəslí,*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-təmməl*<sup>1</sup> 'ən-*əna mšəwəθən,*<sup>1</sup> *t-la-péšən duglana.*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-<sup>2</sup>əti yáwət*<sup>1</sup> 'azidúθa,<sup>1</sup> *t-ámreti hé dūs*<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa *bráta dmixta kəsle diyə.*<sup>1</sup> (7) 'əθyele,<sup>1</sup> *múθya ləmpa b-íde diyə.*<sup>1</sup> *wirəle*<sup>1</sup> *xəzyəlla,*<sup>1</sup> *Zīne kəs-Māmo.*<sup>1</sup> *dirəle Bangina,*<sup>1</sup> *xuláme diyə,*<sup>1</sup> *dirəle,*<sup>1</sup> *zíla l-<sup>2</sup>ótəx diyə.*<sup>1</sup> 'əna *módila wíde.*<sup>2</sup> *qimela mšəxəlpə b-<sup>2</sup>isəqyàθa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*b-yaləxyàθa*<sup>1</sup> *hál yomət-məθi.*<sup>1</sup> (8) *dmixela traθnəy*<sup>1</sup> *xánjər*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*səpa mütəlla,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni xá l-<sup>2</sup>əks d-o-xəna*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-lá dáqri b-gđəde.*<sup>1</sup> *witela qədanta,*<sup>1</sup> *jənnə*<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela,<sup>1</sup> *šqiləlla Zīne*<sup>1</sup> *núbləlla Jazīra Bōta.*<sup>1</sup> (9) *Māmo rišele*<sup>1</sup> *qiməle,*<sup>1</sup> 'ina *max-šəðəna.*<sup>1</sup> *léle xzáyəlla brátə t-wáwa kəsle diyə.*<sup>1</sup> *bas-xzáyəlla*<sup>1</sup> 'əy-*yaləxta-w*<sup>1</sup> 'isəqθa *b-íde diyə bəs.*<sup>1</sup> *móre*<sup>1</sup> 'əna *ləka*<sup>1</sup> 'əzən.<sup>2</sup> 'u-*báθər d-əni táyən.*<sup>2</sup> 'u-*m-əni mbəqrən*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-yáðən*<sup>1</sup> 'əyya *ləka zílla,*<sup>1</sup> 'əni *nubləle.*<sup>1</sup> (10) 'əθyele,<sup>1</sup> *qam-tárət bəθa tiwəle hədəx.*<sup>1</sup> *bábe diyə*<sup>1</sup> *θəle.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ha-bròni,*<sup>1</sup> *Māmo,*<sup>1</sup> *mà-lux*<sup>1</sup> *tíwət xaššəna.*<sup>2</sup> *móre bábí hál*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*qəššət hətəxela.*<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) Now we shall begin the story of Māmo and Zine. Māmo was in ?Alān and Zine was in Jazire Bota. The jinn of heaven made a plan. They gathered together and said 'We want to find a very handsome boy and a very beautiful girl. (We want) both to come together. We shall bring them together and marry them'. (2) Now, they sat down and made a plan. They saw Zine in Jazira Bota and Māmo in ?Alān. They started arguing with one another regarding whom to take to whom. 'Should we take Zine to Māmo or Māmo to Zine?' They said 'No, a woman is treacherous. She will have her husband killed. Let us take Zine to Māmo'. (3) So, at night they seized Zine and brought her, they took her to Māmo. They took her to Māmo. They slept. She woke up and pushed Māmo (out of bed). She said 'Why have you come and slept in my bed?' (4) He said 'Woman, it was not me who came to sleep in your bed. It was you who came to sleep in my bed. If I have come to sleep in your bed, call your servants, your maids, their names are Šalem and Surma. Call them! If they answer you, then indeed it is me who has come to you. If they do not answer you, you have come to me'. (5) She called Šalem and Surma, but they did not give her any reply. She began to weep. Māmo stood up and called Bangina his servant. He said 'Bangina, you are a very honourable person. I don't want anything from you. Bring a lamp in your hand and come here to me. (6) Look at this beautiful girl, who has fallen asleep with me, so that tomorrow, if I speak (about it), I shall not be considered a liar and you will give your consent to say "Yes, it is true, there was a girl sleeping with him."' (7) He came and brought a lamp in his hand. He entered and saw Zine with Māmo. Bangina returned. His servant returned and went to his room. What did they do? They exchanged rings and scarves (pledging themselves to one another) until the day they died. (8) They both slept. He put a dagger and a sword, one opposite the other, so that they would not touch each other. In the morning, the jinn came and took Zine, took her away to Jazira Bota. (9) Māmo awoke and got up, but like a madman. He did not see the girl who had been with him. He only found the scarf and the ring on his hand. He said 'Where should I go? Who should I look for? Who should I ask so that I can find out where she has gone and who has taken her away?' (10) He came and sat down in front of the door of the house. His father came. He said 'Ah, my son, Māmo, why are you sitting (looking so) sad?' He said 'Father, the situation is like this'.

(11) *móre* 'ðllele<sup>1</sup> xa-bráta θίθεωα dmíxta kàsli.<sup>1</sup> 'u-qímli qedàmta,<sup>1</sup> la-xəzyàli.<sup>1</sup> làn-ðá'a lékela zílta.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'o-bròni,<sup>1</sup> là mašíθət<sup>1</sup> 'àni<sup>1</sup> sařanyàθela,<sup>1</sup> y-oðíla gána b-yòma,<sup>1</sup> řapíre b-léle y-áθi b-xálmət jwánqe 'axwàθux.<sup>1</sup> (12) *móre* 'áp-ana y-aθéwa b-rèři hátxa<sup>1</sup> 'o-yómə ř-ínwa zòra.<sup>1</sup> y-aθíwa l-xəlmi.<sup>1</sup> xəlməle,<sup>1</sup> xəzwele,<sup>1</sup> là.<sup>1</sup> *móre* bàbi<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áyya 'isəqθa 'u-yaláxta d-ənila.<sup>2</sup> hóla 'isəqθa,<sup>1</sup> hóla yaláxta.<sup>1</sup> máto mdaglónna gáni<sup>1</sup> ř-ámərən 'ánna léla 'àni.<sup>1</sup> (13) *hírre* bábe díye.<sup>1</sup> *móre* mò 'awðéna 'ána hadíya.<sup>2</sup> qíməle,<sup>1</sup> bəna<sup>1</sup> bábət Mámə gòřa-wewa,<sup>1</sup> řəx-wewa.<sup>1</sup> qíməle,<sup>1</sup> *móre* tla-d-an-nàře,<sup>1</sup> moθéle swariye tla-əmma<sup>1</sup> swariye.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni susāwàθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-náře l-xàřa.<sup>1</sup> (14) *móre* sò<sup>1</sup> kut-qónəx yòma<sup>1</sup> déři 'əmma mənñəxu.<sup>1</sup> 'amrítu 'áxni là-mtələn Jazíra Bóta.<sup>1</sup> léðəx 'əkela.<sup>1</sup> zílela tla-əmma swariye.<sup>1</sup> kut-yòma<sup>1</sup> deříwa 'əmma.<sup>1</sup> kut-yóma deříwa 'əmma.<sup>1</sup> (15) *tla-əmma* swariye dírřa<sup>1</sup> mára 'àxni<sup>1</sup> la-xəzyálən Jazíra Bóta 'əkela.<sup>1</sup> Mámə b-gáne díye<sup>1</sup> pířle mājbur<sup>1</sup> tíwle xásə suse díye,<sup>1</sup> 'áw u-xuláma díye.<sup>1</sup>

(16) *θéla* b-úrxa.<sup>1</sup> *θéla* b-úrxa-w<sup>1</sup> *θéla*-w *θéla*-w *θéla*-w *θéla*-w *θéla*.<sup>1</sup> tre-tlá yománe wéla b-úrxa t-là-xala,<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-là-řtaya.<sup>1</sup> xuláma Bangína *móre* tla-Mámə,<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> mür-e-mən,<sup>1</sup> lékəx zála.<sup>2</sup> qílálən gənən<sup>1</sup> 'ánna tla-yome<sup>1</sup> tla ləlāwáθa.<sup>1</sup> la-áxni-x xála<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá susāwàθən xála.<sup>1</sup> (17) *móre* tu-maníxəx xàčča.<sup>1</sup> 'u-řákrəx řəmmət márya 'álaha xázəx 'úrxa 'əkela.<sup>1</sup> mára tíwəla xá-bəna hàðəx.<sup>1</sup> řúryəla mřawòθe<sup>1</sup> 'u-áxxa l-tàmma<sup>1</sup> 'u-xílela 'áni mənđi-w<sup>1</sup> susāwəθéy doryəlla mónđi 'ixàla.<sup>1</sup> (18) pířəla hàðəx.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər...<sup>1</sup> xuláma 'ámər tla-múra.<sup>1</sup> *móre* mür-e-mən léka 'azéxi.<sup>2</sup> *móre* ř-ázəx qa-xázəx<sup>1</sup> Zíne 'əkèla.<sup>1</sup> galéðəx 'əkèla,<sup>1</sup> b-éni dükθela,<sup>1</sup> 'énila 'úrxa.<sup>1</sup> *móre* 'ána là-mřən ř-áθən mənñux hátxa.<sup>1</sup> qímle<sup>1</sup> xuláma dírře.<sup>1</sup> Bangína dírře.<sup>1</sup> pířle 'áw l-xóde díye.<sup>1</sup> (19) řuréle mtaxmòne.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áy taxmànta<sup>1</sup> tla yomàne<sup>1</sup> léle la-xíla-w la-řətya<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-dmíxa.<sup>1</sup> qəm-ganwàle řənθa,<sup>1</sup> tlile.<sup>1</sup> *θéla* řənne,<sup>1</sup> qəm-řaqłile,<sup>1</sup> nablile,<sup>1</sup> mattile<sup>1</sup> 'al-túřət Jazíra Bóta.<sup>1</sup>

(11) He said ‘This night a girl came and slept with me. I got up in the morning and did not find her. I don’t know where she has gone’. He said ‘My son, don’t listen, they are little demons, they make themselves (into things) in the daytime (and make themselves) beautiful at night and come into the dreams of young men like you’. (12) He said ‘They would come also into my head when I was young. They would come into my dreams. It is a dream, it is a vision, not (anything else)’. He said ‘Father, but whose is this ring and scarf? Here is a ring and here is a scarf. How can I make myself lie and say that they are not real?’<sup>1</sup> (13) His father was confused. He said ‘What should I do now?’ He got up. The father of Mămo was an important man, he was an elder. He spoke to the people (there) and brought horsemen, three hundred horsemen. That is horses and people on their back. (14) He said ‘Go and at every day’s stage (of the journey) a hundred of you will return. You will say “We have not reached Jazira Bota. We do not know where it is.”’ Three hundred horsemen went off. Every day a hundred returned. Everyday a hundred returned. (15) The three hundred horsemen returned and said ‘We have not found where Jazira Bota is’. Mămo himself was forced (to go). He sat on the back of his horse, he and his servant.

(16) They came along the road. They came along the road a long way. For two or three days they were on the road without food and without drink. The servant Bangina said to Mămo, he said ‘My lord, where are you going? We have killed ourselves these three days and three nights. Neither are we eating nor are our horses eating’. (17) He said ‘Sit down. Let’s rest a little. We shall pray to the Lord God for us to find where the road is’. Now, they sat for a while. They began talking, and so forth. They ate something and gave their horses some food. (18) Now, the servant said to the master, he said ‘My lord, where should we go?’ He said ‘We shall go to find where Zine is. But we do not know where she is, in what place she is, what the road is’. He said ‘I cannot come with you in that case’. The servant got up and returned. Bangina returned. He (Mămo) remained alone. (19) He began to think. He was (immersed) in this musing for three days without eating or drinking or sleeping. (Finally) sleep stole him away and he slept. Jinn came and took him. They took him away and put him on the mountain of Jazira Bota.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: These are not those.

(20) 'áyya 'ímə t-íla zílta Zíne,<sup>1</sup> 'ímə t-íla zílta l-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwala xàθa,<sup>1</sup> Səttíye<sup>1</sup> 'u-Nàze-w' Zíne,<sup>1</sup> təl̩ləθ<sup>1</sup> xaθwàθe<sup>1</sup>wa.<sup>1</sup> Səttíye 'ε-gòrta-wawa<sup>1</sup> 'u-Nàze<sup>1</sup> gawèθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-Zíne 'ε-zòrtət kúlla.<sup>1</sup> (21) 'áyya móre tla-xaθwáθa díya<sup>1</sup> ha-xáθi Səttíye<sup>1</sup> 'áti dúqla 'áyya 'isəqθi.<sup>1</sup> 'úli tliba,<sup>1</sup> lán-mşaya mattánna b-'ídi.<sup>1</sup> 'úli tliba<sup>1</sup> hàtxele šemme,<sup>1</sup> hàtxa,<sup>1</sup> hàtxa,<sup>1</sup> hàtxa.<sup>1</sup> (22) šqiltalla 'isəqθa,<sup>1</sup> Zíne mxíθəlla b-'íðət Səttíye,<sup>1</sup> xáθa díya.<sup>1</sup> gwírta-wawa l-Qára Tèždin.<sup>1</sup> xa-béna 'áw 'ímə-t-íle şəlya,<sup>1</sup> mátya gu-résət tura,<sup>1</sup> zríqe<sup>1</sup>le yóma 'álle díye<sup>1</sup> móre škíra šəmmux,<sup>1</sup> márya 'álaha,<sup>1</sup> 'éni qəm-mεθéli láxxa bíye bə-b-sùsi<sup>1</sup> (23) mərə<sup>1</sup> b-xšáwən 'áyya mđítela,<sup>1</sup> šálən bəqrən<sup>1</sup> 'áyya mđi mđítela.<sup>1</sup> mára şəlyele rəš-'əna.<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'u-súse díye şəlyela rəš-'əna,<sup>1</sup> xəzyəlla xákma baxtáθa tàma.<sup>1</sup> dóryele sláma lləxu.<sup>1</sup> (24) mára b-šéna b-tawàθa.<sup>1</sup> m-táma 'u-hál-laxxa Mámō.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ánna m-éka qəm-yāđíle šəmni.<sup>21</sup> mojəble.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa módi wídle.<sup>21</sup> móre mbəqrena.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən tàma<sup>1</sup> təl̩ləθ bnáθa xène<sup>1</sup> t-Bākírku,<sup>1</sup> huđáya fassàda.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale 'úpra rəba.<sup>1</sup> xulámət Mir-Zəndin-wewa.<sup>1</sup> (25) móre Mir-Zəndin<sup>1</sup> 'ánna bnáθe díye t-əzi<sup>1</sup> 'aw-máyəθ 'u-'úpra páyəs díyi.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna bnáθe díye rəš-d-ε-'əna-wawa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna šəmye-wawa bəd-Mámō mən-Zíne,<sup>1</sup> sáb xaddámət Zíne y-awáwa.<sup>1</sup> (26) mərə<sup>1</sup> 'anrənnéxu xà məndí.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya mđi mđítela.<sup>21</sup> mára 'áyya Jazíra Bòtela.<sup>1</sup> 'áyyela Jazíra Bóta.<sup>21</sup> mára hè.<sup>1</sup> móre 'éka hésən 'àrxə.<sup>21</sup> mára 'ən-it xoš-gàwəra<sup>1</sup> kəs-Qára Tèždin.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-it šúlat mirúθa,<sup>1</sup> kəs-Mir-Zəndin.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-it-'əθya šúlat qahbùθa,<sup>1</sup> kəs-bábən Bəku.<sup>1</sup> (27) hè<sup>1</sup> 'áməx rəmyàθa hawetúwa!<sup>1</sup> t-lá-hawəwə mbúqrəlləxu biš-spəy.<sup>1</sup> qíməle<sup>1</sup> rəš-xáşə súsa díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-ya-'álaha.<sup>1</sup> síqe<sup>1</sup>le mərə<sup>1</sup> kút-dukθət kále sùsi,<sup>1</sup> tàma.<sup>1</sup> ntak-ntak-ntək<sup>1</sup> sá'ət kəmèla.<sup>21</sup> sá'ət šáwəwa qedámta.<sup>1</sup> (28) síqe<sup>1</sup>le di-di-di-dí,<sup>1</sup> kályele qam-tárət qásrə Qára Tèždin.<sup>1</sup> qásrə Qára Tèždin hóle rəš-tura.<sup>1</sup> kúlla mđíta xazèla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-síqe<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup> súde kályə tàma.<sup>1</sup> ták-tak mxáyəlla goyáθə sùsa<sup>1</sup> ta-t-dəyər sùsa m-táma,<sup>1</sup> là-jwíje sùsa.<sup>1</sup> (29) qíməle şəlya,<sup>1</sup> nùbləlle<sup>1</sup> súsət Qára Tèždin,<sup>1</sup> gríšəlle m-rəš-gəlla<sup>1</sup> m-xàla,<sup>1</sup> síyəlle 'o-d-áw šópe díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-síqe<sup>1</sup>le.<sup>1</sup> síqe<sup>1</sup>le məxyele l-tára.<sup>1</sup> síqe<sup>1</sup>le máxya l-tára<sup>1</sup> 'u-plíttəla Səttíye.<sup>1</sup>

(20) When Zine went away, when she went home—she had a sister, Səttiye, (there were also) Naze and Zine, they were three sisters. Səttiye was the oldest one, Naze the middle one and Zine the youngest. (21) She said to her sisters ‘My sister Səttiye, you take this ring of mine. I have a fiancé, but I cannot put it on my hand. I have a fiancé, whose name is such-and-such’, and so forth. (22) She took the ring. Zine put it on the hand of Səttiye, her sister. She was married to Qarateždin. Now, when he (Mămo) came down (from the sky) and came to the top of the mountain, the sun shone on him and he said ‘May your name be praised, Lord God, who have brought me here together with my horse’. (23) He said ‘I think this is the town. I’ll go down and ask what town this is’. Now, he went down to the spring. He and his horse went down to the spring. He saw some girls there. He greeted them. (24) They said ‘Welcome. (You have come) from there to here, Mămo!’ He said ‘From where do they know my name?’ He was surprised. What did he do? He said ‘I’ll ask’. There were there three other girls, those of Băkurku the corrupt Jew. He had a lot of land. He was the servant of Mir-Zandin. (25) Mir Zandin said ‘His daughters will go (and get married), he will die and his land will remain for me’. His daughters were by that spring. They had heard about Mămo from Zine, since they were the servants of Zine’. (26) He said ‘Let me ask you<sup>2</sup> something. What town is this?’ They said ‘This is Jazira Bota’. ‘Is this Jazira Bota?’ They said ‘Yes’. He said ‘Where can I lodge as a guest?’<sup>3</sup> They said ‘If you are a good man, with Qara Teždin. If you (have come) with the business of a prince, with Mir-Zandin. If you have come to fornicate, then with our father Băku’. (27) ‘Oh’ he said ‘May you be cursed! It would have been better if I had not asked you’. He mounted the back of his horse and went off. He went up and said ‘Wherever my horse stops, (I shall stay) there’...What time is it? It is seven in the morning. (28) He went up...He stopped before the door of Qara Teždin. The palace of Qara Teždin was on the mountain. He could see all the town. He went up and his horse stopped there. He struck the sides of the horse so that the horse would move from there. The horse did not move. (29) He dismounted and took the horse of Qara Teždin. He pulled it from the grass he was eating and tied his own in its place, then went up. He went up and knocked on the door. He went up and knocked on the door and Səttiye came out.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: say to you.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: become a guest.



(30) 'ax-t-ila plítta Sattìye,<sup>1</sup> xzìthalle<sup>1</sup> xriwēle lóbba díya.<sup>1</sup> šuréθela npála dwiqàlla.<sup>1</sup> hédi hédi núbàlla múttàlla rāš-qaràwət.<sup>1</sup> sab-šapūra-wewa Mámō.<sup>1</sup> múttàlla rāš-qaràwət.<sup>1</sup> xa-béna Qára Tēždin móre 'álla díya<sup>1</sup> wíð xá-məndi xāfīf<sup>1</sup> ta-d-áwwa 'árxən šarira.<sup>1</sup> 'ána har-šālən mōðita<sup>1</sup> méθən 'ixàla<sup>1</sup> 'u-'àθena.<sup>1</sup> (31) qímēle Qára Tēždin<sup>1</sup> 'aw-šályele mōðita.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-qìmtēla,<sup>1</sup> wíðta qàwa.<sup>1</sup> muθéθàlla qàwa,<sup>1</sup> muttèθàlle.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-'éne díye nřiltēla 'isəqθe<sup>1</sup> 'ámər hà.<sup>1</sup> hóla gwírta<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána lan-ðiya.<sup>1</sup> (32) xaθwàθēla dī<sup>1</sup> mádmε l-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər hóla gwírta<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána lan-ðiya.<sup>1</sup> qímēle lèle šótya qáwa.<sup>1</sup> tíwēle l-xásə súsē díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-dírēle šályele rāš-d-è-'ena,<sup>1</sup> 'ε-'éna t-ìle 'əθya qamáye réša.<sup>1</sup> (33) Qára Tēždin dírre<sup>1</sup> θéle bèθa<sup>1</sup> 'ámər hà<sup>1</sup> báxta kéle 'àrxə.<sup>2</sup> móra b-rèšux<sup>1</sup> mó 'amrāna.<sup>2</sup> qáwa wíðtən 'álle hàzər<sup>1</sup> muttèθən 'álle hóle làxxa.<sup>1</sup> 'áx t-it-'áti šótya,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-aw hādəx.<sup>1</sup> (34) yába mōdi,<sup>1</sup> tla-mōdi.<sup>2</sup> xo-lat-mírta xà-məndi.<sup>2</sup> 'áxxa l-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> móra réšux rēšux<sup>1</sup> mò t-ámrrən 'ána,<sup>1</sup> ya-Qára Tēždin?<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána háwən Qára Tēždin,<sup>1</sup> maθyánət xárje-w bájřət bořanàye,<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xa-'árxə 'ax-d-àwwa<sup>1</sup> gu-bèθi<sup>1</sup> 'u-páləř lédən ləkēle zála,<sup>1</sup> léka lù,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána míya m-'əwən štáya.<sup>1</sup> (35) 'u-yátu xāš-súse díye 'u-bàre,<sup>1</sup> 'u-báre rāš-'éna.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'álle díye<sup>1</sup> ha-gàni,<sup>1</sup> tla-mōdi plítlux m-gu-béθi.<sup>2</sup> 'ína 'ána l-mòdínwa šályə.<sup>2</sup> 'ámər súq ya-gàni.<sup>1</sup> yóma hóle zřìqa<sup>1</sup> 'u-gənya<sup>1</sup> lè-y-zarəq.<sup>1</sup> (36) 'áwwa léle ðiya.<sup>1</sup> sìqele,<sup>1</sup> móre t-ásqən meθənnē háwəni.<sup>1</sup> móre suq-méθi hāwənux.<sup>1</sup> sìqele,<sup>1</sup> móre tla-bàxta,<sup>1</sup> móre hātxa mírəlli,<sup>1</sup> hātxa,<sup>1</sup> mút mərə.<sup>2</sup> (37) móra šli-mur-'álle<sup>1</sup> yóma hádele zřìqa<sup>1</sup> šəmša mxíθa l-turáne,<sup>1</sup> heš-léla kmilta šəmša.<sup>1</sup> 'áti bas-'əyya múrra<sup>1</sup> 'u-dòr.<sup>1</sup> Qára Tēždin lèðe manáya mōdila.<sup>1</sup> báxta zilla.<sup>1</sup> qímēle šályə<sup>1</sup> móre 'álle díye<sup>1</sup> móre ya-gàni.<sup>1</sup> yóma hádele zřìqa<sup>1</sup> ššma heš-léla mxíθa l-turáne.<sup>1</sup>

(30) When Səttiye came out, she saw him and her heart was broken.<sup>4</sup> She began to faint<sup>5</sup> and he caught her. Slowly he took her and put her on the bed. (She fainted) because Mămo was handsome. He put her on the bed. Then Qara Teždin said to her ‘Make something light (to eat) for this worthy guest of ours. I’ll just go down to the town to bring food and come back’. (31) Qara Teždin set off and went down to the town. She got up and made coffee. She brought the coffee and served it. His eye fell on his ring. He said ‘Ah! She is married, and I did not know’. (32) They are sisters, you see, and they resemble one another. He said ‘She is married and I did not know’. He got up and did not drink the coffee. He sat on the back of his horse and went back down to the spring, the spring to which he had come previously. (33) Qara Teždin returned home and said ‘Ah, wife, where is the guest?’ She said ‘By your head, what should I say? I prepared coffee for him and served it, here it is. As you drank, he also (was treated) in the same way’. (34) ‘But why, why? Did you not say something to him?’ And so forth. She said ‘By your head, what should I say, Qara Teždin?’. He said ‘(How could it be that) I am Qara Teždin, the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan, and a guest comes like this into my house and leaves without me knowing where on earth he was going! I (have the power) to drink water (even) from the clouds.’ (35) He mounted his horse and went after him, went after him to the spring. He said to him ‘Hey, my friend, why did you leave my house? Why had I gone down (to the town)?’ He (Mămo) said ‘Go up, my friend, the sun has risen and (when) it has set, it will not shine (again)’.<sup>6</sup> (36) He did not know (what he was talking about). He went up and said ‘I’ll go up and work it out’.<sup>7</sup> He said (to himself) ‘Go up and work it out’. He went up and said to his wife, he said ‘He said this to me, this, what do you say?’ (37) She said ‘Go down and say to him “The sun has just risen, sunshine has struck the mountains, but the sunshine has not yet completely (spread)”<sup>8</sup> Just tell him this and return’. Qara Teždin did not know what the meaning was. The woman went off. He went down and said to him, he said ‘My friend, the sun has just risen, but the sunshine has not struck the mountains’.

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<sup>4</sup> Since she was already married.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: fall.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. you have married Zine and there is no future.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: I shall bring my intelligence.

<sup>8</sup> A riddle indicating that Zine is not yet married.

(38) qímele píšele màjbur<sup>1</sup> Mǎmo dìrele.<sup>1</sup> dìrele,<sup>1</sup> mǎre mòdila qáşşat:<sup>2</sup> mǎre ʔisəqθax<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya ʔisəqθa diyila.<sup>1</sup> mǎra diyux-ile hé.<sup>1</sup> xəθi,<sup>1</sup> Žine,<sup>1</sup> hiwála ʔlli.<sup>1</sup> mǎra lán-mşaya doqánna b-ʔidi.<sup>1</sup> hon-şqiltəlla ʔána,<sup>1</sup> mxíθəlla b-ʔidi.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hóya bríxta ʔləlax.<sup>1</sup> (39) mǎre<sup>1</sup> Qára Téždin ʔimə šmíle hátxa mǎre<sup>1</sup> xzi,<sup>1</sup> ʔaxni ʔlá xonǎwəθəx,<sup>1</sup> Qára Téždin<sup>1</sup> ʔu-čəkkə<sup>1</sup> ʔu-Səppə.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔip-ati pəşət mǎnnən,<sup>1</sup> ʔarpa xonǎwəθəx.<sup>1</sup> ʔəlla b-şaqłənnə<sup>1</sup> xəθət Mir-Žəndin barxənnə-llux.<sup>1</sup>

(40) mǎra qímele ʔəθya síqa l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> síqe le l-gàre<sup>1</sup> maxzəyəlle Jazıra Bəta.<sup>1</sup> Žine<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔán-xaddamyáθa díya şléla rəş-ʔəna.<sup>1</sup> Mir-Žəndin<sup>1</sup> mǎre hóla şláya rəş-ʔəna.<sup>1</sup> mǎre şli-qámθa<sup>1</sup> mǎre la-ʔəti şli-qámθa.<sup>1</sup> Mǎmo mǎre şligən qámθa ʔəti.<sup>1</sup> mǎre la-ʔəti şligən qámθa.<sup>1</sup> şawθa gu-púmmət mǎre la şəklánta.<sup>1</sup> (41) qímele<sup>1</sup> Mǎmo<sup>1</sup> tíwele xásə síse díye,<sup>1</sup> şəlyele<sup>1</sup> rəş-púmmət ʔəna.<sup>1</sup> θiθela Žine,<sup>1</sup> ʔarbi barbiyáθa hóla mǎnna díya.<sup>1</sup> θiθela,<sup>1</sup> ʔaw şqiləlla yaləxta díya<sup>1</sup> b-ʔide<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔisəqθa<sup>1</sup> wádəlla hátxa<sup>1</sup> w-áy xziθəlla.<sup>1</sup> dəryele śláma ʔəlla díya.<sup>1</sup> (42) mqubáltəlle śláme díye rəş-rəša.<sup>1</sup> θiθela mǎre<sup>1</sup> hálli xa-ťásət miya.<sup>1</sup> qimtelə<sup>1</sup> híwtəlle xa-ťásət miya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-şətyele.<sup>1</sup> şətyele,<sup>1</sup> ʔánna qəm-ťarđala.<sup>1</sup> xaddamyáθa kúlla qəm-ťarđala.<sup>1</sup> mǎra síqu l-bəθa.<sup>1</sup>

(43) píşla tǎma<sup>1</sup> ʔánna xmiilla m-ğđáðe.<sup>1</sup> xmiilla m-ğđáðe,<sup>1</sup> mǎre ʔəlla díya<sup>1</sup> síq múr ʔla-xónax<sup>1</sup> qa-t ʔədyo<sup>1</sup> ʔáwði təgbir<sup>1</sup> ʔásqi l-şəda.<sup>1</sup> ʔána ʔ-ázən kəsləxu<sup>1</sup> l-bəθa.<sup>1</sup> mǎra xziθəm b-xəlmí<sup>1</sup> xóni dāwəqlux<sup>1</sup> darélux gu-zəndána,<sup>1</sup> gu-hàbsa.<sup>1</sup> (44) mǎre lá taxmónnən ʔána bəð-zəndána<sup>1</sup> lá-ʔaməş xónəx daréli gu-zəndána.<sup>1</sup> ʔəti síq múr ʔille díye<sup>1</sup> təmməl xoş-ʔəsqi l-şəda<sup>1</sup> w-ána ʔ-əθəm kəsləx.<sup>1</sup> qimtelə<sup>1</sup> siqtəla<sup>1</sup> mǎra ʔla-xóna díya<sup>1</sup> mǎra xóni<sup>1</sup> hóle zála ləbbi<sup>1</sup> ʔ-əsqət şédət ʔərbət wála.<sup>1</sup> ʔ-əsqeti<sup>1</sup> məθətli ʔərbət wála.<sup>1</sup> (45) ʔəmər xəθi<sup>1</sup> xázəx čú-bena lat-ťlibta hátxa mǎndiyáne díya hot-ťlaba!<sup>1</sup> mǎra xóni<sup>1</sup> hóle zála ləbbi.<sup>1</sup> mǎre dəx lítləx xáţə.<sup>1</sup> mǎra qímele<sup>1</sup> qédamta híwele xàbra,<sup>1</sup> síqela.<sup>1</sup> síqela l-ťura<sup>1</sup> ʔu-dúnye şurəθela dwíqta rəya.<sup>1</sup> Mǎmo síqe le l-bəθa<sup>1</sup> gu-qáşrət Mir-Žəndin.<sup>1</sup>

(38) Māmo was forced to return. He returned and said 'What is going on?' He said 'Your ring, this ring is mine'. She said 'It is yours, yes. My sister, Zine gave it to me. She said "I cannot keep it on my hand". I took it and put it on my hand. (I wish) that she would be married to you'.

(39) Qara Teždin said when he heard this, he said 'We are three brothers, Qara Teždin, Čəkko and Səppo. You also should become (one) of us and (make) four brothers. But I must first take the sister of Mir Zandin to marry her to you'.

(40) Now, he came and he went up onto the roof. He went up onto the roof to show him Jazira Bota. Zine and her maid-servants went down to the spring. Mir-Zandin said 'She (Zine) is going down to the spring'. He said 'Go down and meet her'. He (Māmo) said 'No, you go down to meet her'. Māmo said 'You go down to meet her'. He said 'No, you go down to meet her'. A word is beautiful in the mouth of its master.<sup>9</sup> (41) Māmo got up and sat on his horse. He went down to the spring. Zine came. Forty bridesmaids were with her. She came. He took her scarf in his hand and did this (with) the ring,<sup>10</sup> and she saw it. He greeted her. (42) She let his greeting go over her head.<sup>11</sup> She came and he said 'Give me a bowl of water'. She got up and gave him a bowl of water, and he drank. He drank and she sent them away, she sent all the maid-servants away. She said 'Go up to the house'.

(43) They remained there and had fun together. They had fun together and he said to her 'Go up and tell your brother that today they should make a plan to go out hunting. Then, I shall go to you at home'. She said 'I have seen in my dream that my brother will seize you and put you into a cell, in jail'. (44) He said 'I don't care about a cell. Your brother cannot put me in a cell. You go up and say to him that tomorrow they should go out hunting and I shall come to you'. She got up and said to her brother, she said 'Brother, I would like you to go up and hunt for wild sheep, you to go and bring me wild sheep'. (45) He says 'Sister, I don't think you have ever requested such things are you are requesting now'. She said 'Brother, I'd like it'. he said 'By all means'. Now, the next day he gave word and they went up. (When) they went up the mountain, it began to be overcast and rain. Māmo went up to the house, to the palace of Mir-Zandin.

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<sup>9</sup> I.e. it is easier said than done.

<sup>10</sup> I.e. he displayed it.

<sup>11</sup> Literally: She received his greeting over her head.

(46) 'imət dúnje šuréla ràya,<sup>1</sup> Mir-Zándin šodórre xa-xulàma.<sup>1</sup> móre šligən mur-tla-  
 Žine<sup>1</sup> kúčke mtagəbràla,<sup>1</sup> 'axni dūrən<sup>1</sup> la-mšélən siqlən řèda.<sup>1</sup> dúnje hóla ràya.<sup>1</sup> řəlyele<sup>1</sup>  
 'ina Mámó-w Žine<sup>1</sup> hóla nšáqa gđàde.<sup>1</sup> řəlyele<sup>1</sup> 'o-xulàma xázyalla mərə<sup>1</sup> mır-è-mən,<sup>1</sup>  
 márpo m-gđàde.<sup>1</sup> Mir-Zándin hóle řèle.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa tíwele hátxa<sup>1</sup> rəř-qāñəpa.<sup>1</sup> (47) 'é-ga  
 kúlla 'agāwátha řexiyel<sup>1</sup> kúlla b-'abbàye-waawa.<sup>1</sup> dóryalle 'abbáya b-reřəy<sup>1</sup> 'ay-mtúřyalla  
 bərə,<sup>1</sup> Žine.<sup>1</sup> řəlyele wira,<sup>1</sup> řlāma 'álləxu,<sup>1</sup> b-řéna b-řawàtha.<sup>1</sup> qəm-qabólle řlāme tíwa  
 l-'ára.<sup>1</sup> (48) 'ámər lat-nxəpa!<sup>1</sup> xá 'axwáři mira<sup>1</sup> dráya řlāmi 'əllux<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áti tíwa  
 l-řizux!<sup>1</sup> lámu la-qimlux.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər mır-e-mən 'əbēle<sup>1</sup> gu-diwən ř-ámreti řiza.<sup>1</sup> lá-meřət  
 řiza gu-diwən.<sup>1</sup> (49) Qára Téždin qimele rəř-gáne diye<sup>1</sup> móre mbəqər<sup>1</sup> bálki ř-ile kasə-  
 mra'a-lle,<sup>1</sup> bálki ř-ile reř-mra'a-lle<sup>1</sup> bálki ř-ile xa-dukəđ-mra'a-lle.<sup>1</sup> řla-har-hátxa.<sup>2</sup>  
 tíwele.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga qimele<sup>1</sup> Qára Téždin 'imət řisle 'əřəbi,<sup>1</sup> qəryele<sup>1</sup> Mámó biye diye<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup>  
 Qára Téždin,<sup>1</sup> 'ána-w 'ati<sup>1</sup> xonāwəřewəx,<sup>1</sup> bráye bār axrəte,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-ř-amrila.<sup>1</sup> háyyo<sup>1</sup>  
 hálla 'idux gu-'idi.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ř-amrónnux xə məndi.<sup>1</sup> (50) mára Qára Téždin zilele,<sup>1</sup> yúwəlla  
 'ide gu-'idət Mámó.<sup>1</sup> Mámó qəm-řaqólle řořiyářət Žine<sup>1</sup> mattíla gu-'idət Qára Téždin.<sup>1</sup>  
 Qára Téždin řile 'al-'asás hóla Žine bāre diye.<sup>1</sup> 'abbəyele dórya b-řéša.<sup>1</sup> qimele<sup>1</sup> řira-w<sup>1</sup>  
 zila.<sup>1</sup> (51) máre řla-báxte diye,<sup>1</sup> řəttiyel<sup>1</sup> máre řəttiyel<sup>1</sup> hál 'u-qəřřət hátxela.<sup>1</sup> Mámó-w  
 Žine hóla nřile gu-'oqāna.<sup>1</sup> deráxle núra b-bəřa.<sup>1</sup> maqđəxle bəřən<sup>1</sup> ta-t-bárya hāwər<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-náře kúlla ř-əři<sup>1</sup> mařmóye bəřa.<sup>1</sup> Mámó-w Žine<sup>1</sup> ř-əři m-gu-bəřa.<sup>1</sup> (52) mára 'ən-  
 ıla-hátxa<sup>1</sup> 'əp yala-zóra řáwe gu-dudíya 'u-qür'ən-řigəm<sup>1</sup> 'u-məqəđla kúlla.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər là,<sup>1</sup>  
 lá-mur hátxa.<sup>1</sup> yála mřəłətle<sup>1</sup> 'u-qür'ən-u<sup>1</sup> matřəxle bəřa.<sup>1</sup> bəřət Qára Téždin řawwə  
 řabáqe-weewa,<sup>1</sup> řawwə 'otáxe.<sup>1</sup> mára dóryalle núra b-bəřa.<sup>1</sup> dóryalle núra b-bəřa,<sup>1</sup>  
 řuryele qəđa<sup>1</sup> 'u-bréla hōsa<sup>1</sup> 'u-hāwər-ila.<sup>1</sup>

(53) Mir-Zándin móre řla-Bakürko,<sup>1</sup> xa-hudāya-weewa<sup>1</sup> dagāla.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa qimele<sup>1</sup>  
 plitēle<sup>1</sup> móre,<sup>1</sup> Mir-Zándin móre 'ólle diye<sup>1</sup> xzīgən 'áwwa mut-qəlele?<sup>1</sup> qimele plita<sup>1</sup>  
 xázya 'ina bəřət Qára Téždin qəđa.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər<sup>1</sup> mır-e-mən řú-məndi ləla.<sup>1</sup> řárrət kəlwele<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-yále hóla mřəřje biya<sup>1</sup> 'u-řráxa xəřa.<sup>1</sup>

(46) When it started raining, Mir-Zandin sent a servant. He said ‘Go down and tell Zine to prepare the living room. We have returned, we could not go out hunting, it is raining’. He came down and (found) Mămo and Zine kissing each other. He came (into the house) and said ‘My lord, let each other go! Mir-Zandin has come back’. He sat like this on the sofa.

(47) At that time all aghas and elders wore the abbaya gown. He put the abbaya over them. He hid her, Zine, behind him. He (Mir-Zandin) entered (and said) ‘Greetings’. ‘Greetings to you too’. He (Mămo) accepted his greetings while sitting on the floor.

(48) He (Mir-Zandin) said ‘Are you not ashamed!? A prince like me greets you and you are sitting on your bum! Why have you not got up?’ He said ‘My lord, it shameful for you to say “bum” in the reception room. Don’t say “bum” in the reception room.’

(49) Qara Teždin stood up and said ‘Ask, perhaps he has a stomachache, perhaps he has a headache, perhaps he has a pain somewhere. Why (treat him) in this way?’ He sat down. When Qara Teždin got angry, Mămo shouted at him ‘Qara Teždin, you and I are brothers, half-brothers,<sup>12</sup> as they say. Come put your hand in my hand. Let me tell you something.’

(50) Now, Qara Teždin went and put his hand in the hand of Mămo. Mămo took the locks of Zine and put them in the hand of Qara Teždin. Qara Teždin knew that Zine was behind him. He had put his abbaya over her. He got up, annoyed, and went off.

(51) He said to his wife, Səttiye, he said ‘Səttiye, the situation is like this. Mămo and Zine are in a predicament. Let’s set fire to the house. Let’s burn our house so that there will be a cry for help and everybody will come to put out the (burning) house. Mămo and Zine will escape from the house’.

(52) She said ‘If it is like that, let even the baby remain in the cradle and also the Qur’an, but burn everything’. He said ‘No, don’t say that. Bring the baby and the Qur’an out and we’ll set fire to the house’. The house of Qara Teždin consisted of seven storeys, seven rooms. Now, he set fire to the house. He set fire to the house, it began to burn and there was a commotion and call for help.

(53) Mir-Zandin said to Bakurko, who was a lying Jew, he went out and said, Mir-Zandin said to him, look, what noise is that? He went out and saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning. He (the Jew) said ‘My lord, it is nothing. It is a dog fight and children are watching it and shouting below’.

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<sup>12</sup> Kurd. *birayê ber axretê* ‘brothers before/for the hereafter’, i.e. half brothers, whose parents are married.

(54) *béθət Qára Tézđin qàða,*<sup>1</sup> *'áw mdugèlle*<sup>1</sup> *móre cù mändi.*<sup>1</sup> *bréla hàwərila,*<sup>1</sup> *hàwərila,*<sup>1</sup> *qàlele.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ɬla-xuláme diye*<sup>1</sup> *'o-t-wéwa 'əθya mən-şèda*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'ille diye*<sup>1</sup> *qu-plúṭ 'àti*<sup>1</sup> *xzi-mòdila qáşşət.*<sup>1</sup> *'áw dax-páləṭ gu-tàra*<sup>1</sup> *xáze 'ina béθət Qára Tézđin qàða.*<sup>1</sup> (55) *'ámər mür-e-mən*<sup>1</sup> *là-xa gáya,*<sup>1</sup> *b-şáwwa gáye*<sup>1</sup> *b-rèşux*<sup>1</sup> *béθət Qára Tézđin qídle.*<sup>1</sup> *Qára Tézđin 'ile xətne diye.*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni xáθət Mür-Zándin-ile şgila Qára Tézđin.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-bèna*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa*<sup>1</sup> *kribele Mür-Zándin*<sup>1</sup> *maxéla 'áqle diye*<sup>1</sup> *l-gótət Bakürko,*<sup>1</sup> *şawólte diye nápla tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'ázi hàwərila*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-'ázi.*<sup>1</sup> (56) *zilela xa-fátra m-áxxa l-támaha.*<sup>1</sup> *'ámər*<sup>1</sup> *yálla huðàya*<sup>1</sup> *kálba xàrama*<sup>1</sup> *şəxtàna*<sup>1</sup> *hal-'imən ɬ-áwət hátxa mdagóle.*<sup>1</sup> *béθət Qára Tézđin qáða*<sup>1</sup> *'u-hot-màra*<sup>1</sup> *şárrə kálwela.*<sup>1</sup> *suq-méθila şawólte.*<sup>1</sup> (57) *'áwwa síqele meθóye şawólte*<sup>1</sup> *'ina xazéla*<sup>1</sup> *Zíne-w Mámó*<sup>1</sup> *hóla m-ğəðəde mşawóθe.*<sup>1</sup> *'ámər hálli xá-məndi ɬ-àxlən*<sup>1</sup> *t-lá-pəşən kátwa qam-'áqlux.*<sup>1</sup> *'ámər ga-ğóra*<sup>1</sup> *'ána mò yánnux.*<sup>2</sup> *'ən-hawóttwa gu-'áθra diyi,*<sup>1</sup> *kú-məndi bəyóttwa t-yánwalux.*<sup>1</sup> *'ina 'ána hon-'əθya gu-'aθrèxu.*<sup>1</sup> *lázəm 'áxtu mhəyərítuli.*<sup>1</sup> (58) *'ámər lá'ət,*<sup>1</sup> *pəşən kátwa qam-'áqlux.*<sup>1</sup> *'ámər de-sí cù-məndi 'əllux la-tàrəş,*<sup>1</sup> *huðáya şpisa.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-şarádle zille.*<sup>1</sup> *zille,*<sup>1</sup> *'ánna náşe şurèla*<sup>1</sup> *maçmóye*<sup>1</sup> *béθət Qára Tézđin.*<sup>1</sup> (59) *şurèla*<sup>1</sup> *xáθe diye Səttíye,*<sup>1</sup> *Zíne mşadóre ɬla-Səttíye xáθa diya*<sup>1</sup> *həðàya*<sup>1</sup> *hadíya*<sup>1</sup> *ɬ-ile qídə beθə,*<sup>1</sup> *məndi hále,*<sup>1</sup> *cù məndi lítla pyàşa.*<sup>1</sup> *mşadóre 'əlla diya.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-náşe θèla*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-banéle béθe diye,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-'ášta şáwwa yomàne,*<sup>1</sup> *'aşírat rəbθa-wawa Jazíre Bóta.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-banéle béθe diye,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-tré 'otàxe,*<sup>1</sup> *tíwle gáwa diya.*<sup>1</sup> (60) *b-dártə xa-yòma*<sup>1</sup> *Bakürko qlíble móre ɬla-Mür-Zándin,*<sup>1</sup> *míre ɬ-amrónnux xà məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *'ina dūs-ila,*<sup>1</sup> *hammənət-'əlli.*<sup>1</sup> *móre mòdila.*<sup>2</sup> *Bakürko duglána mür.*<sup>1</sup> *mère*<sup>1</sup> *Mámó*<sup>1</sup> *bəyéla Zíne.*<sup>1</sup> (61) *'áyya Zíne 'iθən trè'e.*<sup>1</sup> *ða-xàhela*<sup>1</sup> *'u-ða-bàxtela.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa xşíwəle*<sup>1</sup> *Mür-Zándin bahş-báxte diyele.*<sup>1</sup> *léwa xşíwa*<sup>1</sup> *xàθe.*<sup>1</sup> *lá-məre bəye xàθux.*<sup>1</sup> *móre bəye Zíne.*<sup>1</sup> *ga-'əni Zíne*<sup>1</sup> *'áxní lèðəx.*<sup>1</sup> (62) *'áwwa mərə*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni*<sup>1</sup> *bàxta*<sup>1</sup> *şarifela.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-lítla hátxa şuláne*<sup>1</sup> *'u-məndi*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'ána yáðm 'áxxa l-tamma.*<sup>1</sup> *Bakürko mərə*<sup>1</sup> *'m-léla hátxa*<sup>1</sup>—*tíwe*<sup>1</sup> *míáli b-şətrənjàne*<sup>1</sup> *'o-xà'a gále*<sup>1</sup> *'asrār d-o-xèna.*<sup>1</sup> *'m-léla həðəx,*<sup>1</sup> *réşí prümle*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'ap-mál məndi diyi káwə qàlux.*<sup>1</sup>

(54) The house of Qara Teždin was burning, but he lied and said 'It is nothing'. There were shouts for help and a cry. He said to his servant, who had come from the hunt, he said to him 'Go out and see what is happening. When he went out into the doorway, he saw that the house of Qara Teždin was burning. (55) He said 'My lord (I swear) by your head, not once, but seven times, that the house of Qara Teždin has burnt down. Qara Teždin is his brother-in-law, that is Qara Teždin had married the sister of Mir-Zandin.<sup>13</sup> Then Mir Zandin was angry and kicked the side of Bakurko and his shoe fell off. They went for help. (56) A while passed with this and that (happening). He said 'Well, Jew, dirty, cursed dog, for how long will you lie? The house of Qara Teždin is burning and you say that it is a dog fight. Go and get my shoe!' (57) He went to bring his shoe and saw Zine and Mămo talking together. He said 'Give me something to eat so that I am not a thorn in your foot'.<sup>14</sup> He said 'Now, blind man, what can I give you? If you were in my country, I would give you whatever you wanted. But, I have come to your country. You must help me.' (58) He said 'Curses, I'll be a thorn in your foot'. He said 'Go! Nothing can be done with you, you dirty Jew'. He drove him out and he went away. He went off, and the people began to extinguish the house of Qara Teždin. (59) His sister Səttiye, Zine sent gifts to Səttiye her sister, now that their house was burnt down, and other things, since she no longer had anything. She sent them to her and people came and rebuilt his house, in six or seven days, since Jazire Bota was a large community. They rebuilt his house, one or two rooms, and he dwelt in them. (60) The next day Bakurko went back and said to Mir-Zandin, he said 'I'd like to tell you something. It is indeed true, believe me'. He said 'What is it? You liar Bakurko, tell me'. He said 'Mămo loves Zine'. (61) There are two of such (women called) Zine. One is his sister and one is his wife. Mir-Zandin thought (he was talking) about his wife. He did not think (he was talking about) his sister. He did not say 'He loves your sister'. He said 'He loves Zine'. Now, we do not know (by this statement) which Zine (was meant). (62) He said 'The wife is honourable, she does not have such affairs, I know this'—and so forth. Bakurko said 'If it is not so—they are sitting playing chess, revealing secrets to one another, if it is not so cut off my head and also let my property be yours'.

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<sup>13</sup> I.e. Səttiye.

<sup>14</sup> I.e. so that I do not divulge your secret.



(63) 'áwwa Bakürko<sup>1</sup> 'ithwale mándi ràba.<sup>1</sup> xa-huðàya-wewa.<sup>1</sup> 'ithwale t̄l̄à-bnaθa.<sup>1</sup> mára qim̄ele<sup>1</sup> qóryele qa-Mãm̄o,<sup>1</sup> 'əθyēle tíwa b-dìwən<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše kúlla t̄iwela<sup>1</sup> gu-dìwən.<sup>1</sup> šúryela m̄tawóle b-šətrənjàne.<sup>1</sup> t̄l̄á-gaye m̄t̄uwəlla,<sup>1</sup> ríqle Mír-Zándin.<sup>1</sup> lá-mšele b-Mãm̄o.<sup>1</sup>

(64) móre 'ána mò 'óðən b-áwwa náša,<sup>1</sup> Bakürko:<sup>1</sup> qim̄ele ríqa síqele móre t̄la-Z̄ine,<sup>1</sup> t-bāyēla Mãm̄o,<sup>1</sup> síqele m̀rè<sup>1</sup> Z̄ine<sup>1</sup> mùt wáða láxxa.<sup>2</sup> qu-mpárəj panjára.<sup>1</sup> xzégən xònəx<sup>1</sup> 'u-Mãm̄o t̄-íla tíwe m̄tawóle b-šətrənjàne<sup>1</sup> 'aw-álma t̄-íle jm̄iya t̄ama<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa l-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> (65) qim̄tela 'áp-ay gašóga h̄atxa<sup>1</sup> b-panjára<sup>1</sup> 'ina xzìθəlle<sup>1</sup> xásət Mãm̄o<sup>1</sup> 'əlla d̄iya,<sup>1</sup> xáše d̄iye 'əlla.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa šəlyele<sup>1</sup> móre t̄la-Mãm̄o 'u-Mír-Zándin,<sup>1</sup> m̀rè<sup>1</sup> m̄ir-e-mən<sup>1</sup> z̄awdela m̀nni,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-amrənnəxu<sup>1</sup> m̄šáxəlp̄u dukáne.<sup>1</sup> m̄šáxəlp̄u dukáne.<sup>1</sup>

(66) 'imət m̄šuxl̄əp̄la dukáne,<sup>1</sup> Mãm̄o 'éne n̄p̄illa l-panjára<sup>1</sup> 'u-Z̄ine<sup>1</sup> 'əy<sup>1</sup> tíwta gu-panjára.<sup>1</sup> šuréle là-draya bála l-šətrənjàne.<sup>1</sup> šuréle gašòqe<sup>1</sup> b-Z̄ine.<sup>1</sup> muxs̄ərre Mãm̄o.<sup>1</sup> t̄l̄à- 'iθaθa muxs̄ərre Mãm̄o.<sup>1</sup> móre 'əlle d̄iye<sup>1</sup> móre 'ána<sup>1</sup> dárdi léla d-əyya.<sup>1</sup> dárdi 'íla t-á-t gu-panjəriye.<sup>1</sup> 'əy<sup>1</sup> qəm-qatl̄áli 'u-marəq̄ali.<sup>1</sup> (67) Bakürko m̀rè<sup>1</sup> m̄ir-è-mən,<sup>1</sup> náθux lè-y-yatla<sup>1</sup> l-h̄atxa náše m̄šáwθi.<sup>1</sup> m̀rè<sup>1</sup> h́ola dm̄ixta<sup>1</sup> gu-šwíθa 'əll̄éθa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-gu-párrət nàme.<sup>1</sup> 'əy-íla t̄l̄ibi.<sup>1</sup> Qára Tēždin<sup>1</sup> qim̄ele qa-gáne d̄iye.<sup>1</sup> 'anna b̄āyi qat̄l̄ile Mãm̄o.<sup>1</sup> Mír-Zándin qim̄ele<sup>1</sup> b̄āye qat̄əlle.<sup>1</sup> (68) qim̄ele Qára Tēždin<sup>1</sup> gáne d̄iye<sup>1</sup> m̀rè<sup>1</sup> 'ána Qára Tēždin 'íwən<sup>1</sup> 'u- 'itli t̄l̄à xonāwáθa<sup>1</sup> bráye bar-axr̄ate-wəx.<sup>1</sup> 'o-mənnəxu t-dāqər<sup>1</sup> b-Mãm̄o,<sup>1</sup> m-áxxa hál qasr̄ət-m̄ira<sup>1</sup> t-od̄əxle d̄əmma.<sup>1</sup> (69) 'u-qim̄ele xóne d̄iye<sup>1</sup> ə̀kko<sup>1</sup> báθre móre 'ána š̄kko šed̄ānən.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa sépi šq̄ilənne b-əmm̄ā-dawə.<sup>1</sup> 'o-mənnəxu t-hárrək máxe l-Mãm̄o<sup>1</sup> réše d̄iye m̄qadəqd̄ənne<sup>1</sup> 'áqle w-iθáθe 'u-réše p̄er̄m̄ənna.<sup>1</sup> (70) qim̄ele 'o-xóne d̄iye S̄əppo 'o-t-t̄l̄àθa.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-biš šed̄ána.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa m̄ənna lá-šbirre r̄h̄wəle gu-dìwən.<sup>1</sup> Mír-Zándin c̄irre.<sup>1</sup> síqle l-b-èθa.<sup>1</sup> (71) móre t̄la-ȳəmm̄e d̄iye,<sup>1</sup> móre ȳəmm̄i<sup>1</sup> 'ədyo<sup>1</sup> t̄l̄àθna<sup>1</sup> xonāwáθət Qára Tēždin<sup>1</sup> mopíšəlle ləbb̄əy.<sup>1</sup> móra t̄la-mòdi b̄abi.<sup>1</sup> móre h̄āl 'u-qás̄ət h̄atxela.<sup>1</sup> móra br̄oni.<sup>1</sup> léle 'əθya báθər b̄əxtux.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyēle b̄āye x̄əθux.<sup>1</sup> x̄əθux b̄āȳale.<sup>1</sup>

(63) This Bakurko had a lot of property. He was a Jew. He had three daughters. Now, he called for Mămo and he came and sat in the reception room, and everybody else sat down in the reception room. They began playing chess. They played three times and Mir-Zandin lost<sup>15</sup> and was unable to beat Mămo. (64) He said ‘What should I do with this man, Bakurko?’ He (Bakurko) ran up and said to Zine, whom Mămo loved, he went up and said ‘Zine, what are you doing here? Go and look out of the window. See your brother and Mămo who are sitting playing chess, the crowd that is gathered there, and so forth’. (65) She got up, looked through the window and saw the back of Mămo (turned) towards her, his back was (turned) towards her. He went down and said to Mămo and Mir-Zandin, he said ‘My lord, may I humbly suggest you change places.<sup>16</sup> Change places’. (66) When they changed places, Mămo’s eyes fell on the window and (saw that) Zine was sitting in the window. He began not to pay attention to the chess. He began to look at Zine. Mămo lost. Mămo lost three rounds. He said to him, he said ‘My suffering is not from this (game), my suffering is from that one at the window. She has killed me and made me lose’. (67) Bakurko said ‘My lord, don’t give your ear to such people speaking’. He said ‘She is asleep in the bed upstairs, in ostrich feathers. She is my betrothed’. Qara Teždin stood up. They wanted to kill Mămo. Mir-Zandin got up and wanted to kill him. (68) Qara Teždin himself said ‘I am Qara Teždin. I have three brothers. We are half brothers. Whoever of you touches Mămo, we shall scatter his blood<sup>17</sup> from here until the palace of the prince’. (69) His brother čəkko stood up after him and said ‘I am mad Čəkko. I have bought this sword of mine for a hundred gold coins. Whoever of you moves and strikes Mămo, I’ll chop up his head and cut off his legs, hands and head’. (70) His third brother Səppo stood up. He was more mad (than the others). Nobody dared speak to him in the reception room. Mir-Zandin was annoyed. He went up home. (71) He said to his mother, he said ‘Mother, today the three brothers of Qara Teždin became angry’. She said ‘Why, my dear’. He said ‘The situation is like this’. She said, my son, he has not come after your wife. He has come (since) he loves your sister. Your sister loves him.

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<sup>15</sup> Literally: ran away.

<sup>16</sup> Literally: It is too much for me, let me say to you, change places.

<sup>17</sup> Literally: we shall make him bleed.

(72) 'áti qam-ʔénə d-ánna botanàye<sup>1</sup> mšádərɾa t-ázi méθi xàrje.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔàti<sup>1</sup> xəlāl-xà-šeta<sup>1</sup> 'áti dúqle gu-səjn.<sup>1</sup> qam-t-àθi<sup>1</sup> mpálətle mən-hàbsa.<sup>1</sup> mbárəxla xáθux 'əlle.<sup>1</sup> w-ap-ʔəw<sup>1</sup> xa-brónət málkəle,<sup>1</sup> xa-gòrəle<sup>1</sup> 'u-šapìrəle.<sup>1</sup> qá-mo le-y-yátla xáθux 'əlle.<sup>21</sup>

(73) 'əwəwə<sup>1</sup> qóryele móre Qára Tēždìn 'u-čəkkə 'u-Səppo,<sup>1</sup> móre həyyo<sup>1</sup> móra há mò báyət.<sup>21</sup> móre sógən méθo xárj-u bájət botanàye<sup>1</sup> 'u-ána xáθi t-yánna tla-Məmo.<sup>1</sup> móra 'ən-ʔəxni t-əzəx,<sup>1</sup> là mtałpətle,<sup>1</sup> là-daqrət bíye.<sup>1</sup> móre làʔa.<sup>1</sup>

(74) 'ánna zilela<sup>1</sup> xà-šeta.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna dax-t-ila zíle,<sup>1</sup> Məmo dóryəlle gu-zəndàna.<sup>1</sup> zəndàna 'ile hàbsa,<sup>1</sup> səjn.<sup>1</sup> dóryəlle tàma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yóma tla-yóma-w<sup>1</sup> hal-mátya šeta.<sup>1</sup> xa-bəna<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela.<sup>1</sup> Qára Tēždìn 'u-čəkkə-w Səppo 'əθyela tlaθna<sup>1</sup> l-tárət Qára Tēždìn.<sup>1</sup> Səttiye<sup>1</sup> síqtela l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> hóla qəm-xazýala<sup>1</sup> θéla tla swaríye<sup>1</sup> l-tárət bəθa.<sup>1</sup> (75) har-m-rəš-gàre,<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> Qára Tēždìn,<sup>1</sup> m-yómə t-itu zile<sup>1</sup> mēθóye xàrje,<sup>1</sup> mēθóye zúze tla-Mír-Zəndìn,<sup>1</sup> m-ó-yoma dwiqəlle Məmo gu-hàbsa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-həl-ʔədyo.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna zilela<sup>1</sup> tlaθna,<sup>1</sup> léla muníxe zilela<sup>1</sup> l-béθət Mír-Zəndìn.<sup>1</sup> (76) móra hadíya qałlxlux.<sup>1</sup> lítlux pyáša pərsət,<sup>1</sup> díya qałlxlux.<sup>1</sup> yába qa-mò.<sup>21</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> 'əxni<sup>1</sup> mórəx 'áti là-daqrət b-Məmo.<sup>1</sup> hót m-ó-yomə t-ix 'əxni-zíle 'áti dóryəlle gu-zəndàna,<sup>1</sup> gu-hàbsa.<sup>1</sup> (77) móra hadíya báyə mpəłtətle<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáθux mbarxátla 'əlle,<sup>1</sup> díya qałlxlux.<sup>1</sup> Bakúrko<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'əxni tla-mò šaləx 'əxni mpəłtəxle.<sup>21</sup> xoš-Zíne<sup>1</sup> mšaqlàla gána,<sup>1</sup> dárya dáwa b-gána,<sup>1</sup> mxamlàla gána,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šáqla 'árbi barbiyáθa mənna,<sup>1</sup> 'árbi bnàθa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-sálya mpəłtəla<sup>1</sup> w-əxni 'əxxa t-ódəx xlúla.<sup>1</sup> (78) móre dùs-ila Bakúrko.<sup>1</sup> qimtela<sup>1</sup> 'əy blígtela-w<sup>1</sup> mára tla-d-án xaddamyáθa díya 'árbi bnàθa<sup>1</sup> mtagbóre gána.<sup>1</sup> 'əw<sup>1</sup> šaqálla gána Bakúrko rəqa,<sup>1</sup> šàle<sup>1</sup> kəs-Məmo.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər<sup>1</sup> Məmo,<sup>1</sup> Məmo,<sup>1</sup> məri-llux<sup>1</sup> hálli xá-məndi t-əxləna<sup>1</sup> là-yiwlux 'əlli.<sup>1</sup> hadíya xonəwəθux,<sup>1</sup> mərətəwa xonəwəθi,<sup>1</sup> 'əyya xá-šeta hóla támma ləxxa léla mbaqorəllux.<sup>1</sup> hadíya t-əθya Zíne,<sup>1</sup> 'árbi barbiyáθa mənna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-tálba xátər mənnum<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-əθe gáwra l-xa-xəna.<sup>1</sup> (79) 'əwəwə là hummónne qamáye.<sup>1</sup> móre də-xoš-gəwra<sup>1</sup> xo-lán har-ána gəwra<sup>1</sup> 'iθən biš-gùrə mənni<sup>1</sup> biš-šapìrə mənni-w<sup>1</sup> biš-xoš-gùrə.<sup>1</sup> là hummónne.<sup>1</sup> ha-t-kazəla<sup>1</sup> bráta θàya.<sup>1</sup>

(72) Before the eyes of these people of Botan, send them (his relatives) off to collect taxes and keep him for a year in prison. Before they return, release him from prison. Marry your sister to him. He is, moreover, the son of a king, he is a great man and a handsome man. Why won't you give your sister to him?' (73) He called and said 'Qara Teždin, Čəppo and Səppo', he said 'Come'. He said 'Go and collect the taxes of the people of Botan and I shall give my sister to Māmo'. They said 'If we go, don't harm him, don't touch him'. He said 'No'.

(74) They went away for a year. When they had gone, he put Māmo into a cell. A cell is a prison, a jail. He put him there, from day to day until a year had passed.<sup>18</sup> Then they came back. Qara Teždin, Čəkko and Səppo, the three of them came back to the door of Qara Teždin. Səttiye went up onto the roof. She saw that three horsemen had come to the door of the house. (75) While still on the roof she said 'Qara Teždin from the day that you went away to collect taxes, to collect money for Mir-Zandin, from that day he has held Māmo in prison, until today'. The three of them went, they did not rest but went to the house of Mir-Zandin. (76) They said 'We shall kill you right now. You have no chance. We shall kill you now'. 'But why?' They said 'We said that you should not touch Māmo. From the day that we went away you have held him in a cell, in prison'. (77) They said 'You must release him now and marry your sister to him, otherwise we shall kill you right now'. Bakurko said 'Why should we go down and release him? Let Zine make herself elegant, put gold on her, put on festive clothes and take forty bridesmaids with her. Let her come down and bring them out (with her) and we shall hold the wedding here'. (78) He said 'That's true, Bakurko'. She got up. She busied herself, speaking to her forty maid-servants, preparing herself. He, Bakurko, took himself off and ran down to Māmo. He said 'Māmo, Māmo, I said to you give me something to eat, but you did not give it to me. Now your brothers—you used to say "my brothers"—it has been a year that they have been here but have not asked for you. Now Zine is going to come with forty bridesmaids. She is going to say goodbye to you and marry somebody else'. (79) He did not believe at first. He said 'Let her marry, I am not the only man. There are those who are better men than me, more handsome, better men'. He did not believe it, until he saw the girl coming.

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<sup>18</sup> Literally: a year arrived.

(80) 'è-bena' 'àxxa' Zíne hóla ðlába mən-ʔalàha,<sup>1</sup> hóla màra' ya-ʔalaha,<sup>1</sup> háwe xáxi hál-ʔε-gət 'ána mátyən 'álle díye.<sup>1</sup> şlayela Zíne' m-qúrbət hàbsa' 'u-áw xzàýalla' 'árbi bnáða mánna díya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-θáya kásle díye,<sup>1</sup> hummənne l-Bakúrkó.<sup>1</sup> (81) móre díya t-áθya tábla xàtər mánni.<sup>1</sup> 'áw' dóryele xèla,<sup>1</sup> sírewa zənjíre b-rušàne.<sup>1</sup> dóryele xèla' ta-t-šarətla gáne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔáyya zənjír 'áwra 'ánna waríðət qðàle,<sup>1</sup> kasxàla' 'u-nàpəl.<sup>1</sup> šurèle dəmma' şláya m-naxíre díye.<sup>1</sup> (82) 'áy jal-jálde wírra 'álle díye' móra lá-dri xélət gànux.<sup>1</sup> 'ána θíθən mpalţánnux m-gu-səjən.<sup>1</sup> móre lát-θiθa 'ána mpalótəlli m-gu-səjən.<sup>1</sup> θiθət şqála 'áyya róxi mən-gu-gàni.<sup>1</sup> móra lá'a!<sup>1</sup> 'ána θiθən mpalţánnux' 'àxxa l-təmma,<sup>1</sup> lá-dri xèla!<sup>1</sup> (83) 'áwra hədəx' mşawòθe' 'u-màýəθ.<sup>1</sup> 'imət mítle' šurèla' jnàna' 'u-bxàya' 'u-mşawóre tla-xóna-w Bakúrkó.<sup>1</sup> qímela 'əθye.<sup>1</sup> 'é-bena' 'àxxa kúlla jnanyàθela.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga zmárela b-tábut díye.<sup>1</sup> márela tábut díye hóya smóqta-w xwàrta-w' 'u-Mámo mítle qədəmta-w' 'ána mēθən 'aşərta.<sup>1</sup> (84) 'u-šurèla hátxa jnàna bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> móra Bakúrkó 'áw-ile' sàbab wíya.<sup>1</sup> móra mēθítule kəsli!<sup>1</sup> múθye Bakúrkó kásla díya.<sup>1</sup> (85) 'áw' qam-t-asəqwa móre tla-bnàθe.<sup>1</sup> mərə' mäsíθu.<sup>1</sup> hədíya 'ána t-àsqən,<sup>1</sup> Zíne' maštáli sàmma' 'u-maqðàli.<sup>1</sup> 'ina m-báθər maqðàli' 'áw-qətma' šaqlítule' mxamítule.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-Zíne mēθa,<sup>1</sup> mattíla kəs-Mámo,<sup>1</sup> tráθney hátxa,<sup>1</sup> 'o-qətma derítule b-rèša-w' líllexu şúla.<sup>1</sup> (86) qímèle síqele Bakúrkó,<sup>1</sup> síqa kəs-Zíne.<sup>1</sup> Zíne màra' qà-mo wídlux hátxa?<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'ána cí-məndi lan-wíða.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər bas-şàwθa 'ána mşáwθən,<sup>1</sup> cí-məndi lan-wíða.<sup>1</sup> lán-'ána qtilèlle.<sup>1</sup> móra hállule' tása,<sup>1</sup> tásət míya.<sup>1</sup> mlóla sàmma-w hallùle-lle.<sup>1</sup> (87) yíwəlle sàmma báθər gəðàðe' há-t-ile nřila.<sup>1</sup> dóryəlla níta b-rése díye 'u-muqðàlle.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela bnáθe díye,<sup>1</sup> šqíle 'o-qətma,<sup>1</sup> kúlla dóryəlle gu-xa-júlla' 'u-múttəlle tāmàha.<sup>1</sup> w-áyya šurèla' ðlába mən-ʔalaha ta-t-méθa 'up-əy.<sup>1</sup> mřila.<sup>1</sup> 'ixála là xílla.<sup>1</sup> šurèla bxàya.<sup>1</sup> (88) θéle xóna díya Mír-Zàndin' móre xàθi' bássa bxəgən' bássa wud-tàzi.<sup>1</sup> kut-bəyət' t-yánnəx 'álle díye.<sup>1</sup> mùr,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-yánnəx 'álle díye.<sup>1</sup> (89) móra m-báθər Mámó,<sup>1</sup> là-bəyən' là náša' 'u-là 'áti mşáwθət.<sup>1</sup> là-mşawθət!<sup>1</sup> 'up-xa la-bəyən,<sup>1</sup> 'àna' mēθən báθər Mámó.<sup>1</sup> šurèla jnàna-w' šurèla mxáya b-gàna-w' šurèla la-xàla' há-t-up-ʔáyya mítla.<sup>1</sup> 'áθela myáθa 'up-əy.<sup>1</sup>

(80) Then, over here,<sup>19</sup> Zine pleaded to God and said ‘Oh God, let him be well until I reach him’. Zine came down near to the prison and he saw her and forty girls with her. She was coming towards him, and he then believed Bakurko. (81) He said ‘She is coming now to say goodbye to me’. He struggled (to move). He had been tethered with chains on his shoulders. He struggled to release himself. The chain went into the veins of his neck and cut them. He fell down. Blood started flowing from his neck. (82) She quickly entered (and found) him. She said ‘Do not struggle. I have come to bring you out of the prison’. He said ‘You have not come to bring me out of the prison. You have come to take my spirit from me’. She said ‘No! I have come to bring you out’—and so forth—‘Don’t struggle!’ (83) He spoke thus and died. When he died, she began to cry in lament and weep, cursing her brother and Bakurko. They came and there they all lamented and sang (dirges) over his coffin. She said ‘Let his coffin be red and white. Mămo died in the morning and I shall die in the evening’. (84) She began to lament over him like that. She said ‘It was Bakurko who was the cause’. She said ‘Bring him to me’. They brought Bakurko to her. (85) Before he went up he said to his daughters, he said ‘Listen. Now I shall go up and Zine will give me poison to drink and burn me. After she burns me, take the ashes and keep them. (When) Zine dies and they put her with Mămo, both together, put this ash on them and then leave it alone’. (86) Bakurko went up, he went up to Zine. Zine said ‘Why did you do this?’ He said ‘I did not do anything’. He said ‘I just talked, I did not do anything. I did not kill him’. She said ‘Give him a bowl, a bowl of water. Fill it with poison and give it to him’. (87) They gave him poison (one bowl) after another, until he fell. They put petrol on him and burnt him. His daughters came, took the ashes, put them all in a cloth and put them aside. She began to ask God to let her also die. She became ill. She did not eat. They began to weep. (88) Her brother Mir-Zandin came and said ‘My sister, do not weep any more. Do not mourn any more. Whoever you love, I’ll give you to him. Say, I’ll give you to him’. (89) She said ‘After Mămo I don’t love anybody and don’t you speak to me. Do not speak! I don’t love anybody. I shall die after (the death of) Mămo’. She began to lament and strike herself. She began not to eat, until she also died. Death befell her also.

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<sup>19</sup> I.e. in a different place.

(90) *mattóyalla gu-qáwra tráθna mǝ-gǝðǝde.<sup>1</sup> sáqela bnáθǝ Bakürko.<sup>1</sup> 'áw-qǝtma*  
*dráyalle b-rǝš-qáwra diyèy.<sup>1</sup> qyàmela<sup>1</sup> xá-zawgǝt xoriyàθa.<sup>1</sup> xá-zawga bráyele b-rǝšy.<sup>1</sup>*  
 (91) *qàwra<sup>1</sup> 'íθǝn xa-káwwe gàwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóle 'íθǝn jawètta,<sup>1</sup> jawáttǝt práma qèse.<sup>1</sup> 'i-qéma*  
*xa-dalíθǝt xùwwe<sup>1</sup> 'i-xáǝða l-án tre-xoriyàθa.<sup>1</sup> kút 'ásǝq qamáya xazéla 'ε-dalíθa brìθǝll-*  
*ani<sup>1</sup> parǝmla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hal-hadíya pyásǝla 'ε-dükθa.<sup>1</sup> šwiqáli táma-w θéli làxxa.<sup>1</sup>*

(90) They put them in the grave both together. The daughters of Bakurko went up and spread the ashes over their grave. A pair of poplar trees sprang up. A pair (of trees) grew over them. (91) There is a hole in the grave. There is a chopper, a chopper to cut wood. A wild vine grows up and winds around those two poplar trees. The first to see the vine growing on those (trees) cuts it down. That place remains to this day. I have left it there and have come here.



Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'áwowa Mórza Pāmāt<sup>1</sup> plíša-weewa mən-mđite dīye.<sup>1</sup> xá gáwōra xelána-w zāxma wéwa.<sup>1</sup> lá qəm-mattúla qam-málka.<sup>1</sup> plítle l-tūra.<sup>1</sup> plítle mxéle l-tūra,<sup>1</sup> 'u-γ-áwəðwa genawùtha<sup>1</sup> 'u-qačaxùtha<sup>1</sup> 'u-qaťálwa nàše,<sup>1</sup> rába zaləmwa.<sup>1</sup> (2) píšle har-gu-tūra,<sup>1</sup> xméle gu-tūra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-γ-asáqwa l-šèda,<sup>1</sup> meθéwa téré 'u-heywáne,<sup>1</sup> meθéwa məndiyáne,<sup>1</sup> meθéwa gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>

(3) xà-yoma<sup>1</sup> sìqle<sup>1</sup> l-šèda,<sup>1</sup> tñiqle<sup>1</sup> xa-'àrya bíye dīye.<sup>1</sup> tñiqle xa-'àrya bíye dīye,<sup>1</sup> zílle táləb 'àrya.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale 'ásbab<sup>1</sup> tópe xelánta 'iθwale.<sup>1</sup> dwíqele 'ýlle dīye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mùθyálle.<sup>1</sup> dwíqele qa-'àrya<sup>1</sup> 'u-mùθyálle.<sup>1</sup> dóryalle gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ítte qàšra.<sup>1</sup> hóle mubányalle qásra góra trè tabáqe.<sup>1</sup> (4) xa-béna hádəx 'u-zilla dána<sup>1</sup> 'u-θèla.<sup>1</sup> sìqle dwíqle dəbba.<sup>1</sup> dwíqle, kùl-tāhər heywáne dwíqle.<sup>1</sup> muθéle kùlla gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> tíwle l-xóde dīye tāmaha.<sup>1</sup> 'an-heywáne hóla tāmaha.<sup>1</sup> (5) 'u-tèla<sup>1</sup> qimle<sup>1</sup> móre t-amrənnəxu gállək nàše,<sup>1</sup> gállək heywáne.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áxni heywánewəx<sup>1</sup> 'əwáha bəγ-nàšele.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni hox-xmála b-ğəðəde,<sup>1</sup> 'əw xa-l-xóde dīye tāmaha.<sup>1</sup> lèle xmála.<sup>1</sup> xá-mənnən ləzəm páyəš gōra<sup>1</sup> ta-t-mtagəbrəxle 'o-nàša.<sup>1</sup> (6) móre har-'àti.<sup>1</sup> xákma móre 'àrya,<sup>1</sup> xákma móre dəbba,<sup>1</sup> xákma móre nəmra,<sup>1</sup> xákma móre har-'àti.<sup>1</sup> móre 'àna.<sup>2</sup> móra hè.<sup>1</sup> móra šəmmux 'ile Hasan-Āğa.<sup>1</sup> Hasan-Āğa.<sup>2</sup> móra hè,<sup>1</sup> Hasan-Āğa.<sup>1</sup>

(7) ya-Hasan-Āğa,<sup>1</sup> ráyux mòdila.<sup>2</sup> móre xzo-t-amrənnəxu.<sup>1</sup> 'əwáha t-ile xóde dīye bəyéle bəxta.<sup>1</sup> ləzəm 'əzəx méθəxle bəxta.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áxxa 'iθən šurüt.<sup>1</sup> šártux mòdila.<sup>2</sup> móre tla-dəbba.<sup>1</sup> dəbba,<sup>1</sup> bəyənnəx xəlāl<sup>1</sup> xà-šabθa<sup>1</sup> 'əzət<sup>1</sup> dáwqət xa-'ərba.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mpaltátle bəšra.<sup>1</sup> maθyátle básra ləxxa,<sup>1</sup> t-axləxle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áwowa gólđa dīye nablátle<sup>1</sup> kəs-zarəngər.<sup>1</sup> (8) móre kut-məsta<sup>1</sup> xa-zága daryət bīya.<sup>1</sup> yátla qa-d-àni<sup>1</sup> 'ina gəldəx šalxənnə.<sup>1</sup> xəlāl tmányà yománe<sup>1</sup> ləzəm maθyátli<sup>1</sup> gólđa hādəx.<sup>1</sup> dāx lītlix xətər,<sup>1</sup> Hásan 'Āğa.<sup>1</sup> (9) dəbba ziltela.<sup>1</sup> dəbba ziltela,<sup>1</sup> zílta zilta,<sup>1</sup> xzítela xa-'ərba-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-muθèθəlləla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-qimela.<sup>1</sup> dəbba 'ila təbbəxta,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mbašálta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'àrya<sup>1</sup> xa-gòtele<sup>1</sup> 'u-nəmra xa-gòta,<sup>1</sup> 'anna hurrəs-ila.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ánna xène,<sup>1</sup> heywáne xène,<sup>1</sup> 'áni kùlla<sup>1</sup> gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> lítla ču-šùla.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) Mərza Pəmət had fought against his town. He was a powerful, tough man. He did not yield to the king. He went to the mountains. He went off to the mountains and engaged in robbery and brigandry and murdered people. He was very cruel. (2) He stayed only in the mountains. He lived in the mountains. He used to go out hunting and bring back birds and animals, bring back various things, bring them back home.

(3) One day he went out hunting and a lion met him. A lion met him and he went to attack the lion. He had a weapon. He had a powerful gun. He caught it and brought it back. He caught the lion and brought it back. He put it in the house. He had a villa. He had built a large villa with two storeys. (4) Some time went by. He went up and caught a bear. He caught all kinds of animals. He brought them all back to the house. He lived by himself in one part<sup>1</sup> and the animals in another part. (5) A fox got up and said 'I say to you everybody, all you animals' He said 'We are animals, that one is a human. We are enjoying ourselves here. He is all alone there and is not enjoying himself. One of us should become a leader<sup>2</sup> so that we can look after that person. (6) (Somebody) said 'You yourself', some said 'The lion', some said 'The bear', some said 'The tiger', some said 'You yourself'. He said 'Me?' They said 'Yes'. They said 'Your name is Ḥasan Ağa'. 'Ḥasan Ağa?' They said 'Yes. Ḥasan Ağa'.

(7) 'Ḥasan Ağa, what's your opinion?' He said 'Look, I'll tell you. That man who is alone needs a wife. We must go and bring him a wife. But here there conditions'. 'What is your condition?' He said to the bear 'Bear, I want you within a week to go and catch a sheep and take out the meat. Bring the meat here for us to eat. Take its skin to the goldsmith'. (8) He said 'Put a bell on every hair. Give it to them, otherwise I'll flay *your* skin. Within eight days you must bring back the skin like this (with bells)'. 'By all means, Ḥasan Ağa'. (9) The bear went off. The bear went on her way, saw a sheep and brought it back. They set to work. The bear was a cook, that is (she did) the cooking. The lion on one side and the tiger on the other side were the guards. The others, the other animals, were all in the house, without any job.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: over there.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: become big.

(10) mára dábba muθéθalla 'ay-wàna,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xilalle básra-w<sup>1</sup> qímtela šqíltela 'o-gòlda-w<sup>1</sup> nobáltalle<sup>1</sup> kəs-zarìngər.<sup>1</sup> zarìngər<sup>1</sup> qímele wiðele<sup>1</sup> kut-mósta zàga dóryalle<sup>1</sup> 'u-mùthyalle.<sup>1</sup> mùthyalle,<sup>1</sup> híwtəllela ʔla-təla.<sup>1</sup> (11) móre ʔla-dəbba.<sup>1</sup> xzà.<sup>1</sup> 'àti<sup>1</sup> lawšátte 'áwəwa gòlda<sup>1</sup> l-gànx.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'àna<sup>1</sup> marəqðənnəx.<sup>1</sup> ʔ-ázəx gu-mòða.<sup>1</sup> 'àna marəqðənnəx,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'àti də-ráqðət šəšátla gànəx.<sup>1</sup> brátət málka,<sup>1</sup> pálʔa l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> (12) símarxa ʔ-áθya šaqlàla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-maθyàla<sup>1</sup> ta-t-magurəxla Mórza Pəmət.<sup>1</sup> móra dāx lítlux xàʔər,<sup>1</sup> Hāsan 'Ága.<sup>1</sup> xa-bəna,<sup>1</sup> zilela.<sup>1</sup>

(13) simàrxā<sup>1</sup> wiðtela gána hàzər.<sup>1</sup> simàrxā yàðət módila.<sup>1</sup> ʔèrəla<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'əy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-bəna<sup>1</sup> simàrxā<sup>1</sup> zíltela xðàra<sup>1</sup> rəš-mòða.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dəbba<sup>1</sup> 'u-təla<sup>1</sup> zàlela hédì hédì<sup>1</sup> mášila zàla dəbba.<sup>1</sup> zíltela qam-tàrət qásrət málka,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mʔašóyalla gána hàtxa<sup>1</sup> tá-t brátət málka ʔ-ásqa rəš-gàre.<sup>1</sup> 'ina gu-panjára gásqa xàzya<sup>1</sup> mòdile<sup>1</sup> módi ləle.<sup>1</sup> (14) mára tēla har-mxàyele 'šlla díya-w<sup>1</sup> šràxele.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-wàðtela<sup>1</sup> nàra-nàra díya<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áw zmàrele bíya.<sup>1</sup> (15) xa-bəna<sup>1</sup> brátət málka<sup>1</sup> plíʔtela l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> dax-ʔ-ila plíʔta l-gàre,<sup>1</sup> 'o-simàrxā mxíθalla gána 'šlla díya 'u-muθéθalla-w<sup>1</sup> kəs-Mórza Pəmət.<sup>1</sup> xa-bəna<sup>1</sup> bréla hàwər<sup>1</sup> díya 'áxxa l-tamma<sup>1</sup> 'u-báθər tēla-w<sup>1</sup> báθər dəbba,<sup>1</sup> ríqla mʔéla l-qàsra,<sup>1</sup> qásrət Mórza Pəmət.<sup>1</sup>

(16) 'imət mʔéla tàmā,<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazéla-'ay tàmā kəsle díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-bèla 'əlle díye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-pišla bāxta mónne díye.<sup>1</sup> zilla xa-fàtra,<sup>1</sup> ʔlāθa 'arpà-yarxe<sup>1</sup> mónne díye.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-kút-yom y-asəqwa l-šəda.<sup>1</sup> məθéwa 'ilàna<sup>1</sup> rəš-rušáne díye.<sup>1</sup> zàxma-wəwa.<sup>1</sup> (17) 'u-tàhérət ʔère rəša,<sup>1</sup> qəqwàne-u<sup>1</sup> yàwne-u<sup>1</sup> məndiyáne rábe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-məθéwala ʔla-d-án heywàne<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔ-axliwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'aw y-axəliwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšurəla 'áp-'ay xála mónna díya.<sup>1</sup>

(18) pišla<sup>1</sup> xá-'əšta šáwəwa yàrxə,<sup>1</sup> málka mərə,<sup>1</sup> 'àna<sup>1</sup> kut-dax-ʔ-ila bràti,<sup>1</sup> báyən 'əni məθela.<sup>1</sup> kút məθela<sup>1</sup> t-yánne zúze ràba.<sup>1</sup> málkəle dé.<sup>1</sup> (19) xá'a ʔóto sère<sup>1</sup> mára 'àna maθyánne.<sup>1</sup> móra 'àna maθyàna<sup>1</sup> 'u-xazətla.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'íli haqqùθi.<sup>1</sup> móre dax-lítləx xàʔər.<sup>1</sup> (20) mára tíwtela gu-lina.<sup>1</sup> lina,<sup>1</sup> maʔrya masine<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwala.<sup>1</sup> yáni 'əy<sup>1</sup> hálíkòptər y-áwa,<sup>1</sup> ʔla-d-áw zàwəna.<sup>1</sup> mára tíwtela gáwe díye,<sup>1</sup> θíθela qírəbət qásrət Mórza Pəmət.<sup>1</sup> mʔušéθalle lína díya<sup>1</sup> 'ap-plíʔtela m-gáwe díye.<sup>1</sup>

(10) Now, the bear brought that sheep back and they ate the meat. She (the bear) took the skin to the goldsmith. The goldsmith put a bell on every hair and brought it back. He brought it back and she (the bear) gave it to the fox. (11) He said to the bear ‘Look! You wear that skin on you and I shall make you dance. We’ll go into the town. I’ll make you dance. You dance and shake yourself. The daughter of the king will come out onto the roof. (12) The *simarxa* bird will come and take her. It will take her in order for us to marry her to Mərza Pämət’. She said ‘By all means, Hasan Ağa. Then they went off.

(13) The *simarxa* prepared herself. Do you know what the *simarxa* is? It is a kind of bird.<sup>3</sup> Then the *simarxa* went and circled over the town. The bear and the fox went slowly. The bear was walking. She (the *simarxa*) went in front of the door of the palace of the king and hid herself until the daughter of the king went onto the roof. She could look and see what was happening through the window. (14) Now, the fox was beating her (the bear), crying out. She was giving off her roar and he was singing along with her. Then, the daughter of the king came out onto the roof. (15) As soon as she came out onto the roof, the *simarxa* made towards her and brought her back to Mərza Pämət. Then there was an outcry ‘(Come) now!’ and so forth and (people went) after the fox and after the bear. They ran off and reached the villa, the villa of Mərza Pämət.

(16) When they arrived there, they saw her (the princess) there with him. She fell in love with him and she became his wife. Some time passed, three or four months, (during which she was) with him. Everyday he would go up to hunt. He would bring back a tree on his shoulders. He was huge. (17) There were various kinds of birds on it, quails, doves, and many others. He brought them back for those animals to eat and he also would eat. She (the princess) also began to eat them. (18) After six or seven months the king said ‘Whatever has happened to my daughter, I want somebody to bring her back. I’ll give a lot of money to the person who brings her back.’. He was a king, you see. (19) An old woman of magic said ‘I’ll bring her back’. She said ‘I’ll bring her back and you will see her (again). But I have a fee’. He said ‘Of course’. (20) Now, she sat in a pot. She would make pots and jugs, as we call them, move. That is, it was a helicopter of that time. She sat in it and came to the villa of Mərza Pämət. She hid her pot and came out of it.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: It also is a bird.

(21) 'òy! 'òy! 'òy! m̀à-ləx:²! m̀t̃iθela l-q̀ə̀sra.¹ 'árya hóle l-x̀à-gota¹ 'u-námra x̀à-gota.¹ s̃ríxele kút-xa t̃la-gàne¹ báyi t̃-axl̃la.¹ (22) H́asan 'Ága rap-'íde l-dábànje.¹ 'ámər m̀à-ləxu:²! létu x̀ə̀zye bəŋ-nàša:²! ma-ləxu:²! h́edi, h́edi x̀ə̀zəx m̀àñila 'áyya.¹ q̃imela mára mbürxəlla,¹ mbùqrəlla,¹ m̀óre ha-x̀èr:²! mòdila:²! (23) m̀óra c̃ü m̀əndi.¹ 'ána hón naxrə̀θa ləxxa.¹ l̃itli náša 'áxxa-w t̃amma báŷən t̃-áθyən ləxxa,¹ kəsləxu,¹ x̃əmyən.¹ hay-wür!¹ w̃irtela,¹ píštela x̀à-yarxa t̃ama.¹ díya, díya, díya,¹ 'áxxa l-t̃amma,¹ báya t-ỳäð̃a¹ d́ax m̃aşər̃tála 'ayya-br̃at̃a¹ t-m̃alka,¹ ta-t-nabl̃la.¹ (24) m̀óra 'éni m̃ənnéxu ẁə̀k̃il¹ d-áw̃wa b̀èθa:²! H́asan 'Ága m̀óre 'ána.¹ mòdi báŷət:²! de-xúr b-ỳaha,¹ dé xzòla.¹ mítli m-s̃əxta.¹ 'ánna 'ə̀st̃á-yarxe léla x̃ipta.¹ də-sógo xa-m̃ənnéxu xayə̀pla!¹ (25) m̀óre 'áxni léle š̃lən.¹ har-sa-x̃úpla 'áti b-g̀ə̀nəx!¹ q̃im̃tela,¹ š̃q̃iltəlla,¹ nubəltəlla¹ h́edi, h́edi, h́edi, ta-t-xəp̃ala.¹ 'u-driə̀lla gu-d-o-l̃ina.¹ 'u-xa-b̀ena¹ mupr̃əxtəlla¹ nubəltəlla l-b̀èθa.¹ nubəltəlla l-b̀èθət b́aba díya.¹ (26) H́asan 'Ága sp̃ərele ta-t-d̃ə̀ra¹ 'u-sp̃ərele ta-t-d̃ə̀ra,¹ liθ.¹ z̃illa b́ara díya¹ ta-t-xaz̀èla,¹ 'ina la-har-č̃u-d̃uk̃θa liθwa.¹ hóla pr̃ix̃ta z̃ilta.¹ (27) 'ámər H́asan 'Ága,¹ m̀óre qu-mr̃ázəg ǵə̀nəx d̀ə̀bba.¹ m̀óra d̃ə̀xi 'ayya-b̀ena:²! m̀óre 'ána t-l̃əw̃š̃m¹ w-áti marq̀ə̀dli,¹ ta-t-la-'ámri har-'ánna qam̃ə̀yela.¹ (28) 'u-hadíya br̃ət̃ət m̃alka¹ har-x̀ə̀zya 'áxni z̃ḿara-w r̃q̀ə̀ð̃a¹ 'ə̀y jal-jálde t̃-ásqa l-g̀ə̀re.¹ mára q̃imela z̃ile.¹ t̃ela lw̃iš̃əll̃ele ǵə̀ne díye 'o-g̀ə̀lda¹ 'o-b̀ena g̀ə̀rele.¹ hóle r̃inga r̃inga ǵə̀wət t̃ina 'u-t̃ə̀qna¹ z̃ilele m̃ətyele q́ə̀s̃rət̃ m̃alka.¹ (29) m̃š̃ur̃éθela d̀ə̀bba m̃x̃ə̀ỹəll̃e¹ h̃əw̃ər¹ warw̃ərt̃ela-w¹ 'u-s̃r̃əx̃ela-w¹ mòdila:²! mòdila:²! háyyo xzògən.¹ d̀ə̀bba marq̀óde t̃ela.¹ d̀ə̀bba marq̀óde t̃ela.¹ 'u-br̃ət̃ət m̃alka síqt̃ela l-g̀ə̀re.¹ br̃ət̃ət m̃alka síqt̃ela l-g̀ə̀re,¹ xa-b̀ena¹ simárxa θ̃iθela m̃xiθ-ə̀lla díya¹ 'u-nubəltəlla.¹ (30) nubəltəlla-w¹ 'u-p̃íšt̃ela gu-b̀èθa¹ xá-bena x̀eta.¹ ýaba m̃alka,¹ mòdit mára:²! br̃ət̃ux z̃illa.¹ 'áxxa-w t̃amma.¹ m̀óre¹ kut-m̃éθela 'ána t-ỳánne z̃üze¹ 'ax-t̃-in-h̃iw̃əll̃e xa-b̀ena x̀eta.¹ m̀óra 'ána maθýanna¹ d́ax t̃-in-muθéθ̃əlla 'a-b̀ena x̀eta,¹ 'ayya-b̀ena 'ána maθýanna.¹ m̀óre 'ək̃id̃ maθýat̃la:²! m̀óra h̃è!¹ də-qu-s̃ə!¹ (31) tíwt̃ela gu-l̃ina díya xa-b̀ena x̀eta¹ 'u-z̃ilt̃ela.¹ z̃ilt̃ela,¹ z̃ilta,¹ m̀t̃iθela q̃urb̃ət̃ q̀ə̀sra.¹ mutt̃éθ̃əll̃e l̃ina l-xa-g̀ota.¹ θ̃iθela¹ síqt̃ela¹ 'ax-d-é-ga qam̃ə̀ye.¹ 'òy!¹ mítli m-k̀ə̀pna.¹ w-áxxa-w t̃amma.¹

(21) (She screamed) ‘Oh, oh, oh’ (They said) ‘What is the matter with you’. She arrived at the villa. The lion was on one side and the tiger on the other side. Each shouted in turn and wanted to eat her. (22) Hasan Ağa, woosh his hand was on his pistol, he said ‘What is the matter with you? Have you not seen a human being? What is the matter with you. Calm down, let’s see who she is’. They greeted her and asked her saying ‘Are you all right? What is the matter?’ (23) She said ‘Nothing. I am a stranger here. I have no relative here and I want to come here with you and stay’. ‘Come in!’ She came in and stayed a month there. Now, she wanted to know how she could rescue that daughter of the king so that she could take her back. (24) She said ‘Who of you is the overseer of this house? Hasan Ağa said ‘Me. What do you want?’ (She said) ‘Look at her, look at her, she has (almost) died of dirt. She has not washed for six months. Go and one of you wash her!’ (25) He said ‘It is not our job. Go and wash her yourself!’ She went and fetched her and slowly took her to wash her. She put her in the pot. Then she made her fly away and took her home. She took her to the home of her father. (26) Hasan Ağa waited for her to return, waited for her to return, but she was not there. They went after her to find her, but she was nowhere at all. She had flown and gone away. (27) Hasan Ağa said, he said ‘Get up and prepare yourself bear’. She said ‘How (will we act) this time?’ He said ‘I’ll dress up and you make me dance, so that they will not say that they are (the same as) the earlier ones’. (28) Now, as soon as the daughter of the king sees that we are singing and dancing, she will quickly come up to the roof’. So, they went off. The fox dressed up in the skin, but the skin was big. He made a ringing in the mud and grime and arrived at the palace of the king. (29) The bear started yelling and roaring and screaming ‘What is the matter? What is the matter? Come and see. A bear is making a fox dance. A bear is making a fox dance’. The daughter of the king went up onto the roof. The daughter of the king went up onto the roof, then the *simarxa* came, made towards her and took her away. (30) She took her away and she stayed in the house once again. ‘Oh King, what do you say? Your daughter has gone’—and so forth. He said ‘I’ll give money to whoever brings her back, as I gave money before’. She (the old woman) said ‘I shall bring her back. Just as I brought her before, so this time I shall bring her’. He said ‘Are you sure that you will bring her?’ She said ‘Yes!’ ‘Go!’ (31) She sat in her pot once again and went off. She went off and arrived near to the villa. She put the pot on one side. She came and went up like the previous time. ‘Oh, I am dying of hunger’—and so forth.

(32) *mà-lax?*<sup>1</sup> *m-èkət θáya?*<sup>1</sup> *mən-dúkθa rəhqən θáya.*<sup>1</sup> *báyən xámyən mənñexu.*<sup>1</sup> *máre tla-árya*<sup>1</sup> *xzi-árya.*<sup>1</sup> *šqille dábánjə gáne diyē*<sup>1</sup> (33) *máre xzi.*<sup>1</sup> *áti-w nəmra,*<sup>1</sup> *ímə théla á-bàxta*<sup>1</sup> *lāxxa,*<sup>1</sup> *báyónna muqlábita hátxa*<sup>1</sup> *réša xtáya.*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa mənñexu dáwəq p-áqla diyā.*<sup>1</sup> *ən-xá-mənñexu ázəl bar-d-o-xéna qatłənne.*<sup>1</sup> *har-áxtu kólye dūs*<sup>1</sup> *čalxítula m-ğòðə*<sup>1</sup> *u-mpālítula qa-d-ánna heywàne*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla t-axlila.*<sup>1</sup> (34) *áyya θiθela,*<sup>1</sup> *lóbba basimēle,*<sup>1</sup> *θiθela ax-d-é-ga qamèθa*<sup>1</sup> *θiθela mtiθela tàma*<sup>1</sup> *há ləkət zála?*<sup>1</sup> *mára hátxa kpintən,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> *máre kpintət?*<sup>1</sup> *klà.*<sup>1</sup> *deràb!*<sup>1</sup> *dáryəlla íða l-áqla.*<sup>1</sup> *múrməlla áqláθa l-bàr-elí*<sup>1</sup> *u-réša xtáya.*<sup>1</sup> *u-dwìqəlla*<sup>1</sup> *člixəlla.*<sup>1</sup> (35) *qəm-čalxila,*<sup>1</sup> *òðila tərte.*<sup>1</sup> *u-pačəpčila*<sup>1</sup> *w-axlila heywàne.*<sup>1</sup> *w-áyya xéta pišla tāmaha,*<sup>1</sup> *yába ítla Mərza Pāmət,*<sup>1</sup> *pišla báxte diyē.*<sup>1</sup>

(36) *xa-fátə,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> *u-qimēle málka,*<sup>1</sup> *mòdile wída?*<sup>1</sup> *pišele mājbur.*<sup>1</sup> *šqilele qūwəwət.*<sup>1</sup> *šqilele qūwəwət*<sup>1</sup> *u-nùbla*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-ázi xázi bráte diyē.*<sup>1</sup> *kú-t-ile*<sup>1</sup> *əθya mótya tàma,*<sup>1</sup> *heywáne ràbe-wawa,*<sup>1</sup> *har-heywàne*<sup>1</sup> *mpurəpsəlla.*<sup>1</sup> *lèla másyē.*<sup>1</sup> *ε-xarəθət xarəθa*<sup>1</sup> *pišle mājbur Mərza Pāmət,*<sup>1</sup> *šqilále bəxta*<sup>1</sup> *u-rìqle.*<sup>1</sup> *sìqle,*<sup>1</sup> *mtošele xa-dúkθa xéta,*<sup>1</sup> *áw*<sup>1</sup> *u-báxte diyē.*<sup>1</sup>

(37) *xà-yoma*<sup>1</sup> *məre*<sup>1</sup> *tla-d-án heywàne*<sup>1</sup> *Hásan Áğa,*<sup>1</sup> *máre t-amrənnexu xà məndí*<sup>1</sup> *ina dūs galitu.*<sup>1</sup> *máre álaha də-là-awəð*<sup>1</sup> *ən mri,*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi t-òðitu?*<sup>1</sup> (38) *dəbba mərə*<sup>1</sup> *álaha də-là-awəð*<sup>1</sup> *áti mǎreti.*<sup>1</sup> *daryánnux hátxa rəš-íθàθi.*<sup>1</sup> *əstri-w-ərbá-sa'ate t-óyən hátxa wádəllux,*<sup>1</sup> *wádəllux pəwxa*<sup>1</sup> *məndi hále,*<sup>1</sup> *mdarəmnánnux àna.*<sup>1</sup> (39) *u-árya máre tla-gáne diyē*<sup>1</sup> *ən-šállə là mǎreti.*<sup>1</sup> *u-nəmra hədəx*<sup>1</sup> *u-kúlla hədəx.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla sqiðela mənne diyē,*<sup>1</sup> *ma-t-zaləmwa əlléy.*<sup>1</sup>

(40) *xá-yoma mumiθále gáne b-dùgle,*<sup>1</sup> *Hásan Áğa.*<sup>1</sup> *léla šbára jáwji m-qáme diyē.*<sup>1</sup> *árya hóle mára tla-dəbba*<sup>1</sup> *de-áti tabbəxtət.*<sup>1</sup> *sa-wuð-ixála.*<sup>1</sup> *mxa-áqləx əlle diyē xza-míθele əlla.*<sup>1</sup> *áyya θiθela zála hátxa*<sup>1</sup> *mturgáltela gána biyē,*<sup>1</sup> *qitela áqla biyē.*<sup>1</sup> (41) *qimēle ráb íde l-dəbànje.*<sup>1</sup> *ətitwa mára*<sup>1</sup> *dawqánnux rəš-íθàθi,*<sup>1</sup> *áxxa-w tamma,*<sup>1</sup> *penàne maxyátli.*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa-w hátxa mənna*<sup>1</sup> *ráb íde diyē l-dəbànje.*<sup>1</sup>

(32) ‘What is the matter with you? Where are you coming from?’ ‘I am coming from a faraway place. I want to stay with you’. He said to the lion ‘Look lion’ He took his pistol. (33) He said ‘Look. You and the tiger, when that woman comes here, I want her to be turned over like this, upside down. Each of you hold one of her legs. If one of you goes after the other, I’ll kill him.’<sup>4</sup> While standing erect, you’ll tear her apart and distribute her to these animals so that they will all eat her.’ (34) She came jauntily, she came like the previous time. She came and arrived there ‘Hey, where are you going’. She said ‘I am so hungry, so, so much’. He said ‘Are you hungry? Wait’. Woosh, they put their hand on her leg. They lifted her legs upwards and her head downwards. They held her and pulled her apart. (35) They pulled her apart and made her two. They chopped her up and the animals ate her. The other woman remained there. She had Mərza Pämət, she became his wife.

(36) Some time passed. What did the king do? He was forced to raise an army. He raised an army and took it to go to find his daughter. (Since) the animals were numerous, they just pulled apart whoever went there. They (the army) could not (prevail against them). Finally, Mərza Pämət was forced to take his wife and run away. He went up and hid in another place, together with his wife. (37) One day Ḥasan Ağa said to those animals, he said ‘I wish to say something to you, but tell me the truth’. He said ‘God forfend, if I became ill, what would you do?’ (38) The bear said ‘May God forfend you become ill. I’d put you in my arms and for twenty-four hours (a day) I’d do this to you, give you a cool breeze, and so forth. I’d treat you with medicine’. (39) The lion, in his turn, said ‘God willing you will not become ill’. The tiger (said) likewise, all (said) likewise. But they were all fed up with him, since he mistreated them so much.

(40) One day Ḥasan Ağa pretended to be dead.<sup>5</sup> They did not dare leave him.<sup>6</sup> The lion said to the bear ‘You are the cook. Go and make food. Kick him and see whether he is dead or not’. She came and went like this, she made herself trip over him and her leg hit him. (41) He got up and woosh his hand was on his pistol. ‘It was you who were saying “I’d hold you in my arms and so forth”, but you kick me!’ (He said) this and that about her and, woosh, his hand was on his pistol.

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<sup>4</sup> I.e. you must go in opposite directions.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: He made himself dead with lies.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: move from before him.



(42) *xátər 'alàha' là! mbašòlənwa, rəqənwa' ta-t-mbašlənwa-w qítli biyux. 'áxxa-w tamma. xà-yoma, har-mítle b-duzùθa. mítle b-duzùθa' 'u-pišle tàma. 'u-léla šbára 'áp-xa mánna t-ázəl ču-dúkθa. 'ixála 'áp-xa-mənna léle mbašòle. dábba mbàšla, léla šbára t-áza l-táma mbàšla.* (43) *pišele mājbur' hà-t-ile' ríxa 'əθya mánne díye spisa. mən-táma hódəx 'əθyele 'arya' máxyele 'áqlə díye l-ò-gəlda. mùrməlle gólda, qripəlle tāmàha. Mərza Pámət mərə' yállə kút-xa mənnoxu šáqəl gáne díye 'u-ázəl dúkθe díye. šiwiqáli tàma' 'u-θéli làxxa.*

(42) 'For God's sake no! I was cooking, I was running in order to cook and I knocked into you' and so forth. One day he really died. He really died and remained there. None of them dared go anywhere. None of them cooked food. The bear, who cooked, did not dare go and cook. (43) He remained like that, of necessity, until a rotten smell came from him. After that the lion came and kicked the carcass.<sup>7</sup> He lifted the carcass and threw it away.<sup>8</sup> Mərza Pāmət said 'Well, each of you take yourself off and go to your own place'. I have left it there and come here.

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<sup>7</sup> Literally: skin.

<sup>8</sup> Literally: over there.

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(1) 'iθwa xa-Rüstam.<sup>1</sup> šómmət bábe díye Žál-wewa.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa síqa-wewa l-túra<sup>1</sup> l-šèda.<sup>1</sup> 'ðyeye Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi<sup>1</sup> mən-<sup>2</sup>Írən.<sup>1</sup> 'ðyeye gu-túra<sup>1</sup> xəzyele<sup>1</sup> plíšela m-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi qtiléle qa-Žál.<sup>1</sup> zille l-<sup>2</sup>Írən,<sup>1</sup> píšle tàma.<sup>1</sup> (2) xábra mǝlé<sup>1</sup> l-náše díye 'al-<sup>2</sup>asás Žál hóle qtila.<sup>1</sup> zilla xa-fàtra,<sup>1</sup> ràba dána,<sup>1</sup> wéle 'ille díye bróna.<sup>1</sup> Žál wéle 'ille díye bróna.<sup>1</sup> xzi-kəmə šənne<sup>1</sup> 'o-bróné díye píšle gawra,<sup>1</sup> mqǝrənnə.<sup>1</sup> síqle 'áp-aw l-šèda.<sup>1</sup> síqle l-šèda,<sup>1</sup> 'ina dúnye šuréla ráya.<sup>1</sup> šuréla ráya dúnye tálga.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'áwwa bíye bə-b-sùse<sup>1</sup> 'áwər gu-xa-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> mtošéle qam-tálga,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni tálga xelənele.<sup>1</sup> wírre gu-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> gásəq hátxa l-bər-eli<sup>1</sup> 'ina kàke.<sup>1</sup> gásəq bər-təxti<sup>1</sup> 'ina kàke.<sup>1</sup> gásəq gawáya hátxa<sup>1</sup> 'ina balòta.<sup>1</sup> (4) hē<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'áwwa rēšət bə-nàšele.<sup>1</sup> dweiqtalle šàθa.<sup>1</sup> mǝryele<sup>1</sup> 'u-súryele margòde.<sup>1</sup> 'u-túwa l-xásə sùse díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-šólyele l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> yəmme ðila.<sup>1</sup> mǝre bróni mà-lux.<sup>2</sup> mǝre yəmmi mò mtanənnəx.<sup>2</sup> (5) mǝre lá-mšən mtanónna 'əlləx.<sup>1</sup> hóle ləbbi pǝqya.<sup>1</sup> mǝre mà-lux,<sup>1</sup> bəbi.<sup>2</sup> mùr!<sup>1</sup> káza mòdila qóššət.<sup>2</sup> (6) mǝre yəmmi,<sup>1</sup> dúnye wéla ráya.<sup>1</sup> 'ána síqa l-šèda,<sup>1</sup> dúnye wéla ráya,<sup>1</sup> 'ána wírri gu-xa-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> 'ina gušəqli 'əllul,<sup>1</sup> kàke.<sup>1</sup> gušəqli 'əltəx,<sup>1</sup> kàke.<sup>1</sup> gawáya balòta.<sup>1</sup> ləbbi pǝqile<sup>1</sup> 'u-hal-díya šaθàna.<sup>1</sup> (7) mǝra bróni<sup>1</sup> lá-yəðət 'áw mòdile.<sup>2</sup> mǝre la-yəmmi<sup>1</sup> ləðən,<sup>1</sup> mòdile.<sup>2</sup> mǝra 'áw rešət-bəbux-ile.<sup>1</sup> mǝre dàx-it mǝra.<sup>2</sup> mǝre rešət-bəbi.<sup>2</sup> mǝre 'ənile qtilalle.<sup>2</sup> (8) mǝra Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi.<sup>1</sup> m-gu-<sup>2</sup>Írən 'ðyeye,<sup>1</sup> qtilalle.<sup>1</sup> mǝra qiméle,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-réšət bábe díye 'ax-túra,<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóle qtila l-Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi,<sup>1</sup> ləka bǝ-ázal.<sup>2</sup> mǝre t-ázən šáqlən tólət bəbi.<sup>1</sup>

(9) túwele xásət sùse díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-ya-<sup>2</sup>álaha zilele.<sup>1</sup> zilele,<sup>1</sup> zila,<sup>1</sup> zila,<sup>1</sup> zila,<sup>1</sup> mátyele xa-màθa.<sup>1</sup> mátyele xa-màθa.<sup>1</sup> xwarzəye,<sup>1</sup> Bəjm,<sup>1</sup> 'áw gu-d-é-dana bəryele.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-é-dana t-ile xále díye plíta zála ta-t-šáqəl tòle,<sup>1</sup> Bəjm bəryele.<sup>1</sup> (10) qimela mùθye<sup>1</sup> xa-marígla gòra<sup>1</sup> xəlya<sup>1</sup> mùštyalle.<sup>1</sup> šqilalla 'arbi dráye pàrča,<sup>1</sup> xitəlla 'əlle díye,<sup>1</sup> léle mátya l-šàrθe,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wéwa zàxma.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was a (man called) Rustam. The name of his father was Zāl. He had gone up into the mountains to hunt. Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi came from Iran. He came into the mountains, found him and they fought together. Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi killed Zāl. He went to Iran and remained there. (2) Word reached his relatives that Zāl had been killed. Time went by, a long time, and a son was born to him. A son was born to Zāl, and after several years this son of his became a man, he grew up. He also went hunting. He went up hunting and it began to rain. It began to snow. (3) He together with his horse entered a cave. He sheltered from the snow, since the snow was heavy. He entered the cave, looked upwards and saw teeth. He looked downwards and saw teeth. He looked inside and saw a throat. (4) 'Ah', he said, 'This is the head of a person'. A fever seized him. He became ill and started shivering. He sat on the back of his horse and went down back home. His mother knew (about this). She said 'My son, what is the matter'. He said 'Mother, what should I tell you?'. (5) He said 'I cannot relate it to you. My heart has burst (with fear)'. She said 'What is the matter, my dear? Tell me!' She tries (to press him) 'What is the story?' (6) He said 'Mother, it started raining. I went up hunting, it started raining and so I went into a cave. I looked upwards (and saw) teeth. I looked downwards (and saw) teeth. (I looked) inside (and saw) a throat. My heart burst (with fear) and I am still feverish'. (7) She said 'My son, don't you know what that is?' He said 'No, mother, I don't know. What is it?' She said 'That is the head of your father'. He said 'What are you saying?'<sup>1</sup> He said 'The head of my father?' He said 'Who was it who killed him?' (8) She said 'Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. He came from Iran and killed him'. Now, if the head of his father is like a mountain and he has been killed by Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi, where could he go?<sup>2</sup> He said 'I shall go to take revenge for my father'.

(9) He sat on the back of his horse and set off. He went along for a long way and reached a village. He reached a village. His nephew Bejəm, was born at that time. At the time when his uncle went out to take his revenge, Bejəm was born. (10) They brought a big pan of milk and gave it to him to drink. They took forty yards of material and sewed it for him, but it did not reach his navel, since he was so huge.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: How are you saying?

<sup>2</sup> I.e. what could he do?

(11) qimɛle<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> kɛle xáli.<sup>2</sup> mára xálux hóle zila šqála tólat bábe diye.<sup>1</sup> yátu l-xásət dawèra,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-aw 'àzəl.<sup>1</sup> 'ázəl di-di-di<sup>1</sup> 'apéle xále diye<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ày-maθa.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-léðele xále diye.<sup>1</sup> léðele xále diye 'əmile.<sup>1</sup> zilele,<sup>1</sup> suse diye kályele kəs-súsət xále diye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hár-xa xále diyele<sup>1</sup> l-xóðe rəš-'əna.<sup>1</sup> (12) šúryele mənít 'áti.<sup>2</sup> mənít.<sup>2</sup> 'áwowa šluxəyele.<sup>1</sup> 'tɪpəlla l-gðáðe.<sup>1</sup> xále diye nápəl qam-Bəjəm,<sup>1</sup> Bəjəm həde barya,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wéwa zəxma.<sup>1</sup> qimɛle<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> díya qatlənnux.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'áti məníwət.<sup>2</sup> mərə 'ána brónət Žā-l-uwən.<sup>1</sup> (13) mərə xáli.<sup>1</sup> 'áti xáliwət.<sup>1</sup> mərə qù,<sup>1</sup> là qatlənnux,<sup>1</sup> qù.<sup>1</sup> mára qimela,<sup>1</sup> piše b-gðáðe.<sup>1</sup> mərə xáli.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'áti xwarzəyi.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'áti<sup>1</sup> puš-ləxxa,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t-ásqən.<sup>1</sup> (14) hóle 'əθya Déwa Žār,<sup>1</sup> Déwa Žār,<sup>1</sup> m-la-gnay-yòma.<sup>1</sup> hóle 'əθya 'ax-xa-kəxwa.<sup>1</sup> hóle tíwa báθər mətə<sup>1</sup> gu-d-wə'ha gallíya,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-wə'ha gəppa.<sup>1</sup> t-ásqən,<sup>1</sup> xazənne-w<sup>1</sup> 'àθena.<sup>1</sup> (15) mərə xáli dác barya<sup>1</sup> 'ána péšm ləxxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-áti t-ásqət.<sup>2</sup> 'áp-ana t-ásqən mənñux.<sup>1</sup> mərə ləka saqa-áti mənñi.<sup>2</sup> 'áti puš-ləxxa.<sup>1</sup> t-ásqən 'ána l-xòði.<sup>1</sup> mərəle la-brəla.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər t-amrənnux xə-məndi.<sup>1</sup> xále diyele mára<sup>1</sup> Rústam-ile mára<sup>1</sup> mára t-amrənnux xə-məndi,<sup>1</sup> xwarzəyi.<sup>1</sup> xəzəx lá-məšət mamtətla 'iθáθux hátxa gðáðe.<sup>2</sup> (16) mára hátxa tráθna 'iθáθe diye wíðəlla hátxa múmɪtəlla gðáðe.<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa šryóxət 'àqle,<sup>1</sup> xrrr 'asərra 'iθáθət Bəjəm.<sup>1</sup> Bəjən šawúqle sərə<sup>1</sup> 'iθáθe diye.<sup>1</sup> 'áv siqle.<sup>1</sup> siqle.<sup>1</sup> (17) 'ímə t-ile síqa Rústam,<sup>1</sup> síqele gu-d-o-gəppa,<sup>1</sup> xazéla xá parizàda,<sup>1</sup> xá šapírta,<sup>1</sup> brátət málka t-Māgrəb,<sup>1</sup> hóle šqíləlla Déwa Žār,<sup>1</sup> hóle múθyalla gu-d-è gəppiθa.<sup>1</sup> hola šqála qálma,<sup>1</sup> kut-qálma 'iθba<sup>1</sup> 'ax-fasùli<sup>1</sup> hátxa gòrta.<sup>1</sup> mattówəlla 'àra<sup>1</sup> 'u-xaṭórta<sup>1</sup> práq b-réša qtələlla.<sup>1</sup> (18) 'ímə t-ile síqa Rústam,<sup>1</sup> xəzyəlla<sup>1</sup> bəxta.<sup>1</sup> mára bəxta<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ít šíya,<sup>1</sup> hó'la miya.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ít-kpina,<sup>1</sup> hó'le xùl.<sup>1</sup> mərə mərəšle<sup>1</sup> 'ána hon-'əθya ta-t-qatlənne.<sup>1</sup> (19) mára müřàštəlle<sup>1</sup> qimɛle.<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-ile qima,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šúryela pláša m-gðáðe,<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa<sup>1</sup> maxəle<sup>1</sup> səpe<sup>1</sup> l-qðála d-o-Déwa Žār<sup>1</sup> 'u-šále kəndála.<sup>1</sup> (20) Bəjəm<sup>1</sup> 'iθáθe hola sərə.<sup>1</sup> mó 'áwəð.<sup>2</sup> mən-ləbbe diye qíða,<sup>1</sup> dére xəla,<sup>1</sup> nacəlle 'o-šryóxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-áθe šaqəlla xa-áqrət bətma.<sup>1</sup> šaqəlla<sup>1</sup> 'u-šamətla<sup>1</sup> taqəne.<sup>1</sup> (21) 'u-mattúle b-rəše<sup>1</sup> 'ámər háyyo hátxa hátxa mənñux.<sup>1</sup> 'áti xáli qəm-qatlətə.<sup>1</sup> 'u-léka b-šartət qam-'iθáθi.<sup>2</sup> 'áwowa síqele l-o-gəppa.<sup>1</sup> 'o-qəsa<sup>1</sup> 'ə-bətma<sup>1</sup> hola rš-rúše.<sup>1</sup> (22) síqele<sup>1</sup> xa-béna 'ámər<sup>1</sup> xwarzəyi,<sup>1</sup> 'ána<sup>1</sup> hon-qíləlle Déwa Žār,<sup>1</sup> la-áθət t-áwəðət çü-məndi.<sup>1</sup> qimɛle múθyalla 'áp 'ə-brátət málka.<sup>1</sup> qimɛle múθyalla mənne mənne diye,<sup>1</sup> zilela.<sup>1</sup> Bəjəm-ile<sup>1</sup> 'u-è-bratəla<sup>1</sup> 'u-Rústam,<sup>1</sup> Rústam brónət-Žāl.<sup>1</sup>

(11) He said 'Where is my uncle?' They said 'Your uncle has gone to avenge his father'. He sat on the back of a mule and he also set off. He went along and caught up with his uncle in that village. He did not know his uncle. He did not know who his uncle was. He went along and his horse stopped by the horse of his uncle. His uncle was by himself by the well. (12) He began (speaking) 'Who are you? Who are you?' He (Bejəm) was naked. They attacked each other. His uncle fell before Bejəm, (although) Bejəm had just been born, since he was so huge. He said 'Now, I'll kill you'. He said 'Who are you?' He said 'I am the son of Zāl'. (13) He said 'Uncle! You are my uncle'. He said 'Get up. I shall not kill you. Get up'. He got up and they remained together. He said 'Uncle'. He said 'You, my nephew', he said 'you stay here. I'll go up. (14) Dewa Zar has come. Dewa Zar has come from the West. He has come like a star. He has settled beyond the village, in that valley over there, in that cave over there. I'll go up and find him, then I'll return'. (15) He said 'Uncle, how can it be possible for me to stay here and you to go up? I also shall go up with you' He said 'Where are you going with me? You stay here. I shall go up by myself'. He said 'It is not possible'. He said 'I'll tell you something'—his uncle is saying this, Rustam is saying it—he said 'I'll tell you something, nephew. Let's see whether you can bring your hands together like this'. (16) He moved his two hands like this and brought them together. He (with) the lace of his feet tied the hands of Bejən. He left Bejən with his hands tied. He went up. (17) When Rustam went up, he went up into the cave and found a beautiful princess, the daughter of the king of Morocco, whom Dewa Zar had taken and brought to the cave. She was plucking a louse (from his beard), each louse that was in it was as big as a bean. She put it on the ground and (struck) it, bang, with a washing board and killed it. (18) When Rustam went up, he saw the woman. The woman said 'If you are thirsty, here is water. If you are hungry, here eat'. He said 'Wake him. I have come to kill him'. (19) She woke him and he got up. When he got up and they started fighting with one another, he struck his sword into the neck of that Dewa Zar and he went down the slope. (20) As for Bejəm, his hands were tied. What could he do? Out of his fervour, he applied force and pulled the tether apart. He went and took the stock of a terebinth tree. He took it and broke off the branches. (21) He put it on his head and said 'Come on you so-and-so! You have killed my uncle. Where can you escape from my hands?' He went up to the cave. The wood, the terebinth tree was on his shoulder. (22) He went up and then he (Rustam) said 'Nephew, I have killed Dewa Zar. There is no need for you to come and do anything'. He took away the daughter of the king. He brought her with him and they set off. So, there was Bejəm, that girl and Rustam, Rustam son of Zāl.

(23) *mára qímela zílela l-ʔĪrən.*<sup>1</sup> *zílela l-ʔĪrən,*<sup>1</sup> *mbúqre, mbúqre mbúqre.*<sup>1</sup> *mətyela,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔékele.*<sup>2</sup> *gu-d-èni máθa.*<sup>2</sup> *gu-d-èni mðíta xǎye*<sup>1</sup> *Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi.*<sup>2</sup> *múttálləle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-čádre díye,*<sup>1</sup> *súse díye šlíwəlləle tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni tré susāwàθa-wawa*<sup>1</sup> *w-áp ʔe-bráta mənny.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-píšəla tàma.*<sup>1</sup> (24) *kəmə t-íle Rüstam,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw mbaqórəlle Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi.*<sup>1</sup> *Béjəm lítle hátxa šúle məndiyáne.*<sup>1</sup> *mára wíðəlla hǔjūm.*<sup>1</sup> *zílele Béjəm qamáye ʔəlle.*<sup>1</sup> *zílle Béjəm ʔəlle díye,*<sup>1</sup> *wídla hǔjum,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-čərxíle.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-čərxíle dawqíle.*<sup>1</sup> (25) *ʔimət qəm-dawqíle,*<sup>1</sup> *mára brátət Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi*<sup>1</sup> *hállule l-ʔídi.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána yǎðən dax-naštánne gólde díye.*<sup>1</sup> *hállule l-ʔídi.*<sup>1</sup> *mára yíwəlle l-ʔíðət brátət Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi.*<sup>1</sup> (26) *qimətəla,*<sup>1</sup> *šqílta xa-neríya,*<sup>1</sup> *neríya gòra.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-primətəllela.*<sup>1</sup> *yíwəlle ta-d-án xuláme.*<sup>1</sup> *priməlle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-básre zədyəlle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-gólde mǔbyəlle.*<sup>1</sup> *škáθe gòre-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> *mǔbyəlle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-múttəlle gu-dúkθa ta-pláša.*<sup>1</sup> (27) *mára ʔawwa Béjəm-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla qəm-qatíle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-hóle ʔawwa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni máre škáθa-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> *mára Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw spàrele.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni pláštət mòdíle.*<sup>2</sup> *rùmxa.*<sup>1</sup> *t-átwi l-xásət sùsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-t-àθi*<sup>1</sup> *máxa b-rùmxa l-gðáðe.*<sup>1</sup> (28) *mára plíšəla*<sup>1</sup> *Rüstam*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi.*<sup>1</sup> *máxyela l-gðáðe,*<sup>1</sup> *məxye,*<sup>1</sup> *máxyela l-gðáðe,*<sup>1</sup> *məxyəla,*<sup>1</sup> *áp-xa ləle npíla.*<sup>1</sup> *Rüstam píšle bríndar.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔimət píšle bríndar Rüstam,*<sup>1</sup> *qiməle,*<sup>1</sup> *mšúdrəlle,*<sup>1</sup> *lítile darməne.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-xéna Béjəm hóle kəs-brátət Tátár-i Slemán-i Səndi.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw*<sup>1</sup> *xuməðəlle,*<sup>1</sup> *tagbòrəllela*<sup>1</sup> *mánma díya*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-gawrəle.*<sup>1</sup>

(29) *mára mšúdrəlle súse díye,*<sup>1</sup> *zílele l-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *zílele l-bèθa,*<sup>1</sup> *yómme díye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-báxte díye táma xázyəlle sùsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔína sapíqa.*<sup>1</sup> *kəmát-wawa yómme díye,*<sup>1</sup> *mǔpurməla.*<sup>1</sup> *mára há ʔawwa hóle mšúdrəlle.*<sup>1</sup> *hóle npíla gu-ʔiqúθa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya darməna b-xšəwən,*<sup>1</sup> *mšádrəx darməna ʔəlle díye.*<sup>1</sup> (30) *qíme mšúdrəlle darməne.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔə-ga*<sup>1</sup> *brónət Rüstam*<sup>1</sup> *hóla báxte díye mabròye.*<sup>1</sup> *báxte hóla mabròye,*<sup>1</sup> *xákma hóla mára díya mabra,*<sup>1</sup> *xákma hóla mára láʔa,*<sup>1</sup> *b-saʔatta.*<sup>1</sup> *xákma dráyəla b-səkkθa,*<sup>1</sup> *dráyəla xəla,*<sup>1</sup> *w-áxxa-w tamma*<sup>1</sup> *di-di-di-dí,*<sup>1</sup> *báre brónət Rüstam.*<sup>1</sup> (31) *gu-d-ε-dánət bréle brónət Rüstam,*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi wídla.*<sup>2</sup> *qimla*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-mǎtəmíle*<sup>1</sup> *xəlyə.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maštíle di-di-dí.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-malušile júlle ʔáxxa-w tamma.*<sup>1</sup> *móre kéle súsət bəbi.*<sup>2</sup> *šurəle mšawəðe,*<sup>1</sup> *kéle súsət bəbi.*<sup>2</sup> (32) *qiməle*<sup>1</sup> *mšúryəle,*<sup>1</sup> *múθyəllela súsət bábe díye kásle díye.*<sup>1</sup> *móre máttuli l-xàše.*<sup>1</sup> *múttəlle l-xásə sùsa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-darməna yíwəlla l-ʔíde díye.*<sup>1</sup> *prrr ya-ʔálaha sí.*<sup>1</sup>

(23) They went off to Iran. They went to Iran. They made inquires here and there. They arrived (in Iran and said) ‘Where is he? In which village, in which town does Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi live?’ He pitched his tent and tethered his horse there. They were two (men with) horses and also the girl with them. They remained there. (24) As for Rustam, he asked for Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. Bejəm had nothing to do with this. Now, they (the men of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi) made an attack. Bejəm went first towards him, Bejəm went towards him, they made an attack and surrounded him. They surrounded him and caught him. (25) When they caught him, the daughter of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi said ‘Give him to me. I know how to flay off his skin. Give him to me’. They gave him to the daughter of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. (26) She took a male goat, a large goat and slaughtered it. She gave it to the servants. They cut it up and threw away its flesh. They inflated its skin. Its testicles were large. They inflated it and put it on the battle field.<sup>3</sup> (27) She said ‘This is Bejəm. They have killed him. This is him’. They (the family of Bejəm) had large testicles. Now, Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi was waiting. What would they fight with? A spear. They would sit on the back of a horse and come and strike one another with a spear. (28) Rustam and Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi fought. They struck one another, they struck again and again, but neither fell. Rustam was injured. When Rustam was injured, he sent (for help), since he had no medicine. Bejəm was with the daughter of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. She kept him with her, looking after him, in order to marry him.

(29) Now, he sent his horse and it went home. It went home and his mother and his wife there saw that the horse was without a rider.<sup>4</sup> As for his mother, she understood. She said ‘Oh, he has sent it. He has fallen into distress. This medicine, I think, let’s send this medicine to him’. (30) They sent medicine to him. At that time the wife of Rustam was giving birth to his son. (While) his wife was giving birth, some were saying ‘She is giving birth now’, some were saying ‘No, in an hour’, some were pulling on a peg, applying force, this and that, and the son of Rustam was born. (31) When the son of Rustam was born, what did they do? They gave him a taste of milk, they gave it to him to drink, they dressed him and so forth. He said ‘Where is the horse of my father?’ He began to talk. ‘Where is the horse of my father?’ (32) They began (to do as he said and) brought the horse of his father to him. He said ‘Put me on its back’. They put him on the back of the horse and put the medicine in his hand. ‘Off you go!’

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: the place for fighting.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: empty.



(33) 'àzəl, 'àzəl, 'àzəl, 'u-màte, 'màte l-čádrət bábe dīye. 'màte l-čádrət bábe, 'áw l-éde čádrət bábe dīyila 'ən-là. 'kále sūse tàma. 'kizle mxàya' goyáθət sūsa, 'sūsa la-jwǝjle. 'píšele májbur šəlyele. (34) šəlyele, 'ina xázele bábe dīye hóle mərəya. 'hóle npila táma. 'u-dáwəq bíye dīye' ta-mxàyǝlle. 'ámər 'áti qátlət bābi, 'háy hátxa hátxa mánnux. 'ámər 'áti 'èniwət? 'ámər 'ána brónət Rústam-iwən. 'ámər bróni qatǝlti 'ap-àti? (35) qiməle' 'u-diwiqele-w, 'šwiqele-w, 'yíwǝlle darmanə-w, 'mbùsmǝlle, 'píšele xelána. 'mára qiməle' mšürya, 'zila xá-bena xéta yíwǝlla xàbra' ta-t-pǝlší. 'nášə 'álma külle' jmiyela tàma. 'kút-xa tíwəle l-xášə súsət gáne dīye' 'u-zála mxáya rímxe. (36) tǝlləθ gǝye' šurəla mxáya hādax. 'a-t-ʔarbe, 'mxyále rímxe dīye gu-šádrət 'áwwa Tǝtar-i Slemán-i Səndi, 'qəm-xašǝlle 'ǝra, 'qəm-qatǝlle. 'báθər qəm-qatǝlle, 'ánna xéne kúlla 'áskar dīye' šmiṭla, 'kúlla zilla. (37) qiməle, 'θiθela brátət Tǝtar-i Slemán-i Səndi, 'θéla mən-Bəjəm, 'qəm-šaqǝlla mεθəla. 'u-ʔap-yaha bráta xéta t-ila brátət málkət Mǝgrəb, 'áp-ʔay qəm-šaqǝlla Bəjəm, 'qəm-mεθəla, 'u-θéla tǝlaθnəy. 'θéla bəθa. 'u-šwiqǝli táma θéli làxxa.

(33) He travelled a long way and reached the tent of his father. He reached the tent of his father, but he did not know whether it was his father's tent or not. His horse stopped there. He tried to strike the sides of the horse, but the horse did not move. He had to dismount. (34) He dismounted and saw his father who was ill. He had fallen there. He seized him to beat him and said 'Would you kill my father, you accursed man?' He said 'Who are you?' He said 'I am the son of Rustam'. He said 'My son, would you also kill me?'. (35) He held him, then let go and gave him the medicine. He cured him and he became strong. Now, he set off and again challenged them<sup>5</sup> to fight. Everybody was assembled there. Each one sat on the back of his horse and went to throw spears. (36) They began (fighting) and threw (spears) in this way three times. The fourth time, he drove his spear into the chest of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi. He threw him on the ground and killed him. After he had killed him, all the others in his army were defeated and all went away. (37) The daughter of Tătar-i Sleman-i Səndi came with Bejəm. He took her and brought her back. The other girl, who was the daughter of the king of Morocco, Bejəm took her also and brought her back. The three of them came back, they came back home. I have left it there and come here.

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<sup>5</sup> Literally: gave them notice.

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) *xa-tuniθa t-ila θáya l-bàli<sup>1</sup> y-amríwala Rustámo ʔu-Zàlo.<sup>1</sup> Rústam brón-t Zàl-wewa.<sup>1</sup> ʔanna xákma náše gabbàre-wewa<sup>1</sup> xelàne.<sup>1</sup> paxrèy<sup>1</sup> xelàne-wewa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-gòre-wewa.<sup>1</sup> gabbàre.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-xa lá-mšaya biyèy.<sup>1</sup>*

(2) *ʔè-ga<sup>1</sup> Rustámo mtáne mənne y-ámri ʔé-gət danəxwa,<sup>1</sup> tlaθà yomáθa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-tlaθà lelāwáθa háwe dmíxa,<sup>1</sup> là qayámwa,<sup>1</sup> là rayóšwa.<sup>1</sup> bábe diyè,<sup>1</sup> Zàl,<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwale xà-naša<sup>1</sup> maqrə́twa káwse diyè<sup>1</sup> y-amríle hállàqa.<sup>1</sup> tíwəle Zàlo<sup>1</sup> qam-tárət qáše diyè<sup>1</sup> ʔo-hállàqa<sup>1</sup> hóle múθyalla xa-semálta<sup>1</sup> múttalla baθrət rušáne diyè.<sup>1</sup> (3) ma-t-wéwa gòra,<sup>1</sup> hállàqa là maṭyáwa ʔide gu-réšət Zàlo.<sup>1</sup> mattúwa semálta gu-xáse diyè ʔu-y-asəqwa<sup>1</sup> gu-réšə semálta<sup>1</sup> maqrə́twa káwsət Zàlo.<sup>1</sup> qəm-qayóšle káwse diyè<sup>1</sup> xírre gu-réšət Zàlo<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa šaqyàθa<sup>1</sup> brinàne,<sup>1</sup> gòre rába.<sup>1</sup> (4) móre tla-Zàlo.<sup>1</sup> Zàlo<sup>1</sup> ʔanna mòdila gu-réšux,<sup>1</sup> ʔanna šaqyàθa.<sup>1</sup> módila ʔanna brinàne.<sup>2</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> hadíya quš-kàwsi!<sup>1</sup> ʔaw-lèle šúlux.<sup>1</sup> (5) móre là-b-alaha.<sup>1</sup> ʔn-lá galítli ʔanna šaqyáθa módi gu-réšux,<sup>1</sup> ʔanna brinánət mòdila w-ʔáti hátxa gabbàra,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔéni hátxa twíra rəšux<sup>1</sup> wíða brináne gu-réšux,<sup>1</sup> móre ʔn-lá galítli,<sup>1</sup> ʔána lè-qəšənnə káwsux.<sup>1</sup> (6) zədyále maqášte diyè<sup>1</sup> móre lá qəšənnə.<sup>1</sup> kəze.<sup>1</sup> qúšli rəš.<sup>1</sup> gúda máre naθyàθele.<sup>1</sup> móre là-b-alaha,<sup>1</sup> lá qəšənnə rəšux,<sup>1</sup> ʔn-qatlətli.<sup>1</sup> là qəšənnə káwsux,<sup>1</sup> ʔilla t-amrətli ʔanna ma-brinànela gu-réšux.<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> t-amrənnux<sup>1</sup> de-hàyyo<sup>1</sup> tu-tíwa.<sup>1</sup>*

(7) *móre ʔána bəyənəwala xa-bràta,<sup>1</sup> brátət ʔAprəsyàw<sup>1</sup> t-fəllən ʔáθra,<sup>1</sup> xa-ʔáθra rəhqa-wewa.<sup>1</sup> móre y-azəmwa meθoyəlla,<sup>1</sup> lè yawíwala ʔáll.<sup>1</sup> y-azəmwa b-xéla meθoyəlla<sup>1</sup> palšəxwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwaley ʔáp-ʔani náše ferəsse ʔu-gabbàre.<sup>1</sup> palšəxwa.<sup>1</sup> (8) ʔu-ʔanna brináne kúlla d-ən šarrāwáθa<sup>1</sup> t-maxəwa<sup>1</sup> murzāwáθa gu-rəš.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ríqən ʔəθya.<sup>1</sup> bráta lən-məšya t-in-múθyalla.<sup>1</sup> (9) Rustámo bróne diyè<sup>1</sup> hóle gu-béθa ríšle,<sup>1</sup> qəm-šəmèla ʔáyya šáwθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔimə-šmíyále kríbe rába.<sup>1</sup> sab-ʔáp-ʔaw rába ferəssa-wewa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xelána.<sup>1</sup> čú-naša gu-d-o-ʔáθra là-məše bíye.<sup>1</sup> (10) móre nəmu ʔiθ xa-náša ferəssa máše táwəθ rəšət bəbi.<sup>2</sup> ʔu-plítele b-kərba.<sup>1</sup> ʔimə t-ile plíta kríba kríba,<sup>1</sup> rúše diyè qíθele b-yašílət tàra,<sup>1</sup> tlixəle gúda.<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wéwa zàxma,<sup>1</sup> gúda tlixle.<sup>1</sup>*

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) A story that comes to my mind is called Rustam and Zāl, Rustam was the son of Zāl. These were mighty heroic warriors, their bodies were strong and huge. (They were) heroic warriors, nobody could defeat them.

(2) Now, they say of Rustam that when he slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights, without getting up, without waking. His father Zāl had a person who used to cut his hair, called a barber. Zāl sat before his palace. The barber brought a ladder and placed it behind his shoulders. (3) Since he was so large, the barber's hand could not reach the head of Zāl. He would place a ladder on his back and climb up the ladder to cut the hair of Zāl. He cut his hair and looked at the head of Zāl. (He saw) that there were scars of enormous wounds. (4) He said to Zāl 'Zāl, what are these scars on your head? What are these wounds?' He said 'Now cut my hair! It is not your business'. (5) He said 'No, by God. If you do not reveal what these scars on your head are, what these wounds are from, when you are such a heroic warrior, and who broke your head, made wounds on your head...', he said 'If you do not reveal this to me, I shall not cut your hair'. (6) He threw his scissors down and said 'I shall not cut it'. He tried (to persuade him and said) 'Cut (the hair on) my head! The wall has ears'. He said 'No, by God. I shall not cut (the hair on) your head, even if you kill me. I shall not cut your hair, unless you tell me what these wounds are on your head'. He said 'I'll tell you. Come, sit down'.

(7) He said 'I used to love a girl, the daughter of Aprəsyaw, of such-and-such a place, which was a distant place'. He said 'I used to go to bring her back, but they did not give her to me. I used to go to bring her by force and we would fight. They also had warriors and heroic people. We used to fight. (8) These wounds are all from those battles, in which they struck iron balls on my head. I fled and came back. I could not bring back the girl'. (9) Rustam, his son, who was in the house, woke up and heard this conversation. When he heard it he became very angry, since he also was a strong warrior. Nobody in that land could defeat him. (10) He said 'Is there a warrior who could break the head of my father?' He went out in anger. When he went out in great anger, his shoulder hit the side of the door and the wall was demolished. Since he was so huge, the wall was destroyed.

(11) *plìtle.*<sup>1</sup> *Žálo máre tla-hallàqa*<sup>1</sup> *xzèlux!*<sup>1</sup> *lá-məri gúda máre naθyàθele?*<sup>2</sup> *hóle šmíyalla Rustámo,*<sup>1</sup> *t-áwəð fətné.*<sup>1</sup> *Rustámo máre tla-bábe diye*<sup>1</sup> *gárəg 'ámrat 'ay-bráta 'əkəla.*<sup>1</sup> *námu 'íθ xa-náša máše táwər réšət Žálo 'u-Rustámo sàxi?*<sup>2</sup> (12) *máre bábi hál 'u-qáššət hətxele.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla tuniθa*<sup>1</sup> *d-ε-bráta qəm-mtanèla*<sup>1</sup> *'u-áθra 'əkəle,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-èni-wewa twírəlle réše diye.*<sup>1</sup> *Rustámo kríbele ràba-w*<sup>1</sup> *qiméle,*<sup>1</sup> *plìtlele.*<sup>1</sup> (13) *'áθyēle zàla-w*<sup>1</sup> *šqíləlle súsé diye*<sup>1</sup> *'u-dəryəlle sárga l-xàše-w*<sup>1</sup> *gürza.*<sup>1</sup> *'é-ga 'íθwa gürza m-geb-səpa.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-qésa rixele,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-réše diye güttēle,*<sup>1</sup> *qiréle.*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámriwala gürza.*<sup>1</sup> *'áy-zi šqiləlla.*<sup>1</sup> (14) *čú-naša lá-mšewa taqólwala 'a-gürzət Rustámo.*<sup>1</sup> *'arbi batmáne yúqra diya-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> *yáni záwda m-əmmà-kilo'e*<sup>1</sup> *yúqra d-ε-gürze diye-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> *qimle zàla,*<sup>1</sup> *zille*<sup>1</sup> *tíwa xās-súsa,*<sup>1</sup> *zála plìtle m-màθa.*<sup>1</sup>

(15) *'itwale xa-xurzàya,*<sup>1</sup> *béθe diye šəttət màθa-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> *šəmme diye Bəžəm-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-xazéle xále diye Rustámo zàla.*<sup>1</sup> *máre xáli lèket zàla?*<sup>2</sup> *máre 'áw lèle šúlux.*<sup>1</sup> (16) *Bəžəm módile wàða?*<sup>2</sup> *hóle dwáqəlle réšət xórta makyòpəlle,*<sup>1</sup> *yalúnke zóre hola-θáya 'u-sáqa b-à-xorta,*<sup>1</sup> *marpòyalle réšət xórta,*<sup>1</sup> *xórta hóla zyàna,*<sup>1</sup> *'an-yalúnke zóre kùt-xa hóle zdáyəlle bar-ðá-gotət dúnyé.*<sup>1</sup> (17) *Rustámo mərə*<sup>1</sup> *xwàrza!*<sup>1</sup> *lá-wuð hətxa*<sup>1</sup> *qtúl 'anna-bnónə náše kúlla.*<sup>1</sup> *máre lītla xám*<sup>1</sup> *lèket zàla?*<sup>2</sup> *máre 'ána t-ázən 'itli šúla.*<sup>1</sup> *'áti si-bəθa!*<sup>1</sup> *máre là xáli.*<sup>1</sup> *t-áθən mənnox.*<sup>1</sup> (18) *káze qlúb*<sup>1</sup> *máre là.*<sup>1</sup> *hár t-áθən mənnox.*<sup>1</sup> *qiméle šlìxəlla xórta*<sup>1</sup> *múttəlla rəš-rúše-w zìlele.*<sup>1</sup> *xírre Rustámo*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-xazéle 'a-xórta šlìxəlla múttəlla rəš-rúše.*<sup>1</sup> *máre 'áwwa baləyēle*<sup>1</sup> *yan-'áwwa dáwəq wàjju.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'áwwa təfl-zòra-wewa b-šəmna.*<sup>1</sup> (19) *'u-zìlela.*<sup>1</sup> *zìlela xá-yoma tré 'u-!làθa,*<sup>1</sup> *zìle dmíxela xà-dukθa.*<sup>1</sup> *čəlay,*<sup>1</sup> *dmíxlay xa-dúkθa.*<sup>1</sup> *béna Rustámo 'é-gət dàməx*<sup>1</sup> *!laθà yomáθa*<sup>1</sup> *'u-!laθà ləlāwáθa y-áwe dmíxa lε-rəyəs.*<sup>1</sup> *máre tla-Bəžəm xwarzəye diye*<sup>1</sup> *'áti də-la-dámxeti,*<sup>1</sup> *'ána dámxən làxxa*<sup>1</sup> *t-lá-'aθi genəwe*<sup>1</sup> *ganwile súsə.*<sup>1</sup> *máre spəy.*<sup>1</sup>

(11) He went out and Zāl said to the barber ‘You see! Didn’t I say that the wall has ears? Rustam has heard and he will make trouble’. Rustam said to his father ‘You must tell me where that girl is. Is there somebody who can break the head of Zāl while Rustam is alive?’ (12) He said ‘My dear, the story is like this. He related all of the story about that girl, told where the place was and who had broken his head. Rustam became very angry. He got up and went out. (13) He came back and took his horse. He put the saddle and the club on its back. At that time the club (*gurza*) was in use<sup>1</sup> rather than the sword. This was a long piece of wood, with a ball at its end, which was tar. It was called a *gurza*. He took this. (14) Nobody could lift that club of Rustam. Its weight was forty batmans,<sup>2</sup> that is the weight of that club of his was more than one hundred kilos. He went off and sat on the back of the horse. He went off and left the village.

(15) He had a nephew, whose house was at the bottom of the village. His name was Bežəm. He saw his uncle Rustam going off. He said ‘Uncle, where are you going?’ He said ‘That is not your business’. (16) What was Bežəm doing? He was holding the top of a poplar tree and bending it down, young children were coming and going up the poplar, he was letting the top of the poplar go, the poplar was springing up and he was flinging the young children in all directions.<sup>3</sup> (17) Rustam said ‘Nephew, don’t do that and don’t kill all those people’. He said ‘There’s nothing to worry about. Where are you going?’ He said ‘I am going (since) I have a job. You go home!’ He said ‘No, uncle. I will come with you’. (18) He tried (to persuade him and said) ‘Go back!’ He said ‘No. I will come with you’. He pulled up a poplar, put it on his shoulder and set off. Rustam looked and saw him pull up the poplar and put it on this shoulder. He said ‘Either he will be a problem or he will be outstanding’. He was a young child in name (only). (19) They went off. They travelled for two or three days, they went and slept in a certain place. They were tired and they slept in a certain place. Now, when Rustam slept, he would be asleep for three days and three nights and not wake. He said to Bežəm, his nephew ‘You must not sleep—but I shall sleep here—lest thieves come and steal the horse’. He said ‘Fine’.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: There was the club.

<sup>2</sup> Unit of measure varying between 2 and 10 kilos.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: each one to one side of the world.

(20) *Béžəm hóle tūwa<sup>1</sup> h́aras-ile t-xále diyē,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔá-xorta hó-b-ʔíde diyē,<sup>1</sup> hóle zála-w θàya,<sup>1</sup> m̄tawóle b-a-xòrta,<sup>1</sup> ʔáy ‘al-ʔasás kupále diyela<sup>1</sup> là xòrta.<sup>1</sup> xá-bena píšle lèlè<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazéle xa-mándi θàya<sup>1</sup> ráqa xās-sùsa,<sup>1</sup> ʔax-lháya,<sup>1</sup> ʔáx-bórqa lháya bèra,<sup>1</sup> mónne díye nàše,<sup>1</sup> léðəx mòdi.<sup>1</sup> (21) ʔu-θéle ʔo-bèra<sup>1</sup> ʔo-núra,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-mónndi la-ðíle sùsa-weewa<sup>1</sup> náša-weewa l-xàše.<sup>1</sup> b-lèle-weewa.<sup>1</sup> xzéle ʔax-núra bèra-w síqle síqle<sup>1</sup> wírre gu-xa-gəppa gu-d-o-túra t-wéwa báθər xašəy.<sup>1</sup> hóle tãma.<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa là-mšele čú-məndi bíye.<sup>1</sup> (22) klèle<sup>1</sup> hal-tímila t̄láθa yomàθa<sup>1</sup> Rustámo r̄išle.<sup>1</sup> r̄išle Rustámo<sup>1</sup> móre ha-xwarzáya Bèžəm<sup>1</sup> líθ wíya čú-məndi,<sup>1</sup> genáwe hále.<sup>2</sup> móre he-b-álaha<sup>1</sup> xáli hál ʔu-qəšəšat hátxela.<sup>1</sup> (23) móre xa-núra ʔəθyele b-lèle<sup>1</sup> ʔax-áxxa sàqa.<sup>1</sup> ʔána šqilønne<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa qatíya m̄xáya ʔille diyē.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-lèle n̄píla čú-məndi,<sup>1</sup> ʔína xákma məndiyáne hóla n̄píle tãmáha mazlòqe,<sup>1</sup> lan-ðáʔa mòdile.<sup>1</sup> hole-síqa wírre gu-d-wàha gəppa.<sup>1</sup> (24) ʔáwəwa mərə<sup>1</sup> mòdi.<sup>2</sup> zille xzéle ʔína kúlla dāwe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-m-ánna mujawharāt<sup>1</sup> t-wéwa tólye b-qðál d-e-bràta,<sup>1</sup> n̄píle l-àra.<sup>1</sup> móre há ʔáyya<sup>1</sup> l̄itlux šúla<sup>1</sup> klí díya t-ásqəx xázəx módile tãma.<sup>1</sup>*

(25) *hadíya qiməle Rustámo<sup>1</sup> síqa l-tárət gəppa.<sup>1</sup> Béžəm móre lá xáli ʔána t-ásqən táma.<sup>1</sup> káze kli-ʔāti<sup>1</sup> móre lá ʔana-t-ásqena<sup>1</sup> ʔāti tu-làxxa.<sup>1</sup> ʔána t-ásqena.<sup>1</sup> hátxa rəqqiyána-weewa,<sup>1</sup> yalúnka zòra-weewa b-šəmma<sup>1</sup> ʔína ʔáp-aw ferəssa-weewa.<sup>1</sup> (26) qiməle síqa síqa gu-d-áv gəppa,<sup>1</sup> ʔína ʔáv xázyalle xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> dm̄ixa<sup>1</sup> réše díye múttolle gu-xánət ða-bràta,<sup>1</sup> ða-bràta rába xàmθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔa-bràta mərə<sup>1</sup> ʔāti mùt wáða láxxa.<sup>2</sup> ʔəθyən ʔāti mašlənnəx,<sup>1</sup> nablənnəx.<sup>1</sup> (27) móra ʔille diyē<sup>1</sup> qu-qíma!<sup>1</sup> sígən ʔāti!<sup>1</sup> šl̄igena,<sup>1</sup> t-lá-ɾayəš ʔáwəwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa náša ʔən-r̄išle<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa ferəssele<sup>1</sup> ʔati-qat̄əllux.<sup>1</sup> móre lá b-álaha,<sup>1</sup> ʔilla mašlənnəx ʔána.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-ʔíle ʔúrza gáwra xoš-qəyəm,<sup>1</sup> m̄jarbənnə.<sup>1</sup> (28) ʔaw-r̄išle.<sup>1</sup> ʔiman-t r̄išle qəm-xazéle.<sup>1</sup> káze xoš-šl̄igəm<sup>1</sup> yalúnka ʔāti zòrəwət.<sup>1</sup> la-hanéli qat̄lənnux<sup>1</sup> móre lá b-álaha.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-qat̄lənnux ʔáyya bráta šaq̄lənna<sup>1</sup> ʔən-la-páltən m-àxxa.<sup>1</sup> (29) píšle májbur ʔáp ʔaw-náša t-wéwa múrqolla ʔa-bràta.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-aw ferəssa-weewa rába.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya báxta b̄ayéwala Žálo.<sup>1</sup> twíra twíra réše díye m-r̄əš-d-áyya-waewa<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa ferəssa-weewa<sup>1</sup> zila šqiləlla mən-bába-w yəm̄ma-w<sup>1</sup> jl̄iwəlla mùθyalla.<sup>1</sup> múrəlla gu-d-o-gəppa<sup>1</sup> m̄t̄ušyalla.<sup>1</sup>*

(20) Bežəm sat as the guard for his uncle, with the poplar tree in his hand, going back and forth, playing with the poplar tree, as if it were a walking stick, not a poplar tree. Then, when night fell, he saw something coming, rushing along on the back of a horse, as if ablaze, like lightning blazing with light, and people and we don't know what were with it. (21) That light, that fire, that thing appeared. He did not know whether it was a horse or whether there was a man on its back. It was night. He saw what seemed to be a fire, a light, and it went up and entered a cave in the mountain that was behind their backs. He (Bežəm) was there, but he could not oppose it. (22) He stood until when three days had passed, Rustam awoke. Rustam awoke and said 'Hey, nephew Bežəm, has anything happened? Thieves or the like?' He said 'Yes, uncle, the situation is like this'. (23) He said 'A light came in the night, coming up right here. I took this stick to strike at it, but nothing fell down, except for a few things that fell over there shining, I don't know what it is. It went up and entered that cave over there'. (24) He said 'What is it?' He went and saw that it was all gold and that some of the jewels that were hung around the neck of the girl had fallen on the ground'. He said 'Ha, you have no business with this. Stay here now. This is not your business. Stay here now while we go to see what it is.

(25) Now Rustam went up to the entrance of the cave. Bežəm said 'No, uncle, I will go up there with you'. He tried (to persuade him saying) 'You stay'. He said 'No. I will go up. You stay here. I will go up'. He was so obstinate. He was a young child, in name, but he was also a great warrior. (26) He went up to the cave. He saw a man asleep. He had put his head in the lap of a girl, a very beautiful girl. The girl said 'What are you doing here?' I have come to bring you down and take you away'. (27) She said to him 'Get up and go away, go down, lest he wakes up. If this man wakes—he is a great warrior—he will kill you'. He said 'No, by God. I shall take you down. If he is a brave man, let him get up and I shall challenge him'. (28) He woke up. When he woke up, he saw him. He tried (to persuade him to go) 'Go down, you are a young child. I have no inclination to kill you'. He said 'No, by God. Either I shall kill you and take this girl or I shall not go out from here'. (29) The man, who had kidnapped the girl, was forced (to act). He also was a great warrior. The girl was the one that Zāl loved. It was because of her that his head was all broken. He was a great warrior. He went and took her from her father and mother, he kidnapped her and carried her off. He brought her to that cave and hid her.



(30) *hadíya* 'áw *feràssa*<sup>1</sup> *qíma dwiqalle Bèžəm*,<sup>1</sup> *síralla 'aqle w-iθàθe*,<sup>1</sup> *zédyalle b-tárat gəppa*.<sup>1</sup> *zédyalle b-tárat gəppa-w šəlyele*,<sup>1</sup> *mčonəgla mčonəgla*.<sup>1</sup> (31) *xírre*<sup>1</sup> *Rustámo 'ina xwarzáya mčangòle*,<sup>1</sup> *máxyalle qáple biye*<sup>1</sup> *dwiqalle*.<sup>1</sup> *dwiqalle*<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəryalla 'aqláθe w-iθáθe *màre*<sup>1</sup> *ha-mòdi*?<sup>1</sup> *màre hál 'u-qáššət hətəxela*.<sup>1</sup> *màre kli-aw-lèle šúlux*,<sup>1</sup> *t-ásqən 'ána b-gàni*.<sup>1</sup> (32) *qíməle Rustámo*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*sìqe*le.<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-o-gəppa xírre 'ina-ona-náša tàm*.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwa 'e-dánət *qəm-xazèle*,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-yādèle*,<sup>1</sup> *ðile t-ile-Rustámo*.<sup>1</sup> *yādəwa xa-náša gabbàrele*,<sup>1</sup> *feràssa*,<sup>1</sup> *lá-mšə biye diye*.<sup>1</sup> (33) *káze wáða hùwi mónne*<sup>1</sup> 'ána *xulámux*.<sup>1</sup> *sìgən*,<sup>1</sup> *šúqli*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*áyya hon-múθyalla 'ána*,<sup>1</sup> *diyila*.<sup>1</sup> *màre b-réšux*<sup>1</sup> *b-réšət bábux*,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *bráta la-péša biyux*.<sup>1</sup> (34) *qíma*<sup>1</sup> *máxyalla gúrza gu-réšət d-ó-naša qtilalle*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*a-bráta šqilalla*.<sup>1</sup> *šqilalla*,<sup>1</sup> *mušəlyalla*,<sup>1</sup> *muttəlla báθre diye xāš-súsa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*zilele t-ázəl 'áθrət bábə d-e-bráta*.<sup>1</sup>

(35) *bábə d-á-brata 'ile 'áp-aw gabbàra-w*<sup>1</sup> 'itle *náše rábe gabbàre*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-áθra xrəna*,<sup>1</sup> *šomme diye Aprəsyáw*.<sup>1</sup> *Bèžəm màre*<sup>1</sup> *lèkəx zála xáli*?<sup>1</sup> 'áy *maqəlbəxla*<sup>1</sup> *nabləxla*<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *tla-səwi*,<sup>1</sup> *tla-sáwi Zəlo*.<sup>1</sup> (36) *màre là*.<sup>1</sup> *t-ázəm nablənna kəs-bába diya*.<sup>1</sup> *talbənna mánne diye*.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-*lèle yawólla*,<sup>1</sup> *qačlənne*,<sup>1</sup> *šaqlənna b-xəla-w*<sup>1</sup> *xaráye maqəlbənna*.<sup>1</sup> *sab-hátxa gabbàra-wəwa*,<sup>1</sup> *lá-bäye t-awəðwa lèbe*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*zilela ha-t-ázi máti l-áθrət*... *d-áw*... *bábə d-a-bráta*.<sup>1</sup>

(37) *hadíya Rustámo*<sup>1</sup> *šqiləle bráta*<sup>1</sup> *muttəle xāš-súsa báθre diye*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*zilla b-urxa*.<sup>1</sup> *màre tla-xwarzáye diye Bèžəm*<sup>1</sup> *t-ázəx l-áθrət Aprəsyáw bábət bráta*.<sup>1</sup> 'áθre *diye rəhqe*le,<sup>1</sup> *zilla b-yomàθa*.<sup>1</sup> (38) *Bèžəm xwarzáye diye màre*<sup>1</sup> *xáli*,<sup>1</sup> *bərəxla əllux*<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *tləlux*<sup>1</sup> *màre*<sup>1</sup> *là xwárza*,<sup>1</sup> *là*.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *tlíbtət bábila*.<sup>1</sup> *nablənna tla-bəbi*.<sup>1</sup> *bas-t-əzəxi*<sup>1</sup> *talbəxla m-bába diya*.<sup>1</sup> (39) *sab-ánna 'asirəttela*,<sup>1</sup> *náše gabbàrela*,<sup>1</sup> *là-barya*<sup>1</sup> *gənwi*<sup>1</sup> 'ən-*səlbi*.<sup>1</sup> *t-ázəl taləbla m-be-bába diya*.<sup>1</sup> *xaráye məθəla*<sup>1</sup> *nabəlla tla-bábe diye*.<sup>1</sup> *b-rəš-d-əyya bráta*<sup>1</sup> *rəšət bəbe diye t-Zəlo*<sup>1</sup> *θéle twira rábe gáye*.<sup>1</sup> (40) *zilela yomàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *xá-yoma-w tré 'u-tləθa*,<sup>1</sup> *há-t-ila mátye 'áθrət baba d-a-bráta*.<sup>1</sup> *mátye*<sup>1</sup> *ða-mđita*.<sup>1</sup> *qímela máxyela kwinəy*,<sup>1</sup> *xá-dukθa qúrbət*... *d-à mđita*.<sup>1</sup> (41) *màre tla-Bèžəm*,<sup>1</sup> *xwarzáye diye*,<sup>1</sup> 'áti *tú-tiwa ləxxa*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-*súsi páyəs ləxxa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*ána bráta masqənna be-bába diya*.<sup>1</sup> *qíməle*<sup>1</sup> *dwiqalla 'id-bráta*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*síqa síqa*.<sup>1</sup> *mbúqrele*,<sup>1</sup> *moxəzyalle 'an-náše bəθət bábə d-a-bráta*.<sup>1</sup> *mára 'əwwele*.<sup>1</sup>

(30) Now, that warrior seized Bežəm. He tied his legs and hands and threw him from the entrance of the cave. He threw him from the entrance of the cave and he went down, rolling over as he went. (31) Rustam looked and saw his nephew rolling over. He put out his hands and caught him. He caught him and released his legs and hands. He said 'What is it?' He said 'The situation is like this'. He said 'Stay here, this is not your business. I shall go up myself'. (32) Rustam went up to the cave. He looked and saw that that man was there. When he (the other) saw him, he recognized him. He knew that he was Rustam. He knew that he was a hero, a great warrior, whom he could not defeat. (33) He tried to beg him (saying) 'I am your servant. Go, leave me! It is I who have brought her. She is mine'. He said '(I swear) by your head and by the head of your father, this girl will not stay with you'. (34) He struck his club on the head of the man and killed him, then took the girl. He took the girl and brought her down, put her behind him on the back of the horse, set off and went to the land of the girl's father.

(35) The father of the girl was also a heroic warrior and he had many warriors—(they went) to another land. His name was Aprəsyaw. Bežəm said 'Where are we going uncle? Let's take her back to my grandfather, to my grandfather Zāl'. (36) He said 'No. I shall go and take her to her father. I shall ask him for her hand. If he does not give her, I shall kill him and take her by force, then finally I shall take her back'. This was because he was such a heroic warrior and did not want to play tricks. They travelled until they reached the land of girl's father.

(37) Now Rustam took the girl, put her on the back of the horse behind him and set off on the road. He said to his nephew Bežəm 'Let us go to the land of Aprəsyaw, the girl's father'. His land was far away. They travelled for days. (38) Bežəm, his nephew, said 'Uncle, have her wedded to you, she is for you'. He said 'No, nephew, no. She is betrothed to my father. I shall take her to my father. But let us go and ask her father for her hand'. (39) This is because they are tribes, they are heroic warriors, they cannot steal or plunder. He should go and ask her father's family for her hand and then finally bring her back to his father. On account of this girl, the head of his father Zāl was broken many times. (40) They travelled one day, two, three, until they reached the land of the girl's father. They reached a town. They pitched their tents, in a place near the town. (41) He said to Bežəm, his nephew 'You stay here and my horse will stay here, while I take the girl up to the house of her father. He held the hand of the girl and went up. He asked and the people showed him the house of the girl's father. They said 'It is this one'.

(42) *síqle xábra l-bábət bràta<sup>1</sup> mára brátux mùθya.<sup>1</sup> móre 'éni muθyàle.<sup>2</sup> mára xá-naša hóle mùθyàlla<sup>1</sup> 'u-lédəxle 'áwwa náša m-əkəle,<sup>1</sup> xa-ferəssa.<sup>1</sup> (43) bábət bráta plítle qámθe díye qəm-xazéle,<sup>1</sup> mguzgózla lásše díye zdíle.<sup>1</sup> móre 'o-t-íle múrqəlla bráti rába gabbàra-weewa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'askarwáθi lexwa másyə bíye.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa màto xóðe díye másyə šqílle 'e-bráta mən-d-áw,<sup>1</sup> lázəm 'awwa-ràba ferəssele.<sup>1</sup> (44) zdíle.<sup>1</sup> qíma síqe.<sup>1</sup> dóryele šlàma-əlle,<sup>1</sup> wíra tíwa gu-dìwən<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əθyela guràne<sup>1</sup> d-o-náša-w ferəsse díye<sup>1</sup> kúlla tíwe gu-dìwən-íla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bráta múrəlla gu-xa-mànzəl.<sup>1</sup> (45) 'ánna léla mbaqórəlle m-ùkəwət<sup>1</sup> 'an-náše le-y-mbáqri mən-'árxa 'áti m-ùkəwət.<sup>1</sup> tíwela múθye 'ixàla-w<sup>1</sup> xílela.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-bába d-é-brata šəmme díye 'Aprəsyàw.<sup>1</sup> (46) hóle móre tla-xá xuláme díye<sup>1</sup> móre 'a-dánət məθeti qàwa,<sup>1</sup> mpáleti,<sup>1</sup> mattátla 'áqlux rəš-qalúnka d-áwwa náša torətle,<sup>1</sup> torətle qalúnke díye.<sup>1</sup> sab-'áni garšíwa qəlúnka,<sup>1</sup> jígára lítwa.<sup>1</sup> qalúnka małéwa tütum<sup>1</sup> 'u-garšíwa.<sup>1</sup> (47) Rustámo qalúnke díye gríšle.<sup>1</sup> rzígle,<sup>1</sup> qəm-mattúle hátxa l-'ára.<sup>1</sup> múθye qàwe<sup>1</sup> yáwi 'ílle díye.<sup>1</sup> šqílle qáwa tla-šáte,<sup>1</sup> 'o-qáwač qəm-mattúla 'áqle rəš-qalúnka<sup>1</sup> qəm-tawərre.<sup>1</sup> (48) Rustámo 'e-dánə xzéle qalúnke twíra,<sup>1</sup> bríkəwa rəš-bərke,<sup>1</sup> dóryəlla 'íde díye l-d-ò-qawací,<sup>1</sup> tqíləlle,<sup>1</sup> máxyəlle l-'ára.<sup>1</sup> mùθele 'o-náša.<sup>1</sup> 'e-dánə t-íle wíðəlle 'áwwa šúla,<sup>1</sup> 'o-góra d-à-maθa,<sup>1</sup> d-à-mđíta,<sup>1</sup> 'Aprəsyàw,<sup>1</sup> t-amrəxle rəyyəs,<sup>1</sup> mguzgázətəla lásše díye,<sup>1</sup> zdíyele rába.<sup>1</sup> (49) móre 'áwwa ferəssele,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa lá-mšən bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> t-áwəð baláye bíyüni.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áp-xa léle mšúθa-w<sup>1</sup> qíməle 'ó-naša šqíləlle nùbləlle.<sup>1</sup> tíwəle tàma.<sup>1</sup> tíwəle tàma,<sup>1</sup> 'o-léle dmíxele Rustəmo<sup>1</sup> kəs-d-əni,<sup>1</sup> 'árxa diyəyile.<sup>1</sup> dóryəlle šwíθa gu-xà-manzəl,<sup>1</sup> dmíxele.<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'i-dáməx tlaθà yomáθa la-qəyəm.<sup>1</sup> w-ánna là-šbara t-ázi mərəšíle.<sup>1</sup>*

(50) *Béžəm hóle šəttət máθa mòdile wáða.<sup>2</sup> hóle zàla<sup>1</sup> ða-gótət màθa<sup>1</sup> mxáyəlla 'é-xórta<sup>1</sup> gu-d-an-bàte,<sup>1</sup> kúlla tlaxəlla,<sup>1</sup> b-lùle<sup>1</sup> b-rəš-náše,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ráqa θəyēle.<sup>1</sup> qəm-páyəš yóma θáya dmáxa gu-čádre díye.<sup>1</sup> (51) xábra mťéle l-málka.<sup>1</sup> mára ða-gótət màθa hola-tlíxta.<sup>1</sup> šléle tàyə<sup>1</sup> 'ünile tlíxəlla 'áyya.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'askarwáθa<sup>1</sup> 'əθye talbüní<sup>1</sup> (52) 'u-mára lùle-xəzya cü-náša<sup>1</sup> bas-yáðəx hóla tlíxe 'ánna bəte<sup>1</sup> 'u-lùla-xəzye 'askarwáθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma zílle.<sup>1</sup> yómə trè<sup>1</sup> zílle Béžəm xa-góta xéta d-a-mđíta.<sup>1</sup> (53) 'ap-'o-yóma 'a-xórta t-íla b-'íde díye<sup>1</sup> mxáyəlla gu-d-ánna bəte tlaxəlla,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-a-máħəlle tlíxəle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ríqle zílle<sup>1</sup> dmíxele gu-čádre díye.<sup>1</sup>*

(42) Word got to the girl's father. They said 'Your daughter has been brought back'. Who has brought her back? They said 'A man has brought her back, but we do not know where the man is from, he is a great warrior'. (43) The girl's father went out to meet him. When he saw him, his body trembled and he was afraid. He said 'The person who kidnapped my daughter was a great warrior. All my armies could not defeat him. How could he by himself take the girl from him. He must be a heroic warrior'. (44) He was afraid. He (Rustam) went up and greeted him, then entered the reception room. The courtiers of the man and all his warriors were sitting in the reception room. They took the girl into a room. (45) They did not ask him where he was from. Those people did not ask a guest 'Where are you from?' They sat and they brought food, and they ate. The name of the girl's father was Aprəsyaw. (46) He said to one of his servants, he said 'When you bring coffee and you distribute it, put your foot on the pipe of that man and break it, break his pipe'. This was because they used to smoke a pipe, there were no cigarettes. They would fill a pipe with tobacco and smoke it. (47) Rustam smoked his pipe. He finished it and put it on the floor. They brought coffee and gave it to him. He took the coffee to drink. The man serving the coffee put his foot on the pipe and broke it. (48) When Rustam saw that his pipe was broken, he knelt down on his knees, put his hand on that coffee server, lifted him up and slung him onto the floor. The man died. When he did this, the chief of the land, of the town, Aprəsyaw, let's call him the 'headman',—his body trembled and he was very afraid. (49) He said 'He is a great warrior. I cannot defeat him. He will wreak havoc with us'. Nobody spoke. The man took him (Rustam) away and he lodged there. He lodged there and that night Rustam slept in their home. He was their guest. They laid for him bedding in a room and he slept. He slept for three days without getting up. They did not dare go and wake him.

(50) Bežəm was at the bottom of the village. What does he do? He goes to one side of the village and batters the houses with the poplar tree and destroys them all, at night, on the heads of the people, then he runs back. Before daybreak, he went to sleep in his tent. (51) Word got to the king. They said 'One side of the village is destroyed. He went down to investigate who had destroyed it. (They said) 'Where are the armies that have attacked us?' (52) They said 'Nobody has been seen, but we know that the houses have been destroyed and no armies have been seen'. On that day (he) had gone out. The next day Bežəm went to another side of the town. (53) Also on that day he battered the houses with the poplar tree that was in his hand and destroyed them and he destroyed the district. He then ran off and slept in his tent.

(54) *síqle xábra m̄tèle l-málka,*<sup>1</sup> *màra*<sup>1</sup> *ða-gótət màθa,*<sup>1</sup> *t-m̄ðita,*<sup>1</sup> *hola-tl̄ixta.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwewa z̄d̄ile ràba*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'ánna—'èñile wádðalle 'áwewa šúla.*<sup>2</sup> *la-ð̄ila 'èñile.*<sup>1</sup>

(55) *xaràye*<sup>1</sup> *r̄išle Rùstāmo.*<sup>1</sup> *r̄išle,*<sup>1</sup> *'ó-malka móre t̄la-Rùstāmo*<sup>1</sup> *hāl 'u-q̄áṣṣət hāt̄xa*<sup>1</sup> *mòdi q̄áṣṣət?*<sup>2</sup> *'áyya mà çadréla gu-dáṣta?*<sup>2</sup> *bálki t̄-ila mən-tāma tráṣa 'ánna xráwe.*<sup>1</sup> (56) *Rustāmo móre 'ána lè-y-yāðən m̄ódile b̄arya*<sup>1</sup> *t̄l̄iyənwa.*<sup>1</sup> *q̄lible málka m̄šodárre 'àskar*<sup>1</sup> *qam-d-à-çadra.*<sup>1</sup> *šl̄èlè*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-t-xáze mòdi gu-d-a-çadra.*<sup>1</sup> *Béžəm pl̄it̄le*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-šaḡálle 'o-qat̄iye d̄iye*<sup>1</sup> *'aw-qat̄iya xòrtela.*<sup>1</sup> *kr̄éle gu-d-a-'àskar*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-m̄pat̄p̄t̄la*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa qəm-xaš̄ille ða-gòta.*<sup>1</sup> (57) *málka z̄d̄ile.*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'áwewa šúla m-àxxele tráṣa.*<sup>1</sup> *móre t̄la-Rustāmo*<sup>1</sup> *'èñile 'áwewa?*<sup>2</sup> *móre 'áwewa xwarz̄āyile.*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-mò šl̄āya pl̄áṣa m̄anne d̄iye?*<sup>2</sup> *móre madám t̄-ile xwarz̄āyux*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-módi tíwa t̄ama*<sup>1</sup> *léle θ̄āya l̄axxa,*<sup>1</sup> *bálki t̄-ile-'áwewa tl̄áxalla 'ánna b̄ate.*<sup>1</sup> (58) *móre léle 'àw.*<sup>1</sup> *'ən-'it̄lux fer̄sse b̄āyət p̄alšət,*<sup>1</sup> *had̄iya 'ána hon-'əθ̄ya*<sup>1</sup> *t̄l̄āba br̄ātux,*<sup>1</sup> *b̄āyət yawə̀tla,*<sup>1</sup> *b̄āyət p̄alšət k̄efux.*<sup>1</sup> *móre là b-álaha.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána br̄ati lè-y-yawə̀nna-llux.*<sup>1</sup> *lè-y-yāð̄nnexu m-ek̄ūtu.*<sup>1</sup> (59) *móre lè-y-yāð̄tli?*<sup>2</sup> *móre là.*<sup>1</sup> *š̄lyele*<sup>1</sup> *'áni q̄ari q̄ābux l-ḡòð̄e.*<sup>1</sup> *š̄lyele gu-dáṣta*<sup>1</sup> *móre kú-t̄-ile fer̄ssa 'áθe 'àxxane,*<sup>1</sup> *m̄jarə̀bla ḡáne.*<sup>1</sup> (60) *málka m̄šadòr̄elle*<sup>1</sup> *fer̄sse d̄iye*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-ḡð̄ala.*<sup>1</sup> *kú-t̄-ile šl̄āya t̄ama*<sup>1</sup> *l̄èla m̄šāya b̄iye d̄iye*<sup>1</sup> *hóle q̄t̄al̄alla.*<sup>1</sup> *Rustāmo fer̄ss̄ele.*<sup>1</sup> (61) *z̄ála-w pl̄āta*<sup>1</sup> *móre t̄la-xále d̄iye*<sup>1</sup> *móre x̄ali*<sup>1</sup> *šúqla 'ánna t̄l̄ali,*<sup>1</sup> *'an-yal̄inke z̄òre.*<sup>1</sup> *šúqla t̄l̄ali.*<sup>1</sup> *Rustāmo móre là*<sup>1</sup> *si-dm̄ux gu-çadra,*<sup>1</sup> *'ánna k̄āwa x̄ammi.*<sup>1</sup> (62) *béna xaràye*<sup>1</sup> *p̄išle m̄ājbur*<sup>1</sup> *kúl 'askarwáθa d-o-málka qəm-tayə̀mla,*<sup>1</sup> *l̄èla m̄šāya b-Rùstāmo.*<sup>1</sup> *málka z̄d̄ile ràba*<sup>1</sup> *m̄šodárre b̄àθre*<sup>1</sup> *wid̄le š̄óloh m̄anne d̄iye.*<sup>1</sup> *wid̄le š̄óloh m̄anne,*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'ána b̄āyən t-yāð̄en 'āti 'èñiwət.*<sup>1</sup> (63) *móre 'ána 'iwən Rustāmo br̄on-t-Z̄àlo,*<sup>1</sup> *t-y-aθ̄éwa t̄l̄áb̄alla br̄ātux*<sup>1</sup> *'u-t-max̄it̄uwale*<sup>1</sup> *'u-r̄éše d̄iye torit̄uwale,*<sup>1</sup> *br̄ináne gu-r̄éše.*<sup>1</sup> *hon-'əθ̄ya t̄l̄áb̄alla br̄ātux,*<sup>1</sup> *nabl̄inna t̄la-b̄abi.*<sup>1</sup>

(54) Word got to the king. They said 'A side of the village, the town, has been destroyed'. He was very afraid and said 'Who has done this?' They did not know who it was.

(55) Finally Rustam woke up. He woke up and the king said to Rustam 'The situation is like this. What is happening?'<sup>4</sup> What tent is that in the field? Perhaps it was from here that all this devastation is being wrought'.

(56) Rustam said 'I don't know what happened. I was asleep'. The king returned and sent an army to that tent. He went down to see what was in the tent. Bežəm came out. He took his stick, the stick was a poplar tree. He smote the army, he tore them apart and threw them in all directions.<sup>5</sup> (57) The king was afraid. He said this business is being done from here'. He said to Rustam 'Who is he?' He said 'He is my nephew. Why are they going down to fight with him?' He said 'If he is your nephew, why is he camped there and does not come here? Perhaps it is he who is destroying the houses'. (58) He said 'It is not him. If you have warriors and you want to fight—now, I have come to ask for the hand of your daughter, whether you want to give her or whether you fight is up to you'. He said 'No, by God. I will not give my daughter to you. I do not know where you are from'. (59) He said 'Do you not know me?' He said 'No'. He came down, they challenged one another to fight.<sup>6</sup> He went down to the field and said 'Whoever is a warrior, let him come here and test out his mettle'. (60) The king sent his warriors to wrestle with him. All those who went down there could not defeat him and he killed them. Rustam was a mighty warrior. (61) (Bežəm) was going back and forth. He said to his uncle, he said 'Uncle, leave them to me, those young people, leave them to me'. Rustam said 'No! Go and sleep in your tent. Let them be my concern'. (62) In the end, he was forced (to concede), since Rustam finished off all the armies of the king, nobody being able to defeat him. The king was very frightened. He sent after him and made a truce with him. He made a truce with him and said 'I want to know who you are'. (63) He said 'I am Rustam son of Zāl, who used to come to seek the hand of your daughter and whom you beat and whose head you broke, (leaving) wounds in his head. I have come seeking the hand of your daughter, in order to take her to my father'.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: What is the story?

<sup>5</sup> Literally: each one he threw to one side.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: They called a battle cry to each other.

- (64) 'Aprəsyəw<sup>1</sup> ləš-ile mšáya t-ámər çü-məndi.<sup>1</sup> lèle mšáya bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> ferəssele.<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-'askarwáθa díye kúlla pálga qtilile.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áxni t-yawóxla 'ína t̄lálux.<sup>1</sup> móre là.<sup>1</sup>
- (65) 'ána hon-yəmya<sup>1</sup> 'áyya bráta hon-'əθya nablənna<sup>1</sup> 'ən-b-našùθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-b-xèla,<sup>1</sup>  
 nablənna t̄la-bàbi.<sup>1</sup> bənta xaráye píšle məjbur<sup>1</sup> málka qəm-yawólla 'ille díye.<sup>1</sup> móre  
 'ána hiwàli,<sup>1</sup> báyət nábəlla t̄la-gənu<sup>1</sup> báyət nábəlla t̄la-bəbux.<sup>1</sup> (66) qiməle,<sup>1</sup> múttəlla  
 xāš-sūsa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-muḫšəšəlla 'an-nəšə<sup>1</sup> 'u-t̄libela xátər mənnəy,<sup>1</sup> 'u-zilele.<sup>1</sup> zilele<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma-w  
 tré-w t̄lāθa.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyele mətyele 'áθrət bəbe díye.<sup>1</sup> (67) 'u-núbləlla 'a-bràta,<sup>1</sup> híwəlla  
 t̄la-bəbe díye.<sup>1</sup> wíðela xlúla<sup>1</sup> šawwà yomáθa-w<sup>1</sup> šawwà lelāwəθa-w<sup>1</sup> dáwla-w zòrna.<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-qəm-magwərra l-bəbe díye<sup>1</sup> 'a-bràta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána šwiqáli tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-θéli làxxa.<sup>1</sup>

(64) Aprəsyaw was not able to say anything. He could not oppose him. He (Rustam) was a mighty warrior. He had killed half of all his armies. He said 'We shall give her, but to you (not to your father)'. (65) He said 'No. I have taken an oath. I have come to take this girl either humanely or by force to my father'. In the end he was forced (to concede) and the king gave her to him. He said 'I have given her, whether you wish to take her for yourself or whether you wish to take her for your father'. (66) He put her on the back of the horse and the people escorted them (out of the town) and bade them farewell, then he went on his way. He travelled for one day, two, three, and reached the land of his father. (67) He took the girl and gave her to his father. They held a wedding for seven days and seven nights, with drum and pipe. He wedded the girl to his father. I have left it there and come here.



A30 THE CRAFTY HIRELING

Informant: Mišayel Barčəm (ʔĕn-Nune)

(1) ʔiθwa liθwa<sup>1</sup> biš-m-álaha góra cú-mdi liθwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa xà-naša,<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwale trè-bnone.<sup>1</sup> rába píšle taqšīr-hāl.<sup>1</sup> lás-iyewa mšáya xāyewa.<sup>1</sup> móre ta-bnóne diyē<sup>1</sup> bàbi<sup>1</sup> de-sóga tóləxu xa-šúla ta-t-xāyitu biye.<sup>1</sup> ʔəni mənneḫu t-àzəl.<sup>2</sup> (2) mára t-ázəl ʔo-gòra.<sup>1</sup> biš-yāde mtagbòrra.<sup>1</sup> ʔati ʔo-zóra lá ʔazēti,<sup>1</sup> tá d-o-zóra.<sup>1</sup> zülle bróne diyē t-áya šúla gu-ḏa-màḏa.<sup>1</sup> móre ʔəni báye palàxa.<sup>2</sup> ʔəni báye xulàma.<sup>2</sup> móre hé ʔana báyan xulàma.<sup>1</sup> (3) θèle<sup>1</sup> kásle diyē<sup>1</sup> qəm-mapləxle.<sup>1</sup> móre t-amrənnux xà-məndi.<sup>1</sup> býat pəlxət.<sup>2</sup> móre hē!<sup>1</sup> móre pəlxət kásli hal-d-o-yómə qárya tðke.<sup>1</sup> har-qréla tðke<sup>1</sup> párəq šùlux.<sup>1</sup> móre litla-xam.<sup>1</sup> (4) móre mòdi šúla.<sup>2</sup> móre m-léle<sup>1</sup> mpəltətta təwre<sup>1</sup> nablətta ta-ʔawəha tura.<sup>1</sup> w-áyya tulləkḏa,<sup>1</sup> tulləkḏa zórta mənnum,<sup>1</sup> kálba zóra mənnum t-əwe.<sup>1</sup> ʔəka šəṭqa<sup>1</sup> təma zərəti.<sup>1</sup> (5) ʔu-mattənnux jarréta ləxma zəḏəye.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mattənnux məsta.<sup>1</sup> zəḏəye<sup>1</sup> ʔəxlət mənna t-lə-qšaya.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-məsta<sup>1</sup> ʔəxlət mənna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwə,<sup>1</sup> qrúštət páḏa díya.<sup>1</sup> (6) w-ašórta məθəlli<sup>1</sup> xá-qapla qəse<sup>1</sup> t-lá-hawə b-qəlpə,<sup>1</sup> t-áwa xwəre t-la-qəlpə.<sup>1</sup> móre rába spəy.<sup>1</sup> (7) m-léle qimele,<sup>1</sup> ʔo-xuláme diyē<sup>1</sup> təwre mpúltəlla-w nubləlla<sup>1</sup> ʔu-tulləkḏa mənne-diyē,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bzára mənne-diyē,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-məsta-w<sup>1</sup> zəḏəye,<sup>1</sup> zúlele ta-t-zəre.<sup>1</sup> (8) mátyele tla-tura,<sup>1</sup> tulləkḏa síqta š-xà-ʔisarəwə,<sup>1</sup> tūwta təma.<sup>1</sup> kəze<sup>1</sup> háyyo šla-làxxa.<sup>1</sup> ʔana ʔəxxa báyan zərəna.<sup>1</sup> mùt síqta təma.<sup>2</sup> là šléla.<sup>1</sup> hurre b-gáne diyē.<sup>1</sup> (9) təwre masóqəlla b-o-kəndàla,<sup>1</sup> sáqa zəre b-o-kəndàla,<sup>1</sup> təwre léla-mšaya šále qlába šləya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qarqáre diyela.<sup>1</sup> (10) m-léle hal-ʔašórta məskéna bliga təma<sup>1</sup> léle mšaya zəre.<sup>1</sup> ksirre,<sup>1</sup> kəixle rába.<sup>1</sup> tulləkḏa léla šləya,<sup>1</sup> síqta b-o-ʔisərəla.<sup>1</sup> ʔətxele,<sup>1</sup> kəpa.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Mišayel Barčəm (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) There was once<sup>1</sup>—nothing is greater than God—there was a man, who had two sons. He was in very straitened circumstances. He could no longer make a living.<sup>2</sup> He said to his sons ‘My dears, go and search for a job for yourselves by which you may make a living. Which of you will go?’ (2) They said ‘The older one will go. He knows better how to manage things. You, the younger one, don’t go’, (speaking) to the younger one. His son went searching for a job in a town. He said ‘Who wants a workman? Who wants a servant?’ (Somebody) said ‘Yes, I want a servant’. (3) He went to him and he employed him. He said ‘Let me tell you something. Do you want to work?’ He said ‘Yes!’ He said ‘Work with me until the *toke* bird sings.<sup>3</sup> As soon as the *toke* bird has sung, your work will finish’. He said ‘All right’. (4) He said ‘What is the job?’ He said ‘Early in the morning take out the oxen and take them to that mountain over there. This hound, small hound, small dog, will be with you. Wherever she squats down, it is there that you should plough. (5) I shall provide you with a food-box of pitta breads. I shall provide you also with yoghurt. You should eat the pittas without breaking them and should eat the yoghurt without the crust being spoilt, the crust of its surface. (6) In the evening bring me a bundle of pieces of wood that are without bark, that are white without bark.’ He said ‘Very good’. (7) That servant of his got up early in the morning. He brought out the oxen, took them (with him) and went to plough together with a hound, a plough, and also yoghurt and pitta breads. (8) He reached the mountain and the hound went up onto a rock and sat there. He tried (to persuade her down saying) ‘Come down here! I want to plough here. Why have you gone there?’ But she did not come down. He was confounded. (9) He took the oxen onto the slope, he went up to plough on that slope, but the oxen could not manage and came back down. The plough squeaked (on the rock). (10) The poor man was busy there from morning until evening, but could not plough. He was shattered. He was very tired. The hound did not come down but went up onto the rock, that is the stone.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: There was, there was not.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: live.

<sup>3</sup> The song of this bird is the sign of the beginning of Spring.

(11) *hadíya báye t-áxəl mándi kpínɛle.<sup>1</sup> b-xyára b-zeðáye,<sup>1</sup> t-la-qşàya<sup>1</sup> dàx t-axállá.<sup>2</sup> ma-zāl qaşe-llèy.<sup>1</sup> màsta<sup>1</sup> lázəm qrúšta díya là xárwa.<sup>1</sup> (12) píşá kpína.<sup>1</sup> la-xála xille<sup>1</sup> ʔu-zeðáye şwíqile b-şawpèy.<sup>1</sup> ʔaşórta báye qèse.<sup>1</sup> ʔáye ʔátxa qèse,<sup>1</sup> qése t-la-qálpe liθena.<sup>1</sup> ʔóya bèθele.<sup>1</sup> (13) ʔóya bèθele:<sup>1</sup> ʔa-mu-wídlux.<sup>2</sup> lá-mşeli zrìli.<sup>1</sup> tullákθa síqta ş-xà-ʔisara,<sup>1</sup> lá-mşeli zrìli.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-láxma t-la-qşáya là-mşən t-axlánwale.<sup>1</sup> màsta hot-màra<sup>1</sup> t-la-xráwa qrúšta díya,<sup>1</sup> fa-míθa m-kəpna.<sup>1</sup> (14) móre ʔàti<sup>1</sup> la-dóqət wájju mənni.<sup>1</sup> qəm-maxèle<sup>1</sup> ʔşrà-jalde<sup>1</sup> ʔşrà-qese gu-xáşe diyè,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ţarədle.<sup>1</sup> sí ʔat-là-nəfətli.<sup>1</sup> zille məskəna<sup>1</sup> bxàya.<sup>1</sup>*

(15) *há bàbi!<sup>1</sup> mòdi wídlux.<sup>2</sup> hāl u-hāwāl ʔu-qşşət hətxa-wawa.<sup>1</sup> lá-mşeli plíxli kəsle-díye<sup>1</sup> hátxa wídle b-rèşi.<sup>1</sup> xóne ʔo-şedána móre ʔána t-azéna.<sup>1</sup> kóra la-ʔəzət.<sup>1</sup> qatəllux.<sup>1</sup> ʔawwa kapòrele.<sup>1</sup> ʔána ʔşrà-jalde məxyállí.<sup>1</sup> ʔawwa qatəllux!<sup>1</sup> là,<sup>1</sup> ʔána t-azəna.<sup>1</sup> (16) zille xóne ʔo-şedána.<sup>1</sup> ʔəni báye xulamwàθa.<sup>2</sup> ʔəni báye xulamwàθa.<sup>2</sup> qúrəbət bèθele xđára,<sup>1</sup> şràxa<sup>1</sup> ʔəni báye xulamwàθa.<sup>2</sup> móre hayyo-làxxa<sup>1</sup> ʔána báyyən xulamwàθa.<sup>1</sup> há báyyət pàlxeti.<sup>2</sup> móre hè.<sup>1</sup> (17) hàyyo,<sup>1</sup> t-amrənnux xà-məndi.<sup>1</sup> báyyət pàlxət.<sup>2</sup> móre hè.<sup>1</sup> móre pàlxət kəsli ʔàxxa<sup>1</sup> hál-o-yomət qəre tðke.<sup>1</sup> qréle tðke<sup>1</sup> pàraq şùlux.<sup>1</sup> mòdi şùlux.<sup>2</sup> (18) móre ʔánna táwre mpalţáttá m-lèle,<sup>1</sup> nablítla tura.<sup>1</sup> ʔéka şátqa ʔáyya tullákθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya kálba ʔéka şàtəq,<sup>1</sup> tàma zərəti.<sup>1</sup> ʔánna zedáye<sup>1</sup> ʔáxlət mánna t-là-qşaya.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya màsta<sup>1</sup> ʔáxlət mánna qrúšta díya t-la-xàrwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔaşórta məθətli xa-qápla qèse<sup>1</sup> t-là-hawə b-qálpe,<sup>1</sup> xwàre.<sup>1</sup> móre rába şpày.<sup>1</sup>*

(19) *qímele m-lèle,<sup>1</sup> zíla núbla táwre diyè,<sup>1</sup> bzàre xáşe diyè,<sup>1</sup> tullákθa mánne-mənnə diyè,<sup>1</sup> jarréta mánna zedáye-u màsta-w<sup>1</sup> zilele.<sup>1</sup> (20) tullákθa síqta ş-isàrele.<sup>1</sup> káze şla-làxxa!<sup>1</sup> ʔana-ʔàxxa báyyən zərəna.<sup>1</sup> şla-làxxa!<sup>1</sup> la-şlèla.<sup>1</sup> síqele şqille xa-kəpa<sup>1</sup> múttəlla ʔàxxa<sup>1</sup> kaləbθa,<sup>1</sup> qılilla,<sup>1</sup> dşryəlla,<sup>1</sup> mquləbzəlla-zi.<sup>1</sup> grışəlla,<sup>1</sup> móre ʔàxxa t-óyat.<sup>1</sup> zrìyele táma.<sup>1</sup> zrìyele,<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya qılilə.<sup>1</sup>*

(11) Now he wanted to eat something, since he was hungry. He looks at the pitta breads, how can he eat them without breaking them? He must break them. As for the yoghurt, its crust could not be spoilt. (12) So he remained hungry. He did not eat and left the pitta breads where they were.<sup>4</sup> In the evening he seeks wood, searches for wood, but there is no wood without bark. He went back home. (13) He went back home and he (his master) said ‘Well, what have you done?’ ‘I could not plough. The hound went up onto a rock and I could not plough. I could not eat the bread without breaking it. You told me not to spoil the crust of the yoghurt. So, I am dying of hunger’. (14) He said ‘You have no use for me’. He struck him ten strokes, ten strokes of a stick on his back and drove him away. ‘Go away, you are no use to me’. The poor man went away weeping.

(15) (His father said) ‘My dear, what have you done?’ ‘This is what happened. I could not work with him. He did such-and-such to me’. His crazy (younger) brother said ‘I’ll go’. ‘Don’t go my lad. He’ll kill you. He is a scoundrel. He beat me with ten strokes. He will kill you’. ‘No, I’ll go’. (16) That brother of his, the crazy man, went on his way. (He cried) ‘Who wants servants? Who wants servants?’ He went wandering near his house, crying out ‘Who wants servants?’ He said ‘Come here. I want servants. Well, do you want to work?’ He said ‘Yes’. (17) ‘Come, I’ll tell you something. Do you want to work?’ He said ‘Yes’. He said ‘You will work with me here until the day the *toke* bird sings. When the *toke* bird sings, your work is finished. What is your job?’ (18) He said ‘Take these oxen out in the early morning and take them to the mountain. Where this hound crouches, where this dog crouches, it is there that you should plough. You should eat these pitta breads without breaking them. You should eat this yoghurt without its crust being spoilt. In the evening bring me a bundle of wood, white, without bark’. He said ‘Very good’.

(19) He got up in the early morning and went and took his oxen, with his plough on his back, together with the hound and a food-box containing pitta breads and yoghurt. He went off. (20) The hound went up on a rock. He tried (to persuade it down saying) ‘Come down here! I want to plough here. Come down here!’ It did not come down. He went up and took a stone, put the dog here, killed it and turned it upside down. Then he dragged it and said ‘You will be here’. He ploughed there. He ploughed. He had killed it.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: in their place.

(21) θέλε<sup>1</sup> t-áxal m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> zed̀aye<sup>1</sup> t-la-q̀sàya<sup>1</sup> de-m̀ato hóya?<sup>2</sup> hóla sḱnta m̀nne.<sup>1</sup> xarátla zed̀aye<sup>1</sup> be-pálga diya.<sup>1</sup> tráθna zed̀aye xarət̄l̄ey.<sup>1</sup> m̀asta,<sup>1</sup> b̄az̄ela,<sup>1</sup> b̄az̄ela jullákθa m-xòθa.<sup>1</sup> b̄az̄ela,<sup>1</sup> másta plítla m-xóθa diya,<sup>1</sup> s̄-zed̀aye,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xálele l̄axma,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-zed̀aye ʔu-m̀asta xille.<sup>1</sup> (22) ʔas̄rta m̀ut t-áwəð.<sup>2</sup> b̄áye q̀ese,<sup>1</sup> q̀ese xwáre t-la-q̀alpa.<sup>1</sup> xirele,<sup>1</sup> móre b-xšáwən har-ʔánna bz̀are<sup>1</sup> q̀émən torənn̄ey,<sup>1</sup> nabl̄nna ʔalle-diye.<sup>1</sup> ʔánna t-la-q̀alpele.<sup>1</sup> q̄imele bz̀are twirelela-w<sup>1</sup> níre-diye twirelele,<sup>1</sup> k̄ulla wíðəlla q̄ətt̄ate,<sup>1</sup> qmít̄əlla xáse ʔu-zilele.<sup>1</sup> ʔáw mírewa táwre morítla b-k̀awe.<sup>1</sup> ʔána lé-y-awən b̄əθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔána tára xalq̄ənn̄e t-ázən xa-dúkθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔati derátla b-k̀awe k̄ulla,<sup>1</sup> lá morítla b-t̄ara.<sup>1</sup> (23) z̄ilele qam-tárət g̀oma.<sup>1</sup> k̀awe,<sup>1</sup> ʔéka t-áwəw táwra b-k̀awe?<sup>2</sup> ya-ʔálaha mo-ʔódəw b-g̀ani?<sup>2</sup> ʔíθwa xá-n̄ara t̄ama.<sup>1</sup> kut-táwra máxyəlle xá gu-réše diye,<sup>1</sup> gu-be-ʔéne diye.<sup>1</sup> d̄oryəlle l-ára táwra.<sup>1</sup> mqud̄əqd̄əlla k̄ulla.<sup>1</sup> b-o n̄ara ʔan-táwre diye<sup>1</sup> mqud̄əqdeleley.<sup>1</sup> k̄ulla d̄oryəlla b-k̀awe,<sup>1</sup> d̄oryəlla gu-g̀oma.<sup>1</sup> m̄ar-b̄əθa ʔəθyēle s̄iq̄ele.<sup>1</sup> móre ʔan-táwre mo-wíðlux?<sup>2</sup> dr̄éli gu-g̀oma.<sup>1</sup> ʔó q̀ese... ʔánna níre bz̀ara m̀ut twir̄ilux?<sup>2</sup> ʔána m-éka meθónnux q̀ese xwáre t-la-q̀alpe?<sup>2</sup> m-éka t̄əȳəwəwəlux ʔána?<sup>2</sup> (24) k̀óra mu-wíðlux?<sup>2</sup> x̄r̄w-diyára twir̄ilux bz̀are!<sup>1</sup> twir̄ilux mešáne k̄ulla!<sup>1</sup> k̄ulla twir̄ilux!<sup>1</sup> móre hát̄xela.<sup>1</sup> zed̀aye?<sup>2</sup> lan-q̀əȳəlla.<sup>1</sup> hóla zed̀aye.<sup>1</sup> jullákθa hóla hár q̄r̄úšta r̄əša.<sup>1</sup>

(25) ʔáwəw léle diya t-íla táwre diye p̄ime.<sup>1</sup> l̄əðe.<sup>1</sup> dm̄ixele.<sup>1</sup> m-l̄ele<sup>1</sup> šm̄iyēle qálət q̄ate.<sup>1</sup> q̄ate narnart̄ey gu-g̀oma.<sup>1</sup> ʔəθyē l-b̄sra k̄ulla.<sup>1</sup> q̄ate,<sup>1</sup> šárrət q̄ate gu-g̀om̄ela,<sup>1</sup> parp̄att̄ela.<sup>1</sup> (26) b̄áxta móra x̄z̄i gáwra módila wáða ʔánna q̄ate!<sup>1</sup> m-éka píšla l̄áxxa?<sup>2</sup> l̄iθwəwəw q̄ate ʔax̄ni.<sup>1</sup> k̄ulla q̄at̄ə máθa k̄p̄íše t̄ama q̄ate.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya módila?<sup>2</sup> narnártət q̄at̄ela.<sup>1</sup> (27) p̄θix̄əlle t̄ara,<sup>1</sup> k̄ulla táwre mqud̄əqde d̄orye l-ʔára.<sup>1</sup> ʔé-ga k̄arəb<sup>1</sup> m̀ut t-áwəð b-r̄əše?<sup>2</sup> móre m̀ut wíða?<sup>2</sup> táwre d̄oryónna b-k̀awe!<sup>1</sup> m̄orux darátla b-k̀awe.<sup>1</sup> qanáne léwa p̄š̄at̄a,<sup>1</sup> ʔap-qanáne twir̄əll̄ey.<sup>1</sup> z̄illa.<sup>1</sup>

(21) He came to eat something. ‘Pitta bread without breaking it, how could that be?’ He had a knife with him. He scored the pittas in their middle. He scored both the pittas. He pierced the yoghurt. He pierced the vessel from below. He pierced it, the yoghurt came out from underneath onto the pittas and he ate the bread. He ate the pittas and the yoghurt. (22) In the evening what did he do? He searched for pieces of wood, white pieces of wood without bark. He looked and said ‘I think it is only this plough (that has white wood). I’ll break it up and take it to him. They are without bark’. He broke up the plough. He broke up its yoke. He reduced it to pieces. He tied them on his back and went off. He (his master) had said ‘You should bring the oxen in through the window. I shall not be at home. I shall lock the door and go somewhere. You put them all through the window, don’t bring them in through the door’. (23) He went up to the door of the basement stable. ‘A window, where could an ox enter in a window? By God, what should I do with myself?’ There was an axe there. He struck each ox a blow on its head, on its forehead and put it on the ground. He chopped them all up. He chopped the oxen up with the axe. He put them all through the window and put them in the basement stable. The landlord came back. He said ‘What did you do with those oxen?’ ‘I put them in the basement stable’. ‘These pieces of wood... why have you broken the yoke of the plough?’ ‘From where can I fetch white wood without bark? From where could I seek this for you?’ (24) ‘Wretch, what have you done! You have broken the plough! You have broken all the beams (of the plough). You have broken everything!’ He said ‘That’s how it is’. ‘And the pittas?’ ‘I have not cut them. Here are the pittas. As for the bowl (of yoghurt)—here, its crust is still on it’.

(25) He did not know that his oxen were slaughtered. He did not know. He went to sleep. In the early morning he heard the sound of cats. The cats were hissing in the basement stable. They had all come for the meat. Cats, it was a cat fight in the basement stable. They were pulling each other’s hair out. (26) The wife said ‘Husband, see what those cats are doing. Where have they come from? We did not have any cats’. All the cats of the village were gathered there. What was it (that they heard)? It was the hissing of cats. (27) He opened the door (and saw that) all the oxen were chopped up and put down on the floor. Then he got angry. What will he do to him (the servant)? He said ‘What have you done?’ ‘I have put the oxen through the window! You said “You should put them through the window”’. The horns did not fit, so he brought also the horns. They were all dead.

(28) mò-<sup>2</sup>awəð b-gáne?<sup>1</sup> móre béna zilla báxta mò-<sup>2</sup>oðxi?<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áwwa šeðànele.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áwwa prīt-dína <sup>2</sup>àp-<sup>2</sup>aw.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>tòkē<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ìman qárya <sup>2</sup>tóke?<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>tóke lá-qarya díya b-díya.<sup>1</sup> qimle,<sup>1</sup> móre béna xázəx mò-<sup>2</sup>oðəx.<sup>1</sup>

(29) <sup>2</sup>ítla bráta gwírta xa-dúkθa rə̀hqa.<sup>1</sup> bratéy gwírtela,<sup>1</sup> xa-béθa xèna.<sup>1</sup> móre de-nábəl sáma díya.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>èbele,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>à-mra,<sup>1</sup> tré-tre táwre priméle bābi<sup>1</sup> lá muθéle sàmi.<sup>1</sup> (30) xa-šaqòlele<sup>1</sup> mkùlčele<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-xa-xèna<sup>1</sup> ða-<sup>2</sup>àtma<sup>1</sup> hóla sàxi.<sup>1</sup> móre <sup>2</sup>áyya <sup>2</sup>àtma<sup>1</sup> nablátla <sup>2</sup>əlla-díya.<sup>1</sup> móre lítla xám.<sup>1</sup> síqele,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>àtma múttəlla qúrbət bèθa.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-múrele šaqòla<sup>1</sup> kúlle klīca.<sup>1</sup> (31) móre <sup>2</sup>áwwa sámat tàwra<sup>1</sup> bábəx mšudərre-lləx.<sup>1</sup> móra m-kúlle d-o-tàwra <sup>2</sup>áwwa šaqòla mšudərre!<sup>1</sup> la-bāyànnə.<sup>1</sup> si-nābəlle!<sup>1</sup> maqləbble.<sup>1</sup> (32) qlība šəlyele.<sup>1</sup> móre mò-wiðle?<sup>1</sup> lèla bāyalle?<sup>1</sup> móre là.<sup>1</sup> móre másəq <sup>2</sup>è-bena.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ən-lá bèla<sup>1</sup> maxítla b-pəlgət be-<sup>2</sup>əna díya.<sup>1</sup> móre lítla xám.<sup>1</sup> (33) síqele bənət-tərtə.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>àtma górtə múttəlla <sup>2</sup>ap-<sup>2</sup>áy qam-tàra<sup>1</sup> múwrele šaqólət tàwra.<sup>1</sup> móra har-<sup>2</sup>áwwele.<sup>1</sup> móre sáma díyax <sup>2</sup>áwwele.<sup>1</sup> là bāyànnə.<sup>1</sup> maqləbble.<sup>1</sup> lá bāyàtte?<sup>1</sup> patəlle šaqólət tàwra<sup>1</sup> b-pəlgət be-<sup>2</sup>əna díya,<sup>1</sup> mkan-dórra l-àra.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>awódla tarə̀kka šáwpa díya.<sup>1</sup> (34) qlība šəlyele.<sup>1</sup> móre har-là-wela rázi.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áwwa là-γəðe módi bórya,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áwwa hole-qtilla <sup>2</sup>áy.<sup>1</sup> móre yá-<sup>2</sup>alaha sùqla.<sup>1</sup> hadíya hírra b-ganèy<sup>1</sup> mó-<sup>2</sup>oði b-o-nàša.<sup>1</sup> rába híre b-gànele.<sup>1</sup>

(35) <sup>2</sup>tóke là-qarya di-b-díya.<sup>1</sup> hadíya,<sup>1</sup> bráte díye <sup>2</sup>íθwala bráta zòrta,<sup>1</sup> móre <sup>2</sup>ásqət m-léle jàlde<sup>1</sup> š-d-áwwa túθa qàryati<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>óðət túke tük,<sup>1</sup> túke tük,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áwwa qa-t-marpəxle<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>à-zəl.<sup>1</sup> (36) bráte díye síqtela š-tùθa<sup>1</sup> héš xúya xùyele,<sup>1</sup> wiðtela túke tük.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áwwa móre <sup>2</sup>áyya <sup>2</sup>tóke b-áwwa héwən, m-èka <sup>2</sup>tóke díya?<sup>1</sup> díya dánət <sup>2</sup>tóke díya?<sup>1</sup> (37) móre <sup>2</sup>arbà-yarxe,<sup>1</sup> xamšà-yarxe pyásela.<sup>1</sup> m-èka <sup>2</sup>tóke?<sup>1</sup> móre baba díya mpartənnə mo-<sup>2</sup>tòkela <sup>2</sup>áyya?<sup>1</sup> šqílele xa-šəndòxa<sup>1</sup> trípəlle l-gota-díya.<sup>1</sup> m-táma npíltela mìθta šópa díya.<sup>1</sup> pšíqtela<sup>1</sup> mìθtela.<sup>1</sup>

(28) What could he do with himself? He said ‘Well, they are dead, wife, what should we do?’ He is mad. He is also a damned scoundrel.<sup>5</sup> Now, when will the *toke* bird sing? The *toke* bird will not sing right now. He said ‘Let’s see what we can do’.

(29) They had a married daughter in a distant place. Their daughter was married in another house. He said ‘Take her portion (of the meat). She will say that “It is shameful. My father has slaughtered several pairs of oxen and has not brought my share.”’ (30) One (piece) was a shank, which was stripped (of its meat). Another was a thigh, which was in good condition. He said (to the servant) ‘Take this thigh to her’. He said ‘All right’. He went up and put the thigh near to the house and brought the shank which was all stripped. (31) He said ‘This is your share of the ox. You father has sent it to you. She said ‘From all the ox he has sent this shank! I don’t want it! Go and take it away! Take it back!’ (32) He went back down. He (the master) said (to himself) ‘Now what has he done?!’ (He said to him) ‘Doesn’t she want it?’ He said ‘No!’ He said ‘Take it up again. If she does not want it, hit her with it in the middle of her forehead’. He said ‘All right’. (33) He went up a second time. He put down the large thigh outside and brought in the shank of the ox. She said ‘Is this all?’ He said ‘This is your portion’. ‘I don’t want it. Take it back’. ‘Don’t you want it?’ He twists the shank of the ox in the middle of her forehead and caused her to roll on the ground. He made her into a corpse. (34) He went back down (to the house). He said ‘She was still not satisfied’. He (the master) did not know what had happened. He had killed her. He (the master) said ‘Leave her’. Now they were perplexed as to what they could do with that man. They were very perplexed.

(35) The *toke* bird would not sing right now. Now, his daughter—they had a small daughter—he said ‘Early in the morning go up onto that mulberry tree and call out, make a *tuke tuk, tuke tuk* sound, so that we can get rid of him, so that he will go away’. (36) His daughter went up onto the mulberry. It was still very dark. She made a *tuke, tuk* sound. He (the servant) said ‘Is this a *toke* bird in this season? Where has a *toke* bird come from at this time? Is it the time of the *toke* bird?’ (37) He said ‘Four months, five months are left (before the time of the *toke* bird). Where is the *toke* bird from?’ He said ‘I’ll bray her father. What kind of *toke* bird is this?’ He took a small stone and threw it at her. She fell off from there and died on the spot. She fell flat and died.

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<sup>5</sup> Literally: screwed in religion.



(38) qimɛle<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'ay-bráte diye miθta.<sup>1</sup> móre mò-wiðlux?<sup>1</sup> móre tðke,<sup>1</sup> 'ána dréli b-tðke.<sup>1</sup> qráyewa tðke gu-d-áwwa tùθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-bráte qtilále.<sup>1</sup> ya-'álaha 'o-náša mód t-òdi biye?<sup>1</sup>

(39) b-lèle<sup>1</sup> móre 'áwwa yalúnka brónən zóra mpal'tátte majirátte b-lèle.<sup>1</sup> móre litla-xam.<sup>1</sup> mpal'ətwale,<sup>1</sup> çayókwa xmáta b-šərme diye,<sup>1</sup> y-amərwa bàssi,<sup>1</sup> bàssi.<sup>1</sup> (40) hádax 'arba xámša gāye.<sup>1</sup> móre léle jyàra,<sup>1</sup> šāyátte b-gùda.<sup>1</sup> bənət təl'əθ mpùltalle,<sup>1</sup> čkalle b-xmáta b-šərme diye,<sup>1</sup> bàssi.<sup>1</sup> bàssi.<sup>1</sup> móre básux bàssux?<sup>1</sup> bábus mpər'ənne.<sup>1</sup> šyéle l-gùda.<sup>1</sup> tarəkka hírra b-gàna<sup>1</sup> béθa muxrùle.<sup>1</sup>

(41) báyi t-àrqí.<sup>1</sup> móra maqðəxle béθa<sup>1</sup> bəd-'áwwa náša tálxəx.<sup>1</sup> har-máxəx b-dìnye,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa b-tayəmleni.<sup>1</sup> móra b-t-àrqexi.<sup>1</sup> de-'ədyo,<sup>1</sup> qu-pégən kàde.<sup>1</sup> də-mjáməxlən jarrèta.<sup>1</sup> 'ázəx xá-mðita xèta.<sup>1</sup> marpəxxe bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šóqəx t-àraq t-àzəl.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bár t-àzəl,<sup>1</sup> dərəx l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (42) hadiya b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> 'aw hole-šmà'a módila mára.<sup>1</sup> hóle l-ε-gōt-hòdəx,<sup>1</sup> dorya ða-kùlla,<sup>1</sup> dmíxa tàma,<sup>1</sup> muṭəlya-gáne diye.<sup>1</sup> 'áni hóla wáða təgbir.<sup>1</sup> (43) péla kàde.<sup>1</sup> wídla jarrèta,<sup>1</sup> muttála gu-ðà-guniya.<sup>1</sup> hàtxa káde,<sup>1</sup> qa-t t-ázi b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> b-léle qémi jəwji.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa b-léle mòdile wíða?<sup>1</sup> hóle 'əθya wíra gu-juwəlat kàde.<sup>1</sup> káde doryəlla b-rése diye,<sup>1</sup> hole-xəpya gu-d-a-juwəla<sup>1</sup> (44) 'anna b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> müršəlla baxte diye.<sup>1</sup> baxta qu!<sup>1</sup> dánəla jəwji.<sup>1</sup> hóle tliya.<sup>1</sup> hédi hédi lá-wuð qàla.<sup>1</sup> móra là.<sup>1</sup> táyəmla xáse diye<sup>1</sup> móre rəba yaqúrtəla.<sup>1</sup> móre hola-kàde<sup>1</sup> rəba kádela,<sup>1</sup> yaqúrela.<sup>1</sup> (45) zilela,<sup>1</sup> zilela,<sup>1</sup> zilele<sup>1</sup> qúrbət ðà-maθa.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela kálwe talbèy.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela kálwe talbèy,<sup>1</sup> móre xóni xóni qəm-nesíli kálwe.<sup>1</sup> he-kálba brət-kálba,<sup>1</sup> hon-mára yaqúrtəla.<sup>1</sup> (46) béna 'urxa-'urxa,<sup>1</sup> qəm-jayərwala.<sup>1</sup> šləla<sup>1</sup> jòre.<sup>1</sup> móre məšxəne!<sup>1</sup> káde məšxəne!<sup>1</sup> šləla b-júlle diye,<sup>1</sup> šqáləlla məšəyəlla.<sup>1</sup> móre 'anna kàde,<sup>1</sup> mù-t wíðta b-ánna kàde?<sup>1</sup> kúlla məšxa šəpyəla.<sup>1</sup> kúlla xáse píšle məšxa.<sup>1</sup> (47) móra mšila,<sup>1</sup> mšila.<sup>1</sup> hóla mxálla 'ide l-jóre d-ò-naša,<sup>1</sup> 'aw xšíwa məšxele šláya mən-káde.<sup>1</sup> wa-l-hásəl móre hóle gu-juwəla kálba brət-kálba!<sup>1</sup> léka šártəx mónne diye?<sup>1</sup>

(38) He got up (and saw) that his daughter was dead. He said ‘What have you done?’ He said ‘I threw (a stone) at the *toké* bird. The *toké* was singing in this mulberry tree’. So, he even killed his daughter. By God, what will they do with that man?

(39) ‘At night’, he said, ‘Take out this young boy, our young son and make him pass water at night’. He said ‘All right’. He took him out and pricked a needle into his buttocks. He (the boy) said ‘That’s enough! That’s enough!’, four or five times. (40) He (the master) said ‘(If) he does not pass water, throw him against the wall’. The third time, he took him out, pricked him with a needle on his buttocks ‘That’s enough! That’s enough!’ He said ‘Is that enough? Is that enough? Damn<sup>6</sup> your father’. He flung him against the wall. (Their son was) a corpse and they were confounded ‘He has destroyed the home’.

(41) They wanted to escape. They said ‘Let’s burn the house and get rid of this man. Let’s go away. He will finish us off’. They said ‘Let’s flee. Today bake *kade* cakes. Let’s put together a food-box for ourselves. Let’s go to another town. We shall abandon the house and let him go away. After he has gone away, we shall return to the house’. (42) Now, at night, he was listening to what they were saying. He was on the other side. He had put up a mosquito net and was lying there, pretending to be asleep, while they were making a plan. (43) They baked *kade* cakes. They made a food-box and put it in a sack. (They made) *kade* cakes, so that they could go at night, get up in the night and go on their way. What did he do at night? He came and got into the sack of *kade* cakes. He put *kade* cakes on top of himself. He crouched down in the sack. (44) In the night he woke his wife ‘Wife, get up. It is time for us to go. He (the servant) is asleep. Quietly, don’t make a noise’. She said ‘No (I won’t make a noise)’. He loaded it (the sack) on his back. He said ‘It is very heavy’. He said ‘It is (full with) many *kade* cakes. They are very heavy’. (45) They went a long way and came close to a village. Dogs came towards them. Dogs came towards them. He (the servant) said ‘Brother, brother, the dogs have bitten me’. ‘Hey, you dog, son of a dog, I thought it was heavy’. (46) Now, on the way, he had urinated. The urine flowed down. He said ‘They’re oily! The *kade* cakes are oily. It ran down onto his clothes. He took it and licked it. He said ‘What did you put in these *kade* cakes? They are all pure oil’. All his back became (covered with) oil. (47) She said ‘Lick it, lick it’. He put his hand on the urine of the man, thinking that oil was running down from the *kade* cakes. In the end he said ‘Look here is the dog, son of a dog in the sack! Where can we escape from him?’

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<sup>6</sup> Literally: tear up.

(48) *móre t-amrännax xà-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *t-ázax rəš-gəšra,*<sup>1</sup> *dámxəx rəš-gəšra,*<sup>1</sup> *rəš-’áwwa gəšrat nərə.*<sup>1</sup> *b-léle,*<sup>1</sup> *’áw xšíwa léle šmáya.*<sup>1</sup> *móre mqaləbzəxxe gu-šəttə.*<sup>1</sup> *derəxle gu-šəttə.*<sup>1</sup> (49) *’áw hole-šmáya.*<sup>1</sup> *’áw xšíwa la-šəme.*<sup>1</sup> *zilela,*<sup>1</sup> *báyi sóri xa-šəttə.*<sup>1</sup> *móra dámxəx š-gəšra,*<sup>1</sup> *biš-sələmət-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *’axxa xuwwáwe ma-xuwwáwe lə-y-aθe l-d-áwwa gəšra.*<sup>1</sup> *’axxa damxéxi.*<sup>1</sup> *káze lá-dámxəx ’axxa,*<sup>1</sup> *móra dámxəx ’axxa.*<sup>1</sup> (50) *móre ’at dámxət b-gəway.*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t... t-la-mqaləbzəti*<sup>1</sup> *šələt ’ati.*<sup>1</sup> *báxta dníxta b-áy-gota*<sup>1</sup> *’u-gáwra m-áy-gota*<sup>1</sup> *’u-xuláma dóryalle gawàye*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-b-léle šaqłile zadèle.*<sup>1</sup> (51) *hadíya,*<sup>1</sup> *zilela rəš-d-ò-gəšra.*<sup>1</sup> *móra dámxəx rəš-d-ò-gəšra.*<sup>1</sup> *dámxəx rəše biš-spəy,*<sup>1</sup> *t-lá-’aθa xuwwáwe məndiyáne*<sup>1</sup> *’axxa biš-sələmət-ila.*<sup>1</sup> *máx gəšrə Zəwa d-o-diyən.*<sup>1</sup> *móra ’ati derəxlux l-gəway*<sup>1</sup> *t-là-nəpleti b-léle.*<sup>1</sup> (52) *dmíxe rəš-gəšrela.*<sup>1</sup> *’áw dóryalle gəway,*<sup>1</sup> *gáwra m-áy-gota*<sup>1</sup> *báxta m-áy-gota,*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-b-léle šaqłile zadèle gu-šəttə,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-nərə,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-Zəwa.*<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa yəde módila qəšət,*<sup>1</sup> *hóle ríša biyèy.*<sup>1</sup> (53) *’áwwa b-léle qimele.*<sup>1</sup> *gáwra díya mquləbzəlle dóryalle gawàya*<sup>1</sup> *’áw píša b-áy-gota xətəle.*<sup>1</sup> *badláθa jàlde*<sup>1</sup> *heš-xíya xíya*<sup>1</sup> *móre bəxta*<sup>1</sup> *dànela.*<sup>1</sup> *qímta bəxta m-áy-gota*<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa xuláma m-áy-gota,*<sup>1</sup> *gáwra díya mquləbzəlle*<sup>1</sup> *zədyəlle gu-Zəwa.*<sup>1</sup> (54) *móra mò-widlux?*<sup>1</sup> *móre ’áwwa,*<sup>1</sup> *móre gáwərəx zille.*<sup>1</sup> *mò-widlux bíyi?*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-šətmátle bəθi.*<sup>1</sup> *’ána ntarənnəx kəma-dána.*<sup>1</sup> *báyyən ’ati pəšət diyi*<sup>1</sup> (55) *hadíya*<sup>1</sup> *gáwra díya qəm-zadèle gu-Zəwa,*<sup>1</sup> *píšla mājbur*<sup>1</sup> *mò b-t-óða?*<sup>1</sup> *móre ’ána-w ’áw xət-ix.*<sup>1</sup> *gáwərəx zille,*<sup>1</sup> *’ána pəšən šəp-gáwərəx.*<sup>1</sup> *qu-qálbəx bəθa biš-spəy.*<sup>1</sup> (56) *qímla*<sup>1</sup> *qlíbla l-béθa díya.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-qəm-gawórra*<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa xuláma*<sup>1</sup> *’u-zílle bar-náše diyə*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla muθéle tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna malləkela*<sup>1</sup> *zangíneta.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-píšle xyá’a mən-d-è-bəxta.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-’ána šwiqáli tàma*<sup>1</sup> *’ána θéli ləxxa.*<sup>1</sup>

(48) He (the master) said (to his wife) 'I'll tell you something. Let's go onto the bridge, let's sleep on the bridge, on this river bridge. At night—he thought he could not hear—he said 'we'll throw him in the river. We'll put him in the river'. (49) He was listening. He thought he was not listening. They went along and needed to cross a river. They said 'Let's sleep on the bridge. It is safer. Here—snakes and the like will not come onto this bridge. Let's sleep here. He (the servant) tried (to persuade them, saying) 'Let's not sleep here'. He (the master) said 'Let's sleep here'. (50) He said 'You sleep in the middle so that you do not roll down (into the river)'. His wife slept on one side and the husband on the other side. They put the servant in the middle so that they could take him in the night and throw him. (51) Now, they went onto that bridge. They said 'Let's sleep on that bridge. It is better to sleep on it, so that snakes and the like don't come. Here it is safer'. It was like our bridge over the Zab. They said 'We shall put you in the middle so that you do not fall at night'. (52) They slept on the bridge. They put him in the middle, with the husband on one side and the wife on the other, so that in the night they could take him and throw him into the river, into the Zab. He knows what is happening. He was listening to them. (53) He got up in the night. He rolled over her husband and put him in the middle. He came to be on the other side. In the early morning, when it was still very dark, he said 'Wife, it is time'. The wife got up on this side and the servant on the other side, they rolled her husband and threw him into the Zab'. (54) She said 'What have you done?' He said 'It is him'. He said 'Your husband has gone'. 'What have you done to me?! You have destroyed my home'. 'I have been waiting for you for a long time. I want you to become mine'. (55) Now, he had thrown her husband into the Zab. She was forced (to cooperate). What could she do? He said 'He and I are one. Your husband has gone. I'll take the place of your husband. It's better if we return home'. (56) They set off and returned to her home. That servant married her. He went (looking for) her relatives and brought them all there. They were landowners. They were rich. Then he began to live with that woman. I have left it there and come here.

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) *xa-nàša*<sup>1</sup> *sìqɛwa*<sup>1</sup> *l-tùra*<sup>1</sup> *q̄tála*<sup>1</sup> *ʔrwe*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-aθéwa*<sup>1</sup> *t-atwíwa*<sup>1</sup> *gu-diwəm*<sup>1</sup> *ʔatɛwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xamlíwa*<sup>1</sup> *zamlíwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa*<sup>1</sup> *sìqɛle*<sup>1</sup> *sìqɛle*<sup>1</sup> *piša*<sup>1</sup> *lèle*<sup>1</sup> *mátyɛle*<sup>1</sup> *xa-gə̀ppa*<sup>1</sup> *móre*<sup>1</sup> *manixən*<sup>1</sup> *mbàdla*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáln*<sup>1</sup> *pišle*<sup>1</sup> *b-lèle*<sup>1</sup> (2) *móre*<sup>1</sup> *manixən*<sup>1</sup> *ʔd-lèle*<sup>1</sup> *laxxa*<sup>1</sup> *xu-mbádla*<sup>1</sup> *qémən*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáln*<sup>1</sup> *wira*<sup>1</sup> *tíwɛle*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-o-gə̀ppa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔɛ-ga*<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena*<sup>1</sup> *b-lèle*<sup>1</sup> *θéle*<sup>1</sup> *xa-hambišàya*<sup>1</sup> *hambišàya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔɛ-ga*<sup>1</sup> *xírre*<sup>1</sup> *bìye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa*<sup>1</sup> *náša*<sup>1</sup> *lóbbe*<sup>1</sup> *pqile*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa*<sup>1</sup> *hambišàya*<sup>1</sup> *mút*<sup>1</sup> *t-ódən*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána*<sup>1</sup> *xátər*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaláha*<sup>2</sup> (3) *ʔáp-ʔaw*<sup>1</sup> *bər-nàšɛle*<sup>1</sup> *bás*<sup>1</sup> *xa-táhər*<sup>1</sup> *xènele*<sup>1</sup> *móre*<sup>1</sup> *ya-ʔálaha*<sup>1</sup> *yá*<sup>1</sup> *Mar-Zàya*<sup>1</sup> *flan-gàwza*<sup>1</sup> *qablənne*<sup>1</sup> *tla-Màr-Zàya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔawəð*<sup>1</sup> *xa-kʷér*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəlli*<sup>1</sup> *ʔártən*<sup>1</sup> *gu-ʔiθáθə*<sup>1</sup> *d-áwwa*<sup>1</sup> *náša*<sup>1</sup> (4) *xèna*<sup>1</sup> *q̄tíla*<sup>1</sup> *xà-neriya*<sup>1</sup> *q̄tíla*<sup>1</sup> *neriya*<sup>1</sup> *rába*<sup>1</sup> *gòrɛwa*<sup>1</sup> *mère*<sup>1</sup> *m̄təwí*<sup>1</sup> *hal-tl̀l̀li*<sup>1</sup> *ba-dén*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána*<sup>1</sup> *t-axl̀nnux*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa*<sup>1</sup> *tl̀l̀li*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp-ʔati*<sup>1</sup> *tl̀l̀li*<sup>1</sup> *yá*<sup>1</sup> *ní*<sup>1</sup> *b̄t-axəlwa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-náša*<sup>1</sup> (5) *mère*<sup>1</sup> *ya-ʔálaha*<sup>1</sup> *ya-Mar-Zàya*<sup>1</sup> *wúдли*<sup>1</sup> *xa-čára*<sup>1</sup> *mən-d-áwwa*<sup>1</sup> *prímle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-neriya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-har-hìwɛle*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-axəlle*<sup>1</sup> *kúlle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-neriya*<sup>1</sup> *neriya*<sup>1</sup> *zàxma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔərba*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-axəlle*<sup>1</sup> *xa-béna*<sup>1</sup> *muttále*<sup>1</sup> *ʔide*<sup>1</sup> *hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *tl̀l̀le*<sup>1</sup> *tl̀l̀le*<sup>1</sup> *hambišàya*<sup>1</sup> (6) *béna*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-tàle*<sup>1</sup> *xà-šabθa*<sup>1</sup> *tále*<sup>1</sup> *yá-ʔálaha*<sup>1</sup> *mò-ʔódən*<sup>2</sup> *yá-babət*<sup>1</sup> *ràxme*<sup>1</sup> *wúдли*<sup>1</sup> *xa-ráxma*<sup>1</sup> *mən-d-áwwa*<sup>1</sup> *náša*<sup>1</sup> *xáčča*<sup>1</sup> *juwíjle*<sup>1</sup> *hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *juwíjle*<sup>1</sup> *hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-là*<sup>1</sup> *mhorákle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔéne*<sup>1</sup> *pθixtəla*<sup>1</sup> *bas-tl̀liya*<sup>1</sup> *hóle*<sup>1</sup> (7) *šišále*<sup>1</sup> *gáne*<sup>1</sup> *hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *xá-bena*<sup>1</sup> *wídle*<sup>1</sup> *hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *tla-gáne*<sup>1</sup> *díye*<sup>1</sup> *gríšále*<sup>1</sup> *gān-díye*<sup>1</sup> *la-juwíjle*<sup>1</sup> *de-de-dé*<sup>1</sup> *pl̀l̀l̀le*<sup>1</sup> *gu-tárət*<sup>1</sup> *gə̀ppa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔéne*<sup>1</sup> *díya*<sup>1</sup> *pθixta*<sup>1</sup> *tl̀liya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-məlyále*<sup>1</sup> *tópe*<sup>1</sup> *díye*<sup>1</sup> *spə̀y*<sup>1</sup> *məlyále*<sup>1</sup> *tópe*<sup>1</sup> *díye*<sup>1</sup> *spə̀y*<sup>1</sup> *mukpále*<sup>1</sup> *gu-be-ʔéne*<sup>1</sup> *gu-ʔéne*<sup>1</sup> *díye*<sup>1</sup> *ya-ʔálaha*<sup>1</sup> *rìqle*<sup>1</sup> (8) *m-ə̀l-təx*<sup>1</sup> *ʔrìxle*<sup>1</sup> *xa-qàla*<sup>1</sup> *mən-qále*<sup>1</sup> *díye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔrìxle*<sup>1</sup> *jirile*<sup>1</sup> *gu-šərwále*<sup>1</sup> *žáre*<sup>1</sup> *faqira*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rìqle*<sup>1</sup> *kúlle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-nura*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-daréle*<sup>1</sup> *b-réše*<sup>1</sup> *díye*<sup>1</sup> *náše*<sup>1</sup> *spárela*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-átwi*<sup>1</sup> *b-diwəm*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-xàmlí*<sup>1</sup> (9) *spárela*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina-tópe*<sup>1</sup> *díye*<sup>1</sup> *lhàya*<sup>1</sup> *mára*<sup>1</sup> *má-lux*<sup>1</sup> *kóra*<sup>1</sup> *Xarə̀pša*<sup>2</sup> *màw-lux*<sup>2</sup> *mà-lux*<sup>2</sup> *ʔámər*<sup>1</sup> *šùqla*<sup>1</sup> *ʔálaha*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-xalə̀šli*<sup>1</sup> *màwdile*<sup>2</sup> *ʔámər*<sup>1</sup> *hambišàya*<sup>1</sup>

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(1) A man had gone up to the mountains to kill (wild) sheep, so that they (the hunting party) could return and sit together in a gathering, drinking, making merry and singing. He went up (in the mountains). He went up and at nightfall he came to a cave. He said 'I shall rest and go down in the morning'. It was night. (2) He said 'I shall rest here tonight. In the morning I shall get up and go down (the mountain). He went in and sat down in the cave. Then, at night, a giant came. The giant looked at him. That man's heart burst (with fear) 'He is a giant, what shall I do, for God's sake?' (3) He also was a man, but he was a different type. He said 'Oh God, oh Saint Zaya, oh Saint Zaya, I shall donate such-and-such a walnut tree to Saint Zaya, if he provides a way out for me, so that I can escape from the hands of this man'. (4) Now, he killed a goat, he killed a goat that was very large and said 'Roast it and give it to me, then I shall eat you. It is for me and you also are for me'. That is, he would eat also that man. (5) He said 'Oh God, oh Saint Zaya, find me a way out of this'. He slaughtered the goat. As soon as he (the other man had roasted it and) given it to him, he ate it all up. The goat was huge. He ate the goat. Then he put his hand like this and slept. The giant slept. (6) When he slept, he used to sleep for a week. 'Oh God, what shall I do? Oh Father of mercies, perform an act of mercy for me with this man'. He moved a little like this, he moved like this, but he (the giant) did not move. His eye was open, but he was asleep. (7) He rocked himself like this. He did this to himself. He dragged himself away. He (the giant) did not move. He slowly went out from the entrance of the cave. He was still the same, with his eye open, asleep. He loaded his gun well. He loaded his gun well, and shot it at his forehead, at his eye. Then he ran away. (8) From below he let out a cry. He let out a cry, and the poor wretched man urinated in his trousers (out of fear) and fled. He put all the fire (of the cooking) on top of him. The people were waiting to sit down in the meeting room, to make merry. (9) They were waiting and (when he came in they saw) that his gun was smoking. They said 'What is the matter with you poor soul, Xarəpša? What is the matter with you?' He said 'Don't ask!<sup>1</sup> God has saved me'. 'What was it?' He said 'A giant'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: Leave it!

(10) 'áni lá mhuym̀̀nna.' m̀̀ra mbádla t-ásqəx xaz̀̀xle.' 'ásqi xaz̀̀èle.' t̀̀rele,  
 xa-t̀̀ira!' 'ina šawwà z̀̀áwge' xatwáthe diye' théla Leliθa,' príməlla šošiyàθa,' d̀̀ryalla  
 réšə diye.' xonèy-weewa.' šríłən gu-d-ày.'

(10) They did not believe him. They said 'In the morning we shall go up and see it'. They went up and saw him. He was (like) a mountain, a mountain! (They saw) that seven couples, his sisters, and Leliθa, had come. They had cut their locks and laid them on him, since he was their brother. (They said) we have escaped this.



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(1) ʔiθwa xa-ʔaxàna,<sup>1</sup> ʔaxàna qam-ðà-ʔarxe.<sup>1</sup> ʔarxe külle ʔalxàwa bas-y-axèlwala.<sup>1</sup> θéle tēla,<sup>1</sup> móre xòni<sup>1</sup> ʔéšəx xonāwàθa<sup>1</sup> ʔána w-àti.<sup>1</sup> ʔéšəx xonāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> móre dax-ʔéšəx xonāwàθa.<sup>2</sup> ʔati tēla,<sup>1</sup> ʔána bəʔ-nàša.<sup>1</sup> (2) ʔ-óðəx ʔáyya ʔarxe,<sup>1</sup> ʔalxəx,<sup>1</sup> ʔ-áxləx ʔána w-àti.<sup>1</sup> ʔána ʔ-ásqən ʔura.<sup>1</sup> méθən çàre<sup>1</sup> méθən qəqwàne,<sup>1</sup> méθən mən-an-məndiyàne,<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔura.<sup>1</sup> ʔ-áθəx ʔəxxa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mbašləxla,<sup>1</sup> ʔ-axləxla ʔána w-àti m-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> (3) dè<sup>1</sup> ʔišla xonāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔišla xonāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> xà-yoma,<sup>1</sup> trè,<sup>1</sup> ʔlàθa,<sup>1</sup> xà-yarxa,<sup>1</sup> xa-sèta.<sup>1</sup> ʔəmər,<sup>1</sup> tēla ʔəmər<sup>1</sup> qémən ʔàsqən<sup>1</sup> kəs-málka<sup>1</sup> d-àyya-maθa<sup>1</sup> ʔalbənne<sup>1</sup> masərqə diye.<sup>1</sup> móre mùt ʔ-óðət b-masərqə.<sup>2</sup> mà-lux mánne.<sup>2</sup> ta-xóne diyele màra.<sup>1</sup> má-lux mánne ʔàti.<sup>2</sup> móre xóni sùq.<sup>1</sup> (4) síqle moθéle masərqə.<sup>1</sup> zdéle tāmàha,<sup>1</sup> móre ta-málka<sup>1</sup> móre bəyánne ʔawwa masərqəxu<sup>1</sup> ʔu-nášət máθa kúlla hóla-ʔəθye kpiše<sup>1</sup> sárqi ʔəmra.<sup>1</sup> ʔəmra liθ,<sup>1</sup> čù-mdi,<sup>1</sup> dùgle.<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše sqidla,<sup>1</sup> sráqa mbádla hal-díya.<sup>1</sup> ʔəmra<sup>1</sup> muttúli gu-ʔanbàre.<sup>1</sup> (5) málka mərə<sup>1</sup> ya-álaha ʔána ʔ-in málka d-àyya bəžər,<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya mðita,<sup>1</sup> lítli hátxa məndi.<sup>1</sup> m-èkewa-w<sup>1</sup> m-èka ʔitlux ʔawwa-móndi.<sup>2</sup> har-dùgle.<sup>1</sup> ziltela xá-šabθa hòdəx,<sup>1</sup> xá-bena xéna síqele.<sup>1</sup> (6) mərə<sup>1</sup> málka xá-bena xéna hálli masərqə-w<sup>1</sup> masərqənne mərrəs,<sup>1</sup> mərrəs diyi.<sup>1</sup> ʔaw-náša m-èkele ʔaw-mərrəs diye.<sup>2</sup> šəlyele ʔašrta músqalle xáçça mərrəs<sup>1</sup> múttəlla masərqə.<sup>1</sup> (7) móre sqidla náše<sup>1</sup> ma-ʔ-ila sríqle mbádla hal-díya.<sup>1</sup> ʔmma tré-mma náše sráqa mərrəs-wəwa.<sup>1</sup> müjəbble.<sup>1</sup> málka müjəbble<sup>1</sup> móre ʔawwa-məndi hátxa liθ.<sup>1</sup> (8) bar-xa-yàrxə síqele xá-bena xéna kəs-málka.<sup>1</sup> móre málka ʔ-áwət basima<sup>1</sup> də-yátla rapəkθux<sup>1</sup> kelónna züzü.<sup>1</sup> rapəkθa kéli dàxla,<sup>1</sup> hátxa-wəwa.<sup>1</sup> kelónna züzü<sup>1</sup> xázən kəmə rapəkyáθa.<sup>1</sup> (9) móre ʔána málkən d-əy-bəžər<sup>1</sup> lítli hátxa zúze.<sup>1</sup> ʔawwa m-èka hátxa zúze,<sup>1</sup> rapəkθa,<sup>1</sup> káyəl b-rapəkθa zúze.<sup>2</sup> xəna<sup>1</sup> hiwàle,<sup>1</sup> šlèle.<sup>1</sup> šlèle.<sup>1</sup> náše sqidla<sup>1</sup> mállət kúlla sqidla,<sup>1</sup> kúlla kyála gu-ʔanbàre zúze.<sup>1</sup> dùgle,<sup>1</sup> čù-mdi liθ.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) There was a miller, a miller who looked after a water-mill. Everything the mill produced he ate. A fox came and said ‘My brother, let us become brothers, you and I. Let us become brothers’. He said ‘How can we become brothers? You are a fox and I am a human’. (2) ‘We shall operate this mill, we shall work and eat together you and I. I shall go up into the mountains and bring back blackbirds and quails, I shall bring back things like that from the mountains. We shall come here and cook them and then we shall eat them, you and I together’. (3) So they became brothers. They became brothers, and one day, two, three, a month, a year (passed). The fox said ‘I shall go up to the king of this village and ask for his comb’. He said ‘What will you do with a comb?’ ‘What business is it of yours?—he said this to his brother—‘What business is it of yours?’ He said ‘Go up, my brother’. (4) He went up and brought a comb. He threw it down and said to the king ‘I want this comb of yours. The people of the village have all gathered to comb wool’. There was really no wool, nothing, it was lies. ‘All the people are fed up, combing from morning until now. I have put the wool in store rooms’. (5) The king said ‘Oh God, I who am the king of this town—this town has not such a thing. Where is it from, where have you acquired such a thing?’ It was all lies! A week went by in this way, then he went up again. (6) He said ‘King, give me again the comb to comb goat’s hair, my goat’s hair’. ‘Where has that person got goat’s hair from?’ He went down and in the evening he brought up some goat’s hair and put down the comb. (7) He said ‘The people are fed up with combing so much from morning until now. One hundred or two hundred people were combing goat’s hair’. He was amazed. The king was amazed and said ‘Such a thing as this cannot be’. (8) After a month, he came up again to the king. He said ‘King, may you be healthy, please give (me) your grain measure so that I can measure my money’. With a grain measure they measure wheat, that is what it was for. ‘So that I can measure my money and see how many measures (it amounts to)’. (9) He said ‘I am the king of this town and I do not have such money. Where has he got so much money from, that he measures the money with a grain measure?’ Well, he gave it to him and he went down. ‘The people are fed up, all the community are fed up, they are all measuring money in the storerooms’. It was lies. There was nothing.

(10) bār xa-yèrxa,<sup>1</sup> móre xòni<sup>1</sup> tla-xóne díye taxàna,<sup>1</sup> taxànewa<sup>1</sup> gu-<sup>2</sup>àrxe.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>àsqañ talbànna brátat málka <sup>2</sup>llux,<sup>1</sup> xòni.<sup>1</sup> mò-t-oðan bìya brāt-málka?<sup>2</sup> mò-t-oðan bìya?<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>áy brāt-málka<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ána taxànewan.<sup>1</sup> (11) móre t-àsqañ,<sup>1</sup> lítlux šùla.<sup>1</sup> qíméle sìqa.<sup>1</sup> múttele kupála rəš-rúše díye sìqele.<sup>1</sup> xərrr<sup>1</sup> gríšalle kúrsət taləbùða,<sup>1</sup> kúrsət taləbùða tlabá bəxta.<sup>1</sup> móre mòdile?<sup>2</sup> móre báyən talbànna brátux tla-xòni.<sup>1</sup> (12) móre hiwàli.<sup>1</sup> móre <sup>2</sup>iman-t-áwe xlùla?<sup>2</sup> móre bar-xa-šəbða.<sup>1</sup> šəlyele<sup>1</sup> móre xóni qəm-talbànna.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>o-m-xášše mùle,<sup>1</sup> m-dārde,<sup>1</sup> m-xášše,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ána mo-hoyàli,<sup>1</sup> xátər <sup>2</sup>alàha?<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>ána mó t-oðan bìya,<sup>1</sup> brāt-málka?<sup>2</sup> (13) píšele ləle,<sup>1</sup> tnánya yóme priqela.<sup>1</sup> músqela dáwla-w zòrna<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>u-rqàðtela,<sup>1</sup> zmàrtela.<sup>1</sup> muθyàla brāt-málka.<sup>1</sup> móre <sup>2</sup>áxtu kút-<sup>2</sup>aθetu bəθri,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ána šàln.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>aθétu bəθri.<sup>1</sup> xhùla šále bəθri.<sup>1</sup> (14) šəlyele. šəlyele, mətýele xa-káwtət <sup>2</sup>ərwe,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ibe tre-tláláða <sup>2</sup>álpa rəš-<sup>2</sup>ərwe.<sup>1</sup> qəm-qaréla <sup>2</sup>an-šəvànə<sup>1</sup> móre d-ènila <sup>2</sup>an-<sup>2</sup>ərwe?<sup>2</sup> móra t-flàn-naša.<sup>1</sup> (15) móre bás t-amrənnèxu,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>n-<sup>2</sup>amriléxu <sup>2</sup>an-<sup>2</sup>ərwe d-ènila<sup>1</sup> múru t-<sup>2</sup>Ájdən tèlela.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ána čú-mđi la-báyən mənnèxu.<sup>1</sup> hóla diyèxu.<sup>1</sup> bas-múru <sup>2</sup>Ájdən,<sup>1</sup> šəmmət <sup>2</sup>Ájdən tèle.<sup>1</sup> qəm-awəđle šəmme <sup>2</sup>Ájdən.<sup>1</sup> (16) θéle xlùla,<sup>1</sup> θéle málka šlàyá.<sup>1</sup> móra <sup>2</sup>an-<sup>2</sup>ərwe d-ènila?<sup>2</sup> móra t-<sup>2</sup>Ájdən tèle.<sup>1</sup> móre xnèla bráti.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>an-<sup>2</sup>ərwe šime<sup>1</sup> píšla d-áy.<sup>1</sup> (17) <sup>2</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>áni bəθre,<sup>1</sup> šlèle.<sup>1</sup> mťéle xa-kàwta<sup>1</sup> kállət gaməše,<sup>1</sup> tawràða.<sup>1</sup> móre ta-šəvànə,<sup>1</sup> tèle mà-məre?<sup>2</sup> móre d-ènila?<sup>2</sup> móre diyila.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>amrət <sup>2</sup>n-θéla šlàyá <sup>2</sup>àxxa,<sup>1</sup> xákma náše <sup>2</sup>àxxa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>n-mboqərra mənnux,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>ánna d-ènila,<sup>1</sup> múr ga-<sup>2</sup>ánna t-<sup>2</sup>Ájdən tèlela.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áp-<sup>2</sup>ani píđla.<sup>1</sup> (18) θéla náše t-túwa mīra,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>áni d-ènila?<sup>2</sup> móre t-<sup>2</sup>Ájdən tèle.<sup>1</sup> xðàyele málka.<sup>1</sup> móra <sup>2</sup>ána m-èka hátxa māl?<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>ána málkət xa-<sup>2</sup>àθra<sup>1</sup> lítli hátxa māl.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>o-m-èka māl-díye?<sup>2</sup>

(10) After a month he said ‘Brother’—to his brother the miller, he was a miller in a water-mill—‘I shall go and ask for the hand of the king’s daughter for you, brother’. ‘What shall I do with the king’s daughter? What shall I do with her? She is the king’s daughter and I am a miller’.

(11) He said ‘I shall go up, leave it to me’.<sup>1</sup> He went up. He put a stick over his shoulders and went up. He pulled up the chair of suit, the chair of suit, asking for the hand of a woman. He (the king) said ‘What is it?’ He said ‘I want to ask for the hand of your daughter for my brother’.

(12) He said ‘I have given her to you’ He said ‘When will the wedding be?’ He said ‘After a week’. He went down and said ‘Brother, I have asked for her hand. He (almost) died of his grief and sadness ‘What could she be to me, for God’s sake!?! What shall I do with her, the king’s daughter?’

(13) Night fell, eight days passed. They brought up the drum and the pipe, there was dancing and singing. They brought the king’s daughter. He said ‘You come after me, as I go down. Come after me. Let the wedding party come down after me’.

(14) He went down a long way and came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep. He called the shepherds and said ‘Whose are those sheep?’ They said ‘(They are the sheep) of so-and-so’.

(15) He said ‘I only say to you this, if they say to you “Whose are those sheep?”’, say “They are (the sheep of) Ajdån the fox. I do not want anything from you. They are yours. Just say “Ajdån, the name of Ajdån the fox”’. He gave himself the name of Ajdån.

(16) The wedding party came and the king came, coming down (the mountain). They said ‘Whose are those sheep?’ They said ‘(They are the sheep) of Ajdån the fox’.

He said ‘My daughter is lucky. These numerous sheep have become hers’.

(17) He (the fox) went down with them (following) behind him. He came to a flock, a herd of buffaloes and cows. He said to the shepherd—what did the fox say? He said ‘Whose are these’. He said ‘They are mine’. ‘Say, if they come down here, some people (come down) here, if they ask you “Whose are these?”’, say “Well, these belong to Ajdån the fox”’. He got away also with these (lies).<sup>2</sup>

(18) The people whom he had mentioned came (and said) ‘Whose are these?’ He said ‘(They belong) to Ajdån the fox’. The king was happy. He said ‘From where could I acquire such wealth? I am the king of a land and I do not have such wealth. From where does he get his wealth?’

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: You have no business.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Also these lies passed.

(19) *máre hár-to bàθri.*<sup>1</sup> *šlèla,*<sup>1</sup> *mṭéle xá-hənnət gùmlè.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿé-ga qamàye,*<sup>1</sup> *báyət dūs,*<sup>1</sup> *külle gùmlè-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> *xášət gùmlè y-azúwa.*<sup>1</sup> *kəmə t-ila bāriya gùmlè-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> (20) *máre d-ənila.*<sup>2</sup> *qəm-qaréle ʿo-šāvàna*<sup>1</sup> *ʿən-θéle mbuqárre xa-nàša,*<sup>1</sup> *máre d-əni.*<sup>2</sup> *ʿámrat t-ʿÁjdən tèlela.*<sup>1</sup> *šléla nàše,*<sup>1</sup> *mṭéla mára d-ənila.*<sup>2</sup> *máre t-ʿÁjdən tèlela.*<sup>1</sup>

(21) *pídle šlèle,*<sup>1</sup> *šléle qúrbət Leliθa.*<sup>1</sup> *šràxele téla,*<sup>1</sup> *hàwarila.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿay-plittela masyòθe*<sup>1</sup> *báyí dómma t-tèla*<sup>1</sup> *ʿu-dómmət Leliθa.*<sup>1</sup> *qaṭlilèni*<sup>1</sup> *t-maxéle b-brónət málka,*<sup>1</sup> *táp̄ya xərséle.*<sup>1</sup> *táp̄ya brôn-málka xərsa,*<sup>1</sup> *maxéle bíye t-tàràs.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *plittə musyáθtela Leliθa.*<sup>1</sup> *mára mòdi mórux.*<sup>2</sup> *ʿána má-li mən̄nux.*<sup>2</sup> *ʿána θéli mārəlləx*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-ṭašyátta gənəx.*<sup>1</sup> *mo-t-òðən.*<sup>2</sup> *hóla xzi*<sup>1</sup> *bāriya θàyele,*<sup>1</sup> *θáya hòla,*<sup>1</sup> *ṭàlbi.*<sup>1</sup> *mára mò t-òðana.*<sup>2</sup> *mára mò t-òðən.*<sup>2</sup> *máre ʿúləx garúwa,*<sup>1</sup> *garúwət ṭàrpa,*<sup>1</sup> *garúwa gòra.*<sup>1</sup> *mərə*<sup>1</sup> *mṭašənnəx gu-d-àw.*<sup>1</sup> (23) *šqille, šqille, šqille.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maivərra.*<sup>1</sup> *bnéle kulla ʿo-tàrpa çənnəxéra diya.*<sup>1</sup> *kulla qəm-banéla.*<sup>1</sup> *máre kəma t-áθya qašqàšta,*<sup>1</sup> *la-jojàti.*<sup>1</sup> *pyádela ʿàskar.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-ṭapéla nira*<sup>1</sup> *m-ʿəsri dukáne.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿay-mára šxàna hóli.*<sup>1</sup> *máre qássa pídlə*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maqəddla*<sup>1</sup> *ʿawádla tarəkkə,*<sup>1</sup> *qṭiləle.*<sup>1</sup> (24) *wíra gu-gəppət Leliθele.*<sup>1</sup> *háttə čámče t-dàwa!*<sup>1</sup> *čəngále t-dàwa!*<sup>1</sup> *kúbə čáy t-dàwa!*<sup>1</sup> *kúlley t-Leliθela.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿáyya mártət ʿamàre.*<sup>1</sup> *rəqəðtela,*<sup>1</sup> *zmàrtela,*<sup>1</sup> *xàltela,*<sup>1</sup> *štèθela,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿu-siqle téla makròze.*<sup>1</sup> (25) *máre kú-t-ile xila*<sup>1</sup> *gu-čàmča,*<sup>1</sup> *b-skinta,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-ʿamàna,*<sup>1</sup> *b-kùba,*<sup>1</sup> *kulla šáqal ta-gáne diye*<sup>1</sup> *masəqle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʿána ləš bəyənna,*<sup>1</sup> *ləš bəyənna.*<sup>1</sup> *léla t-bábe diye!*<sup>1</sup> *tmánya yománe wéle táma xlùla.*<sup>1</sup> *xilla,*<sup>1</sup> *štèla,*<sup>1</sup> *qínla siqla.*<sup>1</sup>

(26) *siqla,*<sup>1</sup> *xéna téla tèlele,*<sup>1</sup> *siqlə l-túra xála çàre,*<sup>1</sup> *xála mən̄diyàne,*<sup>1</sup> *ʿašərta ʿaθèwa.*<sup>1</sup> *xáçça xa-yòma*<sup>1</sup> *mriè.*<sup>1</sup> *tèla*<sup>1</sup> *mriè*<sup>1</sup> *xóne diye,*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrx xóne b-zìqa,*<sup>1</sup> *máre mà-lux xóni.*<sup>2</sup>

(19) He said 'Follow me further'. They went down and came to a herd<sup>3</sup> of camels. Formerly, if you want to know the truth, all (riding animals) were camels. They would go around on the back of camels. There were camels everywhere.<sup>4</sup> (20) He said 'Whose are they?' He called the shepherd. 'If somebody comes and asks saying "Whose are they?", say they belong to Ajdān the fox'. The people came down and, when they arrived, they said 'Whose are they?'. He said 'They belong to Ajdān the fox'.

(21) He went on down, he went down to Leliθa. The fox shouted 'Help!'. She came out to listen. 'They want the blood of a fox and the blood of Leliθa. They will kill us to inject it into the son of the king, who is afflicted with leprosy. The son of the king is afflicted with leprosy, they will inject (our blood) into him and he will be cured'. (22) Leliθa came out and listened. She said 'What did you say? What have I to do with you?' 'I have come to tell you to hide yourself'. 'What shall I do?' 'Look, the people are coming, they are coming towards me'. She said 'What shall I do?' She said 'What shall I do?' and he said 'You have a heap, a heap of leaves, a big heap'. He said 'I shall hide you in it'. (23) He took away (the leaves), from here and from there,<sup>5</sup> put her inside and built up all the leaves around her. He built them all up. He said 'However much rustling sound there may be, don't move. The army is passing by'. He lit a fire in twenty places. She said 'I am getting hot!' He said 'They have almost passed'. He burnt her, made her a corpse, killed her. (24) He went into the cave of Leliθa. There were even spoons of gold, forks of gold, tea cups of gold! All belonged to Leliθa. This is what they say.<sup>6</sup> They (the wedding party) were dancing and singing, eating and drinking. The fox went up to make an announcement. (25) He said 'Whoever has eaten with a spoon, with a knife, in a vessel or cup, everybody may take it for himself and take it back up (to their home). I don't want them anymore. I don't want them anymore'. (But in fact) they did not belong to his father. The wedding lasted eight days there. They ate and drank and then went off back up (the mountain).

(26) They went up and the fox was a fox (again). He went up the mountain to eat blackbirds, to eat (other) things, and came back in the evening. One day he was rather ill. The fox was ill and his brother, as we say his brother (who was as close to him as) a shirt collar, said 'What is the matter with you brother?'

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: thing.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: As for (all) creatures, they were camels.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: He took, he took, he took.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: This is the saying of the sayers.

(27) *móre tla-báxte diye,<sup>1</sup> móra mà-lux?<sup>1</sup> xáčča mərəya xónəx.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər dréla 'ídəx l-<sup>2</sup>àqlə<sup>1</sup> zdéla tāmàha.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər háyyo taxxána brōn-taxxanèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya t-in-wàðə,<sup>1</sup> wiðáli mənnux,<sup>1</sup> dréla 'ídəx l-<sup>2</sup>àqlə zdèle!<sup>1</sup> (28) *čirra bàxta<sup>1</sup> mòdiwa nəmu,<sup>1</sup> xu-léwa taxxána brōn-taxxanèθa?<sup>1</sup> čirra.<sup>1</sup> čirra bàxta,<sup>1</sup> síqla be-bábe diye.<sup>1</sup> móre módi θèləx?<sup>1</sup> móra čirri.<sup>1</sup> 'áw taxxána brōn-taxxanèθele.<sup>1</sup> 'áyyela?<sup>1</sup> móra 'áyyela!<sup>1</sup> hátxa móre xóne diye.<sup>1</sup> (29) *xà-yoma,<sup>1</sup> trè,<sup>1</sup> xa-šàbθa,<sup>1</sup> xa-yèrxa,<sup>1</sup> bxèlè,<sup>1</sup> bxéle 'o-t-wéwa gwira.<sup>1</sup> móre síq mèθila báxti.<sup>1</sup> móre là-y-asqən.<sup>1</sup> 'ána là-y-asqən.<sup>1</sup> xá-bena mrìli,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya t-in-wiðəlla mənnux,<sup>1</sup> mórux zdòle.<sup>1</sup> là-y-asqən.<sup>1</sup> (30) 'áxxa l-tàmma,<sup>1</sup> móre qémən t-àsqena.<sup>1</sup> lítla xàmma,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>áyya béna mēθənnà-llux.<sup>1</sup> qíma sìqe.<sup>1</sup> sìqe,<sup>1</sup> qtàlèlle.<sup>1</sup> málka qtàlèlle,<sup>1</sup> móre lá-<sup>2</sup>aθət làxxa.<sup>1</sup> 'āti wídlux lébe 'əlli.<sup>1</sup> šqilálux bràti<sup>1</sup> ta-xónux taxxána brōn-taxxanèθa.<sup>1</sup> (31) *móre xzi-t-amrənnux málka.<sup>1</sup> 'ána máto mšārən tla-yəmmè<sup>1</sup> yəmmè diye yəmmi-waiwa?<sup>1</sup> yəmmè d-àw-waiwa.<sup>1</sup> dax-<sup>2</sup>ána mšārən<sup>1</sup> bábe diye bàbiwa,<sup>1</sup> bábe d-àw-iwa,<sup>1</sup> dax-mšārən tla-bàbe?<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>ána 'áy lxímla š-lišəni,<sup>1</sup> məri taxxána brōn-taxxanèθa.<sup>1</sup> xu-léwa taxxána brōn-taxxanèθa.<sup>1</sup> kléle málka.<sup>1</sup> (32) *qu-šlè<sup>1</sup> 'u-šlèla.<sup>1</sup> xá-bena xéna šlèla.<sup>1</sup> píšle xá-yarxa xá-bena xéna tèla<sup>1</sup> mrìle ma-dūs,<sup>1</sup> mrìle ma-dūs téla.<sup>1</sup> hóle dmíxa bar-šùpa.<sup>1</sup> šùpa yáðət mòdi?<sup>1</sup> deróxwa qése gəwe,<sup>1</sup> šaxənwa bèθa.<sup>1</sup> mrìle,<sup>1</sup> tmanyá-yome mìtle,<sup>1</sup> léle šbára t-áwər xà.<sup>1</sup> mìtle,<sup>1</sup> prìqle.<sup>1</sup> tmanyá-yóme xirre,<sup>1</sup> móre šqúlle zdèle.<sup>1</sup> 'ána šwiqáli tàma<sup>1</sup> théli làxxa.<sup>1</sup>*****

(27) He spoke to his wife, she said 'What is the matter with you?' 'Your brother is rather ill'. He said 'Take hold of his leg and throw him over there'. He (the fox) said 'Come miller, son of a miller woman, (after all) this that I am doing, that I have done for you (you say) "Take hold of his leg and throw him away!"' (28) The woman recoiled in anger. What was he? Was he really a miller, son of a miller woman? She recoiled. The woman recoiled and went up to her father's house. He said 'Why have you come?' She said 'I have recoiled in anger. He is a miller, son of a miller woman'. 'Is that so?' She said 'It is so. His brother said this'. (29) For a day, two, one week, a month, he wept, the one who was married wept. He said 'Go up and bring back my wife'. He said 'I shall not go up. I shall not go up. I was ill once and (after all) that I did for you, you said "Throw him away". I shall not go up'. (30) (After the other brother pleaded) this way and that, he said 'I shall go up. Don't worry, I shall bring her to you also this time. He set off and went up. He went up and he (almost) murdered him. The king (almost) murdered him, he said 'Don't come here. You played tricks on me. You took my daughter for your brother who is a miller, the son of a miller woman'. (31) He said 'Look, I'll tell you, king. How can I curse his mother, since his mother was my mother? She was his mother. How can I curse his father, who was my father. He was his father, how can I curse his father? This just tripped off my tongue<sup>7</sup> and I said "Miller, son of a miller woman". Of course he was not a miller, son of a miller woman'. (32) The king relented (and said to his daughter) 'Go down (to your husband)'. She went down. She went back down to him. After a month, the fox again (became ill), he became really ill. The fox became really ill. He slept behind the stove. Do you know what a stove is? We would put wood in it and it would heat the house. He was ill and lay dead for eight days without anybody daring to approach. He died, he was finished. After eight days he looked and said 'Take him and throw him away'. I have left it there and come here.

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<sup>7</sup> Literally: This was composed on my tongue.



A33 THE LION WITH A SWOLLEN LEG

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔEn-Nunc)

(1) ʔiθwa liθwa,<sup>1</sup> čú biš-m-álaha góra liθwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa<sup>1</sup> xa-brónət t̥òto.<sup>1</sup> xa-nàša,<sup>1</sup> qímewa  
m-gu-máthe diye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-zíla gu-ða-bàžər.<sup>1</sup> tíwεle tàma.<sup>1</sup> hóle xázəx xa-làmpa lháya.<sup>1</sup> ʔé-ga  
qam-lámpa ʔiθwa šràʔa,<sup>1</sup> šràya,<sup>1</sup> deréwa zèθa<sup>1</sup> ʔap-ʔáy lāyàwa,<sup>1</sup> yawáwa bèra.<sup>1</sup>

(2) ʔé-ga,<sup>1</sup> brōn-málka<sup>1</sup> mrile.<sup>1</sup> théle xa-düxtur,<sup>1</sup> xa-ħākīm,<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> brónux là-tarəš<sup>1</sup>  
ʔilla màyət<sup>1</sup> mástət ʔàrye<sup>1</sup> xásət ʔàrye<sup>1</sup> ta-málke mərəye.<sup>1</sup> (3) ʔéni máse parəmle,<sup>1</sup> ʔéni máse  
máte l-ʔarya,<sup>1</sup> qat̥alle,<sup>1</sup> t-awədle güde diye,<sup>1</sup> güdantət ʔàrya.<sup>2</sup> ʔap bróna diya parmile<sup>1</sup>  
t-od̥ile güdanta.<sup>2</sup> mattila xās-t ʔàrya<sup>1</sup> meθéla ta-brōn-málka mərəya.<sup>2</sup> ʔap-xa liθ.<sup>1</sup>

(4) zílle gu-bàžər,<sup>1</sup> ʔap-xa lá-šbirre ʔasəqle.<sup>1</sup> zílle gu-bàžər kùlla<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> kut-mèθe<sup>1</sup>  
mástət ʔàrye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-güdant-ʔàrye,<sup>1</sup> xásə ʔàrye<sup>1</sup> ta-brōn-málka mərəya.<sup>2</sup> (5) ʔap-xa lele-šbàra.<sup>1</sup>  
ʔéni šábər t-ásəq.<sup>2</sup> mərə xa-béθa hòle.<sup>1</sup> t-ásəqəx xázəx ʔaw-mòdile<sup>1</sup> tàma.<sup>1</sup> síqla dbísla  
bíye diye.<sup>1</sup> mərə ʔat-ʔàžət<sup>1</sup> meθ̥itlən<sup>1</sup> ʔàwəwa-məndi.<sup>1</sup> (6) mərə šàrt ʔille díye,<sup>1</sup> qat̥laxxe  
brónux.<sup>1</sup> mərə yàba<sup>1</sup> ʔana mášən t-ázən méθən ʔàrya.<sup>2</sup> lè-mašən méθən ʔàrya.<sup>1</sup> mərə  
là-barya.<sup>1</sup> gárəg ʔàžət.<sup>1</sup> šəmu bróni là qətlúle.<sup>1</sup> t-ázən mjərbena.<sup>1</sup> xázən<sup>1</sup> mäsən<sup>1</sup> t-ódən  
xa-čàra.<sup>1</sup> là-amšən,<sup>1</sup> maqətlu bróni,<sup>1</sup> mó t-od̥əna.<sup>2</sup>

(7) qímle síqla.<sup>1</sup> síqla gu-xa-ṭura.<sup>1</sup> ʔitle ḏa-ʔéna táma gu-d-ò-ṭura.<sup>1</sup> ʔaríθa<sup>1</sup> ʔáy  
hola-ʔáqla diya mqobèθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔáqla diya<sup>1</sup> hóla mqobèθa.<sup>1</sup> šràxela<sup>1</sup> l-ʔálaha,<sup>1</sup> ʔáqla diya.<sup>1</sup>  
ʔu-ṭláθa kuddine hóla mánna diya,<sup>1</sup> ṭláθa bnóne hóla mánna.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya y-ámri kuddine.<sup>1</sup>

(8) šlāya,<sup>1</sup> šályá šátya miya,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-qálba xá-bena xéna.<sup>1</sup> šràxela l-ʔálaha.<sup>1</sup> ʔa-ʔáqla diya  
lítla ʔap-xa wað̥illa,<sup>1</sup> léla mšāya<sup>1</sup> ma-t-ila mqobèθa,<sup>1</sup> ml̥iθa jaráh ʔu-məndiyáne šəxte.<sup>1</sup>

(9) ʔəwəwə náša<sup>1</sup> xa bardi hóle tàma<sup>1</sup> rába góra.<sup>1</sup> bardi<sup>1</sup> hóle mṭušya<sup>1</sup> wiða xa-qésa  
rixa,<sup>1</sup> m-áxxa l-d-āwáha hánna màte.<sup>1</sup> muxərpalle,<sup>1</sup> muxərpalle,<sup>1</sup> muxərpalle,<sup>1</sup> wiðalle  
ʔax-xmàta.<sup>1</sup> wiðalle ʔax-xmàta,<sup>1</sup> šliθela ʔaríθa,<sup>1</sup> šràxela,<sup>1</sup> šràxa.<sup>1</sup> šliθa šm̥iyalla.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) There was once<sup>1</sup>—nothing is greater than God—there was a son of an old woman, a man, who had left his village and gone to a town, where he lived. We can see a lamp burning (over there where he dwelt). At that time people used an oil lamp<sup>2</sup> instead of an (electric) lamp. They would put oil in it and it would burn and give off light. (2) At that time the son of the king became ill. A doctor, a physician, came and said ‘Your son will not recover unless you bring the yoghurt of lions, on the back of lions, for sick kings. (3) Who can slaughter it, who can approach the lion, kill it and make a churn out of it, a lion churn? Could they slaughter also its cub and make it into a churn, then put it on the back of a lion and bring it to the sick son of the king? There is nobody (who can do this).

(4) He (the king) went to the town, but nobody dared to go up (to do) it. He went to the town and said ‘Is there anybody who can fetch yoghurt of lions and a churn of lions on the back of lions for the sick son of the king?’ (5) Nobody dared. Who would dare go up (and do that)? They said ‘There is a house over there. Let us go and see what that is there’. They went up and pressed him (to do it).<sup>3</sup> He said ‘You must go and fetch this thing’. (6) He told him the conditions ‘We shall kill your son (if you do not do so)’. He said ‘Well, can I bring back a lion? I cannot bring back a lion’. He said ‘That is not possible’. ‘You must go’. ‘Listen, do not kill my son. I shall go and try (to do it). I shall see whether I can find a solution. If I cannot, have my son killed, what can I do?’

(7) He set off and went up a mountain. There was a spring there in that mountain. The lionness, her leg was swollen. Her leg was swollen. She cried to God, (on account of) her leg. There were three cubs with her, three young offspring were with her. Such (young) they call ‘cubs’. (8) She went down to drink water and then returned again. She cried out to God. She had nobody to look after her leg. She could not (cope), since it was so swollen, full of sores and filth. (9) As for the man, there was a papyrus brake close by, a very large papyrus brake, in which he hid. He prepared a long stick, which reached from here to that thing over there. He sharpened it well and made it like a needle. He made it like a needle and the lionness came down, yelling. She came down and he heard her.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: There was, there was not.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: There was an oil lamp.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: They stuck to him.

(10) *klìθela-ʔay*.<sup>1</sup> *bnóna díya šálye šátye mìyela*.<sup>1</sup> *qlìbe*,<sup>1</sup> *kálye tàmeta*.<sup>1</sup> *šálye ʔáy*,<sup>1</sup> *šátya mìya*.<sup>1</sup> *šlìθa šátya*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw máxyalle ʔo-qésa l-ʔáqla díya*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔay-šrìxtela*.<sup>1</sup> *kú-məndít plùt*,<sup>1</sup> *mārádət ləbbux*<sup>1</sup> *mamətyənnux*,<sup>1</sup> *ku-bəyət*<sup>1</sup> *t-odàнна*.<sup>1</sup> (11) *ʔaw-lə-plìtle*.<sup>1</sup> *xá-ga xèta*<sup>1</sup> *šlìθela šatyàwa*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔε-dána qəm-maxéla ʔáqla díya*.<sup>1</sup> *mára tlùb*!<sup>1</sup> *kú-məndít bəyət*,<sup>1</sup> *módi mārád ləbbux*<sup>1</sup> *t-odàнна*!<sup>1</sup> *lə-plìtle*.<sup>1</sup> *prèle xáčča ʔáqla díya*,<sup>1</sup> *prèle xáčča*.<sup>1</sup> (12) *béna tla-gaye*<sup>1</sup> *kìpla*,<sup>1</sup> *šátya mìya*.<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maxéla ʔáqla biš-xelàna*,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-parèla ʔáqla díya*,<sup>1</sup> *tla-gaye*,<sup>1</sup> *kúlla prèle*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔámra plùt*.<sup>1</sup> *wádə ʔarab*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔati məndít bəyət t-odənnəllux*.<sup>1</sup> *plìtle*.<sup>1</sup> *máre wádə ʔarab*!<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni ʔiθwa ʔimən ʔε-ga*.<sup>1</sup> (13) *mára mòdila*?<sup>1</sup> *màre*<sup>1</sup> *guđánt ʔarye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mást ʔarye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xášət ʔarye*<sup>1</sup> *ta-brōn-málka mərəya*.<sup>1</sup> *wádə ʔarabile*,<sup>1</sup> *gárəg ʔodàle*.<sup>1</sup> *qímtela musáqtəlle bróna díya*<sup>1</sup> *p-ápe xa-gəra*,<sup>1</sup> *prìmtəlle*.<sup>1</sup> *bróna díya prìmtəlle*,<sup>1</sup> *wídtəlle guđanta*.<sup>1</sup> (14) *dart-yóma módi wíðta*?<sup>1</sup> *muréθəlla gána díya xəly*,<sup>1</sup> *xlíwtəlla gána díya*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-wídtəlle masta*.<sup>1</sup> *dríθəlle gu-d-o-gúða*.<sup>1</sup> *dríθəlle xášə bróna díya*.<sup>1</sup> *mášli tla-málka ʔámra*.<sup>1</sup> (15) *qəm-maşléle masta*<sup>1</sup> *ta-brōn-málka*<sup>1</sup> *t-wéwa təpya xərsa*.<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maxéle biye*,<sup>1</sup> *trìšle*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔána šiwiqáli tàma*<sup>1</sup> *θéli ləxxa*.<sup>1</sup>

(10) She stood and her young went down and drank the water. They came back and stood there. She then went down and drank water. When she went down, he struck her leg with the stick. She cried out 'Whatever you are come out! I shall make you attain your heart's desire. I shall do whatever you want'. (11) He did not come out. Again she came down and drank. Also this time he struck her leg. She said 'Ask! Whatever you want, whatever your heart's desire is, I shall do it!' But he did not come out. He burst her leg a little, he burst it a little. (12) Then, three times she bent down to drink water. He struck her leg harder and burst her leg, three times, he burst it completely. She said 'Come out! (I give you) an Arab promise, I shall do for you whatever you want'. He came out, he said 'An Arab promise!', that is there was trust at that time. (13) She said 'What is it?' He said 'A churn of lions, yoghurt of lions and (carriage on) the back of lions for the sick son of a king'. The promise was an Arab one, she had to perform it. She went and took up her young cub behind a hill and slaughtered it. She slaughtered her young cub and made it into a churn. (14) The next day what did she do? She herself set some milk, she milked herself and made it into yoghurt. She put it in the churn, put it on the back of her (other) young cub and said 'Take it down to the king'. (15) He brought the yoghurt down to the son of the king, who was afflicted with leprosy. They applied the yoghurt to him and he recovered. I have left it there and come here.

Informant: Blandina Barwari (ʿEn-Nune)

(1) *xa-bàxta-ʿiθwa, 1 xa-bràta. 1 móra ʿádyo šàbθela, 1 šálax l-nèra, 1 qú-šla màšla 1 margálda-w qése ʿu-mánda t-ódət míya šaxíne ta-t-xèpax. 1 qímtela šlíθela mušléθela masrəqta-w júlle-w mànda, 1 muttétəa margálda tla-yómma díya, 1 qa-t-xèpi. 1 (2) θiθela δa-qarəkke, 1 šqiltəlla masrəqta díya ʿu-murəqtəlla. 1 ʿay-ríqtela bàθra-w 1 ríqta-w 1 ríqta, 1 ʿay-káza qràya. 1*

(3) *qarəkke qarəkkənti 1  
hálla masrəqθənti 1  
t-la-maxyáli dekənti 1*

(4) *ʿáy har-là-yawəlla. 1 mṯéla qarəkke l-xá-qašra gòra. 1 síqla l-gàre, 1 qəm-zadyála b-xa-kàwe. 1 masrəqθa díya šléla gu-bèθa. 1 šléla gu-bèθa, 1 ʿay-túwla bxèla, 1 bxèla, 1 bxèla. 1 (5) ʿánna ʿiθwa táma šawwà xonāwəθa, 1 gu-d-ò-bəθa. 1 ʿánna móra xóni holaràya dúnye. 1 móre hé b-álaha holaràya. 1 plítte xá-mənnə qam-tàra, 1 théle móre là, 1 dúnye lèla-rya, 1 šəxwəla. 1 dəmmət ʿəna. 1 (6) b-é-ga qíme síqe gərə, 1 xázýəlla ʿáyən bráta l-gàre. 1 móra hóla δa-bráta lāxxa. 1 qíme šqiləlla, 1 mušlyəlla. 1 móra há mùt wáða lāxxa. 1 móra ʿána qósšət díyi hátxewa. 1 qarəkke qəm-ganwála masrəqθi, 1 qəm-daryála b-ay-káwe diyəxun. 1 (7) móra ʿú háy puš-xəθa tllələn. 1 móra là, 1 là-pešən. 1 nābluli. 1 yəmmi yāni ʿána δa-bratən, 1 yəmmi bāxya. 1 móra léðəx ʿəkəla, 1 yəmməx ʿəkəla. 1 qarəkkəla muθéθəlləx. 1 puš-xəθa tllələn. 1*

(8) *ʿay-pišla xáθa tlləyən. 1 ʿayya 1 har-pišla táma xòða, 1 ʿánna y-azíwa šèða, 1 xòða, 1 xòða. 1 qátu kribla, 1 qəm-jerála gu-núra, 1 qəm-mačmyále núra díya. 1 pišla t-là-nura. 1 (9) ʿayya qímla plítte xzéla xa-núra rāba rāhqa. 1 móra bṯ-ázən xázýən ʿáwən-nura ʿəkəle, 1 mátyən tá-t t-ódən ʿixála tla-xonāwəθi. 1 zilla-w 1 zilla 1 mṯéla l-xá tanúra núra rāba. 1 xa-hambišāya 1 hóle táma dmíxa. 1 (10) xa-báxta xámθa xámθa xámθa tíwta pláya qálme díye. 1 ʿay-šqilla m-ò-nura, 1 θèla. 1 ʿiθwa xa-gúttə hátxa t-əzla 1 gu-jéba díya npilla. 1 npilla mánna díya gúttə 1 m-gu-jéba díya. 1 líqla b-tàra, 1 ʿu-θéla gúttə pišla mən-d-áw hambišāya 1 hal-tárət bəθəy. 1*

A34 THE GIRL AND THE SEVEN BROTHERS

Informant: Blandina Barwari (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) There was a woman and a daughter. She said (to her daughter) ‘Today is Saturday, let’s go down to the river. Come, bring down a pan, wood and so forth to make hot water for us to wash’. She went down and brought down a comb, clothes and so forth and set up a pan for her mother so that they could wash. (2) A crow came, took her comb and stole it away. She ran after it, ran and ran. She tried (to persuade it to come back by) calling:

(3) Crow, my little crow  
Give me back my little comb  
so that my mother does not beat me

(4) It still did not give it back. The crow came to a big palace. It went up onto the roof and threw it into a window. Her comb went down into the house. It went down into the house and she sat and wept and wept and wept. (5) The people who were there in that house were seven brothers. They said ‘My brother, it is raining’. He said ‘Yes, by God, it is raining’. One of them went outside and came back saying ‘No, it is not raining, it is fine’. It was the tears of her eyes. (6) Then they went up to the roof and saw that girl on the roof. They said ‘There is a girl here. They took her and brought her down. They said ‘Hey, what are you doing here?’ She said ‘This is my story. A crow stole my comb and put it through your window’. (7) They said ‘Come, become a sister for us’. She said ‘No, I shall not stay. Take me back. My mother—I am an only daughter and my mother is weeping’. They said ‘We do not know where she is, where your mother is. The crow brought you. Become a sister for us’.

(8) She became a sister for them. She always remained there by herself while they went hunting, all alone. The cat was angry and urinated in the fire and extinguished her fire. So she did not have a fire. (9) She went outside and saw a fire far off. She said ‘I shall go and see where that fire is. I shall go there to make food for my brothers’. She went a long way and arrived at an oven with a large fire. (10) A giant was asleep there. A very beautiful woman was sitting removing his lice. She took some of the fire and returned. There was a ball of thread in her pocket and it fell. The ball fell from it, from her pocket. It became attached to the door and the ball ran from that giant up to the door of their house.

(11) 'áw qəm-marámbla-w θéle θéle.<sup>1</sup> m̄téle gu-tárət 'ó-bεθa t-íla-wirta gáwe<sup>1</sup> wírele tálba díya.<sup>1</sup> kút-yom paštáwa 'ída díya,<sup>1</sup> kút-yom mayáswa xa-sabòta.<sup>1</sup> píšla ràba zábbun.<sup>1</sup> là-y galyáwa,<sup>1</sup> là-y šabráwa.<sup>1</sup> (12) y-ámri xáθi mà-ləx?<sup>2</sup> tla-mòt zábbun?<sup>2</sup> là-y galyáwa.<sup>1</sup> móra xáθi,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni šeráxxe 'íθ xa-tanúra gòra,<sup>1</sup> t-yáβəx ləxma.<sup>1</sup> šerəxle,<sup>1</sup> dérx núra gáwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-çàme,<sup>1</sup> (13) máttəx xa-došákka gòra<sup>1</sup> tàma.<sup>1</sup> kút-dana t-àθe,<sup>1</sup> 'áti déryət 'íðəx hátxa gu-ləša.<sup>1</sup> múr hon-lyàša.<sup>1</sup> 'áw t-àθe,<sup>1</sup> múr hon-lyàša,<sup>1</sup> pèrqəm<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-yawánnux šabóti mùšla.<sup>1</sup> tú xaçça-mányəx làxxa.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'aw-'əθya wírele,<sup>1</sup> 'ay-dríθa 'íθáθa gu-ləša t-ləšəwa.<sup>1</sup> móre hálla šabóta zórta me:ənnə.<sup>1</sup> móra tú-xanči š-d-əy došákka.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-mtúšyalla xonāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> móra 'ána pèrqəm,<sup>1</sup> b-yawánnə šabóti 'əllux.<sup>1</sup> (15) 'aw-wírele,<sup>1</sup> mírtela tu-tíwa.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-'əθya max-t-íle tíwa,<sup>1</sup> šlyele bíye b-došákka<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ó tanúra.<sup>1</sup> gòra-wewa rába.<sup>1</sup> šlele-tàma,<sup>1</sup> xonāwàθa díya,<sup>1</sup> šawəwà xonāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> rípe b-réše díye<sup>1</sup> b-mère<sup>1</sup> qtiləlle,<sup>1</sup> qšifəlle.<sup>1</sup> (16) 'ay-píštela xòða,<sup>1</sup> 'áti m-èket?<sup>2</sup> móra 'àna<sup>1</sup> hátxa xonāwáθi ríqe-wewa.<sup>1</sup> móra 'áxni 'áti xàθən-iwət<sup>1</sup> dūs.<sup>1</sup> 'o-qətma qəm-šaqlile xonāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> móra xáθi garpátte qətma.<sup>1</sup> šaqlátte daryátte bar-šawəwà turáne,<sup>1</sup> b-xa-guniya t-óya tàməz.<sup>1</sup> (17) 'ay-mò-widla?<sup>2</sup> qímla qəm-daryále gu-xa-guniya<sup>1</sup> šətta díya nčilta.<sup>1</sup> kəma-jwíjla,<sup>1</sup> 'úrxa 'úrxa bízle.<sup>1</sup> kəma-jwíjla,<sup>1</sup> 'úrxa 'úrxa bízle.<sup>1</sup> qláβta díya qlíβla,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúlle bərya<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxxe xa-kerápso 'u-gəlla táza ta-'ixála.<sup>1</sup> (18) móra knéle 'áwəwa gəlla ta-'ixála táza.<sup>1</sup> qemən-náβlən xánči ta-xonāwàθi.<sup>1</sup> t-oðánna yàrqalley<sup>1</sup> t-axlile.<sup>1</sup> bašlànne.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-šliθela,<sup>1</sup> wíðtela 'o-gəlla<sup>1</sup> muθéθəlle mbušàlta.<sup>1</sup>

(19) 'əθye xonāwàθa díya,<sup>1</sup> šawəwa xonāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> m-šəda,<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela xilela.<sup>1</sup> móra 'ə dyo hon-wíðtəlləxu yàrqə rába basima.<sup>1</sup> xile.<sup>1</sup> max-t-íla xile čámča qaméθa,<sup>1</sup> kúlla píše pàrela,<sup>1</sup> 'ərwə.<sup>1</sup> kúlla píše 'ərwəla.<sup>1</sup> (20) píše 'ərwəla,<sup>1</sup> 'áy kút-yom mpaltáwala māřyalla.<sup>1</sup> baxyəwa,<sup>1</sup> jannəwa,<sup>1</sup> baxyəwa,<sup>1</sup> baxyəwa.<sup>1</sup> xa-yóma θéle xa-nàša,<sup>1</sup> xa-nàša, xa-dərwéša.<sup>1</sup> θéle tàma,<sup>1</sup> móre má-ləx bráta t-it-hátxa bxəya<sup>1</sup> qam-d-ánna 'ərwə?<sup>2</sup> (21) móra 'ánna ləwa 'ərwə,<sup>1</sup> xonāwàθi wéwa.<sup>1</sup> hál 'u-qəššátte díye 'əyya-wawa.<sup>1</sup> wíðten yàrqə ta-d-ánna xonāwàθi<sup>1</sup> 'u-xiléla píše 'ərwə.<sup>1</sup>

(11) He picked it up and came (after it). He reached the door of the house in which she had entered and he entered searching for her. Every day she would stretch out her hand and every day he would suck a finger. She became very weak. She did not reveal this (to her brothers). She did not dare. (12) They said ‘Sister, what is the matter with you? Why are you weak?’ She did not reveal it. They said ‘Sister, we shall stoke it’—there was a large oven—in order for us to make bread. We shall stoke it, we shall set fire to it and then it will go out. (13) We shall put a large mattress there. Every time he (the giant) comes, you put your hand like this in the dough. Say “I am baking”. When he comes back say “I am baking. When I finish, I shall give you my finger to suck. Sit and rest awhile here”’. (14) He came in and she put her hands in the dough that she was kneading. He said ‘Give me the little finger for me to suck’. She said ‘Sit awhile on that mattress’. She hid her brothers. She said ‘When I finish, I shall give my finger to you’. (15) He came in. She said ‘Sit down’. He came and when he sat down, he went down together with the mattress into the oven. He was very large. He went down into it and her brothers, her seven brothers, attacked his head with spades, killed him and cut him to pieces. (16) She remained alone. ‘Where are you from?’ She said ‘My brothers ran away’. They said ‘You are really our sister’. Her brothers took the ash and said ‘Sister, sweep up the ash. Take it and scatter it behind seven mountains, in a sack that is clean’. (17) What did she do? She put it in a sack the bottom of which was torn. As she walked, it spilt along the way. As she walked, it spilt along the way. When she returned, it had all grown into (the plant) we call *kerabso*, a herb that was pleasant to eat. (18) She said ‘How pleasant this plant is to eat. I shall take some for my brothers. I shall make it into vegetable stew for them to eat. I shall cook it’. She went down, picked that plant, brought it back and cooked it.

(19) Her brothers came back, her seven brothers, from hunting. They came back and ate. She said ‘Today I have made you a delicious vegetable stew’. They ate it. When they had eaten the first spoonful, they all turned into lambs, sheep. They all turned into sheep. (20) They turned into sheep and she took them out every day to pasture them. She wept, wailed, wept and wept. One day a man came, a vagabond. He came there and said ‘What is the matter with you girl that you are weeping so much in front of these sheep?’ (21) She said ‘These used not to be sheep, they used to be my brothers. The story of what happened is this. I made vegetable stew for these brothers of mine and, when they ate it, they turned into sheep’.



(22) *móre* 'ána 'áña xonǎwáθax mbasmə̀nna,<sup>1</sup> *bas-goràtli*.<sup>1</sup> *mirtela*<sup>1</sup> *bas-'áña* xonǎwáθi bàsmi,<sup>1</sup> *gorànnux*.<sup>1</sup> *móre de-séga* 'áti *bár d-ǎwàha-tura*.<sup>1</sup> 'ána *kút-xonə̀x maxónne* šawwà-qese,<sup>1</sup> *pèšì*.<sup>1</sup> *lá-'amrat* kóre xàθux.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-*mórə̀x* kóre xàθux,<sup>1</sup> *la-dèri*.<sup>1</sup> (23) *máxyə̀lle* 'o-*gamáya* šáwwa qèse,<sup>1</sup> *barbərwa*.<sup>1</sup> *zìnele*,<sup>1</sup> *pišele* nàša.<sup>1</sup> *máxyele* l-o-trè,<sup>1</sup> *hátxa máxyele* l-o-*t-làθa*,<sup>1</sup> *hátxa* 'o-t-'àrba,<sup>1</sup> *hátxa* 'o-t-xàmša,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'àšta.<sup>1</sup> (24) 'o-t-šáwwa *biš-zòra-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwele *xə̀zyálla b-gáre*.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-*mburə̀bɾele*,<sup>1</sup> *mburə̀bra*.<sup>1</sup> *móra* 'óx kóre xàθux.<sup>1</sup> *pišele pálge* nàša<sup>1</sup> 'u-*pálge pàra*.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-*mère*<sup>1</sup> *ta-mò mórə̀x kóre* xàθux.<sup>2</sup> *móra xéna* qidle *lábbi*,<sup>1</sup> *xóni zòra-wewa*,<sup>1</sup> *mári kóre* xàθux.<sup>1</sup> (25) 'aw-*qimə̀le gwìrə̀lla*.<sup>1</sup> 'áña *zile*,<sup>1</sup> *qimə̀le gwìrə̀lla*.<sup>1</sup> 'áw t-*ile piša pálge pàra pálge* nàša *mùθyə̀lle mánna díya*.<sup>1</sup> (26) 'o-nàša *rába zàngin-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> *zàngin-wewa*,<sup>1</sup> *dwìqə̀lle bèθa*.<sup>1</sup> *xa-yòma*,<sup>1</sup> *móre 'ána doqə̀nnə̀x xa-xadəmθa*.<sup>1</sup> *móra lá-bayə̀nna xadəmθa*.<sup>1</sup> *móre là*,<sup>1</sup> *dóqə̀nnə̀x xadəmθa*,<sup>1</sup> *ðá qǎřčèθa*.<sup>1</sup> *xa-yóma dwìqə̀lla*,<sup>1</sup> *móre t-áθya t-óya* 'áxxa *kə̀slə̀x*.<sup>1</sup> *móra là*,<sup>1</sup> *là*.<sup>1</sup> *móre hè*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-lá-palxət* 'áti<sup>1</sup> 'áy-*ila t-pálxa*.<sup>1</sup> (27) 'áni *xá-yoma šálye xyàpa-wewa*.<sup>1</sup> *šálye xyàpa*,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa *ða-béra hátxa gotèy-wawa*<sup>1</sup> 'amùqta.<sup>1</sup> 'áni *šálye xyàpa-wewa*,<sup>1</sup> 'ay-*mòdi wíðta*.<sup>2</sup> *qimətela* 'á *qǎřčèθa*<sup>1</sup> *driθə̀lla gu-d-a-bèra*.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-*lwíštə̀lla jülle d-a-bràta*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*sìqtela*.<sup>1</sup> (28) *sìqtela*,<sup>1</sup> 'o-*pàra*<sup>1</sup> *hóle mbarbòre*,<sup>1</sup> *har-mbarbòre*,<sup>1</sup> *léle klàya*.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-*màrə̀la*<sup>1</sup> *mà-lux*.<sup>2</sup> *ta-mòt mbarbóre*.<sup>2</sup> *móre mà-lə̀x*.<sup>2</sup> 'ay-*là mgalóyə̀lla páθa ta-t-xazéla* 'áw.<sup>1</sup> *har-mkusèθə̀lla páθa*.<sup>1</sup> *har-hóla bxàya*<sup>1</sup> *tʷáya lóbbi l-d-áwwa-xoni* 'u-*bxàya*,<sup>1</sup> *dùgle*.<sup>1</sup> (29) *xá-yoma móre xázə̀n* *mò t-áwə̀ð* 'áwwa *pàra*.<sup>1</sup> *kút-yom dawə̀qʷala* 'úrxe *b-'ìðe*<sup>1</sup> *šaléwa b-a-dúkθa*.<sup>1</sup> *xayáwə̀wa gu-d-a-bèra*,<sup>1</sup> *baxə̀nwa*.<sup>1</sup> *mo-òðə̀n*.<sup>2</sup> *lá-mšə̀n t-ásqə̀n xazyə̀nnux*,<sup>1</sup> *doqə̀nnux*.<sup>1</sup> *litli* 'iθáθa.<sup>1</sup> *lá-mšə̀n t-ásqə̀n doqə̀nnux*.<sup>1</sup> *dúkθi* 'amùqtela.<sup>1</sup>

(22) He said 'I shall cure these brothers of yours, only will you marry me?' She said 'Only if you cure these brothers of mine, shall I marry you'. He said 'Go beyond that mountain over there. I shall strike each brother of yours with seven lashes of a stick and they will turn (back to humans). Do not say "Your poor sister"<sup>1</sup>. If you say "Your poor sister", they will not return'. (23) He beat the first one with seven lashes of a stick. He was bleating. He stood up, he turned into a man. He beat the second one, likewise beat the third, likewise the fourth, likewise the fifth and the sixth. (24) The seventh was the youngest. It was he who saw her on the roof. He bleated and bleated. She said 'Oh, your poor sister!' He became half man and half lamb'. He said 'Why did you say "Your poor sister"?' She said 'My heart yearned for him.<sup>2</sup> He was my young brother, so I said "Your poor sister"'. (25) He married her. They (her brothers) went off and he married her. He took with them the one that had become half lamb and half man.

(26) That man was very rich. He was rich and took a house. One day he said 'I shall take a servant girl for you'. She said 'I do not want a servant girl'. He said 'No, I shall take a servant girl for you, a gypsy'. One day he took her on, he said 'She will come and be with you here'. She said 'No, no'. He said 'Yes, so that you will not work. She will work'. (27) One day they went down to bathe. They went down to bathe, there was a deep well by them. They went down to bathe. What did she do? The gypsy girl put her in that well. She put on the clothes of that girl and went up (to the house). (28) She went up, while the lamb bleated and bleated, incessantly. She said 'What is the matter with you? Why are you bleating?' He said 'What is the matter with you?' She did not reveal her face so that he saw her. She kept her face covered. She constantly wept 'My heart burns for this brother of mine and I weep'<sup>3</sup>—it was all lies. (29) One day he said 'I'd like to see what this lamb is doing. Every day he went the same way<sup>4</sup> and would go down to that place. He would look into the well and weep. 'What should I do? I cannot go up and find you and hold you. I have no hands. I cannot go up and hold you. The place here<sup>5</sup> is deep'.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. Your sister is sad over the fact that you are being beaten.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: My heart burnt.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: with weeping.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: He held his way in his hand.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: My place.

- (30) qímela šálye báθre báθre xèzyalle<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'aw-wáða hàdax.<sup>1</sup> xíre 'ína 'ay-tàma.<sup>1</sup>  
 mára màto?<sup>1</sup> mára 'áy xadēmθela dríθalli láxxa.<sup>1</sup> qímεle šqílalla mpúl̥t̥alla síqeε.<sup>1</sup>  
 (31) síqeε bèθa,<sup>1</sup> mùsq̥alla.<sup>1</sup> múθyεle trè susāwáθa.<sup>1</sup> xa-múxl̥lle m̥lxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá har-  
 múš̥tyεle m̥ya,<sup>1</sup> léle múxl̥lle ču-'ixàla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-d̥ry̥lla bàθra.<sup>1</sup> kut-q̥t̥ta d-á q̥r̥āč̥éθa  
 wíðalle 'ax-nàθa díya.<sup>1</sup> de-sà!<sup>1</sup> 'ay-p̥išta bàxtela<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áw̥wa p̥iša xóna mánna díya.<sup>1</sup>

(30) They went down after him and saw that he was doing this. He looked and saw she was there. They said 'How (has this happened)?' She said 'That servant girl put me here'. He went and took her, took her out and went up. (31) He went up to the house and brought her up. He brought two horses. He fed one salt. One he only gave water to drink and did not feed it any food. He put her behind them. They made every piece of the gypsy girl like her ear. 'Begone!' She became his wife and he became a brother for her.

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(1) ʔθwa tré xawràne,<sup>1</sup> xa-šmme Nanno,<sup>1</sup> xa-šmme Jendo.<sup>1</sup> màra,<sup>1</sup> xà-yoma,<sup>1</sup> Nanno<sup>1</sup> zille l-ʔrxe<sup>1</sup> nubálle txúna l-ʔrxe.<sup>1</sup> qəm-máwær txúne díye gu-ʔrxe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-txàna-wewa.<sup>1</sup> xa-bèna<sup>1</sup> xírre hàtxa<sup>1</sup> ʔína théla ða-dəbba.<sup>1</sup> théla tíwla qam-tárət ʔrxe.<sup>1</sup> (2) xírre<sup>1</sup> móre ʔe-b-álaha ʔe-dəbba théla tíwla.<sup>1</sup> dáx páltən ʔána?<sup>1</sup> har-píšele gu-ʔrxe.<sup>1</sup> bar-xáčča xèna<sup>1</sup> mára ʔθyele xa-tèla.<sup>1</sup> šláma-llax xáθi dəbba.<sup>1</sup> móra b-šéna xóni tèla!<sup>1</sup> ʔat-dàx-it?<sup>1</sup> móre háwət basíma,<sup>1</sup> spəy-in,<sup>1</sup> xáθi dəbba,<sup>1</sup> ʔat dáx-it?<sup>1</sup> móre spəy-in,<sup>1</sup> basíma.<sup>1</sup> (3) mòt wáða?<sup>1</sup> b-álaha hon-tíwta lāxxa,<sup>1</sup> xánčī manyòxe.<sup>1</sup> móre ʔáp-ʔana t-átwən ʔáxxa kəsləx.<sup>1</sup> tíwele.<sup>1</sup> xáčča xéna léla zílta,<sup>1</sup> ʔθyele xa-kálba.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-aw šláma lléxu!<sup>1</sup> b-šéna-w ʔawàða!<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-aw tíwele.<sup>1</sup> (4) xáčča xéna ziltela,<sup>1</sup> θíθela ða-qàtu.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-ay šláma lléxu!<sup>1</sup> b-šéna-w ʔawàða!<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-ay tíwtela.<sup>1</sup> tíwe xáčča xèna,<sup>1</sup> xa-béna ʔθyele xa-ʔaqúbra xāš-súsa,<sup>1</sup> maṭròye,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-lwíša júllət xumàla,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-maṭròye xāš-súse díye,<sup>1</sup> pyáða táma támara.<sup>1</sup> (5) mukəlyəlle síse díye.<sup>1</sup> xírrele.<sup>1</sup> šláma lléxu!<sup>1</sup> móra b-šéna-w ʔawàða.<sup>1</sup> há xóna ʔaqúbra ləka?<sup>1</sup> móre b-álaha hon-zála xlúla.<sup>1</sup> móra léka hátxa t-it-mxúmla-w<sup>1</sup> sépux ʔu-gugíye b-júllux?<sup>1</sup> (6) móre hon-zála xlúla.<sup>1</sup> bas-mádam t-tu tíwe,<sup>1</sup> t-átwən ʔáxxa kəsléxu xəmlən.<sup>1</sup> har-ṭapənne xlúla.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-aw tíwele támara.<sup>1</sup> (7) mára xa-béna hádax ʔáni tíwe,<sup>1</sup> dəbba mərə<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-xa mənnéxu léle l-zmárta xa-məndí<sup>1</sup> maxmálleni hox-tíwe ʔáxxa?<sup>1</sup> qàtu móra he-b-álaha xáθi dəbba,<sup>1</sup> ʔána yáðən zəmrən.<sup>1</sup> zmírra qàtu,<sup>1</sup> zmírra.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qúmla ʔánna har-rqàða.<sup>1</sup> ʔaqúbra gríšle sépe díye,<sup>1</sup> be-pálgət dítwənilé.<sup>1</sup> rqàðela,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-píšla t-ámrat xlúlele támara.<sup>1</sup> (8) muníxla xáčča.<sup>1</sup> móra maníxəx xáčča.<sup>1</sup> dəbba qəm-mbaqràla qàtu,<sup>1</sup> móra xáθi qàtu,<sup>1</sup> ʔánna zmaryáθəx,<sup>1</sup> m-ékət líptəlla hátxa basíme?<sup>1</sup> móra xáθi dəbba,<sup>1</sup> šáwəwa šónne tarjəmən-wənwə gu-Wòlto.<sup>1</sup> móra xáθi qàtu<sup>1</sup> zmaryáθəx basímela<sup>1</sup> zmúrrən xánčī xèna.<sup>1</sup> (9) zmúrtela qàtu xá-ga xéta<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qíme rqàðela.<sup>1</sup> priqela<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mərə<sup>1</sup> ʔánna zmaryáθə m-ékət líptəlla?<sup>1</sup> biš-basímela m-ānàha.<sup>1</sup> ʔána gu-Hàlmun-in líptəlla.<sup>1</sup> ziltənwə tajəríθə támara.<sup>1</sup> šámánwə ʔánna bnáθə zmàra<sup>1</sup> ʔu-líptənna mənnéy.<sup>1</sup>

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(1) There were two friends, one called Nanno and the one called Jendo. Now, one day Nanno went to the water-mill, he took grist to the water-mill. He brought his grist into the water-mill and it started to be ground. Then, he looked and saw that a bear had come. It had come and sat in front of the door of the mill. (2) He looked and said 'By God, that bear has come and sat down. How can I get out?!' He stayed in the mill. After a while, a fox came. 'Greetings to you, sister bear!'. She said 'Welcome brother fox! How are you?' He said 'Thank you, I am well, sister bear. How are you?' She said 'I am well, thank you'. (3) 'What are you doing?' 'By God, I am sitting here to rest a little'. He said 'I also shall sit here with you'. They sat. Not long passed before a dog came. He also (said) 'Greetings to you!' 'You are most welcome!' He also sat down. (4) A little more (time) went by and a cat came. She also (said) 'Greetings to you!' 'You are most welcome!' She also sat down. They sat a little longer, then a mouse came on the back of a horse, riding, dressed in fine clothes, riding on the back of his horse, passing by. (5) He stopped his horse and looked 'Greetings to you all!' They said 'You are most welcome. Where (are you going) brother mouse?' He said 'By God, I am going to a wedding'. They said 'Where (are you going) while so festively dressed, with your sword and with tassels on your clothes?' (6) He said 'I am going to a wedding. But, while you are sitting, I shall sit with you and have fun. I'll reach the wedding (before it finishes)'. He also sat down there. (7) Now, they sat in this way for a while and then the bear said 'Is anyone of you for a song or something to entertain us while we sit here?' The cat said 'Yes, by God, sister bear, I know how to sing'. The cat sang and sang. They got up and danced. The mouse drew his sword, while in the middle of the gathering. They danced and it seemed as if there was a wedding there. (8) They rested a little. They said 'Let's rest a little'. The bear asked the cat, she said 'Sister cat, where did you learn those songs of yours, which are so beautiful?' She said 'Sister bear, I was an interpreter in Wolto for seven years'. She (the bear) said 'Sister cat, your songs are beautiful, sing to us some more'. (9) The cat sang again and they got up and danced. They finished and they said 'Where did you learn these songs from? They are more beautiful than the others'. I learnt them in Halmun. I went on business there. I heard the girls singing and I learnt them from them'.

(10) *har-tūwewa,*<sup>1</sup> *xzēley tēla lwīša...julle dīye rāba šapīre-weewa.*<sup>1</sup> *mōra ’anna jūlux hātxa šapīre m-ēka xōni tēla.*<sup>2</sup> *yā’ni rāba xā-mdi pīšela jūllux gu-d-anna dīyēni.*<sup>1</sup> *māre xāθi dōbba ’ay-qāššətīla.*<sup>1</sup> *mōra mōdi qāššət.*<sup>2</sup> *tānilēni!*<sup>1</sup> (11) *māre lā’ le-’āθya mtanōye,*<sup>1</sup> *xāf nāše šmā’āllēni.*<sup>1</sup> *mōra ’āp-xa līθ.*<sup>1</sup> *xirela’ ’āp-xa lēla xēzye.*<sup>1</sup> *har-’āxnəx,*<sup>1</sup> *’āxni xonāwāθəx.*<sup>1</sup> (12) *māre ’ana xā-bena tfigən xa-kīsa hātxa mēlyewa dāwa.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-zīlen,*<sup>1</sup> *xpīren xo-ḏā ’ilāna,*<sup>1</sup> *mīšūyenne tāma-w’ ’u-kūt-bena-bena šaqlōnni xa-dāwa mōnne dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-dāmχən xo-d-à ’ilāna’ rəš-d-ó-dawwa dīyi,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-lá-’aθe xa-šaqlēlle.*<sup>1</sup>

(13) *Nānno hóle masyōθe.*<sup>1</sup> *māre tēla maxzənnux.*<sup>1</sup> *bábux mnalēnne!*<sup>1</sup> *’ó-dawwa šaqlēnne mōnnux.*<sup>1</sup> *spīrele Nānno hál ’ε-gə-t-īla kúlla zīle,*<sup>1</sup> *kūt-xa zīlele ḏā-gota,*<sup>1</sup> *’áw npīlele báθra báθra tēla.*<sup>1</sup> *npīlele báθra báθra tēla,*<sup>1</sup> *zīlele, zīlele, zīlele,*<sup>1</sup> *xōzyele tēla dmīxa xo-ḏa-’ilāna.*<sup>1</sup> (14) *’əθyēle,*<sup>1</sup> *šqiləlle ḏa-qaḏita,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-qəsa.*<sup>1</sup> *māxyalle tēla.*<sup>1</sup> *tēla rīqele.*<sup>1</sup> *’aw-’əθyēle xpīrele mpúltəlla dāwət tēla’ ’u-nūbləlla’ l-bēθa.*<sup>1</sup> *zīlele.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-nabəlle dāwa kúlle mōnne dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *pīšle mīlyonēr.*<sup>1</sup> (15) *zwinne bēθa-w’ zwinne mēndiyāne,*<sup>1</sup> *pīšle xā-məndi pīša gu-d-a-máθa,*<sup>1</sup> *biš-zāngin m-kúlla.*<sup>1</sup> *θéle Jāndo,*<sup>1</sup> *xáwre dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-mbaqərre’ Nānno xōni,*<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa māl,*<sup>1</sup> *m-ēka?*<sup>2</sup> *mōre qāššət rixtēla.*<sup>1</sup> (16) *’u-dbišle ’əbbe dīye,*<sup>1</sup> *bāye t-yāḏe m-ēkēla.*<sup>1</sup> *māre b-álaha hātχela qāššət.*<sup>1</sup> *zīlənwa-w’ θēla,*<sup>1</sup> *tíwla haywāne-w’ ’u-zmírra-w xárθa tēla māre ’itli dāwa.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-gléle ’éka mīšūyalle.*<sup>1</sup> *npilli báθre dīye,*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-šaqlēnne.*<sup>1</sup> *mōre ’əkətwā tíwa?*<sup>2</sup> *mōre gu-’ərxē.*<sup>1</sup>

(17) *qūmele Jāndo yómət trē,*<sup>1</sup> *zīlele l-’ərxē.*<sup>1</sup> *māre xā-ga xēta t-áθi yátwi tāma.*<sup>1</sup> *māre t-áθi xā-ga xēta l-’ərxē.*<sup>1</sup> *zīlele ’áw l-’ərxē,*<sup>1</sup> *mīšūyalle g’ān-dīye.*<sup>1</sup> *’anna-’əθyē.*<sup>1</sup> *θíθēla dēbba,*<sup>1</sup> *’əθyēle kālba,*<sup>1</sup> *θíθēla qāḏu,*<sup>1</sup> *’əθyēle ’aqūbra,*<sup>1</sup> *sab-wīḏe-weewa tāgbir’*<sup>1</sup> *’āp-təmməl táfəx b-gōḏəḏe.*<sup>1</sup> (18) *xā-bena hò!*<sup>1</sup> *hóle θéle tēla tóngər tóngər,*<sup>1</sup> *’áqle twírta-w’ xāše šmīḏa.*<sup>1</sup> *’əθyēle tóngər tóngər,*<sup>1</sup> *mátyēle tāma,*<sup>1</sup> *mōra mē-lux xōni tēla?*<sup>2</sup> *mōdi θíθa ’əbbux?*<sup>2</sup> *julle dīye kúlle mpurəḏte.*<sup>1</sup> *kēla ’an-jūllux?*<sup>2</sup> *mōdi θíθa ’əbbux?*<sup>2</sup> *hádəx t-ítwa mčəḏəbna təmməl.*<sup>1</sup> *’ádyo mōdi θíθa ’əbbux?*<sup>2</sup>

(10) While they were sitting, they saw that the fox was dressed up, that his clothes were very fine. They said 'From where (did you get) these clothes of yours that are so fine, brother fox? Your clothes are something special compared with ours'. He said 'Sister bear, that is a (long) story'. They said 'What is the story? Tell us!' (11) He said 'No. It cannot be told, lest people hear us'. They said 'There is nobody here'. They looked. They saw nobody. 'We are alone. We are brothers'. (12) He said 'Once I came across a bag that was full like this of gold. I went and dug (a hole) under a tree and hid it there. Every so often I take from it for myself a gold coin. I sleep under that tree, on top of my gold, so that somebody does not come and take it'.

(13) Nanno was listening. He said 'Fox, I shall show you. I curse your father! I shall take that gold from you'. Nanno waited until they had all gone, each had gone away.<sup>1</sup> Then he followed after the fox. He followed after the fox and went a long way, then saw the fox sleeping under a tree. (14) He came and took a walking stick, a piece of wood. He struck the fox. The fox ran away. He came and dug. He took out the gold of the fox and took it home. He went (home). He took all of his gold. He became a millionaire. (15) He bought a house, he bought things. He became something special in the village, richer than everybody else. Jøndo, his friend, came. He asked Nanno 'Brother, where is this wealth from?' He said 'It is a long story'. (16) He pressed him,<sup>2</sup> since he wanted to know where it was from. He said 'By God, the story is like this. I went on my way and some animals came and sat down. They sang and then the fox said "I have some gold" and revealed where he had hidden it. I followed him and took it'. He said 'Where were you sitting?' He said 'In the water-mill'.

(17) The next day Jøndo went to the water-mill. He said 'They will come again and sit there'. He said 'They will come again to the water-mill'. He went to the water-mill and hid himself. They came. The bear came, the dog came, the cat came, the mouse came, for they had made a plan 'Also tomorrow we shall get together'. (18) Then the fox came, limping, his leg broken, his back crushed. He came, limping and when he arrived there, they said 'What is the matter with you brother fox? What has happened to you? All your clothes are torn. Where are those (fine) clothes of yours? What has happened to you? You were so well-decked out yesterday. What has happened to you today?'

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: gone on one side.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: He stuck to him.



(19) *móre hâl-u<sup>1</sup> hâtxa-waɬwa.<sup>1</sup> xa-náša 'áθyεle m̀xyəlli,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šqílalle kúlla dáwa 'u-nùbləlle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-lán-ðá'a d́xile ðiya.<sup>1</sup> 'ána kázən xáθi d́bba lá mtanónna q̀ə̀s̀ə̀t<sup>1</sup> m-éka dàwe.<sup>1</sup> m̀rəx 'əlla mtanila.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-mašmóye-weewa 'əlləni lázəm.<sup>1</sup> (20) 'əka t̄-áwe mašmóye?<sup>2</sup> x̀rεle.<sup>1</sup> m̀re b-xšáwən gu-d-ay-ʔrxe-weewa.<sup>1</sup> mtúšyalle g'ān-díye gu-ʔrxe.<sup>1</sup> m̀re bálki t̄-ile-ʔp-ʔdyo 'əθya.<sup>1</sup> q́ime ẁre.<sup>1</sup> m̀re ẃuru t̄əyax.<sup>1</sup> bálki t̄-ile-ʔθya 'ap-ʔdyo t̀ama.<sup>1</sup> ẁrela gu-ʔrxe t̄əya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-J́ndo x́a-bena x̀rεle<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áni kúlla ẁre,<sup>1</sup> šmá'əlle qaləy.<sup>1</sup> q́imele mtúšyalle g'ān-díye.<sup>1</sup> (21) w-ánna t̄íye t̄íye t̄íye.<sup>1</sup> xa-bèna<sup>1</sup> xa-mənnəy<sup>1</sup> t̄fiqεle b-áqle díye<sup>1</sup> m̀re hòle!<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa mtúšyalle g'áne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-rípelalle kúlla,<sup>1</sup> nyása-w x̀ala 'əbbe-díye.<sup>1</sup> (22) 'aw-r̀aqa-w<sup>1</sup> hal-ʔé-ga t̄-ile-ḿtya l-m̀əθa,<sup>1</sup> pálge z̀ila-weewa,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wéwa x̀iləlle.<sup>1</sup> ḿtyεle gu-máθa np̄ilele.<sup>1</sup> 'əθye reše-díye<sup>1</sup> mà-lux xóni J́ndo!<sup>2</sup> m̀di q̀ə̀s̀ə̀ttux?<sup>2</sup> m̀re b-álaha hâtxa θéle 'əbbi.<sup>1</sup>*

(23) *manay-díye m̀di.<sup>2</sup> náša ǵrəg lá m̀t̄əme<sup>1</sup> kút t̄-ile-wíða x̀a-mdi,<sup>1</sup> 'ána t̄-óðən 'axwàθe-díye.<sup>1</sup>*

(19) He said 'This is what has happened. A man came and struck me. He took all the gold and carried it off. I don't know how he knew. I tried, my sister bear, not to tell the story of where the gold coins were from, but you said "You must tell it". Somebody must have been listening to us'.

(20) 'Where can he be listening?' He looked and said 'I think he was in this mill. He had hidden himself in the mill'. Perhaps he has gone there also today'. They went into the mill to search. Jøndo then looked and saw that they all had entered. He heard their voices. He went and hid himself.

(21) They searched and searched and searched. Then one of them came across his foot. He said 'Here he is! He has hidden himself here. They all attacked him, biting and gnawing him. (22) He ran away and by the time he reached the village half of him was gone, since they had eaten so much of him. He arrived in the village and fell down. People came to him (and said) 'What is the matter with you, brother Jøndo? What has happened to you?'<sup>3</sup> He said 'By God, such-and-such has happened to me'.

(23) What is its meaning? A man should not covet by saying 'Whoever has done something, I shall do like him'.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: What is your story.

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ɛn-Nune)

(1) 'iθwa xa-màlka<sup>1</sup> rába zaləm-weewa.<sup>1</sup> lēweewa gwíra.<sup>1</sup> bǎyéwa gawə̀rwa.<sup>1</sup> ɣ-amórwá<sup>1</sup>  
 'é-baxta t-àθya<sup>1</sup> bǎyən gawə̀rwnna<sup>1</sup> lázəm mtanyáli ða-qə̀şşə̀tta<sup>1</sup> t-la-háwela nəhàya.<sup>1</sup>  
 ku-t-aθyàwa<sup>1</sup> xá-yoma trè<sup>1</sup> parqàwa tuniθa dīya.<sup>1</sup> (2) ðà<sup>1</sup> móra tla-bába dīya<sup>1</sup> 'ána  
 t-àzən<sup>1</sup> tanyánne ða-tuniθa tla-màlka.<sup>1</sup> xoš-qaṭə̀lli.<sup>1</sup> bálki najhàna.<sup>1</sup> qimta,<sup>1</sup> zilta.<sup>1</sup>  
 xtiθax-ila<sup>1</sup> móre másyət mtányət tuniθa t-la-xàsla.<sup>2</sup> móre he-màsyən.<sup>1</sup> móre de-mtána!<sup>1</sup>  
 (3) móra 'iθwa xa-màlka zaləm-weewa maxwàθux.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale xa-muqaṭǎ'a rába gòra.<sup>1</sup>  
 mjǔméle xə̀tṭe t-kúlla d-ε-màntāqa.<sup>1</sup> dréle gu-sə̀ylo.<sup>1</sup> móra qəm-daréla kúlla gu-d-ə̀y<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-qəm-šǎyéla kúlla gudána dīya<sup>1</sup> b-čimànto<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-lá háwe lǎra-ži bíya dīya.<sup>1</sup> (4) qəm-  
 šawúqla xa-bóya zòra hátxa,<sup>1</sup> bás mujárrad šəkwánta másyə t-áwra-w pàlta.<sup>1</sup> móra  
 mšuréla šəkwáne wára-w plàta<sup>1</sup> gu-d-àn-xə̀tṭe.<sup>1</sup> béna xə̀tṭe 'ummàye túnne-weewa.<sup>1</sup>  
 (5) móra wírra šəkwánta qaméθa šqilála ða-hábba 'u-pliṭla.<sup>1</sup> wírra t-tárte šqilála  
 ða-hábba-w pliṭla.<sup>1</sup> wírra t-tállə̀θ ða-hábba-w pliṭla.<sup>1</sup> móra ha-t-xásli 'an-xə̀tṭe,<sup>1</sup>  
 'an-šəkwáne t-áwε ðà-ða wára.<sup>1</sup> líθ dúka t-tárte.<sup>1</sup> har-ðà-ða wára.<sup>1</sup> móre dūs,<sup>1</sup> 'áy  
 čú-ga la-xàsla.<sup>1</sup>

A36 THE STORY WITH NO END

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (Æn-Nune)

(1) There was a king, who was very unjust. He was not married. He wanted to marry. He would said 'The woman whom I shall marry<sup>1</sup> must tell me a story that has no end'. Every woman that came, her story finished after one or two days. (2) One woman said to her father 'I shall go and tell a story to the king. Let him kill me (if he wishes). Perhaps I shall win'. She went (to the king and he said) 'I feel pity for you',<sup>2</sup> he said 'Can you tell a story that does not end?' She said 'Yes, I can'. He said 'So tell me!' (3) She said 'There was a king who was very unjust like you. He had a very large province. He gathered the wheat from all of that region and put it in a silo'. She said 'He put all of it in it and covered all of its walls with cement, so that there was not even a door in it. (4) He left a small hole like this, through which only an ant could go in and come out'. She said 'The ants began to go into that wheat and come out. Now, the wheat was hundreds of tons'. (5) She said 'The first ant went in and took one grain, then went out. The second went in and took a grain and went out. The third went in (and took) a grain and went out'. She said 'Until the wheat finished, the ants were going in one by one. There was no other place (to enter). They went in only one by one'. He said 'You are right, that will never end'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: the woman who comes and I want to marry.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: It is your sin, it is a sin against you.

A37 THE TALE OF NASIMO

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune)

(1) 'ithwa xa-bráta šómma Nasímo.<sup>1</sup> Nasímo<sup>1</sup> wíðewa gu-<sup>2</sup>úmra qurbàna,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-azáwa qarwàwa.<sup>1</sup> yomátha la-paltàwa,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-áwa xámtha šapírta,<sup>1</sup> káwsa làxxa šaléwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ithwála šáwwa xonāwàtha.<sup>1</sup> mára lá-palta xáθen mən-bétha.<sup>1</sup> 'àxni nabláxla.<sup>1</sup> (2) 'áni zilla.<sup>1</sup> lá-θela jàlde<sup>1</sup> murqàlla.<sup>1</sup> mára xéna 'ána qémən 'ázən 'úmra.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna xonāwátha là-θela.<sup>1</sup> 'azáwa 'úmra qa-t-qarwàwa,<sup>1</sup> dášta malyáwa rakáwe 'arabàye.<sup>1</sup> mliθa dášta 'arabàye,<sup>1</sup> 'óθyela jlíwella mušlyàlla.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'óθyela xóna díya 'o-gòra,<sup>1</sup> léle xázyàlla xàθe,<sup>1</sup> dax-xànum 'ay-tíwta gu-bétha.<sup>1</sup> lá qəm-xazèla.<sup>1</sup> mərə:<sup>1</sup>

(4) 'o dáy<sup>1</sup> ya-xlápax dáy<sup>1</sup>

'o kèla xáθi Nasímo?<sup>1</sup>

mára bábì xáθux Nasímo<sup>1</sup>

xámšì yóme šimila<sup>1</sup>

qurbáne t-la qriwila<sup>1</sup>

(5) 'o-yóma t-qarwàwale<sup>1</sup>

dášta mliéla rakáwe<sup>1</sup>

xáθux Nasímo jlíwtela l-<sup>2</sup>arabàye<sup>1</sup>

mušlyàlla l-<sup>2</sup>áθra t-xtàye<sup>1</sup>

(6) 'aw-bxéle 'u-mquhèrre.<sup>1</sup> tíwle bxàya.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-o-xéna hàdax,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-o-xéna hàdax.<sup>1</sup> 'o-zórət kúlla θèle.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-áw qrèle.<sup>1</sup>

(7) 'o-dáy,<sup>1</sup> xlápax dáy.<sup>1</sup>

mára bábì xáθux Nasímo<sup>1</sup>

xámšì yóme šimila<sup>1</sup>

qurbáne t-la qriwila<sup>1</sup>

(8) 'o-yóma t-qarwàwale<sup>1</sup>

dášta mliéla rakáwe<sup>1</sup>

zilla máθət arabàye<sup>1</sup>

xáθux Nasímo mušlyàlla l-<sup>2</sup>áθra t-xtàye<sup>1</sup>

kèla xáθi Nasímo?<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾĒn-Nune)

(1) There was a girl called Nasimo. Mass was performed in church, so that she had to go to take communion. She did not go out for days, since she was so beautiful, her hair flowing down to here. She had seven brothers. They said 'Our sister will not go out of the house. We shall take her'.  
 (2) They went off. They did not come back early, they were delayed. She said 'Well, I shall go to church. These brothers (of mine) have not come back'. She went to church to take communion and the plain filled with Arab horsemen. The plain filled with Arabs. They came and kidnapped her and took her away.<sup>1</sup> (3) Her eldest brother came back and did not find his sister. She (was always) sitting like a lady at home. He did not see her. He said:

(4) 'Oh mother, may I be your ransom, mother

Oh where is my sister Nasimo?'

She said 'My dear, your sister Nasimo

fasted fifty days

without taking communion.

(5) The day she was taking communion

The plain filled with horsemen.

Your sister Nasimo has been captured by Arabs.

They took her down to the land of the (dwellers in the) low places'.

(6) He wept and became sad. He sat down weeping. The other (brother) did the same, the other the same. The youngest came back. He also cried:

(7) 'Oh mother, may I be your ransom, mother

She said 'My dear, your sister Nasimo

fasted fifty days

without taking communion.

(8) The day she was taking communion

The plain filled with horsemen.

She went to the land of the Arabs.

They took you sister Nasimo down to the land of the (dwellers in the) low places'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: took her down.

(9) *máre yàmmi<sup>1</sup> t-ázən 'ána meθənnə.<sup>1</sup> mára bábət yámmux rába rəhqeɫa dúka.<sup>1</sup> dàx t-ázət.<sup>2</sup> máre yámmi la-hòya<sup>1</sup> 'ána<sup>1</sup> xàθi lá-'azən xazənnə.<sup>1</sup> qimle zille,<sup>1</sup> šqille gəne<sup>1</sup> bábí šqille kupálat prəzla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-muttúle kosíθət prəzla b-rəše<sup>1</sup> 'u-šqille šáwɫət prəzla p-àqle.<sup>1</sup> zille mxéle b-dìnye.<sup>1</sup> (10) tlible xàtər mənnyə:<sup>1</sup> púšu b-šəna.<sup>1</sup> hon-zàla.<sup>1</sup> bálki léla 'úrxət dyàra.<sup>1</sup> xíšle, 'u-xíšle, 'u-xíšle 'u-xíšle.<sup>1</sup> mṯéle l-xa-máθa.<sup>1</sup> máre 'áyyeɫa máθət fulán-naša.<sup>2</sup> máre hè.<sup>1</sup> máre kèle qásre díye,<sup>1</sup> béθe díye.<sup>2</sup> máre 'áwə'ha qásre díyele.<sup>1</sup> (11) qíma sìqeɫe,<sup>1</sup> kályə qam-tárət bəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'itle xa-yaləxta mnuqášta<sup>1</sup> l-bábe zqírta b-qəse<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáθe díye mnuqášta.<sup>1</sup> dwíqəlla gu-'ide díye,<sup>1</sup> bxáya<sup>1</sup> mašlóyele dəmme<sup>1</sup> mxáyeye 'éne díye.<sup>1</sup> tíwele táma píšle jnàna.<sup>1</sup>*

(12) 'áx 'áyya yaləxta<sup>1</sup>  
bábila zqírta<sup>1</sup>  
'u-xáθi Nasimola mnuqášta.<sup>1</sup>

(13) *xadámta díya 'áy šmèla.<sup>1</sup> mən-'əltəx mára:<sup>1</sup> xadámta.<sup>1</sup> béna 'əstáðti.<sup>1</sup> mára 'aw-sáwa mòdi.<sup>2</sup> píšle sàwa.<sup>1</sup> máre šáwəwa šənnə b-'úrxə,<sup>1</sup> zàla,<sup>1</sup> kutáne blèla,<sup>1</sup> šáwle nçilla.<sup>1</sup> píšle fāqira məškəna.<sup>1</sup> (14) léš-'awwa məšáya máte çü-dukθa.<sup>1</sup> mṯéle gu-d-əy-maθa<sup>1</sup> ham-zəñ.<sup>1</sup> mṯéle gu-d-əy máθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-máθa d-àn-našela.<sup>1</sup> tíwele táma.<sup>1</sup> mára mó-bāye 'o-náša.<sup>2</sup> mára 'əstáðta hola-màra,<sup>1</sup> hóle bxáya jnàna,<sup>1</sup> hole-màra<sup>1</sup> 'áyya yaləxta<sup>1</sup> bábila zqírta<sup>1</sup> xáθi Nasimola mnuqášta.<sup>1</sup> (15) 'ənile.<sup>2</sup> kla-kla-klá 'ána šàlyən.<sup>1</sup> kla-klá məšáwəθən mənne-díye.<sup>1</sup> šlíθeɫa məšuwəθta mənne-díye.<sup>1</sup>*

(16) 'o-sáwa qú ruq-m-tàma.<sup>1</sup>  
kaləbθi bəṯ-axləlux.<sup>1</sup>  
qaṯúθi bəṯ-mnagrəlux<sup>1</sup>  
'e-kāfyya m-ekəlux.<sup>2</sup>

(17) *máre 'e-kāfyya ya-bábi<sup>1</sup> 'əstáðta Nasimola mnuqášta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána 'anna-šawwə-šənnə hon-θəya<sup>1</sup> 'ina kupáli píšla šmìṯta<sup>1</sup> 'u-piláwe píšla šmìṯe.<sup>1</sup> júlli litli t-lošəna.<sup>1</sup> báyən xázən xáθi Nasimo<sup>1</sup> xóš meθəna.<sup>1</sup>*

(9) He said ‘Mother, I shall go and bring her back’. She said ‘My dear,<sup>2</sup> the place is very far. How will you go?’ He said ‘Mother, it is impossible for me not to go and find my sister’. He went off, he took himself off, my dear,<sup>3</sup> he took an iron stick, he put a hat of iron on his head and took iron shoes (to wear) on his feet. He went out into the world. (10) He bade them farewell ‘Remain in peace! I am going. Perhaps it is the road of no return’. He went a long way and arrived at a village. He said ‘Is this the village of such-and-such a person?’ He said ‘Yes’. He said ‘Where is his residence, his house?’ He said ‘That is his residence over there’. (11) He went up there and stood outside the house. He had an embroidered handkerchief, which was woven by his father on the wood (of the loom) and embroidered by his sister. He held it in his hand, weeping, shedding tears and wiping his eyes. He sat there and started to sing dirges:

(12) Oh this handkerchief,  
was woven by my father  
and embroidered by my sister Nasimo.

(13) Her servant girl heard. From downstairs she (Nasimo) said ‘Servant!’ ‘Right away madam’. She said ‘Who<sup>4</sup> is that old man?’ He had become an old man. Now, he had travelled on the road for seven years, his shirt was worn out, his shoes had fallen apart. He had become a poor wretch. (14) He could no longer reach any place. He was lucky to arrive in that village. He reached that village. It was the village of those people. He sat there. She said ‘What does that man want?’ She said ‘Madam, he is weeping and singing dirges, saying “This handkerchief was woven by my father and embroidered by my sister Nasimo”’. (15) ‘Who is he? Wait, wait, wait. I shall go down. Wait, wait. I shall talk to him’. She went down and spoken to him:

(16) Oh old man, get up and flee from there!  
My dog will eat you.  
My cat will gnaw you.  
From where have you got this handkerchief?

(17) He said ‘This handkerchief, my dear, was embroidered by the lady Nasimo. I have been coming (on my way here) for these seven years. Look, my stick has broken and my shoes have broken, I have no shoes to wear. I just want to see my sister Nasimo, then let me die!’

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: dear on of your mother.

<sup>3</sup> Affectionate remark addressed to the listeners of the story.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: what?



(18) *móra hãtxa,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa xònilè.*<sup>1</sup> *síqtela l-tábaq t-ḷàḷa.*<sup>1</sup> *zdíḷalla gána díya*<sup>1</sup>  
*kasle-díye.*<sup>1</sup> *móre 'ána bəd-mèḷena.*<sup>1</sup> *móra 'áp-'ana bəd-méḷən gòtux.*<sup>1</sup> *zədyála gána díya*<sup>1</sup>  
*tàma' tórna mítla kəs-gòḷḷe.*<sup>1</sup> (19) *'é-ga ḷéla qəm-xazèla' mòdile?*<sup>1</sup> *mòdile?*<sup>1</sup> *'ánna móra*<sup>1</sup>  
*hãtxele bórya.*<sup>1</sup> ... *móra méḷax 'ùpra' mxaməxla.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya šuqáli táma 'u-ḷéli làxxa.*<sup>1</sup>

(18) She said 'If that is the case, he is my brother'. She went up to the third floor and threw herself down beside him. He said 'I want to die'. She said 'I also shall die by your side'. She threw herself down there and both died together. (19) When they came and saw them (they asked) 'What is it? What is it?' They said such-and-such has happened. They said 'Let us bring soil and bury them'. I have left it there and come here.

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune)

(1) 'iθwa brōna,<sup>1</sup> šðlya-wewwa<sup>1</sup> l-'àskar.<sup>1</sup> báxte diyē brátət fǎqìre-wawa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwàla<sup>1</sup> 'a-bàxta<sup>1</sup> šawwà kaláθa,<sup>1</sup> šawwá 'arxàθa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'òrbe kúlla mándi šáwwa, šàwwa.<sup>1</sup> xéna 'anna kúlley,<sup>1</sup> lá baxtáθa pyáša-wewwa yaqùre,<sup>1</sup> lá bnòne<sup>1</sup> 'ázze maθòye,<sup>1</sup> lá 'arxàθa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla bñilla.<sup>1</sup> (2) zílla kəs-xà-naša<sup>1</sup> dréla xa-pála<sup>1</sup> móra yá'ni 'áyya-t pála dūs-ila.<sup>2)</sup> móra hàtxela.<sup>1</sup> móra ða-kálθa qñilla<sup>1</sup> 'u-ða-'árxe-š mabñalla,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ða-'ázze xéta qñilla,<sup>1</sup> kúlla šulánax dārzi.<sup>1</sup> móra ha.<sup>2)</sup> móra b-àlaha.<sup>1)</sup> (3) ziltela<sup>1</sup> móra 'èni qátłm ya-'álaha bábì.<sup>2)</sup> 'ina kúlla 'an-xéne bnáθət guràne,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya Šóše brátət fǎqìre-wawa.<sup>1</sup> zilla qəm-qatlàla Šóšət Xère,<sup>1</sup> qəm-mtamrála gu-'òrət susāwàθa 'íltax.<sup>1</sup> (4) qəm-mtamrála gu-'òrət susāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> bróna díya θèle.<sup>1</sup> kúlla hóle xzáyalla gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> móre šláma 'álléxu.<sup>1</sup> móra b-šèna.<sup>1</sup> móre kèla Šóšət Xère máma.<sup>2)</sup> móra bábì zilta š-tanúra.<sup>1</sup> (5) zille tanúra,<sup>1</sup> móre tanúra tanúra,<sup>1</sup> Šóšət Xère kèla.<sup>2)</sup> móre léla nřilta l-páθi m-jàlde<sup>1</sup> θéle móre yəmmi.<sup>1)</sup> tanúra qəm-mjawábli lǎxma tla-mò.<sup>2)</sup> kèla Šóšət Xère.<sup>2)</sup> bábì zilta miya.<sup>1</sup> (6) zille m̀re: 'èna<sup>1</sup> 'èna<sup>1</sup> kèla Šóšət Xère.<sup>2)</sup> móra Xère léla nřilta l-páθi.<sup>1</sup> hal-lèla gláya.<sup>1</sup> píšle zála b-xa-'alòla.<sup>1</sup> qaríwte diyē t-íle gwíra píšla m̀nne qaríwta<sup>1</sup> hóla jnána b-dargùšta<sup>1</sup>

(7) halaláye bábì,<sup>1</sup> halalàye<sup>1</sup>  
 bəxyóna léle diyux<sup>1</sup>  
 bəxyóna t-Šóšət Xère<sup>1</sup>  
 t-íla-qñilta<sup>1</sup> 'u-tmírta gu-'òrət susāwàθa.<sup>1</sup>

qəm-šáméle qála díya.<sup>1</sup> m̀re:<sup>1</sup>

(8) qaríwti<sup>1</sup> mazyád qàlax<sup>1</sup>  
 káwdi-w ráθi mxurxàlax<sup>1</sup>  
 Šóšət Xère txiràlax<sup>1</sup>  
 Šóšət Xère txiràlax<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) There was a boy, who went down to the army. His wife was a daughter of poor people. That woman (the mother of the boy) had seven daughters-in-law, seven water-mills, and sheep, everything in sevens. But all of these—the women were not becoming pregnant, the goats were not producing young, the mills were not (producing). They all stopped (producing). (2) She went to a person and consulted her fortune. She said 'Is that which the fortune (foretells) true?' They said 'It is so'. They said 'Kill one daughter-in-law, stop one mill, kill in addition one goat, and all your affairs will be put right'. She said 'Is it so?' They said 'Yes'.<sup>1</sup> (3) She went (home) and said 'Whom should I kill, my father God?' Now, whereas all the others were daughters of gentlemen, this Šošē was the daughter of poor people. She went and killed her, Šošāt Xere, and buried her in the horses' manger below (in the basement stable). (4) She buried her in the horses' manger and her son came back. He found everybody at home. He said 'Greetings to you'. They said 'Welcome'. He said 'Where is Šošāt Xere, mother?' She said 'My dear, she has gone to the oven'. (5) He went to the oven and said 'Oven, oven, where is Šošāt Xere?' It said 'She has not gone before me<sup>2</sup> recently'. He came back and said 'Mother! The oven replied to me (with only) bread, why? Where is Šošāt Xere?' 'My dear, she has gone to the water'. (6) He went and said 'Spring, spring, where is Šošāt Xere?' It said 'She has not gone before me'. She (the mother) still does not reveal (the truth). He was walking in an alley. His wedding friend—when he married she was his wedding friend—was singing a dirge over a cradle.

(7) Halalaye, my dear, halalaye  
 Crying is not for you  
 Crying is for Šošāt Xere  
 Who has been killed and buried in the horses' manger

He heard her voice and said:

(8) My friend raise your voice  
 You burnt my liver and lungs  
 When you mentioned Šošāt Xere  
 When you mentioned Šošāt Xere

<sup>1</sup> Literally: by God.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: fell at my face.

*màra*

(9) *qaríwtux 'úp̄ra-w pàra'*  
*módi mazída qàla.'*<sup>1</sup>  
*daqiqé t-xo-'ərbàla.'*<sup>1</sup>  
*daqiqé t-xo-'ərbàla.'*<sup>1</sup>

(10) *yá'ni t̄mirtela ða-dúk̄θa daq̄iqta' là-m̄ʂət xaz̄àtla.'*<sup>1</sup> *xá-ga xéta z̄ille.'*<sup>1</sup> *'awwa-bxèle.'*<sup>1</sup>  
*θéle l-bèθa'*<sup>1</sup> *màre yámmi hátxa šm̄li.'*<sup>1</sup> *òh b̄abi m̄iðət 'áyya módila m̄ʂòθe.'*<sup>1</sup> *xá-ga xéta*  
*z̄ille b-ó 'alòla.'*<sup>1</sup> *xá-ga xéta hóla mára-'ay h̄àðx.'*<sup>1</sup> *m̄ra.'*<sup>1</sup>

(11) *de-sígn b-an-'alòle'*  
*de-mbáq̄ər m-yále z̄òre'*<sup>1</sup>  
*'áni-t léð̄i mdagòle'*<sup>1</sup>  
*'áni-t léð̄i mdagòle'*<sup>1</sup>

(12) *de-sígn ḡare ḡare'*  
*mbáq̄ər k̄ima-w gabbàre'*<sup>1</sup>  
*'áni-t léla dagàle.'*<sup>1</sup>  
*'áni-t léla dagàle.'*<sup>1</sup>

(13) *ga-'anna píšla gu-lább̄e díye kùlla.'*<sup>1</sup> *šlèle máre yámmi hálli kul̄nga.'*<sup>1</sup> *hálli ma-*  
*t-kàlena!'*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-mòdi b̄abi?'*<sup>1</sup> *màre rábe m̄ndiyáne šm̄li.'*<sup>1</sup> *'ati làt-glaya t̄láli.'*<sup>1</sup> *'ana ðili.'*<sup>1</sup>  
(14) *šlèle.'*<sup>1</sup> *'u-mbulbéle 'órə sus̄wàθa.'*<sup>1</sup> *'ore wéwa xp̄ir̄ta.'*<sup>1</sup> *d̄orya s̄ula b-réša m̄ndi.'*<sup>1</sup>  
*t̄mirta tàma.'*<sup>1</sup> *pl̄iṭla šámála šáve lhàya.'*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər b̄abi.'*<sup>1</sup> *br̄ati.'*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya d̄üs-ila.'*<sup>1</sup> (15) *mo-*  
*wid̄le?'*<sup>1</sup> *'áp-'aw qəm-qat̄šille ḡān-d̄iye.'*<sup>1</sup> *zadéle ḡān-d̄iye tàma.'*<sup>1</sup> *pl̄iṭla trè-xure.'*<sup>1</sup> *šm̄áyya*  
*màra m̄āndi t̄š̄wa b̄ət-páyəš šk̄āra.'*<sup>1</sup> *kaz̄iwa prám̄ella har-pal̄t̄iwa.'*<sup>1</sup> *hál pl̄iṭla h̄àtxa.'*<sup>1</sup>  
(16) *ðila 'áy m̄āndi t̄š̄wa p̄áyəš šk̄āra.'*<sup>1</sup> *yómme díye píšla qwára ḡāna.'*<sup>1</sup> *yómme díye*  
*m̄šuréla qt̄ála ḡāna.'*<sup>1</sup> *m̄ra leš faydá-lləx q̄áṭl̄ət ḡānəx.'*<sup>1</sup> *brónəx z̄ille.'*<sup>1</sup> *kálθəx z̄illa.'*<sup>1</sup>  
*béθa xr̄iwle.'*<sup>1</sup>

She said:

(9) Your close one (wife) is earth and fine dust  
 Why should she (your wedding friend) raise her voice?  
 The fine dust under the sieve  
 The fine dust under the sieve

(10) That is she is buried in a small place and you cannot see her. He again went off. He wept. He came back to the house and said 'Mother, I have heard such-and-such'. 'Oh my dear, you do not know what she is saying'. Again he went to that alley. Once again she was telling the same thing. She said:

(11) Go into the alleys  
 Ask the young boys,  
 Who do not know how to lie,  
 Who do not know how to lie,

(12) Go from roof to roof,  
 Ask the Pleiades and Orion,  
 Who are not liars  
 Who are not liars

(13) Now, all these (words) weighed on his heart. He went down and said 'Mother, give me a pick-axe, give it to me, how much more can I wait?' 'Why, my dear?' He said 'I have heard many things. You are not revealing (the truth) to me. I know'. (14) He went down and searched in the horses' manger. The manger had been dug, manure or the like had been put on top of it. She was buried there, she came out glowing like a night candle. He said 'My dear, my girl, it is true'. (15) What did he do? He also killed himself and threw himself there. Two poplar trees grew up. Heaven says that any hidden thing will be uncovered. They tried to cut them down, but they kept growing up, until they grew like this. (16) She knew that what was hidden would be uncovered. His mother began to bury herself (in remorse). His mother began to kill herself (with remorse). She said 'It will no longer be of any use to you to kill yourself. Your son is dead. Your daughter-in-law is dead. Your house has been ruined'.

## A39 THE BROTHER OF GIANTS

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune)

(1) 'iθwa xá báxta-w xa-gàwɾa.¹ 'a-báxta móra ta-gáwɾa diyá¹ də-xùs¹ náša.¹ xus-plùxən¹ xus-plùxən¹ ta-mút baʔila tíwa gu-bèθa.²¹ dàx t-óya.²¹ 'ámər la-líθ šùla.¹ móra də-²áti xùs¹¹ báiki máčxət šùla.¹ (2) qímle zílle mxéle l-túra.¹ xìšle,¹ xìšle,¹ xìšle.¹ píšle xùya.¹ móre ya-²alahi,¹ ya-màri¹ lèka 'azéna.²¹ píšle xùya.¹ cù-naša la-yǎðéna.¹ la-bèθa 'iθən,¹ 'u-la-náša 'iθən.¹ xzéle xa-núra lháya gu-xa-gəppa.¹ (3) móre 'ázən 'óðən qázəd d-àwɿwa gəppa.¹ t-áwðən qázədde diyé.¹ t-ázən máxən tára d-àw-gəppa.¹ 'iθ-náše¹ 'ən-liθ-náše.¹ zílele móxyele tára d-ò-gəppa.¹ (4) 'ína hóla tíwe¹ šawwà hambisáye.¹ šawwà-hambisáye tíwe gu-d-aw-gəppa.¹ móre ya-²alahi.¹ xúya har-xùyele.¹ har-déwe t-axlilí.¹ har-t-ázən gu-d-àna hambisáye¹ har-hambisáye-ži t-axlilí.¹ qímle mxéle l-tǎrèy¹ wírre kǎslèy.¹ (5) wírre kǎslèy¹ xírre muttúle bàla¹ kút-xa mǎnnèy¹ réše mʔáya l-túra,¹ dǎqne šǎlya hál-²axxa,¹ səmbéle hál-²axxa.¹ móre 'ánna hár t-axlilí,¹ yǎðéna.¹ 'ína t-àmrən xá-məndí¹ gu-lǎbbe diyé mtuxmǎnne.¹ (6) móre šláma-llexu xonǎwàθi.¹ xá-mǎnna xírre b-o-xèna.¹ móra 'ítlən xa-xóna xèna.²¹ móra 'áti m-èka-yǎðət t-ix xonǎwàθa.²¹ móre yǎmmi mšudártǎlli kǎslèxu.¹ móra sí kəs-xonǎwàθux.¹ hóla fulàn-duka.¹ m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabórra¹ mxalóše xáye diyé.¹ (7) móre yá-²alaha mò-²oðən.²¹ 'ána gǎrəg 'ámrən hatxàne.¹ móra zèñ,¹ 'ən-ít xonèni,¹ háyyo tu-²áxxa kǎslèni.¹ xùl.¹ xùl mǎnnèni.¹ (8) xille dréle dax-d-àni.¹ xille,¹ móra b-álaha xónən-it mǎjǎd.¹ 'amrǎxlux xà-mdi xéna.¹ †laθà-məndiyane.¹ 'áyya qəm-mpalʔəxla,¹ píše trè-məndiyane xéne.¹ (9) 'amrǎxlux 'ítlən xá zəqqa¹ rǎba górtela.¹ y-ásqəx méθəx míya mən-d-àwàha túra.¹ rǎba rəhqele 'o-túra.¹ rǎba rəhqele.¹ 'ən mášət šaqlǎtla.²¹

Informant: Xošebo ʼOdišo (ʼEn-Nune)

(1) There was a woman and a man. The woman said to her husband ‘Go, man! Go and work! Go and work! Why are you sitting idly in the house? It is not right!’<sup>1</sup> He said ‘No, there is no work’. She said ‘Go! Perhaps you will find work’. (2) He set off and went to the mountains. He travelled a long way. It became dark. He said ‘My God, my Lord, where shall I go? It has become dark. I do not know anybody. There is no house and there is no person here’. He saw a fire burning in a cave. (3) He said ‘I shall go and make for that cave. I shall go towards it. I shall go and knock on the door of the cave, whether there are people there or there are no people there’. He went and knocked on the door of the cave. (4) He saw seven giants sitting there. Seven giants were sitting in that cave. He said ‘My God, it is very dark, either wolves are sure to eat me or I shall go to these giants and the giants are sure to eat me’. He knocked on their door and went in to meet them. (5) When he went in to meet them, he looked and noticed that the head of each of them reached the (top of) the mountain, his beard fell down to here and his moustache to here. He said ‘They are sure to eat me, I know. But I shall say something’—he thought this to himself. (6) He said ‘Greetings to you my brothers’. They looked at each other. They said ‘Have we another brother?’ They said ‘How do you know that we are brothers?’ He said ‘My mother sent me to you. She said “Go to your brothers. They are in such-and-such a place”’. He made this up himself to save his life. (7) He said ‘My God, what shall I do? I have to say such things’. They said ‘Well, if you are our brother, come and sit here with us. Eat, eat with us’. He ate and served (himself food) like them. (8) He ate and they said ‘By God, you are really our brother. Let us say to you something else. (There are) three things (you need to do in order to prove that you are our brother). We have eliminated this one. Two other things remain. (9) We say to you that we have a water-skin that is very large. We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there. That mountain is very far away. It is very far away. Can you take it there?’

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: How can it be?



(10) *móre* 'ó *xonǎwàθi*,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-mo-šùlele,<sup>2</sup> *qa-mòtun mára* 'áxtu<sup>1</sup> 'áxni *y-ásqəx tura*<sup>1</sup> *másqəx zəqqə*,<sup>1</sup> *lámú lá-ʔasqən* 'ána,<sup>2</sup> *hálli həwla*,<sup>1</sup> *y-ásqən kúlla qése mjámənna*<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔúrxa *paθxənna*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-míya šála qam-tar-gəppa*,<sup>2</sup> *qa-mó le-y-asqən-méθən míya mən-tàma*,<sup>2</sup> (11) *móra b-álaha* 'aw-xoš-fəkrele!<sup>1</sup> *qíméle šqílele xa-xáwla rába ríxa*,<sup>1</sup> *sáryele kúlla b-réšət* 'ilanàne,<sup>1</sup> *la-màse*,<sup>1</sup> *mo-ʔawəð*,<sup>2</sup> *báyə mxálaš xàye*,<sup>1</sup> (12) *qíméle sáryalle b-réšət* 'ilanáne 'ilanàne,<sup>1</sup> 'áni *kálye kəs-bèθa*,<sup>1</sup> 'ámər *xonǎwáθi mwádo mwádo*<sup>1</sup> *t-la-ʔazítu b-míya* 'ap-áxtu,<sup>1</sup> 'ámri *háyyo xilli ləbbux*<sup>1</sup> *lá-báyəx la-míya*<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-čù-məndi,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni *har-xònən-it*,<sup>1</sup> (13) *móra zèn*<sup>1</sup> *pišta dà-xeta*,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna *tərtə*,<sup>1</sup> *pišta dà-xeta*,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-it-xònəni,<sup>1</sup> 'ítlən *xa-magára rába* 'amòqa,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-xa-sàrdəb *qarəxle*,<sup>1</sup> 'iθ *xa-párša b-rése* *díye*<sup>1</sup> *ràba górele*,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ʔaw-parša *šqíllux*,<sup>1</sup> 'ítlən *dáwe tàma*,<sup>1</sup> *pǎləxxa*,<sup>1</sup> *kúllən xonǎwàθəx*,<sup>1</sup> (14) *móre xonǎwáθi mòtu mára*,<sup>2</sup> 'ána 'ən-šqílli,<sup>1</sup> *fəlsa la-yawənnéxu*,<sup>1</sup> *móra* 'áwwa *mú-t-awəð b-rəšən*,<sup>2</sup> *móra lá-baba*, *là*,<sup>1</sup> *har-la-šqúlla biš-spəy*,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni *šaqláxxe* 'u-má|əxxa *čántux zùze*<sup>1</sup> 'u-síga,<sup>1</sup> (15) *qíméle bəbi*,<sup>1</sup> *šqílilla xonǎwáθe díye* 'ò-parša<sup>1</sup> *d-o-magàra*,<sup>1</sup> 'ína *xa-marəgla gòra*<sup>1</sup> *málya dàwe*,<sup>1</sup> *málya dàwe*,<sup>1</sup> *šqille moθéle čanáθa mənne*,<sup>1</sup> *tərna qəm-mə|ələ*,<sup>1</sup> *θèle*,<sup>1</sup> (16) *θèle*,<sup>1</sup> *b-lèle báyə mətə*<sup>1</sup> *t-la-xazéle náše gu-màθa*,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-məkéle *θáya*,<sup>1</sup> *t-la-mšəlxile*,<sup>1</sup> (17) *sáʔət xà mtéle l-béθa*,<sup>1</sup> *mxéle l-tàra*,<sup>1</sup> *mxéle l-tàra*,<sup>1</sup> *móra baxte* *díye*<sup>1</sup> *móra* 'óx 'áw *gáwri m-jalde hóle zila*<sup>1</sup> *lá-ʔəθya l-béθa* *žàre*,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ile-qtíla,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ile *xila*,<sup>1</sup> (18) *xá-bena mxéle l-tàra*,<sup>1</sup> *móra* 'óx *ya-ʔalàhi*,<sup>1</sup> *b-xšáwən gáwri* *θèle*,<sup>1</sup> *pθíxle tàra*,<sup>1</sup> 'ína *θèle*,<sup>1</sup> *móra baxta*<sup>1</sup> *θélux nàša*,<sup>2</sup> *móre baxta* *θèli*<sup>1</sup> *mò-ʔodən*,<sup>2</sup> *zílli plàxa*,<sup>1</sup> *kčixli*<sup>1</sup> 'u-θèli,<sup>1</sup> (19) *móra* 'ánna *mòdi*,<sup>2</sup> *móre də-mákəs tàra*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-másla *fərde*<sup>1</sup> *pθíxla xza-mo-xázyət gawày*,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maşléla kúlla fərde*,<sup>1</sup>

(10) He said 'My brothers, what job is that? Why do you say "We shall go up and take up the water-skin"? Why should I not go (alone)? Give me a rope. I shall gather all the wood and open up the way so that the water will come down to the door of the cave. Why should I go up and fetch water from there?' (11) They said 'By God, that is a good idea!' He set off and took a very long rope. He tied it all onto the tops of the trees. He could not (do anything else). What could he do? He wanted to save his life. (12) He tied it to the tops of the trees. They (the giants) stayed at home. He said 'Brothers, move out of the way, move out of the way, so that you do not get carried away with the water'. They said 'Come, my dear,<sup>2</sup> we do not want water or anything else. You are indeed our brother'. (13) They said 'Fine, one other task remains. These are two, one more remains. If you are our brother, there is a cavern that is very deep, like what we call a basement. There is a flat stone over it that is very large. If you take away this stone, (you will find) we have gold coins there and we shall divide them, since we are all brothers'. (14) He said 'Brothers, what are you saying? If I take it off, I shall not give you a penny'. They said 'What is he going to do to us?' They said 'No, my dear, no. It is better that you do not take it off. We shall take it off and fill your bag with money, then you can go'. (15) He set off and his brothers took off the flat stone of that cavern. Behold a large pot full of gold coins, full of gold coins. He took them, he brought bags with him and he filled two of them. Then he came back (home). (16) He came back. He wanted to arrive at night, so that he would not be seen by people in the village (who would say) 'Where is he coming from?', so that they would not strip (and rob) him. (17) He arrived home at one o'clock. He knocked at the door. His wife said, she said 'Oh, that husband of mine has gone out early and has not returned home, poor man. He has either been killed or he has been eaten (by wild animals)'. (18) Then he knocked at the door and she said 'Oh, my God! I think my husband has come back'. She opened the door and saw that he had indeed come back. The woman said 'Have you come back, man?' He said 'Wife, I have come back, what should I do? I went to work. I got tired and come back'. (19) She said 'What are these?' He said 'Close the door. Draw down the blinds. Then, open them and see what you find in them'. They drew down all the blinds.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: I have eaten your heart.

(20) *móre t-lá naše-xazɛlɛni<sup>1</sup> mən-panjèra,<sup>1</sup> mən-tàràne.<sup>1</sup> kúlla dukáne mátti bála genàwe.<sup>1</sup> zílta kúlla mtugbàrtàlla.<sup>1</sup> pθíxtəlla 'ína kúlla dàwe.<sup>1</sup> (21) móra 'áxni mò-'oðəx b-ánna dáwe?!<sup>1</sup> 'éka mʔaršəxla?<sup>1</sup> mórəx ʔláli lèt-plaxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ina-hóli plixli.<sup>1</sup> móra b-álaha gáwra plixlux!<sup>1</sup> gánux basimta!<sup>1</sup> (22) hádəx bábí pišle zangine,<sup>1</sup> pišle mārət dəkkanàne.<sup>1</sup> pišle mārət palàxe.<sup>1</sup> pišle rešáya gu-máθa 'àwəwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya šiwiqáli tàma.<sup>1</sup>*

(20) He said ‘So that people do not see us from the window and the doors. Thieves watch everywhere. She went and prepared everything. She opened them (the bags) and saw all the gold coins. (21) She said ‘What will we do with these gold coins? Where shall we hide them?’ ‘You said to me “You are not working”. Now I have worked’. She said ‘By God, husband, you have worked! Well done!’. (22) So, my dear, they became rich. They became owners of shops. They became owners of workers. He became a leading figure in the village. I have left it there and come here.

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) ʔiθwa xa-màlka.<sup>1</sup> t-aθéwa náše magə̀hkile.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθəm bàba<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bráta mjuwə̀dla.<sup>1</sup> plíšla bábi,<sup>1</sup> ʔazíza sə̀gólí xòna,<sup>1</sup> plíšla m-gòðə̀de.<sup>1</sup> móre gáwɾa dawóqle bèθa.<sup>1</sup> móra bába lá<sup>2</sup>! bràta doqále bə̀θa.<sup>1</sup> (2) móre ta-mòt mára hátxa.<sup>2</sup> móra bábi hatxèla.<sup>1</sup> y-ámri gáwɾa mərəya,<sup>1</sup> báxta xapèθa.<sup>1</sup> báxta t-íla-hawnánta<sup>1</sup> máθya ta-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (3) móre bábi rába hawnántət,<sup>1</sup> bas-ta-rə̀qqi b-yawónnə̀x qa-xa-náša špíla gu-tanúra.<sup>1</sup> ma-yxəlɟ.<sup>1</sup> hálli.<sup>1</sup> (4) qəm-yawə̀lla bába díya qa-xa-náša špíla gu-tanúra,<sup>1</sup> yóma y-axəlwa<sup>1</sup> yóma lè-y-axəlwa,<sup>1</sup> hátxa faqíra.<sup>1</sup> móre qa-d-ə̀wə̀wa b-yawónnə̀x.<sup>1</sup> yáʔni ʔáti biš-yə̀ðət mónni.<sup>2</sup> móre hátxə̀le.<sup>1</sup> hárd-waqə̀t rə̀qqi.<sup>2</sup> móra làn-dwaqa rə̀qqi bába.<sup>1</sup> ʔýya šáwθi dūs-íla.<sup>1</sup> (5) qímɛle híwə̀lla ta-xa-špíla.<sup>1</sup> mò-widla b-ó-naša špíla.<sup>2</sup> qəm-šaqlə̀le.<sup>1</sup> qəm-xə̀pə̀le.<sup>1</sup> qəm-masyə̀le.<sup>1</sup> muttúla zúze gu-ʔíde,<sup>1</sup> y-amráwa xoš-bàzar.<sup>1</sup> y-ámər lèðena<sup>1</sup> y-amráwa t-yə̀ðət.<sup>1</sup> (6) yomíyya šawə̀wá-qə̀se maxyə̀wale.<sup>1</sup> y-amráwa gárag ʔázət šùqa.<sup>1</sup> yawónnux zúze.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xə̀pət<sup>1</sup> ʔu-məsət qamáye.<sup>1</sup> qazdə̀t-šùqa-w<sup>1</sup> zə̀wə̀nət<sup>1</sup> ʔu-mèθət.<sup>1</sup> lə̀pət.<sup>1</sup> qəm-odále hə̀də̀x.<sup>1</sup> (7) píšle ʔó-naša jáldə̀ har-gu-d-á-mđita ʔə̀w.<sup>1</sup> líple.<sup>1</sup> muttúle də̀kkanə̀ne.<sup>1</sup> zúlle đa-máθa xə̀ta.<sup>1</sup> gu-đa-máθa xə̀ta mgúrə̀lla,<sup>1</sup> lá gu-máθə̀ ganə̀y.<sup>1</sup> xa-bə̀na<sup>1</sup> bráte díye muttúla qášre ʔu-qasòre.<sup>1</sup> (8) tárat bə̀θa díya<sup>1</sup> kúlle mármər mšuwə̀θa.<sup>1</sup> ʔamáne díya seníye t-ə̀xli ʔixála gáwa də̀wa,<sup>1</sup> čámča də̀wa.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-ə̀xəl mónna hə̀də̀x.<sup>1</sup> zúlla nubə̀lla swaríye.<sup>1</sup> ʔə̀xni y-ámrx swaríye<sup>1</sup> yáʔni gu-Bàrwər,<sup>1</sup> t-yatwíwa xə̀sət-kodə̀nyə̀θa,<sup>1</sup> dawère.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾƏn-Nune)

(1) There was a king. People would come to amuse him. There was a father and daughter who had a dispute. They fought, my dear, my dear brother, they fought together. He (the king) said ‘The man is in charge of the house’. She said ‘No father! The girl is in charge of the house’. (2) He said ‘Why do you say that?’ She said ‘My father, it is so. They say ‘A man is sick, but a woman looks after the home.<sup>1</sup> A woman who is clever brings (benefit) to the home’. (3) He said ‘My dear, you are very clever, but against your will, I am going to give you to a paralysed man (living) in an oven (house)’.<sup>2</sup> ‘Never mind. Give me (to him)’. (4) Her father gave her to a paralysed man (living) in an oven (house), one day he would eat, but another day he would not eat, so poor was he. He said ‘I shall give you to him’. ‘Do you know more than me?’<sup>3</sup> He said ‘It is so. Do you still insist (on what you said)?’ She said ‘I do not insist, father, but this word of mine is true’. (5) He gave her to a paralysed man. What did she do to that paralysed man? She took him, bathed him and washed his clothes. She put money in his hand and would say ‘Go to the market!’ He would say ‘I don’t know (how to)’ and she would say ‘You will learn’. (6) Every day she beat him seven blows of a stick. She would say ‘You must go to the market. I shall give you money. You should bathe and wash your clothes first. Go to the market and buy (things), then bring them home. You will learn. She treated him like that. (7) That man quickly became the foremost man in the town.<sup>4</sup> He went to another village. He (the king) had married them in another village, not in their own village. Then his daughter built villas and palaces. (8) The door of her house was all of dressed marble. Their plates and trays on which they ate food were gold, (their) spoon was gold. Anybody who ate with them (was treated) the same. She went and brought horsemen. We say *swariye* in Barwar, people who sat on the back of mules.

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<sup>1</sup> The root *xpy*, from which the form *xapeθa* is derived, literally means ‘to cover, protect, brood (hen)’.

<sup>2</sup> Poor people used to live inside a house that was constructed over the village oven to keep warm and beg for scraps of bread.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Are you sure you know what you are doing?

<sup>4</sup> Literally: That man quickly became the only one in the town.

(9) kúlla zilla<sup>1</sup> kəs-málka.<sup>1</sup> nubálla xa-kθáwa m-íðət bráte diyē.<sup>1</sup> zilla<sup>1</sup> qəm-čedàle.<sup>1</sup> móra málka t-áwət basìma,<sup>1</sup> brátux hóla čittəllux t-ázət kəsłeni.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni maxzəxxe bəθa,<sup>1</sup> 'áti t-áθət mənnəni.<sup>1</sup> (10) móre 'áy bráti híwənna ta-xá-naša špila.<sup>1</sup> gu-tanúra qəm-čedáli.<sup>1</sup> móra málka t-áwət basìma,<sup>1</sup> hətxeła mírta,<sup>1</sup> gárəg 'aθəti.<sup>1</sup> qímle zille,<sup>1</sup> zille 'ap-'áw 'itle 'askar mánne<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše mánne.<sup>1</sup> zille, zille, zille.<sup>1</sup> (11) móre kèle bəθa díya.<sup>2</sup> 'aw-xášu xa-badəkkēle.<sup>1</sup> móra 'áwá'ha qásra t-it-xzəyalle.<sup>1</sup> móre lən hāmóne.<sup>1</sup> móra dāx.<sup>2</sup> t-órət gáwe xazətle.<sup>1</sup> xazətle t-ila-brátux tàma<sup>1</sup> 'u-gəwra.<sup>1</sup> hár-məre lan-hāmóne.<sup>1</sup> xá-sa'ta zilla zilla mətəla.<sup>1</sup> (12) sìqla,<sup>1</sup> mətəla l-dārəjyàθa,<sup>1</sup> külle mármar mšuwəθa.<sup>1</sup> külle mármar mútte m-əy-gota<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-əy-gota.<sup>1</sup> wírra gu-bəθa.<sup>1</sup> plítla qámθe bráte diyē móra pəqəð bába 'azíza,<sup>1</sup> xqíra,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áyya dúnye mxùqra.<sup>1</sup> pəqəð,<sup>1</sup> čidət l-brátux.<sup>1</sup> (13) móre 'áwəwa bəθa diyəxile bráti.<sup>2</sup> móra hē.<sup>1</sup> 'újəble.<sup>1</sup> móra là-babi,<sup>1</sup> la-məjbət.<sup>1</sup> dūnyela.<sup>1</sup> y-ásqa-w šàlya.<sup>1</sup> mən-málka šála l-súlta.<sup>1</sup> mən-súlta šála málke.<sup>1</sup> kùl-məndi bəre.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'újəble b-ánna xabrána díya basime.<sup>1</sup> pəqəð bába.<sup>1</sup> ləðe gu-d-əni kúrsi 'ātu,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-əni kúrsət dāwa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla wíðtəlla hādax<sup>1</sup> xa-'ótəx ta-d-ən-xene,<sup>1</sup> xa-'ótəx ta-d-ən-xene,<sup>1</sup> ta-d-ən guřàne.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa muttəθəlle yá'ni priše priše.<sup>1</sup> (15) 'u-moθéla paláxa díya pláxa kúlla 'amáne dāwa,<sup>1</sup> seniyàθa.<sup>1</sup> mšurəla dráya 'ixàla.<sup>1</sup> móre bráti maləkθa<sup>1</sup> bəd-pésət b-šəpi,<sup>1</sup> bríxta mburəxta.<sup>1</sup> malkúθi pəša tlələx.<sup>1</sup> (16) móre malkúθi pəša tlələx,<sup>1</sup> wéləx hawənànta,<sup>1</sup> b-'iqárət šáwθa basimta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-màqul.<sup>1</sup> 'u-plixləx.<sup>1</sup> jurəbli 'àna<sup>1</sup> qa-t-'àna xazənwə hawənəx dāx-wewə<sup>1</sup> là t-la-bəyənwaləx.<sup>1</sup> 'ina qəm-xazənnəx 'áti rába hawənànta,<sup>1</sup> biš-mánni xa-tərtə<sup>1</sup> t-yátwət maləkθa b-šəpət bába,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xqírta.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya píšla maləkθa b-šəwəpət bába díya.<sup>1</sup>

(9) They all went to the king. They brought a letter from the hand of his daughter. They went and (conveyed the message that) she had invited him. They said 'King, may you be healthy, your daughter has invited you to come to us. We shall show you the house. You will come with us'. (10) He said 'I gave this daughter of mine to a paralysed man. She has invited me to an oven (house)'. They said 'King, may you be healthy, she has said so, you must come'. He set off and went on his way. He also had an army and relatives with him. He travelled for a long way. (11) He said 'Where is her house?' He thought it was a hut. They said 'That villa that you can see over there'. He said 'I don't believe it'. They said 'Why? When you go inside it, you will see that your daughter and her husband are there'. He still said 'I don't believe it'. (12) They travelled for an hour and then arrived. They went up and came to steps, all made of dressed stone, all with marble on this side and that side. They entered the house. His daughter came out to meet him and said 'Welcome dear, esteemed father, honoured in this world. Welcome. You are invited by your daughter'. (13) He said 'Is this house yours, my daughter?' She said 'Yes'. He was amazed. She said 'No, father, do not be amazed. That is life.<sup>5</sup> It goes up and down. From being king people descend to the dung heap and from the dung heap people rise to be kings. Anything can happen'. (14) He was amazed by those fine words of hers. 'Welcome, father'. He did not know in which chair to sit, in which chair of gold. She arranged everything like this, a room for those men, a room for those other men, for those gentlemen (of the court). She put up everybody separately.<sup>6</sup> (15) Her servants brought in the service, (which consisted) entirely of gold vessels and trays. She began to serve food. He said 'Daughter, queen, you will stand in my place, you are greatly blessed. My kingdom will be for you'. (16) He said 'My kingdom will be for you, since you have been clever, with the honour of sweet and fine words. You have worked hard. I tested you to see how you clever you are. It was not that I did not love you. I have seen that you are very clever, twice as much as me. You will sit as queen in place of your father, greatly honoured'. She became queen in place of her father.

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<sup>5</sup> Literally: It is the word.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. in separate rooms.



A41 MEASURE FOR MEASURE

Informant: Kena Kena (Dure)

ʔiθwa<sup>1</sup> xá family<sup>1</sup> bāba<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bròna<sup>1</sup> ʔu-báxtət bròna.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-bāba<sup>1</sup> píʃewa sàwa.<sup>1</sup> sáwewa  
 gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> kálθe díye sqídla mánne.<sup>1</sup> (2) mára ʔla-gáwɣa dīya<sup>1</sup> qu-ʃqúlle ʔáwwa bábux,<sup>1</sup>  
 náballe zdíle gu-lawírtə šède.<sup>1</sup> bàssən mánne.<sup>1</sup> ʔánna ʔəmmá-šənnə hóle xiya,<sup>1</sup> bàssən  
 mánne.<sup>1</sup> yan-náballe zdíle,<sup>1</sup> yan-ʔána páltən ʔázən mən-gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (3) yála-ʒi<sup>1</sup> móre spáy,<sup>1</sup>  
 bāxta.<sup>1</sup> qíməle ʔəθya,<sup>1</sup> qərye<sup>1</sup>le bābe<sup>1</sup> ʔámər háyyo bābi.<sup>1</sup> háyyo l-xàʃi.<sup>1</sup> (4) ʔínəlle l-xàse<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔu-plíʔele zàla.<sup>1</sup> zílele gu-bədráθət Dúre.<sup>1</sup> píðele hòdax.<sup>1</sup> bābe díye xkíkile<sup>1</sup> m-xáʃət bròne.<sup>1</sup>  
 (5) xkíkile,<sup>1</sup> ʔámər hà bābi<sup>1</sup> qa-mòdit xkàka.<sup>2</sup> ʔámər bābe<sup>1</sup> qa-mòdúle xkàka.<sup>1</sup> (6) ʔámər làn  
 wíða m-bābi.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-ʔána hawónwa wíða m-bābi,<sup>1</sup> ʔup-ʔáti ʔ-odðəwa mónni.<sup>1</sup> ʔína mərəle<sup>1</sup>  
 b-ó-kela péʃət kila<sup>1</sup> b-d-àw péʃət kila.<sup>1</sup> (7) bròna<sup>1</sup> klèle.<sup>1</sup> mtuxmənne.<sup>1</sup> xírre m-à-geba,<sup>1</sup>  
 m-à-geba.<sup>1</sup> dīrye<sup>1</sup> mūdórye bābe.<sup>1</sup> zílle-w zílle<sup>1</sup> nubálle mūdórye<sup>1</sup> muttúle gu-bèθe.<sup>1</sup>  
 (8) qréle bāxta,<sup>1</sup> y-ámər ya-bāxta<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa xa-tàra<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa trè,<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya dá panjára<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya  
 tarte.<sup>1</sup> b-kú-mənnə báyət páltət plüt,<sup>1</sup> ʔána bābi<sup>1</sup> m-àxxa<sup>1</sup> la-mpaltənne.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Kena Kena (Dure)

(1) There was a family, father, son and wife of the son. The father had become an old man. He was an old man in the house. His daughter-in-law became tired of him. (2) She said to her husband 'Take your father and throw him into the Valley of Almonds. We have had enough of him. He has lived for a hundred years. We have had enough of him. Either take him and throw him down or I shall go away from the house'. (3) The young man said 'Fine, wife'. He came and called his father. He said 'Come father. Come onto my back'. (4) He carried him on his back and went out. He went through the threshing floors of Dure and passed further on. His father laughed from the back of his son. (5) He laughed and he (the son) said 'Hey, father, why are you laughing?' His father said why he was laughing. (6) He said 'I have not done a good service to my father. If I had done a good service to my father, you also would do a good service to me'. Then he said 'You yourself will be measured with the same measure, you will be measured by it'. (7) The son stopped. He thought. He looked one side and the other. He returned and brought his father back. He went and took him back, and put him in the house. (8) He called his wife and said 'Wife, here is a door, here is a second, here is a window. Go out of any of them you wish to go out from. I shall not take my father away from here.

SECTION A: STORIES  
FABLES

A42 THE FOX AND THE LION

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (?En-Nune)

(1) 'iθwa 'árya gu-gàba<sup>1</sup> qəm-dawóqla ða-gǎzǎliya.<sup>1</sup> 'áw-u déwa-w tēla<sup>1</sup> pišla xawràne.<sup>1</sup> qəm-doqila ða-gǎzǎliya.<sup>1</sup> 'árya móre tla-dēwa,<sup>1</sup> móre déwa plúla 'áyya gǎzǎliya.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni tláθex plúla.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áxa t-áwət basíma,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya gǎzǎliya 'aṭmáθa díya t̄l̄lux<sup>1</sup> 'u-rušána díya t̄l̄li<sup>1</sup> 'u-réš-d-ay-u dánwa tla-tēla.<sup>1</sup> (2) 'árya máxyalle šaqqána l-'əqər-náθət dēwa,<sup>1</sup> q̄l̄ille.<sup>1</sup> n̄ila rēš-déwa<sup>1</sup> qíθa tāmaha.<sup>1</sup> 'árya xelànəle.<sup>1</sup> (3) tēla xirre<sup>1</sup> mšuréle zdà'a.<sup>1</sup> móre 'áp-'ana b-qaṭəlli.<sup>1</sup> móre 'árya tla-tēla<sup>1</sup> háyyo tēla 'àti plúla 'áyya gǎzǎliya.<sup>1</sup> móre 'àxay<sup>1</sup> módi p̄l̄nna.<sup>21</sup> (4) móre 'aṭmáθa xúlla f̄artux.<sup>1</sup> rušáne xúlla xādāya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-móndi-t p̄yəs<sup>1</sup> 'ašórta xa-rámša xülle<sup>1</sup> 'u-dmux-tl̄i.<sup>1</sup> 'ámər 'áti rába hawnànet.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-háwnux m-èkele?<sup>21</sup> 'ámər 'áwewa háwna lípli m-réšət dēwa.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION A: STORIES  
FABLES

A42 THE FOX AND THE LION

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) There was a lion in the forest. He caught a gazelle. He had become friends with a wolf and a fox. They caught a gazelle. The lion said to the wolf, he said 'Wolf, divide this gazelle. We are three, divide it'. He said 'Sir, if you please, the thighs of this gazelle are for you, its shoulders are for me, and its head and tail are for the fox'. (2) The lion clouted the wolf on the root of his ear and killed him. The head of the wolf was torn off and knocked away. The lion was strong. (3) The fox watched and began to be afraid. He said 'He will kill me too'. The lion said to the fox 'Come on, fox, *you* divide this gazelle'. He said 'Sir, how can I divide it?' (4) He said 'Eat the thighs for your breakfast. Eat the shoulders for your lunch. Whatever is left eat in the evening for your dinner. Then go to sleep'. He said 'You are very wise. Where does your wisdom come from?' He said 'I have learnt this wisdom from the head of the wolf'.

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) *téla kpina-weewa.*<sup>1</sup> *θéle b-léle xðàra*<sup>1</sup> *bǎye t-áxəl xà-məndi,*<sup>1</sup> *léle xzàya.*<sup>1</sup> *xìrre*<sup>1</sup> *xəzyále*  
*ðà xúrta.*<sup>1</sup> *xúrta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔila ʔilána rixta.*<sup>1</sup> (2) *daliθa xðita-ʔəlla síqta nliθa ʔənwə.*<sup>1</sup> *ða-xúrta*  
*ramàntəla.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-ʔənwə hədəx,*<sup>1</sup> *kòme,*<sup>1</sup> *bšile,*<sup>1</sup> *xìrre téla biya*<sup>1</sup> *là-mşe t-axálla,*<sup>1</sup> *ramànela.*<sup>1</sup>  
 (3) *móre ʔan-ʔənwə xamúšela,*<sup>1</sup> *la-bǎyənna.*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle zila.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔənwə xamúšela,*<sup>1</sup> *lèla*  
*basíme tla-xála.*<sup>1</sup>

(4) *ʔé-ga manay-díya mòdila ʔənwə xamúše?*<sup>1</sup> *ʔənwə mşàya lá-mşe t-axálla,*<sup>1</sup>  
*m-hədəx-ila xamúše.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-maşéwa t-axəlwoala,*<sup>1</sup> *lèla xamúše.*<sup>1</sup>

A43 SOUR GRAPES

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) A fox was hungry. He came at night searching, wishing to eat something, but did not find anything. He looked and saw a poplar tree. A poplar is a tall tree. (2) A vine full of grapes had grown up around it. It was a high poplar. The grapes were so black and ripe. The fox looked at them but could not eat them, since they were high up. (3) He said ‘Those grapes are sour, I don’t want them’. He went off. He said ‘The grapes are sour, they are not good for eating.

(4) Now, what is the meaning (of his saying) sour grapes? He could not eat the grapes, and so (he said) they were sour. If he could eat them, they would not have been sour.

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) qātu-w ʔaqùbra dǝžmən t-ǧǧàðela.<sup>1</sup> qātu xazyále ʔaqùbra,<sup>1</sup> doqále ʔaxlèle.<sup>1</sup> ʔé-ga,<sup>1</sup> ʔaqùbre<sup>1</sup> kùlla jmìla.<sup>1</sup> jmìla xa-dùkθa,<sup>1</sup> mǝra mo-čára t-óðax tla-d-áyya qātu t-la-ʔaxlələni.<sup>2</sup> ʔaxni pláta gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> bǎyax tǎyax xá-məndi t-àxləx,<sup>1</sup> hóla xzáyallən qātu ráqa báθrən xələlleni.<sup>1</sup> (2) mǝra t-óðax xà-məndi<sup>1</sup> qa-t-ʔíman t-áθya qātu,<sup>1</sup> ʔaxni šǎmǎxle qála díya,<sup>1</sup> ha-t-àrqəxi.<sup>1</sup> mǝra màto.<sup>2</sup> mǝra dǝrəx xa-zága b-qðálət qātu.<sup>1</sup> talǎxle zága b-qðála díya.<sup>1</sup> ʔimət ʔàθya,<sup>1</sup> mǝzàngər zága,<sup>1</sup> ʔaxni šǎmǎxle qále t-àrqəx mǝtǎšəx.<sup>1</sup> (3) mǝra ʔáyya xoš-šanitela!<sup>1</sup> béna xá-məmma mǝre de-yàlla!<sup>1</sup> bas-ʔéni dǝréle zága b-qðálət qātu.<sup>2</sup> (4) ʔáp-xa lá-šabər taléle zága b-qðálət qātu.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-ʔaqùbrət tále zága b-qðálət qātu t-axlèle.<sup>1</sup> ʔé-ga píšla hədəx.<sup>1</sup> mǝra<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-xa la-šabər dǝréle zága b-qðálət qātu.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) A cat and a mouse were mutual enemies. The cat saw the mouse, caught it and ate it. Then all the mice gathered together. They gathered in a place and said ‘What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us? When we go out into the house searching for something to eat, the cat sees us, runs after us and eats us’. (2) They said ‘Let’s do something so that when the cat comes we shall hear its sound and we can run away’. They said ‘How (shall we do this)?’ They said ‘Let’s put a bell on the neck of the cat. Let’s hang a bell on its neck. When it comes, the bell will sound, we shall hear its sound and run and hide’. (3) They said ‘That’s a good idea!’ Then one of them said ‘Let’s do it! But who will put the bell on the neck of the cat?’ (4) None of the them dared to put the bell on the neck of the cat. The mouse who hung the the bell on the neck of the cat would be eaten by it. So they remained as they were. They said ‘Nobody dares to put the bell on the neck of the cat’.



A45 THE FOX AND THE STORK

Informant: Nawiya 'Odišo (Dure)

(1) *hadíya mtánənnux* *ða-qəşşəttá* *tunìtha* *'íle šómma díya* *tála 'u-làqləq.* *xa-yòma* *ta*'*la* *čídle 'árxa qa-làqləq.* *dréle 'ixála qa-t-àxəl* *gu-'amána làttá,* *'ína 'ap-réšə* *lišáne* *la-mṭele-əlle.* (2) *téla kúlla qəm-axəlle qáme díye.* *'ína 'aw-kízle b-lqàta* *čú-məndi* *là-mṭele.* (3) *'ap-láqləq xá-yoma čídle-əlle.* *qəm-déréle gu-xá 'amána 'amùqa* *'u-púmme 'íqa.* *kízle tēla,* *dére xəla,* *báyə t-àxəl,* *dére xəla.* *'ap-réšət* *lišáne díye* *la-mṭele.* *'áwəwa qəm-mattúle naqrúze díye kúlla gáwa qəm-sarəple.*

(4) *manay-díya.* *kú-məndit 'ođótle bəd-páyəš kila-əllux.* *kilət kəlátle bəd-páyəš* *kila-llux.*

A45 THE FOX AND THE STORK

Informant: Nawiya 'Odišo (Dure)

(1) Now I shall tell a story, a story called 'The fox and the stork'. One day the fox invited the stork as a guest. He served food for him to eat in a shallow vessel, but even the tip of his tongue could not reach it. (2) The fox ate it all in front of him. He tried to peck at it, but did not reach anything. (3) Also the stork one day invited him (the fox). He served him in a deep vessel with a narrow mouth. The fox tried (to eat), made an effort, trying to eat, but even the tip of his tongue did not reach (the food). He (the stork) put his beak in and sucked it all up.

(4) Its moral: Everything that you do will be measured against you. The measure you measure will be measured against you.

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) ʔiθwa xa-ʔarya.<sup>1</sup> hakəm t-xa-wəläya-weewa.<sup>1</sup> wiða-weewa muwáfāqa mənət. ...  
 t-heywáne<sup>1</sup> kút-yom xa-hèywan<sup>1</sup> lázəm mεθèwale<sup>1</sup> ta-t-axəlhwale<sup>1</sup> páyəšwa rəhat<sup>1</sup> ta-  
 t-là daqərwa<sup>1</sup> heywáne xène.<sup>1</sup> mṭéle gárrət ʔarnüwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔáy là-siqła.<sup>1</sup> (2) kàzi heywáne:<sup>1</sup>  
 sùqən!<sup>1</sup> díya t-áthe ʔu-kàrəb.<sup>1</sup> kúllən t-áthe t-axəllən.<sup>1</sup> móra lè-y-asqən,<sup>1</sup> litlexu šúla  
 mənni.<sup>1</sup> hál xa-béna pídlā dāna,<sup>1</sup> ʔáw píšle kràba-w<sup>1</sup> šràxa<sup>1</sup> là-θela!<sup>1</sup> (3) ʔay-síqtela  
 hédi-hedi muttəθela ʔiða báθra xàša.<sup>1</sup> mṭiθela tàma,<sup>1</sup> qzidele ʔilla díya t-axəlhwala.<sup>1</sup>  
 móra klì!<sup>1</sup> là ʔaxlṭli!<sup>1</sup> móre ta-mòdi la-θéləx?<sup>1</sup> móra lómu har-àtit ʔarya?<sup>1</sup> ʔiθm xà-  
 ʔarya xéna<sup>1</sup> biš rába mənnox,<sup>1</sup> biš qúwya.<sup>1</sup> ʔáw là-qbille θéli.<sup>1</sup> (4) kèle?<sup>1</sup> maxzèle-lli!<sup>1</sup>  
 qímtela nubàltəlle<sup>1</sup> móra háyyo mənmi!<sup>1</sup> zíle rəš-xá púmmət bəra.<sup>1</sup> bérət miyele.<sup>1</sup> móra  
 hò,<sup>1</sup> hóle tāmaha ʔaw.<sup>1</sup> xírre qəm-xazéle šəkle díye tàma.<sup>1</sup> dəryále gáne ta-t-awəðwa  
 šárre mənne.<sup>1</sup> qəm-xanqàle.<sup>1</sup> kúlla heywáne píšla rəhat.<sup>1</sup>

A46 THE LION KING

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) There was a lion, he was the ruler of a region. He had made an agreement with the animals that every day they should bring an animal to him so that he could eat it and be satisfied and so not touch other animals. The turn of the rabbit came. She did not go up to him. (2) The animals tried (to persuade her saying) ‘Go up! He will come now and get angry. He will come and eat us all’. She said ‘I shall not go up. It is not your business’. After a some time passed, he started to get angry and shouted ‘She has not come!’ (3) She went up slowly putting her hand behind her back. She arrived there and he made towards her in order to eat her. She said ‘Stop! Do not eat me!’ He said ‘Why did you not come?’ She said ‘Are you the only lion? There is another lion, bigger than you, stronger. He did not allow me to come’. (4) ‘Where is he? Show him to me!’ She took him, saying ‘Come with me’. They went to the head of a well. It was a water well. She said ‘There he is’. He looked and saw his image there. He threw himself in to do battle with it. She (the rabbit) drowned him and all the animals were content.

## A47 MAN IS TREACHEROUS

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) xà-bena<sup>1</sup> ða-bàxta<sup>1</sup> ða-yàlta<sup>1</sup> zàla-waawa gu-hădâyəq,<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazyále xà-nəmra,<sup>1</sup> xwíša gu-ràkka.<sup>1</sup> t̥wèle lóbba ʔille d̥iye<sup>1</sup> qəm-paθxàle t̥ára.<sup>1</sup> pl̥it̥le,<sup>1</sup> qimle ta-t̥-axəlla.<sup>1</sup> m̥óra ʔille d̥iye<sup>1</sup> ta-mòt xálalli.<sup>2</sup> ʔána wídl̥i spayútha mən̥nux.<sup>1</sup> ta-mò t̥-axl̥it̥li.<sup>2</sup>

(2) m̥óre bəŋ-náša xâyən-ile.<sup>1</sup> m̥óre kəmát ʔáwəð náša xəlmətta,<sup>1</sup> hár béna xarəye<sup>1</sup> mxáyəlle l-máre d̥iye.<sup>1</sup> m̥óre mbàqər.<sup>1</sup> (3) ʔəθyele xa-sùsa.<sup>1</sup> m̥óre ʔalla-d̥iya<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa hákəm bēni ʔu-bənəx.<sup>1</sup> qəm-mbaqràle<sup>1</sup> m̥óra d̥ús bəŋ-náša xâyən y-áwə.<sup>2</sup> ma-t̥-áwəð spayútha mən̥ne<sup>1</sup> har-y-áwəð xayənútha.<sup>2</sup> m̥óre hē<sup>1</sup> y-áwəð xayənútha.<sup>1</sup> (4) m̥óra d̥àx.<sup>2</sup> m̥óre ʔána sùsəwə.<sup>1</sup> kúlla xáy̥i yáwəl t̥éne l-xàsi.<sup>1</sup> ʔə-dánət m̥èθən,<sup>1</sup> ʔi-nas̥ʔt̥le g̥əldi<sup>1</sup> y-awəddle čeròxe,<sup>1</sup> lawós̥la p-àqle.<sup>1</sup> (5) kút théle xá-mdi m̥əre.<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazyále xa-t̥èla.<sup>1</sup> wíðála ʔída d̥iya hət̥xa.<sup>1</sup> kθéθa t-yawán̥nux r̥əšwa.<sup>1</sup> m̥óra d̥áx-ila ʔay-šárət̥ d̥iyəxu.<sup>2</sup> m̥óra ʔáwəwa gu-ràkka wéwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔána qəm-m̥palt̥ənn̥e.<sup>1</sup> d̥iya hóle m̥àra<sup>1</sup> bəŋ-náša xâyən-ile,<sup>1</sup> lázəm ʔaxl̥ənn̥e.<sup>1</sup>

(6) m̥óre lén m̥p̥arm̥òye.<sup>1</sup> háyyo t̥-ázəx xázəx ʔəka-wəwa.<sup>1</sup> z̥ile núbl̥lle ks-ràkka.<sup>1</sup> m̥óre ʔille d̥iye<sup>1</sup> ʔəkət̥wa ʔáti.<sup>2</sup> gu-d-áwəwa r̥àkkənw̥a.<sup>1</sup> m̥óre d̥ə-w̥ərəna.<sup>1</sup> xázəx m̥àto-t̥-it̥wa w̥ira,<sup>1</sup> m̥àto-t̥-it̥wa p̥š̥it̥a gu-d-áwəwa.<sup>1</sup> (7) ʔáw w̥ir̥ele<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáw x̥l̥iq̥ele t̥ára.<sup>1</sup> m̥óre d̥ə-sà.<sup>1</sup> ʔáw qəm-xal̥š̥la.<sup>1</sup> z̥illa ta-t-máθya kθéθa t̥la-d-àw.<sup>1</sup> z̥illa bēna,<sup>1</sup> m̥óra ta-bába d̥iya<sup>1</sup> hət̥xela qaz̥iyya,<sup>1</sup> hət̥xa wídl̥i.<sup>1</sup> hón m̥quwálta m-xa-t̥èla<sup>1</sup> qəm-xal̥š̥li m-nəmra.<sup>1</sup> m̥àto t-yawán̥ne t̥èla,<sup>1</sup> kθéθa ta-t̥èla.<sup>2</sup> m̥óre háyyo ʔána nabl̥ənn̥əx.<sup>1</sup> (8) qim̥ele<sup>1</sup> h̥iwəlla kθéθa t̥la-d-əy,<sup>1</sup> ʔáy qəm-yawála t̥la-bába d̥iya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-z̥il̥ele.<sup>1</sup> ʔáw múθyele xa-q̥ésa mən̥ne d̥iye.<sup>1</sup> t̥èla ʔəθyele.<sup>1</sup> ʔaw-xd̥əyele t̥èla,<sup>1</sup> m̥óre d̥iya dar̥éla kθéθa t̥l̥l̥i.<sup>1</sup> m̥óre d̥ə-z̥d̥ila.<sup>1</sup>

(9) m̥óre là,<sup>1</sup> là-zad̥ənn̥a,<sup>1</sup> ʔalla matt̥ónna gu-p̥imm̥ux.<sup>1</sup> yàlla,<sup>1</sup> lá mhay̥əmn̥ən ʔána<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya spayútha t̥-it-wíðəlli.<sup>1</sup> mátyele qírbe d̥iye,<sup>1</sup> matt̥óy̥lla kθéθa gu-p̥imme<sup>1</sup> ʔu-q̥ésa m̥əxyele gu-r̥éše.<sup>1</sup> hət̥xa bəŋ-náša xâyən-ile.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Gwərgəs Dawið (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) Once a woman, a girl was walking in the gardens and saw a tiger incarcerated in a cage. She felt sorry for him and opened the door. He came out and made (towards her) to eat her. She said to him ‘Why are you going to eat me? I did good to you. Why will you eat me?’ (2) He said ‘Man is treacherous’. He said ‘Whenever a man does a service, always in the end he strikes the man performing the service’.<sup>1</sup> He said ‘Ask (others)!’ (3) A horse came. He said to him ‘He will arbitrate between me and you’. She asked him saying ‘Is it true that man is treacherous? Whenever one does good to him, he acts treacherously?’ He said ‘Yes, he acts treacherously’. (4) She said ‘How can that be?’ He said ‘I am a horse. All my life he (my master) has been putting loads on my back. When I die, he will strip off my skin and make it into shoes to wear on his feet’. (5) Every one that came said something. She saw a fox. She waved her hand like this. ‘I shall give you a chicken as a bribe’. She said ‘What is your judgement?’ She said ‘He was in a cage. I released him. Now he says “Man is treacherous, I must eat him”’ (6) He said ‘I do not understand. Come let’s go and see where it was’. They went and took him to the cage’. He said to him ‘Where were you?’ ‘I was in this cage’. He said ‘Go in so that we can see how you got in and fitted in it’. (7) He went in and he closed the door. He said (to the girl) ‘Go!’ He saved her. She went to bring a chicken for him. She went and said to her father ‘The situation is like this, I have done such-and-such. I have given a promise to a fox who has saved me from a tiger. How can I give it to him, the chicken to the fox?’ (8) He said ‘Come, I’ll take it for you’. They gave a chicken to her, she gave it to her father and he went off. He brought a stick with him. The fox came. The fox was happy. He said ‘Now he will give me the chicken’. He said ‘Throw it’. (9) He said ‘No. I shall not throw it. I must put it in your mouth. Come, I do not believe the kindness you have done to me’. He came close to him, put the chicken in his mouth and struck the stick on his head. So, man is indeed treacherous.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: its master.

Informant: Dawid 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'ítwa xa-nàša<sup>1</sup> gu-ða-màtha,<sup>1</sup> rába rába duglana-weewa.<sup>1</sup> mdagólwa mən-nàše,<sup>1</sup> y-ámər hətsele wída fəllən,<sup>1</sup> hətsele wída fəllən.<sup>1</sup> rába məndiyáne y-awəðwala,<sup>1</sup> béna náše là hāməníwa 'ille diyē.<sup>1</sup> lá hāməníwa náše 'ille diyē.<sup>1</sup> béthe diyē xáčca rəhqa-weewa mən-mátha.<sup>1</sup> (2) xá-yoma mən-yománət 'aláha móre qémən jarbənna<sup>1</sup> 'ánna nášət màtha.<sup>1</sup> xázəx mhayrili lo-lá'a.<sup>1</sup> qimēle<sup>1</sup> muqábəl béthe diyē<sup>1</sup> xákma qése,<sup>1</sup> məndiyáne,<sup>1</sup> dóryele táma nūra býa.<sup>1</sup> šrixēle<sup>1</sup> hawər-ila!<sup>1</sup> hawər-ila! béθi qidle!<sup>1</sup> (3) 'ánna yáði t-íle duglana.<sup>1</sup> xzēla<sup>1</sup> 'ína nūra tšpya b-béthe diyē,<sup>1</sup> 'ína là bεθa-qída,<sup>1</sup> xáčca qése rəhqa mən-béthe.<sup>1</sup> zilela nášət màtha,<sup>1</sup> 'ína ha-t-íla zile nášət mátha,<sup>1</sup> 'o-núra čmyele.<sup>1</sup> (4) zílta láxxa tre-tlā-yarxe,<sup>1</sup> 'arbā-yarxe,<sup>1</sup> móre xa-béna xéta mjarbənna.<sup>1</sup> qimēle mjürbälla xá-ga xéta.<sup>1</sup> dóryəlle hádəx nūra.<sup>1</sup> šrixēle yāba<sup>1</sup> qidle bēθi!<sup>1</sup> qidle bēθi!<sup>1</sup> xá-xeta qimela zilela,<sup>1</sup> ha-t-íla zile čmyele.<sup>1</sup> (5) bənə tšlθ mōdi wídle?<sup>1</sup> hár mdagòle gu-mátha,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa hətsele wída-w<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa hətsele míra-w<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa hətsele,<sup>1</sup> dráya búxtən l-xá l-d-o-xəna,<sup>1</sup> hē,<sup>1</sup> mdagòle.<sup>1</sup> yóma mən-duzúθa qidle bēθa.<sup>1</sup> qidle bēθa,<sup>1</sup> kízle qràya<sup>1</sup> yāba bēθi qidle!<sup>1</sup> (6) mára də-sí duglana!<sup>1</sup> sí duglana!<sup>1</sup> 'āti rába duglənət 'ánna tərte gáye.<sup>1</sup> qəm-jarbətlēni<sup>1</sup> xázəx t-áθəx hayorəxlux lo-lā.<sup>1</sup> lés<sup>2</sup>-aθəx hayorəxlux<sup>1</sup> 'u-béθux xoš<sup>2</sup>-əqəð<sup>1</sup> 'u-xoš<sup>2</sup>-əqəð.<sup>1</sup> lītln šúla býe.<sup>1</sup> (7) 'u-tšpya bēθa... bēθa nūra býe diyē.<sup>1</sup> külle béthe qidle.<sup>1</sup> xárθa m-táma hōdəx,<sup>1</sup> xəri<sup>1</sup> 'ína bēthe diyē külle qída.<sup>1</sup> mára hé b-álaha,<sup>1</sup> qidle bēθət duglana-w<sup>1</sup> 'áxni là-diyē býe.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) There was a man in a village who was a great liar. He would tell lies about people, saying so-and-so did such-and-such, so-and-so did such-and-such. He would do all kinds of (deceptive) things to them and people did not believe him, people did not believe him. His house was quite far from the village. (2) One fine day<sup>1</sup> he said 'Let me test the people of the village. Let's see whether they will help me or not'. In front of his house there were some pieces of wood, and such like. He set fire to them. He cried 'Woe! Woe! My house has burnt down'. (3) They knew that he was a liar. They saw that fire had been kindled in his house, but not that his house had burnt down, only a few sticks far from his house. The people of the village went (to help), but before the people of the village arrived, the fire was put out. (4) Two or three months, four months passed. He said 'I'll test them again'. He tested them again. He lit a fire in the same way. He cried 'Oh my house has burnt down!'. They went (to help) once again, but by the time they had gone, it was put out. (5) What did he do the third time? He continued to tell lies in the village 'He did such-and-such. He said such-and-such', slandering this one and that one, yes, telling lies. One day his house really burnt down. His house burnt down and he tried crying (for help) 'Oh, my house has burnt down!' (6) They said 'Go away, liar! Go way, liar! You have been a great liar for the last two times. You have tested us to see whether we would come to help you or not. We shall not come to help you any more. Let your house burn, let it burn. It is not our business'. (7) The house caught fire and all his house burnt down. Afterwards they look and see that his all house had burnt down. They said 'Oh, by God, the house of the liar has burnt down, without us knowing about it'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: One of the days of God.



A49 THE CROW AND THE CHEESE

Informant: Leya 'Oraha (Dure)

(1) qarókke t-íla kùmta<sup>1</sup>  
xá-γoma 'ay-tùwta<sup>1</sup>  
l-'ilána b-púm̄ma gùpta<sup>1</sup>

(2) théle téla pandàna<sup>1</sup>  
mtuxmónne t-áwəð nxilθa<sup>1</sup>  
ʔla-madréla b-xerətta<sup>1</sup>  
ʂaqòlla mónna gùpta<sup>1</sup>

(3) máre 'ən-qáləx mdáme 'əlləx<sup>1</sup>  
xa-xéna lit-daxwəθəx<sup>1</sup>

(4) qix qréla b-gáwət qàla<sup>1</sup>  
gùpta mən-púm̄ma npilla<sup>1</sup>  
téla mo-tréle 'əlla.<sup>1</sup>

(5) šəðánta qəm-šaqòlla<sup>1</sup>  
qəm-'aryála pəšmànta<sup>1</sup>

(6) téla máre šəðánta<sup>1</sup>  
la-mháymnət kul-maxkéθa basimta<sup>1</sup>  
téla mére šəðánta<sup>1</sup>  
la-mháymnət kul-maxkéθa basimta<sup>1</sup>

A49 THE CROW AND THE CHEESE

Informant: Leya 'Oraha (Dure)

- (1) The crow that is black  
one day she is sitting  
on a tree with cheese in her mouth.
- (2) The cunning fox came  
He thought of doing a mischievous trick  
to make her throw it down in her excitement  
to take from her the cheese.
- (3) He said 'If your voice resembles you (in beauty)  
There is none other like you
- (4) Qix (= sound of voice), she cried out with her voice (= started  
to sing).  
The cheese fell from her mouth.  
How the fox ran to it!
- (5) The mad (bird), he (the fox) took it.  
Sorrow seized her.
- (6) The fox said: 'Mad (bird)  
Do not believe every sweet speech'  
The fox said: 'Mad (bird)  
Do not believe every sweet speech'

SECTION A: STORIES  
THE QATINA LEGEND

A50 THE SISISAMBƏR PLANT

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) *Qatına*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-mxazdile*,<sup>1</sup> *mára gáræg méθət sisisàmbər*.<sup>1</sup> *sáwən Tóma smèle, píšle*  
*kòra*.<sup>1</sup> *sisisàmbər*<sup>1</sup> ʔékela.<sup>2</sup> *kəs-Leliθa*.<sup>1</sup> ʔáp-xa *lá-maše máte ʔilla diya*.<sup>1</sup> *kəs-Leliθela*<sup>1</sup>  
*sisisàmbər*.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Qatına tom Qatına*  
*tiwele xamra b-štaya*  
*b-štaya-w har b-rwaya*  
*base buse b-draya*

(3) ʔemile *gawya m-guře*  
*šawərre bazət šwirri*  
*šatele qatxət šteli?*

(4) *xákma théla mərə*<sup>1</sup> *sáwən Tóma hóle sàmya*<sup>1</sup> ʔáti *tiwət štaya*,<sup>1</sup> *tla-Qatına*.<sup>1</sup> *sisisàmbər*<sup>1</sup>  
*hóla kəs-Leliθa*.<sup>1</sup> *mεθéla l-ʔénə sómya pàθxi*,<sup>1</sup> *míθe t-xàyi*.<sup>1</sup> ʔo-t-ile *míθa ʔi-xàye*.<sup>1</sup> (5)  
*xèna*,<sup>1</sup> *Xullákko móre ʔána šáln mεθónna*,<sup>1</sup> *Xullákko*,<sup>1</sup> *brón-t xáltət Qatına*.<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔána*  
*šáln mεθónna*.<sup>1</sup> (6) *qəm-mxazdile*.<sup>1</sup> *qímle Xullákko*.<sup>1</sup> *Xullákko šlèle*.<sup>1</sup> *Qatına là-šlele*.<sup>1</sup>  
*šlèle*,<sup>1</sup> ʔáy *qəm-xazyále Xullákko*.<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔána báyən sisisàmbər*,<sup>1</sup> *tla-Leliθa*,<sup>1</sup> *masqónna*  
*tla-sáwən Tóma*.<sup>1</sup> (7) *qəm-dawqále hátxa*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-mástət šórma diya*,<sup>1</sup> *qamtála ʔáqle diye*,<sup>1</sup>  
*zadyále tàma*.<sup>1</sup> *mattále xa-pənxət*<sup>1</sup> *šáwwei šawwá pərse rəš-šadre diye*.<sup>1</sup> (8) *trè-yome*,<sup>1</sup>  
*tre-tlèθa*,<sup>1</sup> *lá-θele Xullákko*.<sup>1</sup> *béna qímle Qatına*.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-béna ʔá-dana *mère*<sup>1</sup>

(9) *ma-yəmmi pəli zwaðe*  
*ma-xaθi wudli kade*  
*ða ʔurxa npilta l-bali*  
*mxuzdewən l-Tómən xali*

SECTION A: STORIES  
THE QAṬINA LEGEND

A50 THE SISISAMBƏR PLANT

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) They reproached Qaṭina, saying ‘You must bring the sisisambər plant. Grandfather<sup>1</sup> Toma has become blind’. ‘Where is the sisisambər?’ ‘With Leliṭa. Nobody can reach it. The sisisambər is with Leliṭa’.

(2) Qaṭina, oh Qaṭina  
He is sitting drinking wine  
Drinking and getting drunk  
Talking disparagingly about somebody or another

(3) ‘Who is the man amongst men  
Who could jump the jump I have jumped,  
And could drink the glass I have drunk?’

(4) Some people came and said ‘Grandfather Toma has become blind and you sit and drink’—this was to Qaṭina. ‘Sisisambər is with Leliṭa. They bring it to the eyes of a blind man, so that they will open, so that the dead will live. Whoever is dead, lives’. (5) Now, Xulləkko said ‘I shall go down and fetch it’. Xulləkko was the son of the aunt of Qaṭina. He said ‘I shall go down and fetch it’. (6) He reproached him. Xulləkko set off and went down, but Qaṭina did not go down. He went down and she (Leliṭa) saw Xulləkko. He said ‘I want the sisisambər’—(speaking) to Leliṭa—‘I shall take it up to grandfather Toma’. (7) She seized him like this. She tied his legs with one hair from her behind and threw him down there. She put a mill-stone (capable of being lifted only by) seventy-seven heroic men onto his chest. (8) Two days, three days (passed), but Xulləkko did not come back. Then Qaṭina said:

(9) Oh mother, bake me supplies  
Oh sister, prepare me cakes  
A way has come to my mind  
I have been shamed by Toman my uncle

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: our grandfather.

(10) qimεle<sup>1</sup> tre-bàze<sup>1</sup> šwirile Qaṭina<sup>1</sup> mṭéle kəs-Leliṭa.<sup>1</sup> móre kéle Xullákkō:<sup>1</sup> móra hòle.<sup>1</sup> Xullákkō hóle mútta š-šádre xa-pə̀nxa<sup>1</sup> šáwewi šáwewa pə̀rse,<sup>1</sup> ho-mútta š-šádre diye.<sup>1</sup> mxéle 'áqle diye Qaṭina,<sup>1</sup> qəm-maxéla 'áqle l-o-pə̀nxa,<sup>1</sup> zille qítle b-xa-túra<sup>1</sup> qəm-'awódle míya kòme,<sup>1</sup> plítla šáwpe diye.<sup>1</sup> (11) 'ámra mòt 'áṭya Qaṭina:<sup>1</sup> móre 'áṭyan báyan sisisàmbə̀r:<sup>1</sup> 'áy qəm-šaqlála xa-gürza<sup>1</sup> mukpála l-Qaṭina.<sup>1</sup> Qaṭina ndéle xo-bə̀rqiyaṭ šmāyya.<sup>1</sup> pálgə̀t pə̀rčə̀mte diye<sup>1</sup> xrixla qam-yòma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ó-gurza diya qítla b-xa-gə̀rəkṭa qəm-ođála míya,<sup>1</sup> yàma.<sup>1</sup> (12) 'u-xá-bena bar-pálgə̀ sá'ə̀t šléle<sup>1</sup> dáq qam-tárat gə̀ppa.<sup>1</sup> hal-láxxa šléle gu-'ùpra.<sup>1</sup> hày<sup>1</sup> 'ámra wíđə̀nwalux bürnuṭ!<sup>1</sup> móre xáru bə̀θə̀x,<sup>1</sup> b-réšə̀x xáru,<sup>1</sup> Leliṭa!<sup>1</sup> (13) móra gə̀rrux-ile.<sup>1</sup> sab-móra Qaṭina gə̀rrux-ile,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-grišə̀lle sépe<sup>1</sup> xàr.<sup>1</sup> máxyə̀lle gu-réšə̀t Leliṭa.<sup>1</sup> wíđə̀lla tre-qə̀ṭte.<sup>1</sup> (14) móra tníli xà-xena.<sup>1</sup> móre là,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni be-sáwə̀n be-Tóma la-máxə̀x tre-dàrbe.<sup>1</sup> 'm-maxéwala xa-xéna xaṭmāwa.<sup>1</sup> t-axlāwale.<sup>1</sup> 'ámra<sup>1</sup>

(15) ma-yə̀mmux 'azla klile  
ma-xaṭux patla pṭile  
Qaṭina xə̀tnéle t-la-mbarxile

(16) Qaṭina lə̀le gwíra.<sup>1</sup> qəm-leṭàle.<sup>1</sup> móre də̀-qu-qù.<sup>1</sup> rqúdlí xa-rə̀qđə̀t də̀bbe.<sup>1</sup> qímila rqúdlá 'u-xá-qə̀ṭta npille l-ə̀y-gota<sup>1</sup> xa l-ə̀y gota.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-síqle šqilále sisisàmbə̀r.<sup>1</sup> musqále tla-sáwə̀n Tóma.<sup>1</sup> mattíla rə̀š-'éne diye<sup>1</sup> pṭixla.<sup>1</sup>

(10) Qaṭina leapt two bounds and arrived at Leliṭa. He said 'Where is Xulləkko?' She said 'There he is'. On the chest of Xulləkko there had been placed a mill-stone (that could be lifted only by) seventy heroic men, it had been placed on his chest. Qaṭina gave a kick, he kicked that mill-stone. It came off and struck a mountain. He turned it into black water, which came out in its place. (11) She said 'Why have you come Qaṭina?' He said 'I have come seeking the sisisambər'. She took a club and threw it at Qaṭina. Qaṭina jumped up under the lightning of the sky. Half of his forelock was singed by the sun. That club of hers hit a hill and made it into water, into a sea. (12) Then, in half an hour he came down, thump, before the entrance of the cave. He sank into the mud up to here. She said 'Hey, I had made you (like) tobacco snuff!' He said 'May your house be destroyed, destroyed over your head Leliṭa!' (13) She said 'It is your turn'. Since she said 'Qaṭina, it is your turn', he drew his sword, swoosh. He struck it on the head of Leliṭa and cut her into two pieces'. (14) She said '(Hit) me again with another (blow)'. He said 'No, we, the family of grandfather Toma, do not strike two blows'. If he were to hit her with another (blow), she would heal and eat him. She said

(15) Oh your mother spins crowns  
 Oh your sister twists twisted threads  
 Qaṭina is a groom without being wed

(16) Qaṭina was not married. She cursed him. He said 'Get up. Dance for me a bear dance'. She got up and danced, one part (of her) fell this side and one that side. He went up and took the sisisambər. He brought it to grandfather Toma. They put it on his eyes and they opened.

A51 QATINA RESCUES HIS NEPHEW FROM LELIΘA

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) *Qatīne-w Qatīn ture<sup>1</sup>*  
*qatxət štelux šatanne<sup>1</sup>*  
*baza šwirruux šawərənne<sup>1</sup>*

(2) *ða 'urxa nřilta l-bali<sup>1</sup>*  
*rəhqeła t-la təpyali<sup>1</sup>*  
*mxuzdewən l-Tumən xali<sup>1</sup>*

(3) *'amər ma-yəmmi zulli gđaðe<sup>1</sup>*  
*'u-ma-xaθi peli zwaðe<sup>1</sup>*  
*xa 'urxa nřilta l-bali<sup>1</sup>*  
*rəhqeła t-la təpyali<sup>1</sup>*

(4) *mxuzdewən l-Tumən xali<sup>1</sup>*  
*Qatīne-w Qatīn ture<sup>1</sup>*  
*qatxət štelux šatanne<sup>1</sup>*  
*baza šwirruux šawərənne<sup>1</sup>*

(5) *kul səmbəlti xa draya*  
*kul zargulti palpulti*  
*xa 'urxa nřilta l-bali*  
*rəhqeła t-la təpyali*  
*mxuzdewən l-Tumən xali*

(6) *hadīya Qatīna<sup>1</sup> qimεle zīlele tǎya báθər Xuldǎkko xwarzǎye dīye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-zille qəm-dawqile.<sup>1</sup> qəm-dawqile<sup>1</sup> zille.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'imə mǎle l-kārma,<sup>1</sup> mǎle kārma Qatīna,<sup>1</sup> mǎšəle,<sup>1</sup> sab-mírεwa mǎšət qam-Leliθa<sup>1</sup> t-lá 'axlǎlux.<sup>1</sup> (7) gu-gəppa-wawa.<sup>1</sup> 'awwa 'imə t-ile wira xo-dalīθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-kulla derubərə,<sup>1</sup> xabuš-w<sup>1</sup> 'nwe-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-dalyàθa,<sup>1</sup> kulla mšurəla<sup>1</sup> čarčore šrǎxa<sup>1</sup>*

(8) *hay we-llən 'u-hay šima-llən<sup>1</sup>*  
*qčipewəx mqorəčpewəx<sup>1</sup>*  
*t-la-b-hewən 'u-t-la mǎjalən<sup>1</sup>*

(9) *qimtela Leliθa,<sup>1</sup> plǎttela m-gu-gəppa dīya.<sup>1</sup> 'imə t-ila plǎtta m-gu-gəppa dīya,<sup>1</sup> riqtela čənnəkerət kārma,<sup>1</sup> léla xziθa čü-məndi.<sup>1</sup> 'awwa mōdila qázde dīye?<sup>1</sup> bǎye t-ázəl ta-t-máte l-tǎrət gəppa<sup>1</sup> ta-t-qátəl Leliθa.<sup>1</sup> (10) 'áyya pθiltǎlle xa-gǎrra,<sup>1</sup> wirtela gu-gəppa<sup>1</sup> kribta,<sup>1</sup> kribta.<sup>1</sup> qimεle,<sup>1</sup> xǎ-ga xéta zīlele.<sup>1</sup> zīlele mǎtyele xo-xa-dalīθa xéta,<sup>1</sup> qribεle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'án derubéré šurəla xǎ-bena xéta:<sup>1</sup>*

A51 QATINA RESCUES HIS NEPHEW FROM LELIΘA

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) Qaṭine, Qaṭine (who crosses) mountains  
The cup that you drank I'll drink<sup>1</sup>  
The jump that you jumped, I'll jump

(2) A way has come to my mind  
It is far, which I have not reached  
I am reproached by Tumən my uncle

(3) He says: Oh mother, spin for me threads<sup>2</sup>  
and oh my sister bake me journey supplies  
A way has come to my mind  
It is far, which I have not reached

(4) I am reproached by Tumin my uncle  
Qaṭine, Qaṭine (who crosses) mountains  
The cup that you drank I'll drink  
The jump that you jumped, I'll jump

(5) Each (side) of my moustache is a cubit,  
and each shoe of mine and each boot of mine (is a cubit)  
A way has come to my mind  
It is far, which I have not reached  
I am reproached by Tumin my uncle

(6) Now Qaṭina went off looking for Xuldəkko his nephew, who had gone away and had been captured. He had been captured, when he went away. When he reached the orchard, when Qaṭina reached the orchard, he hid, since he had said (to himself) 'You should hide from Leliθa so that she does not eat you'. (7) She was in a cave. When he went under a vine, all the vegetation, all the apples, grapes and vines started screaming and shouting:

(8) Woe to us, a catastrophe (has come) upon us  
We are cut down and harvested  
Not in the season nor in our time (for cutting)

(9) Leliθa got up and came out of her cave. When she had come out of her cave, she ran around the orchard, but did not see anything. What was his purpose? He wanted to reach the entrance to the cave to kill Leliθa. (10) She took a turn around, then went into her cave, very angry. He went off again and reached (a place) under another vine, getting nearer. The vegetation began again:

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<sup>1</sup> This is addressed to his uncle.

<sup>2</sup> This probably refers to the laces of his shoes.



(11) hay we-lən ʔu-hay śima-lən<sup>1</sup>  
 qč̣ipewəx mqorač̣ipewəx<sup>1</sup>  
 t-la-b-hewən ʔu-t-la majalən<sup>1</sup>

(12) xá-ga xéta plíṭṭela Leliθa,<sup>1</sup> kribta,<sup>1</sup> kribta.<sup>1</sup>

xa-č̣arxona č̣ixwala<sup>1</sup>  
 kribta kribta l-šadrət gəppa wirwala<sup>1</sup>  
 č̣u mən̄di la xzewala<sup>1</sup>

(13) xá-gaya xéta<sup>1</sup> qím̄ele hedi-hédi gn̄wəlla gáne d̄iye,<sup>1</sup> z̄ila,<sup>1</sup> mátyele qúrbət t̄árət  
 gəppa.<sup>1</sup> xá-gaya xéta š̄uryela derubére š̄r̄axa<sup>1</sup>

(14) hay we-lən ʔu-hay śima-lən<sup>1</sup>  
 qč̣ipewəx mqorač̣ipewəx<sup>1</sup>  
 t-la-b-hewən ʔu-t-la majalən<sup>1</sup>

(15) Leliθa qímṭṭela mxáya l-gána d̄iya<sup>1</sup> ʔu-kràb̄ela,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-č̣arč̄óre ʔu-š̄r̄axela  
 č̣ənnək̄̄era<sup>1</sup>

(16) bena Leliθa m-šadrət gəppona plíṭṭwala<sup>1</sup>

xa č̣arxona č̣ixwala<sup>1</sup>  
 č̣u mən̄di la xzewala<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔu-hedi hedi šadrət gəppa wirwala<sup>1</sup>

(17) Qaṭina hóle wíra táma qam-mə́nna.<sup>1</sup> ʔax-t̄-íle wíra táma qam-mə́nna d̄iya<sup>1</sup> š̄qil̄l̄le<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔiθwala kθàwa.<sup>1</sup> qím̄ele š̄qila kθàwa d̄iya<sup>1</sup> mútt̄alle gu-jébe d̄iye.<sup>1</sup> ʔax-t̄-íla θiθa ʔay,<sup>1</sup>  
 max̄ele sépe ʔilla d̄iya.<sup>1</sup> (18) š̄ur̄ela pl̄āša.<sup>1</sup> ʔimə mx̄ele sépe ʔilla d̄iya<sup>1</sup> qəm-awód̄la  
 tre-p̄əč̄č̄e<sup>1</sup> xa-p̄əč̄č̄a píša l-à̄y-gota,<sup>1</sup> xa-l-à̄y-gota.<sup>1</sup> ʔay-m̄əra<sup>1</sup> mx̄ili xa-sépa xéna.<sup>1</sup> (19)  
 máre lá max̄ənnəx.<sup>1</sup> ʔáxtu be-Nasim̄o<sup>1</sup> rába raqádetu š̄əmyən.<sup>1</sup> š̄qúl ʔayya-yaláxta b-  
 id̄əx<sup>1</sup> r̄q̄ud̄!<sup>1</sup> qím̄ele yíwəlla yaláxta b-ída d̄iya.<sup>1</sup> š̄ur̄éθela r̄q̄áda hátxa b-à̄y-gota,<sup>1</sup> xrrr  
 np̄ilt̄ela l-ʔ̄ara.<sup>1</sup> q̄it̄il̄l̄la.<sup>1</sup> (20) qím̄ele,<sup>1</sup> m-táma hód̄əx qím̄ele z̄ilele l-t̄árət gəppa.<sup>1</sup>  
 l-t̄árə d-ó t̄-ám̄rəx lina<sup>1</sup> lina,<sup>1</sup> d̄orya-wewa Xuld̄əkk̄a t̄ama,<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa párs̄a t-wéwa  
 mútta b-r̄əš̄-Xuld̄əkk̄a<sup>1</sup> yáʔni xamš̄-gur̄e la-šaql̄iwale,<sup>1</sup> ma-t̄-íwa ḡora.<sup>1</sup> yáʔni ʔána b-  
 gáni ʔn-hawə́nwa t̄ama<sup>1</sup> ta-t-taql̄ənwale<sup>1</sup> l̄a-m̄š̄ənwa taql̄ənwale.<sup>1</sup> (21) qím̄ele<sup>1</sup> z̄ilele<sup>1</sup>  
 xz̄ígən ʔalahùθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔáxxa-w t̄amma.<sup>1</sup> qím̄ele<sup>1</sup> Qaṭina qam-paθ̄əxle t̄ara<sup>1</sup> t̄la-xwarz̄áye  
 d̄iye<sup>1</sup> núbl̄ille hátxa képa-w<sup>1</sup> mp̄ult̄elele Xuld̄əkk̄o m-gu-d-o-lina.<sup>1</sup>

(11) Woe to us, a catastrophe (has come) upon us  
 We are cut down and harvested  
 Not in the season nor in our time (for cutting)

(12) Leliṯa came out again, very angry

She took a short turn around  
 Very angry she went back into the front of the cave  
 She saw nothing

(13) Again, he slowly went along, stealthily, and arrived at the entrance of the cave. The vegetation again started shouting:

(14) Woe to us, a catastrophe (has come) upon us  
 We are cut down and harvested  
 Not in the season nor in our time (for cutting)

(15) Leliṯa got up, beating herself in anger, shrieking and screaming (as she walked) around:

(16) Leliṯa went out from her small cave.  
 She made a small turn around  
 But did not see anything  
 And slowly went back into her cave

(17) Qaṭina had gone in there before her. When he went in there before her, he took a book that belonged to her. He took her book and put it in his pocket. When she came, he lunged his sword into her. (18) They began to fight. When he lunged his sword into her, he cut her into two pieces, one piece on this side and one on the other. She said ‘Strike me another blow with the sword’. (19) He said ‘I shall not strike you. You are the family of Nasimo. I have heard you are good dancers. Take this handkerchief in your hand and dance!’ He put the handkerchief into her hand. She began to dance, like this, on that side, then xrrr she fell to the ground. He killed her. (20) Then he went to the entrance of the cave. (He went to) the mouth of what we call a pot, the pot where Xuldækko had been placed. It had a flat stone that was placed on top of Xuldækko, fifty men could not pick it up, since it was so big. That is, I myself, if I were there (and tried) to lift it, I could not have lifted it. (21) He went and look what a miracle (he performed),<sup>3</sup> and so forth. Qaṭina opened the mouth (of the jar) for his nephew, took away the stone and took Xuldækko out of the jar.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: See the divinity!

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔĒn-Nunc)

(1) *xá-bena Yúwánas ʔaramnáya*<sup>1</sup> *théle mxéle tálən*<sup>1</sup> *l-tálən be-sáwən Tòma*<sup>1</sup> *slibìle ʔarwè,*<sup>1</sup> *gaméše diyè,*<sup>1</sup> *gúmle diyè,*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla slibìle.*<sup>1</sup> *xáθət sáwən Tòma*<sup>1</sup> *jlíwàle,*<sup>1</sup> *šlèle.*<sup>1</sup>  
 (2) *Qatína zòrəwa.*<sup>1</sup> *máxyalle ʔaqle l-dudiyət Qatína,*<sup>1</sup> *šawwí-zəvre zvirtàlla.*<sup>1</sup> *šawwí-zəvre zvirtàlla,*<sup>1</sup> *sáwən Tòma*<sup>1</sup> *šawwí-qəble qbìlele ha-t-íla-klíθa dudíya.*<sup>1</sup> *zòrəwa.*<sup>1</sup> *mártət ʔamàre,*<sup>1</sup> *dúglət d-è-ga.*<sup>1</sup> (3) *ʔè-ga*<sup>1</sup> *mqùr̀nne,*<sup>1</sup> *Qatína mqùr̀nne m̀jéle gàwra,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔámri ʔamtux*<sup>1</sup> *théle Yúwánas ʔaramnáya*<sup>1</sup> *slibəlla ʔarwəxu,*<sup>1</sup> *slibəlla baxtəθa,*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla slibəlla,*<sup>1</sup> *slibəlla ʔamtux,*<sup>1</sup> *mušlyəlla ʔu-šlyele.*<sup>1</sup> *móre ʔékele xəye?*<sup>1</sup> *ʔékele?*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa gu-barríya xəye.*<sup>1</sup> *lă-ʔámri kəma-rəhqe!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔá-dana qəm-amərra.*<sup>1</sup>

(4) *ma-xathi peli zwaðe*  
*ma-xathi peli kade*  
*ða ʔurxa npilta l-bali*  
*mxuzdewən ʔəl-Tomən xali*

(5) *qiméle*<sup>1</sup> *Qatína.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw səmbéle díye xà-metra.*<sup>1</sup> *šlèle gu-barríya.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-harnúwa*<sup>1</sup> *móra péšən xwàrthux.*<sup>1</sup> *móre kóre brátət kòre*<sup>1</sup> *ʔéka péšət xwàrthi?*<sup>1</sup> *ʔati t-órət gu-d-əwáha tarrəša*<sup>1</sup>  
 (6) *ʔaw-b-xá-baza šawərwale,*<sup>1</sup> *m-əxxa,*<sup>1</sup> *kut-báze ʔəsrà-maylewa.*<sup>1</sup> *mattúwala ʔaqle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔəsrà-mayle.*<sup>1</sup> *mátyele qam-tárat bəθə t-ámte díye,*<sup>1</sup> *Yúwánas lèle táma.*<sup>1</sup> (7) *Yúwánas plítele gu-barríya*<sup>1</sup> *münáwəřət ʔaskarwəθa.*<sup>1</sup> *münáwəřət ʔarbi ʔálpe ʔaskar*<sup>1</sup> *hóla b-əy-gota,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔarbi ʔálpe ʔaskar hóla b-əy-gota,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔarbi ʔálpe ʔaskar hóla b-əy-gota,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔarbi ʔálpe m-əy-gota.*<sup>1</sup> *yáni ʔmma ʔšti ʔálpe ʔiθwale ʔaskar ʔé-ga Yúwánas ʔaramnáya,*<sup>1</sup> *jéše díye.*<sup>1</sup>  
 (8) *móre kèle Yúwánas?*<sup>1</sup> *síqle l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> *gàre šəlmanáte kúlla dípla.*<sup>1</sup> *plípla ʔámte díye móra ʔawwa xa-xéla xélə be-bàbile.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔawwa líθ hátxa mónđi*<sup>1</sup> *sáqa l-gàre dyəpa ʔanna.*<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) Once Yuwanəs the Armenian came and plundered, (he came) to plunder the family of grandfather Toma. He plundered their sheep, their buffaloes, their camels. He plundered them all. He kidnapped the sister of grandfather Toma and went down (to his land). (2) Qaṭina was young. He (Yuwanəs) kicked the cradle of Qaṭina and span it round seventy times. When it span round seventy times, grandfather Toma made seventy donations until the cradle stopped. He was young. (This was) what people said,<sup>1</sup> the lies of that time. (3) When he grew up, Qaṭina grew up and became a man, they said ‘Your aunt—Yuwanəs the Armenian plundered your sheep, plundered the women, plundered them all, plundered your aunt and took her down (with him as) he went down (to his land)’. He said ‘Where does he live? Where is he?’ ‘He lives in the desert at such-and-such (a distance)’. ‘By my life, how far it is! Then he said to them:

(4) Oh sister, prepare me supplies  
 Oh sister, bake me cakes  
 A way has come to my mind  
 I have been shamed by Toman my uncle

(5) Qaṭina got up. His moustache was one metre long. He went down to the desert. A rabbit said ‘I shall become your friend’. He said ‘Poor girl,<sup>2</sup> how will you become my friend?! You go into that bush over there. (6) When he leapt one leap, each leap, from here, was ten miles, he put his leg down ten miles (further on). He arrived in front of the door of his aunt. Yuwanəs was not there. (7) Yuwanəs had gone out into the desert (to conduct) a manoeuvre of his armies, a manoeuvre with forty thousand soldiers on one side, forty thousand soldiers on another side, forty thousand soldiers on another side and forty thousand soldiers on another side. That is Yuwanəs the Armenian had an army of a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers at that time. (8) He (Qaṭina) said ‘Where is Yuwanəs?’ He went up to the roof. All the iron bars of the roof bent. His aunt came out and said ‘Such a force is the force of my father’s family. Such a thing as this, going onto the roof and bending these (bars) is unheard of’.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: the saying of the sayers.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: blind girl, daughter of a blind girl.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: does not exist.

(9) *xirra hàtxa*<sup>1</sup> *móra Qatína*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-moràle*<sup>1</sup> *qəpyàle*<sup>1</sup> *maşəlyàle*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-tenàle*<sup>1</sup> *xzi šəlmanàt*<sup>1</sup> *dìpla*<sup>1</sup> *qam-xèla*<sup>1</sup> *móra mòt*<sup>1</sup> *’əθya xo-bábi*<sup>2</sup> *móre*<sup>1</sup> *’ámti*<sup>1</sup> *’əθyən masqənnəx*<sup>1</sup>

(10) *móra bròni*<sup>1</sup> *lá-mşət masqətti*<sup>1</sup> *Yuwánəs*<sup>1</sup> *’aramnáya*<sup>1</sup> *’amma-w*<sup>1</sup> *’əští-’alpe*<sup>1</sup> *’áskar mənne*<sup>1</sup> *hóle gu-barríya*<sup>1</sup> *móre masqənnəx*<sup>1</sup> *’ámti*<sup>1</sup> *t-ázən şələn táləb Yuwánəs*<sup>1</sup> *’aramnáya*<sup>1</sup>

(11) *’áy módi wídla*<sup>2</sup> *’áp-’aw dāməx*<sup>1</sup> *Qatína dāməx tmánya yóme*<sup>1</sup> *dmixle*<sup>1</sup> *’áy mo-wídla*<sup>2</sup> *zília sépe díye kúlla qəm-nablále kəs-jàqší*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwale jàqší*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-awódle rəbət*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna t-maxé-rəbət*<sup>1</sup> *rəbət*<sup>1</sup> *rəbət kúlla maxèle*<sup>1</sup> *sépe díye ta-t-la-gərəš*<sup>1</sup>

(12) *qəm-nablále kəs-jàqší*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-odále sépe díye*<sup>1</sup> *’aw-léle ðiya*<sup>1</sup> *’aw-léle ðiya*<sup>1</sup> *híwtəlle sépe díye*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle mbàdla*<sup>1</sup> *tmánya yóme dmixele*<sup>1</sup> *’u-príqele*<sup>1</sup> *’rışele*<sup>1</sup> *qíməle şəlyə*<sup>1</sup>

(13) *şəlyele*<sup>1</sup> *şríxele xa-qála*<sup>1</sup> *gu-barríya*<sup>1</sup> *susyáθa kúlla drəla*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla zdéla zəyèy*<sup>1</sup> *bnonéy qəm-mabrèla*<sup>1</sup> *’áskar kúlla mítla*<sup>1</sup> *qam-qále*<sup>1</sup> *pişle bás Yuwánəs*<sup>1</sup> *’aramnáya*<sup>1</sup> *’ánna kúlla mítla*<sup>1</sup> *susyáθa*<sup>1</sup> *’áskar díye*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla mítla qam-qále*<sup>1</sup> *’imə şríxle qála gòra*<sup>1</sup>

(14) *móre Yuwánəs*<sup>1</sup> *móre*<sup>1</sup> *’əθyewən*<sup>1</sup> *táləb gənux*<sup>1</sup> *’ati*<sup>1</sup> *hàtxət wída*<sup>1</sup> *məxyət tələn*<sup>1</sup> *bázər dīyən*<sup>1</sup> *’u-baxtáθa mùθyewət*<sup>1</sup> *’u-’ámti muθyótla-w kúlla*<sup>1</sup> *’ána*<sup>1</sup> *’əθyewən táləb gənux*<sup>1</sup>

(15) *wídle šàrt*<sup>1</sup> *ta-máxa l-gəðàde*<sup>1</sup> *’awwa Yuwánəs*<sup>1</sup> *’aramnáya*<sup>1</sup> *’áp-’aw*<sup>1</sup> *’útle gürza*<sup>1</sup> *max-d-ó-t Leliθa*<sup>1</sup> *gürza maxèle*<sup>1</sup> *’áy bázər kúlla t-awódla mīya*<sup>1</sup> *mīya xwáre kóme pálti šəpa*<sup>1</sup>

(16) *móre*<sup>1</sup> *’əni máxe qamáye*<sup>1</sup> *móre*<sup>1</sup> *’áxni be-Tòma*<sup>1</sup> *lè-maxəx*<sup>1</sup> *qamáye*<sup>1</sup> *’áxni be-Tòma*<sup>1</sup> *lè-maxəx qamáye*<sup>1</sup> *zàrba*<sup>1</sup> *’ati máxət*<sup>1</sup> *móre OK šàrt-ile*<sup>1</sup>

(17) *mtúpyalle zàrba b-Qatína*<sup>1</sup> *Qatína nəðyele*<sup>1</sup> *nəðyele xo-bərqíyət šmàyya*<sup>1</sup> *bar-pólga sá’at şléle*<sup>1</sup> *’ámər hē*<sup>1</sup> *la-qəm-odənmux*<sup>1</sup> *’ána bürnuť*<sup>2</sup> *şlélux xá-bena xèna*<sup>2</sup> *gürzə šərmux xo-’ána t-azónwa bīya*<sup>2</sup> *’áp-’ana t-ázən mşàlən*<sup>1</sup> *šamàšen*<sup>1</sup> *t-ázən mşàlena*<sup>1</sup>

(18) *Qatína móre*<sup>1</sup> *Qatína báye máxe*<sup>1</sup> *kízle kərrr*<sup>1</sup> *kízle kərrr*<sup>1</sup> *’o-rəbət-ile*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maxéle bə-b-qətta*<sup>1</sup> *’ámər*<sup>1</sup> *’əyyela zàrbux Qatína*<sup>2</sup> *móre*<sup>1</sup> *’əyya*<sup>1</sup>

(9) She looked and said ‘Qaṭina!’ She brought him in. She caught him and brought him down. She carried him. ‘Look, the bars have bent due to the force’. She said ‘Why have you come, my dear?’ He said ‘Aunt, I have come to take you up (to your home)’. (10) She said ‘My son, you cannot take me up. Yuwanəs the Armenian has a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers with him. He is in the desert’. He said ‘I shall take you up, aunt. I shall go down to fight Yuwanəs the Armenian’. (11) What did she do? He slept. Qaṭina slept for eight days. He slept. What did she do? She went and took his sword to a craftsman—they call him a *jaqsi*—and he riveted it. (He was one) of those people who did riveting. He riveted all his sword so that he could not draw it. (12) She took it to the craftsman and tampered with his sword, while he did not know. He did not know and she gave his sword back to him. He got up in the morning. He slept for eight days. He finished (sleeping) and woke up. He got up and went down. (13) He went down and let out a shout in the desert. All the mares miscarried and cast out their young. They brought forth their young. All the soldiers died on account of the shout. Only Yuwanəs the Armenian was left. All of them died. The mares, his army, they all died on account of the shout, when he let out a mighty shout. (14) He said ‘Yuwanəs’, he said ‘I have come to fight you. You have done such-and-such, you have plundered our town. You have carried off women, you have carried off my aunt, (as well as) all (the others). I have come to fight you’. (15) He made an agreement that they would strike each other (in a contest). Yuwanəs the Armenian also had a club, like that of Leliṭa. If he struck with his club, he would make all of that town turn to water, white and black water would come out in its place. (16) He said ‘Who should strike first?’ He said ‘We, the family of Toma, do not strike first. We, the family of Toma, do not strike the first blow. *You* strike’. He said ‘OK, it’s an agreement’. (17) He dealt a blow against Qaṭina. Qaṭina leapt. He leapt under the lightning of the sky. After half an hour he came down. He said ‘Hey, didn’t I make you (like) tobacco snuff? Have you come down again?’ ‘(Why) should I have been finished off by your stupid club?!<sup>4</sup> I must go and pray, I am a deacon. I must go and pray’. (18) Qaṭina said this. Qaṭina then wanted to strike. He tried (to pull out his sword) krrr; he tried, it was riveted. He struck it (the sword) together with the sheath. He (Yuwanəs) said ‘Is that your blow, Qaṭina?’ He said ‘That is it’.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: Would I go by the club of your behind.

(19) *xá-bena xèna<sup>1</sup> Yiwánas m̄tup̄yále gúrza 'álle díye.<sup>1</sup> xa-bena xéna n̄éle xrrr r̄imle<sup>1</sup> m-qáme díye.<sup>1</sup> šléle xá-bena xéna m̀re<sup>1</sup> la-m̄tlux Qaṭína.<sup>2</sup>1 m̀re là,<sup>1</sup> lan-m̄iṭa.<sup>1</sup> hon-láxxa barq̄ilux.<sup>1</sup> m̀re ṭla-Yiwánas<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ana šamāš'en.<sup>1</sup> (20) Qaṭína m̀re<sup>1</sup> ṭ-ázən xánčī m̄šālən,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-àṭena.<sup>1</sup> m̀re siḡən.<sup>1</sup> m̀re<sup>1</sup> 'ána ṭ-ázən m̄šālən.<sup>1</sup> 'áti s̄uq,<sup>1</sup> xzi-bàxtux<sup>1</sup> 'u-qlub-hàyyo.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-s̄iqle xzáyá báxte díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-'aw-z̄ille m̄šalòye.<sup>1</sup> m̀re<sup>1</sup>*

(21) *ma sepa qawrət ganux  
ma sepa mkarxət ganux  
rešət marux nobəllux*

(22) *n̄pille lišána b-sèpa<sup>1</sup> m̀re sèpa<sup>1</sup>*

*'o sepa, sepewena  
drelux 'idux 'alle  
garšətli har ḏa grašta  
be-palge sarxi dəm̄ma-w  
gu-reše b̄arqe, b̄arqe*

(23) *gr̄išle,<sup>1</sup> k̄ulla hátxa r̄əbət̄.<sup>1</sup> grrr k̄ulla šm̄iṭla.<sup>1</sup> p̄išle tàma,<sup>1</sup> sp̄àra<sup>1</sup> tm̄anyá-yome ṭ-áṭe Yiwánas 'aramn̄àya.<sup>1</sup> ṭéle Yiwánas 'aramn̄àya.<sup>1</sup> béna Yiwánas 'aramn̄àya m̀re ṭla-Qaṭína<sup>1</sup> tm̄anya yóme ṭ-àṭwən,<sup>1</sup> xá-bena b-xúbbət báxti bn̄òni<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-xúbbət m̄āṭi,<sup>1</sup> b-nāšī,<sup>1</sup> b-xaz̄ónna 'u-ṭ-àṭena.<sup>1</sup> tm̄anya yóme tàm̄ewa.<sup>1</sup> (24) ql̄iba š̄əlyele.<sup>1</sup> m̀re díya gár̄ra d-ən̄ile.<sup>2</sup>1 Yiwánas 'aramn̄àya m̀re gárrux 'áti m̄àxət.<sup>1</sup> š̄q̄ille sèpe<sup>1</sup> q̄m-max̄ele.<sup>1</sup> q̄m-awádle tr̄è-q̄əṭṭe.<sup>1</sup> k̄izle d̄-mx̄ili xa-xèna.<sup>1</sup> m̀re 'áxni be-Tòm̄ax,<sup>1</sup> lá-max̄ax zóda l-xà.<sup>1</sup> (25) 'm-max̄éwa xa-xèna,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'aw xónət Leliṭewa,<sup>1</sup> xaṭ̄m̄iwa<sup>1</sup> qa-ṭ-ax̄əl̄wale.<sup>1</sup> m̀re d̄-q̄ù<sup>1</sup> r̄q̄údl̄i xa-r̄əq̄ḏət d̄əbbe.<sup>1</sup> qu-r̄q̄ùḏ.<sup>1</sup> q̄imle r̄q̄àḏa,<sup>1</sup> xa-q̄ṭṭa n̄pille tàmma<sup>1</sup> xa-tàmma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-s̄iqle.<sup>1</sup> musq̄ale 'ànte,<sup>1</sup> musq̄ale b̄àžər<sup>1</sup> k̄ulla mus̄əq̄le.<sup>1</sup> béna y-ám̄ər Tóma:*

(26) *b-šena, b-šena, bər-t-xaṭa  
kup̄əšlux 'əlli kurtəxyaṭa*

(19) Again Yuwanəs struck him with his club. Again, he leapt and jumped up away from him. When he came down again, he (Yuwanəs) said ‘Did you not die, Qaṭina?’ He said ‘No, I have not died. I am here before you’. He said to Yuwanəs ‘I am a deacon’. (20) Qaṭina said ‘I shall pray a little then come back’. He said ‘Go!’ He said ‘I shall go and pray. You go up and see your wife, then come back’. He (Yuwanəs) went to see his wife and he (Qaṭina) went to pray. He said:

(21) Oh sword, you bury yourself  
 Oh sword, you shroud yourself  
 You have (almost) taken away the head of your owner

(22) The sword started to talk.<sup>5</sup> The sword said:

I am the same sword,  
 which you have (always) put your hand on.  
 Pull me out once.  
 Its middle is defiled by blood.  
 At its top there is lightning, lightning.

(23) He drew it, it was all riveted. He smashed all (the rivets). He stayed there, waiting for eight days until Yuwanəs the Armenian came back. Yuwanəs the Armenian came back. Now, Yuwanəs the Armenian had said to Qaṭina ‘I shall stay for eight days to take pleasure in my wife and children, to take pleasure in my village and to see my relatives, then I shall come back’. He was there for eight days. (24) He came back down. He said ‘Now whose turn is it?’ Yuwanəs the Armenian said ‘It is your turn, you strike’. He took his sword and struck him. He cut him into two pieces. He (Yuwanəs) tried (to persuade Qaṭina by saying) ‘Strike me again’. He said ‘We the family of Toma do not strike more than one (blow)’. (25) If he had struck again—he was the brother of Leliṭa—he would heal and eat him’. He said ‘Get up. Dance me a bear dance. Get up and dance’. He got up to dance and one piece fell here and one there. He (Qaṭina) went up and took with him his aunt, took the town, took it all. Then Toma said:

(26) Welcome, welcome, son of (my) sister  
 You have gathered to me stooped backs.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Literally: A tongue fell to the sword.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: lower backs, i.e. women who had grown old due to the length of time they were away.



SECTION B  
HISTORY AND CULTURE

B1 THE VILLAGE OF DURE (1)

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

- (1) 'ána 'iwəm bεrwərnāya.<sup>1</sup> xiyən gu-Düre.<sup>1</sup> Düre 'ila māθi.<sup>1</sup> Düre 'ila xá mən-tlāθi  
'u-xamšā maθwáθət Bérwər.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna tlāθi 'u-xámša 'ila 'áxcī maθwáθət mšixāye,<sup>1</sup>  
'aturāye krastyáne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iθgən qúrbət tmāni xéne maθwáθət qurðāye bálki biz-zāwda.<sup>1</sup>  
(2) qāmθa,<sup>1</sup> maθwáθət krastyáne biš-rābewa m-an-t-qurðāye.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'íman-t záwna  
mšuxlǝple,<sup>1</sup> mšixāye mšuréla bšàra,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mušlmanúθa zyāda.<sup>1</sup> rába mən-d-ánna  
maθwáθa<sup>1</sup> píšla prime<sup>1</sup> 'u-xákna píšla riqe-u<sup>1</sup> píšla qñile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-píšla mšuxálpe maθwáθət  
qurðāye mušlmāne.<sup>1</sup> (3) hadiya,<sup>1</sup> 'an-maθwáθa t-ila hāl-diya pyáša,<sup>1</sup> qúrbət tlāθi 'u-  
xámša maθwáθa,<sup>1</sup> dá mən-diyéy Dúrela.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iñən<sup>1</sup> 'aštá-maθwaθa qúrba l-gðàðela:<sup>1</sup>  
'En-Nüne,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'Iyyət,<sup>1</sup> 'u-Bašmiyāye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-Derəške,<sup>1</sup> 'u-Māye.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'ila maθwáθa  
gu-'àθrət Bérwər.<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxle,<sup>1</sup> 'áθra diyən,<sup>1</sup> šemma diya<sup>1</sup> 'áθrət Bérwər.<sup>1</sup> (4) txúme  
diye 'ila<sup>1</sup> mən-madənxa<sup>1</sup> Zāwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mən-mārwa<sup>1</sup> 'ila<sup>1</sup> Xawóra.<sup>1</sup> y-ámri mən-Záwa  
hál Xawóra Bérwər-ila.<sup>1</sup> 'u-txúme diye<sup>1</sup> 'ila mən-turánət Šarānuš 'án t-rešāwáθa,<sup>1</sup>  
y-amrəxla,<sup>1</sup> prášela Tγáre xtéθa mən-Bérwər.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mən-tayómna 'ile rešət-'Amediya.<sup>1</sup>  
'áy-gota diya Bérwər-ila<sup>1</sup> 'a-páθa xéta 'ila Šāpna.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna txúma diyele.<sup>1</sup>  
(5) 'u-Bérwər 'ila xa-'àθra<sup>1</sup> šamìnele,<sup>1</sup> 'u-taš'iθanāyele.<sup>1</sup> 'iθ-gáwe 'umránε 'atíqe.<sup>1</sup>  
har-gu-Düre 'iθgena 'arpà 'umránε.<sup>1</sup> tré-mənna tlíxela nixela.<sup>1</sup> lá-yāðəxxa taš'iθa  
diyè.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'an-tre-xéne píšela hál-danət t-ixwa 'áxnι tāmā,<sup>1</sup> hál-šēt 'álpa 'əççá-  
mma-w šáwewi tmānya,<sup>1</sup> 'íman t-moqíma Düre.<sup>1</sup> (6) Már Qayyóma 'íwa gu-galliya<sup>1</sup>  
'u-Már Gwirgis gu-Düre.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ánna tre-'umránε<sup>1</sup> xálmət 'etanéθa y-oðəxwala gáwe  
diye.<sup>1</sup> taš'iθət Már-Gwirgis maxzóyalla qa-t-xamšà-mma,<sup>1</sup> 'arbà-mma<sup>1</sup> hátxa šónne  
bār-Mšixa,<sup>1</sup> píšele bənya.<sup>1</sup> dářət xámša Már-Gwirgis píšele bənya.<sup>1</sup>

## SECTION B HISTORY AND CULTURE

### B1 THE VILLAGE OF DURE (1)

Informant: Yuwəl Yuḥanna (Dure)

(1) I am from Barwar. I lived in Dure. Dure is my village. Dure is one of thirty-five villages of Barwar. These thirty-five villages are only Christian villages, Assyrian Christian. There are approximately eighty other Kurdish villages, perhaps more. (2) Once the villages of the Christians were more numerous than those of the Kurds. But as times changed, the Christians began to diminish (in number) and Islam began to increase. (The inhabitants of) many of these villages were slaughtered. Some fled and were (subsequently) killed. They were then changed into Muslim Kurdish villages. (3) Now, those villages that remain until now, about thirty-five villages,—one of them is Dure. We have six villages that are near to one another: 'En-Nune, 'Iyyət, Bəšmiyaye, Dərəške and Maye. These are the villages in the land of Barwar. We call it 'our land', its name is the land of Barwar. (4) Its borders are on the East the Zab and on the West the Khabur. They say from the Zab to the Khabur is Barwar. Its borders (in the North) are the Šaranuš mountains, 'those of the peaks', as we call them, which divide lower Țyare from Barwar. In the South it is the summit of Amedia. One side of it is Barwar and the other side is Şapna. These are its borders.

(5) Barwar is a land which is fertile and historical. It has ancient churches. In Dure alone there are four churches. Two of them were destroyed and obliterated. We do not know their history. But the other two remained until the time that we were there, until the year 1978, when Dure was evacuated. (6) (The church) of Saint Qayyoma was in the village and Saint George was in Dure. In these two churches we used to hold church services. The history of Saint George shows that it was built five hundred or four hundred years or so after Christ. Saint George was built in the fifth century.

(7) 'álpá-w xamsà-mma,<sup>1</sup> 'álpá-w 'áštà-mma šønne hàtxa<sup>1</sup> 'úmur diyela-w<sup>1</sup> har-hádàx 'úmur Mār Qayyōma.<sup>1</sup> 'ina tarīx piša kθīwa liθgena,<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī 'áx-t-ix šmīyalla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mən-msapyanyáθət nàše.<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī gu-Mār-Gwirgis Dūre 'iθwa xa-képa<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa kθīwta taš'iθa 'álle diyē,<sup>1</sup> xa-képa rába 'atīqa.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa maxzōyalla qá-t hāwáli 'álpá-w 'arbà-mma<sup>1</sup> šønne<sup>1</sup> t-ile piša bənya.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xamsà-mma 'áštà-mma šønne bar-Mšixá.<sup>1</sup> (8) 'ánna tré 'umránē 'àp-'ani<sup>1</sup> hál šēt-'álpá 'əççá-mma šáwwi-w tmànya,<sup>1</sup> xálmət y-oðīwa gāwa.<sup>1</sup> b-é-šeta pišla Dūre muqyàmta-w<sup>1</sup> kúlla máθwaθət Bērwer,<sup>1</sup> sáma zóda t-maθwàθa,<sup>1</sup> pišla moqime,<sup>1</sup> 'u-tlixē,<sup>1</sup> 'umránē tlixē,<sup>1</sup> 'u-bustanáne mùqðe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-máθa šwíqta xārāba-w<sup>1</sup> náše trīde<sup>1</sup> kút-xa xīša l-xà-gēb.<sup>1</sup> (9) b-è-dana<sup>1</sup> kúl anna-maθwáθa qəm-maqimūla,<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī máθət 'Ēn-Nune Deriške 'ay-pišla mən-sābab<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Nune 'iwa márkaz nāhiya<sup>1</sup> qəm-šoqila.<sup>1</sup> šēt-'álpá 'əççá-mma tmáni-w tmánya qəm-maqimilè-zi,<sup>1</sup> t-láθi b-yárxət xà.<sup>1</sup> móra t-lá yománe gārəg mrazgītu ganéxu pēšītu trīde.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela trīðalla<sup>1</sup> kúlla nášət màθa,<sup>1</sup> máθa mùqðəlla,<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Nune 'u-Derīške,<sup>1</sup> 'uþ-əy.<sup>1</sup>

(10) yá'ni Bárwer pištela kúlla m-Záwa l-Xawóra t-là-maθwáθa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla tlixē,<sup>1</sup> maθwáθət qurðəye 'u-surəye.<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'ó-yomət moqíma Dūre màθən prišáyīθ,<sup>1</sup> táməniwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ána hár gu-máθət Dūrənwa.<sup>1</sup> qédamta jàlde,<sup>1</sup> 'áštá b-yárxət Tāmuz,<sup>1</sup> 'álpá-w ççá-mma šáwwi-w tmànya,<sup>1</sup> kályəniwa gu-tárət bēθa.<sup>1</sup> (11) 'iwa sá'at tmánya qédamta xzéli xákna náše θāya<sup>1</sup> mən-'Ēn-Nune ta-Dūre.<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela wīre<sup>1</sup> mátye kəsli.<sup>1</sup> 'ina lújna θāya mən-'Ēn-Nune,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya lújnət maqyámtət nàše,<sup>1</sup> tarhīl.<sup>1</sup> boqorra mənni<sup>1</sup> móra 'ékele bēθət mùxtər.<sup>2</sup>1 mári mùxtər hóle gu-'umra.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma wáða qurbàna.<sup>1</sup> (12) 'iθwa xa-bráta diyən mīθta-wawa.<sup>1</sup> wáðəlla qurbàna.<sup>1</sup> 'áy wela-'á-brata xaréθət m̄túmra gu-Dūre,<sup>1</sup> qam-maqimūlən.<sup>1</sup> mári hóle b-xšəwən gu-'umra.<sup>1</sup> xīšli boqərri mənnyē gu-dártət 'umra<sup>1</sup> 'u-wírra qrēla qa-mùxtər.<sup>1</sup> plītle mùxtər.<sup>1</sup> (13) bar-plītle kəslyē,<sup>1</sup> móra 'áxcī lújnət tarhīl-īwəx,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əθyəx ta-t-māðəxləxu<sup>1</sup> ta-t-m-díya 'arpa-sá'əte<sup>1</sup> gārəg kúlla nášət máθa pālṭi m-gu-máθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'azítu pālṭitu l-wāðər.<sup>1</sup> bār 'arpa-sá'əte Dūre maqðəxla.<sup>1</sup> wéle xa-xábra maxjəlana.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'itli gáni šéra hon-wiðəlle,<sup>1</sup> rába basimēle,<sup>1</sup> maqḥərànəle.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni maqyámta d-áyya màθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-hawəwtwa mīrəlli<sup>1</sup> t-awənwá-'əθya t-amrəniwala 'an-šère.<sup>1</sup> mára:

(7) It is one thousand five hundred or one thousand six hundred years old. The age of Saint Qayyoma is the same. But there is no written history, only what we have heard and traditions of the people. In Saint George of Dure there was only a stone, on which its history was written, a very ancient stone. This shows that it was built about one thousand four hundred years ago. That is five-hundred or six-hundred years after Christ. (8) Services were held in these very two churches until the year 1978. In that year Dure was evacuated. All the villages of Barwar, or most of the villages, were evacuated and destroyed. The churches were destroyed, the orchards were burnt, the village was left a ruin and the people were driven away, each going a different direction. (9) At that time they evacuated all those villages. Only ʿEn-Nune and Derîške remained since ʿEn-Nune was the capital of the district, they left it. In the year 1988 they evacuated also them, on the 30th January. They said ‘You must prepare yourself in three days to be deported.’ They came and deported all the people of the village and burnt the village, ʿEn-Nune and also Derəške.

(10) That is all of Barwar, from the Zab to the Khabur became (a land) without villages. All were destroyed, both the Kurdish and the Christian villages. On the day that specifically Dure, our village, was evacuated, I was there, I was in the village of Dure. Early in the morning, on the 6th of Tamuz (July), 1978, I was standing at the door of the house. (11) At eight o’clock in the morning I saw some people coming from ʿEn-Nune to Dure. They came and entered (the village) and arrived at my home. This was a committee coming from ʿEn-Nune, it was the committee for the evacuation of the people, evacuation. They asked me saying ‘Where is the house of the village head?’ I said ‘The village head is in the church’. That day he was at mass. (12) There was a girl of ours who had died. They were holding a mass for her. That was the last girl who was buried in Dure before they evacuated us. I said ‘I think he is in the church.’ I went and asked them in the courtyard of the church and they went in and called for the village head. The village head came out. (13) After he came out to them, they said ‘We are the evacuation committee and we have come to let you know that in four hours from now all the people of the village must leave the village. You should go outside. After four hours we shall burn Dure.’ It was a terrifying piece of news. (14) I have myself a poem that I composed. It is very beautiful, but is sad. That is, (it is about) the evacuation of the village. If you had told me, I would have come to recite these poems. It goes:

(15) *xa-xamsšuséba t-Támuz xammàna*<sup>1</sup>  
*gu-Dúre mxéle bórqa-w rawðàna*<sup>1</sup>  
*píšla mxurdéθa m-kúlla geiwàna*<sup>1</sup>  
*bíyət 'askárət húkma zalmàna*<sup>1</sup>

*xéna xásən b-šère,*<sup>1</sup> *'ásiti-w xàmša šére.*<sup>1</sup>

(16) *xàrθa,*<sup>1</sup> *m-bár t-ile yáwa xábra múxtər gu-kúlla máθa,*<sup>1</sup> *náše kú-mdi t-íwa-*  
*mšàya*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa mändi 'íwa mpalótəlle wáðər,*<sup>1</sup> *pláta l-wáðər mən-màθa.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'áyya lújna*  
*sáqela l-galliya,*<sup>1</sup> *m-táma kθàwela*<sup>1</sup> *mšaróyela kθàwa*<sup>1</sup> *bεθwáθət náše*<sup>1</sup> *'u-mo-t-itlèy.*<sup>1</sup>  
 (17) *'u-θéla gu-màθa.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-máθa θéla mṯéla l-be-'abðnəwa.*<sup>1</sup> *qáša Sérgun táməwa.*<sup>1</sup>  
*'áni 'u-qáša Sérgun wírra b-judàla.*<sup>1</sup> *mjuwəðdlun.*<sup>1</sup> *xáçca pyáša plíšlun,*<sup>1</sup> *'áni 'u-qáša.*<sup>1</sup>  
*kriḅlun mən-qáša*<sup>1</sup> *'u-pliḅlun.*<sup>1</sup> (18) *zillun bεθət múxtər.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-bεθət múxtər,*<sup>1</sup> *tíwla lújna,*<sup>1</sup>  
*mgubéla tḷà-náše xéne*<sup>1</sup> *'áp-'ani t-áwa mən-lújna*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-yáwi sahðùθa*<sup>1</sup> *mó-t-itla náše,*<sup>1</sup>  
*mò-t-liṯla*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-kəθwiley.*<sup>1</sup> *tíwla,*<sup>1</sup> *xabúše kúlla msujliley*<sup>1</sup> *'u-an-məndiyánət 'iθwaley,*<sup>1</sup>  
*b-sahðúθət múxtər 'u-d-àn-tre-yale,*<sup>1</sup> *Záyyəwa,*<sup>1</sup> *šamáša Záyya,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-Fuhàna*<sup>1</sup> *'áwəwa*  
*'ustáð Kənnə.*<sup>1</sup> *'ánna 'íwa mən-Derəgne.*<sup>1</sup> (19) *bàr*<sup>1</sup> *'arbá-sa'əte grišla,*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla máθa*  
*kθiwàla*<sup>1</sup> *'u-mo-t-iθwala*<sup>1</sup> *'u-mo-t-liθwalèy.*<sup>1</sup> *'ína léwa 'ax-t-íwa náše kθiwe.*<sup>1</sup> *'ána*  
*gárəg hawónəwa spəy zúze šqila,*<sup>1</sup> *taqríban 'o-biš-bašora 'ənənəwa šqila.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla-mdi*  
*t-ínəwa kθiwa šipəlla-w*<sup>1</sup> *šwiqəlla 'axčī xabúše,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'axčī 'anjəše.*<sup>1</sup> *'an-məndiyáne*  
*xəne,*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla šipəlla.*<sup>1</sup> (20) *'u-har-hádəx zliməlla kúlla nášət màθa.*<sup>1</sup> *bàte*<sup>1</sup> *'áxni qásra*  
*díyən mubnələn šétət xámši-w tḷàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xámši-w 'ərpa.*<sup>1</sup> *tré-šənnə bnáyəx 'ò-qašra,*<sup>1</sup>  
*b-é-dana d-é-ga t-íwa pála 'əmma,*<sup>1</sup> *'əmma-w xámši-fəlse.*<sup>1</sup> *kulífəle 'əllən šawwà-*  
*'əlpe dinár,*<sup>1</sup> *'ásita šáwəwa 'əlpe.*<sup>1</sup> (21) *yá'ni b-é-danət qəm-maqimilən,*<sup>1</sup> *lé mašətəwa*  
*banátwale 'o-béθa biš-bašóra mən-'əmma-w xámši 'əlpe dinár.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-madqərile külle*<sup>1</sup>  
*tḷáθa 'əlpe dinàre.*<sup>1</sup> *məri tḷa-d-ó rayəs-əllújna*<sup>1</sup> *məri 'ati tḷáθa 'əlpe dinàre*<sup>1</sup> *másət šáqlət*  
*ðá dəkəkána gu-Bàgdad?*<sup>1</sup> *'axčī t-yáwət sarqafliya díya?*<sup>1</sup>

(15) One Thursday in hot July  
 In Dure lightning and an earthquake struck  
 It was surrounded on every boundary  
 By the army of the tyrannical government

I am continuing with the poems, sixty-five poems.

(16) Then, after the village head gives the news to all the village, the people took out everything they could and went outside the village. The committee goes up the valley and from there they write, they begin to register the houses of the people and what they possess. (17) They then came to the village. They came to the village and went to what was the house of the bishop. The priest Sargun was there. These people and the priest Sargun entered into an argument. They argued. They and the priest almost had a fight. They were angry with the priest and went out. (18) They went to the house of the village head. The committee sat in the house of the village head and elected three other people to be members of the committee in order to give evidence regarding the possessions of the people<sup>1</sup> and to register them. They sat down and registered all the apple trees, and their possessions, with the testimony of the village head and the two youngsters, that is Zayya, the deacon Zayya, and Yuḥanna, the one (known as) the teacher Kenno.<sup>2</sup> These were from Dērəgne. (19) After four hours had gone by, they had registered the whole village and all their possessions. But it was not as those people wrote. I should have got a good sum of money, but it was I who received almost the least. They deleted everything that I had written. They left (in the register) only apple trees and only wild plum trees. They deleted all the other things. (20) They treated unjustly all the people of the village in the same way. As for houses, we had our villa built in the year fifty-three and fifty-four. We were building the villa for two years, in those days when a workman cost a hundred or a hundred and fifty fils. It cost us seven thousand dinars or six thousand. (21) At the time when they evacuated us, you could not build that house for less than one hundred and fifty thousand dinars. They valued it all as three thousand dinars. I said to the head of the committee, I said 'Can you buy a shop in Baghdad with three thousand dinars? Could you pay even its deposit?'

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: what the people had and what they did not have.

<sup>2</sup> Kenno is a hypocoristic form of Yuḥanna.

(22) *móre hàðá-huwa<sup>1</sup> báyyət báyyət.<sup>1</sup> là-bäyyət,<sup>1</sup> hóle Şaddám si-şki.<sup>1</sup> hàtxa móre.<sup>1</sup> xulàşa<sup>1</sup> kθiwela 'o-mdi-t-íla kθiwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-náşe plitela tíwe kúlla wáðər mən-màθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áθyela 'atnabèle<sup>1</sup> kúlla mən-d-ánnət 'àskar<sup>1</sup> píşe gu-dášta tàma.<sup>1</sup> (23) 'u-şwiqalla !là yománe táma,<sup>1</sup> t-là-xala,<sup>1</sup> t-là-štaya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-la-miyya.<sup>1</sup> yómət !làθa<sup>1</sup> tíwla gu- 'atnabèle,<sup>1</sup> qəm-nablálla !la-Batúfe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-píşla gu-d-é Batúfe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hadíya mburəbzela<sup>1</sup> Batúfe-ži şwiqalla<sup>1</sup> kút-xa hóle zíla b-xá-gərrət yəmmə.<sup>1</sup>*

(22) He said ‘That’s it (no more negotiations). If you want it, fine. If you do not want it, there is Saddam, go and complain (to him)’. That is what he said. In brief, they registered the property<sup>3</sup> and the people left and all sat outside of the village. Cars came, all of the military type, but they remained there in the fields. (23) They left them for three days there, without food, without drink and without water. On the third day they got into the cars and they took them to Batufe.<sup>4</sup> They stayed in Batufe. Now they are scattered. They left Batufe and every one went off empty handed.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: They wrote the thing that they wrote.

<sup>4</sup> A refugee camp near Zakho for Christians and Kurds.



B2 THE VILLAGE OF DURE (2)

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

- (1) máθət Düre<sup>1</sup> gu-Bárwər Bála<sup>1</sup> m-záwna qamáya 'íθwala<sup>1</sup> 'arbà 'umránē.<sup>1</sup> Mar-Qay-yòma<sup>1</sup> 'u-Mar-Gwərgəs<sup>1</sup> 'u-Mar-'Apìyus<sup>1</sup> 'u-Mat-Màryəm.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'íwawə gu-Düre.<sup>1</sup>  
 (2) 'u-Düre<sup>1</sup> píštela muqyàmta<sup>1</sup> muxràwta<sup>1</sup> šawwà gáye<sup>1</sup> l-xànpə<sup>1</sup> qaṭòle<sup>1</sup> t-mušəlmàne.<sup>1</sup> šétə tmànya<sup>1</sup> Šaddām Hüsén siqele<sup>1</sup> háttə l-'umránē-žigən<sup>1</sup> tlixəlla.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'íθwalən 'ùmra<sup>1</sup> Mar-Gwərgəs<sup>1</sup> 'ax-tré tabəqe<sup>1</sup> t-bàte<sup>1</sup> 'íθwabe yá'ni xàmšī, tmaní mètre t-awéwabe,<sup>1</sup> 'amma màtre<sup>1</sup> ramùbe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-réše diye<sup>1</sup> 'iwàwa<sup>1</sup> wíðta tla-pláša.<sup>1</sup> t-awríwa nàše<sup>1</sup> gáwa gáwət 'ùmra,<sup>1</sup> rəše,<sup>1</sup> xazíwala kùlla dukáne,<sup>1</sup> palšíwa.<sup>1</sup> (4) 'íθwale naxíra.<sup>1</sup> naxíra šálya müqábəl tər'a.<sup>1</sup> tára 'íθwa xa-képa gòra.<sup>1</sup> xa-náša trisa<sup>1</sup> là-aməšwa t-áwərwə gáwe diye,<sup>1</sup> 'álła kayəpwa hàtxa<sup>1</sup> t-awərwə gáwe diye.<sup>1</sup> (5) 'áp-'ay 'íθwa b-manày,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ax-t-ámri b-'árabi 'əhtərām,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xa-qàdra.<sup>1</sup> 'imət kayəpwa hàtxa<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-káyəp náša qam-málka,<sup>1</sup> hádax kayəpwa,<sup>1</sup> t-awərwə b-tárət 'ùmra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-tárət 'ùmra rəba zóra-wewa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-awðíwa gáwe diye šahàrta.<sup>1</sup> (6) 'íθwalən šawwá 'abòne<sup>1</sup> gu-máθa diym.<sup>1</sup> píšela mútte gu-Mar-Qayyóma kùlla gu-ðà qáwra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'imət síqle Šaddām,<sup>1</sup> háttə 'áp 'o-'úmra qəm-taləxle.<sup>1</sup> (7) 'u-b-xélat 'alàha,<sup>1</sup> har-Düre lè-'aθya l-manšóye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-har-bənyàla xá-gaya xéta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bnéla Mar-Gwərgəs.<sup>1</sup> 'u-síqla násət màθa<sup>1</sup> xá-gaya xéta rəba.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-xélat 'alàha b-t-àsqi<sup>1</sup> yóma tla-yóma t-óya biš-basímta.<sup>1</sup>  
 (8) šétət 'álpa-w 'əççá-mma-w 'arbàssər<sup>1</sup> 'imə t-wéle pláša<sup>1</sup> qamáya,<sup>1</sup> 'an-suráye t-wáwa gu-Türkiya<sup>1</sup> zilla l-'İrən.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-wáwa gu-'İraq zilla l-'İrən.<sup>1</sup> kùlla mṯéla tàma<sup>1</sup> mən-qúwwət... t-'urusnəye<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əngəznəye<sup>1</sup> 'u-faransəye,<sup>1</sup> mən-kùlla píšla tàma.<sup>1</sup>  
 (9) šétət 'álpa<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əççá-mma-w tmanəssər<sup>1</sup> dířra mən-'İrən.<sup>1</sup> 'əštássər b-tàmuz<sup>1</sup> dířra mən-'İrən<sup>1</sup> θéla gu-Baqùba.<sup>1</sup> píšla tre-šónne gu-Baqùba.<sup>1</sup> xàrθa<sup>1</sup> dířla síqela xá-gaya xéta l-maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup> síqle l-Türkiya.<sup>1</sup> (10) síqela l-màθa<sup>1</sup> 'əççī nàše,<sup>1</sup> 'əççī náfəre.<sup>1</sup> t-amrəxi nàše,<sup>1</sup> là 'áwà'əl.<sup>1</sup> 'əççī nàše.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'alàha yúwle zúryat gawèy<sup>1</sup> 'u-bréle díya b-xšáwəm biz-záwda mən-'əççá-mma 'álpa nàše.<sup>1</sup>

## B2 THE VILLAGE OF DURE (2)

Informant: Dawiḏ 'Adam (Dure)

(1) The village of Dure in Barwari Bala from ancient times had four churches, (those of) Saint Qayyoma, Saint George, Saint Apius and Saint Mary. These were in Dure. (2) Dure was evacuated and destroyed seven times by pagan murderers of Muslims. In the year (19)80, Ṣaddām Ḥusēn came up and destroyed even the churches. (3) We had the church of Saint George, which had what was similar to two floors of a house, that is it was in all fifty, eighty metres, even a hundred metres in height. (The area) on top of it was designed for war. People would enter into the church, (go up) on top of it, and they would see all places, when there was fighting. (4) It had a 'nose'.<sup>1</sup> (From) the nose one came down to opposite the door. The door consisted of a large stone. A large man could not enter through it, unless he stooped like this to enter. (5) This had a (symbolic) meaning, namely, as they say in Arabic, *'aḥtārām*, that is (to show) respect. When (a person) stooped like this, it was like a person bowing before a king. He would bow in the same way in order to enter the door of the church. The door of the church was very small. They would hold vigil in it (the church). (6) We had seven bishops in our village. They were all laid in one grave in (the church of) Saint Qayyoma. When Ṣaddām came up he destroyed even that church. (7) But, by the strength of God, Dure will never be forgotten. They have already built it again. They have rebuilt (the church of) Saint George. Many people of the village have gone up there again. By the strength of God they will (continue to) go up and it will become better from day to day.

(8) In the year 1914, when the First War began, the Christians who were in Turkey went to Iran. Those who were in Iraq went to Iran. They were forced to go there by the Russians, the English and the French, and (forced) by all of these (nations) to stay there. (9) In the year 1918 they returned from Iran. On the 16th of Tamuz (July) they returned from Iran and went to Baquba. They remained two years in Baquba. Then they went up and returned again to the villages. They went up to Turkey. (10) Ninety people went to the village (of Dure), ninety souls. We mean people, not families, ninety people. But God granted progeny among them and by now there have been born, I think, more than nine-hundred thousand people.

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<sup>1</sup> This was a projecting structure with a small orifice on the tower of the church.

B3 THE VILLAGE OF 'ĒN-NUNE (1)

Informant: Gwərgəs Bakus ('Ēn-Nune)

*The Location of 'Ēn-Nune*

(1) 'Ēn-Nūne<sup>1</sup> kúlla npiltela gu-xa... 'iθ turáne l-d-àw-geba<sup>1</sup> l-d-àw-geba.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-ila 'ída çäple<sup>1</sup> 'ila ba-ròža.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-ila 'ída yámne 'ila talána.<sup>1</sup> (2) talána yá'ni talána,<sup>1</sup> sab-šəmša 'é-gət maxyáwa<sup>1</sup> turáne 'àtxena wíye.<sup>1</sup> m-šəmša 'é-gət màxya<sup>1</sup> y-áwe tälla<sup>1</sup> ba-túra.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni le-hoyáwa šmša 'àyya,<sup>1</sup> hál palgət-yòma,<sup>1</sup> 'é-gət y-àθya,<sup>1</sup> màtya šmša,<sup>1</sup> 'é-gaya y-óya šmša l-talána.<sup>1</sup> qedámta hál bar-kawùtra<sup>1</sup> šmša y-óya bàθar túra,<sup>1</sup> fa-tälla háwe<sup>1</sup> qam-túra.<sup>1</sup> lè-y-hawe šmša.<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa talána.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'o-xéna 'úwa ba-ròža.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa l-d-é-paθa xèta,<sup>1</sup> l-'ída l-çäple.<sup>1</sup> qa-báθrən 'iθən 'an-turánət 'ína... turánə t-ína bēl-'Irāq 'u-Türkiya.<sup>1</sup> sab-bár 'Ēnə-Nūne,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni gārbiya,<sup>1</sup> liθ maθwáθa xène,<sup>1</sup> 'iθən 'an-turáne t-ila bēl-'Irāq 'u-Türkiya.<sup>1</sup> (4) m-hádəx 'Ēn-Nūne<sup>1</sup> qúrbewa mən-'Ašīθa.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga tajərúθa<sup>1</sup>... yá'ni mnáxət bābi haqəwa<sup>1</sup> qa-t-sáwi y-awúðwa tajarúθa<sup>1</sup> mən-'Ašīθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mán-'Ašīθa y-aθíwa tjarúθa y-oðíwa mən-Bārwe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-aθíwa.<sup>1</sup> fa-mnáxət sáwi<sup>1</sup> 'áwən 'iθwale rába yaθtáne,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni šaqlíwa y-awúwa tjarúθa m-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> (5) 'ína npiltela,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni Māye,<sup>1</sup> máθət Māye,<sup>1</sup> xárθa Derəške,<sup>1</sup> xárθa 'Ēn-Nūne,<sup>1</sup> 'u-Dūre,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'Íyyət,<sup>1</sup> 'u-Bəšmiyāye<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál t-ázət máθət hal-Žàwa.<sup>1</sup> (6) 'u-Žàwa y-azəxwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-txàrən<sup>1</sup> 'asqəxwa<sup>1</sup> m-Bágdad táma l-máθa 'Ēn-Nūne,<sup>1</sup> 'asqəxwa mārə Žàwa.<sup>1</sup> šaqləxwa xa-'ərba mǝnnən,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'urxa-'urxa,<sup>1</sup>... 'u-ə-parməxwale har-táma l-márə Žàwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-oðəxwa nūra.<sup>1</sup> mtaəwəxwale táma.<sup>1</sup> (7) 'u-nabləxwa štəθa mǝnnən.<sup>1</sup> mən-qedámta<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál sa'at-sáwwa 'ašrta<sup>1</sup> yan-tmānya<sup>1</sup> y-awəxwa tíwe tāmā,<sup>1</sup> klíθa b-qəšəwa,<sup>1</sup> šmša ganyáwa,<sup>1</sup> xárθa deřəxwa xá-ga xèta.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni nabləxwa mǝnnən duzúθa štəθa-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-mtaəwəθət bəsrā.<sup>1</sup> 'ərba har-mən-táma b-'urxa<sup>1</sup> 'i-šaqləxwale.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ə-parməxwale tāmā<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-attəxwa<sup>1</sup> xamləxwa<sup>1</sup> msaxəxwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-raqðəxwa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni rába xayúθa basiməwa.<sup>1</sup>

### B3 THE VILLAGE OF ʿĒN-NUNE (1)

Informant: Gwərgəs Bakus (ʿĒn-Nune)

#### *The Location of ʿĒn-Nune*

(1) ʿĒn-Nune is situated in—there are mountains on one side and on the other. The ones on the left are (known as) *ba-roža* (‘in the sun’). The ones on the right are (known as) *ṭalana*. (2) (The word) *ṭalana* means ‘shady’, since when the sun rose, the mountains became like that. When the sun shone, there was shade on the mountains. That is, there was no sun, until midday, when the sun would reach (it). Then there was sun on the *ṭalana* (mountain). In the morning, until after lunch, the sun was behind the mountain and there was shade at the front of the mountain. There was no sun. So they called it *ṭalana* (‘shady’). (3) The other was *ba-roža* (‘in the sun’). That was on the other side, on the lefthand side. Behind us there are the mountains that are between Iraq and Turkey. This is because behind ʿĒn-Nune, that is to the North, there are not any other villages, but there are the mountains that are between Iraq and Turkey. (4) So ʿĒn-Nune was close to Ashitha. (There was) trade...my father, may he rest in peace, used to tell how my grandfather would conduct trade with Ashitha. From Ashitha people came and conducted trade with Barwar, then returned. My late grandfather had many customers, that is they plied a trade together. (5) It is situated—that is Maye, the village of Maye, then Dərəške, then ʿĒn-Nune, then Dure, then Iyyət and Bəšmiyaye until you reach the Zab. (6) We used to go to the Zab. I remember when we went up from Baghdad to the village of ʿĒn-Nune, we would go up to the banks of the Zab. We would take a sheep with us and slaughter it there, on the trip, on the banks of the Zab. We would make a fire and roast it there. (7) We would take drink with us. From morning until seven or eight in the evening we sat there—it depended on the summer—the sun would set and then we would return again (to ʿĒn-Nune). We indeed took drink with us and roasted meat. We took the sheep from (somewhere) there on the way. We would slaughter it there. We would sit, make merry, swim and dance. Life was very enjoyable.

*The Name 'En-Nune*

GK: *mən-<sup>2</sup>ékele 'áθya šámmat 'En-Nùne?*<sup>21</sup>

(8) *duzúθa 'ána xəzyen<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī 'ána təxrúnya diy<sup>1</sup> xəzyen nune zòre.<sup>1</sup> lán-xəzya nune gòre.<sup>1</sup> bálki t-m-qam-mənnən<sup>1</sup> sab-<sup>2</sup>é-ga néra ràβεwa.<sup>1</sup> néra<sup>1</sup> rába ràβεwa.<sup>1</sup> (9) 'ánna šənne xaráyε šúryela bšára 'əb-nera,<sup>1</sup> míya bšára gu-néra.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni maṭíwa xá-xa-gaya b-qəṭa<sup>1</sup> náša jawíjwa gawe-gawe-díye<sup>1</sup> paláṭwa m-d-é-paθa xəta.<sup>1</sup> 'ína qámθa y-amrúwa<sup>1</sup> t-náše xáčča 'aqley jriṭṭela<sup>1</sup> npílela-w néra nùballe<sup>1</sup> 'u-míθela gu-néra yá'ni,<sup>1</sup> xniqela,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-íwa míya rába.<sup>1</sup> (10) yá'ni qámθa bálki t-palṭíwa 'arbà-metre,<sup>1</sup> xamšà-metre paláṭwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni b-səṭwa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni néra hátxa míya ràβεwa.<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>2</sup>áxnən m-zorúθa diyən<sup>1</sup> təxrúnyə diyən,<sup>1</sup> ləx-xəzye nune góre.<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī xəzyewəx nune zòre.<sup>1</sup> (11) 'u-qa-módi y-amrúla 'ənət nune?<sup>21</sup> duzúθa,<sup>1</sup> ləx-ḏaya qa-mòdi.<sup>1</sup> bálki t-qámθa 'íθwa nune gáwa díya góre.<sup>1</sup>*

*The Origin of the Family of Hədo*

(12) *'áxnən<sup>1</sup> m-əkewəx 'áθye?<sup>21</sup> 'áxnən be-Hədo,<sup>1</sup> 'áxnən 'íθyewəx mən-Ṭyáre !əθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ániwa šawwá xonāwáθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya p-aqənna 'állux<sup>1</sup> bálki t-lat-šəmyalla.<sup>1</sup> (13) šawwá xonāwáθewa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalu qənyáne,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalun xa-xáθa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalun xa-xáθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna zílewa zráya,<sup>1</sup> θéla qurḏáye,<sup>1</sup> 'ε-máθa t-íwa dápna diyèy.<sup>1</sup> mxéla l-b-éθa diyèy<sup>1</sup> 'u-quzdərra b-xaθèy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áni ləwa táma.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'é-gə θèley,<sup>1</sup> zílla l-d-é-maθa qurḏáye<sup>1</sup> qənyánə díya qəm-šaqlíla,<sup>1</sup> kúlla qənyánə díya.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna zílla l-d-é-maθa qurḏáye<sup>1</sup> 'u-plíšla mənney<sup>1</sup> 'u-qənyánə díya qəm-šaqlíla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šqílla toléy xa-b-əšra.<sup>1</sup> (15) 'áxcī mò móra?<sup>21</sup> móra láš-maşəx xáyəx ləxxa,<sup>1</sup> sab-qurḏáye kút-yom t-áwa gu-réšən mxáyəllən.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kút-yom t-áθi masqəḏíln.<sup>1</sup> fa-qímila šqílla ganèy.<sup>1</sup> (16) dawérə diyèy,<sup>1</sup> nálət 'áqla dawérə<sup>1</sup> prizléle.<sup>1</sup> qəm-mattíla bə-l-əkəs.<sup>1</sup> qəm-<sup>2</sup>asrúla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-plíṭley mən-tàma<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lè-y-yādi 'an-qurḏáye l-<sup>2</sup>əkela zíle.<sup>1</sup> (17) 'ánna šáwwa xonāwáθa<sup>1</sup> 'áθyela xá-d-anna tíwa gu-Bàrwəx<sup>1</sup> xá-d-anna tíwele gu-<sup>2</sup>Álquš.<sup>1</sup> xá-d-anna tíwele gu-<sup>2</sup>Arádən.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni burbázzele kúlla dukáne<sup>1</sup> 'ánna šáwwa xonawáθa.<sup>1</sup> (18) hálbat,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya haqóyəx bálki t-xamš-əmmà-šənne m-qam-hadíya.<sup>1</sup> bálki t-'arb-əmma xamš-əmmà-šənne.<sup>1</sup> 'up-gu-<sup>2</sup>Arádən 'ítlən xóna<sup>1</sup> be-Hədo.<sup>1</sup> 'u-gu-<sup>2</sup>Álquš 'ítlən xóna be-Hədo.<sup>1</sup>*

*The Name 'En-Nune*

GK: Where did the name 'En-Nune originate from?

(8) In truth I have seen, as far as I remember, only small fish. I have not seen large fish. Perhaps before our time, since once the river was large. The river was large. (9) In recent years the water has begun to diminish in the river. Sometimes in summer a person could walk in it and come out the other side. But formerly they used to say that if the foot of people slipped a little, they would fall and the river would carry them away and they would die in the river, drown, so abundant was the water. (10) Formerly perhaps it was four metres, or five metres (deep), in winter. That is the river was as large as that. But we, when we were young, as far as I remember, we did not see large fish. We only saw small fish. (11) Why do they call it 'Spring of fishes' ('En-Nune). In truth, I do not know why. Perhaps formerly there were large fish in it.

*The Origin of the Family of Hedo*

(12) Where did we come from? We, the family of Hedo, came from Upper Tiyare. They were seven brothers. I shall tell you this (story), perhaps you have not heard it. (13) They were seven brothers. They had domestic animals. They had a sister. They had a sister. When they went to cultivate (in the fields), Kurds came, from the village that was adjacent to them. They attacked their house and seized their sister while they were not there. (14) When they came back, they went to that village of the Kurds. They took their animals, all of their animals. They went to that village of the Kurds, fought with them and took their animals. They took their revenge ten times over. (15) But what did they say? They said 'We cannot live here any more, since the Kurds will be upon us every day, attacking us and they will come every day to harry us'. So, they took themselves off. (16) Their mules—the shoe of their mules' feet was made of iron. They put it on backwards. They tied them (the shoes) on and set off from there, so that the Kurds would not know where they had gone. (17) The seven brothers, one of them came and settled in Barwar. One of them settled in Alqosh. One of them settled in Aradon. That is these seven brothers were dispersed to all places. (18) Of course we are talking about something (that happened) perhaps five hundred years ago. Perhaps four hundred, five hundred years ago. We also have a brother in Aradon, from the family of Hedo, and in Alqosh we have a brother from the family of Hedo.

*The Church of Saint Sawa*

(19) 'úmra 'atíqa t-Màr-Sawa,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa píšele bányá qúrbə qam-šaww-ámma xámšī  
 tmany-əmmà-šənnə.<sup>1</sup> 'u-báθrə 'úmra<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa dúkθət xaméθət 'anìðe.<sup>1</sup> (20) 'u-hadíya  
 zilwàli<sup>1</sup> xzéwali qá-t 'o-'úmra tlixele kúlla.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-dúkθət māməðüwalən,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-xa-bányo  
 zòra,<sup>1</sup> 'átxa gu-<sup>2</sup>úpra nqíra,<sup>1</sup> kúllən tàmeɞwəx mǔmáðe t-úwəx bórye,<sup>1</sup> 'áwən píšewa.<sup>1</sup>  
 (21) fa-šqilli šəkla díya,<sup>1</sup> 'ε-dúkθə t-íxwa mǔmáðe,<sup>1</sup> hálbət sawāwáθən t-qámθa kúlla  
 tàmeɞwa mǔmáðe.<sup>1</sup> 'áy ləwa pqiθa.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga t-úwa mǔqalle 'úmra,<sup>1</sup> 'ay-píšewa tàma.<sup>1</sup>  
 (22) hadíya 'ε-dúkθa<sup>1</sup> wéla wíðəlla xa-šúra,<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī báyi 'oðíla<sup>1</sup> xa-šúra biš-góra<sup>1</sup>  
 qa-t-<sup>2</sup>é-dukθə t-íla pyàša<sup>1</sup> m-<sup>2</sup>úmra<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>é-dukθət bεθ-qorayàθa<sup>1</sup> 'áni kúlla bt-oðíla  
 xa-šúra góra qá-t...<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī b-šoqíla tàma<sup>1</sup> qa-násət 'áθi qa-t-zɞyára 'oðíləy.<sup>1</sup> (23)  
 'ína 'úmra xáθət Mar-Sàwa<sup>1</sup> bánye le là b-dúkθə díya hadíya.<sup>1</sup> 'ùl!lul mánne díye<sup>1</sup>  
 píšele bányá xa-<sup>2</sup>úmra xàθa.<sup>1</sup>

*The Church of Saint Sawa*

(19) The old church of Saint Sawa was built about seven hundred and fifty or eight hundred years ago. Behind the church there was a place for burying the deceased. (20) Recently I went and saw that the church was completely destroyed. The place in which they used to baptize us, like a small bath, dug into the earth, where all of us who were born were baptized—that has survived. (21) I took a photograph of it. That place where we were baptized, of course all our ancestors were baptized there. That was not blown up. When they blew up the church, that remained. (22) Now as for that place, they made a fence for it, but they want to make a bigger fence for it, for that place that remains from the church, and that cemetery. They will make a large fence for all of these, but they will leave them there so that people can make a pilgrimage to them. (23) But the new church of Saint Sawa has not been built now in its (original) place. A new church has been built above it.



B4 THE VILLAGE OF ʔEN-NUNE

Informant: Nanəs Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) ʔEn-Nüne<sup>1</sup> hóla npíлта gu-ʔáθrət Bārɔwər<sup>1</sup> l-qúrbət húdúd Túrkiya,<sup>1</sup> bēn-trè turáne.<sup>1</sup> m-qámθa díya tūrɛle<sup>1</sup> m-báθra díya tūrɛle,<sup>1</sup> turáne ramàne.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáyya dúkθa t-íla tíwta ʔEn-Nüne<sup>1</sup> mən-kúl goyáθa díya,<sup>1</sup> mən-kúl gebàne,<sup>1</sup> ʔiθ xa-dášta<sup>1</sup> mqušàmta<sup>1</sup> xaqlàθa t-ámrx.<sup>1</sup> (2) kút-naša gu-ʔEn-Nüne ʔitle xaqlàθa,<sup>1</sup> b-zārela<sup>1</sup> zrùta,<sup>1</sup> ʔən-t-awódla bustàne,<sup>1</sup> ʔən-t-awódle kù-mdi-t báye.<sup>1</sup> málkət gáne diyela.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya máθa ʔEn-Nünela.<sup>1</sup> (3) ʔu-m-èkela θiθa máθət ʔEn-Nüne?<sup>1</sup> ʔax-ʔáxni šáməx,<sup>1</sup> ʔax-ʔáxni zóre t-ix-šmíye,<sup>1</sup> mášəx t-ámrx<sup>1</sup> mən-hál tré-mma šənnə.<sup>1</sup> mən-hál tré-mma šənnə,<sup>1</sup> yáʔni qám tré-mma šənnə,<sup>1</sup> bálki bi-zàwəda,<sup>1</sup> ʔána mášəx t-ámrxən hal-tré-mma-w xamši-šənnə nāš-díyən mtúnyela màθowa ʔEn-Nüne.<sup>1</sup> (4) ʔEn-Nüne ʔiθwa xákma bàte,<sup>1</sup> bašóre gu-ʔEn-Nüne,<sup>1</sup> mən-náše t-wéwa<sup>1</sup> gu-turáne,<sup>1</sup> b-pláxa qa-xayuthə,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-xəyüwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáxni t-ixwa gu-turáne<sup>1</sup> ʔiwəxwa<sup>1</sup> ʔan-nàše<sup>1</sup> t-ʔaθoràye<sup>1</sup> t-íwa gu-Bàbəl<sup>1</sup> qādīm.<sup>1</sup> (5) ʔu-m-bar-t-íwa npíлта Bábəl,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-dukánət ʔaθoràye ʔax-Móšul Nínwe,<sup>1</sup> w-áx-Nəmruð,<sup>1</sup> w-ax-d-ánna dukáne t-wéwa ʔáθə<sup>1</sup> diyèni, kúlla mpurpəssela<sup>1</sup> bíyət plàše,<sup>1</sup> bíyət malkuwáθət θéla qəm-maxíla<sup>1</sup> ʔaθuràye gu-Nínwe.<sup>1</sup> fa-ʔáxni<sup>1</sup> ríqəx u-gu-turáne mʔúšye qam-zhúmya-w qəʔla,<sup>1</sup> fa-qímlən mkawóne gánən gu-maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup> (6) fa-ʔEn-Nüne<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa<sup>1</sup> qam-tré-mma xámši šənnə<sup>1</sup> xákma ʔáwəʔəl,<sup>1</sup> xákma náše,<sup>1</sup> xákma t-amréxi tíwe táma.<sup>1</sup> lé-y-mašəx ʔámrxən yáʔni,<sup>1</sup> lé-y-yáðən b-ðəbət.<sup>1</sup> líθwa tarìx.<sup>1</sup> líθwa kθáwta ʔè-ga.<sup>1</sup> ʔiwéwa náše jmíye m-éka-w m-éka-w m-éka.<sup>1</sup> (7) xákma ʔášəʔər,<sup>1</sup> xákma ʔáwəʔəl<sup>1</sup> tíwewa gu-ʔEn-Nüne.<sup>1</sup> ʔášira díyi t-ámrx<sup>1</sup> ʔána,<sup>1</sup> ʔáxni y-amrílən be-Hèdo ʔáxni,<sup>1</sup> ʔáxni ʔəθyewəx mən-Tyàre,<sup>1</sup> mən-Túrkiya.<sup>1</sup> ʔáxni ʔəθyewəx màθo:<sup>1</sup> mtanüwa<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa šawwà xonāwáθa gu-xá-maθa gu-Túrkiya<sup>1</sup> y-amrúwala ʔAspistən.<sup>1</sup> ʔay-máθət ʔAspistən,<sup>1</sup> fa-čənnəkeréy kúlla qurðàyewa,<sup>1</sup> mšəlmànewa.<sup>1</sup> (8) ʔan-šawwá xonāwáθa ʔiθwala xà xáθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔó górxət mušəlmàne,<sup>1</sup> šəx t-ámrx,<sup>1</sup> góra,<sup>1</sup> xa-šáb-wewa zòra.<sup>1</sup> w-ay-bráta xàmθewa.<sup>1</sup> mírəlla gawrənnə ʔay-krəstyànta.<sup>1</sup> gawrənnə.<sup>1</sup> θéle ʔlábəlla m-xonāwáθa díya<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> ʔay-bráta hallüla-lli.<sup>1</sup>

#### B4 THE VILLAGE OF ʿĒN-NUNE

Informant: Nanəs Bənyamən (ʿĒn-Nune)

(1) ʿĒn-Nune lies in the land of Barwar near to the border of Turkey, between two mountains. In front of it there is a mountain and behind it there is a mountain, high mountains. On all sides of the place where ʿĒn-Nune is situated there is a plain divided into let's say fields. (2) Everybody in ʿĒn-Nune has fields, which he cultivates, or he makes into an orchard or whatever he wants. They were his property. This was the village of ʿĒn-Nune. (3) What is the origin of the village of ʿĒn-Nune?<sup>1</sup> According to what we have heard, according to what we heard when we were young, we can say that, from as many as two hundred years, that is two hundred years ago, perhaps more—I can say that our folk have told how ʿĒn-Nune dates from up to two hundred and fifty years ago. (4) In ʿĒn-Nune there were a few houses, only a small number in ʿĒn-Nune, belonging to people who were in the mountains, working for their livelihood, so that they could live. We who were in the mountains were the Assyrian people who were in Babylon of old. (5) After Babylon fell, the places of the Assyrians like Moşul (i.e.) Nineveh, like Nimrud, and the places that were our land, were all scattered by wars and by kingdoms that came and attacked the Assyrians of Nineveh. So we fled and hid in the mountains from tyranny and slaughter, and began to form ourselves into villages. (6) Now, ʿĒn-Nune two hundred and fifty years ago consisted of only a few families, a few people. Only a few had settled there. I cannot say, I do not know exactly, since there was no history. There was no writing at that time (stating) from where the people had come. (7) A few tribes, a few families settled in ʿĒn-Nune. We call my tribe—we are called the house of Hədo. We came from Țiyare, from Turkey. How did we come? They used to relate that there were seven brothers in a village in Turkey called Āspistən.<sup>2</sup> Everybody around this village of Āspistən were Kurds, were Muslims. (8) These seven brothers had a sister. The leader of the Muslims, we say sheikh, the leader, was a young man. The girl was beautiful. He said to them 'I shall marry that Christian girl. I shall marry her'. He came to ask her hand from her brothers. He said 'Give that girl to me'.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: From where has the village of ʿĒn-Nune come?

<sup>2</sup> This name is likely to be a corruption of Sarəspīðo or Sarəspīðon, a village in Upper Țiyare.

(9) *w-áxni liθ gu-šárət diyən<sup>1</sup> bràta<sup>1</sup> krástyànta<sup>1</sup> gáwra mušəlmàna.<sup>1</sup> liθwa gu-šárət diyən<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hal-hadiya liθ.<sup>1</sup> fa-módi wíðe ʔàni.<sup>2</sup> xəzyəlle raba ʔéba<sup>1</sup> ðà xáθa ʔúley<sup>1</sup> yawíla qa-t-ʔáwəwa mīra,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-ʔáwəwa mušəlmàna,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-ʔáwəwa šəx.<sup>1</sup> mòdi-la wíðe.<sup>2</sup>*  
 (10) *mírəlle ʔáθət təmməl<sup>1</sup> l-xòðux,<sup>1</sup> w-áxni b-yawəxlux xàbra.<sup>1</sup> la-méθət náše mən-nux.<sup>1</sup> w-áxni ʔébele náše<sup>1</sup> w-áti mušəlmànəwət<sup>1</sup> ʔáxni krástyàne-wəx.<sup>1</sup> ʔébele.<sup>1</sup> ʔáxni təmməl t-amrəxlux b-yawəxla xáθən ʔəllux.<sup>1</sup>* (11) *ʔáw ʔíθwa náše mənne,<sup>1</sup> çənnəçeréy ʔàskar<sup>1</sup> ʔu-lan-ðàya mó,<sup>1</sup> mazdōyalley.<sup>1</sup> ʔáni módi wíðe.<sup>2</sup> mútte xətta<sup>1</sup> mīrela<sup>1</sup> ʔáxni b-qaṭləxle ʔu-bṭ-árqəx b-ləle.<sup>1</sup>* (12) *ʔánna mòdiwa.<sup>2</sup> šuləy<sup>1</sup> ʔi-maxíwa prəzla<sup>1</sup> xo-ʔáqlət kodənyàθa,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxle mnawòle,<sup>1</sup> nawóle dawère.<sup>1</sup> le-y-máxi prəzla l-ʔáqlət dawère,<sup>1</sup> kodənyàθa.<sup>2</sup> ʔáni šuləy ʔawəwəwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔíθwala—haddād-íwa<sup>1</sup> haddād-xána tàma.<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše məθíwa dawère táma mnalíwala.<sup>1</sup>* (13) *ʔánna módi wíðe.<sup>2</sup> b-ləle<sup>1</sup> ʔitwaley ʔásta šáwəwa dawère,<sup>1</sup> kúlla mnúle l-xərxəθ,<sup>1</sup> yáni léla máxyəlla drəst.<sup>1</sup> nále l-kodənyəθéy máxyəlla bə-l-maqlúb.<sup>1</sup> yáni kodənta ʔən-ʔáza hətxa,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔən-ʔáza b-ʔúrxa dīya<sup>1</sup> ʔáy t-ámrat hətxele zílta.<sup>1</sup> ʔáni wíðəlla hətxa.<sup>1</sup>* (14) *dórda yóma ʔaw-ʔəθyēle.<sup>1</sup> dax-t-íle-wira gu-bəθey<sup>1</sup> dwiqəlle<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qṭiləlle.<sup>1</sup> qṭiləlle ʔo-míra ʔaxa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-gríšəlle zədyəlle gu-manzaləy.<sup>1</sup> mṭúšyəlle tàma.<sup>1</sup>* (15) *ʔu-mándi-t bəθəy<sup>1</sup> kúlla dóryəlla xásət dawèrey<sup>1</sup> ʔu-plítela riqe.<sup>1</sup> riqela<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔəθyela<sup>1</sup> mən-d-ə-máθət ʔəspístən,<sup>1</sup> gáwa gáwa Ṭyáre ləθa-w<sup>1</sup> Ṭyáre xtəθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-b-ləle-w<sup>1</sup> b-yòma<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ríqe-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ríqe-w<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ríqe.<sup>1</sup> ʔəθyela<sup>1</sup> mšúryela táwa gu-maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup> ləla-tawa m-gðáðe,<sup>1</sup> šáwəwa xonəwàθa-wəwə.<sup>1</sup>* (16) *xa-tíwəle gu-Màye,<sup>1</sup> xa-tíwəle gu-Derəške,<sup>1</sup> xa-tíwəle gu-ʔEn-Nùne,<sup>1</sup> xa-tíwəle gu-ʔArəðən,<sup>1</sup> xa-tíwəle gu-ʔÁlquš,<sup>1</sup> ... xa-gu-ʔAšíθa,<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔAšíθa tíwəle xá.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mónna píša b-ðà-dukθa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xaθéy-zi mṭúšyəlla.<sup>1</sup>* (17) *ʔáxni yáni ʔána ʔašírə díyi be-Hédo θíθela mən-ʔəspístən tíwta gu-ʔEn-Nùne.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáyya ləwa raba m-jálde,<sup>1</sup> bálki t-àwya<sup>1</sup> ʔəmma-w xámšī šənne hətxa.<sup>1</sup> qam-ʔəmma-w xámšī šənne.<sup>1</sup>* (18) *fa-ʔána yómmi mtan-yàwa<sup>1</sup> y-amráwa ʔúmra diyən Mar-Sàwa<sup>1</sup> qəm-banile<sup>1</sup> m-bar-t-íwa ʔan-díyən ʔəθyē tíwə gu-ʔEn-Nùne.<sup>1</sup> yáni ʔánna nášən t-ʔəspístən θéla tíwta gu-ʔEn-Nùne<sup>1</sup> mšoréla bnàya<sup>1</sup> ʔúmrət Mar-Sàwa.<sup>1</sup>*

(9) But it is not our custom that a Christian girl marries a Muslim. It was not our custom and is not so until now. So what did they do? They regarded it as very shameful to give their only sister to this amir, to this Muslim, to this sheikh. What did they do? (10) They said to him ‘Come tomorrow by yourself and we shall let you know. Do not bring people with you. It is shameful for us (to have) people (come) when you are Muslim and we are Christian. It is shameful. Tomorrow we shall tell you and we shall give you our sister’. (11) There were people with him. Around them there was an army and I don’t know what, frightening them. What did they do? They made a plan. They said ‘We shall kill him and flee in the night’. (12) What was their profession? They put metal (shoes) on the feet of mules, we say shoeing, shoeing of mules. People put metal on the feet of mules, don’t they? This was their profession. They were blacksmiths, they had a blacksmiths’ shop there. Everybody brought mules there for them to shoe. (13) What did they do? At night they had six or seven mules, all shoed backwards, that is they were not put on straight. They put on the shoes of their mules back to front. That is, if a mule walks like this, if it walks on its way, you would say that it has gone like that.<sup>3</sup> They made them like that. (14) The next day he came. When he came into their house, they seized him and killed him. They killed that aghah, that amir, and dragged him and threw him into a room (in) their (house). They hid him there. (15) They put all their household goods on the back of their mules and fled. They fled from that village of Æspistǫn, through Upper Țiyare and Lower Țiyare, they fled night and day. They came and settled in villages. They did not settle together. They were seven brothers. (16) One settled in Maye. One settled in Dērǫške. One settled in ʾĒn-Nune. One settled in Araðǫn. One settled in Alqoš. One in Ašǫθa, one settled in Ašǫθa. Each of them stayed in a (different) place and they hid their sister. (17) We—that is my tribe, the house of Hǫdo, came from Æspistǫn and settled in ʾĒn-Nune. This was not very recently, perhaps it was something like a hundred and fifty years, a hundred and fifty years ago. (18) My mother used to relate that our church, Saint Sawa, was built after those people of ours settled in ʾĒn-Nune. That is, when those people of ours from Æspistǫn came and settled in ʾĒn-Nune, they started to build the church of Saint Sawa.

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<sup>3</sup> I.e. in the other direction.

B5 LIFE IN 'ĒN-NUNE (1)

Informant: Dawið Bakus ('Ēn-Nune)

*Weddings*

(1) 'áxni qàmθa<sup>1</sup> gu-maθwàθa,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən 'urxáθət g'ánən,<sup>1</sup> dák mǎθǎlan y-oðáxwa xlulàne.<sup>1</sup> šùraye<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa,<sup>1</sup> nášət xátna y-azíwa<sup>1</sup> l-bēθ-be-k'òlo.<sup>1</sup> níxa níxa<sup>1</sup> mašméwala bónta qamàye<sup>1</sup> 'i-mašmèwala<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa 'áxni bǎyax<sup>1</sup> ʔalbáxxa bratèxu<sup>1</sup> qa-d-ó bronèni.<sup>1</sup> y-ámri b-xàzexi.<sup>1</sup> (2) tà-ma?<sup>2</sup> qàmθa<sup>1</sup> líθwa qá-t mbaqríwa bràta.<sup>1</sup> bábat bràta<sup>1</sup> xazéwa yámmət bràta<sup>1</sup> xazéwa gòðàðe 'àni,<sup>1</sup> gayət-tré mádre y-azíwa<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa mù wiðlèxu?<sup>2</sup> hal-lèka yá'ni<sup>1</sup> xəyálexu mù-qʔila?<sup>2</sup> yá'ni razítu 'ən-la?<sup>2</sup> (3) y-oráwa šaqláwa dàna<sup>1</sup> rába gəy<sup>1</sup> 'əštà yarxé<sup>1</sup> xamšà yarxé<sup>1</sup> biz-zàwda.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni béna xáčča zàmət 'iyáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-də-trè<sup>1</sup> le-y-yawíwa mən-'ójəx l-'ójəx.<sup>1</sup> ham-kút-xa 'ójəx g'áne qamáye,<sup>1</sup> kóma mašíwa<sup>1</sup> 'a-bràta<sup>1</sup> yawíwala ʔla-'ójəx g'ána.<sup>1</sup> fa-hal-hádəx šaqláwa dàna.<sup>1</sup> (4) bár hādəx<sup>1</sup> 'ín qǎʔíwa xəyalèy<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa 'áxni ràziyəx.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa tré našè<sup>1</sup> mən-bēθ-xətna,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa be-k'òlo.<sup>1</sup> y-atwíwa<sup>1</sup> mšawθíwa,<sup>1</sup> xamlíwa.<sup>1</sup> dəryəxxa g'ánən gu-beθèxu.<sup>1</sup> bǎyax ʔ-óðəx xəzmayúθa mənnèxu.<sup>1</sup> rába b-xáðexi qá-t mxaθəxθáxxa xəzmayúθa.<sup>1</sup> (5) bálki qam-dána háwa wíye xázme m-gòðàðe.<sup>1</sup> fa-mbáqri gòðàðe<sup>1</sup> ʔ-ámri hé 'áxni ràziwəx.<sup>1</sup> qemíwa dàna,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa nišanqe.<sup>1</sup> nišanqe mòdila?<sup>2</sup> yá'ni xà,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-ʔ-ámri,<sup>1</sup> 'ída hāmànta,<sup>1</sup> 'ída hāmànta<sup>1</sup> mattíwa kóma... zùze.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga zúze başòrewa.<sup>1</sup>

*Weddings*

(1) In the old days we in the villages used to have our own ways (of doing things), like, for example, the way we used to hold weddings. First of all we would go, the family of the groom would go to the house of the bride's family. They would first politely make an announcement to them saying 'We want to ask (for the hand of) your daughter for our son.' They would say 'We shall see'. (2) Why (did they do this)? In the old days it was not the practice to ask the girl. The father of the girl would see the mother of the girl, they (both parties) would see each other. Again they (the family of the boy) would go and say 'What have you decided?'<sup>1</sup> How far (have you got with your thoughts)?<sup>2</sup> That is 'What decision have you made?'<sup>2</sup> Do you agree or not?' (3) It would take time. Often it would take almost five or six months or more. In those days it was rather difficult. Moreover they did not give (brides) from one tribe to another. Everybody used to have his own tribe and as far as possible they would give the girl (in marriage) to (somebody in) her own tribe. So, it took time for such (arrangements to be made). (4) Afterwards, if they had made a decision, they would say 'We agree'. Two people from the family of the groom would go to the family of the bride. They would sit, talk and enjoy themselves. 'With great respect (we announce to you) that we want to form a family relationship with you.' (Or they would say) 'We would be very happy to renew the family relationship.' (5) Perhaps previously they had become relatives of one another. They would ask each other and would say 'Yes we agree'. After some time they would deposit tokens (of betrothal). What are these tokens? This is what is called 'a trusted hand', 'a trusted hand'.<sup>3</sup> They would deposit some money. At that time money was in short supply.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: What have you done?

<sup>2</sup> Literally: What have your thoughts cut?

<sup>3</sup> I.e. a deposit.

(6) *mattüwa*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrx* *xá xámša* *dinàre*<sup>1</sup> *'ən-hàtxa mándi*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* *'ax-mšèθa*,<sup>1</sup> *líθm*.<sup>2</sup> *péši* *nšānqa*.<sup>1</sup> *y-oráwa* *xa-dána* *biš-hòdæx*,<sup>1</sup> *xákma* *yàrx*.<sup>1</sup> *y-óra* *xákma* *yàrx*,<sup>1</sup> *béna* *m-táma* *hòdæx*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri* *t-odéxi* *talòbe*.<sup>1</sup> *'áw**wa* *'íla* *flàbta*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* *'íða* *hámánta* *doqùwala*,<sup>1</sup> *xárθa* *béna* *y-azíwa* *talòbe*.<sup>1</sup>

(7) *talòbe*,<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwa* *mexòlta*.<sup>1</sup> *'á* *mexòlta* *násæt* *k'álo* *y-odíwala*.<sup>1</sup> *'áni* *táma* *mrazgíwa* *mexòlta*,<sup>1</sup> *'ítlən* *mexolyàθa*...<sup>1</sup> *meθéwa* *xá-'ərbət* *xwàre* *y-amrúxwa*,<sup>1</sup> *'ərbət* *xwàre*.<sup>1</sup> *'íθ-'ərbət* *xwàre*,<sup>1</sup> *'ərbət* *kòme*.<sup>1</sup> *'ərbət* *xwàre* *permüwale-u*<sup>1</sup> *'ərbət* *kòme*...<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwa* *básra* *mbslíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *béna* *bslíwa* *rəzza*.<sup>1</sup> *qawürma* *y-amrile*.<sup>1</sup> *'áw**wa* *rəzza-w*<sup>1</sup> *déré* *básra* *gáwe* *díye*,<sup>1</sup> *'áw**wa* *y-ámri* *qawürma*.<sup>1</sup> (8) *'u-y-azíwa* *táma*,<sup>1</sup> *'o-yóma* *qátiwa* *nəqda*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* *béna* *y-atwíwa-w*,<sup>1</sup> *mšawθíwa-w*<sup>1</sup> *bánta* *qamáye* *mšeríwa* *ya'ni*,<sup>1</sup> *'ax-t-ámrx* *mazyátta*.<sup>1</sup> *t-amérwa* *qamáye*,<sup>1</sup> *'é-ga* *nəqda* *xànči* *y-awéwa*,<sup>1</sup> *mən-'asrí* *dinàre* *hal-tlāθi*,<sup>1</sup> *bálki* *xámši*,<sup>1</sup> *kliθéla* *'ahwáltət* *d-ò* *naša*<sup>1</sup> *kóma* *'íθwále* *mšèθa*,<sup>1</sup> *t-amèrwa*<sup>1</sup> *'áxni* *báyæx* *xámši* *dinàre*.<sup>1</sup> *hè*,<sup>1</sup> *t-ámri* *xámši* *dinàre*,<sup>1</sup> *t-ámri* *hè*,<sup>1</sup> *lítila* *xàm*.<sup>1</sup> (9) *qayámwa* *xéna* *t-amèrwa*<sup>1</sup> *bèna*<sup>1</sup> *'íθ* *xatràna-w*<sup>1</sup> *'áxni-x* *pyáša* *xəzme*.<sup>1</sup> *t-ámər* *mót* *mára* *fəllən* *'ati*.<sup>1</sup> *t-amèrwa*<sup>1</sup> *'ána* *màslēn*<sup>1</sup> *'ásra* *dinàre*.<sup>1</sup> *háwət* *basíma* *ràba*<sup>1</sup> *'u-máxa* *çàppe*<sup>1</sup> *zamrúwa-w*.<sup>1</sup> *kále* *m-bar-hádæx* *mó-ytu* *màra*.<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> *mádre* *m-bar-hádæx*,<sup>1</sup> *masléwa* *xá-məndi* *xèna*.<sup>1</sup> (10) *násæt* *k'álo* *y-amrúwale*,<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri* *xátər* *xatràna*<sup>1</sup> *lán-ðaya* *mòdi*,<sup>1</sup> *xəzme*<sup>1</sup> *'u-péšæx* *dóste-u* *xəzme-u*,<sup>1</sup> *t-la-páyəš* *ləbbən* *b-gðàðe*.<sup>1</sup> *qayámwa* *masléwa* *xámša* *xène*.<sup>1</sup> *t-ámər* *péšíwa* *fláθi-u* *xámša*.<sup>1</sup> *qayámwa* *bábət* *xətna*,<sup>1</sup> *dawóqwala* *'íðə* *bábə* *k'álo*.<sup>1</sup> *ya'ni* *dwáqa* *dawóqwa* *'íðə-díye*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t* *'ó-məndi* *wèle*.<sup>1</sup>

(6) They would deposit let's say a sum of five dinars, or thereabouts, according to their ability (to pay), you see.<sup>4</sup> These become the token (of betrothal). Further time would pass, a few months. A few months would pass, then at that point they would say 'Let us make the betrothal.' This is the act of betrothing, that is they would hold (the ceremony) of the 'trusted hand'<sup>5</sup> then afterwards would proceed to hold the betrothal.

(7) As for the betrothal, they would make food. The family of the bride would make this food. They would prepare food. We have various types of food. They would bring one of the 'white small cattle' (sheep), as we say, white small cattle. There was white small cattle (sheep) and black small cattle (goats). They would slaughter sheep. As for goats... They would prepare meat and cook it. Then they would cook rice. It is called *qawurma*. This rice, in which they put the meat, this is called *qawurma*. (8) They would go there (to the bride's house) and on that day they would decide on money. They would sit and speak, then they would start the bidding, as we say. He (a representative of the bride's family) would say—in the old days, at that time money was scarce, (one requested) from twenty to thirty dinars, perhaps fifty, depending on the circumstances of that man, on how much he was able to pay—he would say 'We want fifty dinars'. 'Yes', they say 'fifty dinars', they say 'Yes, that's fine'. (9) Another man would stand up (and say) 'There is (the obligation of) respect (for our family relationship), we are becoming relatives.' He says 'What do you, so-and-so, say?' He says 'I shall deduct ten dinars.' 'Thank you very much'. Then they would clap hands and sing. (The clapping) would stop and after that (one would say) 'What do you say?' Again after that they would deduct something else. (10) The family of the bride would say to him, they would say 'For the sake of respect (we shall decrease the amount).' I do not know what, '(We are) relatives, we are becoming friends and relatives. (We should do so) so that we do not feel anger with each other.'<sup>6</sup> He would then proceed to deduct five more, so that thirty-five remained. The father of the groom would rise and shake the hand of the father of the bride. He would shake his hand (to confirm) that this has taken place.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: is there not?

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the deposit.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: 'so that our heart does not become against each other'.



(11) *mən-táma hódax zamrìwa-w<sup>1</sup> raqðìwa-w<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa zamrìwa diwàne.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa tíwe diwáne mšawòθe<sup>1</sup> 'u-zamrìwa...<sup>1</sup> zmaryáθa basímewa t-<sup>2</sup>áθra tàma.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa 'áraq.<sup>1</sup> béna gu-d-á-dana meθéwa štèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-štèθa<sup>1</sup> har-tàma mpalíxwala,<sup>1</sup> 'áraq.<sup>1</sup> (12) 'áraq mpaltèxla<sup>1</sup> m-yabiše,<sup>1</sup> sab-é-ga xúrme liθwa tàma,<sup>1</sup> y-amrìwala qàzbe.<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>2</sup>áraq mpaltìwa b-yabiše,<sup>1</sup> yabiše 'u-<sup>2</sup>àniwe.<sup>1</sup> paláttat 'áraq,<sup>1</sup> t-amrèxi,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa meθéwa líne 'íθwa,<sup>1</sup> deréwa líne,<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa mìya gáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mkasèwala-w<sup>1</sup> mat-tìwala xa-dúkθa šaxìnta<sup>1</sup> t-amrèxxa gòma.<sup>1</sup> t-óya šaxìnta mkasèwala.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šagláwa qúrbə l-<sup>2</sup>árbi, xamšì yomáθa<sup>1</sup> (13) qa-<sup>2</sup>ìma?<sup>1</sup> qa-d-ó-yomə t-wéwa t-ámrxə talòbe.<sup>1</sup> qa-d-ó-yomət meθéwa 'áraq nàše.<sup>1</sup> y-atwìwa 'əsvi,<sup>1</sup> t-làθi<sup>1</sup> 'árbi nàše y-atwìwa zmàra rqàða.<sup>1</sup> meθéwa 'áraq,<sup>1</sup> deréwa šatèwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-oðìwa mázze-u bəsre-u mándi-u šabùde.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'áraq—'íθwa masìna.<sup>1</sup> masìna mturáštewa m-<sup>2</sup>ùpra,<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>2</sup>án məndiyàne deréwa gu-d-a-masìna,<sup>1</sup> 'a-masìna 'íθwa glàs zòra.<sup>1</sup> deréwale-u šatèwale t-là mìya.<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>2</sup>a-štéθa šatèwala t-lá mìya.<sup>1</sup> šagláwa t-ámrxə trè-sa'əte,<sup>1</sup> trè-t-là-sa'əte.<sup>1</sup> m-bár xamlìwa,<sup>1</sup> raqðìwa,<sup>1</sup> zamrìwa.<sup>1</sup> béna meθéwa mexòlta.<sup>1</sup> (15) mexòlta y-áwa mbúšle qawúrma-w rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kəfiàne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-béna 'íθwa ləxma y-amrèxxa zedàye.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-zedàya mtúršewa m-xəttè.<sup>1</sup> 'an-xəttè zərìwala... çèri zərìwala.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa rába 'i-zərìwala çèri.<sup>1</sup> bəhəx,<sup>1</sup> b-yárxət xámša, 'àšta,<sup>1</sup> 'i-xazdìwala.<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>2</sup>áni 'i-xazdìwala-w<sup>1</sup> mdarèwala-w<sup>1</sup> mašléwala 'ərxə,<sup>1</sup> taxnìwala,<sup>1</sup> pèšì qàmxa.<sup>1</sup> (16) 'o-qàmxa<sup>1</sup> meθéwale bèθa.<sup>1</sup> béna 'íθwa baxtáθa t-yáði t-yàpi<sup>1</sup> lešìwale.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa tášte gòrta<sup>1</sup> lešìwale,<sup>1</sup> hálbət míya mánne mánne lešìwale.<sup>1</sup> mattìwale xá-sa'ət hətxa,<sup>1</sup> xáčča pyáša xāmèwa y-amrèxle.<sup>1</sup> deréwa xmíra gáwa dìye,<sup>1</sup> xāmèwa.<sup>1</sup> bár xāmèwa,<sup>1</sup> y-ámri dān-dìye<sup>1</sup> tla-pàya.<sup>1</sup> (17) nablìwa tanùre.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa tanùra,<sup>1</sup> 'áx t-y-ámrxə,<sup>1</sup> hár tla-d-ò-məndi y-áwe mtúrša.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>íθwa baxtáθa gu-màθa,<sup>1</sup> là-kulley yapéwa,<sup>1</sup> 'áni šúley 'àwwewa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yapyàwale<sup>1</sup> yawìwala xà-məndi,<sup>1</sup> xà-ləxma,<sup>1</sup> trè-ləxme,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>áyya xamyáwa biye-dìye.<sup>1</sup>*

(11) From then onwards they would sing and dance. Some would sing *diwane*. They would sit and say *diwane* and sing. The songs of our land there were beautiful. There was arak. At that time they brought drink. We produced that drink, arak, there. (12) We produced arak from raisins, because at that time there were no dates there—they were called *qazbe*. So, they produced arak with raisins, raisins and grapes. As for the production of arak, they used to bring pots, they would put down the pots and put water into them. Then they would cover them and place them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement). In order for it to be warm they would cover them. It would take about forty or fifty days. (13) For when (did they prepare the arak)? For the day on which what we call the betrothal took place. For that day people would bring arak. Twenty, thirty, forty people would sit singing and dancing. They would bring arak, they would serve (food) and they would drink. They would make snacks, meat dishes, kebabs and the like. (14) As for arak, there was (a pot called a) *masina*. A *masina* was made from clay. Those things<sup>7</sup> they would put in the *masina*. The *masina* had a small glass. They would serve it and drink it without water. They would drink that drink without water. This would take let's say two hours, two to three hours. Afterwards they would make merry, dancing and singing. Then they would bring the food. (15) As for the food, they would have cooked *qawurma*, rice, meat-balls. There was bread which we called *zedaye*. The *zedaya* was made out of wheat. They would sow the wheat... in Autumn they would sow it. Many people sowed it in Autumn. In Spring, in May or June, they would harvest it. They would harvest it, thresh it and take it down to the water-mill. They would grind it and it would become flour. (16) They would bring the flour home. There were women who knew how to bake and they kneaded it.<sup>8</sup> There was a large dish, (on which) they kneaded it. Of course they kneaded it together with water. They put it aside for about an hour and it gradually rose, as we say. They would put yeast in it and it rose. After it rose, they would say 'Its time (has come) for baking'. (17) They would take it to the ovens. There was an oven, as we say, which was made specially for this. There were women in the village whose profession was this, not all of them baked. She (the baker-woman) would bake it and they gave her something, a loaf of bread, two loaves, and she made a livelihood by this.

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<sup>7</sup> I.e. the drinks.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. the dough.

(18) *fa-m-bar-hàdæx*<sup>1</sup> *y-atwìwa-w*,<sup>1</sup> *y-axlìwa-w*,<sup>1</sup> *mádre* <sup>1</sup>*i-zamrìwa-w* *šatèwa*<sup>1</sup> *hál* *y-oráwa* *gu-lèle*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*áyya* *b-léle* *y-oðíwa* <sup>1</sup>*ašràre*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*u-qayámwa* *kút-xa* *y-azólwa* *bēθ-dìye*.<sup>1</sup> *bar-hàdæx*<sup>1</sup> *y-oráwa* *káma* *yàrx*.<sup>1</sup> *béna* *bálki* <sup>1</sup>*o-náša*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*o-xètna* *ḡ-ámrx*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*o-úrza*,<sup>1</sup> *lè-y-awe* *táma*.<sup>1</sup> *y-awéwa* *pláxa* *gu-mðinàθa* *máθálan*.<sup>1</sup> *ḡ-amrìwa*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-áxni* *xluláne* *dìyən*<sup>1</sup> *hammáše* *y-oðáxwala*<sup>1</sup> *čeriyāwàθa*.<sup>1</sup> (19) *čeriyāwáθa* <sup>1</sup>*imela*.<sup>1</sup> *yáʿni* *b-yárxæt* <sup>1</sup>*əčča*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*u-ášra*,<sup>1</sup> *w-hal-xadəssæ*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*áni* *y-amrəxxa* *čeri*.<sup>1</sup> *sab-é-ga* *náše* *b-qéḡa* *y-áwa* *plìxe*,<sup>1</sup> *mjümíye* *mexòlta*,<sup>1</sup> *mjümíye* *məndiyàne*,<sup>1</sup> *kúlla* *mtugəbrəlla* *qa-d-è-ga*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*é-ga* *y-áwa* *bíš* *sapìqe*,<sup>1</sup> *lá* *y-awéwa* *šúla* *ràba*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-y-ámri* *flan-yóma* *xlùlele*.<sup>1</sup> (20) *tre-šabbáθa* *qam-dána* *čēdi*.<sup>1</sup> *y-ázi* *maθwàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *čyàda* *čedíwa*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*é-ga* *líθwa* *càrd*<sup>1</sup> *líθwa* *wārəqa*<sup>1</sup> *mánda* *šúle* *nablìwa*.<sup>1</sup> *xa-náša* *y-azəlwa*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*iθwa* *maθwáθa* *qurbèni*.<sup>1</sup> *šaqólwa* *čánta* *mənne-u*<sup>1</sup> *máttu* *laxma* *gàwa*,<sup>1</sup> *y-azólwa* *čyàda*,<sup>1</sup> *béθa* *bèθa*.<sup>1</sup> (21) *šláma* <sup>1</sup>*əlləxu*.<sup>1</sup> *b-šena* *b-ḡawàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *yába* *čdetu* *xlúl* *brön-fəllən* *b-flàn-yoma*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*o-béθa* *kúlla* *hàdæx*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*iθwa* *tre-ḡlá* *maθwàθa*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*o-náša* *y-azólwa* <sup>1</sup>*əlla* *dìyey*,<sup>1</sup> *l-ay-gòta*.<sup>1</sup> (22) <sup>1</sup>*iθwalən* *maθwàθa*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*ášta*, *xamša-əšta* *maθwáθa*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*i-mpāḡlìwala*.<sup>1</sup> *y-azólwa* *l-béθa-w*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər* *čdetu*<sup>1</sup> *xlül-d-èni*?<sup>1</sup> *fəllən-ile*.<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər* *basíma* *ràba*.<sup>1</sup> (23) *béna* <sup>1</sup>*an-márət* *xətna* *qemíwa* *mtagbòre*.<sup>1</sup> *mádre* *deréwa* <sup>1</sup>*araq* *ḡla-xlúla*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-xlúla* *ràba* *náše* *čedíwa*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*u-məθéwa* <sup>1</sup>*ərwe* *permiwa* *y-oðíwa* *qàlya*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*u-məθéwa* *rəzza* <sup>1</sup>*u-məndyàne*<sup>1</sup> *béna* *hál-yomət* *xlúla*.<sup>1</sup> (24) <sup>1</sup>*iθwalən* *xlúla* *táma*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*iθwa* *dáwla-w* *zòrna* *y-amrəxxwale*.<sup>1</sup> *dáwla-w* *zòrna*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*áni* *sáma* *zóda* <sup>1</sup>*iθwa* *suráye* <sup>1</sup>*u-hám* *mən-mšəlmáne* *ḡ-íwa* *tàma*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-áni* *məθéwa* <sup>1</sup>*ašərtə*,<sup>1</sup> *šəbθa* *y-aθéwa*.<sup>1</sup>

(25) *xá-yoma* *qám* *dána*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəxla* *xyáptət* *xətna*.<sup>1</sup> *šadəsta* *y-áwe* <sup>1</sup>*o-yóma*.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla* *náše* *y-aθéwa* *yatwíwa* *béθət* *xətna*.<sup>1</sup> *xamlíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *raqðíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *zamrìwa*.<sup>1</sup> *dárt* *yóma*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*iθwa* *xyáptət* *xətna*.<sup>1</sup> *xyáptət* *xətna* *y-aθéwa* *dáwla-w* *zòrna*.<sup>1</sup>

(18) After this they sat, ate and again sang and drank until it was night. At night they would hold evening celebrations and then everyone would go to their home. After that several months would pass. Perhaps the person, that is the groom, the man, was not there. He was working in the towns, for example. (This passage of time) was because we always used to hold our weddings in Autumn. (19) When was Autumn? It was September, October until November, we called these Autumn. This is because in those days people would have worked in summer and gathered food, gathered various things and prepared them for that time, then at that time (in the Autumn) they were more free and there was not much work. They would say ‘Such-and-such a day is (that of ) the wedding’. (20) Two weeks beforehand they would invite (people). They would go to the villages and make invitations. There was no (invitation) card at that time. It was not the practice to take a piece of paper or the like. A man would go to villages that were near us. He would take a bag with him, in which he put bread, and would go from house to house making invitations. (21) ‘Greetings to you’. ‘You are welcome’. ‘You are invited to the wedding of the son of so-and-so on such-and-such a day.’ All the family was likewise invited. There were two or three villages in one direction where the man would go (first). (22) We had five or six (neighbouring Christian) villages, which they would divide (into groups).<sup>9</sup> He would go to a house and say ‘You are invited’. ‘The wedding of whom?’ ‘It is so-and-so’. He (the guest) would say ‘Thank you very much’. (23) The parents of the groom would start making preparations. They would put out arak for the wedding, since they invited many people to the wedding. They would bring sheep, slaughter them and make *qalya* (roasted meat preserved in fat). They would bring rice and other things (and continue thus) until the day of the wedding. (24) (When) we had a wedding there, there was the drum and pipe, as we called it. The drum and pipe, these were mainly (played by) Christians and also some Muslims who were there. They would bring these in the evening, they would come on Saturday.

(25) A day before there was what we call ‘the bathing of the groom’. The *šadasta* (pre-wedding party)<sup>10</sup> was held on that day. Everybody came and sat in the house of the groom. They would enjoy themselves, dance and sing. The next day was the bathing of the groom. At the bathing of the groom the drum and pipe band would come.

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<sup>9</sup> I.e. the man making the invitations would divide the villages into groups and go to one group at a time.

<sup>10</sup> For close family and friends.

(26) 'i-jāmítwa nàše,<sup>1</sup> lošítwa jülle<sup>1</sup> 'u-xepìwale.<sup>1</sup> qám t-xépi xàtna,<sup>1</sup> μεθέτω xa-yalínka zòra.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áwwa xa-nišānqele.<sup>1</sup> mxallítwale rēs'-dìye<sup>1</sup> xepìwale.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xaráye xepítwa xàtna.<sup>1</sup> y-asqíwa malwāšítwale jull-dìye<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-atwíwa.<sup>1</sup> (27) y-áwa wíde xa-rámša yòma.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa wíde dúxwa.<sup>1</sup> dúxwa 'íle mtúrša mən-dāwwe-u<sup>1</sup> sàpe-u<sup>1</sup> básre gáwe dìye<sup>1</sup> kùll xa-móndi.<sup>1</sup> fa-'ánna<sup>1</sup> yá'ni y-oráwa dàna<sup>1</sup> tre-!lá-sa'ate 'árba sà'ate.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni y-oðáxwa dúxwa táma.<sup>1</sup> (28) 'o-lèle<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa be-k'álo.<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa be-k'álo.<sup>1</sup> y-atwíwa b-dawère,<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga b-dawère,<sup>1</sup> koðànta y-amrúxxa.<sup>1</sup> y-azítwa be-k'álo.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-d-à-mathele.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-d-a-mátha xètele,<sup>1</sup> y-azítwa y-atwíwa táma be-k'álo.<sup>1</sup> (29) 'ap-táma dáwla-w zórna xmála hál b-lèle.<sup>1</sup> xàtna-w qaríwa<sup>1</sup>—'áw šaqáwa qaríwa mánne díye,<sup>1</sup> qaríwa y-áwe mánne díye 'ap-'áw<sup>1</sup>—qaríwa-w xàtna pēšítwa bé k'álo,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xákma xa-bétha qurbéy.<sup>1</sup> hé yá'ni t-amrúxxe be-k'álo.<sup>1</sup> (30) m-léle mbàdla táma,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mbarxíwa.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa qàša.<sup>1</sup> har-gu-bètha<sup>1</sup> y-asrítwale gnúna-w<sup>1</sup> yá'ni t-ámrx mbarxíwale.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-qámθewa.<sup>1</sup> xàrtha<sup>1</sup> bár mbarxíwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-razgíwa<sup>1</sup> béna y-atwíwa k'álo-w xàtna-w<sup>1</sup> qaríwa-w qaríwta mənney-u<sup>1</sup> béna náše raqðítwa zamrúwa<sup>1</sup> hál pēšáwa qédamta jàlde xáčča.<sup>1</sup> (31) béna μεθέτω fīarta<sup>1</sup> faṭrúwa.<sup>1</sup> μεθέτω... jàjək y-awéwa,<sup>1</sup> gūpta,<sup>1</sup> kúlla mturásta táma,<sup>1</sup> dùša,<sup>1</sup> duwàna<sup>1</sup>—duwána 'i-mtaršítwale mən-qámxa<sup>1</sup> 'u-màšxa,<sup>1</sup> mášxa hùr,<sup>1</sup> mášxat 'òrwe,<sup>1</sup> mášxat 'òrwe m-áwwa tàza.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga lìθwa,<sup>1</sup> la-k'ása māráwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-la-xàša māréwa,<sup>1</sup> la-dágaṭ y-awèwale.<sup>1</sup>

(32) fa-faṭrúwa razgíwa m-kùl-xa-məndi,<sup>1</sup> hál kawùθra.<sup>1</sup> béna qám t-mšére xàtna,<sup>1</sup> mattíla ṭàmta<sup>1</sup> l-mes-íla<sup>1</sup> l-'árēla xzi-dàxila táma.<sup>1</sup> mattíwa ṭàmta,<sup>1</sup> xàtna y-amórwā: 'ana-lè 'axléna.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa 'íle xa-nišānqa díym,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni m-záwna qadīm hātxa y-ámriwa.<sup>1</sup> lé-y-axəl xàtna.<sup>1</sup>

(26) People would gather together wearing (fine) clothes and bathe him. Before they bathed the groom, they would bring a small boy. This also was symbolic. They would wash his head and bathe him. Finally they would bathe the groom. They would come up (from the river)<sup>11</sup> and dress him in his clothes. (27) Then they would sit down. They would have made the evening meal during the day. They would have made *duxwa*. *Duxwa* is made from diluted yoghurt and barley, with meat and so on put in it. It took time (to make),<sup>12</sup> two or three hours. We used to make *duxwa* there. (28) In the evening we would go to the house of the bride. We would go to the house of the bride. They would sit on mules, at that time (they sat) on mules. They called it a *koðanta* ('female mule'). They went to the house of the bride. Whether it was in the village or in another village, they would go and sit there in the house of the bride. (29) Also there there would be the drum and pipe and merriment into the night. The groom and the best man—he would take a best man with him, the best man would be together with him—the best man and the groom would stay at the house of the bride, that is in a house nearby. Yes, we call this the house of the bride. (30) In the early morning they would hold perform the blessing (of the wedding ceremony) there. A priest would come. In the house they would tie the band. We say 'They blessed it'. This was beforehand. Afterwards, after they performed the blessing and were finished, the bride and the groom sat down together with the best man and the bridesmaid. Then people would dance and sing, until it was almost early morning. (31) Then they would bring breakfast and they would eat breakfast. They would bring... there used to be jajik, cheese, all made there, honey, *duwana*—they made *duwana* from flour and butter, pure butter, the butter of sheep, good quality sheep's butter. At that time there was no (illness), there was no stomachache, no backache, one did not have (high blood) pressure.

(32) They ate breakfast and finished everything until it was lunchtime. Before the groom began, they would lay out the breakfast, on the table and on the ground, as was the practice there.<sup>13</sup> They would lay out the breakfast and the groom would say 'I shall not eat'. This is a symbolic act of ours. From times of old they would say that the groom will not eat.

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<sup>11</sup> The bathing of the groom took place in the river.

<sup>12</sup> Literally: time passed.

<sup>13</sup> Literally: it is on the table, it is on the ground, see how it is there.

(33) *magúrwa g'ān-diye.*<sup>1</sup> *y-odáxwa lèbe-u,*<sup>1</sup> *gaxkàxwa-w<sup>1</sup> zamràxwa-w<sup>1</sup> xamláxwa*  
*bíya.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-y-amràxwa:*<sup>1</sup> *dá-xùlena-w<sup>1</sup> y-ámər len-kpina-w<sup>1</sup> xàðya-w<sup>1</sup> m-án məndiyàne.*<sup>1</sup>  
*'ap-<sup>2</sup>ayyéwa xa-xumlàna díyən,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni xa-nišànqa díyən.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-a-dàna,*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrìwa:*<sup>1</sup>  
*kámá t-àxlət.*<sup>2</sup> *y-ámər: báýən 'əsrà-dinare.*<sup>1</sup> (34) *gu-d-a-dàna,*<sup>1</sup> *máðre mzanfərwala*  
*g'ān-diye,*<sup>1</sup> *y-amárra: lè-y-axlena,*<sup>1</sup> *lan-ðá'a mòdi.*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri: xùl<sup>1</sup> dānəla.*<sup>1</sup> *qirra.*<sup>1</sup> *xùlena<sup>1</sup>*  
*lan-ðá'a mòdi.*<sup>1</sup> *qemúwa yawíwale 'əsrà-dinare<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-axəliwa,*<sup>1</sup> *hàl<sup>1</sup> l-kawùtra.*<sup>1</sup> (35)  
*'ána 'áxxa nšéli xa-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *k'əlo<sup>1</sup> 'íman t-aθyàwa<sup>1</sup> páθa díya mkusèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *k'əlo<sup>1</sup> páθa*  
*díya mkusèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *məθéwa 'íθwalən xá... 'áx jùllele<sup>1</sup> 'áx kunnə̀kθela,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa daréwa*  
*l-yálma díya.*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri xə̀ppo.*<sup>1</sup> *'áw y-amrile xə̀ppo.*<sup>1</sup> *xə̀tna lè-y-xaze k'əlo.*<sup>1</sup> (36) *'u-y-átwi*  
*táma m-gə̀ðàðe<sup>1</sup> hál sá'ət xá'a trè<sup>1</sup> béna gá̀rəg 'ázi bēθ-be-xə̀tna.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-dàna,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áxli*  
*kawùtra.*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mrúze xùmša,*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya məxólta y-óya l-nášt k'əlo.*<sup>1</sup> *'a-məxólta*  
*yawíla-w<sup>1</sup> rázgi mbáðla dāna.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-dàna y-áwe rə̀qáða zmára 'u-štàya.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-dáwla-w*  
*zòrna.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-náše y-áwa jə̀mye,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mrúze qa-d-a-dàna.*<sup>1</sup> (37) *m-bar-t-y-áxli,*<sup>1</sup> *méθe*  
*dawèra,*<sup>1</sup> *koðə̀nta y-amrə̀xwala.*<sup>1</sup> *mxamlùwala-w<sup>1</sup> deráwa qurtána-w m-an-məndiyàne,*<sup>1</sup>  
*'u-deréwa xá jùlla táməz reša-díya-w.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xə̀tna-w 'u-k'əlo,*<sup>1</sup> *k'əlo y-atíwəwa xa-xə̀zma*  
*díya mánna díya,*<sup>1</sup> *y-atíwəwa qamə̀ye<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áy mattúwala báθre díye,*<sup>1</sup> *xāš-t-koðə̀nta.*<sup>1</sup>  
*'u-'úp xə̀tna dawéer g'ān-diye<sup>1</sup> qaríwa... kùlla b-dawére 'é-ga liθwa?<sup>2</sup> 'u-xákma*  
*y-áwa p-àqla,*<sup>1</sup> *'ap-<sup>2</sup>m-wéwa maθwáθa rə̀hqa.*<sup>1</sup> (38) *'u-gu-d-a-dàna<sup>1</sup> 'i-mšaníwa*  
*zála l-be-xə̀tna.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-á-dana y-amrìwala máxa čáppe bükə,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni patlə̀xxa dukáne*  
*'ən-yéwa béθa qúrba<sup>1</sup> yan-rə̀hqa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áy y-ámri čáppe bükə.*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni maxə̀ðríla 'a-k'əlo<sup>1</sup>*  
*qúrbət bèθa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áθi máti l-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *m-bár máti l-bèθa*<sup>1</sup>—*qam-dàna<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mrúze xá*  
*'ilána.*<sup>1</sup> (39) *'ilána<sup>1</sup> y-amrə̀xwala 'é-ga t-ámrxxa jwànnə.*<sup>1</sup> *'áy 'ilána mšaqlùwala.*<sup>1</sup>  
*deréwa xabúše bíya.*<sup>1</sup> *deréwa lə̀xma 'állə díya.*<sup>1</sup> *deréwa guttáθa.*<sup>1</sup> *rába mšaqlùwa<sup>1</sup>*  
*rába məndiyáne tazè.*<sup>1</sup> *'ay-'ilána 'èka?<sup>2</sup> masqúwala gə̀re.*<sup>1</sup> *xə̀tna 'u-qaríwa y-asqúwa*  
*l-gə̀re.*<sup>1</sup> (40) *k'əlo y-aθyáwa l-tə̀rət-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *táma y-áwa mtùrše,*<sup>1</sup> *y-awéwa xa-<sup>2</sup>amána*  
*y-amrə̀xla zawèrta.*<sup>1</sup> *y-awa dorye yabiše gáwa,*<sup>1</sup> *gàwze-u<sup>1</sup> bə̀tme-u<sup>1</sup> xáčča šarníye*  
*'u-məndiyáne gə̀wa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áy y-óya muttə̀θa gu-tára qam-t-óra k'əlo.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-t-óra k'əlo<sup>1</sup>*  
*y-odáwa šlíwa mə̀šxa.*<sup>1</sup>

(33) He would act pompously. We made tricks, laughed, sang and enjoyed the occasion. We would say 'Eat!' and he would say 'I am not hungry', in fun, things like that. This also was a form of merriment of ours, and a symbolic act of ours. At that time they would say 'How much (do you want) in order for you to eat?' He would say 'I want ten dinars'. (34) Then he would pompously puff himself up again and say to them 'I shall not eat', I don't know why.' They would say 'Eat! It's time. It's got cold. Eat!' 'I don't know why (but I shall not eat)'. Then they would give him ten dinars and he would eat. (This would go on) until lunchtime. (35) But I have forgotten something here. The bride, when she came, her face was covered. The bride's face was covered. They brought something that was like a cloth, like a kerchief. They put it like this over her face. It is called a *xəppo* ('cover'). It is called a *xəppo*. The groom does not see the bride. (36) They sit there together until one or two o'clock, then they have to go to the house of the groom's family. Beforehand they eat lunch. They would have prepared *xumša*. This food is for the family of the bride. They give this food to them and they finish (eating) in the early morning. Beforehand there is dancing, singing, drinking, the drum and pipe. The people would be gathered and prepared for that time. (37) After eating, they bring a mule, we call it a *kođanta* ('female mule'). They decorate it and put on it a saddle blanket or the like, and put on it a clean cloth. As for the bride and groom, a relative sits with the bride, he sits at the front and he would put her behind him, on the back of the mule. The groom also (has) his own mule, and the best man... they were all on mules at that time, you see. Some were on foot, even if the villages were far off. (38) At that time they move to the house of the groom. At that time (they do what) is called 'clapping hands for the bride', that is we would take her around various places, whether her house was close or far. This is called 'clapping hands for the bride'. That is, they take the bride around towards her house and come to her house. After they arrive at the house—beforehand they have prepared a tree. (39) We used to call the tree a thorn-tree. They used to decorate the tree. They put apples on it. They put bread on it. They put balls on it. They decorated it with many beautiful things. Where was this tree? They put it up on the roof. The groom and the best man went up on the roof. (40) The bride would come to the door of the house. There they made a vessel that we call a *zawərta* ('pot'). They put raisins in it, walnuts, terebinth nuts, some sweets and other things. This is placed at the door before the bride enters. Before the bride enters she makes (the sign of) the cross in oil.



(41) *mεθέωα mðšxa,¹ y-oðáwa šlíwa l-tàra,¹ qa-t-²ána bawarúθi θáya biyèxula,¹ pyásn m-d-áwewa bèθa.¹ ²áwewa nišànqele.¹ xa-tušèle¹ qa-t-²ána ²áwewa ²íle bèθi¹ m-díya hòdax.¹ gu-d-ε-dàna¹ qemíwa¹ k'álo toráwala ²áy zawèrta¹ ²u-y-oráwa gu-bèθa.¹*  
 (42) *m-bar-hàdax¹ qemíwa¹ mزابóné ²ilàna.¹ nášé ²íwa kòpa¹ kúlla,¹ ²u-²áwewa gárewa ràma.¹ ²áwewa nášé ²iyéwa kúlla spára kòpa.¹ ²a-²ilána mزابnìwala y-amrâxxa.¹ t-athéwa xázme díye¹ t-amèrwa¹ hé gállak nášé,¹ ²éni záwèn ²ilàna.²¹ xa-náša díye t-ámèrwa ²ána zonónna b-²àšra,¹ šaqlíwa ²àšra dinàre.¹ ²u-xéna t-ámèrwa zonónna b-xamšàssar,¹ šaqlíwa xamšàssar.¹ qa-xumlàna ²áwewa mándi¹ sáma zóda lìθn.²¹ (43) béna xaràye¹ qayámíwa šaqólíwa ²a-²ilàna¹ maxáwala l-swàna y-amrâxla,¹ swàna.¹ ²u-²an-gàwze¹ t-ítwa bíya díya-w¹ xabùšé¹ ²u-sparègle¹ ²u-m-án mēndiyàne,¹ kúlla šaléwa gota-xtèθa.¹ ²u-jámíwa nášé mánna díya.¹ ²u-²áy ²ilána mattíwa tàma.¹ ²u-bár hàdax¹ béna k'álo θíθa lāxxa,¹ ²o-yòma¹ pešíwa tàma.¹ (44) ²ašríta xlùele.¹ qémi nášé rqàða.¹ bár hàdax,¹ bár t-íla-báxta pyáša rásmi tàma¹ yá'ni wára gu-l-bèθa,¹ θáyεle qáša¹ ²u-sára gnùele.¹ ²ó gnúna ²íle nišànqa¹ qa-t-... hāmántat bèθa,¹ pyáša d-o-bèθa.¹ (45) qáša ²u-šamáše t-íwa tàma¹ mšàli,¹ y-ásri gnúna¹ kul-xa-mēndi.¹ ²u-²áni y-átwi qam-d-ó gnúna,¹ y-áwe mtúrša ²án qāñāfēle,¹ ²án xa-mēndi,¹ ²en-l-àrele.¹ y-átwi qám d-o-gnùna¹ ²u-nášé qémi rqàða ²u-zmàra-w¹ kúlla yóma hàdax.¹ (46) xačča-pyáša xlúla y-awe t-là-yomane,¹ yómət trušèba,¹ dárt yòma,¹ t-ámrx sab-²áxni xluláne kásln šàbθa y-áwa.¹ xušèba-w¹ be-k'álo y-áwa déri nášé.¹ yómət trušèba¹ ²áwewa be-xàtnεle.¹ ²ó-yoma xlúla rasmile.¹ qémi qedámta nášé¹ ²u-jāmi.¹ (47) y-áwa zìle,¹ kút-xa bēθ-díye.¹ m-maθwáθa y-áwa ²èθye¹ maθwáθa kúlla y-áwa lwíše júlle šàlla,¹ y-áwa mxúmlε,¹ kusyàθa,¹ ²u-mútte párrε gu-rēša.¹ ²u-²o-t-ítte xànjər¹ mut-téle xànjər.¹ yá'ni mxúmlε rába šapíre júlle lwíše tròša.¹ ²ó-mēndi táza ²ò-yomεle¹ sab-ða-xəðyúθa ²ítla kúlla.¹*

(41) They would bring oil and she would make (the sign of) the cross on the door, (to indicate) that ‘I place my trust in you. I am becoming a member of this family’. This is a symbolic act. It is a sign that ‘This is my house from now on’. At that time the bride would break the pot and enter the house. (42) After that they would sell the tree. The people were all below and he (the groom) was high up on the roof, all the people were waiting below. They sold the tree, as we say. His relatives came and (one) said ‘Hey, everybody, who will buy the tree?’ One relative of his would say ‘I shall buy it for ten’ and they would receive ten dinars. Another would say ‘I shall buy it for fifteen’ and they would receive fifteen. This was mainly for fun, you see. (43) In the end, he (the groom) would take the tree and they would knock it against the eaves, as we call them, the eaves. The walnuts that were on it, the apples, the quinces and such things all fell down. Then the people gathered them up. They set up the tree there. After that, when the bride had come, they remained there that day. (44) In the evening there were wedding celebrations. People got up and danced. Afterwards, after the woman has become official there, that is she enters the house, the priest comes and ties the band. The band is a symbol (expressing) trust in the family (and that) she is becoming (a member) of the family. (45) The priest and the deacon who are there pray, tie the band and (do) everything. They (the bride and groom) sit before the band, which is placed either on a sofa or something else, or on the ground. They sit before the band and the people get up and dance and sing, all day long. (46) The wedding celebrations last almost three days, (until) Monday, the next day, let’s say, since in our community weddings took place on Saturday. On Sunday the people are at the bride’s house and then return. On Monday it (the wedding) is at the groom’s house. This day is the official wedding. The people get up the next morning and gather together. (47) They went (there), each (from) his home, they came from the villages, from the villages, all dressed in the *šalla*.<sup>14</sup> They dressed up, with hats, in which they put feathers. If somebody had a dagger, he put on the dagger. They dressed up and indeed the clothes were very beautiful. This splendid event took place on that day, since they were all very joyful.

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<sup>14</sup> Traditional clothes.

(48) *m-táma hódax har-ò-yoma,<sup>1</sup> *y-ámri xádáyət xətna.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe mbúšla kút-xa,<sup>1</sup> *xa-ròzza*<sup>1</sup> *xa-prèxe,<sup>1</sup> *xá rázza smòqa,<sup>1</sup> *xa-rázza xwàra.<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa xá-məndi y-áwe mbúšla.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*áy y-amríla xádáyət xətna.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*yáni xa-xəlləta tla-xətna ʼap-ʼáyya.<sup>1</sup> (49) <sup>ʼ</sup>*u-y-áwa múθye bəθqe.<sup>1</sup> *táma ʼiθ-bəθqe.<sup>1</sup> *maθyála báxta m-xəzmàne.<sup>1</sup> *mεθéla xádàya,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*u-y-ázi l-xətna ʼu-kʼàlo*<sup>1</sup> *našqile reše-díye*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*u-rēš-t-kʼàlo.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*u-ʼiθ-bəθqa dére b-rešəy.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*yáni mbarxiley y-ámrx*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*ap-ʼáni mbarxiley.<sup>1</sup> (50) <sup>ʼ</sup>*u-y-àtwi,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*ašərta kúlla jəmi-u*<sup>1</sup> *šàli.*<sup>1</sup> *bar-hàdax,*<sup>1</sup> *bar-t-y-áxli náše kawúθra kull-xa-məndi,<sup>1</sup> *qémi mpálṭi kʼàlo marqðila.<sup>1</sup> *y-áθi náše qamθəy,<sup>1</sup> *šaqlila mašlèla,<sup>1</sup> *qam-tārət-bəθa gòrta y-óya.<sup>1</sup> *maduqíla xətna-w kʼàlo gotə-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*u-béna náše ràqði.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*up-ʼó-yoma hal-ʼašərta y-áwe xlúla.<sup>1</sup> (51) *dárt yóma xlúla pàrəq.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*u-kʼàlo péša táma hál...yómət šəwəwa*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríle šurèla.*<sup>1</sup> *hé yómət šəwəwa ʼile šurèla.*<sup>1</sup> *xətna-w kʼàlo*<sup>1</sup> *xáçca mən-d-án-našət bəθa,<sup>1</sup> *mən-xəzmàne,<sup>1</sup> *y-ázi be-kʼàlo.*<sup>1</sup> *y-ázi be-kʼàlo tàma,<sup>1</sup> *péši ʼó-lele tàma.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*yáni qámθa hátxa*<sup>1</sup> *hadíya léle hádax.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*ina qámθa ʼurxà ʼiyáwa.*<sup>1</sup> *péši xətna-w kʼàlo tàma*<sup>1</sup> *hal-xušəba.*<sup>1</sup> *kulléy béna deṛíwa bəθa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*u-kút-xa y-azəlwa bεθe-díye.<sup>1</sup>****************************

### Easter

(52) *qyàmta,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*axni gu-maθwàθa*<sup>1</sup> *tróša rába tazeyèwa.*<sup>1</sup> *sáma zòda*<sup>1</sup> *b-lèle šaláxwa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*ašərta.*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*iθwalən šəwəma,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*yáni ʼéða y-aθéwa mən-šəwəma.*<sup>1</sup> *šəwəma ʼile xamšì yomáθa.*<sup>1</sup> *bar-šémi náše xamšì yomáθa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʼ</sup>*i-šəwíwa bəʼe.*<sup>1</sup> *mrazgíwa*<sup>1</sup> *šábθa ʼašərta.*<sup>1</sup> *qám-dana y-áwa-mrúzge bəʼe,<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa xá mrúzge gʼanèy.<sup>1</sup>******

(48) Subsequently, on the same day, there was what is called 'the lunch of the groom'. Everybody would have cooked something, one person rice, one stuffed vine leaves, another red rice,<sup>15</sup> another white rice. Everybody cooked something. This is called 'the lunch of the groom'. This also was a gift for the groom. (49) They would have brought sweets to be scattered (over the newly weds). We had (such a custom) of scattering sweets. A woman from among the relatives brings them. They bring the lunch, then go to the groom and bride and kiss his head and the head of the bride. Some people scatter sweets over them. In this way they bless them, according to our custom, they bless them. (50) They sit and in the evening all gather and go down (to dance). Afterwards, after the people have eaten all the lunch, they bring the bride out and make her dance. People come up to them and take them down to a large space outside. They put the groom and bride together side by side<sup>16</sup> and everybody dances. This day also<sup>17</sup> the wedding celebrations last until evening. (51) The next day the celebrations gradually come to an end. The bride stays there until the seventh day, which is called '(the time) she has begun (her functions of a wife)'. Yes, the seventh day is called '(the time) she has begun'. The bride and the groom—some of the family, some relatives, go to the house of the bride. They go to the house of the bride and spend the night there. They did this in the old days, it is not like that now. But in the old days this was the custom. The groom and bride stay there until Sunday. Then they all return home, everybody goes to his home.

### *Easter*

(52) Easter in our community in the villages was indeed very beautiful. Generally we went down (to the church) at night or in the evening. We had a fast, that is the festival came after a fast. The fast is fifty days. After people fast for fifty days, they would paint eggs. They would prepare them on Saturday evening. They would have prepared the eggs beforehand, each person prepared them himself.

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<sup>15</sup> Rice cooked with tomato.

<sup>16</sup> Literally: They make the groom and bride hold each other's side.

<sup>17</sup> I.e. Monday.

(53) *šáβθa 'ašə̀rta*<sup>1</sup> *mrazgíwa g'ána qa-t-šále qyàmta*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-qyámta b-lèle 'iyáwa*.<sup>1</sup>  
*y-azíwa šahàrta y-amròxla*.<sup>1</sup> *sáma zóda náše y-ázi šahàrta*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-táma b-màθe**wa*.<sup>1</sup>  
*b-máβa 'úmra qurbeyewa*.<sup>1</sup> *w-iyéwala púnde*,<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa 'iyewále púnde*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-mšalíwa*  
*šahàrta*,<sup>1</sup> *mšeríwa šloyàθa*.<sup>1</sup> (54) *gu-d-ε-dàna*,<sup>1</sup> *y-oráwa xá-sa'ət biz-zòda*,<sup>1</sup>  
*qayəmwa*<sup>1</sup>...<sup>1</sup> *'áy y-ámri má dánət plítla qyàmta*.<sup>1</sup> *šahàrta qa-t-qyàmta pálta*.<sup>1</sup>  
*fa-zayəmwa qàša*<sup>1</sup> *'u-kút-xa púnde b-íde diye*.<sup>1</sup> *y-aθèwa*<sup>1</sup> *xá bar-d-o-xèna*.<sup>1</sup> (55) *sáma*  
*zóda y-oðə̀xwala qam-tàra*.<sup>1</sup> *rába šə̀klánta 'iyáwa basimta*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni 'ana-taxrónna rába*  
*ràba*.<sup>1</sup> *rába tàza 'iyéwa*.<sup>1</sup> *qayəmwa*,<sup>1</sup> *qáša y-awéwa zína qamàye*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-šamáše bàθre*  
*bàθre*.<sup>1</sup> *kút*...*y-ázi tàma*,<sup>1</sup> *maxéwale púnda réše diye*<sup>1</sup> *y-amórwá: qyámətət mārən*<sup>1</sup>  
*qímle mārən*.<sup>1</sup> *hál kúlla párqí m-ğðàðe*.<sup>1</sup> (56) *šaqlàwa*<sup>1</sup> *bálki xá-sa'əta biz-zóda*  
*y-oràwa*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-náše xamlíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ε-dána mšeríwa wáða rázət qurbàna*.<sup>1</sup> *'é kúlla*  
*b-lèlele*,<sup>1</sup> *qedamyàθe**le yá'ni*.<sup>1</sup> *bár parqáwa qyàmta*,<sup>1</sup> *qám mšeríwa rázət qurbàna*,<sup>1</sup>  
*'úmra qúrbət bεθ-qorayàθa y-awéwa*.<sup>1</sup> *bεθ-qòra*.<sup>1</sup> *'an-náše mìθe*<sup>1</sup> *'áni y-amròxxa*  
*bεθ-qòra*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-y-azíwa*.<sup>1</sup> (57) *kút-xa 'itle xa-mìθa*.<sup>1</sup> *malhéwa púnda*,<sup>1</sup> *mattíwale*  
*kəs-reše-diye*<sup>1</sup> *mdabšiwale*.<sup>1</sup> *tré-punde t̄l̄àθa*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðíwa zòre*,<sup>1</sup> *y-oðíwa zóre qə̀t̄t̄àte*,<sup>1</sup>  
*mattíwala*<sup>1</sup> *mdabšiwala*<sup>1</sup> *l-réšəd bεθ-qòra*.<sup>1</sup> *sáb kúl-xa náša hálbət 'itle mìθa*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-kúl*  
*kúlfət y-azáwa l-míθe diye*,<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni l-bεθ-qòra*,<sup>1</sup> *mattáwa 'alle-diye*,<sup>1</sup> *malhèwale*.<sup>1</sup>  
*'u-mšaléwa 'ap-'áni 'alle-diye*.<sup>1</sup> (58) *'u-deříwa*,<sup>1</sup> *'u-y-óriwa mádre gu-'úmra*,<sup>1</sup> *šeríwa*  
*rázət qurbàna*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-hál qedàmta*—*gu-d-ε-dàna*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa y-áwe múθya bə̀ta mónne*.<sup>1</sup>  
*bə̀ta halbát smòqtəla*,<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni 'áwwa xa-nišənqele*.<sup>1</sup> *'u-náše ràbe 'iyéwa*.<sup>1</sup> *m-bár pálət*  
*qurbàna*,<sup>1</sup> *pálti gu-dèrta*,<sup>1</sup> *qémi mxáya bə̀'ə*.<sup>1</sup> *y-amròxxe mxáya bə̀'ə*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni šmáta bə̀'ə*  
*xa-d-o-xèna*,<sup>1</sup> *twàra*.<sup>1</sup> *maxéwa bə̀'ə*,<sup>1</sup> *'áxni y-amròxxe mxáya bə̀'ə*.<sup>1</sup>

(53) On Saturday evening they prepared themselves to go down (to church) for the Easter (vigil), because Easter was at night. They went to the vigil, as we called it. Most people went to the vigil, since it was there in the village. In the village the church was nearby. They had tallow candles, everybody had tallow candles. Then they prayed the vigil, they began the prayers. (54) Then, after about an hour had passed, the resurrection would be celebrated.<sup>18</sup> What is this called?: The time when the resurrection has taken place. They keep vigil until the resurrection takes place. The priest stands and everybody has a tallow candle in his hand. They come up one after another. (55) Generally we hold it (this ceremony) outside. It was very beautiful and pleasant. I remember well. It was very nice. (When) the resurrection was celebrated,<sup>19</sup> the priest would have stood at the front and the deacons behind him. Everybody came up and they touched his head with a tallow candle and said 'The resurrection of our Lord. Our Lord has arisen'. (This went on) until everybody had finished. (56) It took time, perhaps an hour or more would pass. The people were joyful. Then they began to take communion. All this was at night, that is in the early morning. After the resurrection ceremony had finished, before they began to take communion—the church was near the cemetery, the cemetery. The dead people, they lay in what is called the cemetery.<sup>20</sup> The people would go (there). (57) Each person has a dead (family member). He would light a tallow candle and put it by his head<sup>21</sup> and press it (down on the grave). They made two or three small tallow candles, they made small pieces and placed them, stuck them onto the head of the grave. This was because every man, of course, had a dead (family member). Every family went to his dead, that is to the cemetery, placed (a tallow candle) for him and lit it. They also prayed for him. (58) Then they returned, went back into the church and began the communion mass. The next day—at that time everybody would have brought an egg with him. The egg was red, of course. This was a symbol. There were many people. When the communion is over, they go out into the courtyard and begin to knock eggs together. We call this 'knocking eggs', that is smashing the eggs of one another and breaking them. They would strike eggs together, we call it 'striking eggs'.

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<sup>18</sup> Literally: He (Christ) arose.

<sup>19</sup> Literally: He (Christ) arose.

<sup>20</sup> Literally: We call them the cemetery.

<sup>21</sup> I.e. on the headstone of the grave.

(59) *gu-d-ε-dàna*<sup>1</sup> *toráwa bèta*,<sup>1</sup> *y-ámər màxðərra*!<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-o-géba yáʔni góta xèta*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-twírwala tórna*<sup>1</sup> *t-xa mənnyè*<sup>1</sup> *y-awəlwala qa-t-wáha šaqəlwa mánne*,<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni qəm-qarəmla t-ámrx*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bár parqíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *náše y-áwa mútʔye táma t-amrəxxe kàde*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni kàde y-áwa mtúrše*... *mən-qàmxele-u*<sup>1</sup> *məšxa*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rába mənnyè y-áwe duwàna*,<sup>1</sup> *là?*<sup>1</sup> *hè*,<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe duwàna-w qámxa-w m-án məndiyàne*.<sup>1</sup> (60) *ʔáni kullèy*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa mútʔye táma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mpālila náše*.<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni ʔax nišānqe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-áwra*... *y-áwa mútʔye bəʔe xa-yáwəl qa-d-o xèna*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-jámi táma-w*<sup>1</sup> *mbárxi náše gðàðe*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xàmlí*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-kúl xa-məndí*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔən-ʔíθən náše ʔóʔye m-maθwáθa xène*,<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa šaqəlwa xákma xəzmān-díye*,<sup>1</sup> *masəqla kəsle-díye tla-řǵarta*.<sup>1</sup> (61) *ʔu-bar-párqi rázgi*... *qamáye ʔaxni táma y-azəxwa bəθət rəyyəs*—*rəyyəs*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwra ʔíle góra màθa y-amrəxle*—*ʔu-be-qəša*.<sup>1</sup> *fa-jámíwa náše*,<sup>1</sup> *níxa níxa níxa níxa*,<sup>1</sup> *pešíwa xámša-w ʔəřra-w hál xamšəssə*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-péši xa-béna mařáwa hal-ʔəsrí*,<sup>1</sup> *doqíwa bəθa bəθa*<sup>1</sup> *xá bar-d-o-xèna*,<sup>1</sup> *liθən?*<sup>1</sup> (62) *ʔéðux bríxa*,<sup>1</sup> *šláma-w yatwíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *béna meθéwa štèθa-w*,<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni ʔəraq*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-m-xàmra-w*<sup>1</sup> *zamríwa-w*<sup>1</sup> *xamlíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa lwíše kúlla jülle*,<sup>1</sup> *mxùmlé*,<sup>1</sup> *xákma məndiyàne*,<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni rába təza*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-ʔó-yoma xa-xəðyùθe*<sup>1</sup> *wáwa*,<sup>1</sup> *hál kawùθra*,<sup>1</sup> *pálgəd yòma*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ε-dàna*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔékye*<sup>1</sup> *mútʔye pálgət yòma*<sup>1</sup> *táma y-axlíwa kúlla*.<sup>1</sup> (63) *ʔáni y-ámri xādàya*,<sup>1</sup> *sab-y-áwa wíðe xādàya*,<sup>1</sup> *wíðe rázza-w šorba-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-básre ʔu-məndiyàne ʔu-štèθa*,<sup>1</sup> *kúl-xa məndí táma y-axlíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *məðre*<sup>1</sup> *mšeríwa*<sup>1</sup> *l-ʔədawáθa*,<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni jwája l-ʔədawáθa d-an-xène*,<sup>1</sup> *hál ʔašřta*,<sup>1</sup> *hál dart-yòma*.<sup>1</sup> *tre-yomáθa ʔiyéwa ʔèða*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-áwa blíge b-ánna məndiyàne*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwra ʔíle ʔax-t-ámrx*<sup>1</sup> *ədət-qyámta*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-nišánqa rába góra trəša*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwra ʔéða góra y-amrəxle*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwra ʔéða góra*.<sup>1</sup>

(64) *ʔéða góra*<sup>1</sup> *yómət trüşeba*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe duxràna*.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe duxràna*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-duxràna mòðile?*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-nàše*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla báte*<sup>1</sup> *kut-béθa mbášəl xa-məndí*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-rəzzese*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-dìxwele*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-prəxela*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-bušələle*,<sup>1</sup> *gəřðo*,<sup>1</sup> *sáma zóda y-ámri gəřðo*.<sup>1</sup> *gəřðo ʔíla mən-màsta*.<sup>1</sup> *màsta ʔíla mən-xəlyə*,<sup>1</sup> *xəlyət ʔərwé*.<sup>1</sup>

(59) Then, when the egg broke, one would say ‘Turn it round!’ and (the opponent struck) also the other side.<sup>22</sup> If both (sides) of one of the eggs broke, he would give it to the other person to take it from him. He has won it, as we say. After they finish—people would have brought there what we call *kade*. The *kade* were made from flour and butter, and many had *duwana* (cake paste) in them, is that not so? Yes, they were (made of) *duwana*, flour and the like. (60) They brought all these there and people shared them out. This was also a symbolic act. They brought eggs and people gave to one another. They gather there, bless one another (with greetings of the season) and enjoy themselves, and so forth. If there are people who have come from other villages, each person would take some of his relatives and take them up to his home for breakfast. (61) After they had finished and were ready... in the old days there (in our land) we used to go the house of the (village) head—the head is ‘the man of the village’, as we call him—and to the house of the priest (to offer Easter blessings). The people would gather and would gradually become five, ten, up to fifteen, sometimes they would reach twenty (in number), then they would call on each house, one after the other, you see. (62) (They would say) ‘May your festival be blessed. Greetings’ and they would sit. Then they would bring drink, arak and some wine, and they would sing and enjoy themselves. They were all dressed in festive clothes and the like, very smart, since that day was a joyful occasion. (This went on) until lunchtime, midday. At that time, wherever they had got to, at midday they all ate. (63) They say *xādaya* (‘lunch’), they would have made lunch, rice, soup, meat and so on, also drink, everything, and they ate. Then they would again start on the festival visits, that is they would make festival visits to other people, until evening, until the next day. The festival was two days. They were busy (in this period) with these things. This is, as we say, the festival of resurrection (‘Easter’), a really big symbolic event. We call this the ‘Great Festival’, it is the ‘Great Festival’.

(64) During the ‘Great Festival’, Monday was a (time of) memorial, it was a (time of) memorial. What is this memorial? The people, all the families, each family cooks something. This is rice, *duxwa*, stuffed vine leaves, stew or *gərđo*—generally it is called *gərđo*.<sup>23</sup> *Gərđo* is made of yoghurt. Yoghurt is made from milk, milk of sheep.

<sup>22</sup> Literally: ‘also the other side, that is side’. Two different words are used for ‘side’.

<sup>23</sup> I.e. *bušala* and *gərđo* are alternative names for the same dish.



(65) *fa-mεθέle l-bèθa xálya.*<sup>1</sup> *xalwíle mεθέle l-bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *'a-másta marèla.*<sup>1</sup> *mátti š-nùra-w<sup>1</sup> šáxna-w dére marèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla šáxna péša màsta.*<sup>1</sup> *'a-masta y-ódi gèrðo.*<sup>1</sup> *gèrðo mòdila.*<sup>2</sup> *rázza-w màsta.*<sup>1</sup> *mbašlila.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-sáma zóda y-ódi gèrðo.*<sup>1</sup> (66) *'é-ga táma kásléni 'íθwaløn tùθa.*<sup>1</sup> *túθa xa-dúkθa gòrtela,*<sup>1</sup> *pθixtela,*<sup>1</sup> *rába náše jámi tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya qam-tárat bèθa t-amráxla.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-kul-náše kút-xa mεθéwa xádáye díye 'u-mattíwa tàma.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-y-áwa tíwe náše<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mrúzge dùka.*<sup>1</sup> (67) *'é-ga qèse<sup>1</sup> mattíwa qésa y-atwíwa rēše díye.*<sup>1</sup> *'an-xoríyáθa y-amráxxa qèse,*<sup>1</sup> *y-atwíwa rēš-díye.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-y-áwa mríze kúlla mexòlta,*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa mútta gota-gòðàðe.*<sup>1</sup> *'ó-t mεθéwa bušàla<sup>1</sup> be-pálge díye y-awóðwale maqòra y-amráxle.*<sup>1</sup> *matíwíwa xá tása,*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa gáwe díye,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-'a-báxta maθyàwa<sup>1</sup> gu-xá 'amána xèna<sup>1</sup> mǎšxa<sup>1</sup> deryáwa gáwe díye.*<sup>1</sup> *mǎšxa-w napóxta yan-duwána derya gáwe díye.*<sup>1</sup> *'ay-y-ámri gèrðo.*<sup>1</sup> (68) *'u-y-aθéwa.*<sup>1</sup> *'an-'iθ-qaša táma mšaléwa-w<sup>1</sup> kúlley y-axlíwa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa wéwa xa-'iqàra.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa yómət tré 'éða góra y-odìwale.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-parqíwa-w xamlíwa<sup>1</sup> ta-'ap-'o-yóma zamríwa xamlíwa raqðíwa kúl-xa mèndi.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xárθa y-azíwa bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa 'éða góra,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa nišánqat 'éða góra.*<sup>1</sup>

### *The Saint's Festival*

(69) *šera<sup>1</sup> xa-təxrúnnyele,*<sup>1</sup> *'áw xà-yomεle.*<sup>1</sup> *'i-jámi náše rába.*<sup>1</sup> *náše jámi qa-šera.*<sup>1</sup> *'ap-'áw 'íle xa-təxrúnnya d-ó qadiša,*<sup>1</sup> *d-o-'úmra təxrúnnya díyele.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ε-dàna<sup>1</sup> y-áθi náše m-wáðər rába.*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa dwíxe g'anè,*<sup>1</sup> *dwíxe xa-nišánqa tla-'úmra,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-xèllət,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-mèndi.*<sup>1</sup> (70) *fa-'áxni gu-Mar-Sàwa,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-'En-Nùne,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa yíwe qàble y-amráxle.*<sup>1</sup> *qàbla mòdile.*<sup>2</sup> *'ərba.*<sup>1</sup> *'írba 'i-mεθéle,*<sup>1</sup> *'i-permíle 'o-yòma.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-náše y-áwa rába 'óθye m-maθwàθa.*<sup>1</sup> *permíle 'ərba<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-áwa rába náše mruzgállá gané qa-d-o-yòma.*<sup>1</sup> *'i-pèrmi<sup>1</sup> rába gáye<sup>1</sup> 'asrà-rešət 'órwe.*<sup>1</sup> *y-amráxxe rēša.*<sup>1</sup> *'iθn rába gáye<sup>1</sup> tlati,*<sup>1</sup> *'asri.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwíwa xa-dùxa y-áwe.*<sup>1</sup> *permíle.*<sup>1</sup>

(65) They bring the milk to the house. They draw milk and bring it to the house. They congeal (the milk to make) the yoghurt. They put it on the fire, it warms up and they add a congealing agent (rennet). It all warms up and becomes yoghurt. They make the yoghurt into *gərðo*. What is *gərðo*? Rice and yoghurt. They cook it. They generally make *gərðo*. (66) At that time in our village we had a mulberry tree. The mulberry is in a big, spacious place and many people gather there. This was ‘before the door of the house’ (i.e. outside), as we say. Everybody would bring his own lunch and set it out there. People would sit there and would have prepared a place (for the food). (67) On this occasion they would put out wood and sit on it. They would sit on wood of poplar trees, as we called them. They would have lined up all the food, each (item) placed beside the other. Whoever brought stew would make what we call a *maqora* ‘hole’ in the middle of it. He would put a small dish in it, like this, and a woman would bring, in another vessel, butter, which she would put in it. She would put butter, date syrup or cake paste in it. They call this *gərðo*. (68) Then people would come. If a priest was there, they would pray and everybody would eat. This was a (sign of) respect. They did this on the second day of the Great Festival. (When) they finished (the festival), they enjoyed themselves, singing, making merry, dancing and so on also that (second) day. Afterwards, they went home. This is the Great Festival. This is the customary way of celebrating<sup>24</sup> the Great Festival.

### *The Saint’s Festival*

(69) A saint’s festival is a memorial, it is a day (of memorial). Many people gather. People gather for the saint’s festival. This is the memorial of the saint of the church, his memorial. At that time, many people come from outside. They would have dedicated themselves, dedicated some symbolic item to the church, a gift, something. (70) In our (the church) of Mar Sawa, in ʿEn-Nune, people would have given what we call devotional gifts. What is a devotional gift? A sheep. They bring a sheep and slaughter it that day. Many people came from the villages and slaughtered sheep. Many people would have prepared themselves for that day. On many occasions they slaughtered ten head of sheep. We call it ‘head’ (of sheep), on many occasions thirty, twenty. This was a dedicatory sacrifice. They would slaughter it (the object of this sacrifice).

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<sup>24</sup> Literally: the sign.

(71) *fa-m-báθar t-y-áθa nàše<sup>1</sup> y-áwe qurbána-w prìqe.<sup>1</sup> y-átwi fàtri qamàye.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mrúzge fàrta.<sup>1</sup> m-bár fàrta<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa dúxa t-ile prìma<sup>1</sup> y-oðíle tla-kawùθra.<sup>1</sup> 'ína gu-d-ε-dàna<sup>1</sup> har-<sup>2</sup>iθ rǵàða-w<sup>1</sup> zmàra-w<sup>1</sup> mεθóye štèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'àraq-u<sup>1</sup> xumlàna.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ap-<sup>2</sup>ánna xa-nišánqət šèrela,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>aw-diya.<sup>1</sup> rába y-oðíwa spáy,<sup>1</sup> rába ràba.<sup>1</sup> rába tàze.<sup>1</sup> (72) 'ani myaqrile tla-<sup>2</sup>èta.<sup>1</sup> jámi nàše.<sup>1</sup> rába náše y-áwa mrúzgalla ganéy qa-d-áw m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> 'àxni<sup>1</sup> gu-<sup>2</sup>En-Nùne<sup>1</sup> 'itlən šèra.<sup>1</sup> halbát diya léle 'ax-qàmθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ína qàmθa lošúwa jùlle,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni y-oðíwale xa-šàqla<sup>1</sup> rába šapíra<sup>1</sup> rába tàza.<sup>1</sup> diya<sup>1</sup> 'ahwalátte šuxl̀ppla,<sup>1</sup> lɛla-<sup>2</sup>ax-qàmθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ína šèra<sup>1</sup> har-<sup>2</sup>o-šèra,<sup>1</sup> har-o-<sup>2</sup>iqàra<sup>1</sup> kúl-xa m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup>*

### Ploughing

(73) *gu-d-ε-dàna<sup>1</sup> y-awèwale<sup>1</sup> pθánət tàwre.<sup>1</sup> pθánət táwre zǻréwa bìya.<sup>1</sup> 'íman 'i-zǻréwa bìya,<sup>1</sup> 'áráθe diye zǻrèwala,<sup>1</sup> tla-nàše.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xá-mdi zòra,<sup>1</sup> šaqálwa zùze<sup>1</sup> mən-nàše<sup>1</sup> sab-kúlla líθwale táwre.<sup>1</sup> zǻríwa x̀tt̃e,<sup>1</sup> zǻríwa prǻge,<sup>1</sup> zǻríwa màše.<sup>1</sup> qàmθa rəzzà-<sup>2</sup>iθwa,<sup>1</sup> xartmàne.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna m̀ndiyàne<sup>1</sup> kúlla zǻríwa qàmθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-xǻyíwa bíye diye.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni líθwa m̀ndiyàne t-zoníwa ràba.<sup>1</sup> (74) 'u-<sup>2</sup>áw...y-awéwale tàwre,<sup>1</sup> 'an-tàwre<sup>1</sup> dáx zǻríwa.<sup>2</sup> 'iθwa bzàra.<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'akàra<sup>1</sup> t-íθwale pθánət tàwre,<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>2</sup>áwowa 'iθwale m̀anne diye...zǻréwa b-bzàra.<sup>1</sup> bzàra modíla.<sup>2</sup> 'áyya mturáštɛla mən-qèse.<sup>1</sup> béna 'áy 'iθwala s̀kθa,<sup>1</sup> s̀kθa t-amrǻxla pr̀zɛla,<sup>1</sup> 'áy s̀kθət pr̀zɛla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-zǻréwa bìya diya,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mtagb̀rwala g'ān-diye xayùθe.<sup>1</sup>*

(71) After the people came, there would be (holy) communion and then they finished. They would first sit and have breakfast. They would have prepared breakfast. After breakfast they prepare the sacrifice that has been slaughtered for lunch. At that time there is constant dancing, singing, serving of drinks, arak, and jollity. These things are also customary features of the festival, even now. Many people hold the festival in a very beautiful way. (72) They respect it for the sake of the church. The people gathered together. Many people would have prepared themselves for that event. We in 'En-Nune have a saint's festival. Of course now it is not as it was in the old days. In the old days people would wear (special) clothes. They would make it a decorative occasion, very beautiful, very fine. Now circumstances have changed. It is not like formerly, but the festival is the same festival, the same respect (is shown), everything.

### *Ploughing*

(73) At that time (a cultivator) had a pair of oxen. He would cultivate with a pair of oxen. When he cultivated with them, he cultivated his own lands and also for other people. He would take something small, some money from the people (as his fee), since not everybody had oxen. People would cultivate wheat, they would cultivate millet, they would cultivate beans. In the old days there was rice, chickpeas. They used to cultivate all such things in the old days and they would live off this. There were not many things that they bought. (74) The person who had the oxen — how did the oxen cultivate? There was a plough. The farmer who had the pair of oxen, he had (them) with him and he would cultivate with a plough. What is a plough? It is made from wood. It had a blade. The thing we call the blade is iron. It is a blade of iron. He used to cultivate with it. He would make his livelihood.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Literally: He would support his life.

*The Cultivation of Apples (1)*

(75) *bar-hàdax*<sup>1</sup> *náše mšuréla tróša...* *yá'ni xayútha qəm-mšaxəlpila*<sup>1</sup> *qímila zrá'a xabùše.*<sup>1</sup> *qímila zrá'a xabùše.*<sup>1</sup> *xabùše muntéwala bíya díya.*<sup>1</sup> *bás 'áθra šuxləpəwale.*<sup>1</sup> *'ína xabùše biš-senàyiwa*<sup>1</sup> *pəlxanèy.*<sup>1</sup> *'ína halbát bǎyéla šúla gòra,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-hal-hadíya xayuθèy*<sup>1</sup> *l-xabùšela.*<sup>1</sup> *zrúta rába bašórta 'iθena,*<sup>1</sup> *'anna məndiyáne 'i-mpəlxíwala qàmθa*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-maşéwa xǎyiwa.*<sup>1</sup>

*The Cultivation of Rice*

(76) *zrétət rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *zrútət rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *'ára 'iyáwa sapíqta.*<sup>1</sup> *qam-dàna,*<sup>1</sup> *tré-yomaθa t̄làθa,*<sup>1</sup> *maštéwala*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t xáčča péšawa rakixta.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-'áyya 'i-zǎrúwala šuráye b-yárxət t̄làθa,*<sup>1</sup> *'árba,*<sup>1</sup> *xámša hatxàne,*<sup>1</sup> *sab-'áwəwa b-qèṣta y-áwe rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-deréwa mīya gáwa díya*<sup>1</sup> *'u-məθéwa tàwre*<sup>1</sup> *'u-zǎrúwala.*<sup>1</sup> *'áwəwa y-amrəxxe wáða herike.*<sup>1</sup> *'áyya lé-y-amri zrá'a*<sup>1</sup> *y-amri wáða herike.*<sup>1</sup> (77) *fa-y-oðúwa herike,*<sup>1</sup> *zǎrúwala.*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa m-bár hàdax*<sup>1</sup> *xámša 'əštà ganáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xámša 'əštà 'úrze,*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðúwa məššare.*<sup>1</sup> *'án məššare manáy díya modila.*<sup>2)</sup> *qá-t t̄la-maštéθət rəzza yéwa biš-senàyi.*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t yǎðúwa kút-xa məššare káma b-šále mīya gáwa díya.*<sup>1</sup> *bár d-ày,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-tre yomàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa*<sup>1</sup> *maḷéwa 'áni mīya,*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa baðqíwa rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> (78) *rəzza xá-yoma qam-dána 'iyéwa murəkkxa gu-juwala.*<sup>1</sup> *məθéwale*<sup>1</sup> *y-azíwa baðqíwale.*<sup>1</sup> *bðàqa,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni baðqíwa rəzza.*<sup>1</sup> *bár baðqíwale,*<sup>1</sup> *hammáše mīya gǎrəg háwa 'álle díye.*<sup>1</sup> *šaqlàwa*<sup>1</sup> *xà-šabθa,*<sup>1</sup> *trè šabbáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *mšére bráya 'o-rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *hál maḷéwa t-rayəmwa,*<sup>1</sup> *qám .. t-amrəxxe šaləpwa,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni šləpa,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni qám pálət bəp-zǎra díye.*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni bár t-rayəmwa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-azíwa baxtáθa yàda.*<sup>1</sup> *yáda modile.*<sup>2)</sup> *yáda 'ila...*<sup>1</sup> *'iθwa káma gəllále paltíwa mən-d-ò-rəzza,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t la-'oðúwa kè,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t 'áw-rəzza maxəwíwale t̄-awéwa zǎbun.*<sup>1</sup> *'i-jámíwale-'o baxtáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla b-iθaθèy.*<sup>1</sup> *y-óri gu-miya*<sup>1</sup> *tàma*<sup>1</sup> *xazéwa xuwəwəwe.*<sup>1</sup> *baxtáθa káma zǎdíwa mən-xuwəwəwe!*<sup>1</sup> *'u-gu-d-è-dana,*<sup>1</sup> *xákma doqíwale xúwəwa qaṭlívale.*<sup>1</sup> *rába zirək-wəwa.*<sup>1</sup> *xákma zǎdíwa.*<sup>1</sup>

*The Cultivation of Apples (1)*

(75) Afterwards, people in truth changed their livelihood and began to cultivate apples. They began to cultivate apples.<sup>26</sup> They were successful with apples. The country changed (and agriculture became difficult), but the cultivation of apples was easier (than that of other crops). They, nevertheless, required a lot of work. Until now people's livelihood is made by apples. There is very little (field) cultivation. They used to cultivate those things in the old days to make a livelihood.<sup>27</sup>

*The Cultivation of Rice*

(76) As for the sowing of rice, the cultivation of rice—the ground was (left) empty. Three or four days beforehand, they would irrigate it so that it would become quite soft. They cultivated this beginning in March, April or May, in such (months) as these, since by summer it would be rice. They would put water onto it. They would bring oxen and cultivate it. We call this making 'soft mud beds'. This is not called cultivating, it is called making soft mud beds. (77) They would make soft mud beds and cultivate them. Afterwards,<sup>28</sup> five or six people, five or six men, would come and make paddy fields. What is the purpose of these paddy fields? So that the irrigation of the rice was easier, so that everybody would know how much water would go into his paddy field. One or two days after that they would come and fill them with water and would come and scatter rice (in them). (78) The rice one day beforehand was softened in a sack (with water). They would bring it and go and scatter it. Scattering, that is they would scatter rice. After they scattered it, water had to be on it constantly. It would take a week, two weeks, then the rice would start to germinate, until it matured and grew high, before producing ears (of seed), as we say, producing ears,<sup>29</sup> that is before the seed develops in it. After it grew high, the women would go to weed. What is 'weeding'? Weeding is... there were several plants that they took out of the rice, so that they did not affect it, blighting the rice so that it would be weak. The women gathered it all up with their hands. They entered into the water. They would see snakes there. How the women would be afraid of the snakes! When this happened, some grasped the snake and killed it. They were very courageous. Others were afraid.

<sup>26</sup> The cultivation of apples was introduced in the 1960s.

<sup>27</sup> Literally: so that they could live.

<sup>28</sup> I.e. after preparing the soft mud beds.

<sup>29</sup> The verb is denominal, derived from *šable* 'ears of seed'.

(79) 'u-mtāməziwale rəzza,<sup>1</sup> nixa nixa,<sup>1</sup> hál qayəmwa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale xà-yarxa,<sup>1</sup> trè-yarxe hatxáne,<sup>1</sup> !làθa,<sup>1</sup> béna 'i-sàməq.<sup>1</sup> bar-sàməq,<sup>1</sup> t-ámrx dǎn-t xzàttela.<sup>1</sup> mbarziwa miya.<sup>1</sup> bár mbarziwa miya,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa xazdiwale.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa xazdiwale,<sup>1</sup> bár xazdiwale,<sup>1</sup> gu-mšanèθe mən-d-à-'ǎra,<sup>1</sup> nablíwale xá-dukθa xèta,<sup>1</sup> y-amríwala bədra.<sup>1</sup> (80) 'íman t-ila-nabólle bədra<sup>1</sup> m-gu-'ǎra,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa xá y-amrǎxle... xa-júlla<sup>1</sup> 'abàya y-amrǎxwale,<sup>1</sup> 'abàya.<sup>1</sup> 'o-'abàya mattíwale l-xà-dəpna,<sup>1</sup> 'an-réšət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'an-bòle y-amrǎxxa,<sup>1</sup> bòle,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa l-ò 'abàya.<sup>1</sup> 'áw xǎðíwale páлга-w páлга... rəzza,<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'íman majwəjìwale,<sup>1</sup> t-lá nablíwa... t-la-nápl 'o-rəzza 'urxà-w-urxa.<sup>1</sup> (81) sab-mattíwa xās-t-dawère.<sup>1</sup> xákma téníwa xàša<sup>1</sup> masqíwale bədra.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa dukáne rəhqa,<sup>1</sup> dukáne qìrba.<sup>1</sup> mattíwa táma 'ax-huðàla y-amrǎxwale,<sup>1</sup> y-amríwale huðàla.<sup>1</sup> maθíwale xa-'árba xámša yomàθa,<sup>1</sup> šaxənwa,<sup>1</sup> hál maṭéwa gǎrre,<sup>1</sup> sab-'íθwa yá'ni garrè,<sup>1</sup> xá bar d-ó-xena y-amrǎxxe gǎrra.<sup>1</sup> (82) gu-d-ε-dána<sup>1</sup> yómət t-amrǎxxe diwàra.<sup>1</sup> 'ašərtə y-azíwa šarèwale.<sup>1</sup> šáre modíle?<sup>1</sup> mattíxwale gu-bədra,<sup>1</sup> mpaθəxwale.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-y-ámri šrəya.<sup>1</sup> bás 'o-bola-diye<sup>1</sup> y-áwe rima.<sup>1</sup> 'ax-murize t-ámrx,<sup>1</sup> kul-xá-mdi mtugəbra.<sup>1</sup> (83) 'u-dárt yòma<sup>1</sup> qèdamta,<sup>1</sup> qemóxwa jàlde,<sup>1</sup> nablíxwa tàwre,<sup>1</sup> 'ásita tàwre,<sup>1</sup> šàwwa tàwre.<sup>1</sup> 'áy y-ámri diwàra.<sup>1</sup> 'íman t-ix nabóle 'an-tàwre,<sup>1</sup> šalwəxwala,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwala qatira<sup>1</sup> b-qðaléy 'áw t-qèsa.<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa qatirat qèsa<sup>1</sup> t-qðàla,<sup>1</sup> yasóre y-asríwale b-púmmat tàwra<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá 'axíwa m-rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'u-doríwa.<sup>1</sup> (84) diwàra, yá'ni patlíwa tàwre.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa síre b-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá-mənna 'áw y-amríwa sar-gèra.<sup>1</sup> sar-gèra,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'áwən majújwala 'an-tàwre.<sup>1</sup> šaqláwa 'árba sà'əte,<sup>1</sup> xámša sà'əte.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kul-xa-dána 'ó-rəzza jámíwale 'o-qése diye,<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwale pùwuš.<sup>1</sup> jámíwale y-oðíwale qàpla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-napšìwale,<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'an-rəzza la-páyəš gàwe<sup>1</sup> napšìwale.<sup>1</sup>

(79) They cleared the rice (of weeds) until it gradually grew tall. It took one month, two or three and then it became brown. After it became brown, we say that it is harvest time. They would drain the water.<sup>30</sup> After draining the water, they would go and harvest it. They would go and harvest it and, after harvesting it, they would transfer it from that land and take it to another place, which was called the 'threshing floor'. (80) When they took it to the threshing floor from that ground, they would lay down what we called a 'cloth'—we called it a 'cloak'. They would put the cloak on one side, and they would put on the cloak the heads of the rice, we call them 'seed heads', 'seed heads'. They would roll it up (bringing) each half (together), so that when they transported the grass, the rice, they would not fall, so that the rice would not fall along the way. (81) This was because they put it on the back of mules. Some carried it on their back and brought it up to the threshing floor. There were places far away and places nearby. People would deposit (the rice) there in the form of a *huḍala* ('stack of produce'), as we called it. It was called a *huḍala*. They would bring it (and wait) four or five days, while (in the meantime the produce) was warmed (in the sun), until the turn of each person came. This was because they had their turns, one after the other, it is called 'turn'. (82) Then it is the day of what we call *dwara* ('the grinding of the grains'). In the evening they would go and untie the rice. What does the untying involve? We would put it on the threshing floor and spread it out. They call that 'untying'. The seed head of the rice plant would be upright, as if they were in a row, as we say, with everything arranged. (83) The next day, in the morning, we would get up early and take oxen (to the threshing floor), six or seven oxen. They call that *dwara*. When we took the oxen, we would tether them. They had a beam (across) their necks made of wood. They called it a wooden *qaṭira*, (fixed) to their necks, with tethers tying it to the mouth of the bull, so that it did not eat any of the rice, and they would go around. (84) (It was called) *dwara*, that is the oxen would turn round. They were tied together. One of them was called the leader. The leader, that is it would make the (other) oxen walk around. It took four hours, five hours. All the time they gathered the wood (husks) of the rice and they made it into hay. They gathered it into an armful and shook it so that the rice did not remain in it. They shook it.

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<sup>30</sup> Literally: They would dry the water.



(85) *baxtáθa y-áwa zíne napšìwale.<sup>1</sup> kúl-xa 'asrá daqìqe<sup>1</sup> šaqłíwa xákma mánna b-məlxàwa<sup>1</sup> məθèwale,<sup>1</sup> mattíwale l-d-à-gota<sup>1</sup> 'u-'an-baxtáθa<sup>1</sup> kapšìwale,<sup>1</sup> napšìwale gu-d-a-npàšta<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattíwale l-qóma báθər xàsey.<sup>1</sup> xa-xèna<sup>1</sup> 'úrza y-áθe y-asəṛwale<sup>1</sup> dərze y-amrəxwala,<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'áwwa payášwa qa-mexóltət táwre qa-səṭwa.<sup>1</sup> (86) 'úrza payášwa tàma,<sup>1</sup> bar-hádəx,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa mdarəwale<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-hawa píše šəxte.<sup>1</sup> 'u-gu-práqtət 'asəṛta,<sup>1</sup> bar-priqla,<sup>1</sup> məθéwa juwàla,<sup>1</sup> deréwa gáwe diyə.<sup>1</sup> paltíwa xamsà-juwale,<sup>1</sup> 'əštà-juwale,<sup>1</sup> 'asrà-juwale,<sup>1</sup> 'u-masqíwa bəθa b-dawére 'u-b-koðənta,<sup>1</sup> lìθən.<sup>21</sup> (87) məlxáwa modíle.<sup>21</sup> məlxáwa 'íwa mírša m-qəsa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iθwale dəsqa ríxa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-reše-díye 'ítla t́lá qése hatxa-zòre.<sup>1</sup> 'áw napóšwala 'an-rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'áw məndiyáne šúle,<sup>1</sup> kúl-xa məndi.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa y-amrəxwa məlxàwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áy 'iyéwa qəššət yá'ni rəzza,<sup>1</sup> m-éka məšarəye<sup>1</sup> 'u-laxxa pràqe.<sup>1</sup>*

(88) *bar-hádəx rəzza mbárzi bràza.<sup>1</sup> masqíwale gərə,<sup>1</sup> masqíwa gār-t bəθa.<sup>1</sup> mpaθèwale.<sup>1</sup> barózza tàza.<sup>1</sup> bar-barózza mjámíwale.<sup>1</sup> bar-mjámíwale parəgwa.<sup>1</sup> (89) 'iθwa gu-bəθa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa kàwe y-amrəxwala.<sup>1</sup> y-oya-mruzəgta xa-dúkθa mən-kàwe.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-é-kawe 'o-rəzza kúlle deréwale šále gu-bəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya kúlla b-čeriye t-amrəxəlla,<sup>1</sup> b-čeriye.<sup>1</sup> qemíwa<sup>1</sup> héwən t-ámrx 'ərxə.<sup>1</sup> (90) 'ap-'ərxə b-gàrre y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-'ərxə módi šúl diya.<sup>21</sup> qəššət t́xánət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa pənxə,<sup>1</sup> t-'ərxə,<sup>1</sup> pənxət 'ərxə.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa 'o-t-k'əpa 'áw 'o-t-xəttə,<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa qámxa,<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'áw t-rəzza<sup>1</sup> 'íwa t-qəsa.<sup>1</sup> har-ta-d-áwwa məndi wéwa t-qəsa.<sup>1</sup> fa-deráwa rəzza qa-t-lá 'awáðle qámxa qa-t-la-tàwərre.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa mruzgewa.<sup>1</sup> (91) 'u-gu-d-ó pənxə<sup>1</sup> nqire wéwa<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'an-xəttə t-oríwa bəl-pənxə l-pənxə.<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'o-gəšər-díye<sup>1</sup> 'áw t-azəlwa.<sup>1</sup> habbákθət gān-díya<sup>1</sup> 'áyya...yá'ni lə-qayəθwa čú-mdi bi-díya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-paltáwa t-azáwa 'u-mjámíwala<sup>1</sup> 'u-masqíwa bəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-gəšər-díya b-zadèwale,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwale pàrta.<sup>1</sup>*

(85) The women stood and shook it. Every ten minutes or so, they would take some from it with a threshing fork. They would bring it and place it on one side. The women would gather it and shake it with the shaking (just mentioned) and put it into a pile behind their back. Another man comes and ties it up into bundles (*darze*), as we called them, in order for it to remain for cattle fodder for the winter. (86) The man would remain there, then they would come and winnow it, so that impurities did not remain. At the end of the evening, after they finished, they would bring a sack and put (the produce) in it. They would bring away five sacks, six sacks, ten sacks and take them up to the house on mules, on a she mule, you see. (87) What is a winnowing fork (*mālxawa*)? The winnowing fork was made from wood. It had a long handle. Its end had three pieces of wood, small like this. It would spread out the rice, or various other things, everything. They called this a 'winnowing fork' (*mālxawa*). This is the story of rice, from where it begins, and it ends here.

(88) After that they dry the rice out. They would take it up to the roof, take it up to the roof of the house. They spread it out. It became thoroughly dry. After it dried, they gathered it together. After they gathered it, it (the process) was over. (89) In the house there was what we called a 'small window' (*kawe*). A place was prepared with a small window. They put the rice in this small window in order for it to run down into the house. This all took place in the *čeri* months (October and November), as we call them, the *čeri* months.<sup>31</sup> They were undertaking (this) in the season of what we call the 'water-mill'. (90) Also the water-mill was by turns. What is the job of the water-mill? As for the story of grinding the rice, they would install a grind wheel, of a water-mill, a grind wheel of a water-mill. There was a stone (grind wheel), which was for wheat, with which they made flour, but the one for rice was of wood. It was for exactly the same thing, but of wood. They put rice (onto it) so that it would not make it flour and not break it. It was set up (for grinding). (91) In the grind wheel there were bore holes so that the wheat would enter between one wheel and the other, so that its husk would be removed. But the grain itself was not damaged.<sup>32</sup> It came out (of the mill) and they gathered it and brought it up to the house. They would throw out its husks, it was called 'chaff'

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<sup>31</sup> *čeri qamaya* 'October' and *čeri xaraya* 'November'.

<sup>32</sup> Literally: nothing struck it.

(92) 'íman-t y-aθéwa mašléwa rózza l-<sup>2</sup>ðrxe,<sup>1</sup> mattíwa pònxa.<sup>1</sup> pònxa 'éni mǎnnèle.<sup>2</sup> 'iθ-pónxət qèsa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθ-pónxət kèpa.<sup>1</sup> pónxət qésa 'áwwa ta-ròzzεle.<sup>1</sup> sab-<sup>2</sup>án muttúlǎn pínxət kèpa,<sup>1</sup> maráxle kúlla-w páyǎš qàmxa.<sup>1</sup> hadíya bud-qèsa<sup>1</sup> béna 'áwwa y-áwe xriṭa<sup>1</sup> gáwe y-áwe mǎrša.<sup>1</sup> (93) 'iθ-náše súle 'áw-ile.<sup>1</sup> garsile biye-diye<sup>1</sup> yá'ni ṭaxníle biye-diye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mpálta rózza ḏa-gòta<sup>1</sup> 'u-párta ḏa-gòta.<sup>1</sup> pártá zadèla.<sup>1</sup> y-àza,<sup>1</sup> ta-čú-mdi la-nǎfa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-rózza mjámèle,<sup>1</sup> 'u-másqi bèḏa.<sup>1</sup> b-nósba rózza hal-làxxεle,<sup>1</sup> m-tama-hódax mšéri mbašòle,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa ta-gān-diye.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Cultivation of Wheat*

(94) zrútət xǎṭte prištela.<sup>1</sup> 'iθǎn 'ávi 'u-dèmi.<sup>1</sup> démi t-lá mǎya,<sup>1</sup> la-bás l-<sup>2</sup>əryàna zǎrila.<sup>1</sup> 'áni xǎṭte zǎrila...<sup>1</sup> 'áni xǎṭte huwèdi sáma zóda<sup>1</sup> 'i-zǎrila t-là maštóye,<sup>1</sup> y-amrǎxxa dèmi.<sup>1</sup> 'áni zǎri gu-ṭura.<sup>1</sup> 'iθ dukáne tǎmǎz y-áwa ṭla-zrúta,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'a-dúkḏa har-ṭla-hàdǎx-ila.<sup>1</sup> (95) 'á-t gu-'aqàra<sup>1</sup> ṭ-íle gu-màḏa<sup>1</sup> 'aqàra xǎṭte zǎrila<sup>1</sup> m-báḏər xzǎttət rózza.<sup>1</sup> 'áy y-ámri šōp-rózza.<sup>1</sup> xazdila rózza.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáčča 'i-rǎkxa dúka,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi zǎri xǎṭte šáwpa diya,<sup>1</sup> sab-<sup>2</sup>áyya b-qèṭa y-óya.<sup>1</sup> yǎrxət šáwwa tmǎnya,<sup>1</sup> mšéri xzáda xǎṭtǎne.<sup>1</sup> xǎṭtǎne biš-senǎyila.<sup>1</sup> (96) 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ani dwàrela.<sup>1</sup> bár zǎrila-w qèmi,<sup>1</sup> bár xazdila,<sup>1</sup> y-ódi dǎrze y-amrǎxla.<sup>1</sup> y-odíla dǎrze.<sup>1</sup> mεḏéla 'ap-<sup>2</sup>áni l-bǎdra.<sup>1</sup> 'íman-t dorila,<sup>1</sup> mεḏe-táwre dorila.<sup>1</sup> 'ax-mǎri qa-rózza méḏe táwre-u<sup>1</sup> 'u-kul-xa-mǎndi y-asrile dōri.<sup>1</sup> 'áni... qésa diya kúlla páyǎš 'ax-túna y-amrǎxle.<sup>1</sup> xǎṭte pèši ḏa-gota,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áw páyǎš ḏa-gota,<sup>1</sup> túna liθǎn.<sup>2</sup>

(92) When they came and brought the rice down to the water-mill, they would install a grind wheel. Which of the (types of) grind wheel was it? There was a grind wheel of wood and a grind wheel of stone. The grind wheel of wood is for rice, for if we installed a stone grind wheel, it would crush everything and it would become flour. Now with regard to the wood, it is made with a groove in it. (93) There are people whose job that is. They crush it (the rice) with it, that is they mill it with it, and it (the mill) sends forth rice on one side and chaff on the other side. They throw the chaff away. It is discarded, since it is of no use. They gather up the rice and take it up to the house. This is all there is to say about rice.<sup>33</sup> Thereafter they start cooking, everybody for himself.

### *The Cultivation of Wheat*

(94) The cultivation of wheat is different. There is irrigated land and unirrigated land. Unirrigated land is without water. Rather, they sow it relying only on rainfall. They sow the wheat. The *huwedi* wheat they generally sow without irrigation, they call it 'unirrigated' (*demi*). They sow it in the mountains. There are places that are clear for sowing, such a place is always used for this purpose. (95) As for the (sowing place) in the farm land in the village, they sow wheat in this land, after the harvest of the rice. They call this (sowing) 'in place of the rice'. They harvest the rice. The place has become quite soft and they go and sow wheat in its place, since this takes place in the summer. In July or August, they begin to harvest the wheat plants. Wheat plants are easier (to harvest). (96) Wheat also is threshed. After they sow it and it grows, after they harvest it, they make what are called 'bundles' (*darze*), they make it into bundles. They bring also these to the threshing floor. When they thresh it, they bring oxen to thresh it. As I said regarding the rice, they fetch oxen and so forth, tie them together and they turn and thresh (the wheat). The wood of the wheat all becomes like straw, as we call it. The wheat grains stay on one side and this stays on the other side, that is straw, you see.

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<sup>33</sup> Literally: With regard to rice it is up to here.

(97) *kul-xa-móndi qəm-dorile, liθ-pyáša ’ánna t-amrǎxxa bòla díye, m-d-an-məndi-yáne pyáša gáwe, qèmi, marpéla-tawre y-àzi. sàpri ’ən-háwe pàwxa, ’ánna y-amrǎxxa mdaróye. mdaróye modila. méθε mǎlxàwa. ’ən-’íθ pàwxa, ’i-marmíle gu-hàwa. xǎtte y-ázi δá gòta ’u-túna y-ázəl δá gòta. pársi m-ǵðàðe. ’u-túna, m-bár túna pálat δa-gòta xǎtte δa-gòta, xǎtte μεθέla juwàla. ’u-deréla gáwa díya. (98) ’u-túna ’ap-’áw μεθέle juwàle, masqíle ’itle dúka mruzágra qa-sətwa. ’ína túna deréle qa-kodənta, qa-táwre, qa-sətwa, qa-t-xámε biye-díye. ’u-xǎtte masqíla. xǎtte, yá’ni mturǎstət xǎtte’ halbát ’ile lǎxma. lǎxma ’ile ’ap-’áw mən-xǎtte. xǎtte masléle l-’ərxe. (99) ’áwowa t-in-mára pǎnxət k’èpa, b-d-áw tǎxníle. tǎxanta díye ’ile pǎnxət k’èpa. m-bár tǎxníle, páyǎs qǎmxa, masqíle bèθa, ax-t-móri ’ən-báyí t-yápi lǎxma mǎnnéy zedáye, mtársi mǎnnéy tǎlme, yá’ni lǎxma priša y-áwe. (100) lešále bǎxta, bəd-míya mǎnne ’u-lešále ’u-dére xmirá gáwe díye ’u-mxǎmèle. šáqla xa-sà’ət, xa-sà’ət hátxa mǎndi. ’u-’anna baxtáθa yǎði, matti ’ída ’əlle řéši qá-t ’áwowa mǎndi hóle xmiya. yǎði biye-díye. ’u-nablíle tanúra. ’íθ xa-tanúra mtúrša tǎ-hàdǎx-ile. ’u-yapyále bǎxta. m-bár t-yapyále, ’áyya šaqlále zedáye díya ’u-yáwa xá-tre zedáye tǎ-d-à. ’u-y-áθya bèθa, ’u-máθya mεxòlta, y-àxli.*

### Ovens

(101) *tanúra: bár μεθέle kəs-d-a-bǎxta, t-yápya lǎxma, y-oðále zedáye. ’áyya mpaθyále mpaθyále. y-oðále guttáθa qamàye, ’u-mpaθyále tàza. m-bar-hàdǎx mattále gu-tanúra. ’o-tanúra y-áwe mšúxna qam-dàna. y-áwe dǎrye núra, múθye qèse. mšúxna tàza, šxíne y-amrǎwa smìqa. (102) ’u-y-áθya mdabšála ’əlle-díye kòpa gawàye, hal sàməq. yǎða kméle smìqa. δà-b-ða šáqla-w’ mattála xa-xèta. ’u-párqa ’áy ’u-’áni ’árbe xámməš y-áwe mütte, liθəni kut-sámqa jàlde, šaqlàla. ’áy y-oya-priqta, mátta xéta šópa díya. ’ay-y-amrila péθət lǎxma gu-tanúra.*

(97) (After) they have threshed everything and no more of its heads, as we call them, remain, none of such things remain, they let the oxen go. They wait for there to be wind and they do what we call winnowing. What is winnowing? They bring a winnowing fork. If there is wind, they raise it in the air. The wheat grains go onto one side and the straw goes onto the other. They separate. After the straw goes out on one side and the wheat grains on the other side, they bring a sack for the wheat grains and put them in it. (98) They bring sacks also for the straw and take it up to a place that has been prepared for it for the winter. They lay out the straw for the mule, for the cattle, for them to live off for the winter. They bring the straw up. Something that is made of wheat is, of course, bread. Bread is made of wheat. They take the wheat down to the water-mill. (99) They grind it with the stone grind wheel, as I said. Its grinding is with the stone grind wheel. After they grind it and it becomes flour, they take it up to the house, as I said, if they want to bake pitta breads from it or make thin breads, there being different types of bread. (100) A woman kneads it, together with water. She kneads it and they put yeast in it and leaven it. It takes an hour or so. The women know (about this), they place a hand on it and feel that it is leavened. They know about it. They take it to the oven . There is an oven that is prepared for this purpose. Then a woman bakes it. After she bakes it, she (the other woman) takes her pitta breads and gives one or two pitta breads to her (the baker woman).<sup>34</sup> She comes home and brings food and they eat.

### *Ovens*

(101) The oven: After they bring the bread to the woman who bakes, she makes it into pitta breads. She spreads it out. First she makes it into balls and then spreads it out well. After that, she puts it into the oven. The oven is heated beforehand. They have put fire (in it), brought wood. It is heated well, (the wood becoming) hot and (the oven) red. (102) She (the baker woman) comes and presses (the flat bread) onto it, down below, inside, until it becomes brown. She knows how brown it has become. She takes them one by one and puts another in. (When) she finishes, four or five are laid out. She takes out whichever one is brown soonest. That one is finished and she puts in another in its place. This is called baking bread in the oven.

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<sup>34</sup> As a fee for her services.

*The Cultivation of Apples (2)*

(103) *xabúše xéna šúle xáčča zàmət-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *'íman t-it-maθóyalle y-amrǎxxe šǎdla.*<sup>1</sup> *šǎdla,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-a-ǎra t-bǎyət mattǎtle.*<sup>1</sup> *'ən-bǎyət zǎrǎtle,*<sup>1</sup> *xaprǎtle šáwpe diye.*<sup>1</sup> *xaprǎtle*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrx xa-šǎta,*<sup>1</sup> *xa-šǎta biz-zǎda.*<sup>1</sup> *mattǎtle 'o-šǎdla gáwa tǎma,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-mkasǎtla*<sup>1</sup> *šáwpe diye.*<sup>1</sup> *bél-šǎdla l-šǎdla*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg mátteti xa-xamšá 'aqlàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xamšá pasùwe,*<sup>1</sup> *'átxa mǎndí,*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-'íman t-áwe gǎre*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-lá qéθi b-ǎdǎde,*<sup>1</sup> *biš yáwi tǎnta rǎbθa.*<sup>1</sup> (104) *m-bár xákma šǎnne,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa 'áp-'ən-hawe marǎra,*<sup>1</sup> *'ína bár xa-šéta-w pǎlge,*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg y-amrǎxle ksǎxa.*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg 'áθex kasxǎle*<sup>1</sup> *'u-t-odǎxle taqlǎm,*<sup>1</sup> *tafǎm y-amrǎle,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t t-odǎxle xabúšta 'ixǎla.*<sup>1</sup> *fǎ-'áw bǎyále xa-šéta.*<sup>1</sup> *šétet 'arbe*<sup>1</sup> *xabúšta dǎqa.*<sup>1</sup> (105) *'ína kùššǎt*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg xaprǎtla čǎnnǎkéra diya,*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg xaprǎt-ži čǎnnǎkéra diya-w derǎtla sùla.*<sup>1</sup> *sùla modǎle?*<sup>1</sup> *'áwwa 'ile šǎxtǎt heywǎne,*<sup>1</sup> *t-tǎwre,*<sup>1</sup> *kodǎnta,*<sup>1</sup> *t-'ǎwre.*<sup>1</sup> *derǎtla sùla líθǎn*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t šéta b-šéta biš-mqǎrǎna tǎza.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-béna 'íman t-ila-pyáša gǎre*<sup>1</sup> *xáčča šúla biš-zàmət-ile.*<sup>1</sup> *lǎ'ánnahu pyáša gǎrtela*<sup>1</sup> *mtagbǎrta diya biš-rǎbela,*<sup>1</sup> *'u-gǎrǎg rába 'áxlǎt xǎm.*<sup>1</sup> (106) *'u-qéta,*<sup>1</sup> *bár t-ila-dwǎqa,*<sup>1</sup> *qám t-mǎt*<sup>1</sup> *gǎrǎg maxǎtla darǎmǎna,*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t 'an-mǎrre la-'áθi 'ǎlla diya,*<sup>1</sup> *mtarǎmza,*<sup>1</sup> *yǎn tarpáθa diya xǎrwi,*<sup>1</sup> *xabúšta xǎrwa,*<sup>1</sup> *kul-xa mǎndí.*<sup>1</sup> *fǎ-'ánna mǎndiyáne kùlla*<sup>1</sup> *yǎni y-odǎwala.*<sup>1</sup> *'u-xayuthǎ*<sup>1</sup> *b-ǎyyewa*<sup>1</sup> *trǎša yǎni.*<sup>1</sup> *rǎba 'itley xayúθa basímta bǎd-ǎyya,*<sup>1</sup> *yǎni zǎrǎt xabúše.*<sup>1</sup> *léle zàmət.*<sup>1</sup> *senǎyile,*<sup>1</sup> *yǎni xayúθa biš-senǎyila.*<sup>1</sup>

*Preparations for Winter*

(107) *xayúθǎt tǎma dǎx-ila?*<sup>1</sup> *qéta,*<sup>1</sup> *qéta 'imse?*<sup>1</sup> *mǎn-yǎrxǎt tǎlǎ*<sup>1</sup> *'ile náše mšǎri*<sup>1</sup> *plǎxa.*<sup>1</sup> *qéta 'ile šúle yǎni dǎnǎt pǎlxǎna,*<sup>1</sup> *qéta kùlle y-áwe plǎxa hal-čǎri.*<sup>1</sup> *čǎri manáy*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrǎxle,*<sup>1</sup> *yǎrxǎt 'ǎšra,*<sup>1</sup> *xadǎssǎr.*<sup>1</sup> *m-tǎma hòdǎx*<sup>1</sup> *kùlla 'an-'árba yǎrxe,*<sup>1</sup> *xámša yǎrxe,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwe náše blǎge mjǎmǎye,*<sup>1</sup> *mjǎmǎye qa-sǎtwa.*<sup>1</sup> *sǎtwa mšǎre mǎn-yǎrxǎt 'ǎšra.*<sup>1</sup>

*The Cultivation of Apples (2)*

(103) The cultivation of apple trees is somewhat difficult. When you bring it (to be planted), we call it a sapling. You put the sapling in whatever land you like. If you want to plant it, you dig its place. You dig it, let's say a span or more than a span (in size). You put the sapling in this place and cover it over. Between the saplings you must leave about five steps, five paces, something like that, so that when they are big, they do not touch one another and they will yield more abundant fruit. (104) After a few years, even if the fruit is (still) bitter, after a year and a half it must be pruned, as we say. We must come and prune it and trim it and perform what is known as grafting, in order to make an apple tree bearing edible fruit. This requires one year. In the fourth year the apple tree produces fruit. (105) Each year you must dig around it. You must dig around it and place manure on it. What is manure? It is the muck of animals, of oxen, a mule, of sheep. You put manure on it, you see, in order that from year to year it grows better. When they become big, the work is a little more difficult. This is because, when they become big, the job to maintain them is bigger, and you must be very careful. (106) In summer, after it bears fruit, before (the apples) become ripe, you must apply chemical (insecticide), so that diseases do not afflict it, whereby it wilts or its leaves are spoilt and the apple tree is spoilt, and so forth. They did all these things. Indeed their livelihood was in this. They had a very good life by this, that is by the cultivation of apples. It (their life) is not difficult. It is easy. Their life is easier.

*Preparations for Winter*

(107) What is the life there like? When is summer? It is from March that people begin to work. Summer is (for) jobs, that is the time for working, all the summer is work, until the autumn. The autumn means October, November. From this time onwards, throughout four or five months, people are busy gathering, gathering for winter. Winter begins from November.



(108) bàrya<sup>1</sup> 'áthe tálga ràba.<sup>1</sup> bárya 'áthe mátra hammàše.<sup>1</sup> bas-náše y-áwa-mrùzge.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'ítile 'àrwe,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'ítile tàwre<sup>1</sup> y-áwe xzída gèlla.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-hawéle 'àrwe<sup>1</sup> y-áwe xzída tãrpa.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-òdi kodènta,<sup>1</sup> t-awéle tìna.<sup>1</sup> mən-məndiyáne kùlla mjámèla qa-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> sab-sàtwa hammàše lìθ cù məndí.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mən-yárxət xadəssər<sup>1</sup> gəlla lá y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> 'àrwe lé-y-asqi tura xàla.<sup>1</sup> (109) sab-'áxni táma 'itlən b-qèta,<sup>1</sup> mən-yárxət xàmša,<sup>1</sup> tla-'àrwe<sup>1</sup> dóqəx šāvàna.<sup>1</sup> šāvàna modile?<sup>1</sup> kut-nášət 'ítile 'àrwe,<sup>1</sup> 'm-'àrwe<sup>1</sup> xwàrela,<sup>1</sup> 'àrwe<sup>1</sup> kòmela,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'àzəzela,<sup>1</sup> 'm-wànela.<sup>1</sup> dóqəx šāvàna.<sup>1</sup> 'áv dóqəx b-zùze,<sup>1</sup> yán xzì kəmà yawíle<sup>1</sup> yá'ni tla-d-ày.<sup>1</sup> (110) 'u-'áv qédamta šaqólla... mjámi náše kùlla t-màtha,<sup>1</sup> mjámíle 'an-'àrwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-masóq l-tura,<sup>1</sup> mən-qédamta 'u-hál 'ašərta.<sup>1</sup> 'ašərta madárra qám gnéθət šəmša,<sup>1</sup> xwéθət xiyá.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kùt-xa<sup>1</sup> 'ítile gómət g'áne,<sup>1</sup> 'ítile dúka mruzáqta y-amrəxla duna.<sup>1</sup> 'áv duna 'itla... yá'ni pθixtela.<sup>1</sup> góma 'ile gawàye,<sup>1</sup> duna 'ile qam-tàra.<sup>1</sup> (111) 'ávwa šúlət qètəle kùlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-har-hádəx tàwre.<sup>1</sup> tàwre,<sup>1</sup> tawərta,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ánna y-amrəxla bəqra.<sup>1</sup> dóqəx baqàra.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-baqàra mòdile?<sup>1</sup> y-ázəl báθər... nábəl bəqra.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áv hádəx qédamta<sup>1</sup> xálwi tawərta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-qédamta masqila l-bəqra hátta mjámi xà-dukθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqólla 'aw-baqàra<sup>1</sup> 'u-šule-díye y-áwe masóqta l-tura,<sup>1</sup> mařəla,<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál 'ašərta məθəla.<sup>1</sup> (112) 'áyya b-qèta.<sup>1</sup> 'ašərta wíðəla gèlla,<sup>1</sup> gəlla gu-'aqàra.<sup>1</sup> məθəla,<sup>1</sup> dérela məxólta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xalwíla-w<sup>1</sup> xošíla gu-góma.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya qétəla tla-heywàne.<sup>1</sup> 'ina gu-d-ə-dána har-y-áwa mrùzge<sup>1</sup> mqarqòze,<sup>1</sup> xzáda gəlla qa-sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> (113) 'ina y-áwe hal-yárxət 'àsra.<sup>1</sup> yárxət 'àsra<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mjúmje gèlla-w<sup>1</sup> məndí xzída-w mùθya.<sup>1</sup> 'áv y-áwe bríza.<sup>1</sup> 'áv mattíle š-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> y-amríle huðàla.<sup>1</sup> mattíle š-gðàðe<sup>1</sup> y-amríle huðàla.<sup>1</sup> qa-'íma?<sup>1</sup> qa-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> qa-haywáne diyə.<sup>1</sup> š-d-ó huðàla<sup>1</sup> 'i-mátti púwuš,<sup>1</sup> sab-púwuš la-šála míya bi-díye.<sup>1</sup> púwuš m-éni mənñèle?<sup>1</sup> 'o-t rəzza.<sup>1</sup>

(108) It sometimes happens that a lot of snow falls. It sometimes happens that it rains all the time. People, in any case, are prepared. A person who has sheep or who has cattle has harvested grass. A person who has sheep would have harvested leaves. Those who keep mules have hay.<sup>35</sup> They gather everything for winter, since in winter there is never anything. From November onwards there is no grass. The sheep do not go up into the mountains to eat. (109) For there, in the summer, from May onwards we hire a shepherd for the sheep. What is a shepherd? Anybody who has small cattle, whether they are 'white small cattle' or 'black small cattle', that is whether they are goats or sheep. We hire a shepherd. We hire him for money, whatever they (agree to) give him for that. (110) He takes them in the early morning. All the people of the village muster and gather the sheep. He then goes up into the mountains, from the morning until the evening. He brings them back in the evening before the setting of the sun and the coming of darkness. Everybody has his own basement stable and a place prepared (for feeding), which we call a *duna* (feeding pen). This feeding pen is open (to the sky). The basement stable is inside and the feeding pen is outside. (111) This is all a job of the summer. (The care of) oxen is just the same. Oxen, a cow, we call these cattle. We hire a cowherd. What is this cowherd? He goes and fetches the cattle. Likewise early in the morning they milk a cow and take it up to the cattle so that they are collected in one place. The cowherd takes them and it is his job to take them to the mountains, graze them and bring them back by evening. (112) This is in summer. By the evening they have prepared grass in the farm-land. They bring them back and put food out for them. They milk them and shut them in the stable basement. This is (the activity of) the summer with regard to animals. Yet at that time they would have already made preparations, putting things in order and harvesting grass for the winter. (113) This is the case until October. In October (after) they have gathered the grass and what they had harvested and brought it home, it becomes dry and they stack it up.<sup>36</sup> This is called a *huðala* (fodder stack). They stack it up, it is called a fodder stack. For when (is this prepared)? For the winter, for their animals. On top of this fodder stack they put hay, since water does not seep through hay. What type of hay is it?<sup>37</sup> That of rice.

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<sup>35</sup> The pronominal suffix on the verb *t-awele* is singular rather than the expected plural, agreeing with what precedes.

<sup>36</sup> Literally: they put it one on top of the other.

<sup>37</sup> Literally: from which of them.

(114) *béna hadíya rǝzɜa liθena.<sup>1</sup> hadíya qíme gu-d-è-dana<sup>1</sup> dére naylòn,<sup>1</sup> qá-t<sup>1</sup> áwɜa naylòn qa-t-lá-sala míya gàwe<sup>1</sup> d-ó t-ámɜx huðála,<sup>1</sup> sab-ʼán šléla míya xàru.<sup>1</sup> xrúle,<sup>1</sup> táwre-u heywáne pǝsí t-lá mexòlta.<sup>1</sup> har-hádǝx mǝzgi kúlla mexòlta,<sup>1</sup> máθǎlan xàtte,<sup>1</sup> rǝzɜa,<sup>1</sup> pǝge,<sup>1</sup> ššime,<sup>1</sup> kúlla ʼan-t-áwa zǝyǎlla.<sup>1</sup> ʼanna tla-náše t-axlila b-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> sáb zǝrúta liθ b-sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> (115) l-kúlla d-àyy<sup>1</sup> qa-t-ʼanna tla-náše<sup>1</sup> ʼu-ʼanná gǎlle mǝndiyáne<sup>1</sup> qa-heywáne diyèy,<sup>1</sup> hál yáɜxət tǎ.<sup>1</sup> yáɜxət tǎ mǝdre mšére bǝher.<sup>1</sup> heywáne y-ásqi tǝra.<sup>1</sup> ʼu-níxa níxa<sup>1</sup> ʼo-t-y-áwe píša xá-mdi mexòlta y-axlila.<sup>1</sup> ʼu-ʼáw-ile xa-dánət farqúθa bǝl-d-áyya l-d-áyya.<sup>1</sup> (116) kúlla mǝndiyáne mǝzgi qa-xayúθət sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> b-qǝta hal-yáɜxət ʼǎsra,<sup>1</sup> y-áwe mǝpǝše y-amǝxle.<sup>1</sup> ʼáxni y-amǝxle mǝpǝše.<sup>1</sup> mǝpǝše mòdi.<sup>2</sup> mjǎmòye.<sup>1</sup> mjǎmòye mòdi.<sup>2</sup> yáʼni mǝzgi qa-sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> sab-sàtwa y-áθe tǎlga,<sup>1</sup> y-áθe mǎtra,<sup>1</sup> pǎwxa.<sup>1</sup> lá-mše. náša t-ázəl dukàne.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa y-áwe gu-bèθe<sup>1</sup> ʼu-heywáne y-áwa mǎnne diyèy,<sup>1</sup> har-gu-gòma y-amǝxle.<sup>1</sup> yáʼni ʼáyya y-amǝxle gòma.<sup>1</sup> (117) dére mexòlta ʼu-yàtu.<sup>1</sup> ʼu-dére mexòlta ʼúrɜət bǝθa.<sup>1</sup> ʼáw ʼo-t-ítte qàmxa<sup>1</sup> nabǎlle l-tanǝra,<sup>1</sup> y-apǝle<sup>1</sup> ʼu-y-áθi y-atwí ʼu-mdi.<sup>1</sup> ʼanna tǎl-yarxe tré-yarxe litley çù-šula,<sup>1</sup> bas-mtagbóre héyɜn diyèy<sup>1</sup> ʼu-tíwe bǝθa.<sup>1</sup> hal-yáɜxət tǎl<sup>1</sup> mšére bǝher,<sup>1</sup> béna mšére mǝqarqóze xabušy<sup>1</sup> ʼu-ʼaqarèy<sup>1</sup> ʼu-kúl xá-mdi diyèy.<sup>1</sup>*

(118) *ʼána mǝrən... ʼáwɜe yasqíwa tǝra<sup>1</sup> b-qǝta.<sup>1</sup> ʼína b-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> sáma zòda,<sup>1</sup> náše b-yáɜxət ʼǎççá<sup>1</sup> yasqíwa tǝra<sup>1</sup> qǎtíwa tǎɜpe y-amǝxle,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa gu-ʼúpre diyèy.<sup>1</sup> ʼáy mòdi qtá<sup>2</sup> a tǎɜpa.<sup>2</sup> qǎtíwale,<sup>1</sup> xá har-iwa-práma zdáya l-ǎra-w<sup>1</sup> ʼan-xéne ʼiyáwa báθre báθre wáða tǎxe<sup>1</sup> zóre qa-t máši mjǎmǝwala.<sup>1</sup> (119) m-bár qam-parqíwa<sup>1</sup> yáʼni t-ámri dánət šalèxi.<sup>1</sup> xá-sa<sup>2</sup>ət qam-dána,<sup>1</sup> ʼáw tǎɜpa kúlla mjǎmǝwale,<sup>1</sup> banǝwale bar-ðà ʼilána.<sup>1</sup> ʼáy y-ámri garúta.<sup>1</sup> banǝwale bar-ðà ʼilána<sup>1</sup> ʼu-xalšiwale.<sup>1</sup> ʼáp-ʼən-iwa šǎlya<sup>1</sup> míya šále bi-diya,<sup>1</sup> sab-dánət talila y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> y-áwe dwiqa,<sup>1</sup> lǝ-xàru.<sup>1</sup> ʼay-y-ámri garúta.<sup>1</sup>*

(114) Now there is no rice. Now, at that time (of year) they put plastic (on it), so that this plastic prevents the water from seeping down into what we call a fodder stack, for if water seeps in, it spoils. If it is spoilt, the cattle and animals remain without food. In the same way they prepare all the food, for example wheat, rice, millet, sesame, everything that they have sown. These are for people to eat in the winter, since in the winter there is no cultivation. (115) In general the practice was that these things were for people whereas the grass and such things were for their animals. (This continued) until March. In March Spring begins again. The animals go up to the mountains and, gradually, they eat any food that is left. This is a time of division between this (season) and the other. (116) They prepare everything for life in the winter. In summer until October they gather, as we say. We call it gathering. What is 'gathering'? 'Collecting'. What is 'collecting'? This means preparing for the winter, since in the winter the snow comes, the rain and the wind. One cannot go to places. Everybody is in his home and his animals are with him, in what we call the basement stable. We call this the basement stable. (117) He lays in food and sits (at home). The householder lays in food. Somebody who has flour takes it to the oven and they bake it. Then they return home and sit and so forth. During these two or three months they have no work. They only look after their animals and sit in the house, until March, when the Spring begins, then they begin to tend the apple trees, their farmlands and all their things.

(118) As I said, the sheep went up into the mountains in Summer. In Winter, mainly in September, people would go up into the mountains and cut down leaves, as we would say, everybody on his own land. What is the cutting down of leaves? They cut them down, one person cutting and throwing them on the ground, while the others were following behind him making small piles, so that they could gather them up. (119) After they finish, they say 'It is time that we go down (to the village)'. About an hour before (going down to the village), they gather up all the leaves and stack them behind a tree. They call this a *garuta*. They would construct it against a tree and press it down. Even if water ran down into it, it does not spoil, since when it is fresh, it is compact. This is called a *garuta*.

(120) 'ánná qa-'ímɛla?'<sup>1</sup> qa-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> sáb dúnye 'íman-t-àrya,<sup>1</sup> b-sətwa,<sup>1</sup> 'áni lítila xàm.<sup>1</sup> fa-y-áthe tálga,<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše mšéri b-hèwaney<sup>1</sup> mašléwa karàtha.<sup>1</sup> y-áthe mattila kèrta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ítla xàwla-w<sup>1</sup> cùxa-w<sup>1</sup> ténì xašèy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'o-t-ítte dawèra<sup>1</sup> mášle dawère,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni koðənta.<sup>1</sup> (121) 'íman t-íwa tálga,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-dawéra là-mša t-ásqi.<sup>1</sup> fa-mò y-óðì?'<sup>1</sup> b-xàša tənìla.<sup>1</sup> 'ítte xáwla mattile,<sup>1</sup> banéla š-d-ó xàwla,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa 'ax-t máše t-lá-hawe yùgra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-asərye<sup>1</sup> 'u-ṭayənnə xáše diye.<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxxe kèrta.<sup>1</sup> məθèla-w<sup>1</sup> (122) 'áp bas-dùna<sup>1</sup> y-áwa 'ərwə gu-dùna<sup>1</sup> táma y-áwe bənya.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-táma banéla.<sup>1</sup> 'i-péšì qa-tré-yomaθa ṭlá yomaθa<sup>1</sup> hál mádre xáməštən t-àsəq.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-y-ámri garùta.<sup>1</sup> ṭərpa y-áwa qṭiyəlle ṭla-'ərwə,<sup>1</sup> qa-sətwa mapəlxila,<sup>1</sup> mán-mən gəllále xéne t-y-awéla gu-huðála-w<sup>1</sup> (123) 'o-t-y-awéla 'ərwət xwàre,<sup>1</sup> yáwile rása<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ítla tàwre<sup>1</sup> púwus<sup>1</sup> t-yawiwəléy,<sup>1</sup> 'u-túna ṭla-dawèrele<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ən-'ítla šawàde<sup>1</sup> hál bəher.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bəher-ile<sup>1</sup> níxa níxa mabəšrila məxòlta<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ina mpáltila ṭura,<sup>1</sup> 'i-mšere řəya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál d-o-sətwa xèna.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-y-ámri ṭərpa.<sup>1</sup>

### Mules

(124) dawéra<sup>1</sup> 'íwa xa-mánda<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-ámrxə 'íde-w 'àqle y-amrəxla,<sup>1</sup> dawéra 'íde-w 'àqle,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xəyíwa náše b-dawéra.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa qərwən.<sup>1</sup> qərwən modila?'<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa tənà<sup>1</sup> mən-máθa l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> mən-mðíta l-mðita.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqlàwa<sup>1</sup> rába gəyè<sup>1</sup> gu-sətwa<sup>1</sup> gu-'əryàne,<sup>1</sup> šaqláwa xámša sa'atte.<sup>1</sup> y-amrúwa qərwən.<sup>1</sup> (125) mán xá-dukθa 'iθwa<sup>1</sup> t-ámrxə 'Amediya<sup>1</sup> 'əl-'Ĕn Níne.<sup>1</sup> 'ina kúlla ṭurànewa.<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa məθālan xamšì kilo'è biz-zòda<sup>1</sup> hal-šawwí kilo'è.<sup>1</sup> dére xás-t dawéra<sup>1</sup> 'u-masıqwa l-Ĕn Níne.<sup>1</sup> ... məxòlta<sup>1</sup> 'ina rásən qa-t-'ánná məndiyàne.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni y-amrəxxwala rəsən.<sup>1</sup>

(120) When was this made for? For Winter. Since, in this way, when it rained or snowed in winter, they would have no concerns. (When) the snow came, people would start bringing down loads (of leaves) as they needed them.<sup>38</sup> They would come and put the load (on their back). They had a rope and a hair coat and they would carry it on their back. Whoever had a pack animal, would bring down his pack animal, that is a mule. (121) When there was snow, even a mule could not go up (into the mountains). So, what do they do? They carry (the loads) on their backs. A person has a rope which he lays down and he builds up (the load) on top of the rope, everybody as much as he can (carry), so that it is not too heavy. He then ties it up and puts it on his back. We call this a *kerta* (load). They would bring these (to feed the sheep). (122) Now, concerning the *duna* (animal feeding pen), sheep were kept in the *duna*. (The *garuta*) is built there (by the pen), they build it there. They wait for two or three days and then once again go up (to fetch loads). This is called a *garuta*. (When) they have cut down leaves for their sheep, they use it for the winter, together with other grasses that they have in the *huḍala* (fodder stack). (123) A person who has sheep gives them *rasa* grass. People who have oxen give them hay.<sup>39</sup> Straw is (given) to mules and also cattle, if people have them, until Spring. (When) it is Spring, they gradually reduce the fodder and take the animals into the mountains, and they begin to graze, until the following Winter. They call this *tarpa* (gathering of leaves).

### *Mules*

(124) The mule was something that was (as important to somebody as) ‘his hands and his legs’, as we say. We say the mule is ‘his hand and his leg’, that is people would live by the mule. They would go in a convoy. What is a convoy? They would take a load from village to village, from town to town. In the winter and in rain-storms it often took five hours. They called it a convoy. (125) It (went) from some place, let’s say Amediya to ʾĒn-Nune. It was all mountains. They would take, for example, fifty kilos or more, up to seventy kilos. They put it on the back of the mule and took it up to ʾĒn-Nune. (This was) food, that is a ‘ration’ of such things. We called it ‘ration’.

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<sup>38</sup> Literally: In their season.

<sup>39</sup> Literally: (it is) hay that they give them.

(126) 'ína rášən mòdila:<sup>1</sup> rášən 'íla... 'íwa xàtte,<sup>1</sup> ... 'íθwa šèkə,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa qámxa t-y-aθéwa šùxra.<sup>1</sup> μεθέω masqíwala l-màθa.<sup>1</sup> fa-xayyúθy b-dawèrewa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dawéra rába xelànewa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúl-naše, kút-'íθwa dawéra 'i-xàme bi-díye.<sup>1</sup> dawèra<sup>1</sup> 'i-mtag-brèxwale rába,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni y-axlòxwa xam-díye.<sup>1</sup> (127) yá'ni dawéra 'íθwale qurtàna.<sup>1</sup> qurtàna m-mòdi mtúrša:<sup>1</sup> mtúrša mən y-amròxwale çùxa.<sup>1</sup> y-amròxwale qurtàna.<sup>1</sup> 'o-qurtàna<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale bar-xaráyē díye.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa t-qàyiš-zewwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa mändiyàne<sup>1</sup> 'u-wajjítwe xákma xéne xās-t-díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwale tànga<sup>1</sup> y-asrìwale.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bár gamàya<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'íma t-ásəqwa tura<sup>1</sup> t-lá 'o-qurtàna jawəjwa<sup>1</sup> šaléwa napólwa tēna.<sup>1</sup> (128) fa-'ən-māṭmūtūwale 'íθwa xàwla.<sup>1</sup> xáwla 'íθwale 'aqólta.<sup>1</sup> b-ó xáwla y-asrìwa tēna.<sup>1</sup> 'íman-t dawéra 'áwwele yá'ni<sup>1</sup> 'i-nablíwa tēna mən-dúka l-dúka.<sup>1</sup> fa-'íman-t y-awítwa bēθa,<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa māṛəye.<sup>1</sup> māṛəye modíle:<sup>1</sup> qédamta nablíxwala gu-'aqàra.<sup>1</sup> (129) dóqəxwala b-'íðm.<sup>1</sup> sab-har-mrupéwalən rēš-díye<sup>1</sup> leš-maşəxwa doqəxwale,<sup>1</sup> t-arəqwa.<sup>1</sup> fa-'éka 'íθwa dúkθa basímta maxləxwale<sup>1</sup> qá-t t-awéwa xelàna-w<sup>1</sup> t-awéwa qūya,<sup>1</sup> qá-t mašéwa t-azólwa qárwən 'u-t-aθéwa.<sup>1</sup>

(130) 'ána tàxrena,<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga zòrənwa,<sup>1</sup> b-xšátwən 'iwabi<sup>1</sup> 'əsrá šənne,<sup>1</sup> xáčča pyàša<sup>1</sup> šét 'àlpa-w<sup>1</sup> 'əççà-mma-w<sup>1</sup> 'árbi w-əšta.<sup>1</sup> b-yárxət šàwwewa,<sup>1</sup> hon-txára díya,<sup>1</sup> xošəbewa.<sup>1</sup> xošəba,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xošəba lá-palxi nàše.<sup>1</sup> fa-'ána šəlyənwa gu-'aqàra,<sup>1</sup> 'ána-w xàθi.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya qam-'ərwē<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ána qam-kodənta.<sup>1</sup> kodənta b-ìdiyawa<sup>1</sup> šulxəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ána šobànənwa xáčča.<sup>1</sup> y-atwónwa xása díya šulxəθa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni t-lá qurtàna.<sup>1</sup> yatwónwa xās-t-díya-w<sup>1</sup> lá le-zādánwa çu-bèna.<sup>1</sup> (131) 'o-yòma<sup>1</sup> māṛəyənwala.<sup>1</sup> māṛəyənwala,<sup>1</sup> gu-ðà-'ára.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa gawàna,<sup>1</sup> marəyənwala.<sup>1</sup> bèna<sup>1</sup> 'ána tìwənwa-w<sup>1</sup> 'áy b-o gawàna.<sup>1</sup> táma 'o-gawàna bēl-'ára<sup>1</sup> l-'ára.<sup>1</sup> 'ìqa y-áwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá-raba pəθya.<sup>1</sup> qəm-maxyále púmma díya l-rəzza<sup>1</sup> zəryəxwa rəzza.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'ána məri<sup>1</sup> šrixən hátxa biya-díya.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya qəm-patlála g'ān-díya<sup>1</sup> 'ána xšítwən là maxyáli.<sup>1</sup> qəm-patlála g'ān-díya,<sup>1</sup> 'aqláθa 'an-xaráyē... pèna,<sup>1</sup> qəm-maxyála ðà-pena.<sup>1</sup>

(126) What is a ration? The ration consisted of wheat. There was also sugar and flour, which would come by commissioned (pack-animals). They brought it up to the village (in this way). Their livelihood was in the mule. A mule was very strong. Everybody who had a mule lived by it. We looked after a mule very well, we took care of it. (127) A mule had a 'cloth'. What was a cloth made from? It was made from (a thick fabric) that we called *ǎuxa*. We called it a 'cloth'. The cloth had its 'back end'. This consisted of a belt. They would place things, various items on its back, and would tie them with a strap. (They also attached a belt known as) 'the front end', so that when they went up into the mountains, the cloth would not move and the load fall off. (128) When they loaded it, there was a rope. The rope had a buckle.<sup>40</sup> With this rope they would tie up the load. When the mule was (loaded like this), they took the load from place to place. When the mules were at home, we would go and graze them. What is grazing? In the morning we would take them to the farmland. (129) We would hold them with our hands, for, once we had let a mule's head go, we could not catch it again and it would run away. We would let it eat where there was a good place (for feeding), so that it would become strong, so that it would become tough, so that it could travel in the convoy and return (safely).

(130) I remember, when I was young, I think I was ten, or thereabouts, in the year 1946. It was in the month of July, on a Sunday. On a Sunday people did not work. I had gone down to the farmland, I together with my sister. She was in charge of sheep and I was in charge of a mule. The mule was in my hand, barebacked. I had a bit of a cold. I was sitting on its bare back, that is it was without a cloth. I was sitting on its back. Indeed, I was never afraid (to do so). (131) On that day I was grazing it. I was grazing it in a certain piece of land. There was a boundary area (and this is where) I grazed it. Now, I was sitting (on the ground) while it was on this boundary area. The boundary area there is between one plot of land and another. It was narrow, not very wide. It put its mouth in the rice. We had sown rice. I said, I shouted at it like this. It turned itself round. I thought it would not strike me. It turned itself round. Its back legs (gave) a kick, it gave me a kick.

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<sup>40</sup> This consisted of a triangle of wood through which the ends of the rope were threaded and then pulled tight.



(132) *b-ðá-ʿaqla díya pēna qəm-maxyáli ʿaxxa<sup>1</sup> rēšī,<sup>1</sup> qəm-ṭarḫáli gu-māššāra.<sup>1</sup> ʿu-šriḫən<sup>1</sup> ʿu-θiθela xàθi,<sup>1</sup> ʿina rēšī šmīta ʿaxxàne.<sup>1</sup> qímen bar-hàdax<sup>1</sup> síṭanne rēšī<sup>1</sup> ʿina xáθi síṭalle rešī.<sup>1</sup> ʿu-θiθela koðánta kàslī<sup>1</sup> ʿu-tíwen xáša díya<sup>1</sup> síqa bēθa.<sup>1</sup> yáʿni hade-m-háde píšlən xawràne<sup>1</sup> xamàštən.<sup>1</sup> fa-dawéra rába šēnele,<sup>1</sup> yáʿni ʿamīnele,<sup>1</sup> šēnele rába.<sup>1</sup> ʿu-mtagəbrəxwale<sup>1</sup> ʿu-xayūθən<sup>1</sup> taqriban<sup>1</sup> xačča -pyāša<sup>1</sup> l-d-àw-waawa.<sup>1</sup> yáʿni ʿo-t-ʿítwale dawéra<sup>1</sup> xáyūθ-diye rába tàzeyawa.<sup>1</sup>*

(133) *b-dawéra garšəxwa qəse.<sup>1</sup> garšəxwa qése m-túra qa-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> yáʿni kú-benət laxmàwa<sup>1</sup> t-lé y-azəlwa qarwən,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi túra<sup>1</sup> meθéwa qése brize,<sup>1</sup> kəma mašəxwa qése brize.<sup>1</sup> ʿu-šúlət máθa kúlle grášta nabálta m̀ndī<sup>1</sup> mən-ʿára l-b-èθa.<sup>1</sup> (134) xāš-dawéra-yewa,<sup>1</sup> sab-rəḥqewa,<sup>1</sup> là-mšewa,<sup>1</sup> gráštət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> gráštət xətṭe,<sup>1</sup> súla.<sup>1</sup> súla modíle?<sup>1</sup> ʿawwa yáʿni zəblət haywàne.<sup>1</sup> gu-góma mpaltəxwale<sup>1</sup> qam-zāriwa náše rəzza.<sup>1</sup> garšəxwale<sup>1</sup> mašləxwale<sup>1</sup> l-d-à-ʿára<sup>1</sup> derəxwa t̄ama,<sup>1</sup> ʿu-t̄ama,<sup>1</sup> báθər t-y-asriwa rəzza.<sup>1</sup> (135) ʿa-šábθa qaméθa deréwa gu-māššāra<sup>1</sup> qa-t-rəzza t-awéwa spəy.<sup>1</sup> ʿawwa súla dax-mašləwale?<sup>1</sup> y-amráxxe qərtála.<sup>1</sup> qərtála modíle?<sup>1</sup> har-türe,<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa türe gu-ʿaqàra,<sup>1</sup> pərməxwala.<sup>1</sup> ʿiθwa yáʿni xa-dárya náše<sup>1</sup> y-oðüwa<sup>1</sup> mtaršüwa<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwala qərtála.<sup>1</sup> ʿiθwa náše šuləy ʿawwəle líθən?<sup>1</sup> qá-t ʿap-xánčī matewələy.<sup>1</sup> (136) y-oðüwa ʿan-qərtále,<sup>1</sup> meθəwala.<sup>1</sup> béna m-bár hədax<sup>1</sup> ʿan-qərtále kut-tərte<sup>1</sup> y-asriwa b-ğ̣ðàðe<sup>1</sup> b-xàwla.<sup>1</sup> y-asriwa b-xàwla b-ğ̣ðàðe<sup>1</sup> ʿu-ʿíman garšüwa súla,<sup>1</sup> deréwa xāš-dawéra.<sup>1</sup> deréwa xāš-dawéra sapıqe.<sup>1</sup> zayəniwa kəs-tārət gōma<sup>1</sup> y-áwa mpúlte ʿo-súla qam-t̄ara.<sup>1</sup> b-məlxàwa,<sup>1</sup> šaqlüwa ʿó-zəbla mən-ʿára<sup>1</sup> deréwa gu-qərtála.<sup>1</sup> (137) məléwa qərtála m-ay-ğ̣ót tərñəy,<sup>1</sup> mašléwala... gu-ʿārəθa<sup>1</sup> gu-ʿaqàra,<sup>1</sup> xzi-éka ʿaqàra díya rəḥqa.<sup>1</sup> bár šaléwa l-ʿaqàra,<sup>1</sup> msapáqtət súla senəyiyewa.<sup>1</sup> m-ða-gōta<sup>1</sup> zepátwala l-d-ó-geba xəna<sup>1</sup> qa-t xadriwa qərtále-u<sup>1</sup> súla msapqətwale<sup>1</sup> mádre derətwala xāš-koðinta.<sup>1</sup>*

(132) With one of its legs it kicked me here, on my head, and threw me into the paddy field. I shouted and my sister came. My head was injured around here. I got up and bound up my head, my sister bound my head. The mule came to me. I sat on its back and went up to the house. We became friends again. A mule is very tame. It is safe, very tame. We used to look after it and our livelihood depended to some extent on it. Whoever had a mule had a good livelihood.

(133) With a mule we would transport wood. We would transport wood from the mountains for winter. That is whenever it was convenient and the mule was not going on a convoy, they would go to the mountains and fetch dry wood. As far as we could (we fetched) dry wood. It was the job of the whole village to transport and bring things from the land to the home. (134) This was on the back of a mule, since (things) were far away and they could not do this otherwise, namely the transportation of rice, the transportation of wheat, of manure. What is manure? It is the muck of animals. We took it out of the stable basement, before people sowed the rice. We would take it down to the land and spread it there, and also (spread it) there after they had bound up the rice. (135) During the first week they would put it in the paddy field in order for the rice to grow well. How did they take the manure down? (In) what we call a 'pannier basket'. What is a pannier basket? It consists only of pliable sticks from the farmland, which we cut down. There were many people who made what we called a pannier basket. There were people whose job this was, you see, so that they would gain a little (extra income). (136) They would make the pannier baskets and bring them (for people to buy). Then they would tie together the baskets in pairs<sup>41</sup> with rope. They would tie them together with rope and when they transported manure they would put them on the back of a mule. They would put them on the back of the mule empty. It would stand by the door of the stable basement, (after) they had brought the manure outside. They would lift the muck from the ground with a threshing fork and put it in the pannier basket. (137) They would fill the pannier basket on both sides. They brought them (the baskets) down to the plots of land, the farmland. You see, their farmland was far off. After they went down to the farmland, the emptying of the manure was easy. You would push from one side to the other so that the baskets would turn round and so empty the manure, then put them again on the back of the mule.

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<sup>41</sup> Literally: every two of the baskets.

(138) 'u-y-attáxwa xās-kodánta rēs-d-án qərtále,<sup>1</sup> be-pálgá,<sup>1</sup> y-aθáxwa meθáxwa<sup>1</sup>  
 'u-kúlla yóma b-áyya garšáxwa sùla<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa sùla mapálxíwa tla-ràzza<sup>1</sup> diya mapálxíle  
 tla-xabùše<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áwewa sùla 'ile xá xayúθət 'aqàra kúlle líθən.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'aqàra gárəg  
 máxe m-d-àw.<sup>1</sup>

### Sheep's Tail

(139) b-màtha<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa məndiyáne xène.<sup>1</sup> 'ərwə b-qəta<sup>1</sup> mxamáxwa tla-qàlya.<sup>1</sup> 'ərwə  
 mtagbráxwala qa-t-tarsùwa,<sup>1</sup> qá-t mpermaxwa b-čeri,<sup>1</sup> b-yárxat 'əčča,<sup>1</sup> 'əšra,<sup>1</sup> xadəssər<sup>1</sup>  
 permaxwala qá-t 'e-qálya mbarzəxwale,<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwale qəttáte qəttáte.<sup>1</sup> bašláxwale  
 deráxwa gu-tanəkká.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mxamáxwale magðəlwa qa-sətwá<sup>1</sup> y-axláxwa mənne-diye.<sup>1</sup>

### Instruments Used for Harvesting

(140) b-qəta y-azáxwa qərtá.<sup>1</sup> qərtá modíle?<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa 'ánna xoriyátha t-ítlən támara,<sup>1</sup>  
 xoriyátha,<sup>1</sup> xeləpela.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa jawətta.<sup>1</sup> jawətta 'áyya t-prəzlela.<sup>1</sup> jawətta t-prəzlela.<sup>1</sup>  
 y-asqəxwa š-xòrta,<sup>1</sup> qátxáwa 'o-táqa zòrewa,<sup>1</sup> léwa rába gòra.<sup>1</sup> meθáxwale,<sup>1</sup> mattáxwale  
 'ašərtá.<sup>1</sup> (141) 'u-y-aθéwa 'ərwə<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattáxwa qamə<sup>1</sup> y-áxli mənne-diye<sup>1</sup> qa-t-tarsùwa.<sup>1</sup>  
 'o-šúla y-amrəxwale qərtá líθən.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xzátta... t-gəlla<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa mągla.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwalən támara  
 yá'ni nàše,<sup>1</sup> dā-maθa gótən-wawa Derəške,<sup>1</sup> 'áy šuləy<sup>1</sup> taršíwa mągle.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya xzáda  
 xəttə,<sup>1</sup> gəlla.<sup>1</sup> jawətta tla-pràma<sup>1</sup> 'ánna qése ma-qése.<sup>1</sup> (142) 'u-gu-d-è-dana<sup>1</sup>  
 har-'iθwa<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwala nərə.<sup>1</sup> nərə 'ánna tla-pràma qése xlíme.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-nərə 'ap-'áw  
 'áni mtaršíle,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'òste<sup>1</sup> həddàde y-amrəxwa,<sup>1</sup> həddàda.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna xa-Šlémun  
 m-Derəške,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna Derəšknəye y-amrəxwala,<sup>1</sup> šwàwəm-wawa.<sup>1</sup> 'áni mtaršíwa nərə,<sup>1</sup>  
 mtaršíwa jawəttáθa,<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwa mągle.<sup>1</sup>

(138) We would sit on the back of the mule on top of those baskets, in between them. We would come and fetch the manure, every day we would transport the manure in this way. They used the manure for rice. Now they use it for apples. Manure is a vital feature of the entire farm, you see. The whole farm must spread this.

### *Sheep's Tail*

(139) In the village they would make other things. We looked after sheep in the summer for the fat tail. We would look after sheep so that they became fat, in order to slaughter them in the autumn. We would slaughter them in September, October and November in order to dry the fat tail.<sup>42</sup> We cut it into pieces, then cooked it and put it into tin. We would keep it (in storage) to set for the winter, in order to eat it.

### *Instruments Used for Harvesting*

(140) In summer we would go trimming. What is trimming? We would go to the poplar trees that we have there (in our village), which are (a type of) willow. There was a chopper. The chopper was made of iron. The chopper was made of iron. We would climb up a poplar tree and cut down a branch that was small, one that was not very big. We would bring it back and in the evening would put it (on the ground). (141) Sheep would come and we would put it down in front of them for them to eat, so that they would become fat. We called this job trimming. As for the harvesting of grass, there was a sickle. We had people there, there was a village near to us (called) Dērāške, this was their job, they used to make sickles. This was (for) the harvesting of wheat and grass. The chopper was for chopping wood and the like. (142) At that time there was what we called an axe. The axe was for chopping thick pieces of wood. The axe was also made by those craftsmen, blacksmith, as we called them. A certain Šlemun from Dērāške (used to make them). These people from Dērāške, as we called them, were our neighbours. They would make axes, they would make choppers and they would make sickles.

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<sup>42</sup> The informant appears to be confusing *qalya*, which is fat used for cooking, with *qadida*, which is dried salted meat.

(143) 'iθwa gólla y-ámri mergáne.<sup>1</sup> 'áni... mergáne rába 'iyáwa.<sup>1</sup> mtarštwa mágla<sup>1</sup> béna 'aw-léle-šomme mágla<sup>1</sup> y-amrítwa gilándi.<sup>1</sup> gilándi rába gòrèle<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'ε-ga-násət<sup>1</sup> kúlla lá-mše zári,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna gáræg b-šanótta gòra y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> sab-'ánna mergáne rábe<sup>1</sup> léla m-an-t-xazdáxla b-mágla.<sup>1</sup> (144) mágla<sup>1</sup> tla-gu-rəzzele,<sup>1</sup> gólla-hatxa.<sup>1</sup> xánčì xánčì<sup>1</sup> permáxwa bi-diye.<sup>1</sup> 'ína gilándi<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa prəzla<sup>1</sup> 'ánna máglət gilándi xá-mdi gòrèle líθən.<sup>2</sup> tla-d-án mergáne góre góre.<sup>1</sup> sab-'ánna gáræg tre-ítá 'ürze<sup>1</sup> b-kúlla yóma zór mašitwa<sup>1</sup> xəzdi<sup>1</sup> xá-mdi rába bašəra.<sup>1</sup>

### Roofs of Houses

(145) 'áxni b-sətwa mšéra dúnje rəya<sup>1</sup> mən-yárxət 'əšra-w<sup>1</sup> xadəssər hòdax.<sup>1</sup> fa-mò 'iθwa.<sup>2</sup> 'iθwalən gərə.<sup>1</sup> gərə y-awéwa yá'ni t-úpra, tina.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'áwewa y-amrəxwale<sup>1</sup> sərsərra<sup>1</sup> yá'ni qiweyewa.<sup>1</sup> fa-l-gərə<sup>1</sup> 'iman t-aryáwa dúnje<sup>1</sup> 'iθwalən mandórtə.<sup>1</sup> mandórtə mòdila.<sup>2</sup> 'áwewa kəpele,<sup>1</sup> mən-gòte,<sup>1</sup> m-ay-góta m-ay-gòta<sup>1</sup> xrița xa-bòya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mùθyax<sup>1</sup> mtúrşəx qəsa,<sup>1</sup> b-d-ó-qesa nabləxwala-w meθəxwala.<sup>1</sup> (146) 'áyya y-amrəxxa mandòre,<sup>1</sup> qa-t garmáxwa gərə<sup>1</sup> yá'ni gərə qa-t mandərtwa,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-dalòpe<sup>1</sup> la-šále b-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'m-xáčča<sup>1</sup> xáčča xa-béna 'aryáwa-dúnje<sup>1</sup> deréwa xáčča tina,<sup>1</sup> biš-dawùqwa.<sup>1</sup> qəmθa<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa tálga rába.<sup>1</sup> díya ləle-θaya tálga.<sup>1</sup> šuxləpla 'ahwáltət dúnje.<sup>1</sup>

### Hunting Partridges

(147) qámθa rába y-áθe tálga,<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa gərkəwe.<sup>1</sup> gərkəwe modila.<sup>2</sup> gərkəwe 'ila b-yárxət trə,<sup>1</sup> tlaθa,<sup>1</sup> rába y-áθe tálga,<sup>1</sup> qəqwəne.<sup>1</sup> 'áv qəqwána gu-tura y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> b-qéța lá-mšəx doqəxle,<sup>1</sup> 'əlla-qtála qatliwa náše.<sup>1</sup> 'ína b-sətwa<sup>1</sup> ma-t-yawéwa tálga<sup>1</sup> lá-mše jawəjwa.<sup>1</sup> fa-y-aθéwa,<sup>1</sup> yəðəxwa bíya 'ašərtə,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa.<sup>1</sup>

(143) There was grass called meadows. There were many of these meadows.<sup>43</sup> They would make a sickle, but it was not called a sickle, it was called a scythe. The scythe was big. Not all people at that time could work (with it), it needed great skill, for there were many of these meadows and they were not (like) those (types of land) that we harvested with a sickle. (144) A sickle was for (working) in rice (plantations), grass and the like. We would cut down with it a little at a time. But the scythe is made of iron, such scythes are something big, you see, for those large meadows. Since these meadows require two or three men, in a whole day they can barely manage to harvest a very small amount.

### *Roofs of Houses*

(145) In our community it started raining from October, November onwards. What was there (to protect us)? We had roofs. A roof was of earth, mud. We called this *sarsarra* (gravel mixed with mud). It was strong. On the roof, when it rained, we had a roller. What is a roller? It is a stone, bored with a hole in its side, on one side and the other side. We brought and fashioned a piece of wood and with that piece of wood we would move it to and fro.<sup>44</sup> (146) We call that 'compressing' (*mandore*), in that we rolled the roof and the roof became compressed, so that leaking drops did not seep through in the winter. If it rained a little, they put down a little straw, so that it became more compact. In the old days it snowed a lot. Now it does not snow (so much). The climate has changed.

### *Hunting Partridges*

(147) In the old days (when) it snowed a lot, we used to go hunting partridges. What is partridge hunting? Partridge hunting is in February or March, (when) there is a lot of snow. (They are called) partridges. The partridge lives in the mountains. In summer we could not catch them, but rather people would kill them. However, in winter, when there was snow, they could not walk (and we used to catch them). They used to come, we knew that they would come in the evening.

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<sup>43</sup> Literally: These meadows were many.

<sup>44</sup> Literally: We would take it and bring it.

(148) 'àxni<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Núne n̄píltá bēl-túra l-túra.<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Núne n̄píltela l-túra l-túra<sup>1</sup> mən-ná-mənnət n̄rə.<sup>1</sup> 'áθra rába basimēle.<sup>1</sup> ba-ròža<sup>1</sup> 'áy šəmšèθela,<sup>1</sup> l-talána m-ay-gòta.<sup>1</sup> yámne talána-w<sup>1</sup> ba-ròža çäppe.<sup>1</sup> fa-y-aθéwa qəqwàne.<sup>1</sup> θéle rápət qəqwàne,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya gu-sàtwewa,<sup>1</sup> tálga lá-mšəxwa jójəxwa m-áxxa l-àxxa.<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa.<sup>1</sup> (149) 'íman-t jwíjwale xá kilométer m-áxxa l-àxxa,<sup>1</sup> t-ámrx hətə,<sup>1</sup> 'íman t-yatúwewa lá-mšə pàrx<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa doqəxwale senàyi,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-íwa çíya líθən.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya y-amrəxxa gərkàwe.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən,<sup>1</sup> ða-xéta y-amrila<sup>1</sup> qúltá.<sup>1</sup> qúltá 'áy-íla prəzla.<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwala doqíwa.<sup>1</sup> 'arníwwe doqíwa.<sup>1</sup> tēle bíya doqíwa,<sup>1</sup> heywánət tura.<sup>1</sup>

### *Celebrations at the End of Āšwut*

(150) məndiyáne xène<sup>1</sup> mò 'amrənox?<sup>1</sup> 'ádətə priše.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'iθwa y-amrəxwale šàwma,<sup>1</sup> šawèta,<sup>1</sup> doqəxwa bāte.<sup>1</sup> 'àxni bātən šáwwei tmáni batəwa.<sup>1</sup> mšerəxwa šàwma.<sup>1</sup> 'íma-t mšerəxwa syàma,<sup>1</sup> derəxwa yómət Mar-Sàwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'o-yòma<sup>1</sup> basimēle,<sup>1</sup> 'èwele,<sup>1</sup> tálgele.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa y-amrəxxe yá'ni 'ən-ile náša spà,<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma basimta t-óya šəmša.<sup>1</sup> (151) xàðexi.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma hətə yá'ni<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxla mərə.<sup>1</sup> 'ína kúlla spà y náše<sup>1</sup> lāx-mara là.<sup>1</sup> 'ína gu-d-ε-dàna,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ó xa-tùsa y-amrəxwa yá'ni<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ila-šəmša<sup>1</sup> basimtela-w<sup>1</sup> 'ən-lèla-šəmša,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'o-náša la-spà.<sup>1</sup> yómət parəqwa,<sup>1</sup> yóma xaràya,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa y-amrəxwale 'Āšwut.<sup>1</sup> (152) 'Āšwut rába krēt-íwa gu-àθra.<sup>1</sup> ráβewa tálga,<sup>1</sup> ráβewa mátra 'u-məndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-parəqwa 'Āšwut,<sup>1</sup> 'áv 'əsri-tmanyá yomáθa yan-'əsri-'əçça yomànele,<sup>1</sup> y-azəxwa tura.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən dapràna.<sup>1</sup> xa-'ilànele<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxxe dapràna.<sup>1</sup> 'o-dapràna y-azəxwa,<sup>1</sup> 'àxni yálat mədràsa<sup>1</sup> wəxwa 'é-ga zòre,<sup>1</sup> məθəxwale.<sup>1</sup> y-oðəxwale qóma gòra.<sup>1</sup>

(148) ʔEn-Nune lies between one mountain and another. ʔEn-Nune lies between one mountain and another alongside a river. It is a very pleasant place. The (mountain known as) *ba-roža*<sup>45</sup> is sunny, which lies opposite (the mountain known as) *talana*<sup>46</sup> on the other side. On the right was *talana* and on the left *ba-roža*. Partridges would come. (When) a flock of partridges came, this was in the winter, (there was) snow and we could not move about (easily). We would go off (hunting). (149) When it had moved a kilometre from one place to another, let's say, when it sat down it could not fly, and we would go and catch it easily, because it was so tired, you see. We call this 'partridge hunting'. There is something else that is called a 'trap'. A trap is made of iron. They would set it up and catch (animals). They would catch rabbits. They would catch foxes with it, mountain animals.

*Celebrations at the End of February*

(150) What other things shall I tell you? (There were) various customs. At that time there was a fast of *šaweta*.<sup>47</sup> We would go around the houses. The houses in our community were seventy or eighty in number.<sup>48</sup> We would begin the fast. When we began fasting, we would predict on the day of Mar Sawa<sup>49</sup> that the day would be fine, cloudy, snowy. We would say to each person, if he was a good man, that on that day the sun will shine.<sup>50</sup> (151) We were having fun. It was like that on that day, we would just say such things. They were all good people, we are not saying they were not. But at that time, it was a ritual for us to say this if the sun was fine. If there was no sun (we said that) the man is not good. On the day (the festival) finished, the last day (was the last day of the month that) we called February. (152) (The month of) February was very bad in our land. There was a lot of snow, a lot of rain and so on. When February was finished—it is twenty-eight or twenty-nine days long—we would go to the mountains. There is something called 'juniper'. It is a tree, called 'juniper'. We used to go—we were young school children at that time—and fetch the juniper and make a big pile of it.

<sup>45</sup> Meaning 'in the sun' (< Kurd. *roj* 'sunshine').

<sup>46</sup> Meaning 'shady' (< *tal* 'shade').

<sup>47</sup> Fast beginning twenty-five days before Christmas.

<sup>48</sup> Literally: We, our houses were seventy, eighty houses.

<sup>49</sup> I.e. the first day of the fast.

<sup>50</sup> Literally: the sun will be fine.



(153) *tálga ràba*<sup>1</sup> *mjämàxwale*<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwa š-gòððe*<sup>1</sup> *maqððáxwale*<sup>2</sup> *ʔǿšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəx*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔáwwa xàrbəwə*<sup>1</sup> *mṭapáxwa níra biye*<sup>1</sup> *ʔó məlməláwa y-amrəxwə*<sup>1</sup> *túr*<sup>2</sup> *ʔǿšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *théle*<sup>2</sup>  
*ʔÁðər*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni y-amrəxxe*<sup>2</sup> *ʔÁðər*<sup>1</sup> *basiməse*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni*<sup>2</sup> *ʔǿšwuṭ zille*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni*<sup>2</sup> *ʔáwwa xa-nišəŋqele*<sup>1</sup>  
*t-ʔáθra d-ə-ga*<sup>1</sup>

(154) *bar-parəqwa*<sup>1</sup> *šaqláxwa xa-k'əpa*<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwale gu-núra*<sup>1</sup> *šaxəniwa xənci*<sup>1</sup>  
*zadəxwale hətəxə rəhqa*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəwa só mətəole*<sup>1</sup> *kút maṭəwa qamáya jəldəlle*<sup>1</sup> *mətəəwale*<sup>1</sup>  
*sab-iyəwa tálga*<sup>1</sup> *w-áw xamiməwə*<sup>1</sup> *pšira*<sup>1</sup> *šəlyə gu-tálga*<sup>1</sup> *kut-mətəəwale*<sup>1</sup> *y-ámriwa*<sup>1</sup>  
*g'ánən basimta*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa biš-zirəkile*<sup>1</sup> (155) *yalúnke zòre*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəwa ʔanna məndiyəne*<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔáyya y-amrila túr*<sup>2</sup> *ʔǿšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *théle*<sup>2</sup> *ʔÁðər*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya b-yárxət*<sup>2</sup> *ʔǿšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *kúššət y-odəwale*<sup>1</sup>  
*sab-sətwə y-awəwə yaqúra*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-bar-hádəx parqəxwə*<sup>1</sup> *y-azəxwə l-bəte*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa ʔamána*<sup>1</sup>  
*zóra b-ʔidə*<sup>1</sup> *y-awile xašišə*<sup>1</sup> *kut-xá-məndi*<sup>1</sup> *xákma làblabi*<sup>1</sup> *xákma faşoliye*<sup>1</sup> *xákma*<sup>1</sup>  
*məndiyəne*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla y-awə-mrüzge*<sup>1</sup> *dére ʔaməne-w*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa y-áthe bətə-diye*<sup>1</sup>

(156) *ta-rəš-šəwma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiθwa y-odəxwə şawməkkə*<sup>1</sup> *şawməkkə mòdile*<sup>2</sup> *malwəšiwale*<sup>1</sup>  
*jülle*<sup>1</sup> *malwəšiwale gəlda-w*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-azəlwə*<sup>1</sup> *xadrəxwə bəte*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-jəməxwə məndiyəne*<sup>1</sup>  
*mónna xabüşə*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-amrəwala kəčkəje*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xákma yawiwə züzə*<sup>1</sup> (157) *ʔáwwa*<sup>1</sup>  
*y-amrile*<sup>1</sup> *şawməkkə ta-rəš-šəwma*<sup>1</sup> *sab-ʔé-gət mšere şəwma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔáyya xá ʔadətta*<sup>1</sup>  
*y-odiwə náše ʔə-ga*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rába basimtwə*<sup>1</sup> *xámša ʔšta xadrəwə-w*<sup>1</sup> *mayəwə xá dáwla*<sup>1</sup>  
*mənnəy*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-xadrəwə gu-tálga*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni rába məndiyəne y-odiwə*<sup>1</sup> *ṭla-ʔǿšwuṭ*<sup>1</sup> *ʔanna*<sup>1</sup>  
*məndiyəne y-odiwala*<sup>1</sup>

### Sheep and Goats

(158) *xéna ʔaxni gu-məθwəθə*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəwa ʔiθwa ʔərwə*<sup>1</sup> *ʔərwət xwəre*<sup>1</sup> *ʔərwət kòmə*<sup>1</sup>  
*b-qəṭa doqiwə šəwəna*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-pərəwale*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-küt-yoma*<sup>1</sup> *xa-y-asəqwa mən-diye y-amrəwale*<sup>1</sup>  
*malgəri*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáwwa y-asəqwa mən-léle hal-ʔaşərtə*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔərwə pəšiwə gu-túra*<sup>1</sup>

(153) We gathered together a lot of snow and piled (the juniper over it). We would ‘burn February’. We would say that it was a bad thing. We would set fire to it. We called this *malmälawa*. We would say ‘Good riddance February’<sup>51</sup> (The month of) March has come.’ That is to say (the month) we call March is pleasant and February has gone. This was a symbolic act of our country at that time.

(154) When this was finished, we took a stone and put it in the fire. (When) it had heated up a little, we threw it far away (from the fire) and people would say ‘Go and fetch it!’ Whoever was the quickest and reached it first would bring it back. Since there was snow and it was warm, the snow melted and it dropped down into the snow. To whoever brought it back they would say ‘Bravo! He is the winner!’<sup>52</sup> (155) The young boys would say such things. They would say this: ‘Good riddance February. March has come.’ They would do this every year in the month of February, since the Winter was very severe. After we had finished, we would go around the houses, everyone with a small vessel in his hand. People would give each one boiled wheat, all kinds of things, chickpeas, white beans, various things, all of which the people had prepared. They put these in the vessels and everyone returns home.

(156) For the beginning of the fast (of Lent) some of us made a *šawm-akka*. What is a *šawmækka*? They would dress it in clothes, they would dress it in leather, then it would go off and we would go around the houses (with it). We would collect (from people) various things, such as apples and what was called *káčkaje* (dried fruits). Some people gave money. (157) This was called a *šawmækka* for the beginning of the fast (*šawma*), since the fast began at that time. This also was a custom that the people had at that time. It was very nice. Five or six people went around and took a drum with them, and went around in the snow. They did many things. They would do these things for February.

### *Sheep and Goats*

(158) We in the villages had small cattle, white small cattle (‘sheep’) and black small cattle (‘goats’). In summer they would hire a shepherd and pay him (for his services). Every day somebody went up (the mountains) with him called a ‘assistant’. He (the shepherd) would go up in the morning (and work) until evening. The small cattle would remain in the mountains.

<sup>51</sup> Literally: A fart to February.

<sup>52</sup> Literally: He is the strongest.

(159) qéta y-aθéwa b-yòma<sup>1</sup> y-ásqi mǎrìwala<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa l-dwàra.<sup>1</sup> 'íman-t y-aθéwa dwàra qúrba l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> y-asqíwa berìye,<sup>1</sup> berìye baxtàθa,<sup>1</sup> kút-ða šaqláwa sá!la diyá,<sup>1</sup> y-azáwa dwàra,<sup>1</sup> xalwíwa 'èrwe.<sup>1</sup> m-bár xálwi 'èrwe<sup>1</sup> manixíwa.<sup>1</sup> (160) pεsíwa yá'ni ganéwa... tawèrwa xémma y-amráxle.<sup>1</sup> y-asqíwa<sup>1</sup> rǎyíwa<sup>1</sup> hál 'ašàrta.<sup>1</sup> 'ašàrta meθéwala ða-dúkθa bíš-qurba t-y-awéwa mīya táma.<sup>1</sup> mádre y-azíwa xalwíwala 'èrwe,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-léle pεsíwa gu-ṭúra.<sup>1</sup> (161) xàrθa<sup>1</sup> xa-béna b-'arbìye y-áwa ṭ-ámra<sup>1</sup> 'èrwe t-y-áwa píše b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> θéla genàwe y-amráxxa,<sup>1</sup> qačàxe.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'iyéwa xámša 'ášta y-áθε genàwe.<sup>1</sup> qíme 'áθye b-lèle,<sup>1</sup> dviqǎlle šāvàna-w<sup>1</sup> malgóri diyé.<sup>1</sup> šlívalla 'iθaθèy<sup>1</sup> 'u-gníwǎlla 'èrwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-mupíðǎlla b-húdùd<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'áθra d-áy-gotət diyèni.<sup>1</sup> (162) 'u-píštela háwar gu-màθa<sup>1</sup> béna 'é-ga 'iθwa tòpe<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa čàkke y-amráxwa,<sup>1</sup> tòpe.<sup>1</sup> píštela hàwar.<sup>1</sup> tàxrena<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše qímela,<sup>1</sup> síqe l-hàwar,<sup>1</sup> síqe b-hàwar,<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'èrwe mšúre l-xá-'aθra xèna,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni gu-Türki.<sup>1</sup> (163) táma xáčča plišela xá-yoma trè,<sup>1</sup> qímela hár 'an-náše diyən,<sup>1</sup> slíbe mən-'èrwət qurðaye d-a-gòta<sup>1</sup> 'u-muθyǎlla.<sup>1</sup> fa-'ánna mǎndiyáne har-y-awéwa yá'ni.<sup>1</sup> rába gáye wítela 'ánna mǎndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa ganwíwala.<sup>1</sup>

#### Yoghurt and Cheese

(164) 'ó-xǎlyət xalwíwale<sup>1</sup> meθéle bèθa.<sup>1</sup> meθéle bèθa,<sup>1</sup> mšapàwale-u<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa gu-qušxàne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-marəxθíwale,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mšaxníwale-u marəxθíwale<sup>1</sup> qa-t-'áw ṭ-oðíwale màsta.<sup>1</sup> m-bár t-ráxəθ 'o-xǎlyá,<sup>1</sup> mattíwale hal-qayàrwa xánčǐ.<sup>1</sup> qam-qayàrwa rába raba,<sup>1</sup> 'iθən mattíwa šabóta gáwe diyé<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'ən-qablála šabóta<sup>1</sup> yá'ni dánela qá-t deréla marèθa.<sup>1</sup>

(159) In the summer they would come during the day, they would go up and people would graze them, then they would come back to the resting place. When they came to the resting place near the village, milkmaids would come up, women, each would carry her pail and go to the resting place and they would milk the small cattle. After they milked the small cattle, they left them to rest. (160) They remained (there until the sun) set and the heat was broken, as we say. They would go up and graze until evening. In the evening they would bring them to a place closer (to the village) where there was water. Again they would go and milk the small cattle. They would return and remain during the night in the mountains. (161) Now, in the 1940s,<sup>53</sup> thieves, brigands as we call them, came (to steal) the small cattle that remained in the mountains. The thieves who came were five or six in number. They came in the night and seized the shepherd and his assistant. They tied their hands, stole the small cattle and took them over the border, that is (the border of) the country on our side. (162) There was a cry of alarm in the village. In those days there were rifles, weapons, as we called them, rifles. There was an cry of alarm. I remember all the people got up and went up (into the mountains) to (investigate) the alarm, they went up (into the mountains) at the cry of alarm, but the small cattle had been smuggled to another country, that is to Turkey. (163) They battled for a day or two, then our people robbed some of the small cattle of the Kurds on the other side and brought them back. Such things were always happening. Many times such things happened. People would come and steal them (i.e. our sheep).

### *Yoghurt and Cheese*

(164) Now, they brought back home the milk that they milked. They brought it home, strained it and put it in a pan. Then they boiled it, that is they heated it up and boiled it in order to make it into yoghurt. After the milked boiled, they put it aside until it cooled slightly. Before it became very cool—there were some who put a finger in it and if the finger tolerated (the heat), it meant that it was time to add the rennet.

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<sup>53</sup> Literally: It was in the 1940s let's say.

(165) 'a-maréθa mtaršíwala m-rába mǎndiyàne.<sup>1</sup> deràwala,<sup>1</sup> mkesàwale<sup>1</sup> báθθr xákma dàna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-bar-hádax mattíwale xa-dúkθa hal-dawùqwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dártə yòma<sup>1</sup> qemíwa 'ina píša<sup>1</sup> màsta<sup>1</sup> fa-'a-màsta,<sup>1</sup> 'o-xəlyá<sup>1</sup> dáwuqwa qrúšta.<sup>1</sup> qrúšte-diye rába basimtèwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa tla-nàše<sup>1</sup> 'axlíwa gu-ftárta mǎndi,<sup>1</sup> tla-yalínke zóre t-yéwa gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-màsta<sup>1</sup> y-axlíwa mǎnna-diya.<sup>1</sup> (166) 'o-t-zayəðdwa<sup>1</sup> halbát 'o-ràbèwa<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale náše 'ərwe xa-dàrya.<sup>1</sup> mò y-oðíwa?<sup>1</sup> mǎn-d-o-xəlyá 'u-mǎn-d-a-màsta 'i-mtaršíwa gúpta.<sup>1</sup> 'áw bár hádax mšaxnìwale,<sup>1</sup> bar-hádax 'a-màsta mεθéwala xa-kìsta,<sup>1</sup> kista yá'ni deréwa gáwe diye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bar deréwa gáwe y-asrìwala,<sup>1</sup> matíwa xa-képa xačča-ptóxa xòθe<sup>1</sup> 'u-rèše mattíwa xa-kèpa<sup>1</sup> qá-t kǎmá-t 'iyéwa míya gawe-diye<sup>1</sup> gamšìwa<sup>1</sup> šalèwa.<sup>1</sup> (167) pεšáwa xa-yóma trè,<sup>1</sup> hál barəzwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bár barəzwa xáčča talèwale.<sup>1</sup> 'a-gúpta béna mεθéwa deréwala.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa bǎyèwa deréwa gǎlla gáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa gúpta y-oðíwa b-gǎlla<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa sǎrmo deréwa b-gáwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəbbət<sup>1</sup> 'u-priše priše.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya kúlla gúpta tla-'imèwa?<sup>1</sup> tla-sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> sab-sátwa la-y-awéwa réčəl ràba.<sup>1</sup> fa-'ánna mxamèwala.<sup>1</sup> (168) mò y-óði?<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa bár t-iyáwa ràbθa<sup>1</sup> deréwa gu-markàne.<sup>1</sup> 'an-markàne mtúršela m-'ùpra.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa gu-'áθra har-šuléy 'àwwewa,<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwa markàne,<sup>1</sup> līne,<sup>1</sup> kawàze,<sup>1</sup> garšíwa míya bìya,<sup>1</sup> kúl xa-mǎndi.<sup>1</sup> fa-'ánna 'amàne<sup>1</sup> deréwa gúpta gáwa diya.<sup>1</sup> (169) ladmìwala.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa béθe diye<sup>1</sup> xapərwá<sup>1</sup> 'u-l-páθa d-o-gúpta deréwa matúwowa tərpe,<sup>1</sup> tərpe<sup>1</sup> dalìθa,<sup>1</sup> qa-t lá šaléwa šóxta gáwe.<sup>1</sup> y-asríwa púmma diya<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattíwa réše xtàya.<sup>1</sup> (170) hon-txàra<sup>1</sup> 'ε-ga-t-íxwa zòre<sup>1</sup> šálmwa mǎnnət xóni mattúwowa.<sup>1</sup> xaprəxwa 'u-mattúwowa réše xtàya<sup>1</sup> 'u-mkasèwala.<sup>1</sup> yǎðəxwa 'ékewa.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa šwáwe náše yǎðəxwa 'ékewa mütte.<sup>1</sup> (171) hál héwəm čerìye<sup>1</sup> béna mšerəxwa<sup>1</sup> xá-xa šqàlèlla líθm.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše mapəlxìwala<sup>1</sup> hal-tárət sàtwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-ó pəslá<sup>1</sup> 'i-mtaršíwa gúpta.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni dǎx taršíwa m-xəlyá-w<sup>1</sup> páłta béna xaráya gúpta-w<sup>1</sup> mapəlxíwa náše tla-gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>

(165) They used to make rennet from many things. They would add it and cover it after a certain time. Then they would put it in some place until it set. The next day they would get up and see that it had become yoghurt. The yoghurt, (made from) the milk, would set (with) a crust. Its crust was delicious. They would serve it to people for them to eat at breakfast and so on and to the young children in the house. They would eat the yoghurt. (166) As for what was left over—of course there was a lot, people had many small cattle. What did they do? From the milk and the yoghurt they made cheese. They would heat it (the milk) then bring a bag for the yoghurt, in which they put it. After they put it in it they tied it up. They put a flattish stone under it and put a stone on top of it, in order to squeeze out whatever water it had in it, so that it would flow down. (167) It took one or two days until it became dry. After it dried they hung it for a while. They would then bring the cheese and lay it out (to be eaten). Some people liked to put herbs in it. There was a cheese that they made with herbs. Some put the herb *sarmo* into it and dill, and many different ones. For when was all this cheese (made)? For winter. Since in winter there were not many dairy products, so they kept them. (168) What did they do? After the cheese became abundant, they put it in storage jars. These jars were made from clay. There were some people in the country whose job was (to do) this. They made jars, large pots and small pots, in which water was transported, all kinds of things. They would put cheese in these vessels. (169) They compressed it. Everybody in his home would dig (a hole) and over the surface of the cheese they would put leaves, vine leaves, so that dirt would not get into it. They would tie up its mouth and place it upside down (in the ground). (170) I remember, when we were young, I used to go down with my brother and he placed (the cheese in the ground). We would dig (a hole) and he would place it upside down and cover it. We knew where it was. We knew where each of the neighbours had put (their jars). (171) (This was) until the season of Autumn, when we each began to take it (out of the ground). People would use it until the beginning of winter. They would make cheese in this way. (This is) how they made it out of milk and how in the end cheese was produced and people used it for their household.

## Cows

(172) 'íθwa tawèrta.<sup>1</sup> bás tla-mexólta diyèy-iyawa.<sup>1</sup> tawèrta xalwàwala.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwa y-amròxla bəqra.<sup>1</sup> sab-b-qéŋa kúlla deréwa y-asqíwa gu-túra.<sup>1</sup> doqíwa xá y-amròxle baqàra.<sup>1</sup> 'áw māŋéwa tawriyàθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-tàwre.<sup>1</sup> 'áw y-amrí baqàra.<sup>1</sup> m-lél mbàdla<sup>1</sup> xalwíwa tawèrta<sup>1</sup> y-asqáwa bəqra<sup>1</sup> (173) 'ap-'áy har-hàdəx<sup>1</sup> mšaxníwa xólva diya-w<sup>1</sup> marèwale-u<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwa marèθa,<sup>1</sup> har-'ax-t-ođíwa xəlyá.<sup>1</sup> mtaráštət xólva kúlla xə-məndíla.<sup>1</sup> šaxníle-u<sup>1</sup> pəyəs<sup>1</sup> 'u-bar-hádəx dére marèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqlíle.<sup>1</sup> 'ína mástət 'ərwə rába biš-basimtéla biš-prištela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.<sup>1</sup> (174) 'u-čeriyəwàθa<sup>1</sup> beheriye<sup>1</sup> 'ərwə yadliwa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni dax-zédi 'ərwə?<sup>1</sup> yadliwa<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa pəre.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əzze yadliwa<sup>1</sup> jisqàθa-w<sup>1</sup> gəðye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šéta b-šéta<sup>1</sup> zedíwa-w<sup>1</sup> náše zedíwa 'ərwəy.<sup>1</sup> (175) 'úrxt xláwta kúlla xa-məndíla.<sup>1</sup> báxta y-àza<sup>1</sup> mattála qaşxàne<sup>1</sup> rēš-bərka diya,<sup>1</sup> xalšàla-w<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xalwála tawèrta.<sup>1</sup> w-áni yáđi dāx 'i-xálwi tawèrta.<sup>1</sup> tawèrta šənəla.<sup>1</sup> dére gəlla-w<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'ítla mója zòra<sup>1</sup> qám-ma xalwála,<sup>1</sup> māmišála xəčča-w<sup>1</sup> xalwála-w<sup>1</sup> 'ap-xəčča xéna šóqa tla-mója.<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'ap-'áw zòrele,<sup>1</sup> sab-qá-t š-léwa mšúrya xála gəlla<sup>1</sup> qa-t-áwe špəy,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-mànte.<sup>1</sup>

## Bees

(176) 'íθwa gu-máθa doqíwa dabàše<sup>1</sup> tla-dúša.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna doqíwale beheriye.<sup>1</sup> deréwa gu-suləmməš.<sup>1</sup> 'an-dabàše<sup>1</sup>—kəmə-t-awə wèrde<sup>1</sup> pálti wèrde,<sup>1</sup> béher y-áwe priše priše<sup>1</sup>—y-àzi<sup>1</sup> méθə mexólta diyèy,<sup>1</sup> hál máte héwən diyéy b-čeriyəwàθa.<sup>1</sup> b-čəri<sup>1</sup> 'íθm náše<sup>1</sup> 'idéy bista y-amrila.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwa 'úrxa,<sup>1</sup> péša 'ax-šàna y-amròxla.<sup>1</sup> (177) béna bar-péša šàna,<sup>1</sup>—'i-šáqla 'árba xámša yàrxə,<sup>1</sup>—bar-péša šàna,<sup>1</sup> y-ámri hēwənilé<sup>1</sup> sab-gárəg xəčča pèxa dúnye.<sup>1</sup> b-yárxət 'əşra<sup>1</sup> xadəssər<sup>1</sup> y-óya pìxta dúnye,<sup>1</sup> qá-t la-šəri<sup>1</sup> 'árqi y-àzi.<sup>1</sup>

*Cows*

(172) There were cows. They served only to provide their food. They would milk the cow. There was a herd of cattle, as we said, for in the summer they would put all (their cows in the herd) and they would go up into the mountains. They would hire somebody called a cow-herd. He would graze the cows and the oxen. They call him a cow-herd. Early in the morning they would milk the cow and it would go up to the herd. (173) They would heat its milk, in the same way (as described). They would set it by putting rennet into it, just as they made (sheep's) milk. The preparation of the milk is the same. They heat it and it is left (to cool). Afterwards they put rennet into it and take it away (to leave it to set). But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle. (174) In the Autumn and the Spring the sheep would give birth. How do sheep reproduce? They give birth, producing lambs. The goats would give birth to young females and males. From year to year they would increase, the small cattle of people would increase. (175) The method of milking all (animals) is the same. A woman would go and place a pail on her knees and would squeeze it, that is, she would milk the cow. They know how to milk the cow. The cow is domesticated. They put down grass (for it). If it has a small calf, before she milks it, she allows it to give suck (to the calf) a little, then she milks it and leaves a little more for the calf. This is because it is small and had not yet started to eat grass. (They allowed it to have milk) to be good (in health) and progress (in growth).

*Bees*

(176) Some people in the village used to keep bees for honey. They would keep them in springtime. They would put them in a beehive. The bees—there were many flowers, in the Spring all kinds of flowers came out—the bees would go to fetch their food (from the flowers) until their season arrived in Autumn. In Autumn, there are skilled people,<sup>54</sup> as they are called. There was a way to do it. It becomes something called a honeycomb. (177) After it becomes a honeycomb—this took four or five months—after it becomes a honeycomb, they say it is time, for the weather must be somewhat cool. In October or November the weather is cool. This was so that the bees did not start to fly away.

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<sup>54</sup> Literally: their hand is skilled.



(178) 'i-dogíle šàna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-sulámməš doqíle lóší xa-jùlla<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá nesíla-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-déere gu-'amàna,<sup>1</sup> garšíle níxa nìxa-w.<sup>1</sup> m-tàma hòdəx<sup>1</sup> déere gu-qáwwe zòre.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa dúša hàtxa mtaršíle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'íθwa náše xa-dàrya<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'íθwaley kút l-g'ān-díye.<sup>1</sup> xákma mánna mزابنوا<sup>1</sup> yá'ni sáma zóda tla-bəθuθéy mapəlxìwala<sup>1</sup> tla-našəy.<sup>1</sup>

### Houses

(179) 'áni qámθa báte bənye b-képa-w tina.<sup>1</sup> qàmθa,<sup>1</sup> qám šáwwi tmáni šənne yá'ni<sup>1</sup> banəwə.<sup>1</sup> 'ína šét 'arbýe-u l-àxxa<sup>1</sup> m-bar-náše y-awéwala xákma yá'ni zúze,<sup>1</sup> plíxwala náše,<sup>1</sup> mšuréle bnáyəlla batəy<sup>1</sup> b-képa 'u-gəsa.<sup>1</sup> képa məθéwə m-gu-túra.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwə l-túra<sup>1</sup> y-awéwə tšəya 'aw-képa<sup>1</sup> mattíwə darməna.<sup>1</sup> (180) 'íθwa náše<sup>1</sup> 'ánna banəye<sup>1</sup> šəne y-amrəxwə,<sup>1</sup> šəne.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwə mpəqìwala<sup>1</sup> palítí kepe-xwàre.<sup>1</sup> 'án kepe-xwàre pərmìwala<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwə zóre zòre.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ánna hár gu-túra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-tàma<sup>1</sup> 'ánna képa 'áwwa y-amrəxxe pàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa kəpət pàθele,<sup>1</sup> naqrìwale.<sup>1</sup> y-awéwə xwàra,<sup>1</sup> táməz rába tàza.<sup>1</sup> (181) 'u-y-azíwə dawère garšìwale.<sup>1</sup> dawère,<sup>1</sup> šaqólwa kút-xa,<sup>1</sup> kut-téna šaqólwa 'arbà-kepe,<sup>1</sup> lə'annahu yaqìreyewə.<sup>1</sup> garšìwala b-stàvle.<sup>1</sup> 'an-stàvle<sup>1</sup> mtúršewə m-qəsa.<sup>1</sup> 'an-stàvle xās-dawèreyewə,<sup>1</sup> síre xās-dawèra,<sup>1</sup> kodənta y-amrəxla.<sup>1</sup> (182) deréwə tre-képe m-ay-gòta,<sup>1</sup> tre-m-ay-gota<sup>1</sup> 'u-məθéwə mətə-w.<sup>1</sup> yawìwala<sup>1</sup> yá'ni zúza d-o-nàša<sup>1</sup> yawìwale kəma-t daqə.<sup>1</sup> bár məθéwəwala,<sup>1</sup> mrazgíwə kul-xa-məndì.<sup>1</sup> qam-šeríwə bnàya,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwə y-oðíwə 'atína,<sup>1</sup> qá-t mtaršíwə kəlša,<sup>1</sup> qa-t mšeríwə bnàya.<sup>1</sup> (183) 'atína modíle.<sup>1</sup> y-azíwə 'ap-'áyya gu-tùrela.<sup>1</sup> xaprìwə<sup>1</sup> 'ú...y-amrəxxe čənnəkére y-oðíwə qése banəwəwala<sup>1</sup> xa-tùxma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-məθéwə kəpe<sup>1</sup> 'u-qése.<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-xòθe<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwə nùra.<sup>1</sup> 'o-kəlša,<sup>1</sup> 'an-kəpe<sup>1</sup> y-aqðíwə.<sup>1</sup> bar-t-y-aqìðwə,<sup>1</sup> kùlla pəšíwə 'ax-qəmxa.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-kəlša y-ámrxəxe qəmxa.<sup>1</sup>

(178) They (the beekeepers) would take hold of the honeycomb. They would hold the hive whilst wearing a cloth so that the bees would not sting them. They put it into a vessel and took it away slowly. Afterwards they would put it into small jugs. They would prepare honey in this way. Many people had honey for themselves. Some of them sold it, though most people used it for their household, for their family.

### *Houses*

(179) In the old days houses were built with stone and mud. In the old days, seventy or eighty years ago, they would build like that. But from the forties onwards, after people had money—since the people worked—they began to build their houses with stone and gypsum plaster. They would bring the stone from the mountains. They would go to the mountains—the stone was hidden, so they planted gunpowder. (180) There were builders, labourers we called them, labourers. They would go and blow them up and extract the white stones. They cut these white stones, making them very small. They were only in the mountains. (They were brought) from there. They (made) the stone that we call the ‘facing’ (of the house).<sup>55</sup> It is the stone of the facing. They would carve it out. It was white, beautifully clean. (181) Mules would go and transport it. Each mule would carry a load of four stones, since they were heavy. They transported them in containers. The containers were made of wood. These containers were on the back of mules, tied to the back of pack animals, which we called a mule. (182) They would put two stones on this side and two on the other side and bring them to the village. They would pay the man’s (i.e. the labourer’s) money, they would pay him however much it cost. After they brought it (to the village), they would prepare everything. Before they began building, they went and set up a furnace to make gypsum, so that they could start building. (183) What is a furnace? They would go—this also was in the mountains. They would dig and put wood around it and build it up into a certain shape. They would bring stones and wood. Then under it they would put fire. The gypsum stones would burn. After it burnt, they all became like flour. We call the gypsum flour.

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<sup>55</sup> I.e. the outer side of the wall.

(184) *bar-t-y-aqíðwa y-amríwa 'áwwa mále tla-bnyàna, 'y-azíwa' garšíwale b-juwàle, 'sab-píšewa 'ax-qàmxa, 'txìnewa. 'o-kàlša deréwale gu-juwàle, 'meθéwale l-màtha, 'xzi 'ékele béθux t-ít-bnáyalle. 'mšéri bnàya. (185) l-gáwət bèθa, 'áni képa-w tìnewa, 'ína l-bàθre' páθe diyē, 'páθe diyē' an-képe t-in-mára tāmaz 'iyéwa, 'príme-u' tàze-u' 'ax-t-ámri nqíre. 'männéy männéy mattíwa kàlša, 'o-kàlša' rába qùweyewa, 'yá'ni m-bár xá 'əsrá yomàtha, 'yá'ni t-amrátte dabàšwa, 'kúlla t-amrátte dabášwa xá képa yá'ni, 'képa-w kàlša. (186) 'u-b-ó-pəšla banéwa. 'áwwa gúda banéwa hàtxa. 'xàrtha' halbát tarráne tarránət qèseyewa táma. 'gyàtta' 'ax-t-amrəxxa' t-amrəxla yá'ni gàre. 'màndi qamáye 'íθwa xoriyáθa. 'ánna xoriyáθa xlímeyéwa. 'ánna xoriyáθa' deréwa... y-áwa bənyē 'otàxe. (187) mǎθǎlan 'íθ béθa 'əštà 'otàxe, 'xamšà 'otàxe' y-áwa kúlla 'ap-'áni be-pálga bənyē. 'áni b-képa 'adi báne, 'lá b-képa xwàra. 'm-táma hódəx meθéwa xoriyáθa. 'garšíwa nàše, 'y-ázi gu-néra bār pərmíwala-w' barzíwa xáčča mkalčíwala. (188) garšíwa' y-aθéwa 'ax-t-ámri nàše zəbbáre mhéri gǎðəde. 'garšíwa 'an-gúre xeláne. 'é-ga 'íθwa nàše rábe gu-màtha. 'meθéwala, 'masqíwala, 'mattíwala š-gúda. 'mattíwa š-gúda, 'bar-hàdəx' š-d-ó gúda' meθéwa y-amrəxxa nìre. (189) 'ap-'áni y-áwe príme. 'ap-'áni t-qèšela. 'bəl-qaríθa l-qaríθa, 't-ámrx bálki y-àwa' métra-w pálge 'átxa' kút bəl-qaríθa l-qaríθa. 'sab-lá-hoya biš-pθíθa, 'ənwéla biš-pθíθa, 'y-amrəxxa dārpa, 'yá'ni šàlyā, 't-áθe sətwa' t-áθya tálga mǎndi. (190) kəmə t-iyéwa 'iqe-u' xoriyáθa xlíme, 'biš-yá'ni t-amrəxxa xáyíwa biz-zàwda. 'bar-deréwa nìre, 'meθéwa' tārpa. 'é-ga qámθa tārpa y-odíwa. 'deréwa tārpa réše diyē, 'ína m-ó mǎgúbya. 'u-m-bár hādəx, 'deréwa níxa níxa' xíza' 'u-xáčča tina mǎndi' qa-t dawùqwa.*

(184) After it burnt and they considered that it was enough for building, they would proceed to transport it in sacks, since it had become like flour, it was ground. They put the gypsum in sacks and brought it to the village, wherever<sup>56</sup> your house that you were building was situated. Then they would begin to build. (185) Inside the house was stone and mud, but behind this was its (outer) facing. Its facing consisted of the stones that I said were clean, nicely cut and carved, as they say. Together with these (stones) they would put gypsum. The gypsum was very strong. After about ten days, you would say that it stuck together, you would say that the gypsum all stuck together in a single stone. (186) They would build in this way. This is the wall, which they built in the this way. Then, of course, (they would make) the doors, which were made of wood there. (They would make) the 'finishing' (at the top of the wall), as we call it, that is (the base of the) the roof. First of all, there were poplar trees. These poplar were thick. They laid these poplar (to make the roof). They had built the rooms (by this stage). (187) There were, for example, six rooms in a house, five rooms. They were all built within (the house). They would build these with ordinary stone, not with white stone. After that they would bring poplar (trunks). People would transport them. They would float down the river after people cut them up. (After) they dried a little, they would remove their bark. (188) Volunteer workers, as they are called, would transport them and help one another (in the task). Those strong men would transport them. At that time there were many people in the village. They would bring them, take them up (to the village) and then place them on top of the wall. They placed them on top of the wall and after that, on top of the wall, they would bring (and fit) slats. (189) These were also cut (to measure) and were made of wood, (placed) between one beam and another. Each (space) between one beam and another was, perhaps, about metre and a half (long). This was because (the space) must not be wider. If it were to become wider, (the roof) would collapse, as we say, that is it would come down, when it was winter and the snow arrived. (190) In proportion as the poplars were narrowly spaced and thick, they survived longer. After they laid the slats, they would bring leaves. They would have previously collected the leaves. They would place the leaves on this, (using only) those that were selected (for good quality). Afterwards they laid a light layer of sand and a little mud, or the like, so that it would all adhere together.

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<sup>56</sup> Literally: see where.

(191) 'u-deréwa 'úpra réše diye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-bár deréwa 'úpra rēš-diye,<sup>1</sup> yǎdīwa mo-qádra deréwa<sup>1</sup> t-lá-hawewa biz-zàwda<sup>1</sup> yá'ni t-la xariwewa.<sup>1</sup> bar-xàrtha<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa har-'úpra xāš<sup>1</sup> yá'ni la-kùt-'upra t-áwewa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni p̄riša yéwa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-xarètha<sup>1</sup> ç̣annəḵère-ži mattíwa,<sup>1</sup> ç̣annəḵérət gùda,<sup>1</sup> swanàne y-amrǎxla.<sup>1</sup> swanáne paltíwa m-gùda<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-miya šále gu-gùda.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni 'iyéwa mtugəbre.<sup>1</sup> (192) gu-d-á dàna<sup>1</sup> gāre<sup>1</sup> bená xarəye<sup>1</sup> mεθéwa y-amrǎxxe sarsərra.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áw<sup>1</sup> xa-'úprele<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáçça t-amrǎxxe kepànele.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áw b-dawère mεθéle.<sup>1</sup> gótá mátha 'iθən y-amrǎxla xpàrta.<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa képa xāš deréle š-gùda.<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa rába qūwyele.<sup>1</sup> miya lé-šale biye diye,<sup>1</sup> rába dāwuq.<sup>1</sup> (193) 'u-m-bár t-y-ódi 'áy kùlla<sup>1</sup> 'iθən y-amrǎxxa mandòrta.<sup>1</sup> mandòrta 'ile képa<sup>1</sup> gōra y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni y-áwe mtúrša xās-d-ó-məndi<sup>1</sup> 'áyya y-amrila mandòrta,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mandrále gāre,<sup>1</sup> dalkále yá'ni,<sup>1</sup> dalkále gāre.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-a-dàna<sup>1</sup> 'iθeni y-amrǎxxe<sup>1</sup> . . . mandòrta 'u-dére xa-qésa bi-diye,<sup>1</sup> fa-'áw qunjiyáthe diye<sup>1</sup> d-áy mandòrta<sup>1</sup> y-áwa bəzye<sup>1</sup> y-áwe bóya biye<sup>1</sup> y-áwe 'ax-xp̄ira,<sup>1</sup> nq̄ira y-amrǎxle.<sup>1</sup> (194) fa-morile mən-tárna goyàtha<sup>1</sup> 'u-garšile b-ó-qesət y-áwe bi-diye,<sup>1</sup> nablile mεθéle mandrile gāre.<sup>1</sup> mandrile gāre<sup>1</sup> qa-t-qàwe<sup>1</sup> qa-t-'íma t-áθya 'əryàna-w<sup>1</sup> t-áthe tàlga<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-šala dalòpe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-sətwa<sup>1</sup> 'iθena 'íma t-y-áthe 'əryàna<sup>1</sup> 'áy mandòre mándəri.<sup>1</sup> (195) bas-'íma t-y-áthe tàlga,<sup>1</sup> halbát y-aθéwa tálga rāba<sup>1</sup> rāba y-aθéwa tálga,<sup>1</sup> fa-mò y-odíwa?<sup>1</sup> 'iθwalən marùtha.<sup>1</sup> garp̄iwale,<sup>1</sup> grāpa y-ámri,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni zadáwale kùlla m-gāre<sup>1</sup> ç̣annəḵérət swàna<sup>1</sup> l-yámne çàppe.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kút-dukət t-óya bis-senàyi,<sup>1</sup> sab-rāba-'iyewa tálga.<sup>1</sup> (196) 'ó . . . marùtha mturástewa m-qésa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwala dásqa rixa y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mεθéwa qésət 'ilàna<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-odíwa dapyàtha<sup>1</sup> 'u-mtaršiwala-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-ày<sup>1</sup> garp̄íwa gāre.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni zep̄íwa tálga<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá payášwa b-gāre.<sup>1</sup> 'iθ-rāba gāye,<sup>1</sup> trè-gaye,<sup>1</sup> t̄lā-gaye,<sup>1</sup> b-lèle<sup>1</sup> 'íma-t-y-aθéwa tálga<sup>1</sup> sáma zóda b-yárxət trèssər<sup>1</sup> yárxət xà.<sup>1</sup> (197) 'ap-'ǎšwuṭ krèhət y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áw xelàna y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-páyāš bəher<sup>1</sup> m-tama-hódəx mandòrtela-w<sup>1</sup> yá'ni m-tama-hódəx la-sáqdi biya.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni báte b-ò-pəšla banéwala.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni bnéθət bate,<sup>1</sup> hál 'ánna šónne xarəye<sup>1</sup> mšuréla bnáyəlla b-çimànto,<sup>1</sup> bar-náše xáçça wéla,<sup>1</sup> 'urxáθət 'atnabéle siqla.<sup>1</sup>

(191) Then they would put soil on it. After they put soil on it—they knew how much to put on, so that it was not too much and spoil. Furthermore, there was a special soil (which had to be used), that is not any type of soil. It was different. They laid the last (section of the roof) they laid also what was round it, around the wall, which we called ‘eaves’. The eaves protruded from the wall, so that the water would not run down the wall. These also were dealt with. (192) At that time, the last thing (they did for) the roof was that they brought what is called ‘white gravel’. This is also a kind of soil, rather like gravel. They would bring this also on mules. Next to the village there is what is called a quarry (from where they brought it). This is a special stone that they put on the wall. It is very strong. Water does not seep through it, since it retains (water) well. (193) After they do all this, there is what we call a roller. A roller is a stone, which is large and is made specially for this thing. This is called a roller, i.e. it rolls the roof, it compresses it, it compresses the roof. At that time there was a thing called a roller. They would put a piece of wood into it. The ends<sup>57</sup> of the roller are bored, with holes in them, dug out, carved out, as we say. (194) They insert it (the wood) from both sides and pull it with the (handle of) wood that is attached to it, back and forth, rolling the roof. They roll the roof so that it becomes tough, so that when the rain comes and the snow comes, leaking water does not seep down (into the house). In the winter, when it rains, they would roll it in this way. (195) But when it snowed—of course there was a lot of snow—what did they do? We had a snow shovel. They would shovel it—they call it shovelling, that is they would throw it all from the roof from around the eaves, on the right and on the left, whatever place was easiest, since there was a lot of snow. (196) The snow shovel was made of wood. It has a long hand. They would bring a branch of wood from a tree and make it into flat pieces and construct it (the shovel). With this they would shovel the roof, that is they would push off the snow, so that it did not remain on the roof. Sometimes (they did this) many times, two times, three times, at night when it snowed, mainly in December and January. (197) (The month of) February is also bad, that is the snow was heavy. Then it is Spring and from then onwards it is the roller (that they use). That is, from then onwards they have no difficulty with it (the weather). They would build houses in this way. This was the method of building of houses, until recent years, when they began to build them with cement, after people became few (in number) and roads for cars came up (to the village).

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<sup>57</sup> Literally: corners.

(198) *mšuréla masóqe čimànto.*<sup>1</sup> 'ína bâte qámθa òina-wεεwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-píšwala t-amrǎxwa qàšre,<sup>1</sup> béna 'áwwa lé y-amrǎxwa bâte<sup>1</sup> y-amrǎxwa qàšra.<sup>1</sup> sab-bíš muntèwale<sup>1</sup> šm̄mma díya qəm-mšaxəlpíwale.<sup>1</sup> béθa 'áwwa t-òinεyewa<sup>1</sup> y-amrǎxwa bèθa<sup>1</sup> badákka zòra.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'aw-xéna píšwale qàšra<sup>1</sup> t-yéwa bónya b-képe.<sup>1</sup> bâte hàtxa banéwa.<sup>1</sup>

(199) *xàrθa*<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga mǎrwali qá-t bâte dǎx banèla,<sup>1</sup> bás gu-d-án bâte mò 'íθwa.<sup>2</sup> 'é-ga... tróša yá'ni léwa 'ax-díya.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'íθwa bèθa<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa xá-<sup>2</sup>otəx yan-trè.<sup>1</sup> ðà-<sup>2</sup>otəx<sup>1</sup> 'áyya mšuwèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa y-amrǎxwa xašira.<sup>1</sup> xašire mεθéwala m-mðinàθa 'é-ga.<sup>1</sup> 'àni<sup>1</sup> deréwa xtèθa.<sup>1</sup> (200) *xéna halbát*<sup>1</sup> d-é-dān d-è-ga<sup>1</sup> líθwa 'ánna qānǎfē-u mǎndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa kut-bèθa<sup>1</sup> ða-<sup>2</sup>otəx<sup>1</sup> yan-tǎrte fəlləθ,<sup>1</sup> la-bi-zóda 'iyéwa 'atxàne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše xaméwa kúlla kúlfət m-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> yalínke zòre<sup>1</sup> 'u-bèθa-w<sup>1</sup> kúlla m-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'ap-<sup>2</sup>ón goríwa<sup>1</sup> har-m-gðàðe xaméwa.<sup>1</sup> (201) 'ǎrət-béθa y-áwa mšúyaya<sup>1</sup> t-ámrxə xašire y-amrívawa.<sup>1</sup> xašire,<sup>1</sup> y-awa-zqíre mǎnnət zàle<sup>1</sup> ma-zále 'u-mǎndiyáne y-áwa zqíre.<sup>1</sup> deréwa l-<sup>2</sup>àra<sup>1</sup> 'u-rèša<sup>1</sup> deréwa gǎle y-amrǎxle.<sup>1</sup> gǎle,<sup>1</sup> xákma y-awéwala xaliye<sup>1</sup> mónna xáčča bíš-xlíme.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna 'íla pǎrista y-amrívawa 'é-ga.<sup>1</sup> (202) *béna 'ánna deréwa rèša-w*<sup>1</sup> čənnəkéra<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa doškyàθa,<sup>1</sup> y-áwa raqíqe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattíwa<sup>1</sup> barəšyàθa čənnəkéra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše yat-tíwa 'é-ga.<sup>1</sup> sáb kúlla tàwta<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa,<sup>1</sup> šawléy šalxíwala<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-aθéwa y-atwíwa,<sup>1</sup> šwàwe-u<sup>1</sup> nàše-u<sup>1</sup> xəzmàne-u<sup>1</sup> 'ən-wéwa naxrəye,<sup>1</sup> dòste.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna mǎndiyáne t-yéwa gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (203) 'ína táma 'íθwa qarawótte,<sup>1</sup> 'an-qarawótte ðà 'iyáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'o-t-ítwale ða-qarawət,<sup>1</sup> y-awa mtúršət qèsa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa najáre mtarsíwale.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa m-<sup>5</sup>Amedíya najáre.<sup>1</sup> b-qéša y-aθéwa mtaršíwa kút-xa ðà qarávət.<sup>1</sup> kúd-xa-t bǎyèwa,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ana-txárm y-aθéwa xo-túθa čúwa,<sup>1</sup> 'áv túθa góra t-<sup>2</sup>umra.<sup>1</sup>

(198) They began to bring up cement. Formerly, however, houses were made of mud. They (the houses) became villas, as we called them. We did not call them houses, we called them villas. Since (people) were more prosperous, (they built bigger houses) and they changed the name of them. A house was made of mud, we would call this a house or a small hut. But the other sort was (called) a villa, which was built of stones. This is the way they built houses.

(199) So, I have said how they built houses, but what (furniture) was there in the houses? At that time, indeed, it was not like today. At that time in a house there was one room or two. One room was furnished. There was a mat, as we called it. They brought the mats from the towns at that time. They put these on the floor.<sup>58</sup> (200) Of course at that time there were no armchairs and things like that. Each house had one room, or two or three, but no more than that. All the family lived together, small children, family, all were together. At that time, even if people were married, they all lived together. (201) The floor of the house was furnished with what is called mats. The mats were woven from reeds. They were woven from reeds and similar things. They would put these on the floor. On top they would put rugs, as we called them, rugs, and some people had carpets, which are a bit thicker than rugs. These things are what were called at that time a *prista* ('a spread'). (202) So, they put these things on (the floor) and around them they laid thin cushions. They laid around (the floor) also pillows. People would sit down at that time. For when they came to a seated gathering, they would take off their shoes then sit down, neighbours, people (of all kinds), relatives, any strangers who may be there,<sup>59</sup> friends. These are the things that were in the house. (203) There were also beds there. These beds were one (type). These beds, which people had, were made of wood.<sup>60</sup> There were carpenters. Carpenters came from Amedia. In the summer they would come and each one would make a bed. If anybody wanted one, they would come. I remember they would come (and sit) under the smooth<sup>61</sup> mulberry tree, the big tree belonging to the church.

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<sup>58</sup> Literally: below.

<sup>59</sup> Literally: strangers if they were (there).

<sup>60</sup> Literally: Somebody who had a bed, they were made of wood.

<sup>61</sup> I.e. with a smooth bark.



(204) 'u-y-aθéwa m-<sup>c</sup>Amedíya 'an-najàre,<sup>1</sup> mtaršíwa 'an-t-y-amrúxwa qaràwət.<sup>1</sup> 'an-qarawàtte<sup>1</sup> 'i-masqíwala b-qéta gàre.<sup>1</sup> sab-nàše<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga gárǵg yasqíwa gáre damxíwa,<sup>1</sup> sab-gu-béθa xəmma 'iyéwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni bíš y-awéwa ráħat rāma.<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>3</sup>áni masqíwa qarawátte gáre-u<sup>1</sup> xákma har-damxíwa l-ára.<sup>1</sup> 'ína sáma zóda 'iyéwala qaràwət.<sup>1</sup> (205) sab-mò?<sup>1</sup> qa-t-deréwa mástik.<sup>1</sup> mástik 'áw pàrda<sup>1</sup> sab-y-áwe çene.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'íθwa zāríwa náše rəzza<sup>1</sup> 'u-míya gu-<sup>3</sup>aqàra,<sup>1</sup> rába çéne 'iyéwa.<sup>1</sup> fa-mapəlxíwa mástik.<sup>1</sup> 'áni mattíwa b-gàre<sup>1</sup> hál yárxət tmànya<sup>1</sup> 'əçça,<sup>1</sup> 'atxàne,<sup>1</sup> qam-qeráwa dùnye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšeríwa níxa níxa šláya gu-béθa.<sup>1</sup>

### Flora

(206) táma 'íθwalən gu-màθa<sup>1</sup> gu-<sup>3</sup>Ēn Nùne<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən xeləpa.<sup>1</sup> 'áw xeləpa<sup>1</sup> lá-mšəx mapəlxəxxe qa-bnáyət bāte,<sup>1</sup> qéše díye léle qùwya.<sup>1</sup> 'ína<sup>1</sup> rába məndyáne sanqáxxwa 'šlle díye<sup>1</sup> sáma zóda<sup>1</sup> 'é-gət y-áwe qórtət 'ərwə<sup>1</sup> pərmáxxwa 'é-gət y-áwe tárpe díye.<sup>1</sup> 'ína taqān-díye pərmáxxwa mənne-díye<sup>1</sup> 'ítlən 'ərwə<sup>1</sup> maṭərsáxxwa 'ərwə.<sup>1</sup> qám čeriyàθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-beheríye,<sup>1</sup> deráxwala tla-<sup>3</sup>ərwə.<sup>1</sup>

(207) 'u-<sup>3</sup>íθwalən xòrta.<sup>1</sup> xwárta 'áyya rába spəy-ila.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni hám mašáxxwa mزابنأxxwa mánnna díya.<sup>1</sup> bār mqārəníwa xalmíwa<sup>1</sup> xà-siṭa<sup>1</sup> yan-trè-siṭe<sup>1</sup> yan-ṭlā-siṭe,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa 'ánna zawnàne,<sup>1</sup> y-aθáwa m-Mòsul.<sup>1</sup> m-dukáne xéne mزابنأwa.<sup>1</sup> rába gārəm-iwəwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-taqanèy<sup>1</sup> hammáše pərməxxwala.<sup>1</sup> (208) y-amrúxxa behéri pərməxxwala<sup>1</sup> mgārəxxwala<sup>1</sup> mādre<sup>1</sup> šadləxxwala y-amrúxxa<sup>1</sup> šədle,<sup>1</sup> qá-t 'ap-<sup>3</sup>áni mqārəni qa-yá'ni xákma šənne xène<sup>1</sup> mزابنأni mənne<sup>1</sup> qá-t... dān-t-pərmíla<sup>1</sup> qa-d-áni qémi šəwəpa.<sup>1</sup> 'áni y-amrúxxa xòrta.<sup>1</sup>

(209) táma 'íθwalən xabúše.<sup>1</sup> xabúše 'ila zwàna,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mزابنأníwa náše mənna.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>3</sup>íθwa xàwxe.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>3</sup>áni mزابنأni náše mənne<sup>1</sup>. 'ína sáma zóda tla-beθúθa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa šəðe,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>3</sup>áni šəðe,<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa murábbe mənna.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-xáwxe y-oðíwa murábbe mənne<sup>1</sup>. 'íθwalən šəðe<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən 'ína dalíyáθət 'ənwə.<sup>1</sup> y-amrúxxa kərma.<sup>1</sup> 'áni t-y-áwe góya rāba<sup>1</sup> y-áwe zərya<sup>1</sup> 'áwowa kərma y-amrúxle<sup>1</sup> kərma.<sup>1</sup>

(204) Carpenters would come from Amedia and make beds, as we called them. In the summer they took the beds up to the roof. People at that time had to go up onto the roof to sleep, since it was hot in the house. It was more comfortable up above. They would take the beds up to the roof. Some would sleep only on the floor (of the roof). Most people, however, had a bed. (205) Why? So that they could attach a mosquito net. A mosquito net is a curtain. (This was necessary) since there were mosquitoes. At that time people cultivated rice and (since there) was water in the farmland there were many mosquitoes. So, they used a mosquito net. They put these (beds) on the roof until August or September, or thereabouts, before the weather got cold. Then they would gradually begin to come down into the house (to sleep). As far as I remember, there were only these things in their homes, not more.

### *Flora*

(206) There, in the village, in ʔEn-Nune, we had (what is called) a *xelapa* (small willow). We cannot use the small willow for the building of houses, since its wood is not strong. But we needed it for many things. We cut it down in large quantities at the time of trimming for small cattle, when it had its leaves. We would cut down its branches and fatten our small cattle. Before the Autumn and Spring seasons we would lay them down for the small cattle (to eat).

(207) We had (in the village) the (tree known as) *xorta* (white poplar). The poplar is a very fine (tree). We could even sell some of them. After they had grown up and become one, two or three spans thick, buyers would come from Mosul. They also sold them in other places. They were very expensive. We would always cut down their branches. (208) In Spring we would cut them down and strip them off. We would plant them again (and they would become) what we call saplings, so that when these also grow after a few years, they can sell them, so that when they cut (the others down) these will take their place. They call these poplars.

(209) We had apples there. Apples were for buying, that is they would sell them to people. There were peaches. They would sell also these to people. Yet most of these were for household (use). There were almonds. From these almonds they would make jams. They would make jams also from peaches. We had almonds and we had grape vines. (There was what) we called an orchard. This was something very large, which was cultivated, it was called an orchard.

(210) 'ap-'áw...! béna m-d-ó kèrma' 'áni... daliyáθa kúlla gáwe diyē<sup>1</sup> y-áwe mašmášše m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> 'íθ-héwən čerýe<sup>1</sup> 'an-'áwwe laqṭiwala.<sup>1</sup> y-oḏíwa napòxta mánna,<sup>1</sup> y-oḏíwa yabiše mánna.<sup>1</sup> béna m-bár y-oḏíwa yabiše<sup>1</sup> táma y-ódi xámra.<sup>1</sup> mpálṭi 'áraq m̀nnèy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-rába m̀ndiyáne mpalṭíwa m̀nnèy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-šoqíwala 'ap-ṭla-mexólta yabiše<sup>1</sup> sab-rába fayda-'ítla.<sup>1</sup>

(211) xámra<sup>1</sup> yabiše mašláwala 'íθwa line y-amŕxwale.<sup>1</sup> lína rába gòrɛle.<sup>1</sup> y-ásqi trè tannákke<sup>1</sup> ṭl̀a tannákke míya<sup>1</sup> 'árba.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áni dére yabiše.<sup>1</sup> 'áw mášli xá-dukθa ṭ-óya šaxína y-amŕxwa gòma.<sup>1</sup> mkaséwale šaxína,<sup>1</sup> 'áw... xačča-pyáša 'arbi yomáθa<sup>1</sup> gárəg hawé gu-šaxinùθa<sup>1</sup> ya'ni raxəθwa<sup>1</sup> 'áni yádi biye<sup>1</sup> mtaršúwa.<sup>1</sup> (212) 'i-tàxrən 'ána šalánwa m-d-ó-nixət xòni.<sup>1</sup> šalánwa y-awéwa rxàθa,<sup>1</sup> xzi-hóle rxàθa,<sup>1</sup> hóle mátya héwən diyē.<sup>1</sup> mbarəxšúwale<sup>1</sup> kút-kəma yomáθa mbarəxšúwale.<sup>1</sup> w-áy šaqláwa xačča-pyáša<sup>1</sup> 'arbi yomáθa<sup>1</sup> hátxa m̀ndi.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xámra... 'íθwa merkáne zóre deréwale<sup>1</sup> 'u-mšapáwale,<sup>1</sup> pálṭwa xámra.<sup>1</sup> (213) sáma zòda<sup>1</sup> 'ína kasléni xámra lè-y-oḏíwa rába.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xànci,<sup>1</sup> bašòre.<sup>1</sup> 'ina sáma zòda<sup>1</sup> y-oḏíwa 'áraq,<sup>1</sup> 'áraq ṭla-štàya,<sup>1</sup> sab-xumlàna.<sup>1</sup> 'áraq ṭla-čeriyáwàθa y-oḏíwala,<sup>1</sup> sáb mšeríwa xlulàne,<sup>1</sup> qá-t náše goríwa b-čeriyawàθa.<sup>1</sup> (214) mapəlxíwa štèθa-w<sup>1</sup> ṭla-xəzmáne náše 'íman-t y-aθéwa šwàwe,<sup>1</sup> y-áθe xawràne,<sup>1</sup> y-áθe 'arxe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ṭla-'èða,<sup>1</sup> 'eðáwàθa,<sup>1</sup> mapəlxíwa štèθa<sup>1</sup> 'áraq 'iyéwa<sup>1</sup> xa-štéθa rába rešèθa<sup>1</sup> qa-xúbbət 'iqárət náše t-y-aθéwa kəs-g̀d̀àðe.<sup>1</sup>

(215) w-íθwalən g̀awze.<sup>1</sup> g̀awze 'ánna rába gòrɛyewa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kúl-naše liθwala<sup>1</sup> gu-màθa,<sup>1</sup> lé-qemi ràba.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwalən gawzàne,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni sáma zòda t-'úmra 'íθwale.<sup>1</sup> fa-'áni kút-xa ṭla-g̀áne y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> b-zòr-male<sup>1</sup> ṭla-mapláxtət bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áni béher hál čeri.<sup>1</sup> (216) čeri y-ázi laqṭíla.<sup>1</sup> m-bár laqṭíla,<sup>1</sup> méθe l-bèθa<sup>1</sup> derèla<sup>1</sup> b̀arzi y-amŕxla.<sup>1</sup> b̀arzi,<sup>1</sup> sab-y-áwe qaləpθa 'álléy,<sup>1</sup> 'áy rəzyànta y-óya.<sup>1</sup> 'ən har-hóya talíltā<sup>1</sup> har-qítla 'íðux bíya díya xačča,<sup>1</sup> kéma 'íðət náša,<sup>1</sup> 'i-šáwa y-amŕxla.<sup>1</sup> 'i-šáwa<sup>1</sup> liθən.<sup>1</sup> ma-ṭ-íle qúwya 'o-qálpa díya.<sup>1</sup>

(210) In the orchard there were vines, apricots and other plants. In the season of Autumn, they would gather the grapes and make a syrup from them and make raisins from them. After they made them into raisins, they would make wine. They would (also) make arak out of them. They would make many things out of them. They also left the raisins for eating, since they were very nutritious.<sup>62</sup>

(211) As for wine, they would put raisins into what we call *line* (jars). (This type of) jar is very big. They go up to the capacity of two gallons, three gallons of water, four. They would put the raisins into these and deposit them in a warm place, which we call a *goma* (basement stable). They would cover the jar while it was warm. It had to be in the warmth for about forty days in order for it to ferment. They know how to make it. (212) I remember I used to go down (into the basement) with my late brother. I would go down when it was fermenting. (He would say) 'Look, it is fermenting, its time has come.' They would stir it. Every few days they would stir it. This would take about forty days or so. (It would become) wine. They would put the wine into small pots and strain it, and it would turn into wine. (213) In general in our community they did not make much, only rarely. Most people, however, would make arak, arak for drinking, since (it provided) enjoyment. They would make arak for the Autumn, since (at that time) the weddings began, people would marry in the Autumn. (214) They would use it as a drink (to offer) to relatives and other people, (when) neighbours came, friends came, guests came. They used it as a drink also for a festival, the festivals. Arak was a very special drink (that was used to express) love and respect for people when they visited one another.

(215) We also had walnuts. Walnuts were very big. Not everybody had them in the village, where they did not grow much. We had some walnut trees, which mainly belonged to the church. Each was for use by (the villagers) themselves, since there was scarcely enough for household use (and none to spare). These (grew) from Spring until the Autumn. (216) In the Autumn they would go and pick them. After picking them, they would bring them to the house and lay them down to dry, as we say. They would (be left to) dry, since they have a peel on them which is dark in colour. If it is still wet, as soon as your hand touches it, the hand of the person (who touches it) becomes black, it is dyed, as we say, dyed, you see. (This is because) the peel is so strong (in colour).

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<sup>62</sup> Literally: they had much benefit.

(217) 'ina m-báθar bārza,<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwa qálpe zadèle<sup>1</sup> péší bas-gáwze g'ān-diyē.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga-t y-áwe 'ēðāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> šère,<sup>1</sup> xlulàne,<sup>1</sup> mapəlxíla ʔla-rába məndiyàne.<sup>1</sup> ʔla-máθālan bəθqe,<sup>1</sup> ʔla-máθālan 'iman-t y-óðí<sup>1</sup> kuléce ʔla-'ēða.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kúlla məndiyáne mapəlxí mánna,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna gáwze.<sup>1</sup>

(218) sparəgle 'itleni.<sup>1</sup> sparəgle.<sup>1</sup> 'áni lé-y-awa rába rába gu-màθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'ap-'áni ʔla-mapláxta gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áwəwa xa-fəkele.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni har-'ó-mdi-t xabūšela.<sup>1</sup> mən-bèher<sup>1</sup> hál çeri,<sup>1</sup> çeri péší zàre yá'ni<sup>1</sup> trəsa<sup>1</sup> 'áni milàne 'iyéwa,<sup>1</sup> bar-hádəx gu-práqta péší zàre.<sup>1</sup> (219) y-ázi laqʔila,<sup>1</sup> mapəlxí ʔla-gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-báyət ʔ-óðət muràbba,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-m-d-áni y-óðí muràbba,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni ham-mən-sparəgle.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mášət ʔ-óðət rába məndiyáne mánne diyē,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ila zawdàne.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mášət mapəlxèti.<sup>1</sup> ʔlá-mo gārəg záwən zwàna,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-mási mapəlxí mánna.<sup>2</sup> sab-itlé rába mánna-diya.<sup>1</sup>

(220) gu-ʔúra 'iθwa 'ilána y-amrəxxe... 'iθ bəʔme.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən bəʔma.<sup>1</sup> bəʔma<sup>1</sup> 'áni górtəwa rába.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni 'itlé héwən diyèy.<sup>1</sup> 'áni gu-ʔúra y-áwa sáma zòda,<sup>1</sup> lé-y-áwa gu-qurbə máθa,<sup>1</sup> rəʔqe 'iyéwa.<sup>1</sup> b-çeri<sup>1</sup> 'iman t-màti,<sup>1</sup> y-amríla gújme.<sup>1</sup> y-ázi laqʔila.<sup>1</sup> (221) 'u-rába ʔemàne y-áwa-w<sup>1</sup> basime y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iθ nášət 'àθra<sup>1</sup> rába mənney mzaḅni,<sup>1</sup> 'áni sab-gārən-ila-w,<sup>1</sup> basime y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xákma mənney ʔla-g'ána<sup>1</sup> sab-t-y-áθa 'arxe kaslèy.<sup>1</sup> basime y-áwa,<sup>1</sup> rába tazè.<sup>1</sup> bəʔme 'ap-'áni 'iθena.<sup>1</sup>

(222) gu-ʔúre 'iθən garsəkke y-amrəxla,<sup>1</sup> harmiyē,<sup>1</sup> dēmi y-amrəxla,<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔúra líθm.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni 'é-ga-y-ázi náše<sup>1</sup> qése meθoye,<sup>1</sup> méθi ʔlá gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> halúke,<sup>1</sup> 'itleni halúke,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni har-gu-'aqàra y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni rába basime y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni y-áwa smòqe<sup>1</sup> zàre<sup>1</sup> basime.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áni y-óðí muràbbe mánna<sup>1</sup> ʔla-xàla.<sup>1</sup> 'itlən fəka fərya.<sup>1</sup>

(223) wèrde<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxla 'iθən qémi kəskənnela<sup>1</sup> 'u-balazèzela.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən bukine,<sup>1</sup> 'iθ wèrde smòqe,<sup>1</sup> rába táza šapire.<sup>1</sup> 'áni b-bèher y-áwa trəsa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-ʔla-mexóltət hewáne 'itlən y-amrəxxe rása.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-rása ʔla-'ərwət xwàre y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> 'aw b-yárxət 'árba xámša bàre<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔúra y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> (224) 'áni qúrbə máθa gu-ʔúra,<sup>1</sup> léla gu-'aqàra.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-rása mapəlxí ʔla-'ərwə,<sup>1</sup> 'ərwət xwàre sáma zòda.<sup>1</sup> wèrde,<sup>1</sup> 'itlən y-amrəxxa wèrde žeri.<sup>1</sup> 'áni gu-'aqàre y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> rába šəklàne y-áwa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa smòqe,<sup>1</sup> yan-kəskela.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna wèrdela.<sup>1</sup>

(217) After it dried, however, they would take away the peel and throw it away, so that only the nuts would remain. On the occasion of festivals, saints' days and weddings they would use them for many things. (They would use them) for example for confetti (scattered over the head of a bride), for cakes made for a festival, all (kinds of) things were made out of these walnuts.

(218) We have quinces. Quinces. There were not so many of these in the village. Also these were for household use. It is also a fruit, that is they are just like apples. (They grow) from Spring until Autumn. In Autumn they become yellow. In fact they were green, then in the end they became yellow. (219) People go to pick them and use them in the home. If you want to make jam—they make jam also from these, that is from quinces. You can make many (other) things from them, if they are left over. You can use them. Why should one buy anything if one can use them? For they had many of them.

(220) In the mountains there was a tree which we called... there were terebinth trees. There was the terebinth. This was a very large (tree). These also had their season. These were mostly in the mountains. They were not close to the village, they were far away. In the Autumn, when (their nuts) become ripe, (they have) what are called bunches (of fruit). People go to pick them. (221) They were very tasty and fine (to eat). Many of the local people used to sell them, since they were expensive (to buy) and they were fine (to eat). (They kept) some of them for themselves, for when guests came to them. They were very fine (to eat), very nice. There were terebinth nuts.

(222) In the mountains there were wild pears, as we call them, pears, un-irrigated, as we say, in the mountains. When people go to fetch wood, they would bring back also these for use in the home. Plums, we have plums. These were only in the farmland. These were also very tasty. They were red and yellow, (they were) delicious. People would make jam from them to eat. We have many fruits.

(223) With regard to flowers, those that grow there include what are called *kaskanne* and *balazeze*. There are *bukine* ('red anemones'). There are red flowers, which are very beautiful. These, indeed, (come out) in Spring. For animal fodder we have what is called *rasa*. This *rasa* is for sheep. It grows in April and May and is (found) in the mountains. (224) It is near the village in the mountains, not in the farmland. They use this *rasa* for small cattle, mainly sheep. We have flowers called *žeri* flowers. These are (found) in the farmland. There are many varieties. There were red ones and those that are green. These are the flowers.

## Swimming

(225) 'u-b-qèta,<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga tàxrexi,<sup>1</sup> 'é-gət qèta,<sup>1</sup> y-áwe nèra y-amrǎxle,<sup>1</sup> nèra.<sup>1</sup> béna xəm̄ma y-áwe,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi náše bána gǎrra.<sup>1</sup> 'o-gǎrra páyax 'amūqa.<sup>1</sup> y-áθi náše msáxi gáwe.<sup>1</sup> qédamta y-azǎxwa qam-tǎwre<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-aθǎxwa.<sup>1</sup> sá'ət xadǎssər tréssər y-azǎxwa l-gǎrra<sup>1</sup> xmála,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mǎawòle<sup>1</sup> 'u-msaxòye,<sup>1</sup> hál sá'ət tǎlǎθa, 'árba xámša.<sup>1</sup> (226) 'u-mádre qá-t-yátwax qam-beč̄ye,<sup>1</sup> qam-tǎwre,<sup>1</sup> l'ánnahu 'ánna pǎye<sup>1</sup> 'u-kodǎnta<sup>1</sup> yá'ni lε-dérewa l-tǎre.<sup>1</sup> y-áziwa náše mǎriwala,<sup>1</sup> doqǎwala,<sup>1</sup> nablǎwala,<sup>1</sup> maxlǎwala-w<sup>1</sup> mǎdǎriwa 'ašǎrta.<sup>1</sup>

## Outings

(227) 'àxni<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Núne y-azǎxwa... şalǎxwa Bǎšmiyàye,<sup>1</sup> şalǎxwa Sardǎste.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna kǎlla maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup> kǎlla y-amrǎla Bèrwar-ila.<sup>1</sup> şalǎxwa l-žǎwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ax-t-y-amrǎxwa xđàra.<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa náše.<sup>1</sup> m-mđináθa y-asqǎwa.<sup>1</sup> y-azǎxwa xđàra,<sup>1</sup> táma doqǎxwa núne.<sup>1</sup> (228) 'iθwa hammáše 'ékewa xa-šera,<sup>1</sup> y-azǎxwa máθa l-màθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna mǎndiyàne yá'ni<sup>1</sup> 'iqárewa xá qa-d-o-xèna.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-wéwa šēr-Dùre,<sup>1</sup> kǎlla náše 'o-yóma y-azíwa šēr-Dùre.<sup>1</sup> sab-šérət Dùre 'úle yóma xošéba<sup>1</sup> qamàya<sup>1</sup> m-báθər 'éða gǎra.<sup>1</sup> y-amrǎle xošéba xàθa.<sup>1</sup> (229) 'iθan Mǎye.<sup>1</sup> 'áw šēr-Mǎyele.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'áni y-aθéwa 'Ēn-Núne.<sup>1</sup> 'Ēn-Núne šera díya b-yárxət 'əççele.<sup>1</sup> 'arbássər bǎ... 'əçça<sup>1</sup> kǎlla 'álma jǎme.<sup>1</sup> gu-mđináθa y-àsqi<sup>1</sup> 'u-'aθǎwáθa xène.<sup>1</sup> 'u-har-hàdǎx<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ánna mǎndiyáne kǎlla y-ođǎxwa,<sup>1</sup> mattǎxwa 'iqára xa-qa-d-o-xèna.<sup>1</sup> (230) 'u-xa-šera y-awéwa 'o-šérət kǎlla nàšewa.<sup>1</sup> sab-y-azǎwa<sup>1</sup> l-à-maθa.<sup>1</sup> 'a-máθa 'iθwa 'úmra gǎwa.<sup>1</sup> y-ođíwa qurbàna.<sup>1</sup> bǎr qurbàna,<sup>1</sup> palǎwa,<sup>1</sup> y-axlǎwa,<sup>1</sup> xamlǎwa,<sup>1</sup> zamrǎwa,<sup>1</sup> raqđǎwa.<sup>1</sup> meθéwa 'ǎraq,<sup>1</sup> meθéwa xámra.<sup>1</sup> kǎl xa-mǎndi.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga qamàye<sup>1</sup> d-a-dúnye biš-basimta.<sup>1</sup> (231) méθε dáwla-w zǎrna.<sup>1</sup> zamrǎwa náše<sup>1</sup> 'u-raqđǎwa.<sup>1</sup> rába rába tazèwa.<sup>1</sup> xadǎrxwa maθwàθa,<sup>1</sup> kǎlla xđǎrxla.<sup>1</sup> b-qèta<sup>1</sup> b-sǎtwa<sup>1</sup> yá'ni zálta-w θéθa 'iθwa kǎs-gđàðe,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni nášət gđàðe wíye xǎzmayúθa.<sup>1</sup> xǎzmayúθa mòdi.<sup>2</sup>

*Swimming*

(225) In summer, as I remember, in summertime, there was a river, as we call it, a river. When it is warm, people go and build a pool. The pool becomes deep. People come to bathe in it. Early in the morning we would go to look after the cattle and then return. At eleven or twelve o'clock we would go to the pool to have fun, playing and swimming, until three, four or five o'clock. (226) Then we would (go off) again to look after the lambs and the cattle, since they did not put the lambs, (cattle) and mules in the mountains. People would go to graze them, then they took hold of them, took them to be fed and brought them back in the evening.

*Outings*

(227) We in 'En-Nune used to go down to Bəšmiyaye, we used to go down to Sardašte. These are all villages. They are all what is called the Barwar. We used to go down to the Zab for outings,<sup>63</sup> as we would say. People would come. They would come up from the villages. We would go on outings and catch fish there. (228) There was always somewhere where there was a saint's day festival and we would go from village to village. We did such things out of respect for each other. If there was a saint's day festival in Dure, everybody on that day would go to Dure. The saint's day festival of Dure is on the first Sunday after Easter. It is called the new Sunday. (229) There is (also the village of) Maye, that is the saint's day festival of Maye. They used to come to 'En-Nune. The saint's day festival of 'En-Nune was in September. On the twenty-fourth of September everybody gathers. (Those) in the towns and in other regions come up and so forth. We did all these things to show respect for one another. (230) (When) there was a saint's day festival, it was the festival of everybody. People would go to the village. There was a church in the village and they would hold communion. After communion, they would come out and eat, make merry, sing and dance. They would bring wine, they would bring arak, everything. (This was) in the old days, when the world was more pleasant. (231) They would bring the drum and pipe. People would sing and dance. It was very very nice. We would go around the villages. We went round all of them. In the Summer and the Winter there was a mutual coming and going, since people had a family relationship among one another. What is a family relationship?

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<sup>63</sup> Literally: to wander about.



(232) *xəzmayùθa 'ila manáy 'ən-xá náša diyux<sup>1</sup> yan-xá bráta diyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maθa,<sup>1</sup> píše xəzme.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'àti<sup>1</sup> xa-xəzmux<sup>1</sup> 'ən xa-nāš-diyux<sup>1</sup> 'ən xa-gwíra m-ðá-maθa xéta 'óθye kəslux,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna y-amríla xəzme.<sup>1</sup> (233) 'ína 'ánna məndiyáne wiyelē.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni máθa l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> bráta gòra,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'úrza y-ázəl méθe m-ðá-máθa xéta,<sup>1</sup> 'áw bráta m-áxxa y-áza ða-máθa xéta.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna məndiyáne<sup>1</sup> fa-'áyya y-ámri xəzmayùθa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni qá-t našùθa<sup>1</sup> la-tálqa y-amrəxwala.<sup>1</sup> našùθa la-təlqa<sup>1</sup> mxaθxəθa.<sup>1</sup> (234) 'u-'é-gət y-azəxwa m-máθa l-màθa,<sup>1</sup> xašwəxwa hár gu-máθət g'ənən-ixwa.<sup>1</sup> hammáše yá'ni xəzγəx<sup>1</sup> 'u-xmiləx<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iqàra<sup>1</sup> tìwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-pešíwa tàma,<sup>1</sup> damxíwa ðla-xluláne.<sup>1</sup> pešíwa xá-lele trè.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni rába 'íθwa zálta-w θéθa maθwàθa<sup>1</sup> kúlla tǵaqtá.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa dostùθa-w<sup>1</sup> našùθa-w<sup>1</sup> xəzmayùθa<sup>1</sup> kúl-xa məndi 'íθwa.<sup>1</sup>*

(232) The meaning of family relationship is (as follows). If you have given somebody of your family or a daughter of yours to a certain village (in marriage), (the two families) become relatives. If a relative of yours, a person of your family or somebody married (into your family) comes to you, they call these people family relatives. (233) These things happened, that is (marriages) between one village and another, for example a girl marries (in this way), either a man goes and brings (a wife) from another village or a girl from here goes to another village. These things (happened) and they call this a family relationship. We used to say that this (was necessary) so that humanity did not disappear. Humanity should not disappear but should be renewed. (234) When we went from one village to another, we used to think that we were in our own village. We always saw each other and enjoyed ourselves. People sat (in each other's homes out of) respect and stayed to sleep in order to (participate in) a wedding. They would stay one or two nights. There was a lot of coming and going among the villages, with lots of meetings.<sup>64</sup> There was friendship, humanity, family relationship, everything.

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<sup>64</sup> Literally: It is all meeting.

Informant: Bənyaməṇ Bənyaməṇ ('Ēn-Nune)

*Festivals*

(1) mšérax mən-'éða gòra.<sup>1</sup> 'eðáwáθət baríwa gu-Bàrwər<sup>1</sup> t-suràye,<sup>1</sup> 'aθoràye.<sup>1</sup> 'éða góra 'ile xa-ṭùxsa<sup>1</sup> qyámət Mšíxa báθər t-wéwa píša qṭíla.<sup>1</sup> yóma t-!láθa qímle m-bēθ-míthe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúl-xa suràya<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúlla dūnyē<sup>1</sup> y-óði xa-'éða.<sup>1</sup> (2) !lathà yománe<sup>1</sup> 'áxni y-oðáxwa 'éða.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xákma dukáne<sup>1</sup> xà-yoma háwe 'éða.<sup>1</sup> 'i-šemíwa náše xamšī yománe,<sup>1</sup> šàwma,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwale šàwma gòra.<sup>1</sup> báθər xámšī yománe,<sup>1</sup> pàyašwa<sup>1</sup> y-aθəwa<sup>1</sup> yómət 'éða,<sup>1</sup> dá'aman napólwa yómət xušəba.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa 'éða gòrele.<sup>1</sup>

(3) 'o-yómət trè t-'éða<sup>1</sup> y-amrile geyàsa.<sup>1</sup> geyàsa<sup>1</sup> yómət trè<sup>1</sup> t-'éða gòra.<sup>1</sup> y-ázi náše l-'ùmra<sup>1</sup> y-óði qurbàna.<sup>1</sup> qáša šaqálle xa-qésa ríxa.<sup>1</sup> b-'íde díye dawùqle<sup>1</sup> 'i-rášəm hátxa gu-réšət náše<sup>1</sup> maxéle gu-réšət náše,<sup>1</sup> 'áx burkáθa.<sup>1</sup> (4) 'áxni y-amrəxla dax-burkáθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dèrī<sup>1</sup> bəθqe b-rešéy.<sup>1</sup> bəθqe yá'ni šerníye,<sup>1</sup> gəwze,<sup>1</sup> qəzbe.<sup>1</sup> zadíla hátxa gu-réšə náše.<sup>1</sup> xa-ṭùxsele,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni qa-t-háwe kúl-xa béθə náša<sup>1</sup> hawéle burkáθa,<sup>1</sup> burkáθa yá'ni ṭ-áwe zyáda gu-mexoltèy,<sup>1</sup> gu-'arzáq díyèy.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwele geyàsa.<sup>1</sup>

(5) báθər 'éða gòra<sup>1</sup> y-áθe 'arbi-yome<sup>1</sup> báθər 'éða d-o-gòra<sup>1</sup> 'iθena<sup>1</sup> 'éðət sulàqa.<sup>1</sup> sulàqa 'ile manày<sup>1</sup> Mšíxa<sup>1</sup> síqle l-šmàyya<sup>1</sup> 'o-yóma,<sup>1</sup> yómət 'àrpī<sup>1</sup> báθər 'éða d-o-gòra.<sup>1</sup> báθər t-qímle m-bēθ-míthe t-wéwa qṭíla,<sup>1</sup> síqle l-šmàyya.<sup>1</sup> (6) 'ó-yoma y-óði náše<sup>1</sup> dax-'əhtəfāl<sup>1</sup> qurbàna-w<sup>1</sup> mpálṭi duxràna<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-ázi y-óði hēzuke,<sup>1</sup> náše kúlla.<sup>1</sup> (7) hēzuke mòdila?<sup>1</sup> táli xàwla<sup>1</sup> b-xa-'ilána ṭ-óya góṭa rába ramànta,<sup>1</sup> b-xa-làqa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-átwi náše rəš-xàwla<sup>1</sup> y-óðiley dúkθət 'itàwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-zayəpley,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi 'u-y-áθi gu-hàwa,<sup>1</sup> y-amrile hezúke.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni manáy díya Mšíxa síqle l-šmàyya<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'anna práxa gu-háwa zàla<sup>1</sup> b-o-ṭùxsa<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'isáqtət Mšíxa l-šmàyya.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa 'ile sulàqa.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔĒn-Nune)

*Festivals*

(1) Let's begin with the Great Festival. The festivals of the Assyrian Christians that took place in Barwar. The Great Festival is a ceremony (commemorating) the resurrection of Christ after he had been killed. On the third day he rose from the tomb, and every Christian in the whole world holds a festival. (2) We would hold the festival for three days. In some places the festival was for one day. People would fast for fifty days, (in) a fast, which we called the Great Fast. After fifty days, the day of the festival occurred, which would always fall on a Sunday. This is the Great Festival.

(3) The second day of the festival was called *geyasa* ('the (good) thief'). The *geyasa* was the second day of the festival. The people would go and take communion. The priest would take a long stick. He would take it in his hand and make a sign like this on the heads of the people, he would tap it on the heads of the people, as blessings. (4) We call these 'blessings'. They would scatter confectionery on their heads. The confectionery consisted of sweets, walnuts, dates. They would throw them like this on the heads of the people. It was a ceremonial act, so that every family would have blessings, so that they would have abundant blessings in their food and sustenance. The *geyasa* ceremony is this.

(5) After the Great Festival, forty days after the Great Festival, the festival of Ascension occurs. Ascension means that Christ ascended to Heaven on that day, on the fortieth day after the Great Festival. After he rose from the tomb, (after) he had been killed, he ascended to Heaven. (6) On that day the people hold a party, they take communion and perform a memorial service. Then all the people go and swing. (7) What is swinging? They hang a rope on a tree that is large and very high, on a branch, and the people sit on the rope—they make a place to sit. One person pushes them and they go back and forth in the air—this is called swinging. Its meaning is that Christ ascended to Heaven and also they are flying back and forth in the air, in a symbolic act (commemorating) the going up of Christ to Heaven. This is the (festival of) Ascension.

(8) xàrθa<sup>1</sup> t-áθe xá-<sup>2</sup>éða xréna zòra,<sup>1</sup> y-amrile 'édət musàrde.<sup>1</sup> musàrde<sup>1</sup> nàpəl<sup>1</sup> tàbbəx,<sup>1</sup> yárxət tmànya.<sup>1</sup> 'áw mùt-'édəle.<sup>2</sup> 'áw 'imət mšixa θéle gu-nérət 'Ūrdun,<sup>1</sup> Mar-Yòhàнна<sup>1</sup> t-táma-hawe qəm-māmədle.<sup>1</sup> dréle miya b-réšə Mšixa<sup>1</sup> qəm-māmədle,<sup>1</sup> šléle róxət quáša mən-šmáyya šléle l-Mšixa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya y-amrálxa māməđta.<sup>1</sup> (9) kúl-xa náša...yalínka zórət bàre<sup>1</sup> gárag páyax mūməđđa gu-'umra,<sup>1</sup> déri miya rəše.<sup>1</sup> barxile qáše šaməše<sup>1</sup> déri miya rəše<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-wéwa Mar-Yùhánna dorya miya<sup>1</sup> b-réšə Mšixa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya y-amrila<sup>1</sup> musàrde.<sup>1</sup> (10) fa-náše kúlla pàlṭi<sup>1</sup> xa-maryóse 'o-xréna miya.<sup>1</sup> maryástət miya xa-l-d-o-xréna mòdila.<sup>2</sup> ma-t-wéwa 'áθye náše<sup>1</sup> çənnəkerət Mšixa,<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wéwa ràbe<sup>1</sup> Mar-Yùhánna lá-msele kút-xa dréle qáawət miya b-réše.<sup>1</sup> (11) qímle mürisle hátxa miya 'əlləy<sup>1</sup> yá'ni<sup>1</sup> kúlley<sup>1</sup> ta-t-máta miya 'əlləy.<sup>1</sup> fa-l-d-áw tuxsa,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni 'ó-yoma y-óđexi 'áp-'axni musàrde.<sup>1</sup> náše kúlla mbádla qəmi<sup>1</sup> xa-maryóse 'o-xréna miya,<sup>1</sup> hal-'ašorta 'áw háwe šuləni.<sup>1</sup>

(12) xàrθa<sup>1</sup> y-aθéleni 'əða<sup>1</sup> 'édət be-yálda.<sup>1</sup> 'édət be-yálda 'ile wéθət Mšixa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni t-ile bàrya<sup>1</sup> Mšixa.<sup>1</sup> 'áw baryele 'ásri xámša,<sup>1</sup> b-yárxət trəssəx:<sup>1</sup> qam-bréθe diyē<sup>1</sup> 'ásri-w xamša yománe<sup>1</sup> náše 'i-šəmi.<sup>1</sup> náše krəstyáne suráye 'i-šəmi<sup>1</sup> 'ásri-w xámša yománe.<sup>1</sup> (13) yómət 'ásri-w xámša háwe 'əða.<sup>1</sup> y-óđi 'əhtəfāl,<sup>1</sup> y-ázi náše l-'umra<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-óđi qurbána-w qárwi-w pàlṭi náše.<sup>1</sup> xàrθa<sup>1</sup> 'áxni gu-maθwàθa<sup>1</sup> kúlłeni jəmáxwa m-ğəđəde,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-qáša mənən<sup>1</sup> 'ən-múxtərət màθa,<sup>1</sup> zavrəxwa 'ədāwəθa.<sup>1</sup> (14) qamáye y-azəxwa l-'édət qáša.<sup>1</sup> barxəxwa 'éde diyē.<sup>1</sup> xárθa y-azəxwa l-béθət mùxtəx,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'aw barxəxwale 'éde diyē.<sup>1</sup> 'u-doqəxwa b-réza kúlla máθa.<sup>1</sup> 'i-zavrəxwa gu-màθa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla màθa<sup>1</sup> mbarxəxwale 'édət náše.<sup>1</sup> (15) xá-b-xa béθa y-orəxwa gáwe mbarxəxwa 'éða<sup>1</sup> 'u-palṭəxwa.<sup>1</sup> 'imə-t y-orəxwa gu-bəθa<sup>1</sup> 'i-šatíwa náše 'əraq.<sup>1</sup> 'u-məθéwa mázze,<sup>1</sup> 'ixàle-w<sup>1</sup> fəke-w<sup>1</sup> šarniyē-w<sup>1</sup> jīgèrē.<sup>1</sup> xa-rúba<sup>c</sup> sà'a,<sup>1</sup> pəlgə sà'a,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-xa-sá'a xa-xá-ga y-atəxwa.<sup>1</sup> (16) xa-xá-ga márət béθa mbašəlwa 'ixála 'imət hóya dānət 'ixála.<sup>1</sup> y-axlíwa náše 'u-palṭíwa y-azíwa l-d-ó-bəθa xəna,<sup>1</sup> hál-d-ə-gət kúlla máθa par-qáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa 'éða zòra.<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwa 'éða zòra.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'édət bréθət Mšixa.<sup>1</sup> 'ənnəla 'ədāwəθa diyəni.<sup>1</sup>

(8) Afterwards another small festival occurs, which is called *musarde*. *Musarde* falls in Tabbax, August. What festival is this? This (commemorates) when Christ came to the river Jordan and Saint John, who was there, baptized him. He put water over Christ and baptized him, then the Holy Spirit descended from Heaven and descended into Christ. We call this baptism. (9) Everybody... when a young child is born, he must be baptized in the church and they put water over him. The priests and deacons bless him and they put water over him, as Saint John had put water on the head of Christ. This (festival) is called *musarde*. (10) All the people go out and sprinkle water on each other. What is (the significance of) scattering water over each other? So many people came around Christ, so many, that Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody. (11) So he scattered water over them like this, so that the water would reach all of them. In this way we perform (the festival of) *musarde* on that day. In the morning the people all scatter water over each other, and this is what we do until the evening.

(12) Then we have (another) festival, the festival of Christmas. The festival of Christmas is (in commemoration of) the birth of Christ, that is the fact that Christ was born. He was born on the twenty-fifth of December. For twenty-five days before (the day of) his birth, people fast for twenty five days. Christian people fast for twenty-five days. (13) The twenty-fifth day is the festival. They hold celebrations, people go to church, they take communion then come out. Afterwards, all of us in the villages gathered together, either with a priest with us or a head of the village, and we went around (offering) festival blessings. (14) First we would go and offer a festival blessing to the priest. We would offer him a festival blessing. Then we would go to the house of the village head and would offer also him a festival blessing. We would then visit the whole village in a row, going around the village. We would offer festival blessings to all the people of the village. (15) We would go into one house after another and offer festival blessings, then come out. When we went into a house, people would drink arak, they would bring snacks, food, fruit, sweets, cigarettes. Each time we would sit for a quarter of an hour, half an hour, sometimes even an hour. (16) Sometimes the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food. The people would eat and go out, then go to another house, until all the village was finished. This is the Small Festival. We called it the Small Festival. It was the festival of the birth of Christ. These are our festivals.

(17) 'íθwa ba'úθət ninwàye.<sup>1</sup> ba'úθət ninwàye<sup>1</sup> lèla<sup>1</sup>... léle 'éða diyàna.<sup>1</sup> 'íle 'éða qàwmi<sup>1</sup> t-məllatayùθa.<sup>1</sup> 'àw<sup>1</sup> xa-zàwəna<sup>1</sup> Nīnwə<sup>1</sup> 'iwáwa pétxət 'aθoràye.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga 'àyi<sup>1</sup> wéle fāyaḏ'án-t miya.<sup>1</sup> miya zìdla.<sup>1</sup> 'ímə zìdla miya,<sup>1</sup> kùlla mḏíta diwìqla miya<sup>1</sup> 'u-miya mšuréla ryàma<sup>1</sup> náše xnàqa.<sup>1</sup> (18) náše mšuréla xnàqa,<sup>1</sup> xàkma náše,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xàkma mxulšàla gána.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xàkma síqla garāwáθət bâte.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xàkma síqla dukáne ramáne qa-t-la-máti miya 'əlla.<sup>1</sup> (19) fa-màlka,<sup>1</sup> málka híwle 'àmra<sup>1</sup> móre kúl-xa náša šàym.<sup>1</sup> šàym,<sup>1</sup> híç-məndi lá-'axəl tḷà yománe.<sup>1</sup> la-šáte la-mi-ya-w<sup>1</sup> la-'axəl 'ixála tḷáθa yomàθa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-tálbi mən-'álaha qa-t-'əwəw<sup>1</sup> fāyaḏ'án maktèle,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya zyáttət miya<sup>1</sup> mak-lèla<sup>1</sup> 'álaha.<sup>1</sup> (20) béna báθər tḷa-yomàne<sup>1</sup> mšuréla miya nqàša-w<sup>1</sup> tìwle<sup>1</sup>... bār tḷáθa yomàθa<sup>1</sup> miya tìwle<sup>1</sup> nqìšla nqìšla<sup>1</sup> 'u-prìqla 'aw-fāyaḏ'án.<sup>1</sup> 'áni y-amrúwale tawpàna.<sup>1</sup> tawpàna yá'ni zyáttət miya.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəw<sup>1</sup> 'íle xa-'éða.<sup>1</sup> (21) béna náše diyèni<sup>1</sup> 'i-šəmi tḷá yomàne,<sup>1</sup> xàkna náše,<sup>1</sup> xàkma la-šəmi.<sup>1</sup> xàkna šəmi tḷá yomàne<sup>1</sup> 'u-báθər tḷáθa y-ázi y-óði qurbàna-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-pàrqa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəw<sup>1</sup> 'íle xa-'éða zòra<sup>1</sup> b-násba l-mállət 'aθoràye.<sup>1</sup> 'əxç,<sup>1</sup> lèle t-krəstyáne 'áwəw<sup>1</sup> 'éða.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəw<sup>1</sup> 'íle ba'úθət ninwàye.<sup>1</sup>

(22) kul-máθət 'ítla 'úmra<sup>1</sup> 'an-maθwáθa hawéwaley šəra,<sup>1</sup> šəra<sup>1</sup> d-ó-yomət 'íle 'o-qaddíša miθa.<sup>1</sup> taríx díye y-óði 'éða.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-'éða y-amrúxle šəra.<sup>1</sup> 'áw yáḏət dàx y-oðíle.<sup>21</sup> (23) qédamta y-ázi náše l-'úmra,<sup>1</sup> y-óði qurbàna,<sup>1</sup> pàlti<sup>1</sup> b-pálgət yòma<sup>1</sup> sá'at tréssər hal-xà<sup>1</sup> kul-nàša,<sup>1</sup> kul-bèθa<sup>1</sup> 'i-mbášəl xá-terət 'ixálat 'áw bāye.<sup>1</sup> məléla xa-šiniye gòrta.<sup>1</sup> məšléla mattúla xà-dukθa.<sup>1</sup> (24) 'iθena xàkma dukáne tuθànela,<sup>1</sup> xàkma dukáne hátxa gawzánela t-íla tḷəlla,<sup>1</sup> sab-dáyəmən nápəl 'o-yóma xa-dánə t-y-áwe qèθa.<sup>1</sup> (25) b-šəryāwáθa šaxinta y-óya dúnye.<sup>1</sup> fa-y-átwi náše tḷəlla,<sup>1</sup> tḷəllət 'ilanàne,<sup>1</sup> tuθàne,<sup>1</sup> gaw-zàne.<sup>1</sup> 'ixála kùlle mārīzile xa-dúkθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-nášət màθa<sup>1</sup> 'aw-'ən-náše naxrəye 'iθəm,<sup>1</sup> kùlla y-áθe y-átwi<sup>1</sup> y-áxli mən-d-ó 'ixála.<sup>1</sup> (26) báθər párqī mən-'ixála,<sup>1</sup> závri náše gu-bàte.<sup>1</sup> xàkma náše t-íla naxrəye,<sup>1</sup> t-maθwáθa xrène,<sup>1</sup> y-áθe y-óri gu-bátə náše mbarxíley 'eḏèy.<sup>1</sup> y-átwi šáti çay-u<sup>1</sup> məθéley 'ixála<sup>1</sup> 'u-qəmi y-ázi.<sup>1</sup> 'áwəw<sup>1</sup> 'íle 'éḏət 'En-Nūne,<sup>1</sup> táma l-Mar-Sàwa<sup>1</sup> 'úmərət Mar-Sàwa.<sup>1</sup>

(17) There was ‘The Rogation of the Ninevites’. The Rogation of the Ninevites is not a religious festival. It is a national festival. Once Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrians. At that time there was a flood of water. The water increased. When the water increased, the whole town became filled with water, the water began to rise and people drowned. (18) People began to drown—some people, some saved themselves. Some went up onto the roofs of houses. Some went up onto high places so that the water would not reach them. (19) The king gave an order saying ‘Everybody should fast. (Everybody) should fast and should not eat anything for three days. (Everybody) should not drink water or eat food for three days and they should ask God to stop this flood, to stop this increase in water’. (20) Then, after three days, the water began to diminish and go down. After three days the water went down and diminished, the flood finished. They call it (in *surəθ*) *tawpāna* (‘flood’), *tawpāna* means ‘increase in water’. This is a festival. (21) Our people fast for three days—some people, some do not fast. Some fast for three days and after three days they go and take communion, then it is over. It is a small festival and it belongs to the Assyrian nation. This festival is not a Christian one. It is (called) the Rogation of the Ninevites.

(22) Every village that had a church—these villages had a saint’s festival, a festival (commemorating) the day that the saint died. On this date they hold a festival. They call the festival *šera*. Do you know how they perform it? (23) In the morning the people go to church and take communion. They go out at midday, from twelve o’clock to one, everybody, each family, cooks any type of food that they like. (Each) fills a large tray and brings it down and places it in a certain place. (24) There are several (such) places—they are mulberry trees, some places are walnut trees, which are shady, for this festival day always falls at a time when it is summer. (25) During the saint day festivals it is always hot, so people sit in the shade, the shade of trees, mulberry trees, walnut trees. They place all the food in rows in one place. The people of the village or people from outside, if there are any, all come and sit and eat the food. (26) When they finish eating, the people go around the houses. Some people from outside, from other villages, come and enter peoples’ houses and offer them festival blessings. They sit and drink tea, bring them food, and they get up and go. This is the festival of ʾEn-Nune, which (takes places) there for Saint Sawa, at the church of Saint Sawa.



(27) *Mar-Sáwa y-awéwa xa-qaddiša*<sup>1</sup> 'ásle díye 'iranàya-wewa,<sup>1</sup> farsàya.<sup>1</sup> 'àwewa<sup>1</sup> 'è-ga<sup>1</sup> b-zàwne díye,<sup>1</sup> bábe díye<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-ila mtunéθa ða-tàrix,<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa málka-wewa bábe díye.<sup>1</sup> fa-<sup>2</sup>áwewa mhuymènne b-krastyáne.<sup>1</sup> mhuymènne b-dínat krastyáne.<sup>1</sup> (28) málka<sup>1</sup> sagðánat sänàme-wewa.<sup>1</sup> málkät 'Írən-wewa.<sup>1</sup> 'áni sagðíwa sänàme.<sup>1</sup> lè-y yäðíwa 'álaha.<sup>1</sup> lé-y yäðíwa diyánat krastyáne mòdile.<sup>1</sup> fa-sagðíwa sänàme.<sup>1</sup> (29) béna qímle bábe málka<sup>1</sup> máre qatlónne bróni.<sup>1</sup> bróne díye ríqle.<sup>1</sup> ríqle mən-<sup>2</sup>Írən θèle,<sup>1</sup> tèle gu-*Tiyàre*.<sup>1</sup> táma mítle<sup>1</sup> gu-*Tiyàre*. (30) béna b-á-dúkθa t-íle mìθa<sup>1</sup> krastyáne díyən<sup>2</sup> aθoráye qímela bánye 'úmra-w<sup>1</sup> 'áw<sup>1</sup> m̀tùmràlle táma.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ò-<sup>2</sup>umra<sup>1</sup> t̀tùmràlle<sup>1</sup> 'u-bányela 'úmra b-réše díye.<sup>1</sup> 'áw múttàlle šómme díye *Mar-Sáwa*.<sup>1</sup> (31) 'áxni 'ax-t-ix bányèlle 'úmra díyən gu-<sup>2</sup>En-Nùne<sup>1</sup>—léla kθíwe<sup>1</sup> 'ímə t-íle bənya<sup>1</sup> léla kθíwe<sup>1</sup> b-əni taríx-ile bənya,<sup>1</sup> bas-<sup>2</sup>áxni 'ax-t-mqadrəxla<sup>1</sup> šónne díye<sup>1</sup> 'iba bēn-<sup>2</sup>arbá-mma-w 'əštá-mma šənnē<sup>1</sup> t-íle bənya.<sup>1</sup> záwda mən-<sup>2</sup>arbá-mma šənnēle.<sup>1</sup> bálki bíš-*kēm* mən-<sup>2</sup>əštá-mma šənnēla,<sup>1</sup> hātəxanē<sup>1</sup> t-íle bənya tàmā.<sup>1</sup> (32) fa-<sup>2</sup>áxni max-t-ix-bənyəlla 'áwewa b-šəmmət *Mar-Sáwa gu-Tiyàre*,<sup>1</sup> síqela náše l-*Tiyàre*<sup>1</sup> múθyela xa-kəpa<sup>1</sup> mən-<sup>2</sup>úmrət *Mar-Sáwa gu-Tiyàre*.<sup>1</sup> múθyèlle múttàlle gu-<sup>2</sup>En-Nùne<sup>1</sup> 'u-bənyəlle<sup>1</sup> 'úmra b-réše díye<sup>1</sup> b-réšə d-o-kəpa.<sup>1</sup> (33) móra 'áwewa 'íle *Mar-Sáwa*.<sup>1</sup> múttàlle šómme *Mār-Sáwa*<sup>1</sup> b-násba l-*Mar-Sáwa t-íle gu-Tiyàre*.<sup>1</sup> b-šétət tmáni tmànya<sup>1</sup> Šaddám híwle 'ámra tla-<sup>2</sup>askarwáθe díye,<sup>1</sup> 'ímə tlixàla máθa,<sup>1</sup> 'úp *Mar-Sáwa qəm-taləxle*.<sup>1</sup> (34) θéla tláxəlle bəldozère-u<sup>1</sup> lə-mšela tlixla.<sup>1</sup> ma-t-wéwa gúde díye mùhkəm.<sup>1</sup> mút-tula dīnamet gáwe díye,<sup>1</sup> dīnamet,<sup>1</sup> qəm-pāqile.<sup>1</sup> 'áw 'u-<sup>2</sup>umráne rābe gu-*Bárwər*.<sup>1</sup> kúll máθa t-íla tlixta 'íθ 'úmra gáwa<sup>1</sup> 'umráne kúlla tlixəlla.<sup>1</sup>

### Baptism

(35) *mamodíθa*.<sup>1</sup> yála zóra<sup>1</sup> krastyána<sup>1</sup> 'é-gət bàre<sup>1</sup> kúl-naša t-awéle xa-bróna,<sup>1</sup> báθə xákma yèrxē,<sup>1</sup> qam-máte šéta,<sup>1</sup> taqrīban,<sup>1</sup> t-áwele 'ášta yèrxē,<sup>1</sup> t-láθa yèrxē,<sup>1</sup> qam-máte šéta 'úmre díye,<sup>1</sup> 'i-nablile l-<sup>2</sup>umra.<sup>1</sup> (36) qàša<sup>1</sup> 'u-šamáša<sup>1</sup> 'i-mšàli<sup>1</sup> b-réše-u béθa dére míye b-réše díye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-máxa xa-mášxa gu-be-<sup>2</sup>éne díye<sup>1</sup> 'oðíle rúšma 'ax-šlūwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áy y-amríle rúšma t-krihe.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya 'íla mamodíθa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni manáy díya 'áwewa yála zóra píšle krastyána.<sup>1</sup> píšle momáðða mamodíθa<sup>1</sup> t-krastyáne.<sup>1</sup>

(27) Saint Sawa was a saint who was of Iranian, Persian, origin. In his time, his father—according to one (version of) of history, it is said that his father was a king. He (Sawa) believed the Christians, believed in the Christian religion. (28) The king was a worshipper of idols. He was king of Iran. They used to worship idols. They did not know God. They did not know what the religion of Christians was. They used to worship idols. (29) His father the king said ‘I shall kill my son’. His son fled. He fled from Iran and came and wandered in Ṭiyare. He died there in Ṭiyare. (30) Then, in the place that he died, our Christians, the Assyrians, built a church and buried him there. They buried him in (the site of) that church and built the church over him. They gave it the name of Saint Sawa. (31) When we built our church in ʿĒn-Nune—it is not written<sup>1</sup> when it was built, it is not written on what date it was built, but according to our reckoning of its age, it was built between four-hundred and six-hundred years ago. It is more than four hundred years old. Perhaps it is less than six hundred years ago, when it was built there. (32) So, when we built it with the name of Saint Sawa of Ṭiyare, people went up to Ṭiyare and brought back a stone from the church of Saint Sawa in Ṭiyare. They brought it back and placed it in ʿĒn-Nune and built a church over it, over the stone. (33) They said this is (the church of) Saint Sawa. They gave it the name of Saint Sawa after (the church of) Saint Sawa which is in Ṭiyare. In the year (19)88, Şaddām gave an order to his soldiers, when they destroyed the village and he destroyed also (the church of) Saint Sawa. (34) They came to destroy it with bulldozers, but they could not destroy it, so solid where its walls. They put dynamite in it, dynamite, and blew it up, and also many (other) churches in Barwar. Every village that was destroyed and had a church in it, they destroyed all the churches (in them).

### *Baptism*

(35) When a Christian baby is born—anybody who has a son, after a few months, before he reaches a year, when he is around six months, three months, before he reaches a year in age, they take him to the church. (36) The priest and the deacon pray over him and his family and they put water on his head. They put some oil on his forehead and make for him a sign like a cross. They call this the sign of the suffering ones. This is baptism. Its meaning is that this baby has become a Christian. It has been baptized with a Christian baptism.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: They have not written.

*Dairy Products*

(37) *çita* 'ila mášxa t-<sup>2</sup>ərwe.<sup>1</sup> *xəlyə t-heywàne*<sup>1</sup> t-<sup>2</sup>ərwe 'ən-tawràθa,<sup>1</sup> *xəlyə marəxθile*<sup>1</sup> 'u-šoqile pəša dāraj hārara diye taqriban 'ərbi.<sup>1</sup> *dəri marəθa bíya.*<sup>1</sup> 'i-mxamèla.<sup>1</sup> *dəri xa-júlla b-réša qá-t hár-hawe šaxinta*<sup>1</sup> múddat tmánya sà'äte.<sup>1</sup> 'i-páyəš 'o-xəlyə<sup>1</sup> páyəš masta.<sup>1</sup> (38) 'ε-màsta<sup>1</sup> 'i-derila gu-gùða.<sup>1</sup> gúða mòdile?<sup>2</sup> 'ile gáldat xa-hèywəm.<sup>1</sup> *naštìle.*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəxle gùða.*<sup>1</sup> 'i-deréla gáwe diye<sup>1</sup> 'u-yi-mäyile.<sup>1</sup> *y-asrile b-xàwola*<sup>1</sup> 'u-talile b-xa qəsa<sup>1</sup> 'ən-b-qaríθat bèθa<sup>1</sup> yi-mäyile.<sup>1</sup> (39) *myá'a mòdile?*<sup>2</sup> *yá'ni majwəjta diya.*<sup>1</sup> *nabóle* 'u-meθóye b-xelána.<sup>1</sup> 'u-déri míya gəwa.<sup>1</sup> *xa-rúba' sá'a,*<sup>1</sup> 'əsri daqiqe,<sup>1</sup> *pálgə sá'a.*<sup>1</sup> 'i-šəšila 'i-šəšila<sup>1</sup> hal-másta 'i-pəša 'ax-miyya.<sup>1</sup> (40) *mášxət gu-d-á-masta* 'i-jámi l-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'i-jámi l-gðàðe,<sup>1</sup> 'i-mpaltille.<sup>1</sup> *mášxa páyəš xòðe,*<sup>1</sup> 'u-dáwwe deréla gu-xa-quxáne gòrta.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa mášxa y-amrəxle çita.<sup>1</sup> (41) 'áwwa 'i-mapəlxile<sup>1</sup> 'ən y-axlile b-ləxma,<sup>1</sup> 'ən 'i-derile b-rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'imət 'i-mbášli rəzza,<sup>1</sup> 'ən derile rəš-bušála<sup>1</sup> y-oðile gərðo,<sup>1</sup> y-amrila gərðo.<sup>1</sup> 'áyyela çita.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dáwwe,<sup>1</sup> 'an-miyət masta,<sup>1</sup> t-pəší,<sup>1</sup> 'áni y-amrila dáwwe.<sup>1</sup> (42) 'u-qàška<sup>1</sup> 'ile 'an-dáwwe marəxθila.<sup>1</sup> *marəxθila,*<sup>1</sup> 'u-'i-šoqila tāmaha,<sup>1</sup> míya 'i-tépi b-réša.<sup>1</sup> *míyət tépi b-réša bezila.*<sup>1</sup> 'o-t- páyəš<sup>1</sup> 'i-deréle gu-xa-kisa,<sup>1</sup> xa-kisa xwára t-bəza,<sup>1</sup> 'u-talile b-xa-sákθa hal-é-gət míye diye kúlla nàšpi.<sup>1</sup> (43) 'áw páyəš 'ax-məjün,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-ləša páyəš.<sup>1</sup> 'o-xàlwa,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxle xàlwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áw xáltwət... d-àn-dawwe.<sup>1</sup> 'áw y-oðile glòla<sup>1</sup> mattile qam-šmša,<sup>1</sup> 'i-bàrəz.<sup>1</sup> 'i-bàrəz,<sup>1</sup> y-amrile<sup>1</sup> qàška.<sup>1</sup> (44) 'áwwa qàška<sup>1</sup> b-sátwa 'imə sánqi nàše<sup>1</sup> l-dáwwe<sup>1</sup> qa-t-mbášli bušála<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa xá-ga xéta deréle gu-miyya,<sup>1</sup> mpašrile,<sup>1</sup> mpašrile,<sup>1</sup> gu-miyya,<sup>1</sup> 'i-páyəš 'ax-dáwwe.<sup>1</sup> 'i-dére rəzza gəwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-mbašlile,<sup>1</sup> páyəš bušála.<sup>1</sup> m-gəb-dáwwe.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa qàškele.<sup>1</sup>

*Bread*

(45) *ṭəlme*<sup>1</sup> 'íman-t qámxa lešile ləša<sup>1</sup> 'u-'i-xəme,<sup>1</sup> *dére xmíra gáwe* 'i-xəme,<sup>1</sup> 'i-méθi sèla.<sup>1</sup> *sèla*<sup>1</sup> prəzləle.<sup>1</sup> 'áw dax-t-ámrxəx 'ax-šiniyyele<sup>1</sup> bas-gòra.<sup>1</sup> 'i-mattile š-kəpe,<sup>1</sup> *xóθe* diye y-óði nùra.<sup>1</sup> 'o-séla 'i-xəyəm.<sup>1</sup>

*Dairy Products*

(37) *Čita* is the butter of sheep. They boil the milk of animals, of sheep or cows, and let its heat become about forty degrees. They put rennet in it. They keep it. They put a cloth over it so that it remains warm, for eight hours. The milk then becomes yoghurt. (38) They put the yoghurt in a churn. What is a churn? It is an animal skin. They strip (it off the animal). We call it a ‘churn’. They put it (the yoghurt) in it and churn it. They tie it with a rope and hang it onto a piece of wood or onto the beam of a house and churn it. (39) What is churning? This means moving it. Moving back and forth quickly. They put water into it. For quarter of an hour, ten minutes, half an hour, they shake it and shake it until the yoghurt becomes like water. (40) They gather together the butter of the yoghurt. They gather it together and take it out. The butter remains behind<sup>2</sup> and they put the *dawwe* (yoghurt water) in a large pot. We call this butter *čita*. (41) They use it—either they eat it on bread or they put it in rice or, when they cook rice, they put it in stew and make it into *gərdo*, what is called *gərdo*. This is *čita*. As for the *dawwe*, the water of the yoghurt that remains is called *dawwe*. (42) *Qaška* is (made by) boiling the *dawwe*. They boil it and put it aside. The water comes to the top. They pour off the water that comes to the top. What remains they put in a bag, a white bag of muslin, and hang it on a peg until all its water drains away. (43) It becomes like paste, it becomes like dough. This is *xalwa*, we call it *xalwa*. It is the *xalwa* of *dawwe*. They make it round and put it in the sun and it dries. When it dries they call it *qaška*. (44) This *qaška*—in winter, when people need *dawwe* to cook stew, they put it again in water and dissolve it, they dissolve it in water and it becomes something like *dawwe*. They put rice in it and cook it. It becomes stew. (It is) instead of *dawwe*. This is *qaška*.

*Bread*

(45) *Təlme*: When they knead flour into a dough and it rises, they put yeast in it and it rises, they bring a griddle. The griddle is made of iron. We could say that it is like a tray, but bigger. They put it on stones and make a fire under it. The griddle becomes hot.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: by itself.

(46) *šaqli lèša,<sup>1</sup> mattíle š-xá... pářša p̄ðxa,<sup>1</sup> š-xa-mēz hátxa p̄ðxa,<sup>1</sup> xa-qèsa<sup>1</sup> glòla<sup>1</sup> 'i-zeḗpile rēše díye<sup>1</sup> nablíle 'u-meθéle hál-ε-gət páyaš raqíqa.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-leša páyaš raqíqa raba.<sup>1</sup> (47) 'i-šaqlíle b-g'èra,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni xa-qèsa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréle rəš-d-ó-sela t-íle níra xóthe xamíma.<sup>1</sup> 'i-bàšəl.<sup>1</sup> 'i-bàšəl,<sup>1</sup> maxəðríle xá-ga l-ày-gota,<sup>1</sup> xá-ga l-ày-gota,<sup>1</sup> hal-d-é-gət bàšla.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa y-amríle t̄lme,<sup>1</sup> t̄l̄m̄θa.<sup>1</sup>*

(48) *lawàše<sup>1</sup> har-<sup>2</sup>é t̄l̄m̄θa<sup>1</sup> 'i-maxéla l-tanùra.<sup>1</sup> tanùra<sup>1</sup> y-áwe xamíma,<sup>1</sup> m-bár t-y-óði níra gáwe,<sup>1</sup> xáyəm raba.<sup>1</sup> 'i-šaqlíla 'a-t̄l̄m̄θa<sup>1</sup> maxéla gu-tanùra.<sup>1</sup> 'i-bàšla y-amríle lawàše.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni har-<sup>2</sup>é t̄l̄m̄θa,<sup>1</sup> 'm-dérətla rəš-sèla<sup>1</sup> mbašl̄tla<sup>1</sup> 'áyya p̄éša t̄l̄m̄θa.<sup>1</sup> 'm-maxóila gu-tanùra mbašl̄tla,<sup>1</sup> y-amríla lawàše.<sup>1</sup>*

(49) *'u-zeḗàya<sup>1</sup> 'ila biš-xlímta.<sup>1</sup> xlímta hóya.<sup>1</sup> šaqlíle-har-<sup>2</sup>o-ləxma.<sup>1</sup> lá deréle là rəš-sèla<sup>1</sup> 'i-maxíle gu-tanùra<sup>1</sup> háwe biš-xlíma.<sup>1</sup> 'áy y-amríla zeḗàya.<sup>1</sup>*

(50) *qəllóra:<sup>1</sup> qəllóra 'ile har-<sup>2</sup>ò ləxma<sup>1</sup> bas-xəṭte romàye<sup>1</sup> léle xəṭte 'adi.<sup>1</sup> léle d-ánna xəṭte.<sup>1</sup>*

(51) *kàda:<sup>1</sup> kàda t̄la-<sup>2</sup>eḗwàθa y-oḗxwale.<sup>1</sup> 'áv déri duwàna gáwe díye.<sup>1</sup> déri duwàna gáwe díye,<sup>1</sup> 'm-gáwze toríla qónne diyèy.<sup>1</sup> 'i-ṭaxníla.<sup>1</sup> 'i-xoṭíla b-məšxa.<sup>1</sup> 'i-déríla gáwe díye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-ačmíla hátxa qa-t-là-napli m-gáwe díye.<sup>1</sup> maxéla l-tanùra.<sup>1</sup> bàšəl 'áp-awwa 'ax-zeḗàya.<sup>1</sup> b-tanùra mbašl̄le.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa y-amríle kàda.<sup>1</sup>*

(52) *'u-<sup>2</sup>iθena xá-tera xéna kulèčē.<sup>1</sup> 'áni hátxa-hawa zóre.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ani déri qónne<sup>1</sup> 'u-məšxa gáwa díya.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa hátxa zòre.<sup>1</sup> 'u-máxa bétə t-toríla xoṭíle zǎrət bəta<sup>1</sup> maxéla hátxa b-rəš-d-àn kulèčē<sup>1</sup> qa-t-háwe rangéy biš-smòqa,<sup>1</sup> biš-zàra<sup>1</sup> 'u-biš-hawa basíme.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna y-oḗxla t̄la-<sup>2</sup>èða.<sup>1</sup>*

### *The Regulator of a Water-Mill (čakčaka)*

(53) *'ərxē<sup>1</sup> 'i-pálxa b-míya.<sup>1</sup> xéla díya mòdíle<sup>1</sup> t-mazvèrra.<sup>2</sup> 'ila míya.<sup>1</sup> míya<sup>1</sup> maz-əvríle xa-parwàna,<sup>1</sup> pàrrēla ríxe,<sup>1</sup> máxa míya 'əlláy 'i-zàvər.<sup>1</sup> 'áni sírela b-xa-stùna.<sup>1</sup> gu-réšə d-o-stùna<sup>1</sup> 'iθm 'ərxē,<sup>1</sup> xa-képa,<sup>1</sup> xa-képa glòla,<sup>1</sup> 'ítile hálbət dükθa<sup>1</sup> 'i-šála xəṭte<sup>1</sup> xo-d-ò-kepa.<sup>1</sup> (54) 'áv 'i-zàvər<sup>1</sup> 'i-ṭaxónna páyaš qàmxa.<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa 'iθena dāwla.<sup>1</sup> dāwla 'ile xa-sandūqa<sup>1</sup> réše p̄θixele dére xəṭte gáwe.<sup>1</sup> xóthe xa-bóya zóra 'i-sáli xəṭte b-réšə d-ó-kepa qa-t ṭaxníla.<sup>1</sup>*

(46) They take the dough and put it on a wide stone, on a wide table like this. They push a round stick of wood on it, moving back and forth, until it becomes thin. The dough becomes very thin. (47) They take it with a rolling pin, that is a stick of wood, and put it on the hot griddle with fire under it and it cooks. It cooks, they turn it on one side and on the other, until it cooks. They call this *ʔlme*, *ʔlʔmθa* (sing.).

(48) *Lawaše* is just like a *ʔlʔmθa*, but they put in the oven. The oven is hot. After they put fire in it, it heats up a lot. They take the *ʔlemθa* and place it in the oven. It cooks and it is called *lawaše*. It is the same as a *ʔlʔmθa*, if you put it on a griddle and cook it, it becomes a *ʔlʔmθa*, if you put it in an oven and cook it, it is called *lawaše*.

(49) A *zeðaya* is thicker. It is thick. They take the same bread (dough). They do not place it on a griddle, they put it in the oven. It is thicker. It is called *zeðaya*.

(50) *Qəllora*: *Qəllora* is the same bread, but maize, not ordinary wheat, not (made) from such wheat.

(51) *Kada*: We used to make a *kada* cake for festivals. They put cake filling in it. They put cake filling in it or walnuts—they break their kernels, grind them, mix them with butter and put them in it. They close them like this so that they do not fall out. They put them in the oven. It cooks like a *zeðaya*. They cook it in an oven. They call it a *kada*.

(52) There is another type (of cake called) *kuleče*. These are small like this. They put (walnut) kernels and oil also in these. They are small like this. They put an egg, which they break—they mix the yolk of an egg, they put it like this on the *kuleče* cakes, so that their colour will be more red, more yellow, and so that they will be more tasty. They make these for a festival.

### *The Regulator of a Water-Mill* (čakčaka)

(53) A mill operates by water. What is its power, which turns it? It is water. The water drives round a propeller. This consists of long blades. The water drives them round and it turns. They are tied to a pole. On the top of this pole is the mill, a stone, a round stone, which has, of course, a place in which the wheat falls, under that stone. (54) It turns and grinds it and it becomes flour. Here there is the drum. The drum is a box, with an open top, in which they put wheat. Under it there is a small hole through which wheat runs out onto the stone for it to be ground.

(55) 'iθ xa-qésa zàra<sup>1</sup> 'ibe xá-šíta biz-záwoda m-xa-šíta ríxa.<sup>1</sup> báلكى tláθi sèntimetre ríxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ibe xlíma hàtxa.<sup>1</sup> 'áw-ile síra bìya.<sup>1</sup> 'órxe 'ímə zàvra<sup>1</sup> 'áw-ile hàtxa b-rése díye,<sup>1</sup> 'ímə zàvra<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa páyəš hàtxa,<sup>1</sup> jàwəj.<sup>1</sup> (56) 'ímət jàwəj,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa réše díye<sup>1</sup> xrèna<sup>1</sup> hóle síra b-d-ò dáwla<sup>1</sup> qa-t-máşle xətte<sup>1</sup> muntàðəm,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni t-lá-şala rábe b-xa-bèna.<sup>1</sup> şála xánča xànča,<sup>1</sup> níxa nìxa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'áw y-amrəxle b-árābi munàðəm.<sup>1</sup> (57) b-súrəθ léðən mú y-amrile,<sup>1</sup> t-ámrx mtagəbràna,<sup>1</sup> mtagəbránət xətte dāx şála gu-ərxle<sup>1</sup> qa-t taxnila,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-kúlla şála<sup>1</sup> 'ax-əti báyyət,<sup>1</sup> t-lá-şala rábe b-xà-bena.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa y-amrile čakčàka.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya kálma čakčàka 'ila mən-qàle díye.<sup>1</sup> qàle díye y-áθe čakčàkta,<sup>1</sup> mənne díye čak čak čak čak.<sup>1</sup> fa-áwwa qésa múttəlle šómme díye čakčàka.<sup>1</sup>

(55) There is a small stick, which is a span or more long. Perhaps it is thirty centimetres long. There is a thick (section) on it like this. It is attached to it. When the mill turns—it is like this on top of it—when it turns, it does this, it moves. (56) When it moves, its other end is attached to the drum so that it lets down wheat (in a) controlled (flow), that is so that a lot does not flow down at once. It comes down, little by little. We call this in Arabic *mnađđam* ('controller'). (57) I do not know what they call it in *surəθ*. Let's say 'controller', the controller of how the wheat flows down into the mill in order for it to be ground, so that it all flows down in the way you like, so that a lot does not flow down at once. This is called a *čakčaka*. This word *čakčaka* comes from its sound. It makes a sound like *čak čak čak čak*. So they gave this stick the name *čakčaka*.



B7 LIFE IN DURE (1)

Informant: Dawid 'Adam (Dure)

*Girls' Sunday*

(1) yómæt xošébat bnàtha' 'áxni gu-'áθræt Bārwer' 'áw mpalṭiwale' 'ax-sëra y-oðiwale' bnáθæt maθëni. 'y-oðíwa xá 'ax-bràta' qèsa' malušíwala jülle. 'y-oðíwala 'ax-bràta. 'u-y-azíwa' šaqlíwa, 'mən-kül béθa' šaqlíwa rəzza, 'šaqlíwa qàlya, 'šaqlíwa ləxma, 'mən-kùlla béθa maθëni. 'y-azíwa' tálga y-áwe' táb'an y-azíwa rəš-tálga' tàma. (2) y-awðíwa' 'ax-xàšša. 'xàšša, 'é-bratət malušíwala jülle' t-oðíwala 'ax-kàlo, 'ày' 'u-məθàwa. 'áy qèsa-wewa' mulušə jülle' 'ina' wíðəlla 'ax-bràta. 'ga-nablíwala. 't-azíwa xákma tláθa 'árpa gúre mənna. (3) t-amríwala gu-'ùpra' 'al-'assàs' mìtla' xa-bràta. 'baxíwala b-duzùθa. 'baxíwala rába' 'u-y-aθíwa. 'y-aθíwa m-rəš-baθ-qòre, 'm-réša dīya. 'y-aθíwa' y-oðíwa' 'ixàla. 'bašlíwa rəzza. 'bašlíwa šòrba. 'u-y-atíwíwa y-axlíwa. (4) báθər y-axlíwa, 'qemíwa mṭalíwa, 'raqðíwa, 'zamríwa. 'íθwa tawalyáθa rábe rábe' mṭalíwa. 'ò yóma' külle yòma' y-awáwa mṭawóle' 'u-nášət máθa kùlla' síqe mparóje biyèy. 'u-'ap-gúre y-azíwa tàma' yále zóre y-azíwa tàma mṭawóle 'al-'asàs' 'ádyo xošébat bnàθele. (5) 'u-y-amríwa xošébat bnàθa' qáṭma b-qušràθa. 'yá'ni gu-šàwma-waawa. 'dánət šàwma-waawa' 'ay-béna y-amríwa' yá'ni mxallèxi' b-xálləx qušariyàθa. 'béna y-amríwa' qáṭma b-qušariyàθa, 'ánna qašxanyàθa. (6) 'àyya' mšaríwa tàma mṭawóle tawalyàθa. 'íθwa tawáltət baybùne y-amríwala. 'báybi baybùne-u' mārət raqqùne, 'u-míðən mòdi. 'hàtxa y-amríwala. 'u-'íθwa tawáltət barràne, 'xa-ráqa báθər d-ò-xena. 'íθwa šwára baràne. 'u-kúl-xa téra mṭalíwala. 'píšla hádəx həl 'ašárta. 'ašárta deríwa' kút-xa y-aθéwa l-béθe dīye. 'u-parpəsíwa.'

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

*Girls' Sunday*

(1) In our land of Barwar, the girls of our village would celebrate 'Girls' Sunday' like a saint's festival. They would make something like a girl out of wood and dress her in clothes. They made her like a girl. Then they went and took from every house rice, they took meat fat, they took bread, from every house in our village. (If) there was snow, they, of course, walked there on the snow. (2) They demonstrated a kind of grief. They made the girl whom they dressed in clothes like a bride and brought her (through the streets). She was wood dressed in clothes, but they made her like a girl. Now, they took her. Three or four men went with them. They went and buried her. (3) They buried her in the ground, as if a girl had died. They would really weep. They would weep for her a lot and then come back. They would come back from the cemetery, from her (burial). They would come back and make food. They would cook rice. They would cook soup. Then they would sit down and eat. (4) After they had eaten, they would get up and play, dance and sing. There were many games that they played. They would play all that day and all the people of the village would go up to look at them. Also adult men would go there, as well as young children, to play, since this day is Girls' Sunday. (5) They would say 'On Girls' Sunday there was (washing) ash in the cooking pots', meaning that they were fasting. It was a season of fasting. The meaning is that they say at that time 'Let's wash, let's wash the pots'. They would say 'Ash on the pots', that is the cooking pots.<sup>1</sup> (6) They would then start to play games. There was a game called *baybune* (in which they said) '*baybi baybune, marat raqqune*' and I don't know what. They would say this. There was the game of 'groups', one person running after the other. There was 'jumping the rams'. They played every type of game. It continued like this until evening. In the evening they returned, everybody went back to his home and they dispersed.

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<sup>1</sup> Ash was used as a cleansing agent for cooking pots and utensils.

*Bəlbəlawə*

(7) 'iθwa y-amrəxwa bəlbəlawə.<sup>1</sup> gu-şəwma<sup>1</sup> xaðrəwa bəlbəlawə,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni l-bəθa.<sup>1</sup> bəθa bəθa t-ázət xaðrətla.<sup>1</sup> xákma t-yawilux qəzbe,<sup>1</sup> xákma t-yawilux məše,<sup>1</sup> xákma t-yawilux xartməne,<sup>1</sup> xákma t-yawilux yabiše.<sup>1</sup> ku-bəθa t-əzeti<sup>1</sup> 'áni t-yawilux<sup>1</sup> là tərðilux.<sup>1</sup> t-yawilux<sup>1</sup> kú-məndi t-ítley t-yáwi 'əllux.<sup>1</sup> 'əsri t!áθi m-gðəðe,<sup>1</sup> yále zóre m-gðəðe.<sup>1</sup> xaðrəwa gu-məθa<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga y-amrəwa<sup>1</sup>

(8) bəlbəlawə<sup>1</sup>

kut-la-yəwa<sup>1</sup>

xaťórta gəwa<sup>1</sup>

(9) 'ε-bəna məşəwəla,<sup>1</sup> məjbur pəşəwa t-yawəwəla 'ixála məndi həle.<sup>1</sup>

*The Cultivation of Tobacco*

(10) tütun<sup>1</sup> tanəmmux 'al-tütun.<sup>1</sup> tütun-žigən<sup>1</sup> zəřəwəla<sup>1</sup> 'ánna xaqłəθa<sup>1</sup> zəřəwəla kulla.<sup>1</sup> 'awðəwəla zřəta.<sup>1</sup> bəθər zəřəwəla,<sup>1</sup> y-awðəwəla məššəre,<sup>1</sup> məqasməwəla qa-məššəre.<sup>1</sup> y-awðəwəla sādde gəwa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni məqasməwəla qa-sādde.<sup>1</sup> 'ərba xámša sādde y-atəwəwa gu-ðə-xaqłə.<sup>1</sup> (11) bəna y-aθəwə šədlət tütun.<sup>1</sup> derəwəla bar-zəřə xa-dükθa<sup>1</sup> barəwa.<sup>1</sup> bəθər barəwa,<sup>1</sup> pəşəwa šədle.<sup>1</sup> 'an-šədle<sup>1</sup> šalxəwəla mən-təma<sup>1</sup> məxəwəla gu-məššəra.<sup>1</sup> (12) məššəra derəwəla mīya gəwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-məššəra derəwəla mīya gəwa díya ta-t-rəkxa.<sup>1</sup> məθəwəle šədla,<sup>1</sup> xarzəwəle,<sup>1</sup> xarzəle gu-d-é məššəra.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni məššəra rixta taqriban tre-mètre,<sup>1</sup> trè-metre,<sup>1</sup> t!ə-metre.<sup>1</sup> (13) məθəwəla 'an-taqyáθət tütun<sup>1</sup> 'əşrə 'aqrəre.<sup>1</sup> məttəwəla gu-d-é məššəra xá, tré, t!əθa.<sup>1</sup> mənəwəla hal-'əşra.<sup>1</sup> 'əşra gu-d-əyya,<sup>1</sup> 'əşra gu-d-yəha,<sup>1</sup> 'əşra gu-d-yəha xəta,<sup>1</sup> hətxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-şulət banjəne har-hədəx 'awðəwəle.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-şulət xiyəre hədəx 'awðəwəle.<sup>1</sup> 'ina gəndóre là'a.<sup>1</sup>

*Bəlbəlawə*

(7) There was (something) called *Bəlbəlawə*. During the fast they would go round (performing) *Bəlbəlawə*, that is to a house. You go around (performing) it from house to house. Some give you dates. Some give you lentils. Some give you chickpeas. Some give you raisins. Every home that you go to will give you something. They will not send you away. They will give you anything that they have. Twenty or thirty together, small children together. They would go around in the village saying:

(8) Bəlbəlawə  
Whoever does not give  
(Will have) a washing board (knocked) on him

(9) Then they would chastise them and they would be forced to give them food or something.

*The Cultivation of Tobacco*

(10) Tobacco. I'll tell you about tobacco. They would cultivate tobacco. They would plough all the fields and make them into ploughed land. After they ploughed them, they would make them into paddy fields, they would divide them into paddy field basins. They would make (the basins) into dammed sections. That is, they would divide them into dammed sections. Four or five dammed sections would be laid out<sup>2</sup> in a field. (11) Then they would come and (plant) the tobacco seedlings. They would put a seed in a certain place and it would grow. When they grew, they became seedlings. They uprooted the seedlings from that place and planted them in the paddy field. (12) They put water in the paddy field. They put water in the paddy field so that it would become soft. They would bring a seedling and plant it. They would plant it in the paddy field. The paddy field was almost two metres long, two or three metres. (13) They would bring the sprigs of tobacco, ten stems (in a row). They would plant them in the paddy field, one, two, three and count up to ten. Ten in this (row), ten in that one, ten in that other one, and so forth. They did the same with aubergines and also did this with cucumbers. But not with melons.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: would sit.

(14) *gəndóre* <sup>u-šəftiye</sup> <sup>ʾáni</sup> *zəríwala* *hàtxa* <sup>ʾáp</sup> *t-la-miya*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʾáni</sup> *zəríwala-w* *baríwa*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-šalgəmmə,</sup> <sup>ʾanna</sup> <sup>ap-šalgəmmə</sup> *la-ʾawðíwala* *məššàre*.<sup>1</sup> *kulla-ʾáp-ʾani* *har-hátxa* *zəríwala*<sup>1</sup> *deréwala* *bar-zára* *hàtxa* <sup>u-zəríwale,</sup> <sup>ʾax-gəndòre.</sup> (15) <sup>ʾina</sup> *banjàne*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-pātàte,</sup> <sup>u-tùttun,</sup> <sup>u-xiyàre,</sup> <sup>ʾanna</sup> *y-awðíwala* *kùlla* *məššàre*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-maštíwala</sup> *míya*<sup>1</sup> *pəšíwala* *ku-tmànya*,<sup>1</sup> *ku-tmànya* *yománe* *maštíwala* *míya* *ɬla-d-àni*,<sup>1</sup> *ɬla-tùttun*,<sup>1</sup> *ɬla-banjàne*,<sup>1</sup> *ɬla-xiyàre*,<sup>1</sup> *ɬla-kúl-xa* *məndì*.<sup>1</sup> (16) <sup>u-tùttun</sup> <sup>ʾimət</sup> *pəšáwa* *gòrta*,<sup>1</sup> *maqərɬiwala*.<sup>1</sup> *qəɬiwala*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʾasríwala</sup> *dàsta*,<sup>1</sup> *kút* *xá* *xámša* <sup>ʾəšta.</sup> <sup>ʾasríwala</sup> *dàsta*,<sup>1</sup> *deréwala* *rəš-ʾm-qəsa* *hawéwa*<sup>1</sup> *hátxa* *ríxa*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʾm-xàwla.</sup> <sup>ʾasríwala</sup> *b-qəsa* <sup>u-m-áy-gota</sup> *qəsa*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-m-áy-gota</sup> *qəsa*.<sup>1</sup> *xa-xàwla* *məθèwale*<sup>1</sup> *deréwala* *tùttun* *b-réše* *dìye*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-bàrza*.<sup>1</sup> (17) *báθər* *barzáwa* *tùttun*,<sup>1</sup> *qémi* *šaqlíwala* *deréwa* *rəš-xa-bəṭāniya*,<sup>1</sup> *parxíwala* *táza*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>an-qəsət</sup> *tùttun*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʾáni</sup> *kùlla*<sup>1</sup> *zadíwala*.<sup>1</sup> *məθíwa* <sup>ʾərbàla,</sup> <sup>saràda,</sup> <sup>xzí</sup> *mo-bəyət*.<sup>1</sup> *gamáye* *deréwala* *b-saràda*,<sup>1</sup> *baʾdén* *b-ərbàla*,<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-pálta* *tùttun*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>íθ</sup> *pálta* *zúrta*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ε-zúrta</sup> <sup>áy</sup> *zadíwala*.<sup>1</sup> *rába* *zúrta* *yáʾni*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>ax-qəmxa</sup> *pəšáwa*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>áy</sup> *zadíwala*.<sup>1</sup> (18) <sup>ina</sup> *deréwala* *l-ʾərbàla*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>áyya</sup> *paltáwa* *spəy*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>áy</sup> *deréwala* *gu-guniya*.<sup>1</sup> *deréwala* *gu-guniya-w*<sup>1</sup> *mattíwala* *təmàha*.<sup>1</sup> *kút-dana* *sanqíwa*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-šaqlíwa</sup> *mən-d-ε-tùttun*<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-garšíwa.</sup> *deréwala* <sup>è</sup> *tùttun*<sup>1</sup> <sup>íθwa</sup> *kùlley*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>íθwaley</sup> *kísyáθa* *zòre*,<sup>1</sup> *šaqláwa* *xà-kilo*.<sup>1</sup> *xá-kilo* *tùttun* *deréwale* *gàwa*.<sup>1</sup> (19) <sup>íθwaley</sup> *mánquš* *t-prəzla*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-íθwaley</sup> *képa* *smòqa*,<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-púwus</sup> *t-ʾilàna*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>anna</sup> *matpíwala* <sup>íθwaley</sup> *qəlínka*.<sup>1</sup> *qəlínka* *bazókka* *díya* *ríxa* *y-awéwa*.<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa* *maθéwa* *pàlla*.<sup>1</sup> *šaqlíwa* *pàlla*.<sup>1</sup> *mattíwa* *rəš-qəlínka*.<sup>1</sup> *mattíwa* *xákma* *púwus*.<sup>1</sup> *matpíwale*<sup>1</sup> *púwus*,<sup>1</sup> *mattíwale* *rəš-qəlínka*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-šaríwa</sup> *gràša*.<sup>1</sup>

### The Churn

(20) <sup>é-ga</sup> *táma* *gu-maθwáθa* *kəslèni*<sup>1</sup> <sup>íθwalən</sup> *gúða*.<sup>1</sup> *gúða* <sup>íle</sup> *mən-ʾərba*,<sup>1</sup> *gəldət* <sup>ʾərba.</sup> <sup>u-y-asríwa</sup> *bíye* *dìye*<sup>1</sup> *lawlàbe-w*<sup>1</sup> *mayòye-w*<sup>1</sup> *mabíwale*<sup>1</sup> *dére* *páwxe* *gàwe*.<sup>1</sup> <sup>u-šawqíwale</sup> *l-šəmša*<sup>1</sup> *barázwa* *ta-t-là-yawəwə* *ríxa*.<sup>1</sup>

(14) They would cultivate melons and watermelons in the same way but without water. They would plant them and they would grow. Also for turnips they would not make paddy fields. They would cultivate them in the same way, they would plant a seed like this and cultivate them, like melons. (15) But aubergines, potatoes, tobacco, cucumbers, for all of these they would make paddy fields. They would irrigate them with water. Every eight days they would feed them with water, that is the tobacco, the aubergines, the cucumbers, and so forth. (16) When the tobacco became big, they would clip it down. They would cut it. They would bind it in bunches, each (containing) five or six (plants). They would bind it in bundles and place them on either a long stick or a rope. They would bind them to a stick, with a stick this side and a stick that side. They would bring a rope and put the tobacco on it in order to dry. (17) After the tobacco dried, they took it, put it on a blanket and crushed it thoroughly. They would throw away all the wooden (twigs) of the tobacco. They would bring a sieve, a large sieve, whatever you want. First they put them in a large sieve then in a medium sized sieve, until the tobacco came out. There were some small pieces that came out, this small stuff they threw away. It was very small, it became like flour. They threw it out. (18) They put it in the medium sized sieve and they put in a sack whatever was produced of good quality. They put it in a sack and put it aside. They took some of that tobacco whenever they needed it and smoked it. They put the tobacco in small bags, which they all had and which contained a kilo. They would put a kilo of tobacco in them. (19) They had a sparking tool made of metal. They also had a red stone and hay kindling from a tree. They kindled this in their pipe.<sup>3</sup> The stem of the pipe was long. They would bring a glowing coal. They would take a glowing coal and put it on the pipe. They would put some hay kindling on it and light the hay, then put it on the pipe. Then they would begin to smoke.

### *The Churn*

(20) At that time in the villages in our land we had a churn. A churn is made from a sheep, the skin of a sheep. They tied to it sticks and beams.<sup>4</sup> They inflated it, put air into it. They left it in the sun to dry, so that it would not give off a smell.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: They kindled these—they had a pipe.

<sup>4</sup> The *lawlabe* are short end sticks with holes. The *mayoye* are long sticks joining the two *lawlabe*.

(21) *dérewa másta gáwe diyé.<sup>1</sup> 'u-dérewa miya gáwe díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-šesšiwale.<sup>1</sup> palíwá dâwwe-w<sup>1</sup> pálaṭwá mósxa l-xóḏe díye hâtxa.<sup>1</sup> šaqliwale.<sup>1</sup> (22) 'an-dáwwe diyé<sup>1</sup> marəθxìwala<sup>1</sup> 'u-deréwala l-kisa.<sup>1</sup> načpìwá miya mənnéy.<sup>1</sup> šaliwá miya mənnéy,<sup>1</sup> páyāšwá 'ax-xàlwa,<sup>1</sup> brìza hádax.<sup>1</sup> (23) 'áni y-oḏíwale kàška.<sup>1</sup> 'o-kàška<sup>1</sup> xá-ga xèta<sup>1</sup> deréwá miya<sup>1</sup> mattíwale qam-šəmša barəzwa.<sup>1</sup> qa-sátwa y-oḏíwá xá-ga xèta.<sup>1</sup> mejíwale gu-miya šaxine,<sup>1</sup> pešíwá dâwwe<sup>1</sup> y-oḏíwá bušàla bíya díya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kótəl dâwke bíya díya.<sup>1</sup> (24) 'é-ga zamríwá biye,<sup>1</sup> dawqíwá tárte bnàḏa<sup>1</sup> xá m-rèšé<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-bráta mən-xóḏe diyé.<sup>1</sup> maxíwá 'àqla qáme díye.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-báxta t-iyáwa xarèḏa,<sup>1</sup> xóḏe diyé,<sup>1</sup> maxyáwa 'àqla qáme.<sup>1</sup> tá-t 'imət 'àza másta,<sup>1</sup> qéḏa b-è-'aqla<sup>1</sup> ta-t-dèra.<sup>1</sup> máxe 'o-mósxa l-ğḏáḏe külle.<sup>1</sup>*

(21) They put yoghurt in it and put water in it, then shook it. Yoghurt water (*dawwe*) would be produced and butter (*māšxa*) would be produced separated (from the yoghurt water). They would take it (the butter) away. (22) They would boil the yoghurt water and put it in a bag. The water would drip down from it. The water would drain down from it, and it would become *xalwa*,<sup>5</sup> which was dry, like this. (23) They made it into a *kaška*. (To make) the *kaška*, they again added water and put it in the sun to dry. For winter they reconstituted it. They crushed it in hot water and it became yoghurt water, with which they would make stew and yoghurt pasties. (24) When they sang (the song) about it, two girls held it, one from above it and one from below it.<sup>6</sup> They would put their leg in front of it. The latter woman, who was under it, would put her leg in front of it, so that when the yoghurt (churn) moved, it struck her leg and returned back. The butter all gathered together.

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<sup>5</sup> A fatless residue.

<sup>6</sup> The women sang in turns a special song concerning the churn when they churned the yoghurt. For the text of this song see C5.



## B8 LIFE IN 'ĒN-NUNE (3)

Informant: Bibe Bənyamən ('Ēn-Nune)

### *Family History*

(1) 'an-qamáye tíwe tàma,<sup>1</sup> 'an-díyən xaràyela 'áθye<sup>1</sup> be-Hédo diyèni.<sup>1</sup> 'áθye tre-xonāwàθa,<sup>1</sup> Daniye 'u-Bənyàme.<sup>1</sup> Bənyàme sáwət bàbile.<sup>1</sup> Daniye<sup>1</sup> sáwət sàwux-ile.<sup>1</sup> bar-d-ánna tre-xonāwàθa<sup>1</sup> béna 'áxni yáðəx<sup>1</sup> hal-díya kəmèla qíme.<sup>1</sup> (2) xòni<sup>1</sup> Lèwas<sup>1</sup> zille kásleni m-Chicàgo,<sup>1</sup> mbùqrəlli.<sup>1</sup> 'ána kúl-məndi hon-mírta<sup>1</sup> hóle kθiwəlle.<sup>1</sup> kθiwəlle kəmèla síqe bar-d-àw-xona<sup>1</sup> kéma bar-d-àw-xona.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'ánna šáwewa xonāwáθa θáya gu-d-a-màθa.<sup>1</sup> θèla,<sup>1</sup> 'an-'ēn-nunāye<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> 'áxni<sup>1</sup> 'áyya máθa dīyən-ila<sup>1</sup> 'áxtu lè-y atwítu gáwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áni plífla gu-réšət talána har-zàla.<sup>1</sup> (4) móra là,<sup>1</sup> là,<sup>1</sup> xoš-'áθa 'áp-'anna.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni mò-t-odəx xóðən 'áxxa.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'anna náše xoš-àtwi.<sup>1</sup> (5) 'an-díyən tíwla tàma.<sup>1</sup> 'an-díyən wéla biš-xùrət,<sup>1</sup> biš-zìrək,<sup>1</sup> biš-xoš-gùre.<sup>1</sup> hátxa yáðəx,<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga lánwa brìθa 'ána bráya.<sup>1</sup> 'ána m-bar-t-íla-'əθye m-'Ūrmi,<sup>1</sup> gu-Bàgdad bréli.<sup>1</sup> m-yəmmīn šmítəlla 'áyya,<sup>1</sup> m-bnōn-mámi 'an-t-wéwa gòre.<sup>1</sup> hátxa náše gòre mtanèwa.<sup>1</sup> m-zorúθi hon-šmítəlla.<sup>1</sup>

### *Livelihoods of People in Ēn-Nune*

(6) 'Ēn-Núne mòdi y-awdíwa?<sup>1</sup> zāriwa<sup>1</sup> kúlla markàne 'íθwala,<sup>1</sup> 'āràθa,<sup>1</sup> pθàne,<sup>1</sup> tàwre.<sup>1</sup> zāriwa-w xazdìwa.<sup>1</sup> 'əštá-yarxe<sup>1</sup> qéṭa palxìwa.<sup>1</sup> 'əštá-yarxe sátwa tàlga-wewa kásleni.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'ixála y-odìwa.<sup>1</sup> gəlla,<sup>1</sup> tərpa<sup>1</sup> qāṭiwale b-qéṭa.<sup>1</sup> mexòlta<sup>1</sup> tla-sàtwa,<sup>1</sup> tla-heywàne,<sup>1</sup> rása.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Bibe Bənyamən ('Ēn-Nune)

*Family History*

(1) The first ones settled there, our people came later, our family of Hədo. Two brothers came, Daniye and Bənyame. Bənyame is the grandfather of my father. Daniye is the grandfather of your grandfather.<sup>1</sup> After those two brothers, we know how many offspring there have been until now. (2) My brother Lewis went to visit us from Chicago and asked me. I told everything and he wrote it down. He wrote down how many are descended from that brother and how many from that (other) brother. (3) Seven brothers had come to the village. They (the two other brothers) came and the inhabitants of 'Ēn-Nune said 'This village is ours. You cannot live in it'. They went up to the top of the shady mountain. (4) They (the inhabitants of 'Ēn-Nune) said 'No, no, let also them come (and settle here). What can we do by ourselves here? Let also those people settle'. (5) So, our people settled there. Our people were more strong, more active and finer men (than those already there). That is what we know. At that time I was not even born. After they came from Urmi, I was born in Baghdad. I heard this from my mother, from my older cousins. The old folk would talk about this. I heard it from my youth.

*Livelihoods of People in 'Ēn-Nune*

(6) What did people do in 'Ēn-Nune? They would sow. Everybody had storage pots, lands, ploughs, oxen. They would sow and reap. For six months they would work in the summer. For six months there would be snow in our village. Everybody made food. They would cut down grass and leaves in summer for fodder in the winter for the animals, *rasa* grass.

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<sup>1</sup> The speaker is addressing a relative in the room.

*Family Life*

(7) *θéla m-<sup>2</sup>Ûrmi,<sup>1</sup> m-Diyána.<sup>1</sup> gu-Bágdad-inwa brìθa.<sup>1</sup> gu-<sup>2</sup>árba yárxe yámmi mumšáli gu-<sup>2</sup>Èn-Nùne.<sup>1</sup> bnónə məmi<sup>1</sup> t̄l̄àθa<sup>1</sup> t-xà mamila.<sup>1</sup> sáwət Áron yaqánət xa-màmi.<sup>1</sup> píša bābi,<sup>1</sup> t̄l̄àθa xonāwáθa,<sup>1</sup> hē.<sup>1</sup> (8) <sup>o</sup>-babi<sup>1</sup> <sup>o</sup>-zórət xonāwàθewa<sup>1</sup> moqimile<sup>1</sup> bnónə məmi,<sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup>-gwìre.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ána</sup> táxrən <sup>áxni</sup> kúllən gu-xa-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> báθər t-gwìrra<sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup>-bnonèy<sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup>-<sup>2</sup>iθwa nawàge.<sup>1</sup> (9) kúlla xaràye,<sup>1</sup> təxrùθi,<sup>1</sup> plilèni.<sup>1</sup> <sup>axni</sup> zìllən Rombi be-xòni.<sup>1</sup> muttúlən bèθa<sup>1</sup> gu-Ròmbi<sup>1</sup> léle gu-<sup>2</sup>Èn-Nùne.<sup>1</sup> xa-dúkθa ramánta basimta<sup>1</sup> kúlla rasàne<sup>1</sup> xa-dúθa ràba táza.<sup>1</sup> (10) bābi muttúle táma bèθa.<sup>1</sup> zìlleni,<sup>1</sup> təxrúθa diyi<sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup>-t-xóni d-o-gòra.<sup>1</sup> <sup>áwwa</sup> xóni tàmele bórya.<sup>1</sup> <sup>áwwa</sup> táxrən <sup>é-gə</sup> t-íle bórya xòni.<sup>1</sup>*

(11) *sátwa tàlga<sup>1</sup> màrkən<sup>1</sup> <sup>áwwa</sup> t-dúša,<sup>1</sup> <sup>áwwa</sup> t-məšxa,<sup>1</sup> <sup>áwwa</sup> t-jàjək,<sup>1</sup> <sup>áwwa</sup> t-gùpta.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ay</sup>-màsta.<sup>1</sup> kúlla yámmi mattáwala hàtxa.<sup>1</sup> (12) <sup>ó</sup>-bena <sup>a</sup>θéwa xòni<sup>1</sup> <sup>ú</sup> xóni kəmət xólya <sup>ax</sup>-dúša.<sup>1</sup> <sup>áwwa</sup> y-aróqwa y-azólwa màkke!<sup>1</sup> màkke!<sup>1</sup> màkke màrkən,<sup>1</sup> zòra,<sup>1</sup> dúša gu-màrkən,<sup>1</sup> xóni basəmɥwale dúša.<sup>1</sup> màkke màkke y-ámər t̄la-t-áxəl xóni dúša.<sup>1</sup> (13) zòre-wewa <sup>ánna</sup> xonāwáθi.<sup>1</sup> <sup>a</sup>-górta <sup>án</sup>nɥwa.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ánna</sup> zòre-wewa.<sup>1</sup> mð-xena t-amrána bābi?<sup>1</sup> xonāwáθi zòre,<sup>1</sup> bābi zìlle,<sup>1</sup> yámmi qəm-māqimáley,<sup>1</sup> qəm-ma-gurála.<sup>1</sup> (14) bréla bnónət xòni.<sup>1</sup> yámmi gu-kəma-šənnewa?<sup>1</sup> <sup>àti</sup> yǎðət.<sup>1</sup> yámmi zòrta mítla.<sup>1</sup> yəmmi<sup>1</sup> bāba díya qàša-wewa<sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup>-bābi qàša-wewa.<sup>1</sup> (15) yámmi léwa qriθa,<sup>1</sup> ràba yǎðáwa.<sup>1</sup> kúlla <sup>ngalìyon</sup>,<sup>1</sup> <sup>áyyət</sup> qam-qáša qarèla,<sup>1</sup> yámmi mtanyàwale.<sup>1</sup> <sup>ádyo</sup> kú-məndi t-íwən šmá<sup>2</sup> <sup>àxxa</sup>,<sup>1</sup> yámmi mtunèθalle t̄l̄áli,<sup>1</sup> yǎðànnè.<sup>1</sup> qám t-y-amórra Sárqon Dardíšu,<sup>1</sup> y-átwi gu-d-àyya,<sup>1</sup> màra,<sup>1</sup> makróze,<sup>1</sup> suràye,<sup>1</sup> <sup>aθurnàye</sup>,<sup>1</sup> kúlla yəmmi mtanyáwa t̄lalèni.<sup>1</sup>*

*Family Life*

(7) They came from Urmi, from Diyana. I was born in Baghdad. When (I was) four months, my mother nursed me in ʿĒn-Nune. My cousins, three are of one uncle, the grandfather of Aron is the only son of one (other) uncle of mine. There remained my father, (they were) three brothers, yes. (8) My father, he was the youngest of the brothers. He brought up my cousins (until) they got married. I remember we were all in one house. After they married (there were) also their children, and there were grandchildren. (9) In the end, I remember, we all separated. We went to Rombi to the house of my brother. We set up home in Rombi, not in ʿĒn-Nune. It was a pleasant, high place, full of *rasa* grass, a fine place. (10) My father set up home there. We went—I have a memory of myself (going) and of my older brother (going). This brother of mine<sup>2</sup> was born there. I remember when my brother was born.

(11) In the winter (we had a container known as a) *markən*, one for honey, one for butter, one for *jajək*, one for cheese and the yoghurt (was in another). My mother arranged them all like this. (12) At that time my brother used to come and I (would say) ‘My brother, you are so sweet like honey’. He would run and go (shouting) *makke! makke! makke is markən* (in child’s language). He was young, there was honey in the pot. My brother liked honey. My brother would say ‘*makke, makke*’ to eat honey. (13) These brothers of mine were young. It was I who was the oldest. They were young. What else should I say, my dear? While my brothers were young, my father died. My mother brought them up and married them off. (14) The children of my brother were born. How old was my mother? You know.<sup>3</sup> My mother died young. The father of my mother was a priest and my father was a priest. (15) My mother was not educated, but she knew a lot. My mother could recite the whole Gospel, which they read before the priest. Today, everything that I hear here, my mother has told me and I know it. Before Sargon Dardišu<sup>4</sup> said it, and they sat in it (the television), talking and preaching about Christians and Assyrians, my mother used to tell us everything.

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<sup>2</sup> The speaker points to her brother next to her.

<sup>3</sup> Addressing her brother.

<sup>4</sup> A television personality.

(16) *bábi malápwalən şləθa.*<sup>1</sup> *’áwwa ləwa barya.*<sup>1</sup> *xóni ’o-góra gu-Chicàgo,*<sup>1</sup> *Léwəs xòni.*<sup>1</sup> *’áw malápwalən şləθa,*<sup>1</sup> *bábən t-šmàyya,*<sup>1</sup> *šláma-lləx Màryam,*<sup>1</sup> *šlāwáθa kúlla malápwaləni.*<sup>1</sup>

(17) *papàye-wewə.*<sup>1</sup> *béna mawdòyax.*<sup>1</sup> *xtiθela*<sup>1</sup> *t-la ganwitu.*<sup>1</sup> *t-la mšaritu.*<sup>1</sup> *tíwəxwa ’ána-w xóni mawdòye,*<sup>1</sup> *qáša Wárda mawdòye.*<sup>1</sup> (18) *tíwe ’ána-w xóni*<sup>1</sup> *muttéthəllən m-gədáðe mára šlāwáθa.*<sup>1</sup> *də-múr šlāwáθa hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> *béna ma-létu mšuwəre?*<sup>2</sup> *márən là,*<sup>1</sup> *’áxnì làx mšuwəre.*<sup>1</sup> *ma-létu gnúwe?*<sup>2</sup> *márən yé hox-gnúwe.*<sup>1</sup> *mòditu gnúwe?*<sup>2</sup> (19) *márən halúke m-be-mámi çúna.*<sup>1</sup> *xánči halúke țarre*<sup>1</sup> *t-wéwa baryə hátxa,*<sup>1</sup> *wíðəxwa tré halúke*<sup>1</sup> *’ána-w xòni.*<sup>1</sup> *ma-t-šádwalən,*<sup>1</sup> *xtiθa bābi.*<sup>1</sup> *bábən yəmmən malápwalən hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> (20) *mədrása gu-bèθewə.*<sup>1</sup> *kú-mdit láyəp náša yála zòra*<sup>1</sup> *’áyya pyáša gu-réšət náša.*<sup>1</sup> *hadíya hon-nšəyalla*<sup>1</sup> *’ína d-é-ga taxrànna rába.*<sup>1</sup>

### Weddings

(21) *taxrànne țla-xlúlət xóni Šəmmo*<sup>1</sup> *’é-gə t-wéwa ríqe nàše*<sup>1</sup> *şəlye Badərəške,*<sup>1</sup> *’áskar t-léwi síqta gu-’En-Nùne,*<sup>1</sup> *’è-ga-wewə gwíra xóni Šəmmo.*<sup>1</sup> *’əngləznəye*<sup>1</sup> *’áskar-t léwi təxrən.*<sup>1</sup> *’é-gəla hüdúde mürme,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-Türki músqe.*<sup>1</sup>

(22) *xlulàne*<sup>1</sup> *dáwla-w zòrna-w*<sup>1</sup> *’u-júlle țiyariyàne lóšúwa,*<sup>1</sup> *xumála-w*<sup>1</sup> *rqàða,*<sup>1</sup> *dáwla-w zòrna,*<sup>1</sup> *kəmèla yomáθət xlúla.*<sup>1</sup> *y-azíwa mpaltíwa k’álo,*<sup>1</sup> *məθéwa be-xətna.*<sup>1</sup> *xlúla t-țlaθa yomáθa,*<sup>1</sup> *xá-šabθa xlúla.*<sup>1</sup> *rqàða,*<sup>1</sup> *zmàra,*<sup>1</sup> *mbašóle marəgle,*<sup>1</sup> *práma təwre.*<sup>1</sup> *xyáptət xətna.*<sup>1</sup>

(23) *qime t-azəx l-xyape*  
*barbiye rape rape*  
*xulqane l-beθət babe*

(16) My father taught us prayers. He (my brother)<sup>5</sup> was not born. (He taught me and) my elder brother in Chicago, my brother Lewis. He taught us prayers: Our heavenly father. Peace be upon you Mary. He taught us all the prayers.

(17) (At that time) they were Catholics.<sup>6</sup> We used to make confession. It is a sin. Do not steal. Do not curse. I and my brother would sit and make confession, make confession to the priest Warda. (18) I and my brother sat, she (our mother) put us together to say prayers. ‘Say the prayers like this. Have you not cursed?’ We said ‘No, we have not cursed’. ‘Have you not stolen?’ We said ‘Yes, we have stolen’. ‘What have you stolen?’ (19) We said ‘Plums from the house of my uncle Čuna, a few fresh plums, which were growing there’. We had just picked plums, I and my brother. How afraid we were. It was a sin, my dear. Our father and mother taught us like that. (20) The school was at home. Everything that a person learns as a young child, this remains in the mind of a person. Now I forget things, but I remember well what (I learnt) then.

### *Weddings*

(21) I remember the wedding of my brother Šəmmo, when people had fled and come down to Badərəške.<sup>7</sup> The Levy army went up to ʔɛn-Nune. It was then that Šəmmo married. I remember the English, the Levy army. At that time the borders were moved, they were moved up to Turkey.

(22) At weddings there were the drum and pipe. They used to wear Țiyare clothes. There was merriment, dancing, the drum and pipe, however many days the wedding lasted. They would go and bring out the bride and bring her to the house of the groom. The wedding could last for three days, a wedding could last for a week. There was dancing, singing, cooking in pans, slaughtering of oxen. As for the washing of the groom (they would sing):

(23) Let us go to wash him  
The bridesmaids are in flocks and flocks  
The friends of the groom are at his father’s house

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<sup>5</sup> Pointing to her brother.

<sup>6</sup> In 1904 Mar Isho Yawalaha, bishop of Barwar, converted to Catholicism. As a consequence the Assyrians in Barwar became Catholic. They remained so through the the 1920s and 1930s, but subsequently returned to the Church of the East.

<sup>7</sup> Situated in Şapna.

(24) *qime t-azəx xəpəxle*  
*mīyət warde rəsəxle*  
 ʔdlele magurəxle

(25) ʔilána napšila l-xətna.<sup>1</sup> ʔilána məziniwa l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> zawnìwala<sup>1</sup> y-amrìwa<sup>1</sup>

(26) ʔilanəni mxuršəmma  
 ʔidət qarìwa twinna  
 kʷele xale zawəmma

(27) béna palə̀twa xále diyə.<sup>1</sup> dádi Xáwa malpàwalən.<sup>1</sup> ʔε-gə t-wéwa Šámmo gwára  
 ʔay-béna xarəye.<sup>1</sup> xo-túθa d-o-çúwa hox-xyə̀palle Šámmo.<sup>1</sup>

(28) ʔilanəni t-hermiya  
 be-pálga xa-seniya  
 l-Yawsəp zwinta b-neriya

(29) ʔilanəni t-xabušta  
 m-reša-w šətta mnoqašta  
 l-Yawsəp zwinta b-dabašta

(30) nəmu ʔəxni xlúlat Gwórgəs la-xálti zwinna kéke diyə<sup>1</sup> móra δa-dabə̀šta.<sup>2</sup> (31)  
 ʔilána məşqlìwala<sup>1</sup> mrazgìwala,<sup>1</sup> mnaqšìwala.<sup>1</sup> kùl-məndi deréwa bìya.<sup>1</sup> harmòne<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔu-ma-harmòne,<sup>1</sup> hermiye,<sup>1</sup> sparəgle,<sup>1</sup> ʔap-bə̀e,<sup>1</sup> şəwìwala<sup>1</sup> derèwala.<sup>1</sup> (32) ʔay qarìwa<sup>1</sup>  
 dawóqwala b-ʔide.<sup>1</sup> xətna-w qarìwa y-asqúwa l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-çálo məziniwala gu-tàra.<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔé-dān t-áθya kʷàlo,<sup>1</sup> yawíwala məşxa,<sup>1</sup> y-amrìwa wúddli hətxa<sup>1</sup> şliwána b-tárət  
 bə̀θa.<sup>1</sup> (33) la-ʔiθwa manə̀y<sup>1</sup> kúlla ʔánna məndiyáne t-ʔaθurəyela.<sup>1</sup> məθéwa məşxa<sup>1</sup>  
 ʔu-məθéwa δá zawə̀rta<sup>1</sup> mlíθa gəwze,<sup>1</sup> yabiše,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bə̀tme,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-şerniye,<sup>1</sup> kùl-məndi,<sup>1</sup>  
 zawə̀rta.<sup>1</sup> y-amrìla zawə̀rtət kʷàlo.<sup>1</sup> ʔay<sup>1</sup> ta-t-toràla<sup>1</sup> kʷàlo xarəye t-óra gu-bə̀θa.<sup>1</sup> (34)  
 maxyàle ʔo-məşxa.<sup>1</sup> xətna hóle zína l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> mən-gàre maxé-ʔaqle rəş-siwána hətxa,<sup>1</sup>  
 şále xánčì ʔupra gu-réşət kʷàlo.<sup>1</sup> xarəye t-àwra.<sup>1</sup> ʔina bàba díya,<sup>1</sup> ʔina xòna díya,<sup>1</sup> ʔina  
 yə̀mma díya,<sup>1</sup> kʷàlo,<sup>1</sup> y-amrìla ʔm-là qablìtu xá-mdi<sup>1</sup> lè-y-ora gu-d-áwra bə̀θa.<sup>1</sup>

(24) Let us go to wash him  
 Let us sprinkle him with rose water  
 This night we are wedding him

(25) They would shake the tree for the groom. They stood the tree on the roof. They would sell it and say:

(26) Our tree has withered  
 The hand of the best man is numb  
 Where is his uncle to buy it?

(27) Then his uncle would come out. My aunt Xawa taught us this, when Šəmmo married the last time. We washed Šəmmo under the smooth mulberry tree.

(28) Our tree is a pear tree  
 In the middle is a tray  
 It has been bought by Yawsəp<sup>8</sup> for a male goat

(29) Our tree is an apple tree  
 It is decorated above and below  
 It has been bought by Yawsəp for a beehive

(30) At the wedding of Gwərgəs did not my aunt buy his cake and say ‘(I buy it) for a beehive’? (31) They would deck the tree, prepare it and decorate it. They would put everything on it. Pomegranates and the like, pears, quinces. They would also paint eggs and place them on it. (32) The best man would hold it in his hand. The groom and the best man would go up onto the roof. They made the bride stand at the door. When the bride came, they would give her butter and say to her ‘Draw a cross for me like this on the door of the house’. (33) Indeed this had a meaning, all these things were Assyrian customs. They would bring oil and would bring a pot full of walnuts, raisins, terebinth nuts, sweets, everything. (It was) a pot. They call it ‘the bride’s pot’. It was for the bride to break in order that she could finally enter the house. (34) She would apply the oil, while the groom was standing on the roof. From the roof he strikes his foot on the eaves like this and a little earth falls onto the head of the bride. Finally she enters. But her father, her brother, her mother, of the bride—they say to them ‘If you do not offer something, she will not enter the house’.

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<sup>8</sup> The grandfather of the groom Šəmmo.



(35) *yawíwala xà-mdi.*<sup>1</sup> *’ána xmáθi xá-dawwa zára muttéthelli gu-’íðət xóni*  
*’Íshəq.*<sup>1</sup> *brōn-màmi*<sup>1</sup> *máre là-y-awra.*<sup>1</sup> *hal-yómma díya muθéthelli xa-dáwa zára.*<sup>1</sup>  
*muθéthelle.*<sup>1</sup> (36) *’ó-bena ’a-’ilána*<sup>1</sup> *ta-zoníwa náše.*<sup>1</sup> *ta-zoníwala,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-hawéwa*  
*hayàrta*<sup>1</sup> *ta-xàtna.*<sup>1</sup> *t-awéwa hayàrta.*<sup>1</sup> *ta-násət gàne zoníwala,*<sup>1</sup> *qamáya xàle.*<sup>1</sup> *’ína*  
*lát-šmaya y-amríwa?*<sup>2</sup>

(37) *’ilaneni mxuršanna*  
*’u-’íðət qaríwa twinna*  
*’u-k’ele xale zawanna*

(38) *qamáya xàle zawənwale*<sup>1</sup> *’u-xaráye deréwa mǎzàde*<sup>1</sup> *’éni báyē t-zawənnna.*<sup>2</sup> *kúlla*  
*náše díye t-wéwa qúrba.*<sup>1</sup> *xa-zawənwala ’amərwá*<sup>1</sup> *’ána puxláli t̄lálux.*<sup>1</sup> *har-hàtxe*  
*zawána.*<sup>1</sup> (39) *priqla náše díye*<sup>1</sup> *béna xaráye napšiwala.*<sup>1</sup> *yalínke zóre béna kapšíwa*<sup>1</sup>  
*šqála sparəgle,*<sup>1</sup> *šqála xabúše,*<sup>1</sup> *yalínke zóre šqála mǎndi t-wéwa b-ilána t̄llya.*<sup>1</sup> (40)  
*xaráye béna y-awríwa*<sup>1</sup> *y-asríwa gnúna.*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa qàše*<sup>1</sup> *’íθwa haymanúθa ’é-ga.*<sup>1</sup> *díya*  
*haymanúθa zilla,*<sup>1</sup> *bširra.*<sup>1</sup> *y-asríwa gnúna,*<sup>1</sup> *y-aθéwa qàše,*<sup>1</sup> *šamàše,*<sup>1</sup> *qarəwa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-asríwa*  
*gnúna.*<sup>1</sup> *y-atwíwa xàtna-w k’àlo.*<sup>1</sup> (41) *y-atwíwa qaríwa-w qaríwta.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-xulqàne*<sup>1</sup> *’áni*  
*kúlla béna rqàða,*<sup>1</sup> *zmàra.*<sup>1</sup> *xluláne ’əyya-wawa.*<sup>1</sup>

### Baptisms

(42) *nabləxwa šerníye,*<sup>1</sup> *nabləxwa mǎndi*<sup>1</sup> *gu-’umra,*<sup>1</sup> *m-jülle taze,*<sup>1</sup> *klile*<sup>1</sup> *deréwa biya.*<sup>1</sup>  
*’u-nablíwa yàle-w*<sup>1</sup> *qáša y-awəðwala.*<sup>1</sup> (43) *mrašmwala,*<sup>1</sup> *y-awəðwala mášxa zəθa.*<sup>1</sup>  
*’u-’íθwa gorna.*<sup>1</sup> *qáše qaréwa kúlla*<sup>1</sup> *qàše*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-an-míya t̄amšiwala.*<sup>1</sup> *dax-Mšixa t-ile*  
*mǔmàða,*<sup>1</sup> *máryən Mšixa,*<sup>1</sup> *’áp-yale zóre mǎmədíwala hādəx.*<sup>1</sup> (44) *’ən-háwe yàle rəbe,*<sup>1</sup>  
*máre ’éni máxe sar-aməða.*<sup>2</sup> *’o-t-maxéwa qamáye*<sup>1</sup> *’aw-biš yawəlwa zúze raba.*<sup>1</sup>

(35) They would give her something. My mother-in-law put a yellow gold coin for me in the hand of my brother Ishāq. My cousin said ‘She will not enter until her mother has brought me a yellow gold coin’. She brought it. (36) This was so that people would buy the tree, so that they would buy it, so that it would be a help for the groom, so that it would be a help, so that his own relatives would buy it, first his uncle. Don’t you hear them saying?:

(37) Our tree has dried out  
The hand of the best man is numb  
Where is his uncle to buy it?

(38) First his uncle would buy it and then they would hold an auction ‘Who wants to buy it?’ All his relatives who were there (would buy it). One would buy it and say ‘I give it back to you’.<sup>9</sup> The buying was like that. (39) When his relatives finished (buying), they then shook the tree. The young children would flock together to pick up quinces, pick up apples. The young children would pick up what was hung on the tree. (40) Finally they would tie the bands (in the wedding chamber). The priests would come. There was faith at that time. Now faith has gone, it has diminished. They would tie the bands. Priests and deacons would come. They would read (prayers) and tie the bands. (41) The groom and bride would sit. The best man and woman would sit. Then all the friends of the groom would dance and sing. That is what weddings were like.

### *Baptisms*

(42) We would bring sweets, we would bring various things to the church, beautiful clothes, coronet decorations, which they would put on the clothes. They brought the babies and the priest performed (the baptism) on them. (43) He made a sign of the cross on them, marking them with olive oil. There was a font. The priests all read (prayers) and they immersed them in the water. Just like Christ, our Lord Christ, who was baptized, so they used to baptize also young children. (44) If there were many children he (the priest) said ‘Who will be the first to be baptized?’ Whoever put (his child) first would give more money.

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<sup>9</sup> The buyer returns it to the groom so that he can sell it again.

B9 A MIRACULOUS ESCAPE FROM KURDS

Informant: Bibe Bənyamən (ʔɛn-Nune)

(1) ʔé-gə t-wéwa zála,<sup>1</sup> gu-ḥura zála,<sup>1</sup> mállət díyən qurḏáye bàθrewa rábe.<sup>1</sup> xákma qurḏáye tḥiqla biyèy.<sup>1</sup> qəm-xazèla,<sup>1</sup> bábi riqlé.<sup>1</sup> bábi qàša,<sup>1</sup> qáša Bənyàme,<sup>1</sup> yóm̄mi Xəndzàda<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ḥláθa xonāwàθi.<sup>1</sup> ḏá xáθa ʔu-tré xonāwáθa ʔiθwali.<sup>1</sup> (2) bábi riqlé.<sup>1</sup> qurḏáye ríqla báθre díye.<sup>1</sup> yóm̄mi xpéla hāt̄xa,<sup>1</sup> sab-xonāwáθi zòre-wéwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-bábi čállaq rāba wéwa,<sup>1</sup> riqlé.<sup>1</sup> riqlé ríqlé zille<sup>1</sup> hāt̄xa<sup>1</sup> túra kəndála bār-təxtile.<sup>1</sup> (3) mərə:<sup>1</sup> kəmàt t-árqena<sup>1</sup> tópe har-ṭap̄yali,<sup>1</sup> dárɛ tópe biyi har-qaṭlili.<sup>1</sup> mo-t-àwud<sup>ʔ</sup> liθ ču-dúkθa xáme gauwe-díye.<sup>1</sup> xzèle xa-ʔisàra,<sup>1</sup> ʔáxxa ʔisàra,<sup>1</sup> ʔap-ʔáxxa ʔisàra<sup>1</sup> réša har-gòlya,<sup>1</sup> har-gòlya.<sup>1</sup> (4) mərə<sup>1</sup> har-t-órən lāxxa.<sup>1</sup> qṭála har-qaṭlili.<sup>1</sup> t-árqən b-o-kəndála hár qaṭlili.<sup>1</sup> bēn-ʔisàre,<sup>1</sup> t-órən lāxxa,<sup>1</sup> kəndála qaṭlili.<sup>1</sup> ʔm-ʔáni lá ṭap̄èli,<sup>1</sup> tópe<sup>1</sup> har-ṭap̄èli.<sup>1</sup> mára wírən tàma.<sup>1</sup> (5) ʔan-qurḏáye t-wéwa ráqa báθre díye xámša wéwa.<sup>1</sup> xámša Bedwàye wéwa,<sup>1</sup> yóm̄mi ḏítəlla b-šákle Bedwàye wéwa.<sup>1</sup> mára ʔáyya bábi mtanèwala.<sup>1</sup> kúlla šāmānwa,<sup>1</sup> har-hāt̄xa y-amórwə.<sup>1</sup> (6) θéla qurḏáye,<sup>1</sup> ʔálaha qəm-mxašákla ʔenèy.<sup>1</sup> zinna,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwəwa ʔisàra<sup>1</sup> ʔap-ʔáwəwa ʔisàra,<sup>1</sup> ḏá-ʔaqla rēs-d-àw ʔisàra<sup>1</sup> ḏá rēs-d-àwəwa<sup>1</sup> bábi hòle<sup>1</sup> xzəyəlla.<sup>1</sup> xírre hāt̄xa biyèy,<sup>1</sup> móre díya qaṭlili.<sup>1</sup> ʔánna wéwa xyára rəḥqa-w mərə:<sup>1</sup> práxa prixle?<sup>ʔ</sup> šmáyya siqlé?<sup>ʔ</sup> lèka zille?<sup>ʔ</sup> lá qəm-xazile.<sup>1</sup> ʔálaha qəm-mxašákla ʔan-ʔenèy.<sup>1</sup> (7) ʔáwəwa hole-mára díya qaṭlili.<sup>1</sup> lá qəm-xazèle,<sup>1</sup> har-qlibla.<sup>1</sup> qlibla,<sup>1</sup> zilla,<sup>1</sup> yóm̄mi hóla tíwəta kəs-xonāwàθi.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya xóni máṭo mtanyànna.<sup>ʔ</sup> (8) hóla tíwəta mára m-èket.<sup>ʔ</sup> mára ʔána čálθət qáša Hèdo.<sup>1</sup> bəna ʔáni yādìwala.<sup>1</sup> ʔáni qurḏáye har-t-əθrèniwa.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya máθa díyən-iwa<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya t-qurḏáyewə,<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya t-suráyewə.<sup>1</sup> qurḏáye ʔu-suráye hāt̄xa maθwáθət ʔàθra,<sup>1</sup> Bārwar.<sup>1</sup>

## B9 A MIRACULOUS ESCAPE FROM KURDS

Informant: Bibe Bənyamən (ʿĒn-Nune)

(1) When our people were travelling in the mountains, there were many Kurds (pursuing) after them. Some Kurds encountered them. When they saw them, my father fled. (Our group consisted of) my father the priest, the priest Bənyame, my mother Xənzada and my three siblings. I had a sister and two brothers. (2) My father fled. The Kurds ran after him. My mother crouched down (over the children), since my siblings were small. My father was very athletic and ran off. He ran and ran and came to a mountain slope that (extended) downwards. (3) He said ‘However much I run, a gun will still reach me, they will shoot a gun at me and kill me. What shall I do?’ There was no place to shelter. He saw a rock, there was a rock here and a rock here, the top was completely exposed. (4) He said ‘I shall go in here. They will kill me. If I run down the slope, they will kill me. I shall go in here between the rocks. On the slope they would kill me. If they do not catch me, the shots will reach me’. He said:<sup>1</sup> I entered there. (5) The Kurds who were running after him were five (in number). They were five men from (the village of) Bedu.<sup>2</sup> My mother knew that they were from Bedu by their appearance. My father used to tell this story and I heard everything. He would tell it in this way. (6) The Kurds came and God blinded their eyes. They stood, on this rock and on this rock, one leg on that rock and one on that rock. My father saw them. He looked at them and said ‘They will kill me now’. They were looking into the distance and said ‘Has he flown away? Has he gone up into the sky? Where has he gone?’ They did not see him. God blinded their eyes. (7) He said ‘They will kill me know’. They did not see him and went back. They went back. My mother was sitting with my siblings. How can I tell this brother?<sup>3</sup> (8) She was sitting and they said ‘Where are you from?’ She said ‘I am the daughter-in-law of the priest Hədo’. They knew her. Those Kurds were from our land. This was our village and this was the village of the Kurds (next to it). This one (of ours) was (a village) of Christians. The Kurds and Christians (lived next to each other)—the villages of the Barwar land were like that.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. when telling the story.

<sup>2</sup> A Kurdish village lying to the North of ʿĒn-Nune.

<sup>3</sup> Speaking to her brother in the room.

(9) *béna móra 'ána čálθət qáša Hèdo.<sup>1</sup> móra gáwɾəx k'èle.<sup>2</sup> móra lèðən.<sup>1</sup> móra hole-qṭila.<sup>1</sup> léðən k'èle.<sup>1</sup> mərə.<sup>1</sup> lá šàlyət,<sup>1</sup> mašləxləx.<sup>1</sup> mašləxləx.<sup>1</sup> (10) móra čálθət qáša Hèdot.<sup>2</sup> móra ða-'áqla rēš-d-àyya 'énən<sup>1</sup> 'u-ðá rēš-d-àyya.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'anna bnónəx tənəxla š-d-ánna rušànən.<sup>1</sup> báyat šàlyat<sup>1</sup> l-En Nüne,<sup>1</sup> díya mašləxxəx l-En Nüne,<sup>1</sup> l-máθət g'ánəx mašləxləx.<sup>1</sup> (11) 'áyya muttáwtəlla híwət bəbi<sup>1</sup> t-áwe qṭila.<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> mó t-óðən 'áxxa kályən gu-d-àwwa-ṭura.<sup>2</sup> xáθi 'u-xonāwáθi t-áwa zðre,<sup>1</sup> móra 'anna bnóni 'áxxa méθi m-kəpna.<sup>1</sup> déwe 'u-haywáne t-áxxa t-axlilən.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-šályən tàma,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-qurðəye yəðìlən.<sup>1</sup> (12) dwiqla xa-qáwla m-an-qurðəye.<sup>1</sup> móra t-amrənnəxu<sup>1</sup> b-ó-qawla b-šályən mənnəxu<sup>1</sup> t-lá 'amrítu púš qurðəθa.<sup>1</sup> móra mo-lé pəšəti.<sup>2</sup> móra xá-šliwa xlištənnə gu-'iði<sup>1</sup> m-zdùθi,<sup>1</sup> hàtxa<sup>1</sup> hár 'o-slíwa gu-'iði.<sup>1</sup> (13) móri là.<sup>1</sup> móri là,<sup>1</sup> 'ána rázin qatlituli.<sup>1</sup> 'ína,<sup>1</sup> xá-məndi t-amrənnəxu.<sup>1</sup> xṭiθi b-qðaləxu<sup>1</sup> bnóni qam-'éni là qatlitula.<sup>1</sup> báθər qatlituli,<sup>1</sup> xéna 'ap-bnòni qatlitula,<sup>1</sup> b-gòti qatlitula.<sup>1</sup> móra har-báyyət qatləxxəx.<sup>2</sup> har-m-kəfəx.<sup>2</sup> (14) móra m-kúlla líbbi báyyən 'ána qatlituli<sup>1</sup> 'u-qurðəθa lə-pəšən.<sup>1</sup> lə-pəšət qurðəθa.<sup>2</sup> móra là.<sup>1</sup> móra xámša gùre-wəwa,<sup>1</sup> xámša.<sup>1</sup> mára tré pišla.<sup>1</sup> móra də-qatlitula-w háyyo!<sup>1</sup> (15) yómmi muláptəlla 'anna-xonāwáθi:<sup>1</sup> móra bəbi.<sup>1</sup> 'əxni,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna qurðəye léði čù-məndi<sup>1</sup> xənpela.<sup>1</sup> čù-məndi léði.<sup>1</sup> 'əxni 'iθ 'alàha,<sup>1</sup> 'iθ mšixə,<sup>1</sup> 'iθ pardəsa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθ gəhàna.<sup>1</sup> qatlitlən,<sup>1</sup> har-məθəx xa-yóma.<sup>1</sup> har-t-ázəx pardəsa,<sup>1</sup> qatlitlən 'ádyo t-ázəx xa-rəša.<sup>1</sup> har-məθəx xa-yóma t-òya.<sup>1</sup> lə-pəšəx qurðəye.<sup>1</sup> (16) muláptəlley.<sup>1</sup> šlāwáθa kúlla muláptəlley yəðìwa.<sup>1</sup> muláptəlley yómmi.<sup>1</sup> xóni 'o-zóra l-xəlyə wéwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ína xóni 'o-gòra<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáθi kúlla məndi mparməwa.<sup>1</sup> muláptəlla yómmi 'u-bəbi mšaləwa,<sup>1</sup> yəðìwa.<sup>1</sup> (17) bəna<sup>1</sup> t-láθa zilla<sup>1</sup> tré pišla.<sup>1</sup> mára yómmi móri lən-zdá<sup>2</sup> 'ap-dəndəkkəθa.<sup>1</sup> qatlitlən,<sup>1</sup> 'əxni mo-t-óðəx 'əxni gu-d-àyya-dunye 'áxxa.<sup>2</sup> har-nəxəx m-ánna xáye t-ix-gàwa,<sup>1</sup> xoš-qatlitlən.<sup>1</sup>*

(9) Now, she said 'I am the daughter-in-law of the priest Hədo'. They said 'Where is your husband?' She said 'I don't know'. She said 'He has been killed. I don't know where he is'. They said 'If you don't come down, we shall take you down. We shall take you down'. (10) They said 'Are you the daughter-in-law of the priest Hədo?' They said '(If so), we shall treat you with respect<sup>4</sup> and we shall carry your children on our shoulders. If you want to go down to 'Ēn-Nune, we shall take you down now to 'Ēn-Nune. We shall take you down to your village'. (11) She had abandoned hope regarding my father, (thinking) that he would have been killed. She said 'What shall I do here staying on this mountain?' My sister and my brothers were small. She said 'These children of mine are dying here of hunger. The wolves and the animals here will eat us. If I go down there, the Kurds know us'. (12) She extracted a promise from the Kurds saying 'I tell you that I shall go down with you on this condition that you do not say "Become a Kurd"<sup>5</sup>'. They said 'Why won't you become one?'. She said: I gripped a cross in my hand out of fear. The cross was in my hand like this. (13) I said 'No'. I said 'No. I am content for you to kill me. But, I say to you one thing. I implore you,<sup>6</sup> do not kill my children before my eyes. After you kill me, then kill also my children, kill them by my side'. They said 'You want us to kill you? Is that really your wish?' (14) She said 'With all my heart I want you to kill me, for I shall not become a Kurd'. 'Won't you become a Kurd?' She said 'No'. She said: They were five men, five. Now, two remained behind. They said 'Kill her and come (back to us)'. (15) My mother taught my siblings. She said 'My dear, those Kurds know nothing, they are heathens. They know nothing. As for us, there is God, there is Christ, there is Paradise, there is Hell. If they kill us, we would die one day (anyhow). We shall go to Paradise, if they kill us today we shall go there directly. It will be (our fate) to die one day anyhow. We shall not become Kurds'. (16) She taught them (thus). She taught them all the prayers and they knew them. My mother taught them. My younger brother was on milk. But my elder brother and my sister understood everything. My mother and father taught them to pray and they knew. (17) So, three went away and two remained. My mother said: I said 'I am not afraid even a little. If they kill us (so be it). What shall we do here in this world? We shall be relieved of this life that we are in, let them kill us'.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: one leg on this eye of ours and one on this one.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. convert to Islam.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: my sin be on your neck.

(18) *mára mára har-hon-šmáýalle qála län-zdaʔa.*<sup>1</sup> *har-wáða čůruk,*<sup>1</sup> *lan-mrəʔa,*<sup>1</sup> *čú-mdi lèle-θaya býi.*<sup>1</sup> *čůruk,*<sup>1</sup> *kut-dána čůruk ʔu-čù məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *káma gáye*<sup>1</sup> *gu-xáša díya mútte tópe čůruk,*<sup>1</sup> *lèla.*<sup>1</sup> (19) *mára län-ryaša b-gáni*<sup>1</sup> *čú-mdi lèle-θaya býi.*<sup>1</sup> *har-wáðalla tópe čůruk*<sup>1</sup> *šmáýanne qála díya.*<sup>1</sup> *čú-mdi lè-ʔaθe.*<sup>1</sup> (20) *mára ʔan-t-wéwa zile,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-!láθa qréla b-an-trè,*<sup>1</sup> *mára móditu wáða hal-díya.*<sup>2</sup> *hal-díya...*<sup>1</sup> *móditu wáða.*<sup>2</sup> (21) *mára ʔajəbùθa!*<sup>1</sup> *xzélən ʔajəbùθa!*<sup>1</sup> *mára módi.*<sup>2</sup> *məra:*<sup>1</sup> *kú pušánga t-ix mattóýalle gu-d-ay-tòpe*<sup>1</sup> *čůruk-ile pláta.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáv hox-šqálalle zdáýalle mattóye xa-xèna,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ávwa čůruk-ile pláta.*<sup>1</sup> *har-mattóyxalle l-xáša qatłəxxa*<sup>1</sup> *har-pušánga čůruk-ile pláta.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *míðən káma pušánge qəm-mattila.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔánna r híqla mənñè,*<sup>1</sup> *zilla.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔan-qurðáye qréla býya,*<sup>1</sup> *məra:*<sup>1</sup> *ʔálaha léwa msapóýalla l-iθaθəxu.*<sup>1</sup> (23) *mára bihíle*<sup>1</sup> *bihíle*<sup>1</sup> *ew šahide.*<sup>1</sup> *ew šahide*<sup>1</sup> *ʔánna zdíla qurðáye.*<sup>1</sup> *mára ʔálaha!*<sup>1</sup> *lá qatłitula!*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya šapírtela.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔálaha léwa msapóýalla l-iθaθəxu.*<sup>1</sup> *mára m-bár t-ila-θíθa mtunéθa tla-náše,*<sup>1</sup> *náše məra-lla.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáy lèða qúrdəθ.*<sup>1</sup> (24) *mára ʔáni zilla béna xóni qəm-doqile.*<sup>1</sup> *lá-məən tanyánna-ʔayya.*<sup>1</sup> *mára qíme dwíqe xá b-aw-rùše*<sup>1</sup> *xá b-aw-rùše*<sup>1</sup> *nùblalle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáv lá snidíle ʔáqlə díye*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-nablíle.*<sup>1</sup> *gərəkθa-waawa hátxa.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-zadéle rēš-d-a-gzértət kəpe,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáv lá-zille p-áqlə díye.*<sup>1</sup> *lá snidíle ʔáqláθe díye.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔani-zadéle tàma*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni zilla.*<sup>1</sup> (25) *mára yámmi kléli qəm-šámánne qále díye b-bxàya,*<sup>1</sup> *har-qímli hédi zílli zílli.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-xazýanne*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-šaqłánne gu-qəpli,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya dúkθe díye hátxa klíçta qítət kəpe.*<sup>1</sup> (26) *məri bábí la-šədlux.*<sup>1</sup> *hóla zíle kəlwe.*<sup>1</sup> *xzi-ʔálaha lá qəm-msapélən l-iθàθa.*<sup>1</sup> *qəm-maθýanne qəm-daryánne kəs-xonăwàθi.*<sup>1</sup> *madəmxànnəy.*<sup>1</sup> *dmíxley.*<sup>1</sup> (27) *xwéle xúya.*<sup>1</sup> *plítle bábí tǎya ʔəlləy.*<sup>1</sup> *plítle tǎya.*<sup>1</sup> *tǎyele,*<sup>1</sup> *tǎyele,*<sup>1</sup> *tǎyele býya.*<sup>1</sup> *móre Xəmzàda!*<sup>1</sup> *móre sàxít!*<sup>2</sup> *yámmi məra:*<sup>1</sup> *ʔána ʔəllux-in zdáʔa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáti lát qíla!*<sup>1</sup>

(18) She said 'I hear the sound (of the gun) but I am not afraid. It just makes a bang, but I am not hurt, nothing happens to me. Bang, every time a bang but nothing'. Several times the guns were pointed at her back, bang, but (nothing) happened. (19) She said 'I do not feel anything on me. Nothing is happening to me. The gun is just making a bang and I hear its sound, but nothing happens'. (20) So, those who had gone, those three called the two (who had remained) and said 'What have you been doing until now? What have you been doing until now?' (21) They said 'It is a miracle! We have seen a miracle!' They said 'What?' They said 'Every bullet that we put in this gun comes out (as a blank) with a bang. We take it out and throw it away, then put in another one, but also that one comes out (as a blank) with a bang. We point it at her back to kill her, but the bullet comes out (as a blank) with a bang'. (22) I don't know how many bullets they fired at them. They (the three Kurds) went away from them. Those Kurds shouted at them saying 'God was not surrendering her into your hands'. (23) They said 'Leave her, leave her. She is a martyr. She is a martyr'.<sup>7</sup> The Kurds were afraid. They said 'By God, do not kill her! She is a good woman. God was not surrendering her into your hands'. After she had come and told the people, they told her (what it meant). She did not know Kurdish. (24) They went off, but they captured my brother. I cannot tell that. They held him, one this shoulder and one the other, and took him away. His legs did not support him. They took him away. It was a mound, like this. They threw him on that heap of stones. He could not walk on his legs. His legs did not support him. They threw him there and went away. (25) My mother said: I stood and heard the sound of his weeping. I got up and slowly went (looking for him). I found him and took him in my arms. This place on him was scratched, wounded by the stones. (26) I said 'My dear, do not fear. The dogs have gone. God has not delivered us into their hands'. I brought him back and placed him among my siblings.<sup>8</sup> I put them to sleep and they slept. (27) It became dark. My father went out looking for them. He went out looking for them. He looked and looked and found them. He said 'Xənzada!'<sup>9</sup> He said 'Are you well?' My mother said 'I was afraid for you. You are not killed!'

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<sup>7</sup> This speech is in Kurdish.

<sup>8</sup> The reference is confused here. The speech at this point is presented as being that of the informant's mother, but 'my siblings' refers to the siblings of the informant.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. his wife, the mother of the informant.



(28) 'áw qəm-mtanèla 'áyya.<sup>1</sup> móre 'álaha qəm-mxašákla 'enèy,<sup>1</sup> 'ána hátxa qəm-  
 'enèy,<sup>1</sup> 'ána mári díya qaṭlilí.<sup>1</sup> lá qəm-xazèli.<sup>1</sup> ḏa-'áqla l-d-àyy-gotət képa<sup>1</sup> ḏa-l-áyya,<sup>1</sup>  
 'ána xoθèy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-lá qəm-xazèli.<sup>1</sup> (29) 'áni hár hola-xyára rəḥqa<sup>1</sup> 'u-mára lèka zílle?<sup>1</sup>  
 p̄rìxle?<sup>1</sup> šmàyya síqle?<sup>1</sup> lèka zílle 'o-náša?<sup>1</sup> čú-mdi liθ-'axxa<sup>1</sup> ta-t-ťašèwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áy-'urxa  
 hátxa<sup>1</sup> bar-tàxti wéwa.<sup>1</sup> mára hátxa xazəxwale<sup>1</sup> ku-dükθa t-awéwa.<sup>1</sup> (30) là-xzela.<sup>1</sup>  
 béna 'áni qlíbla zílle.<sup>1</sup> xúya xwèle<sup>1</sup> 'u-θèle.<sup>1</sup> θéle t̄fiqle biyèy<sup>1</sup> béna qəm-šaqqèlla.<sup>1</sup>  
 qəm-nabèlla,<sup>1</sup> zílle.<sup>1</sup> m̄jèla<sup>1</sup> gu-Wàlto y-amrìwa.<sup>1</sup> yəm̄mi 'u-xóni,<sup>1</sup> xonāwáθi 'a-xàθi,<sup>1</sup>  
 Bādre,<sup>1</sup> xáθi m̄tla<sup>1</sup> gu-qaddištət<sup>1</sup> qalayàθa.<sup>1</sup> (31) rabbanyàθa<sup>1</sup> kúlla qəm-xepila.<sup>1</sup>  
 qəm-oðila çàdra,<sup>1</sup> qəm-oðila breθàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-qáše qəm-oðila yá'ni šamsila.<sup>1</sup> qəm-oðila  
 dùka<sup>1</sup> 'ax t-óðəx krəstyàne,<sup>1</sup> kúlla rēze.<sup>1</sup> yəm̄mi baxyàwa.<sup>1</sup> (32) y-amrìwa xàθi<sup>1</sup> t-la-  
 bəxyət.<sup>1</sup> 'álaha diyax-ile<sup>1</sup> čú-naša xéna.<sup>1</sup> mára 'ədyo qəm-tère,<sup>1</sup> tère xálalla kálášət gùre<sup>1</sup>  
 dórye qəm-šəmša,<sup>1</sup> t-lá m̄tamòre,<sup>1</sup> t-lá mxabòde.<sup>1</sup> 'àti<sup>1</sup> 'áyya bráta xa-réša gu-malkúθət  
 šmàyya,<sup>1</sup> gu-pardèsa,<sup>1</sup> qəm-d-áyya qaddištət qalayàθa y-ámri-la.<sup>1</sup> (33) 'áyya m̄tla  
 tàma,<sup>1</sup> gu-Wàlto,<sup>1</sup> 'o-záwena t-wéwa l-xəlyá xóni 'Íša.<sup>1</sup> xa-béna bábí mór̄ya hátxa  
 šaθàna,<sup>1</sup> taxránna xàbre:<sup>1</sup> ya-bábí 'Íša<sup>1</sup> w-èkewət píša.<sup>1</sup> gu-Wàlto qəm-qaddiša.<sup>1</sup>

(28) He told her the story. He said ‘God blinded their eyes. I was before their eyes and said “They will kill me now”, but they did not see me. One leg was on this side of the rock and one on the other, while I was under them, but they did not see me. (29) They were only looking into the distance saying “Where has he gone? Has he flown away? Has he gone up into the sky? Where has that man gone? There is nothing here for him to hide in”. The road was like this, sloping downwards. They said “We would see him wherever he could be”’ (30) They did not see him. They turned back. It got dark and he (the father) came. He came and found them. He picked them up and took them away, and they went on their way. They arrived (at a place) called Walto. My mother and my brother, my siblings—my sister, Badre, died in (the convent) of the Saint of the Cells. (31) The nuns all washed her, made her a tent, made her gloves. The priests served her (the last rites). They made her a place (of burial), as we Christians do, all in rows. My mother was weeping. (32) They would say ‘Sister, do not weep. God is yours, not anybody else’s. Today birds eat the corpses of men, they are (left) for the birds, placed in the sun, without burial or funeral. But you—this girl (of yours) has gone directly to the Kingdom of Heaven, to Paradise, to this Saint of the Cells, as she is called’. (33) She died there in Walto, at the time when my brother Iša was on milk. Once my father was ill with a fever (and was singing), I remember his words: ‘Oh my dear Iša, where were you born? In Walto in the presence of the Saint’.

Informant: Naze 'Israyel ('En-Nune)

*Tail Fat*

(1) 'elíθa théla mən-'ərba.<sup>1</sup> 'ərba parmàxwale,<sup>1</sup> t-xwàre,<sup>1</sup> 'ərbə t-xwàre<sup>1</sup>, parmàxwale,<sup>1</sup> xéna 'elíθa qaləxwa<sup>1</sup> deráxwa gu-kúlla m̀ndi,<sup>1</sup> gu-dòlma,<sup>1</sup> gu-b̀sra.<sup>1</sup> y-ođáxwa qawùrma,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-qawùrwa deráxwa r̀zza '̀lle.<sup>1</sup> b̀sra rába donàna.<sup>1</sup> 'elíθa-w r̀zza<sup>1</sup> bašləxwale,<sup>1</sup> 'ó y-amr̀wale<sup>1</sup> qawùrma.<sup>1</sup> (2) θáni yómət 'éða y-ođáxwa duxràna.<sup>1</sup> kúdxaxa mašléwa xà-lagāna,<sup>1</sup> g̀rðo,<sup>1</sup> 'aw 'ó-t bāyéwa kθayàθa<sup>1</sup> rəš-r̀zza-w<sup>1</sup> 'ó-t bāyéwa<sup>1</sup> qawùrma.<sup>1</sup> yóm-gayàsa,<sup>1</sup> b̀θər qyámta.<sup>1</sup> (3) xadriwa náše 'eđāwàθa<sup>1</sup> w-y-azíwa mašamšíwa beθ-qòra,<sup>1</sup> r̀hqa mən-an-dukàne.<sup>1</sup> kúlla mašamšíwa.<sup>1</sup> qəše,<sup>1</sup> šamáše y-azíwa qorāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> (4) láwa 'ax-díya.<sup>1</sup> gu-màθa wéwa 'é-ga.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kúlla maθwàθa<sup>1</sup> b̀θər 'éta-wewa<sup>1</sup> b̀θər 'ùmra.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna y-azíwa mašíwa qəše,<sup>1</sup> bar-pálgət yóma y-aθíwa,<sup>1</sup> y-axlíwa kawùθra.<sup>1</sup>

(5) 'elíθa mən-'ərbət xwára,<sup>1</sup> p̀ra,<sup>1</sup> 'ərbe,<sup>1</sup> la-'əzze,<sup>1</sup> lá 'an-kòme<sup>1</sup> y-amr̀xla 'àxni.<sup>1</sup> 'elíθa yá'ni 'ərbət xwàre<sup>1</sup> p̀re,<sup>1</sup> baràna,<sup>1</sup> ta-qàlya barána.<sup>1</sup> pára parmàxwale ta-kùt-yom.<sup>1</sup> (6) yá'ni máθālan 'ádyo 'útlən 'àrxə,<sup>1</sup> parmáxwa...<sup>1</sup> h̀nd mašléwa.<sup>1</sup> m̀taxíwa b̀sra.<sup>1</sup> y-ođáxwa nùra,<sup>1</sup> gòje-wewa,<sup>1</sup> qése gòje.<sup>1</sup> y-ođáxwala p̀lle.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'ítwalən m̀nqal,<sup>1</sup> deráxwa gu-m̀nqal.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-wéwa x̀nci.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-wéwa náše rábe là.<sup>1</sup> ... kanùna.<sup>1</sup> 'ó mašləxwale šíšət b̀sra.<sup>1</sup>

(7) qàlya har-'ay-'elíθa b̀sra hawé trisa,<sup>1</sup> qamàye<sup>1</sup> deríwale 'àw,<sup>1</sup> qám t-o-smòqa.<sup>1</sup> y-ođíwa p̀ške hátxa zòre,<sup>1</sup> 'ó-t bāyéwa q̀ràne.<sup>1</sup> p̀ške y-ođáxwa 'àxni,<sup>1</sup> ta-xàla.<sup>1</sup> (8) y-ođáxwa b̀e g̀awe.<sup>1</sup> bašləxwa šórba biye.<sup>1</sup> gu-pràxe deráxwa,<sup>1</sup> gu-dòlma,<sup>1</sup> dùxwa,<sup>1</sup> májja 'áwwa dàwwe.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Naze ʿIsrayel (ʿĒn-Nune)

*Tail Fat*

(1) Tail fat came from a sheep. We would slaughter the sheep, white, white small cattle. We would slaughter it, then we would fry the tail fat and put it in everything, in *dolma* (stuffed vine leaves), meat. We would make fried meat. We would put rice in this fried meat. The meat was very fatty. We would cook tail fat and rice, which was called *qawurma*. (2) On the second day of the festival (of Easter) we would make a memorial. Everybody would take down a pan of *gərđo*<sup>1</sup> or, those who wanted, chickens on rice and, those who wanted, *qawurma*. (This was) on the day of the *gayasa* ceremony, after the Easter festival. (3) People would go around (making) festival blessings and would go and hold a ceremony for the dead in the cemetery—may (death) be far from these places! Everybody would perform the ceremony. Priests, deacons would go to the graves. (4) It was not like now. They were in a village then. In all villages it (the cemetery) was behind the church, behind the church. They would go and the priests would perform the ceremony and they come back after midday and eat lunch.

(5) Tail fat is from white small cattle (sheep), a lamb, sheep, not goats, not black (small cattle), as we call them. Tail fat (comes from) white small cattle, lambs, a full grown male sheep—for *qalya* a full grown male sheep. We would slaughter a lamb for everyday (use). (6) For example, if today we have guests, we would slaughter, it was just enough. We would roast meat. We would make a fire, in which there were roots and large pieces of wood. We would make it into glowing embers. If we had a griddle, we would put it on the griddle, if there were a few (guests). If there were many people, no. (We would cook on) a hearth, which we would fill with kebabs of meat.

(7) *Qalya* is tail fat and fatty meat. They put it in first before the red meat. They would make pieces of meat small like this or, if people wanted, big. We would make meat pieces for eating. (8) We would put eggs in it (the *qalya*). We would cook stew in it. We would put it in *praxe* (stuffed vine leaves), in *dolma* (stuffed vine leaves), *duxma* (meat and barley cooked in yoghurt), *majja* (dissolved yoghurt cakes), which is *dawwe* (yoghurt water).

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<sup>1</sup> Rice cooked with yoghurt.

(9) *lá mǎyáxwa gùða,<sup>1</sup> paltáxwala čita.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mášxa mpaltáxwale.<sup>1</sup> 'an-dáwwe marəxθáxwala<sup>1</sup> gu-marəgla gòra.<sup>1</sup> raxθíwa dàwwe<sup>1</sup> šoqáxwala qatpíwa.<sup>1</sup> qatpíwa miyèy.<sup>1</sup> míya y-áwe zalàle,<sup>1</sup> míyət màsta.<sup>1</sup> (10) deráxwale kisa,<sup>1</sup> kisa gòra,<sup>1</sup> xefáxwa xàš<sup>1</sup> qa-dáwwe.<sup>1</sup> deráxwa dàwwe,<sup>1</sup> xánčī šoqáxwale gu-margəlta.<sup>1</sup> ba'dén taláxwale b-<sup>2</sup>ilàna.<sup>1</sup> 'ítwa 'ilàna,<sup>1</sup> mattáxwa 'amàna xóthe tla-lá mbarəbzi,<sup>1</sup> mbarəbzi míyət dàwwe.<sup>1</sup> (11) páyášwa qəšya.<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwala hátxa-qáška,<sup>1</sup> máx kùbbe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattəxwale,<sup>1</sup> lá šəmša,<sup>1</sup> t̄əlla hátxa mattəxwale.<sup>1</sup> barəzwa tla-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> sətwa y-oðáxwa dùxwa.<sup>1</sup> 'i-mejəxwale 'amánət 'ùpra,<sup>1</sup> m-Derəgni.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa hawéwale xà.<sup>1</sup> y-awéwala 'iθáθa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-dúkθət šláya dàwwe.<sup>1</sup> (12) 'i-mšapəxwale<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwale.<sup>1</sup> sáre xašláxwala b-xašólta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mpartənəxwala<sup>1</sup> 'u-qašrəxwala.<sup>1</sup> 'i-mxalləxwale,<sup>1</sup> deráxwale bəšra,<sup>1</sup> deráxwa 'elíθa,<sup>1</sup> deráxwa gèrme.<sup>1</sup> gèrme y-awéwa brize,<sup>1</sup> mbürze gèrme.<sup>1</sup> 'i-deráxwa gu-dùxwa.<sup>1</sup> 'i-bašlwa y-awəxwa tíwe mbarxòše,<sup>1</sup> 'úmna šəne!<sup>1</sup> (13) šəlgəmme 'é,<sup>1</sup> šəlgəmme derəxwa,<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áxni kúbba 'əxxa théln dráya.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni gu-Mòsul,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ən-dukane,<sup>1</sup> 'ina- 'áxni gu-Bárwar là.<sup>1</sup> gərðo y-oðáxwa.<sup>1</sup> xùmša,<sup>1</sup> bəšra har-xašláxwale gu-rəzza.<sup>1</sup> rəzza y-awéwa 'o-t-t̄lāθa.<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwa 'áwəwəl dórta rəzza.<sup>1</sup> 'u-θáni dórta dólma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-θáləθ dórta,<sup>1</sup> 'o-daqíqa... 'ərbàla,<sup>1</sup> qəšqəšta.<sup>1</sup> (14) marəxəxəxwale<sup>1</sup> 'u-deráxwa bəšra gəwə,<sup>1</sup> xašləxwa.<sup>1</sup> lá deráxwa gəwə kùbbe.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni 'əxxa-x wáða hádəx,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni gu-mðita,<sup>1</sup> gu-Mòsul,<sup>1</sup> gu-Bəgdad.<sup>1</sup> 'ina gárəg kúlla bəšra hawéwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaqləxwa hátxa kutəlθa gòrta.<sup>1</sup> gu-xùmša bašlwa,<sup>1</sup> gèrme<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəlgəmme<sup>1</sup> 'u-'atxa.<sup>1</sup> (15) 'u-smóqe 'i-mšapəxwala.<sup>1</sup> smóqe deráxwale gu-miyə,<sup>1</sup> marəθəxwale.<sup>1</sup> y-áwe qəppə b-rəša,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni y-amrəxxa.<sup>1</sup> 'i-mšapəxwala 'ap-<sup>3</sup>əy,<sup>1</sup> 'u-deráxwala gu-rəzza,<sup>1</sup> míyət smóqe.<sup>1</sup>*

### Rice Dishes

GK: *módi y-oðíwa m-rəzza.<sup>2</sup>*

(16) *m-rəzza y-oðáxwa ya-xùmša,<sup>1</sup> kùbbət rəzza,<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwala.<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwala kùbbət šərba.<sup>1</sup> šərba deráxwa tamàto<sup>1</sup> 'u-máfjūn gəwə.<sup>1</sup> 'ina 'áyyət xùmša har-xùmša háwe xiwarnəya.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni smóqa m-tamàto là deráxwa.<sup>1</sup>*

(9) When we shook the churn, we would take out the *çita* (yoghurt curds), that is we would take out the butter. We would boil the *dawwe* in a big pan. The yoghurt boiled and we let it separate. The water separated. The water was clear, the yoghurt water. (10) We would put it in a bag, a large bag, which we sewed specially for *dawwe*. We put the *dawwe* in and left a little in the pan. Then we hung it on a tree. There was a tree, under which we placed a vessel so that it did not scatter, so that the water of the *dawwe* did not scatter. (11) It became thick and we made it into a *qaška* (cake of dried yoghurt), like meat balls. Then we laid them out, not in the sun, we put them in the shade. It dried (to be kept) for the winter. In winter we made it into *duxwa*. We would dissolve it in an earthen vessel, from Dêrəgni. Everybody had one. It had handles and a place where the *dawwe* flows down. (12) We strained it. We would crush barley in a mortar. We winnowed it and removed the husks. We washed it and added meat, added tail fat, added bones. The bones were dry, the bones were dried. We would put it in the *duxwa*. It cooked while we sat stirring it, for a hundred years! (13) Turnips, yes, we added turnips. But here (in London) we have come to put meat balls (in *duxwa*). (This was the case) in Moşul and such places, but not us in Barwar. We would make *gərdə*. As for *xumşa*, we would mash meat in rice. The rice was the third one (in the degree of fineness).<sup>2</sup> In the first round (of sieving) we make (ordinary) rice. In the second round (we make) *dolma*. The third round, the fine one (with the) fine sieve, crushed rice. (14) We would soften it and put meat in it, then mash it. We did not put meat balls in it. We do that here, that is in a town, in Moşul, in Baghdad. It had to be all meat. We used to take a large cutlet of meat. It used to cook in the *xumşa*, (together with) bones, turnips and so forth. (15) We would clean sumac berries. We would put sumac berries in water and boil them. There was a froth on top, as we call it. They would strain this and put it in the rice. (It was) water of sumac berries.

### *Rice Dishes*

GK: What did you make with rice?

(16) With rice we would make *xumşa*, we would make meat balls with rice. We called it meat balls with sauce. We would put tomatoes and tomato purée in the sauce. But the dish consisting only of *xumşa* is whitish. We did not put any red tomatoes in it.

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<sup>2</sup> I.e. The finest rice, which was obtained after the third sieving.

(17) *y-oðáxwa dólma,*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðáxwa gèrðo,*<sup>1</sup> *bušála.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔay-gárðo ʔa-qšìθa,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-duxràne,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔína bušála t-ʔoðáxwala t̄lálən,*<sup>1</sup> *xánci miyànta,*<sup>1</sup> *la-ràba.*<sup>1</sup> (18) *ʔi-deráxwa màšxa,*<sup>1</sup> *tàxin,*<sup>1</sup> *šíšme xšìle.*<sup>1</sup> *nepúxta hè,*<sup>1</sup> *m-ʔálpa ʔáxni lá raba-ʔi-mapəlxəxwala.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔína hawəwəlan.*<sup>1</sup> *be-xáli y-oðíwa Musàkka,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni ʔənwə kóme ràba.*<sup>1</sup>

### Dolma

GK: *ʔu-dólma.*<sup>2</sup>

(19) *ʔe-b-àlaha!*<sup>1</sup> *kut-tré yomáθa t̄làθa.*<sup>1</sup> *xéna ʔən-hawéwa bəsrə,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔən-háwəxwa príme ʔənwə,*<sup>1</sup> *dérəxwa bəsrə.*<sup>1</sup> *karáfəs là deráxwa kəsléni.*<sup>1</sup> *là deráxwa.*<sup>1</sup> *hadíya ʔi-dérəx.*<sup>1</sup> *bəšla-w tuma,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-rəzəzə,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-tərpə,*<sup>1</sup> *tərpət dalìθa,*<sup>1</sup> *tərpət səlqa,*<sup>1</sup> *tərpət kaləme.*<sup>1</sup> *bəšla har-məwjud-üwa.*<sup>1</sup> *xá-reša tuma,*<sup>1</sup> *hətəxə.*<sup>1</sup> (20) *y-oðáxwa trè-tuxme.*<sup>1</sup> *be-xáli,*<sup>1</sup> *be-mámət yəmmi*<sup>1</sup> *là-bəyüwale tuma.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-bəšla la-bəyüwale.*<sup>1</sup> *dérəxwa là y-amrəxwale.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔína tuma har-là-ʔəθewə qurba-llé.*<sup>1</sup>

### Cheese

GK: *dáx y-oðítuwa gùpta.*<sup>2</sup>

(21) *xəlyə ʔi-mjáməxwa ràba,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔərba dāne.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-mjáməxwale gu-qušàrta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-mšəpəxwale.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-máttəxwale máttəxwale,*<sup>1</sup> *xáčci mšəxnəxwale.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-y-oðíwa maréθət gùpta.*<sup>1</sup> *lèðən mən-módi.*<sup>1</sup> *gəšəkyəθa,*<sup>1</sup> *bəharət*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-deríwa xə-mdi xéna,*<sup>1</sup> *fəlfəl ʔəsəwad,*<sup>1</sup> *qārànta,*<sup>1</sup> *yəni là-xšilta.*<sup>1</sup> (22) *lá kulla-náše yáði t-òðila.*<sup>1</sup> *kəm baxtáθa y-oðila.*<sup>1</sup> *yəmmi lípta m-yəmma dīya,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔašitnèθa-wawa.*<sup>1</sup> *lá-barya θa-šéta t-páyəšwa bèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *har-dána b-danà y-oðíwala*<sup>1</sup> *ta-xákma yomāne.*<sup>1</sup> *bəhər y-áwe xəlyə ràba,*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðíwa gùpta,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔína b-qéða la-məšiwə*<sup>1</sup> *sab-xānci y-áwe xəlyə.*<sup>1</sup>

(17) We would make *dolma*, we would make *gərđo* and stew. The *gərđo*, which is thick, is for church memorial festivals.<sup>3</sup> But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was somewhat watery, but not too much. (18) We would put in it oil, tahini, crushed sesame. Raisin syrup, yes, but we rarely used it.<sup>4</sup> But we used to have it. My uncle's family used to make it in Musakka,<sup>5</sup> (where there were) many of those black grapes.

### *Dolma*

GK: and *dolma*?

(19) Yes, by God! Every two or three days. If there was meat, if we had slaughtered sheep, we would serve meat. We did not use celery in our community. We did not use it. Now we use it. Onion and garlic, rice, leaves, vine leaves, chard leaves, cabbage leaves. Onion was always in it. A head of garlic, like that. (20) We would make two types. My uncle's family and the family of my mother's uncle did not like garlic. Nor did they like onions. We would add (onions) but say to them 'no' (we have not added it). But garlic never came near them.

### *Cheese*

GK: How did you make cheese?

(21) We would collect a lot of milk, four times. We would collect it in a pot and strain it. We would put lots of it (in the pot) and heat it up slightly. They would make a cheese rennet. I don't know what it was from. (They would add) peppers, spices, and would add something else, black pepper, the big one, not the crushed one. (22) Not everybody knows how to make it. Only a few women make it. My mother learnt from her mother, who was from Ashitha. It was not possible for it to remain a year in the house. They prepared it from time to time for a few days. In the Spring there was a lot of milk and they would make cheese, but in Summer they could not, since the milk was in short supply.

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<sup>3</sup> I.e. *gərđo* and stew (*bušala*) are similar dishes consisting of rice cooked in yoghurt, but *gərđo* is the thicker of the two.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: In a thousand (times) we did not use it much.

<sup>5</sup> A village in the Barwar region.



(23) *mšaxnüle xánčĭ, lā marəθxile. xánčĭ mšaxnüle ʔu-dére marèθa ʔu-mkàsELE ʔu-péšawa gùpta. dériwale l-kàsta ʔu-mattüwa. ʔiθwalən pàrše, trè, xa-xóθa xa-rèša, ta-t-ṭābəqāwa, péšawa gùpta. hātxa rešāwáθa, hātxeewa. ʔu-ǰarmíwale b-šāpra.*

GK: *derétuwa gáwa sərke?*<sup>1</sup>

(24) *là bēna sárke dérəxwa gu-jəjək. là. ʔəy mattəxwa xa-ṭābāqa yáni jəjək ʔu-xa gùpta b-rèše ʔu-dérəxwa sərke. ʔəy y-oðüwala, xoṭüwala b-è-ga. sərmo y-amrəxxa. ṭamrəxwala gu-úpra. ʔən-dérəxwa, dérəxwa sərmo gáwe. (25) ʔən-bəyáxwa tūma, ṭla-mbašalta, kéfən-ile. bəyəxwa mbašləxwa, bəyəxwa là. gu-báhər kúl-məndi y-oðəxwa mánna. mṭawəxwa dérəxwa rəš-masəxθa. masəxθa mattəxwala rəš-pälle.*<sup>1</sup>

### Yoghurt

GK: *y-oðütuwa màsta?*<sup>2</sup>

(26) *màsta xəly məθəxxe, marəθəxxe. qəyər xánčĭ. dérəx xa-màsta gáwe, péša màsta. ʔu-ʔey-màsta péša xamüšta. ʔi-šoqəxla ʔu-məyəx gúða bÿya. dérəxwala ṭla-dəwwe mǰalṭəxwa məšxa, ʔu-ham-dəwwe ʔu-hám ṭla-kəška, ṭla-mbašöle, ṭla-štəya, dəwwe ṭla-kúl-məndi.*<sup>1</sup>

### Weddings

(27) *mṛəzgi tmányə yománe y-áwəxwa páya ləxma. ʔu-mrazgíwa ʔilána. ʔilána məθüwa kúlla məndit mēwa. maxüwa ʔilána. ʔé-ga liθwa kéka. y-asqüwa l-gəre, ʔe-dánə məθüwala k'əlo, nəpšüwala. (28) zoniwala, xələt xəmele. zabənwə ʔilána, b-é-ga náše xéne ʔi-zöni. mšarki. ʔəxni zabnəxwala ʔilána. xlüla hātxeewa qaməye.*<sup>1</sup>

(23) They would heat it slightly. They did not boil it. They would heat it slightly, add rennet and cover it, then it would become cheese. They would put it in a bag, then lay it out. We had flat stones, one beneath and one above, so that it was compressed and became cheese. It was like this in rounds. They would cut it with a large knife.

GK: Did they put *sərke*<sup>6</sup> in it?

(24) No, but we put *sərke* in *jajək*. No. We would put a layer of it, that is *jajək*, and a (layer of) cheese on top of it, then we would put *sərke* in it. They would make it (like this) and then mix it together. We used to call (the herb) *sərmo*. We would bury it in the earth. If we put (a herb in it), we would put *sərmo* in it. (25) If we wanted (to use) garlic for cooking, it was up to us. If we want, we cook (with it), (if we do not) want, we don't. In Spring we make everything from it. We would fry it and put it in a frying pan. We would put the frying pan on the embers.

### *Yoghurt*

GK: Did you make yoghurt?

(26) Yoghurt—we would fetch milk and boil it. It would cool slightly. We would put a portion of yoghurt in it and it would become yoghurt. That yoghurt would become sour. We would leave it and shake it in a churn. We would serve it as *dawwe*. We would extract butter. (We used *dawwe* also for (making) *qaška*, for cooking, for drinking, *dawwe* (was used) for everything.

### *Weddings*

(27) They made preparations. For eight days we would bake bread. We would prepare the tree. For the tree they would bring all kinds of fruit. They would set up the tree. At that time there was no cake. They would go up onto the roof, at the time when they brought the bride and shake it. (28) They would buy it—it was the uncle of the groom (who bought it first). He would sell the tree. Then other people bought it. They joined in. We used to sell the tree. Weddings were like that in the old days.

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<sup>6</sup> A herb similar to mint.

(29) *xéna xlùla*<sup>1</sup> *mrazgùwa*,<sup>1</sup> *m̄p̄armíwa* 'ðrwe,<sup>1</sup> *m̄bašlìwa*,<sup>1</sup> *m̄banìwa*,<sup>1</sup> *maštíwa*  
 'àraq,<sup>1</sup> *xàmra*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-kùlla-mèndi.<sup>1</sup> 'túršì y-oðáxwa b-gàñn.<sup>1</sup> *déraxwa gu-lìne*,<sup>1</sup> *lìne gòre*,<sup>1</sup>  
*lìnyàθa*,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna-t mìya.<sup>1</sup>

GK: *dáx lwíštət k'álo?*<sup>1</sup>

(30) *gèrwe*,<sup>1</sup> *šàwle*,<sup>1</sup> *jùlle rìxe*,<sup>1</sup> *jùllə jərjèt*,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *fəstánə jərjèt*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áyya *kəppírta*  
*qāñifa*,<sup>1</sup> *zárǵəf kùlla*<sup>1</sup> *mnoqàšta*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-pošiya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá-warda *t-átxa maxíwa gu-pošiya*  
*díya*,<sup>1</sup> *kāmāra-w*<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *gərdāna*.<sup>1</sup> (31) *qamáye mxamòle*,<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni mxámli qa-xlùla*,<sup>1</sup> *déri*  
*títa*,<sup>1</sup> *déri kāmāra*,<sup>1</sup> *déri xalaqyàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *déri 'áwwa tòq*,<sup>1</sup> *yəmmi 'itwala*,<sup>1</sup> *kùlla m-d-ánna*  
*səma*.<sup>1</sup> *šəbbəryàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *səma kùlla-mèndi*.<sup>1</sup> 'isəqθə *səma*,<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga *líθwa hālāqa*,<sup>1</sup> *qamāye*.<sup>1</sup>  
*bas-'isəqθa y-oðíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *səma*.<sup>1</sup> (32) *b-é-ga malušíwala 'ádi*,<sup>1</sup> *deríwa xəppə*,<sup>1</sup> *pošiya*,<sup>1</sup>  
*dáx t-remaw-a-y*,<sup>1</sup> *pošiya 'u-xəppə b-rəša*<sup>1</sup> *θlaθà yománe*<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa *là mgaléwala*.<sup>1</sup> *lá*  
*baryáwa makšúfa*<sup>1</sup> *k'álo*.<sup>1</sup> *lázəm hoyáwa xəppə b-rəša*,<sup>1</sup> *max-šála raqíqa*,<sup>1</sup> *la-xlìma*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: *dáx lwíštət xətna?*<sup>1</sup>

(33) *lwíštət xətna jùlle t̄iyariyàna*,<sup>1</sup> *šùdra*<sup>1</sup> *lawandíye mnùqšə*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəl,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xánjər  
*dàwa*,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'itwale *xánjər dáwa*.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni 'itwalən.<sup>1</sup> *là kùlla-dúnje*.<sup>1</sup> *kùlla náše litwaley*  
*dàwa*.<sup>1</sup> *là t̄albíwala*.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni *kíslən lèla t̄líbe*,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni 'itwalən.<sup>1</sup>

(34) 'ina<sup>1</sup> *deríwa topàθa*<sup>1</sup> 'ánnə *məθíwala k'álo*<sup>1</sup> 'ánnə *xepíwale xətna deríwa*  
*topàθa*.<sup>1</sup> 'm-k'álo *m-gu-màθa*,<sup>1</sup> *čerxíwala máθa*<sup>1</sup> *xášo dawère*.<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa čáppe bükela*.<sup>1</sup>  
 (35) 'ay-t-aθyàwa,<sup>1</sup> *t-oràwa*,<sup>1</sup> *maxyáwa... məšxa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-oðáwa *šlìwa*,<sup>1</sup> *məšxa*,<sup>1</sup> *gu-*  
*tárət qàšra*.<sup>1</sup> *dánə t-oràwa*,<sup>1</sup> *lá qablíwala xá-mdi gu-tàra*,<sup>1</sup> *lá qabláwa t-oráwa k'álo*.<sup>1</sup>  
*yá'ni dàwa*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-mèndi*.<sup>1</sup> (36) *xmáθa t-amràwa*.<sup>1</sup> *qušárta*.<sup>1</sup> *k'álo là qabláwa*,<sup>1</sup> *béna*  
*y-amráwa 'ána là báyən qušárta*.<sup>1</sup> *bèna*<sup>1</sup> *xaθwáθət k'álo*,<sup>1</sup> *marwáθa díya*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa*  
*là*.<sup>1</sup> *báyəx xá-mèndi gu-tàra qablítula*.<sup>1</sup>

(29) They would make preparations for the wedding. They would slaughter sheep, they would cook, they prepared food, they prepared arak and wine, and all sorts of things, to drink. We would make pickles by ourselves. We would put them (the drinks) in pots, large pots, the ones used for water.

GK: What were the clothes of the bride like?

(30) Stockings, shoes, long clothes, clothes of purple fabric, a dress of purple fabric, a velvet waist-coat, all made of embroidered *zargaf* fabric, a head-scarf, and a rose, which they would put in the head-scarf like this, a belt, a necklace. (31) In the old days people would dress up for a wedding. They would put on silver bangles (on their veils). They would put on a belt. They would put on earrings. They would put on a necklace. My mother had one. They were all made of silver. Bracelets. Everything was silver. A ring of silver. At that time, in the old days, there was no (special wedding) ring. They only made an (ordinary) ring, which was silver. (32) At that time they dressed her as usual. They would put on a wedding veil with a head-scarf (underneath), according to how high (the wedding veil) was.<sup>7</sup> The head-scarf and the wedding veil were on her head for three days, nobody uncovered her. It was not allowed for the bride to be uncovered. The cover had to be on her head. (It was) like a thin shawl, (it was) not thick.

GK: What was the clothing of the groom like?

(33) The clothing of the groom—*Ṭiyare* clothes, a shirt, embroidered long sleeves, a shawl, a golden dagger, if he had a golden dagger. We had one. Not everybody. Not everybody had gold. They did not ask for it (from others). In our family they did not ask, since we had one.

(34) They would fire rifles. The people who brought the bride, the people who washed the bride would fire guns. If the bride was from the village, they would take her round the village on the back of mules. They called it *čappe buke*. (35) She would come, enter (the house) and make with oil . . . and make (the sign of) the cross in oil on the door of the house. When she entered, if they did not pledge a gift for her at the door, the bride did not agree to enter. That is, gold or something. (36) The mother-in-law would say '(Take) the saucepan'.<sup>8</sup> The bride did not agree, but said 'I do not want the saucepan'. Then the sisters of the bride and her parents say 'No, we want you to pledge a gift for her at the door'.

<sup>7</sup> The head-scarf extended up to the beginning of the wedding veil.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. you take the saucepan and take over the cooking of the house.

(37) 'ána míra-wewa 'o-níxət xəmyàni<sup>1</sup> lá 'ođítu kāmàra,<sup>1</sup> čàkke,<sup>1</sup> 'àna zonónna.<sup>1</sup>  
 'ána qablónna gu-tára kāmàra.<sup>1</sup> múthyəlle 'e-dàna,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa b-xáši kāmàra,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-  
 yəmmi.<sup>1</sup> 'əthyəle<sup>1</sup> múthyəlle 'o-kāmàra,<sup>1</sup> máxyəlle b-xáši<sup>1</sup> móre 'áwəwa hadíya də-'úr.<sup>1</sup>  
 (38) xlúla basíma<sup>1</sup> y-awéwa gu-bàte,<sup>1</sup> báte gòre,<sup>1</sup> 'u-rqáða-w zməra.<sup>1</sup> 'áy gu-màrge  
 y-amrəxwala.<sup>1</sup> !lathá yománe xlúla y-awéwa.<sup>1</sup> be-xətna xlúla,<sup>1</sup> la t-k'əlo.<sup>1</sup> (39) yomə-  
 šawəwà<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa be-bába díya,<sup>1</sup> k'əlo.<sup>1</sup> kəmət bəyíwa,<sup>1</sup> čedíwa nablíwa be-bàba.<sup>1</sup>  
 máθálan 'o-čída flàn.<sup>1</sup> yan-'ay-mánťəqa díyeni kúlla<sup>1</sup> čedətla,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-báye 'àzəl,<sup>1</sup>  
 'o-t-báye là.<sup>1</sup> (40) 'áwəwa dàna<sup>1</sup> bábi parəmwa.<sup>1</sup> prim-'ərwə.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mbošəlla-w<sup>1</sup> wídla  
 xímša,<sup>1</sup> wídla rəzza-w šərba.<sup>1</sup> xətna lə-y-axəl<sup>1</sup> 'šlla qablíle xə-məndi.<sup>1</sup> díya biš-ila  
 maθóyəlla,<sup>1</sup> biš-ila hawəlla,<sup>1</sup> díya 'šlla xá-mdi dàwa bəyí,<sup>1</sup> ya-šlíwa,<sup>1</sup> ya-šəbbərθa,<sup>1</sup>  
 'isəqθa mən-d-án yaqùre,<sup>1</sup> m-an-tàze.<sup>1</sup>

### Clothing

GK: dác y-oyáwa lwíštət kùt-yom?<sup>1</sup>

(41) lwíštət kùt-yom,<sup>1</sup> ta-baxtəθa,<sup>1</sup> 'adi,<sup>1</sup> šudrəθa-w<sup>1</sup> jəkətəθa-w<sup>1</sup> yubqəθa,<sup>1</sup> yubqáθa  
 b-áyya xərθa<sup>1</sup> ya'ni mən-'ámri là,<sup>1</sup> lèθwa yubqáθa.<sup>1</sup> šáwle 'iθwa,<sup>1</sup> bəyí ramàne<sup>1</sup> bəyí  
 kopàne,<sup>1</sup> kəšəx.<sup>1</sup> (42) 'ay-yaləxta,<sup>1</sup> kunnəθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ay-šàlla,<sup>1</sup> y-asrívəwala hátxa gòre<sup>1</sup> y-  
 áwa xlíme.<sup>1</sup> kúlla baxtəθa,<sup>1</sup> m-bar d-è-ga<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwala kunnəkyáθə sàntən,<sup>1</sup> 'anna  
 smoqnəye<sup>1</sup> xánčī komnəye,<sup>1</sup> qahwəye.<sup>1</sup> hátxa y-asrívəwala baxtəθa,<sup>1</sup> hátta lá-hawəwə  
 sarkòle.<sup>1</sup> (43) 'əbəle,<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga lèθwa<sup>1</sup> sarkòla<sup>1</sup> 'əxni<sup>1</sup> kəslən,<sup>1</sup> ya'ni kúlla Bárwən.<sup>1</sup> ya'ni  
 kúlla náše,<sup>1</sup> hátta 'ašitnəye,<sup>1</sup> hátta řiyarəye.<sup>1</sup> 'ína bráta la-baryáwa t-oyəwə<sup>1</sup> sarkòle.<sup>1</sup>  
 (44) 'əxni zoníwalən kəřiyəwə,<sup>1</sup> yaləxyəθa,<sup>1</sup> milàne,<sup>1</sup> smòqe,<sup>1</sup> zəre.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'alwəwə 'iθwa.<sup>1</sup>  
 y-asrəxwala.<sup>1</sup> lá y-šaləxwə hátta 'umra<sup>1</sup> xřitəwə šaləxwə sarkòle.<sup>1</sup> láxxa kúlla sarkòle  
 θáya 'umra,<sup>1</sup> dax-bàrya?<sup>1</sup> xřitə.<sup>1</sup>

GK: xəřítuwa lwíšta b-g'anəxu?<sup>1</sup>

(37) My late father-in-law said ‘Do not make a belt or decorations. I shall buy them. I shall pledge for her a belt at the door’. He brought it at that time, but I (already) had a belt around my waist, the one belonging to my mother. He came and brought that belt and put it around my waist. He said ‘Now, enter!’ (38) The wedding was very pleasant in the houses, large houses, with dancing and singing. We said that it was ‘in the meadows’. The wedding went on for three days. The wedding (is held) in the home of the groom, not that of the bride. (39) On the seventh day they would go to the home of the bride’s father. They would invite however many they wanted and take them to the family of her father. For example, so-and-so is invited. But in our region you would invite everybody. If somebody wanted to, he would go. If he did not want, he would not. (40) At that time my father slaughtered. Sheep were slaughtered. They cooked and made *xumşa*, they made rice and sauce. The groom would not eat unless they pledged something to him. Now they bring them more, they give them more. Now they only want something made of gold, a cross, bracelet, a heavy fine quality ring.

### *Clothing*

GK: What was the everyday clothing like?

(41) Everyday clothing, for women, ordinary (clothing), blouses, jackets, skirts. Skirts (have been worn) only recently, there were no skirts (worn by women) of my generation. There were shoes, either high or low ones, according to our choice.<sup>9</sup> (42) The scarf, i.e kerchief, which is a piece of *şalla* fabric—they would tie this like this. They were big and thick. All women (wore them), then (there were) what we called satin scarves. These were red, some were black or brown. Women tied them (on their head) so that they did not have an uncovered head. (43) It was a disgrace, at that time in our community, in the whole of Barwar, there was nobody who had an uncovered head. All people, including people from Ashitha and Tiyare. It was not permitted for a girl to have an uncovered head. (44) They bought for us kerchiefs, scarves, blue, red, yellow. There were all colours. We would tie them (onto our heads). When we went down to church, it was a sin to go bare-headed. Here everybody goes to church with bare heads. How can that be permitted? It is a sin!

GK: Did you sew clothing by yourselves?

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<sup>9</sup> Literally: (whether) they want high (or) they want low, our choice.

(45) *b-ìðm xeřxwa.*<sup>1</sup> *šúdra yan-kasrât<sup>1</sup> diyòpe y-amrâxwala,*<sup>1</sup> *klôš,<sup>1</sup> lá bãyáwala rába xyàṭta.*<sup>1</sup> *y-awéwa wásta bra-qðàla,*<sup>1</sup> *breθáthe rixe<sup>1</sup> y-oðàxwala.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-xaṭxwa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-ʔíθwa ṭ-iwéwa šòlye habbanìyya,*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni b-ay-dána lànwa wíθa,*<sup>1</sup> *múθye mākáyən,*<sup>1</sup> *mākínat ʔìða,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔé-ga líθwa b̀r̀r̀qa.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla qúmasáât ʔé-ga bíš-wewwa rešàye.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla h̄ar̄i,*<sup>1</sup> *sàntəm<sup>1</sup> ʔu-brèsəm.*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *zaqr̄iṭuwa.*<sup>2</sup>

(46) *zqára ʔi-zaqr̄xwa ʔàxni,*<sup>1</sup> *hè.*<sup>1</sup> *zaqr̄xwa bluz̄ât,*<sup>1</sup> *zaqr̄xwa g̀er̄we.*<sup>1</sup> *b-g̀ànən zaqr̄xwa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-mdi bãyàxwa<sup>1</sup> zaqr̄xwa ʔàxni.*<sup>1</sup> *y-azl̄xwa kùša.*<sup>1</sup> *šūf ʔàšl̄i,*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðáxwale gutt̄àθa.*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðáxwa t̄l̄àθa táqe naq̄iðe lázəm.*<sup>1</sup> *zaqr̄xwa g̀er̄we,*<sup>1</sup> *zaqr̄xwa bluz̄ât,*<sup>1</sup> *zaqr̄xwa jaket̄àθa,*<sup>1</sup> *zaqr̄xwa breθàθa.*<sup>1</sup> (47) *zaqr̄xwa kùl-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *šàqe ta-g̀ur̄e.*<sup>1</sup> *y-awéwa rába t̄alga.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-loš̄iwala g̀ur̄e<sup>1</sup> y-az̄iwa,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-lá m̄ar̄iwa ʔaqlaθ̄y.*<sup>1</sup> *zaqr̄xwa ta-b̄abi,*<sup>1</sup> *ta-x̀oni.*<sup>1</sup> (48) *xanúθa huðàye ʔíθwala<sup>1</sup> ʔu-geras̀nàye.*<sup>1</sup> *y-oð̄iwa j̄ulle,*<sup>1</sup> *yáʔni t̄iyariyàna.*<sup>1</sup> *zaqr̄iwa parz̄iñe,*<sup>1</sup> *čanàθa.*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *dàx y-oð̄iṭuwa ʔàm̄ra.*<sup>2</sup>

(49) *ʔàm̄ra<sup>1</sup> naps̄əxwale.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔíθwa mas̀er̄qa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔíθwa mas̀er̄qa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔiwa bíye xmat̄áθa rábe.*<sup>1</sup> *naps̄əxwale,*<sup>1</sup> *sarq̄əxwale hátxa t̄àza.*<sup>1</sup> *qamáyē ʔo-reš̄àya šaq̄l̄xwale<sup>1</sup> ta-j̄ulle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-x̀ena,*<sup>1</sup> *y-amr̄əxxa b̄erḡàwa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔo-t bíš-daq̄iqa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáw y-oð̄əxwa<sup>1</sup> y-azl̄əxwa ta-g̀er̄we,*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-bluz̄ât,*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-breθàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *t̄la-šàqe.*<sup>1</sup> (50) *kos̄iθa,*<sup>1</sup> *har-ʔàm̄ra-wewa,*<sup>1</sup> *gamr̄iwa gm̄ara.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-láva t-p̄àre.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáw y-oð̄iwa kosyàθa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔàxni ʔit̄leni j̄ulle t̄iyariyàna.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔi-zaqr̄xwa šàle.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔašit̄nàye<sup>1</sup> qəm-mpalt̄iła ʔáwwa šálət qðàla,*<sup>1</sup> *h̄àšya,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔana hon-zq̄irta m̄ónne.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáni zaqr̄xwa táma b̀èθa.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla b-ʔìðm zaqr̄xwa,*<sup>1</sup> *b-ʔìðm.*<sup>1</sup>

### *Houses and Home Life*

GK: *beth̄āwàθa gu-ʔEn-N̄üne dàx-wewwa.*<sup>2</sup>

(51) *beth̄āwàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔíθwa q̄əsre,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔíθwa b̄áte ʔat̄iqa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔàxni b̀éθət be-b̄abi ʔat̄iqa-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔina ramánewa bíš-mən-q̄ásrət kùl-naše.*<sup>1</sup> *tr̄è t̄āb̄áqe-wewa.*<sup>1</sup> *b̄áte g̀òre,*<sup>1</sup> *y-oð̄iwa ʔot̄áxe max-d-àyya,*<sup>1</sup> *bíš-p̄θiθa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔot̄áxe g̀òre hawéwa.*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáyya mánzəl t̄àwəla,*<sup>1</sup> *har-t̄àwəla,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔap-ʔàxni,*<sup>1</sup> *ʔáp gu-ʔEn-N̄üne.*<sup>1</sup>

(45) We would sew by hand. A blouse, pleats—we called them *diyope*—a skirt—this did not require much sewing. There was the chest (of the blouse), the collar, long sleeves, which we would make. We would sew them. Some people who had gone down to Ḥabbaniyya—at that time I was not born—brought machines, hand (driven) machines. At that time there was no electricity. All the material at that time was of the very best quality. It was all silk, *santəm* silk, *bresəm* silk.

GK: Did you knit?

(46) We indeed used to knit, yes. We knitted blouses, we knitted socks. We knitted by ourselves. Whatever we wanted we knitted. We span (wool on) a spindle. We made the pure wool into balls. We would make three thin strands, which were necessary (for knitting). We would knit socks, we would knit blouses, we would knit jackets, we would knit gloves. (47) We would knit everything. Leggings for men. There was a lot of snow. The men would wear them when they went (outside), so that their legs did not suffer (from the cold). We would knit for my father, for my brother. (48) The Jews and the people from Gramun had a loom on which they made clothes, that is Ṭiyare clothes. They would weave knapsacks (for women) and bags (for men).

GK: How did you make wool?

(49) We would tease the wool. There was a comb. There was a comb, on which there were many teeth.<sup>10</sup> We would tease it, comb it (until it was) so beautiful. First we took the best for clothes. The rest we called *bərgawa* (inferior quality wool), which was thinner. This we span to make into socks, blouses, gloves, leggings. (50) A hat was only wool. They pressed it. It was (made of) wool of lambs. They would make it into hats. We have Ṭiyare clothes. We would knit shawls. The people from Ashitha produced the neck shawl, (made of) lace. I have knitted with this. We used to knit these at home. We knitted everything by hand.

### *Houses and Home Life*

GK: What were houses like in ʿĒn-Nune?

(51) Houses—there were villas, there were old houses. The house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of everybody. It was two storeys (high). In big houses they made rooms like this one, wider. The rooms were big. This is a sitting room, for sitting, also in ʿĒn-Nune (we had one like this).

<sup>10</sup> Literally: needles.



(52) 'íθwa qáʒre ràbe,<sup>1</sup> 'áʒta šàwwa manzàle,<sup>1</sup> tmanyà manzàle,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-ile-bànya,<sup>1</sup> pàlgət máθa,<sup>1</sup> xámka bànya<sup>1</sup> 'u-xámka là.<sup>1</sup> qàʒra,<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-wéwa gu-Lèvi,<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-wéwa gu-rāwàtəb,<sup>1</sup> 'ítwaley,<sup>1</sup> mšadríwa zùze-w<sup>1</sup> baníwa bâte.<sup>1</sup>

(53) gu-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> xóθa gomāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> gòma,<sup>1</sup> t-haywàne.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'áw tára lá tára mánne-mənnət tārət nàʒe,<sup>1</sup> m-àwwa bára.<sup>1</sup> máθálan 'áwwa tārəm-ile,<sup>1</sup> yá'ha gòta<sup>1</sup> hátxa 'àxxa<sup>1</sup> wādər.<sup>1</sup> 'ərwe,<sup>1</sup> gəðye,<sup>1</sup> 'áni kút-xa b-ð-a-dùka.<sup>1</sup> (54) 'u-'o-t-la-báyyewala xo-bàte,<sup>1</sup> báyyewala bâte xtàye,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-y-awəððwa góma,<sup>1</sup> 'áráθa pəryewa.<sup>1</sup> 'azíwa<sup>1</sup> mat-tíwa xa-gómət tre-'otàxe,<sup>1</sup> ìna,<sup>1</sup> 'oðíwale gòma<sup>1</sup> ta-haywàne.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-maʒəwa<sup>1</sup> 'ítwale 'ərwe ràbe.<sup>1</sup>

(55) báhər y-awéwa dùna.<sup>1</sup> dùna qam-tára hátxa gðila,<sup>1</sup> qèse,<sup>1</sup> tərpa.<sup>1</sup> báhər y-áwe xəmma.<sup>1</sup> har-θéwala mətrə,<sup>1</sup> xošíwala gu-gòma.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa xáʒət gómət 'ərwe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-xáʒət tàwre<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-pàre<sup>1</sup> xòðey.<sup>1</sup> 'ərwe b-xoðey,<sup>1</sup> 'ína tawráθa 'u-tàwre 'áni kút-xa b-xòðey.<sup>1</sup>

(56) 'ərwe nāwazík-ila.<sup>1</sup> maxéla táwra 'u-qaṭṭalla.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa béθa xòðey-wa.<sup>1</sup> hátxa y-oðáxwa.<sup>1</sup> deríwa gəlla,<sup>1</sup> deríwa tərpa.<sup>1</sup> kut-dána 'ítwaley danàne.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni sá'ət 'ərba<sup>1</sup> 'áy xa-ramšət haywànela.<sup>1</sup>

(57) 'áxni beθèni<sup>1</sup> har-ìna-wəwə.<sup>1</sup> bas le-y-mabyànwə<sup>1</sup> képe 'u-tíne deríwa max-d-ánna gudàne.<sup>1</sup> mattíwa képe,<sup>1</sup> kúlla hàzər.<sup>1</sup> ləbne la-bàrya,<sup>1</sup> lax-gu-dàʒta.<sup>1</sup> mattíwa panjariyàθa.<sup>1</sup>

(58) damxáxwa b-gàre b-qèta.<sup>1</sup> b-qèta,<sup>1</sup> qam-qāṭíwa mətráθa<sup>1</sup> xá-gaya y-asqəxwa,<sup>1</sup> 'aryàwa dúnye,<sup>1</sup> xá-gaya là.<sup>1</sup> ... məstíke,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa-w táxte dīye,<sup>1</sup> táxtət qèsa.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa 'i-maxáxwa qèse<sup>1</sup> táləxwa mástík bìya.<sup>1</sup> (59) xətəxwa məstíke 'àxni,<sup>1</sup> b-ìðən xətəxwa.<sup>1</sup> b-mašína xətəxwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ítwala mašína t-wéwa ràbe.<sup>1</sup> mən-sátwa y-awáxwa bəðye<sup>1</sup> hal-héwəm-t gərə.<sup>1</sup> la-kùššət.<sup>1</sup> kút kəma-šənnə.<sup>1</sup> naclíwa qāṭíwa,<sup>1</sup> xətəxwa m-bādáləy.<sup>1</sup> b-sátwa xətəxwa ta-qèta.<sup>1</sup>

GK: dác y-asqítuwa l-gàre.<sup>21</sup>

(52) There were many villas with six or seven rooms, eight rooms. Whoever built (such a house)—half the village (built them), some built some did not. Those who were in the Levies, those who had wages had a villa. They would send money and build houses.

(53) In the house, underneath, there were basement stables. A basement for animals. The door for this, however, was not together with the door for people on this other side. For example, if this is our door, (the door of the basement) was on the other side, here, outside. Sheep, goats, each had its place. (54) If somebody did not want it under the houses and needed the lower rooms, he would make a (separate) stable. Plots of land were abundant. They would go and build a stable consisting of two rooms, out of mud. They made it into a stable for animals. Whoever had the means, had many sheep.

(55) In the Spring there was an enclosure. The enclosure was woven outside out of wood and leaves. In the Spring it was warm. When it rained, they brought them into the stable. There were special stables for sheep, special ones for oxen and for lambs, by themselves. Sheep were by themselves, cows and oxen, they were all by themselves. (56) Sheep are delicate, if an ox strikes them it would kill them. Each had its own room. They made them like that. They would put out grass and put out leaves. Each time—they had times (for feeding), that is four o'clock is the animals' dinner time.

(57) Our house was only mud. But it did not seem so. They would lay stones and mud like these walls. They would lay stones, all were at hand. Bricks were not possible.<sup>11</sup> We are not in the plains. They would make windows.

(58) We would sleep on the roof in summer. In summer, before the rains finished, sometimes we went up and it rained, sometimes it did not. (There were) mosquito nets. Everybody (went up) with his bed, a wooden bed. We all erected sticks of wood and hung the mosquito net on them. (59) We ourselves would sew the nets, we sewed them by hand. We sewed them by machine. The ones who had a machine were those (families) that were large. We started (making the nets) from winter time until 'the season of the roof'. Not every year. Every few years. They would get torn and cut and we sewed (nets) to replace them. In the winter we sewed for the summer.

GK: How did you go up to the roof?

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<sup>11</sup> Because of the rains.

(60) *semälta*.<sup>1</sup> *semälta*,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'*itwale xälqe*,<sup>1</sup> *b-xälqe hátxa naqîðe*.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'*itwale 'áyya dâpe*<sup>1</sup> *max-xa-dârâje*,<sup>1</sup> 'áni *xälqe pâþye max-xa-dârâyj*.<sup>1</sup> *qaplèni mattáxwa l-gáre*.<sup>1</sup> *dârâje t-kèþela*,<sup>1</sup> 'ina *semälta*<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *t-qèse*,<sup>1</sup> *max-d-ánna t-ásqi 'ábu-bàrqa*.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni *hàtxewa semáltən 'áp-'áxni*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: *mən-'éka šaqlitūwa miya*?<sup>1</sup>

(61) *miya*<sup>1</sup> 'itlən 'enáþa 'áxni.<sup>1</sup> 'éna *y-amrâxxa 'énət Kùtto*.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-m-ây *gotət-máþela*.<sup>1</sup> 'itlən 'énət 'ùmra.<sup>1</sup> 'ay-çú-ga *lá-qéþa-w lá-sətwa bárzi miya diya*.<sup>1</sup> trè 'enáþa 'itlən.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *y-amrâxwa t-šáttət tàxela*<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *t-réšət máþa diyən-ila*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: *dáx mēþitūwa miya*?<sup>1</sup>

(62) 'amâne,<sup>1</sup> *tannðkke*,<sup>1</sup> 'ánnət *nùþa*,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-*púmma zðra*,<sup>1</sup> *tannðkka*.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *sar-mòr*.<sup>1</sup> *nùþa sar-mòr*: *msarqəxwala-w*<sup>1</sup> *deráxwa qəþma*<sup>1</sup> *mɔxalláxwala tàza*.<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwa gam-šmša xa-tmánya yomâne*.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-wéwa 'áyala *rábe la-ṃalíwa miyə zawiɣáþa*,<sup>1</sup> *kawàze*,<sup>1</sup> *qāriyáþa*.<sup>1</sup> (63) 'ina *kut-béna béna 'áxni y-azáxwa mēþáxwa miya*.<sup>1</sup> *lé-y-pešáxwa mbádla hal-'ašərta la-méþax*,<sup>1</sup> *là*.<sup>1</sup> *kut-béna ðá-mənnən y-azáwa y-arqáwa l-'éna*<sup>1</sup> *maþyáwa miya qarire*.<sup>1</sup> *hàtxewa*.<sup>1</sup> (64) *liþwa þallája qamáye*.<sup>1</sup> *diya kül-məndi 'iþwa hæðə*,<sup>1</sup> *hänäfyie gu-bèþa*.<sup>1</sup> *səttinät-wawa*<sup>1</sup> *wiye siqe l-hänäfyiát*.<sup>1</sup> *šáttət 'əšti*<sup>1</sup> *siqa hänäfyiát 'u-bárqa-w kül-məndi*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: 'éka náše xepítwa?<sup>1</sup>

(65) *xepítwa kút-xa gu-bustàne díye*.<sup>1</sup> *y-áwəðwale hæmmam*.<sup>1</sup> *gaðéliwala hátxa*<sup>1</sup> *gadliwala qamáye b-səryòqe*,<sup>1</sup> *þàrpa-w*<sup>1</sup> 'u-bá'ðén *deríwala šismànta*.<sup>1</sup> *bás šoqíwa dúkþət pálatwa tənna*.<sup>1</sup> (66) *miya m-šaqiþa*,<sup>1</sup> 'iþwa *šaqiþa rəsən*.<sup>1</sup> *marəxþáxwa*<sup>1</sup> *mēþáxwa mattáxwa qèse*,<sup>1</sup> *marəgla gòra hátxa*<sup>1</sup> *yaddät*.<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwale rəš-kanùna*<sup>1</sup> *həl 'o-xaráya*.<sup>1</sup> *miya hàr-hola šxána*.<sup>1</sup> (67) *miya šaqláxwa m-šaqiþa deráxwa gu-marəgla*.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'áxni *diya 'áxxa m-ànila hæmmaméni*.<sup>1</sup> *šábuñ rəgg'e*<sup>1</sup> 'u-'úþra.<sup>1</sup> 'a-t-wáwa *máre káwsa là šaléwa šábuñ*,<sup>1</sup> 'ina *deríwa 'úþre*.<sup>1</sup> (68) 'iþwa *xa-'úþra*,<sup>1</sup> *mašxána*,<sup>1</sup> 'úþra *smòqa*.<sup>1</sup> *šaláxwa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*kut-šéta xa-gáya y-oðáxwa mən-d-o-'úþra*.<sup>1</sup> *palta-bàhər*<sup>1</sup> *y-oðáxwa 'úþra*<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwale támàþa*.<sup>1</sup> 'a-t-la-*šaléwa kawsa-diya y-awéwa rába xelàna-w*<sup>1</sup> *xlíma*,<sup>1</sup> *deríwa 'úþra xazáþwa xrrr mašlèwale*,<sup>1</sup> *sarqíwale gu-miya*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: 'u-jülle, dáx masitūwa?<sup>1</sup>

(60) A ladder. A ladder—some had (ladders with) rungs, with thin rungs, some had (a ladder of) planks, like a staircase, wide rungs like steps. We put our bundles on the roof. Steps are made of stone, but a ladder is made of wood, like the ones that the electricity workers climb up. Our ladder was like that.

GK: Where did you get water from?

(61) Water—we have springs. One spring is called the spring of *Ḳutto*. It is on one side of the village. We have the spring of the church. Its water never dries up, in summer or winter. We have two springs. One we call the one of the lower district, the other the one of the upper district of our village.

GK: How do you fetch water?

(62) Vessels, cans, oil cans, with a small mouth, a can. It was sealed, a sealed oil can. We poured it away, put ash into it and cleaned it well. We put it in the sun for eight days. For those who were large families, the water of pots, jars and gourds was not enough. (63) We often went to fetch water. We did not last from morning to evening without fetching (more), no. Every so often one of us would run off to the spring and fetch cold water. It was like that. (64) There was no fridge in the old days. Now everything is available. A tap in the house. Taps were installed in the sixties. (After) 1960 taps, electricity and everything were installed.

GK: Where did people wash?

(65) Each person washed in his own garden. Each made a wash room, wove it like this. They would weave it first with twigs, leaves, and then put sesame grass onto it. They only left a place for the smoke to come out. (66) The water came from a channel. There was a channel running directly (into the washroom). We would boil it. We would fetch wood and put it (on the fire). There was a large pan, like this, with handles. We put it on the hearth, until the last (member of the family had finished washing). The water was always kept hot. (67) We took water from the channel and put it in the pan. Also now our bathroom here is the same. There was *ragg'e* soap and earth. As for a woman who had (long) hair, which would not (comb) down with soap, they would apply mud. (68) There was a type of mud, which was oily, red mud. We would go down and, once every year, we would collect this mud. When it was Spring, we would collect the mud and put it aside. If a woman had hair that would not (comb) down, since it was very abundant and thick, they would apply this mud and you would see how they made it go down (with the comb), they would comb it in water.

GK: How did you wash clothes?

(69) *b-ìðm,*<sup>1</sup> *b-ṭàšte*<sup>1</sup> *har-táma gu-ḥàmmam.*<sup>1</sup> *gu-ḥammàme*<sup>1</sup> *šlìpla*<sup>1</sup> *’anna kúlla xìpla*<sup>1</sup> *’an-zòre-w*<sup>1</sup> *’an-ràbe-w*<sup>1</sup> *y-ázi péšì tarte gu-néra.*<sup>1</sup> *’ána masyànwa*<sup>1</sup> *’u-xáθi mparpyàwa.*<sup>1</sup> *’u-šaṭxàxwala.*<sup>1</sup> *’áp-’axni xepáxwa*<sup>1</sup> *’u-y-azáxwa bèθa*<sup>1</sup> *gu-’aqàra.*<sup>1</sup> *’ina díya píša ḥammámáθa gu-bàte.*<sup>1</sup> *lé-y-azíwa*<sup>1</sup> *’aqàra.*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *gu-sàtwa*<sup>1</sup> *dáx mšaxnitwá beθáwàθa.*<sup>2</sup>

(70) *sópət qèse.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla qèse*<sup>1</sup> *y-azíwa meθéla b-qéṭa qése qa-sàtwa.*<sup>1</sup> *meθíwa saryòqe,*<sup>1</sup> *tárpa qáṭíwa y-azíwa.*<sup>1</sup> *meθíwa*<sup>1</sup> *’an-qése naqíðe.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla toràxwala.*<sup>1</sup> *’áxni la-moráxwa xa-saryóqa gu-béθa*<sup>1</sup> *’ən-lá toràxwale.*<sup>1</sup> *toráxwala kúlla baràye.*<sup>1</sup> (71) *’u-masqáxwa mattáxwala*<sup>1</sup> *l-ðà-gota,*<sup>1</sup> *ṭàrma,*<sup>1</sup> *’u-kú-bena moráxwa,*<sup>1</sup> *málhaxwa šòpa.*<sup>1</sup> *qése góre lè-y-lāyi rāsən.*<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwa mən-d-áni zóre mənnyè*<sup>1</sup> *’u-lāyíwa táma hal-’ašàrta.*<sup>1</sup> *mattátwa xa-tre-qése xéne xlíme*<sup>1</sup> *’u-lāye b-gàne.*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *’éka y-awéwa šòpa.*<sup>2</sup>

(72) *sòpa gu-’òtəx.*<sup>1</sup> *bé-palgət ’ótəx mattáxwala*<sup>1</sup> *’u-’íθwa ’áyya gùnge*<sup>1</sup> *max-bāwàri,*<sup>1</sup> *gùnge palṭíwa rəš-gàre.*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *tənna.*<sup>2</sup>

(73) *tənna,*<sup>1</sup> *y-asəqwa tənna.*<sup>1</sup> *là y-awéwa gu-béθa.*<sup>1</sup> *gùnge*<sup>1</sup> *mattáxwala xa-b-rəš-d-o-xəna,*<sup>1</sup> *páləṭwa l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup> *xáçça y-oðáxwala ramàna.*<sup>1</sup> *y-azáṭwa tənna.*<sup>1</sup> *’ap-l-gàre là hawéwa tənna.*<sup>1</sup> *napšáxwala kút xamšássər yomàne*<sup>1</sup> *’an-gùnge šaqłəxwala-w*<sup>1</sup> *taqtaq l-’àra.*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *gàre.*<sup>2</sup>

(74) *mandrìwa,*<sup>1</sup> *deríwa tìna,*<sup>1</sup> *mandrìwale.*<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-là šaléwa dalòpa.*<sup>1</sup> *mandórta gòrta,*<sup>1</sup> *’áp-xa là-mše taqálla.*<sup>1</sup> *kəma-gùre hal-é-gə masqíwala l-gàre.*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *šəmmánət ’amàne.*<sup>1</sup>

(75) *šəmmánət ’amàne.*<sup>2</sup> *’ay ṭ-amráxxa zawèrta.*<sup>1</sup> *xá y-amráxxa mārkan.*<sup>1</sup> *xá y-amráxxa kawàza.*<sup>1</sup> *xá y-amráxxa qārèθa.*<sup>1</sup> *qārìyáθa y-áwi hàtxa.*<sup>1</sup> *’anna t-mìya.*<sup>1</sup> *béna ’íθ linyàθa,*<sup>1</sup> *líne,*<sup>1</sup> *línyáθa ’an-t-íla ’àxðar.*<sup>1</sup> *déríwa məšxa gáwe.*<sup>1</sup>

(69) By hand. In a bowl there in the washroom. In the washroom they stripped off. They all washed, young and old, then two women remained in the river channel. I used to wash and my sister used to rinse, then we laid it out to dry. We also would bathe and go home across the fields. Nowadays, however, the washrooms are in the houses. People do not go into the fields.

GK: In winter how do you heat the houses?

(70) A stove of wood. It was all wood. People would go and fetch wood in summer for the winter. They would bring twigs, they would cut down leaves and go home. They would bring thin pieces of wood. We would break them all. We would not bring a single twig into the house without breaking it. We would break everything outside. (71) We would bring it up and put it aside, in the porch, and each time we would bring some in and light the stove. Big pieces of wood do not ignite straightaway. We would put some of those small pieces in it and they would burn until evening. Then you would put one or two other thick pieces of wood and it would burn by itself.

GK: Where was the stove?

(72) The stove was in a room. We placed it in the middle of the room. There were pipes, like tubes. These pipes came out onto the roof.

GK: (What about) smoke?

(73) Smoke. The smoke went up. It was not in the house. We placed the pipes one on top of the other, it went out onto the roof. We made them quite high. The smoke would go away. Even on the roof there was no smoke. Every fifteen days we would shake those pipes and take them off, (knocking them) tap tap on the ground (to clean them).

GK: (What about) the roof?

(74) They would roll it. They would lay down straw and roll it, so that drips (of water) would not come down (into the house). A large roller, nobody can lift it. (You needed) many men to lift it onto the roof.

GK: (Tell me) the name of vessels.

(75) The names of vessels. We called this a *zawarta* (water pot). One we call a *markən* (pot). One we call a *kawaza* (small water jar). One we call a gourd. Gourds were like this. They were for water. There were *linyatha* or *line* (pots), green pots. They would put butter in them.

(76) *y-amríwa* 'áw bíš *la-mzànzər*<sup>1</sup> *yáwəl téma pàyašwa*.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa ràbe<sup>1</sup> *páyəšwa trè-šənnə mášxa*.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa ðà-šeta.<sup>1</sup> *dériwala gu-d-an-líne*.<sup>1</sup> *búrra t-xmíra*.<sup>1</sup> *mεθíwa m-Deṛəgni*.<sup>1</sup> *zonáxwa kút-xa xà*.<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa xa-<sup>2</sup>ítwale*.<sup>1</sup> (77) *quşrıya*<sup>1</sup> *ta-yále zóre dámxi gu-dargüşta*,<sup>1</sup> *dudíya*.<sup>1</sup> *lé-y-jeríwa l-ganəy*<sup>1</sup> *şalıwa gu-d-àw*.<sup>1</sup> *şaqłáxwale mxalláxwale m'əqəməxwale-w*<sup>1</sup> *mattəxwale xá-ga xéta*.<sup>1</sup> *ballòrta 'ítla*.<sup>1</sup> *mattáxla qa-yála zòra*,<sup>1</sup> *mattəxxa wəşla*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-wəşla rakíxa*.<sup>1</sup> *mattəxla*<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>àw,<sup>1</sup> *har-şále jórte diye-w*<sup>1</sup> *şáxte diye şále gu-d-àw*,<sup>1</sup> *gu-quşrıya*.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa *la-xazəla*,<sup>1</sup> 'a-dánə *t-áwe íliya yála*<sup>1</sup> 'u-qəyəm<sup>1</sup> *şaqłəxla*,<sup>1</sup> *mtáməzəxla*.<sup>1</sup>

(78) 'íθwa *taṭíya*.<sup>1</sup> *taṭíyət 'ámra*.<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa 'árba xàmša*<sup>1</sup> *y-awəşəwale 'ámra*.<sup>1</sup> *gam-ríwale 'ámrat 'ərwət bəhər*.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa *náşe xāş-d-áwwa şúla*.<sup>1</sup> (79) *xaliyáθa*,<sup>1</sup> *qāđím qāđím líθwa xaliyáθa*.<sup>1</sup> *taṭíye y-odəxwa gòre*.<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwala baròre*.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *şúf mpatlíle*<sup>1</sup> *rábe gúre y-awəşəwala*.<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwa nəqşe gáwa*<sup>1</sup> *t-<sup>2</sup>ámra kòma*,<sup>1</sup> *mθallāθāt*,<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwale şliwe*,<sup>1</sup> *y-odíwale wàrde*.<sup>1</sup> *mşawəxwala*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: 'éka *y-atwíwa náşe?*

(80) *y-atwíwa l-<sup>2</sup>àra*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-dormadár *kúlla berəşyáθa*.<sup>1</sup> *berəşyáθa mattəxwa*.<sup>1</sup> *bár θéle 'áwwa záwna xaràya*,<sup>1</sup> *síqla najjəre*<sup>1</sup> *mən-<sup>2</sup>Amediya*,<sup>1</sup> *mən-Mòşul*,<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa mtorəşle ta-gàne*.<sup>1</sup> 'ítla *qésət gáwza*<sup>1</sup> *manpəlile qésət gáwza*<sup>1</sup> 'əşšəta<sup>1</sup> *ta-bazzíne t-odíwa qānāpāt*.<sup>1</sup> *b-ìða*,<sup>1</sup> *qānapāt*,<sup>1</sup> *mezəwāt*,<sup>1</sup> *tabliyāt*,<sup>1</sup> *dāwalīb*,<sup>1</sup> *kül-məndi wíðe*.<sup>1</sup> *qāđím qāđím har-taṭíye mşawíwala-w*<sup>1</sup> 'àtwi.<sup>1</sup> *berəşyáθa şúf y-odíwa*<sup>1</sup> *mattíwa dormadár náşe ganíwa*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: *b-léle mən-<sup>2</sup>ékele pürəya?*<sup>1</sup>

(81) *lámpe*,<sup>1</sup> *fanúse*.<sup>1</sup> *qamáye şràya*.<sup>1</sup> *qamáye şráye deşíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *deşíwa 'áyya təxin*,<sup>1</sup> *mà y-amríxla*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: *gàwza*.<sup>1</sup>

(76) They would say that it does not lose its taste at all. It keeps its taste. There were many (pots) in which the butter remained for two years. There were some (in which it remained) one year. They would put it in those pots. The *burra* was for yeast. They brought them from Dəṛəgni.<sup>12</sup> We would each buy one. Each person would have one. (77) There was a potty for young children sleeping in a cradle, in a cot. They did not urinate on themselves, but it flowed down into this (pot). We would take it, clean it and sterilize it, then put it back. It had a pipe. We set it up for a young child, we set up a joining piece, a soft joining piece. We set this up and his urine and his excrement would go down into it, into the potty. Nobody saw it, when the child was asleep. He got up and we took it and cleaned it.

(78) There was a rug, a rug of wool. Everybody had four or five. They made it out of wool. They pressed (the wool) of sheep in Spring. There were people who were specially responsible for this job. (79) Carpets, in the old days there were no carpets. We made big rugs. They made them into rolls. They twisted the wool. Many men (were needed to) make it. They made embroideries in them of black wool, triangles, they made crosses, they made flowers. We would spread them out (on the floor).

GK: Where did people sit?

(80) People sat on the ground and all around there were cushions. We laid out cushions. In recent times, carpenters have come up from Amedia and from Moşul and everybody has made (furniture) for himself. They have walnut wood. They fell the walnut wood this year to make couches next year. (They made) by hand couches, tables, side tables, wardrobes—they made everything. In the old days they would lay out only a rug and sit on it. They would make cushions of wool and laid them around for people to lean on.

GK: At night where did the light come from?

(81) Lamps, lamps. In the old days, oil lamps. In the old days they would put out oil lamps. They would put out sesame oil, what do we call it?

GK: Walnut?

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<sup>12</sup> A village between Amedia and 'En-Nune.



(82) lá 'a-t-gàwza mpaltíwa tla-'èta,<sup>1</sup> tla-'ùmra.<sup>1</sup> 'ána b-gáni là-taxrən m-áy.<sup>1</sup> bas-yámmi mtanyáwa y-amràwa<sup>1</sup> 'i-deráxwa y-oðáxwa nahíra,<sup>1</sup> tàxin,<sup>1</sup> 'a-t-šišme,<sup>1</sup> 'a-t-kù-məndi hawéwa.<sup>1</sup> deríwa gu-šráya xá-məndi hátxa zòra.<sup>1</sup> 'ína rába 'i-pešáwa.<sup>1</sup> țarníwala hátxa trána<sup>1</sup> mattíwala.<sup>1</sup> (83) 'u-talíwala zaqríwa,<sup>1</sup> xeříwa,<sup>1</sup> 'amədyána.<sup>1</sup> bar-šráye théla lámpe,<sup>1</sup> lámpeț gúda,<sup>1</sup> fanùs<sup>1</sup> y-ámri 'arabáye<sup>1</sup> 'áxni y-amráxwala lámpeț gúda 'aw-lámpeț 'iða.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən 'an-zòre.<sup>1</sup> 'i-zonəxwa<sup>1</sup> 'árba xàmša<sup>1</sup> kút-xa 'itwale.<sup>1</sup> (84) šalíwa gu-'ərwé<sup>1</sup> šalíwa tawráθa ðála.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa y-awéwale xà.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni tre-țláθa.<sup>1</sup> máttəxwala baráye gu-țarma.<sup>1</sup> tre-țláθa gu-béθa 'u-'ánna țəlye.<sup>1</sup> (85) tálí,<sup>1</sup> zaqráxwa hášye,<sup>1</sup> laqřəxwa.<sup>1</sup> nùța deráxwa.<sup>1</sup> kút-yum 'ašərtá,<sup>1</sup> sá'ət 'ərba.<sup>1</sup> kúlla-lampən y-awéwa kniše,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mrüzge<sup>1</sup> 'u-mütte,<sup>1</sup> wíde ta-malhəxwala.<sup>1</sup>

(86) 'itwalən țarma<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwa kanúna.<sup>1</sup> kanúna y-oðáxwale hátxa,<sup>1</sup> xa-kepa 'àxxa,<sup>1</sup> xa-kepa xéna 'àxxa,<sup>1</sup> 'àxxa-w<sup>1</sup> mattáxwa qəsa-w<sup>1</sup> máttəxwa tannəkká.<sup>1</sup> bázəxwa tannəkká.<sup>1</sup> tannəkká t-nùța léla.<sup>2</sup> mțábəqəxwala<sup>1</sup> bázíwale yalúnke.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattáxwa quşxəne b-rése.<sup>1</sup> (87) y-oðáxwa núra,<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwəl ma-t-rəxəθ,<sup>1</sup> garšəxla qəse,<sup>1</sup> pəšíwa pəlle,<sup>1</sup> hédi hédi bašəliwa 'ixála.<sup>1</sup> y-apəxíwa ləxma rəqqe,<sup>1</sup> y-apəxíwa zedáye gu-tanúra.<sup>1</sup> țláθa 'arbə-țuxmə ləxma y-apəxíwa.<sup>1</sup> (88) y-apəxíwa qəllòra.<sup>1</sup> xətte-roməye,<sup>1</sup> 'áni maşləxwa 'ərxə,<sup>1</sup> țaxnəxwala.<sup>1</sup> là kúlla náše.<sup>1</sup> bas-'əxni,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-bāyèwa.<sup>1</sup> šaləxwa,<sup>1</sup> maşləxwa 'an-xətte roməye.<sup>1</sup> țaxníwa y-ođíwa qámxa daqıqa y-awéwa.<sup>1</sup> (89) 'u-leşəxwale,<sup>1</sup> deráxwa xmúra gáwe<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-əpəxwale.<sup>1</sup> y-əpəxíwa ta-xlíma y-awéwa,<sup>1</sup> ta-dábşəx b-tanúra.<sup>1</sup> xánč qámxa m-əxxa,<sup>1</sup> xánč m-əxxa,<sup>1</sup> y-apəxíwala.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-rába basíma y-áwe he-b-álaha.<sup>1</sup> qəllòra,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxxe qəllòra.<sup>1</sup> (90) zedáye ləxmət xəttele.<sup>1</sup> ... prəge<sup>1</sup> prəge daqıqe,<sup>1</sup> 'əxxa hon-xzıθa prəge déri ta-tère.<sup>1</sup> ləxmət sàre.<sup>1</sup> (91) 'arbə-țuxme y-apəxíwa 'əxni.<sup>1</sup> 'itwalən xətte.<sup>1</sup> náše mšahéwa šəhiya.<sup>1</sup> y-azəliwa ləbbən<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwa,<sup>1</sup> țaxnəxwa xənč,<sup>1</sup> hátxa.<sup>1</sup> y-əpəxíwale xámka yoməne.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-kúlla b-tanúra.<sup>1</sup> léle gu-béθa.<sup>1</sup> (92) máθəlan 'áyya məθən,<sup>1</sup> 'əxni gəřtəla máθa 'En-Nüne,<sup>1</sup> 'itwalən yəpyanyəθa<sup>1</sup> tré baxtəθa,<sup>1</sup> xa-m-əy-gota,<sup>1</sup> xa-m-əy-gota.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa-w 'ax-ț-ámreníwa 'ána 'ášira diya.<sup>1</sup> (93) 'itwalən 'əxni xálti Širine<sup>1</sup> 'u-'əmti Xämme<sup>1</sup> y-apíwa ləxma.<sup>1</sup> lešíwale baxtəθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-nablíwale mattíwale rəš-tanúra.<sup>1</sup> kut-xáməwa<sup>1</sup> y-əpyəwale.<sup>1</sup> 'əp-'əyya xéta xálti Širine.<sup>1</sup>

(82) No, they extracted (the oil) of the walnut tree for the church. I myself do not remember that. But my mother used to tell me and say that we used to make lamp oil from the oil of sesame or whatever was available. They put in the oil lamp something small like this, but it stayed a long time. They twisted it (i.e. the wick of the lamp) like this and put it out. (83) They hung them up and would knit and sew, Amedia stitching (cross-stitch). After oil lamps, came (paraffin) lamps, wall lamps, *fānūs* they say in Arabic. We say wall lamps or hand lamps. There are small ones. We would buy four or five. Everybody had one. (84) People would go down (to see) the sheep (in the basement stable), they would go down when the cows were giving birth. Everybody had one. We had two or three. We put them outside in the porch. Two or three were hung in the house. (85) They hung them up and we would weave lace pieces and embroider them. We would put paraffin in them every day in the evening, at four o'clock. All our lamps were swept out, prepared and set for us to light them.

(86) We had a porch, where we set up a hearth. We made a hearth like this, one stone here, another stone here, and here. We laid wood and set up a can. We would make a hole in the can, an oil can, right? We would flatten it and the young children would make holes in it. We put cooking pots on it. (87) We made a fire. As soon as it boiled, we pulled away the wood and it became embers, and the food would cook very slowly. We would bake thin bread. We would bake flat breads in the oven. We would bake three or four types of bread. (88) We would bake *qallora*. (This was) maize seeds. We brought them down to the water-mill and ground them. Not everybody, but we did, whoever wanted to. We would go down and take the maize seed down, grind it and make it into fine flour. (89) We would knead it and put leaven in it, then baked it. We baked it when it was thick so that we could stick it onto the oven. (We put) a little flour here and a little here and baked it. This was indeed very tasty. It is called *qallora*. (90) *Žeđaye* (flat breads) are made of wheat. (There was) millet, fine millet. Here (in London) I have seen people put out millet for the birds. Barley bread. (91) We used to bake four types. We had wheat. People had an appetite (for different breads). If we felt like it, we made them. We ground a little (flour), like this. We baked for a few days. This was all in the oven, not in the house. (92) For example, this village of ours, our village of 'En-Nune was big, we had baker women. (These were) two women, one this side (of the village), one the other, each one with her tribe, as I used to say. (93) We had aunt Širine and aunt Xamme, who baked bread. The women would bake and take (the bread) and put it on the oven. She (aunt Xamme) would bake whichever (dough) had risen. Also the other one, aunt Širine.

(94) *tre-tanùre* 'íθwa *gu-màθa*.<sup>1</sup> *qamáye tre-tanùre*.<sup>1</sup> *díya kút-beθa* 'ítte *xa-tanùra*.<sup>1</sup> *hadíya lìθwa yapyanyàθa*.<sup>1</sup> *pišla máθa ràbθa*.<sup>1</sup> *dukáne* 'íθwa,<sup>1</sup> *bas-qím̄la kút-xa bnáya tanùra ta-gàne*.<sup>1</sup>

GK: *mapəlxítuwa mārzaq*?<sup>1</sup>

(95) *t̄lme*,<sup>1</sup> *lawāšē*.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni *gamrāxwa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ay-*m̄tapyàwa*.<sup>1</sup> 'áni *b-tanùre yapáxwala*,<sup>1</sup> *biš-basime y-áwa*.<sup>1</sup> 'é-gə *t̄-awéwa máθālan báwθə Nīnwāye*<sup>1</sup> *yapáxwa làzəm háwə t̄lme*.<sup>1</sup> *b-tanùra kùllən yapáxwa*.<sup>1</sup> *t̄lme mattáxxa* 'árba *xámša gràma-w*<sup>1</sup> *mārzaq*.<sup>1</sup> *gòre y-awéwa*.<sup>1</sup> *zedáye là*,<sup>1</sup> *b-'iðm*.<sup>1</sup>

### Implements

(96) *čámčē y-ođúwa t-qèsa*.<sup>1</sup> 'o-níxət *bábi y-awóðwa baxošyàθa*.<sup>1</sup> 'ína *čangále litwa*.<sup>1</sup> *čangále litwa*,<sup>1</sup> *le-y-áxləx b-čàngəl*.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni *le-y-áxləx b-skinyáθa čangále*.<sup>1</sup>

(97) *badòde*.<sup>1</sup> *baxšəxwa nùra*.<sup>1</sup>

(98) *gàzza*<sup>1</sup> *šaqłəxwa ləxma biye*<sup>1</sup> *gu-tanùra*.<sup>1</sup>

(99) *módi mxalləxwala*?<sup>1</sup> *marəxθəxwa qət̄ma*,<sup>1</sup> *y-awéwa hámmašē qət̄mət bət̄me*.<sup>1</sup>

(100) 'ánna *čámčē* 'iθ *xásət* 'ilánta *d-ánna čámčē*.<sup>1</sup> *qésət málka y-amrəxle*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-kúlla Bèrwər*<sup>1</sup> *t̄làθa dukáne* 'iθ.<sup>1</sup> *y-asəqwa bábi mbádla hal-b-léle mēθéwa xa-qətt̄ət qèsa*.<sup>1</sup> *y-atúwa wáða čámčē*.<sup>1</sup> 'ítwale *xəpro*,<sup>1</sup> 'ítwale *xəšina*.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla məndiyáne y-awóðwa*.<sup>1</sup> *y-awóðwala štrəne*,<sup>1</sup> *kúlla máθa bábi y-awóðwala čámčēy*.<sup>1</sup>

(94) There were two ovens in the village. In the old days there were two ovens. Now every house has an oven. Recently there have not been any baker women. The village has become large. There were places (for baking), but everybody has built an oven for himself.

GK: Did you use a *marzaq*?

(95) (A *marzaq* was only used for) *təlme* and *lawāše*. We would press it down and she (the baker woman) would stick it (onto the oven). We baked these in the oven, they were very delicious. When it was, for example, the (fast of) the Rogation of the Ninevites, we had to bake *təlme*. We all baked them in the oven. We would put out five or six *təlme*, rolling them out (and used) a *marzaq*. They were large. *Žedaye* no, we (made them) by hand.

### *Implements*

(96) We would make spoons out of wood. My late father made ‘stirring’ spoons. But there were no forks. There were no forks. We do not eat with forks. We do not eat with knives and forks.

(97) Pokers (*badode*)—we used to stir the fire (with them).

(98) Tongs (*gazza*)—we would pick up the bread with them in the oven.

(99) What did we clean with? We would boil ash. This was always the ash of the terebinth tree.

(100) The spoons—there is a special tree for those spoons. We call it ‘wood of the king’. In all of the Barwar region there are three places (where it grows). My father used to go up from morning until evening and bring back a piece of wood. He would sit down and make spoons. He had a trowel, he had an axe. He made everything. He made them beautiful. My father made spoons for all the village.

B11 GAMES (1)

Informant: 'Odišo 'Enwiya (Derəške)

(1) *ʔawalyàθa*<sup>1</sup> *mq̄isme-wawa*<sup>1</sup> 'àrba<sup>1</sup> *f̄iṣ̄ùl*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *lá-kulla danáne kulla ʔawalyáθa t-aθíwa*<sup>1</sup> *mʔawòle*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa *t-bèh̄er*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa *t-q̄èṭa*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa *t-č̄eri*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa *t-s̄èṭwa*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *kut-dána*<sup>1</sup> 'ítla *b-dána díya ʔawalyàθa*<sup>1</sup>. (2) *b-ʔusa šáql̄x b̄erb̄err̄ane*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *b̄erb̄err̄ane*<sup>1</sup> *mʔalila*<sup>1</sup> *gu-b̄eh̄er̄iye*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *biz-zòda*<sup>1</sup> 'aṣ̄r̄are *b-l̄èle*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *sab-b-yòma*<sup>1</sup> *yal̄unke*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni*<sup>1</sup> 'úr̄ze,<sup>1</sup> *kulla y-áwa*<sup>1</sup> *bl̄ige b-pl̄àxa*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'u-ḡúre *gu-zr̄úta*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'u-gu-*mtaróse duk̄an̄ət zr̄úta*<sup>1</sup> 'u-*xp̄àra*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *lé-y-maṣ̄i*<sup>1</sup> *mʔáli b-ε-dán*<sup>1</sup> *t-áwe yòma*<sup>1</sup>. (3) *fa-ʔáθi*<sup>1</sup> 'aṣ̄r̄ta *jámi báyi x̄amli*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *liθ telev̄zyòn*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *liθ*<sup>1</sup> *č̄ù-m̄andi*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *báyi x̄amli*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *máṭo x̄amli*<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> 'ítla *ʔawalyàθa*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *fa-ʔayya xa-ʔawálda*<sup>1</sup> 'é-ḡət<sup>1</sup> 'an-yomáθa *t-awéwa r̄aba séra*<sup>1</sup> *q̄ùwya*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *béra sp̄ày*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *xá m̄an-xaqláθa t-ila sap̄iqe*<sup>1</sup> *t-ila*<sup>1</sup> *q̄urb̄ət máθa*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *jámíwa kulla*<sup>1</sup> 'úr̄ze,<sup>1</sup> *jw̄ànqe*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *jámíwa m-ḡđáðe tàma*<sup>1</sup>. (4) *p̄eṣ̄íwa tré*<sup>1</sup> *jw̄ine*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa jw̄ína m-ḡđáðe*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ḡə *t-od̄íwa tre-jw̄ine*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *mač̄íwa máθálan*<sup>1</sup> 'ánna *tré*<sup>1</sup> *e z̄ir̄ək-ila*<sup>1</sup> *xá l-à-y-gota*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *xá l-à-y-gota*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> 'an-*tré*<sup>1</sup> *e biš-xač̄ča z̄àbun-ila*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *xá l-à-y-gota*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *xá l-à-y-gota*<sup>1</sup>. (5) 'ánna *biš-zòrela*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *xá l-à-y-gota*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *xá l-à-y-gota*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-awéwa*<sup>1</sup> 'án-*tre*<sup>1</sup> *jw̄ine*<sup>1</sup> *q̄úwye dax-ḡđáðe*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-lá-p̄eṣ̄íwa xa-z̄àbun*<sup>1</sup> *xa-q̄ùwya*<sup>1</sup>. (6) *xàr̄θa*<sup>1</sup> *t-awđíwa*<sup>1</sup> *deríwa xà-képa gu-ʔid̄é*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *mattíwale báθər x̄àša*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *maq̄əlbiwale l-áy-gota x̄èta*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> 'o-*gorə*<sup>1</sup> *d-àwwa jw̄ína*<sup>1</sup> *m̄baq̄ərwa m̄an-d-áwwa jw̄ína x̄èna*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ènile képa*<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> 'an-*ðile képa*<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ènile*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'áni *p̄álṭi qam-tàra*<sup>1</sup>. (7) 'an-*t-léla ðiye*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'an-*t-ila xs̄ire*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *p̄eṣ̄i gawáye*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> *gawáye dáwqi xa-d̄ükθa*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *xá t-amr̄əxl̄e*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *dax-t-amr̄ile giša*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'áw *xa-d̄ükθa*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *xa-q̄èsa*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *dawq̄ile*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *kále qáme ðiye*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna-*t p̄álṭi*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> *t-árqi r̄əḥqa*<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 'an-*t-ila q̄rime*<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup> 'an-*t-ila*<sup>1</sup> *mq̄ürme*<sup>1</sup> *p̄eṣ̄i gawáye*<sup>1</sup>.

## B11 GAMES (1)

Informant: 'Odišo 'Ānwiya (Dērāške)

(1) Games were divided into four seasons. All games would not be played at all times. There were those of Spring, there were those of Summer, there were those of Autumn and there were those of Winter. Every season had its games. (2) For example, let's take *bərbərrane*. They would play *bərbərrane* in Spring, mostly in the evening, at night, since in the day the young people, that is the boys, were all busy with work, and the men were (busy with) cultivating, constructing the places for cultivation and digging. They could not play during the daytime. (3) They would come in the evening and gather together wanting to have fun. There was no television, there was nothing. They wanted to have fun. How did they have fun? They had games. This was one game, on days when the moon was very bright, the light was good, in one of the fields that were empty, which were near to the village, all the men and youngsters gathered together. (4) They formed into two sides, each side (playing) together. When they made two teams, they would find, for example, that these two people are strong (and would put) one on one side and one on the other.<sup>1</sup> (They would find) that these two were rather weaker (than the others), (so they would put) one on one side and one on the other. (5) (They would find) that these were younger (than the others), (so they would put) one on one side and one on the other. (This was) so that the two teams would be equal in strength, so that one was not weak and the other strong. (6) Then they would put a stone in their hands. They would put it behind their back and turn the stone in the other direction (away from the other team). The leader of this team would ask the other team 'In which (hand) is the stone?' If somebody knew in which one the stone was, they went outside. (7) Those who did not know, those who lost, remained inside. Inside they occupied a place, a place which we call 'a target', as they say. This was a place or piece of wood which they took hold of and stood in front of it. Those who went away, those who won, would run away. Those who lost remained inside.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. to balance the teams.

(8) *t-ázi ta-t-máxi 'idéy l-d-ánàha. kút qítle 'ide díye b-o-xèna<sup>1</sup> b-o-t-íle qam-tàra,<sup>1</sup> 'áw nàpəl,<sup>1</sup> 'áw pɹìqle m-tawáta,<sup>1</sup> qídle. bás 'ánàha t-íla qam-tàra,<sup>1</sup> kú mənna t-íle pláta mən-gawàye,<sup>1</sup> pláta la-qam-tàra,<sup>1</sup> t-áthe qàme qáme díye,<sup>1</sup> t-árəq qáme qáme díye,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa qəm-qǎtèle,<sup>1</sup> pɹìqle<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áwwa<sup>1</sup> m-an-t-íla gawàye.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'áwwa màyaθ.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ap-'áwwa pàraq<sup>1</sup> dáwre díye.<sup>1</sup> (9) 'ən-kúlla qəm-maxíla bərrèy<sup>1</sup> 'áw qəm-dawqíle 'o-qésa t-íle be-pàlga,<sup>1</sup> θèla<sup>1</sup> xá mən-d-ánna t-íla qam-tàra,<sup>1</sup> théle qəm-dawòqle,<sup>1</sup> xsírra 'an-gawáye.<sup>1</sup> xá-ga xéta pǎlti 'ánàha,<sup>1</sup> 'áni pési qam-tàra<sup>1</sup> 'an-xéne pési gawàye.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là xsírrey<sup>1</sup> 'ánna-t qɹimla<sup>1</sup> mšaxəlpɹi.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-íla qam-tàra t-áθi gawàye,<sup>1</sup> 'an-gawáye pǎlti qam-tàra.<sup>1</sup> lá mǎrixəxla gu-bərràne.<sup>1</sup>*

(10) 'iθən<sup>1</sup> ràbe<sup>1</sup> tawalyàθa,<sup>1</sup> ta-t nǎfilux.<sup>1</sup> 'iθən šàqqa.<sup>1</sup> šàqqa<sup>1</sup> biš-rába mǎlila b-yòma.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya tawáta là-barya b-léle.<sup>1</sup> w-ánna<sup>1</sup> 'áyya tawáta<sup>1</sup> mǎlila čèrye,<sup>1</sup> 'é-gə t-àwe<sup>1</sup> lùθ tálga,<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-àwe payùxta<sup>1</sup> dúnye lá raba-xamimta,<sup>1</sup> la-šaxinta raba,<sup>1</sup> mǎlila šàqqa.<sup>1</sup> (11) gùttela<sup>1</sup> 'u-qésa.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-'ánna pési trè jwíne.<sup>1</sup> xa-jwína<sup>1</sup> gawàye,<sup>1</sup> xá<sup>1</sup> qam-tàra.<sup>1</sup> xákma t-àθi<sup>1</sup> t-yáwi gùtta.<sup>1</sup> 'an-t-íla yáwa gùtta<sup>1</sup> 'áni gawàye,<sup>1</sup> 'an-xéna qam-tàra.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa maxéla b-qésa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna t-íla gawàye<sup>1</sup> plitela qam-gùtta.<sup>1</sup> har-θéla gùtta,<sup>1</sup> hár qəm-dawqíla gùtta,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna xéne xsírra.<sup>1</sup> mšaxəlpɹi,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna šəp-d-ánna.<sup>1</sup>

(12) 'áp-'áyya tawáta 'iθwa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθena<sup>1</sup> tawáltət<sup>1</sup> tšš-šš.<sup>1</sup> 'áy tawáltət sətwele.<sup>1</sup> sətwa baṭile-wəwa náše.<sup>1</sup> 'i-jámi l-gǎðe.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'áni pési tre-jwíne.<sup>1</sup> (13) xa-jwína<sup>1</sup> kále qam-xa-qésa gòra,<sup>1</sup> xa-'ilánta,<sup>1</sup> tùθa,<sup>1</sup> məndi.<sup>1</sup> kále táma 'ay-dükθa,<sup>1</sup> gišela.<sup>1</sup> 'an-xéne pǎlti mǎši ganèy.<sup>1</sup> mǎši ganéy gu-màθa.<sup>1</sup> mǎθela.<sup>1</sup> xá gu-d-aw-gòma,<sup>1</sup> xá d-ε-dükθa,<sup>1</sup> xá qam-d-áwwa bəθa.<sup>1</sup> mǎši.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'an-xéne pǎlti tǎyi bàθra.<sup>1</sup> hár qəm-xazèle,<sup>1</sup> lázəm maxéle 'ída 'əlle.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là-mxele 'ide-lle,<sup>1</sup> w-áwwa théle dwíqle 'o-qésa t-íle dúkθət mǎtawáta,<sup>1</sup> xàsri.<sup>1</sup> xá-ga xéta.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya tawáta-ži<sup>1</sup> raba mǎlívála<sup>1</sup> gu-maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'amríla xa-šemma xèna,<sup>1</sup> pùq-əlli.<sup>1</sup> tǎppu.<sup>1</sup> tǎppu,<sup>1</sup> tšš-šš,<sup>1</sup> 'áni kúlla<sup>1</sup> har-xà tawáltela.<sup>1</sup>

(8) They go and strike the others with their hand. If one touches one of the others, one who is outside, he (the one who is outside) falls, he is finished with the game, he is out.<sup>2</sup> But those who are outside come in front of those who have come out from inside, come out to the outside, running in front of them and anybody whom they cut off from among those from inside is also finished, he also 'dies'. That is also his turn has finished. (9) If they break up all their group or seize the piece of wood that is in the middle, if one of those who are outside comes and seizes it, those inside lose. Again those go out, they remain outside and the others remain inside. If they do not lose, the ones that win change (place). The ones that are outside come inside and the ones inside go outside. We shall not dwell longer on (the game) *bərrane*.

(10) There are many games for you to enjoy.<sup>3</sup> There is (the game) *šaqqa*. They mostly play *šaqqa* in the daytime. This game is not possible at night. They play this game in the Autumn. When there is no snow, but it is cool and it is not very hot, not very warm, they play *šaqqa*. (11) It consists of a ball and a stick. They again form two teams, one team inside and one outside. Some come to bowl the ball. The ones who bowl the ball are inside, the others are outside. One (from outside) strikes (the ball) with the stick and the ones who are inside go out after the ball. As soon as the ball comes back and they catch the ball, the others have lost. They change places with each other.

(12) There was also this game. There is the game of 'hide-and-peek'. This is a game for the winter. In winter people were unoccupied. They gathered together. They also formed into two teams. (13) One team stands in front of a big stick, a tree, a mulberry or something. It stands there in that place, it is the target. The others go out and hide. They hide in the village. It is a village (where they live). One in that basement, one in that place, one in front of this house. They hide. (14) The others go looking for them. As soon as one sees somebody, he must strike him with his hand. If he does not strike him with his hand and he comes and holds the stick which is the place of the game, they lose. Then (they play) again. They play this game a lot in the villages. They call it by another name *puq-əlli* and *tappu*. *Ṭappu* and *tūš-tūšo*, these are all the same game.

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<sup>2</sup> Literally: burnt.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: to benefit you.



(15) 'iθn<sup>1</sup> xá-*ṭawalta* xèta,<sup>1</sup> har-*sàtwela*<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>àyya.<sup>1</sup> šwára baràne.<sup>1</sup> xá kále hàtxa.<sup>1</sup> 'up-xéna làxxa,<sup>1</sup> 'up-xèna<sup>1</sup> báθar gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> ṭ-áthe xa-mən-d-àнна,<sup>1</sup> 'o-ṭ-ile mṭawòle.<sup>1</sup> šawórre 'àwewa,<sup>1</sup> šáwər 'up-o-xèna,<sup>1</sup> šáwər 'up-o-xèna.<sup>1</sup> 'áwewa qáyəm šáwər<sup>1</sup> bàθre.<sup>1</sup> (16) 'áyya ṭawáлта<sup>1</sup> y-àwða<sup>1</sup> šaxinùθa.<sup>1</sup> náša qàrθe y-áwewa,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-ṭ-áwe jwàjta,<sup>1</sup> b-šaxən.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya ṭawáлта mṭalíwala rába b-sàtwə,<sup>1</sup> 'e-gə ṭ-áwe tálga,<sup>1</sup> š-garāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> ṭàb'an,<sup>1</sup> gu-<sup>2</sup>ayya-maθèni<sup>1</sup> 'ìwaba<sup>1</sup> xamsšəssər<sup>1</sup> 'əsrì-bate,<sup>1</sup> kúlla xa-gàre,<sup>1</sup> kúlla dbíše l-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>an-báte xáthe t-wáwa bənyalla<sup>1</sup> 'áni rəhqeewa mən-d-áwewa tájəmmu.<sup>1</sup> bas-<sup>2</sup>áwewa gàre<sup>1</sup> mṭalíwa rəše díye ṭawalyàθa<sup>1</sup> muxtáləf.<sup>1</sup>

(17) 'u-šúta,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>ayya šúta ṭawáлта<sup>1</sup> sàtwela.<sup>1</sup> sáb baṭilúθa biš-ràba<sup>1</sup> liθwa šuláne ràba.<sup>1</sup> šúta<sup>1</sup> qèsele,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ibe xa<sup>1</sup> xámša 'əšta santimètre<sup>1</sup> ramúθe díye.<sup>1</sup> 'áthe maxrópe,<sup>1</sup> rəše díye xarúpa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-hàtxa,<sup>1</sup> ba'dén pəθya 'áltəx.<sup>1</sup> gu-rəše díye máxi bəzmàra.<sup>1</sup> bəzmàra 'ap-<sup>2</sup>aw glòla y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> (18) xāðíle čənnəkére díye gədda.<sup>1</sup> doqíla b-ìða.<sup>1</sup> mrapíla,<sup>1</sup> garšíle gədda,<sup>1</sup> yàha<sup>1</sup> mazrèta<sup>1</sup> 'i-pàtla.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>ayya<sup>1</sup> mṭalíwala.<sup>1</sup> šúta,<sup>1</sup> mazrèta,<sup>1</sup> 'iθn biš-raba mən-xá šəmma,<sup>1</sup> qa-d-àyya ṭawáлта.<sup>1</sup> mazrèta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-šúta,<sup>1</sup> čənnàra.<sup>1</sup> 'áx-t-y-amrítula čənnàra,<sup>1</sup> 'áxni y-amróxwala šúta.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni gu-Bèrwər<sup>1</sup> šúta biš mapəlxəxwa.<sup>1</sup>

(19) 'u-hár b-sàtwə<sup>1</sup> mṭalíwa b-tābàlle.<sup>1</sup> 'áp yále zòre,<sup>1</sup> 'əsrì-šənne,<sup>1</sup> 'əsrì-w-xamsā-šənne,<sup>1</sup> hal-d-áwewa 'ūmur<sup>1</sup> mṭalíwa b-tābàlle.<sup>1</sup> (20) tebálla 'ile xa-šúša.<sup>1</sup> mən-šúšele.<sup>1</sup> glòlele.<sup>1</sup> zòrele.<sup>1</sup> mṭalíla.<sup>1</sup> 'iθn ṭawalyàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'iθn mätti<sup>1</sup> kəttàθa.<sup>1</sup> máθálan 'ána xà'a,<sup>1</sup> 'áti xà'a,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-xéna xà'a,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mónnən máttu kəməwəx muštārəkín.<sup>1</sup> xámša,<sup>1</sup> 'əšya,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mónnən máttu ðà'a.<sup>1</sup> (21) xàrθa<sup>1</sup> ṭ-àzəx<sup>1</sup> ṭ-óðəx 'əttəfāq<sup>1</sup> l-xa-trè mètre.<sup>1</sup> mən-táma dərəx.<sup>1</sup> dərəx tābàlla,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mónnən xà'a báθar d-o-xèna.<sup>1</sup> 'ayya-béna gàrrile<sup>1</sup> 'a-béna xéta gàrrux-ile,<sup>1</sup> 'a-béna gárrə d-àw,<sup>1</sup> kut-dána gárrət xà'a.<sup>1</sup> mən-táma dərəx.<sup>1</sup> (22) 'o-qamàya,<sup>1</sup> 'ən-qítlux ðá mən-d-àнна,<sup>1</sup> 'áti mṭálat,<sup>1</sup> har-ṭawáлта diyux-ila.<sup>1</sup> kut-qəyəθ,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ána drèli,<sup>1</sup> qítli,<sup>1</sup> 'áw šaqłənne.<sup>1</sup> 'u-har-dérən b-xèta,<sup>1</sup> dərən b-xèta.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-<sup>2</sup>axlənna kúlla,<sup>1</sup> prìqla ṭawáлта.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'an-tābàlle b-šaqłənna dərənna gu-jèbi.<sup>1</sup>

(15) There is another game, which is also (played) only in winter: *šwara barane* ('jumping the rams').<sup>4</sup> Somebody stands like this and another here, and another, behind each other. One of them comes, one who is playing. He jumps over this one, jumps over also the other, jumps over also the other. This one stands up and jumps over the one after him. (16) This game warms you up.<sup>5</sup> A person who is cold warms up if he moves. They play this game a lot in the winter, when there is snow, on top of the roofs. Of course, in our village there were fifteen or twenty houses, all with one roof, all joined together. The new houses that they have built are far away from this group. They used to play various games on top of this roof.

(17) *Šuta*—also *šuta* is a winter game. (This is) because there was a lot of free time, there were not many jobs. A *šuta* is a wooden stick, which is five or six centimetres in height. It is sharpened, its end is sharp and broad at the bottom. In its end they put a nail. The nail is round. (18) They wind a thread around it. They grasp it in the hand and let it go, pulling the thread—this (is also called) *mazreta*—it turns round. They play also this. *Šuta*, *mazreta*, there is more than one name for this game: *mazreta*, *šuta*, *čnnara*. Whereas you<sup>6</sup> call it *čnnara*, we call it *šuta*. In Barwar we mainly use (the name) *šuta*.

(19) In winter they played marbles, young children, (young people) twenty years old, twenty-five years old, up to such an age people would play marbles. (20) A marble is a glass (ball), it is made of glass. It is round. It is small. They play with it. There are various games. There is (the game) of putting down odd numbers. For example, I am one, you are one, another is one. Each of us puts down however many we are who are participating, five, ten. Each of us puts down one. (21) Then we go and make an agreement on one or two metres, from where we shall shoot. We shoot a marble, each one of us one after the other. This time it is my turn. Next time it is your turn. Then it is his turn. Each time it is somebody's turn. We shoot from there. (22) (If you are) the first one and if you hit one of the others, you (continue to) play, the game is yours. Everyone who hits—that is if I have shot and hit, I take it and shoot against another and shoot against another. If I eliminate<sup>7</sup> them all, the game is over. I take all the marbles and put them in my pocket.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. a game similar to leap frog.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: makes warmth.

<sup>6</sup> Addressing people in the room from other villages.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: eat.

(23) 'u-xá-bena xéta mättexi.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-là-qitli,<sup>1</sup> kálən xa-gòta.<sup>1</sup> kúlla dèri.<sup>1</sup> 'm-<sup>2</sup>áp-xa mánnna la-qítte mən-d-ánna tre-mètre,<sup>1</sup> mšǎre 'o-qamàya t-íle-dórya mən-d-ánna tré-metre bən-d-ánna kǎttàθa<sup>1</sup> dráya mən-qúrba.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>aw,<sup>1</sup> 'm-maxéla,<sup>1</sup> kut-maxéla šaqəlla.<sup>1</sup> kut-maxéla šaqəlla.<sup>1</sup> (24) xàrθa<sup>1</sup> 'ən 'an-t-íla qúrbi qúrbi,<sup>1</sup> mǎšən<sup>1</sup> har-qitli bíya,<sup>1</sup> mxéle tābállì tābállè,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-plitè m-tawálta,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-xširre,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-plitè m-tawálta.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya xà-*tawálta*.<sup>1</sup> (25) 'íθ xá *tawálta* xéta t-amríwala 'órta.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *tawálta* xàθtela θíθa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa<sup>1</sup> 'ax-muθàllaθ-íle.<sup>1</sup> t-láθa gòše.<sup>1</sup> 'àwwa<sup>1</sup> mattíwa kút-xa<sup>1</sup> kəmà tābállè<sup>1</sup> 'ána-w 'àti-w<sup>1</sup> 'Awíya-w<sup>1</sup> Rábbi Dàwið-u<sup>1</sup> 'Andrìwus,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mǎnnən t-amrəx máttəx t-láθa t-láθa tebálle.<sup>1</sup> (26) t-láθa t-láθa mattəxla gu-d-áyya,<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áwwa 'órta,<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-ázəx mən-rəhqa dərəx.<sup>1</sup> dərəx,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mǎnnən dère,<sup>1</sup> kút mpulátle xa-tābállà t-áθe dère xa-xèna.<sup>1</sup> mpalátle m-gu-d-áwwa<sup>1</sup> muθàllaθ.<sup>1</sup> hal-<sup>2</sup>égət kəma mpáltəx<sup>1</sup> šəqləx.<sup>1</sup> (27) 'u-<sup>2</sup>égət t-áwe xá mǎnnéni qúrba d-o-xèna,<sup>1</sup> har-maxənnè<sup>1</sup> tābállì l-tābállè dīye,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-mítte,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-prìgle,<sup>1</sup> 'aw-xširre.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ən mpulátle mən-d-ánna tābállè t-íla gu-d-áwwa muθàllaθ,<sup>1</sup> 'áni qarmənnna,<sup>1</sup> dərənnna gu-jèbi.<sup>1</sup>

(28) 'íθwa *tawalyáθa xéne*<sup>1</sup> munəšyən.<sup>1</sup> har-<sup>2</sup>áp-<sup>2</sup>ani har-tābállà,<sup>1</sup> bas-munəšyən díya.<sup>1</sup> hà,<sup>1</sup> 'atkòre.<sup>1</sup> xá çàle<sup>1</sup> 'amùqta,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>əy<sup>1</sup> mättexi<sup>1</sup> xá-tre métre rəhqa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kút dère<sup>1</sup> mən-táma l-tàma<sup>1</sup> 'éni dèrele gu-d-ay-çàle,<sup>1</sup> 'àw<sup>1</sup> b-qàrm.<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-awíði 'əttəfəq.<sup>1</sup> máθálan 'ána šlèli gu-d-ay-çàle<sup>1</sup> qám xa-d-an-xène<sup>1</sup> kút-xa mó nna yawó lli xá tebállà.<sup>1</sup>

(29) dùdu.<sup>1</sup> dùdu *tawáltət sətwe*la.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni l-garāwàθa biš-rába mṭalíwala,<sup>1</sup> l-garāwàθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ayya xá<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kále l-pálga-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá máxe l-ğəðàðe.<sup>1</sup> 'íθən maθwáθa máθálan lītla gáre góra dax-dərəškənye.<sup>1</sup> (30) 'ítla xo-tùθa,<sup>1</sup> 'ítla túθa çúwa.<sup>1</sup> ða-dúkθa xo-gàwza.<sup>1</sup> 'ítla qam-<sup>2</sup>ümra.<sup>1</sup> 'íθ dükθa,<sup>1</sup> pròrtela,<sup>1</sup> máši mṭàli gáwa,<sup>1</sup> dāštela,<sup>1</sup> máši mṭàli gáwa.<sup>1</sup> (31) sab-maθwáθa gu-Bérwəx tūwela<sup>1</sup> gu-turàne,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni dukáne līθən rába dášta qamèni,<sup>1</sup> dax-t-íla dáštət Mòsul,<sup>1</sup> dax-t-íla daštáθa xène.<sup>1</sup>

(23) Then we put down (marbles) again. If I do not strike, I stand on one side. Everybody shoots. If none of them strikes from two metres, the first to shoot from two metres among those odd numbers<sup>8</sup> begins shooting from close up. If he hits them, again he takes each one that he hits. Each one that he hits he takes. (24) Finally, if I am able to hit those who are very near me and my marble hits their marbles, he leaves the game, he has lost, he has leaves the game. This is one game. (25) There is another game, which is called *'orta*. This game has been introduced recently. There was something like a triangle, with three corners. They would each put down a few marbles. I and you, Awiya, Rabbi Dawid and Adrius, each of us puts down, let's say, three marbles. (26) We put each down three in this *'orta* and go to a distance to shoot. We shoot. Each of us shoots. Whoever dislodges a marble comes back to shoot another one. (Whoever) dislodges it from this triangle. We take however many we dislodge. (27) When one of us is near to the other, I strike my marble against his marble and he dies, he is finished, he has lost. If I have dislodged the marbles that are in the triangle, I win them and put them in my pocket.

(28) There were other games, which I have forgotten. They also are for marbles, but I have forgotten them now. Ah, yes, *'atkore*. We make a deep hole one or two metres away. Each one shoots, from here to there. Whoever shoots into that hole wins. They make an agreement, for example I have gone down into that hole before the others, so each of them gives me a marble.

(29) *Dudu*—*dudu* was a winter game. They played it mainly on the roofs. In this one also one stands in the middle and the players strike one another. There are villages that do not have a large roof like the people of Deraške. (30) They have (the space) under a mulberry, they have the smooth mulberry. There is a space under a walnut tree. They have a place in front of the church. There is a place (in other villages) that is open, in which they can play, which is an open field, in which they can play. (31) This is because the villages in Barwar are situated in the mountains, so there are not many places with open fields that are available for us, as is the case with the plain of Moşul, and the other plains.

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<sup>8</sup> I.e. the players who have put down a single marble each.

(32) *matəxrúli tawalyáθa xène.<sup>1</sup> 'íθən qèta<sup>1</sup> xa-túxmət spòrt,<sup>1</sup> t-riyàða,<sup>1</sup> bàni<sup>1</sup> 'ítlən xa-nèra,<sup>1</sup> nérət Bè-xelape t-amrúle.<sup>1</sup> 'i-náwe mən-Bèdo<sup>1</sup> 'u-'Òra,<sup>1</sup> y-áθe gáwa-gawət Màyə,<sup>1</sup> 'u-Deràðske,<sup>1</sup> 'En-Nune-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-sále l-'Ïyyət,<sup>1</sup> 'u-Bəšmiyàye-w<sup>1</sup> Tərwànəð,<sup>1</sup> 'an-màθwaθət<sup>1</sup> Sèra-w<sup>1</sup> Serdàšte-w<sup>1</sup> hál sále gu-Žàwa.<sup>1</sup> (33) béna kut-màθa<sup>1</sup> muqábəl-t maθèy<sup>1</sup> šalıwa<sup>1</sup> banüwa<sup>1</sup> gùda<sup>1</sup> gu-d-ó nèra,<sup>1</sup> páyəsüwa dax-gàrra.<sup>1</sup> kúlley yalúnkət máθa šalıwa saxüwa gu-d-aw-gàrra,<sup>1</sup> b-qèta 'áyya.<sup>1</sup> (34) qéta xèmma y-awéwa rába<sup>1</sup> dān-t pàlgət yóma,<sup>1</sup> kawùθra,<sup>1</sup> t-xädàya<sup>1</sup> dax-t-ámri nāš-díyən qəmθa.<sup>1</sup> xädàya,<sup>1</sup> kawùθra díya xàθtəla.<sup>1</sup> 'e-dàna<sup>1</sup> y-axlüwa xädàya<sup>1</sup> 'u-šalıwa š-míya,<sup>1</sup> š-nèra,<sup>1</sup> saxüwa tàma.<sup>1</sup> (35) xamlüwa 'an-yalúnke tàma<sup>1</sup> xa-trè-sa'əte<sup>1</sup> t̩l̩a-sa'əte<sup>1</sup> ta-t-athüwa t-azüwa qam-tàwre,<sup>1</sup> t-azüwa qam-'ərwe.<sup>1</sup> šulánət 'itwaley,<sup>1</sup> xzàda,<sup>1</sup> küll-xa-məndi.<sup>1</sup> t-azüwa mən-tàma hódəx wáða šulanèy<sup>1</sup> báθər t-athüwa m-š-míya.<sup>1</sup> pešáwa biš-payüxta.<sup>1</sup>*

(32) Remind me of other games. In summer there is a kind of sport, they built—we have a river, it is called the river Be-xelape. It springs from Bedo and Ora, flows through Maye, D̄er̄əṣke, ʾĒn-Nune and goes down to ʾIyyət, Bəṣmiyaye, Ṭərwanəṣ, the villages of S̄era and S̄erdašte, until it goes down into the Zab. (33) Now, in every village, people would go down and build a wall in the river opposite their village and it would become like a pool. All the young people of the village would go down and swim in that pool. This was in summer. (34) In summer it was very hot at midday, the time of lunch, the time of *xādaya* (lunch) as our people used to say in the old days—*xādaya*, (the word) *kawuθra* is now new. At that time (midday) they would eat lunch and go down to the water, to the river and swim there. (35) The young people would enjoy themselves there for one, two, three hours, until they went back to tend to the oxen and tend to the sheep. The jobs that they had include harvesting, and so forth. They would go on from there to do their jobs, after leaving the water. (By then) it was cooler.

## B12 GAMES (2)

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

### *Girls' Hide and Seek*

(1) dawqíwa bnáθa b-<sup>2</sup>íðæt gðáðe hátxa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni ràbe doqíwa,<sup>1</sup> ða-dwíqta 'íðə d-a-xèta.<sup>1</sup> béna xa-bòyele,<sup>1</sup> lèla.<sup>2</sup> xaðrìwa.<sup>1</sup> tárte maxáwa ða-<sup>2</sup>íða<sup>1</sup> l-ε-xèta,<sup>1</sup> t-arqàwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ímət maxéla 'íða díya l-áyya<sup>1</sup> t-àrqa,<sup>1</sup> t-ávra gu-d-o-bòya.<sup>1</sup> (2) pálta m-áxxa t-áza tāmàha,<sup>1</sup> t-áza tāmàha.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya xéta lázəm bàra háwya.<sup>1</sup> kút-dukθa 'áza 'ávra<sup>1</sup> 'áp 'ayya-xéta bàra lázəm háwya.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-xliṭla,<sup>1</sup> 'áy t-yàtwa.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'ay-ṭawálta mṭalíwala qa-gòxka.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Hat Game*

(3) 'íθwa mṭalíwa 'úrze<sup>1</sup> kosíθa.<sup>1</sup> mattíwala l-<sup>2</sup>ára<sup>1</sup> 'u-mṭalíwa 'àqla bíya díya.<sup>1</sup> hadíya 'àna<sup>1</sup> 'íli kosíθa múttəlla l-<sup>2</sup>ára,<sup>1</sup> 'áti t-áθeti ta-t-maxətla<sup>1</sup> 'áqlux 'əlla díya,<sup>1</sup> máxən 'íði 'əllux.<sup>1</sup> 'àti máttət kosíθux l-<sup>2</sup>ára.<sup>1</sup> hátxa mṭalíwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni gu-tàlga.<sup>1</sup>

B12 GAMES (2)

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

*Girls' Hide and Seek*

(1) The girls held each other's hand like this. Many held (hands), one holding the hand of the other. Now, there is a hole, you see. They would go round. Two girls would strike the hand of one another and one would run off. When they struck her hand, she would run off and enter into the hole. (2) Then she would come out and go elsewhere and then go to some other place. The other girl has to follow after her. Every place that she goes to and enters, the other has to follow after her. If she makes a mistake (and enters the wrong place), she sits down. They play this game for fun.

*The Hat Game*

(3) Men sometimes played with a hat. They put it on the ground and played with it with their feet. Now, (suppose) I have a hat which I have put on the ground, you would come to strike it with your foot, then I strike you with my hand. Then you put your hat on the ground. They would play like that, in the snow.



B13 GAMES (3)

Informant: Nawiya 'Odišo (Dure)

(1) 'íθwa rába tawalyáθa 'ímə-t-íxwa zóre mʔaləxwa.<sup>1</sup> mattáxwale képa šaxina.<sup>1</sup> gu-núra xayəmwə.<sup>1</sup> mʔašəxwa 'əna<sup>1</sup> xazəxwa 'əni xazéwale.<sup>1</sup> képa zadəxwale,<sup>1</sup> šarəxwa t̥əy̥a,<sup>1</sup> xìya-wewə,<sup>1</sup> hal-xazəxwale 'o-kəpa<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-amrəxwa hóle xzèli.<sup>1</sup>

(2) 'íθwalən δa-tawálda xəta,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwala tawálda šəmmánət 'əzəza.<sup>1</sup> t-áwəðəx hənna<sup>1</sup> t̥ərpe<sup>1</sup> 'u-xázəx 'əni kəyəp.<sup>1</sup> xa-béna xa-mattúle šəmmə,<sup>1</sup> xá-məndi mən-'əzəza,<sup>1</sup> qàna,<sup>1</sup> nəθa,<sup>1</sup> kàsa.<sup>1</sup> šəwə<sup>1</sup> t-ámər mòdi.<sup>2</sup> nəθa.<sup>2</sup> lá ləle náθa.<sup>1</sup> mòdi?<sup>2</sup> t-ámər pùmma.<sup>2</sup> hé ðilux.<sup>1</sup> 'əti pùmma.<sup>1</sup> háyyo kúp 'o-béna 'əti.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya δa-tawálda xətəla.<sup>1</sup>

B13 GAMES (3)

Informant: Nawiya 'Odišo (Dure)

(1) There were many games when we used to play as youngsters. We used to place a warm stone (on the ground). It heated in a fire. We would hide our eyes and we would see who could find it. We threw the stone and started looking for it—it was dark—until we found the stone and (one of) us would say 'Here, I have found it!'

(2) There was another game called the game of the names of the goat. We would do something, (a draw of lots with) leaves, and see who would bend down (like a goat). Then somebody would give him his name, some part of a goat—horn, ear, stomach. He would jump and say 'What (is my name)?' (Somebody would say) 'Ear?' 'No, it is not "Ear". What is it?' (Somebody says) 'Mouth?' 'Yes, you are right'. 'You are "Mouth"' 'you come and bend over'. This was another game.

B14 LIFE IN DURE (2)

Informant: Nawiya 'Odišo (Dure)

*jajək*

(1) *jəjək*<sup>1</sup> 'áyya másta *la-qəm-daríla gu-d-aw-gùða*,<sup>1</sup> *qəm-daríla 'an-dáwwə heš-t-là bráza*,<sup>1</sup> *xánci t-la-bráza mēθíwa xa-gállá y-amríle sàrmo*.<sup>1</sup> *nasríwale 'u-xoříwale*<sup>1</sup> *deríwale gu-juwíθa mřamrívale*,<sup>1</sup> *réša xtàya*,<sup>1</sup> *mattíwa čngórta gu-réše díye*,<sup>1</sup> *řarpət tùθa*<sup>1</sup> *yan-tèna*.<sup>1</sup> *xǎđíwala řina*,<sup>1</sup> *řamrívale*.<sup>1</sup> *bar-píříwale sátwa mpalříwale*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-téma basíma*,<sup>1</sup> *rába basíma*.<sup>1</sup>

*The Church of Mar Gwírgis*

(2) 'áwwa šímme díye 'íle... šímme goriye-t-xéle *Màr-Gwírgis-ile 'aw-'úmra*.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-bányele *m-jálde 'atíqa*.<sup>1</sup> *qámθa 'áyya semálta xzáyət-əlla ř-íla bára díya*,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *semálta 'íwa gawáye lāxxa*.<sup>1</sup> *qámθa y-aθíwa náše y-oríwa m-àxxa y-asqíwa*<sup>1</sup> *m-àxxa y-asqíwa t-gàre*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-áwwa 'úmra*.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'íθwale *gùða*.<sup>1</sup> *ř-orátwa gu-gùða*.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *gùða*,<sup>1</sup> *bálki 'aθéwa náše*,<sup>1</sup> *qačāxe*,<sup>1</sup> *mèndi*,<sup>1</sup> *t-la-xazíwala t-lá deríwa-'əbba qatříwa*<sup>1</sup> *t-la-áwriwa gnáwa 'úmra*.<sup>1</sup>

(4) 'áwwa *tára ř-orátwa gu-d-ay-màðbəh*!<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa 'íla šxínta.<sup>1</sup> *ř-orət šxínta*<sup>1</sup> *táma y-awđíwa qurbána gáwa*,<sup>1</sup> *paltíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *gawáye líθwa kursíye*.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla kəlye-waawa*.<sup>1</sup> (5) *kúlla 'árdə díye*<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa 'úmra *bányə-wewa mən-gawáye díye*,<sup>1</sup> *ř-orátte mzanğəřwa qála*.<sup>1</sup> *sab-'áwwa*<sup>1</sup> *gáwe díye qəřrewa*,<sup>1</sup> *hátxa*,<sup>1</sup> *glòla*.<sup>1</sup> *glòla-wewa*<sup>1</sup> 'u-gáwe *díye kúlla sulíne*.<sup>1</sup> 'áni *ta-mòdi-waawa*?<sup>1</sup> *ta-ř-áwəð řáđət qála*.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'árde *díye kúlla képe góre pəřše*.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Nawiya 'Odišo (Dure)

*Jajak*

(1) *Jajak*—When they have put the yoghurt in the churn and have poured out the *dawwe* while it is not yet dry, shortly before it becomes dry, they would fetch a herb called *sarmo*. They chopped it up and mixed it (with the yoghurt). they put it in a clay pot and buried upside down. They put a cloth over its mouth or mulberry leaves or fig leaves. They would put earth around it and bury it. When it was winter, they would take it out. (It had) a very delicious taste.

*The Church of Mar Gwirgis*

(*The informant is describing a model of the church which is in front of him*)

(2) The name of that church is—(may my life be) a redemption for his power—Saint George. It was built in very ancient times. In the old days (there was) this ladder, which you see here behind it, and this ladder was inside, here. In the old days people would come and enter from here, going up from here to the roof, into the church. (3) It had a wall. You can enter into the wall. Perhaps people, brigands or something, would come and this wall was there so that they would not find people and shoot them and kill them, then enter and rob the church.

(4) (Through) this door you would enter into (the sanctuary of) the altar—here is the altar. You would go into (the sanctuary of) the altar. There they would take communion and then come out. Inside there were no chairs. Everybody stood. (5) All its floor—the church was built inside in such a way that when you entered it echoed the voice back. This was because its interior was an arch, round like this. It was round and its interior consisted of interlocking sections.<sup>1</sup> What were these for? In order to make an echo. Its floor was all large flat stones.

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<sup>1</sup> The term *sulina* is usually used to refer to an interlocking section of pipe.

*The Festival of Musarde*

(6) *musàrde*<sup>1</sup> *mārisīwa* *mīya* *xá* *l-d-o-xrèna*.<sup>1</sup> *yómat* *musàrde* *’íwa* *’ó-yoma* *t-azíwa* *náše* *qurbàna*.<sup>1</sup> *báθar* *qurbána* *parqíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *t-awðíwa* *duxràna*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-dérta* *kúlla* *y-atwíwa* *’u-y-axlíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *bar-hádax* *palíwa*<sup>1</sup> *’ó-bena* *kút-xa* *qáwwa* *b-’iðð*<sup>1</sup> *māriswa* *xá* *l-’o-xèna*.<sup>1</sup> *méθi* *yále* *zòre*.<sup>1</sup> *gu-šaқиθa* *mārisáxwa* *l-gðàðe*.<sup>1</sup>

*Bee-Keeping*

(7) *’áxni* *’itwalən* *dabáše* *dīym*.<sup>1</sup> *šálax* *šólxa* *b-áwwa* *yèrxa*.<sup>1</sup> *qam-šálax* *šəlxá*,<sup>1</sup> *b-áwwa* *yèrxa*,<sup>1</sup> *t-áwðax* *salámməš*<sup>1</sup> *xàθa*.<sup>1</sup> *méθax* *tùre*<sup>1</sup> *’an-tùre* *pərməlxá*<sup>1</sup> *maxáxla* *gu-’àra*<sup>1</sup> *kəmə* *bəyáxla* *gòre* *ʔla-salámməš*.<sup>1</sup> *zaqráxla* *’an-tùre*<sup>1</sup> *t-ámrax* *xá-metər* *ramúθa* *dīya*.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla* *glólta*,<sup>1</sup> *’arbi* *santíme*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔláθi* *santíme* *glólta*.<sup>1</sup> (8) *bar-priqlən* *zqarta*,<sup>1</sup> *gðilələn*,<sup>1</sup> *šwíqlən* *xa-bóya* *ða-gòta*,<sup>1</sup> *t-áwrəx* *gu-gòma*,<sup>1</sup> *méθax* *xà-’amana*.<sup>1</sup> *’u-’itlən* *mīya* *támma* *gu-gənthá*,<sup>1</sup> *qam-tàra*.<sup>1</sup> *méθax* *’áxrət* *tàwre*,<sup>1</sup> *šəre* *y-amráxla*,<sup>1</sup> *gu-d-o-’amàna*.<sup>1</sup> *t-léšəxxa* *b-’iθàθm*<sup>1</sup> *’u-šəyáxxa* *l-o-hənnət* *zqirələn*.<sup>1</sup> *šəyáxxa* *hal-bàrza*<sup>1</sup> (9) *ta-módi* *’àw*<sup>1</sup> *šīyilən* *’an-’áxre*... *táwre*... *y-amrila* *šəre*?<sup>1</sup> *ta-t-óya* *šaxínta* *b-sətwa* *’əlləy*.<sup>1</sup> *bar-brizla-’ay*,<sup>1</sup> *xzélən* *šólxa* *hóle* *šlìxle*,<sup>1</sup> *móri* *ʔla-d-o-níxət* *bábi* *Odišo*<sup>1</sup> *mà-y-oðax*?<sup>1</sup> *bábi* *hóle* *šlìxle* *šəlxá*.<sup>1</sup> *móre* *bábi* *šqul-kəpe*<sup>1</sup> *mxila* *l-gðàðe*.<sup>1</sup> (10) *ta-mó* *šaqləxwa* *kəpe* *mxàya*,<sup>1</sup> *maxáxwala* *l-gðàðe*?<sup>1</sup> *šáme* *’o-šólxət* *dabáše*<sup>1</sup> *qálət* *kəpa*,<sup>1</sup> *páθəl* *páθəl* *’u-t-yátu* *l-xa-ʔàya*.<sup>1</sup> *bar-tíwle* *’itlən* *dàqra*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-qésa* *ríxa* *m-áxxa* *l-tàra*.<sup>1</sup> *qarmáxla* *páθən* *ta-t-là* *nəsilən* *dabáše*.<sup>1</sup> (11) *mattáxxa* *salámməš* *mturşáli* *xàθta*.<sup>1</sup> *mattánna* *tàma*.<sup>1</sup> *’u-méθax* *míyət* *dáwwe*.<sup>1</sup> *məθəxla*,<sup>1</sup> *maxəxxe* *l-dàqra*,<sup>1</sup> *šəyáxle* *dúša* *’o-dàqra*<sup>1</sup> *máxxəx* *gu-d-an-dabáše*.<sup>1</sup> *kúlla* *párxi* *t-átwi* *l-d-àw*.<sup>1</sup> *bar-tíwle* *l-d-àw*,<sup>1</sup> *napşáxle* *gu-d-a-salámməš*.<sup>1</sup> *’u-nápxəx* *mən-d-an-dáwwe* *b-rəša*.<sup>1</sup> *’u-mattáxxa* *tàma*.<sup>1</sup>

*The Festival of Musarde*

(6) At (the festival of) *musarde* people would sprinkle water on each other. The day of *musarde* was the day when the people went to take communion. When they had finished communion, they made a memorial. In the courtyard, everybody sat and ate. After that they would go out, each with a scoop in his hand, and would sprinkle each other (with water). They would bring young children. We would sprinkle each other in an irrigation channel.

*Bee-Keeping*

(7) We had our own bees. A swarm forms in this month.<sup>2</sup> Before the swarm forms in this month, we make a new hive. We bring pliant twigs. We cut these twigs and push them into the ground, according to how large we want the hive to be. We weave the twigs, let's say up to a height of a metre. It is all round, forty centimetres, thirty centimetres in diameter. (8) After we have finished weaving and we have plaited it and left a hole in one side, we go into the basement stable and fetch a vessel. We have water there in the garden, outside. We fetch ox dung, which we call *šäre*, in the vessel. We knead it with our hands and plaster it onto the thing that we have woven. We plaster it until it dries. (9) Why is that? (Why) have we plastered on that dung of oxen, which is called *šäre*? So that it will be warm for them in the winter. When it has dried and we see a swarm that has formed, I said to my late father Odisho 'What should we do? Father, a swarm has formed'. My father said 'Take some stones and knock them together'. (10) Why do we take stones and knock them together? The swarm of bees hears the sound of the stone, spins around and settles on a branch. After it has settled, we have a stick, a wooden stick as long as from here to the door. We cover our faces so that the bees do not sting us. (11) We put out the hive that I have newly made. I put it out there. We bring *dawwe* water. We bring this and put it on the stick, we smear the stick with honey, then thrust it into the bees. They all fly and settle onto it. After they have settled on it, we shake them into the hive. We blow some of the *dawwe* onto them and put them there.

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<sup>2</sup> I.e. September.

(12) *mšári dabáše plàxa.<sup>1</sup> dart-yóma mattóxxa kəs-d-ánna xène.<sup>1</sup> ʔəyyela tagbártət dabàše.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-b-sàtwa<sup>1</sup> ʔačmáxxe pummèy,<sup>1</sup> t-la-méθi m-qárθa moráxla gawàye.<sup>1</sup> b-qéṭa mpalṭàxxa.<sup>1</sup>*

(13) *kut-šólxa pálaṭ gam-tàṛa<sup>1</sup> derile gu-salámməš xàθta.<sup>1</sup> ḏa-salámməš mattátta làxxa,<sup>1</sup> hátxa glòle y-áwi<sup>1</sup> mattátta làxxa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ḏa-xéta b-rèša,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ḏa-xéta b-rèša.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-báyyət mpálṭət šólxa,<sup>1</sup> méθət tónna m-ày-gota,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-ázi dabáše hòtxa,<sup>1</sup> šána-ɔ mənḏi-yáne mpálṭət m-bàθra.<sup>1</sup>*

(12) The bees start to work. The next day we place it (the hive) next to the others. This is how you keep bees. In winter we close their (the hives') mouth, so that they do not die of cold. We put them inside and let them out in summer.

(13) Every swarm that flies out they put in a new hive. You put one hive here—they are round like this—you put it here and another one on top of it, and another one on top of it. If you want to make a swarm fly out, you put smoke on this side and the bees will go aside, then you take the honeycomb and so forth from behind.



Informant: Gwərgəs Bakus (ʔEn-Nune)

## Easter

(1) ʔána də-t-amrónnox ʔó-mdi-t taxrènnè<sup>1</sup> ʔé-ga t-ínwa zòra<sup>1</sup> gu-máθət ʔèn-Nune,<sup>1</sup> módi y-oðáxwa qa-ʔéða góra ʔu-ʔéða zòra.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hál hadiya ʔáwwa məndiyáne pišela l-bàlən<sup>1</sup> ʔu-lè-ʔaθi manšóye.<sup>1</sup>

(2) sáʔət t-láθa<sup>1</sup> qèdamta<sup>1</sup> māřášiwələn marāwàθən,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔan-jülle xáθət ʔiθwələn<sup>1</sup> maləwšiwala ʔállən,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-šaláxwa l-ʔúmra,<sup>1</sup> ʔúmrət Mār-Sawa,<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔEnə Nune.<sup>1</sup> ʔi-mšārəwa rəza<sup>1</sup> sáʔət t-láθa-w pəlge.<sup>1</sup> w-áxnəx zòre<sup>1</sup> y-orəxwa gu-ʔúmra,<sup>1</sup> tářət ʔúmra<sup>1</sup> rábəwa kòpa,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-kúlla ʔumránə t-íwa táma gu-Bàřwə:<sup>1</sup> y-orəxwa<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔín zòřəxwa<sup>1</sup> ʔáxnən mattiwələn qáməye.<sup>1</sup> (3) y-awəxwa mašmòye<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xzàya-w<sup>1</sup> qàšə-w<sup>1</sup> wáða rəze.<sup>1</sup> y-awəxwa spára ʔiman parqíwa rəze<sup>1</sup> qa-t-paltəxwa<sup>1</sup> qa-d-xárθa šaqləxwa béta smòqta<sup>1</sup> ʔu-maxəxla l-gòðəðe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xazəxwa ʔa-d-éni mónnən torəwa.<sup>1</sup> xamləxwa rába ʔé-gət xá-mənnən qarəmwala<sup>1</sup> bétə d-o-xəna.<sup>1</sup> (4) ʔu-m-bar-hàdəx,<sup>1</sup> jəmáxwa kulləni<sup>1</sup> mən-ʔawahàθən,<sup>1</sup> y-asqəxwa l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> y-áwa wíðəlla čáy hāzər-u<sup>1</sup> xáltət kàde<sup>1</sup> ʔu-màsta<sup>1</sup> ʔu-qərrúšta mənna-məna-diya,<sup>1</sup> mən-d-é-t maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup> yattəxwa xála tàmta m-gòðəðe.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-hal-d-é-dana mapəšəxwa béʔe smóqe b-gòðəðe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xamləxwa-w.<sup>1</sup> (5) bar-hàdəx,<sup>1</sup> ʔé-gət zarəqwa yòma,<sup>1</sup> paltəxwa xorəwàθa kúlla m-gòðəðe,<sup>1</sup> mtawòle<sup>1</sup> ʔu-biz-zòda ʔi-mtaləxwa béʔe smóqe.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa rába ʔurxáθa mtawòle,<sup>1</sup> mapləštəwəlley<sup>1</sup> yán mattəxwəley gu-šəwle<sup>1</sup> ʔu-xəzəx<sup>1</sup> t-lə-ʔarbá šəwle<sup>1</sup> tré-mənnəy sapìqe<sup>1</sup> ʔu-béʔe smóqe gu-d-an-xəne.<sup>1</sup> (6) ʔé-gət garšíwa xa-d-ánna paltəwa sapìqta,<sup>1</sup> líθwa béʔe gáwa diya.<sup>1</sup> paltəxwa mtałəxwa m-gòðəðe xorəwàθa<sup>1</sup> tawalyáθa priše priše.<sup>1</sup> náše y-azíwa kəs-gòðəðe<sup>1</sup> ʔədəwàθa.<sup>1</sup> rába xamləxwa,<sup>1</sup> məjjəd yaʔni.<sup>1</sup>

(7) xá-məndi ʔáxcí taxrənnè hal-hadiya,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa náše<sup>1</sup> lá tre-t-láθa m-gòðəðe,<sup>1</sup> ʔína xazəxwa<sup>1</sup> ʔəřa,<sup>1</sup> xamšəssər-naše<sup>1</sup> ʔəθye kúlla m-gòðəðe<sup>1</sup> mbaróxe ʔéða.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-har-hàdəx<sup>1</sup> paltíwa mən-bèθa<sup>1</sup> y-oríwa gu-xa-béθa xəna.<sup>1</sup> (8) ʔu-qəðəxwa yóma qamáyət ʔéða,<sup>1</sup> baráxtət ʔéða xa-d-o-xəna,<sup>1</sup> b-spára náše t-áθi mbarxíwale ʔèðən<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔáxni y-azəxwa mbarəxwa ʔədəwàθət náše.<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya mándi lè-ʔaθya l-manšóye.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Gwərgəs Bakus ('Ēn-Nune)

*Easter*

(1) I shall tell you what I remember when I was young in the village of 'Ēn-Nune, what we did for the great festival (Easter) and the small festival (Christmas). Until now these things remain in my mind and are not forgotten.

(2) At three o'clock in the morning our parents used to wake us, dress us in the new clothes that we had and we would go down to the church, the church of Saint Sawa in 'Ēn-Nune. We would begin the mass at half past three. (Since) we were young—we would enter the church, the door of the church was very low, (like) all the churches that were there in Barwar—we entered and if we were young, they would put us first (at the front). (3) We used to listen and see the priests performing the mass. We would wait for the mass to finish so that we could go outside, so that afterwards we could take red eggs and knock them together and see whose one would break. We would have great fun when one of us beat somebody else's egg. (4) After that, we all gathered together with our parents and would go up to the house. They would have prepared tea, and *kade* cakes to eat, together with yoghurt and the crust of yoghurt, (a local product) of those villages. We would sit eating breakfast together. Then we would knock red eggs together and have fun. (5) After that, when the sun rose, all of us friends would go outside and play. We would mostly play (the game) of red eggs. There were many ways to play. They would knock them together or we would put them in shoes—we would find three or four shoes, two of them would be empty and the red eggs would be in the others. (6) When they drew out one of these, one turned out to be empty, without eggs in it. We friends would go out and play together various games. People would go and make festival visits to each other. We really enjoyed ourselves.

(7) Something I remember well until now—people would come, not two or three together, but we would see ten, fifteen people, all of whom had come together to offer the festival blessings. Then, in the same way, they would go out of one house and enter another house. (8) We would spend the first day of the festival offering festival blessings to one another, waiting for people to come and offer us festival blessings and we would go to offer festival blessings to (other) people. Such a thing is unforgettable.

(9) 'áyya šètə<sup>1</sup> t-zilli l-'àθra,<sup>1</sup> 'Enə Nüne,<sup>1</sup> 'áxcī là gu-'Enə Nüne qəm-'oðánne 'éða,<sup>1</sup> qəm-'oðánwale gu-Dòhok,<sup>1</sup> har-madre-táma xzélən nāš-diyən,<sup>1</sup> mupláslən be'e smòqe<sup>1</sup> sá'ət 'árba-w pálge qèdamta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-mən-táma zílwalən xílwalən tàmta.<sup>1</sup> qùrbewa d-ε-xayúθə díyən<sup>1</sup> t-i-xáyáxwala gu-maθwàθa. 'ina léwa 'ax-d-ayən.<sup>1</sup> 'u-lewa 'ax-d-át mðináθa xène,<sup>1</sup> yan-Bagdad,<sup>1</sup> yán gu-mðináθət mà'arwa,<sup>1</sup> t-láxxa 'ádyo b-xya'ax.<sup>1</sup>

(10) 'áxnən zòrəxwa,<sup>1</sup> 'i-zādxwa 'ap-mən-rabíye díyən.<sup>1</sup> 'é-gət y-azáxwa xa-xlúla,<sup>1</sup> xazáxwala rabíye díyən tíwe mən-'awahàθən,<sup>1</sup> mən-babāwàθən,<sup>1</sup> lé-maşəxwa şabráxwa 'azáxwa<sup>1</sup> qarbanáxwa 'əlləy.<sup>1</sup> qa-mò?<sup>1</sup> sàb<sup>1</sup> rába mattáxwa 'iqára 'əlləy<sup>1</sup> zādxwa mənñəy.<sup>1</sup> léla 'ax-'ədyòma<sup>1</sup> xzáyəxla skolàye<sup>1</sup> 'ən-íle rábi díyèy tíwa<sup>1</sup> 'ən-lèle tíwa,<sup>1</sup> lé-y-awe xa-manáy tlaləy.<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa<sup>1</sup> mtašáxwala gánən 'é-gət xazáxwa ràbi.<sup>1</sup> (11) 'áxcī mən-d-ó-geba xèna,<sup>1</sup> 'i-xamláxwa ràba<sup>1</sup> sab-məxolyáθət y-oðíwala gu-xlulàne<sup>1</sup> 'u-qálat dáwla-w zòrna,<sup>1</sup> rába basíma hawéwa 'é-gət maxíwala.<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše<sup>1</sup> jāmíwa gu-xlúla-w,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xmála-w<sup>1</sup> rqaða.<sup>1</sup> (12) 'u-'é-gət y-áwa wíde xùmša-w<sup>1</sup> 'ixalyáθa pərye,<sup>1</sup> náše tíwe dánət kawúθra<sup>1</sup> 'ən-dánət xa-rámša,<sup>1</sup> y-axlíwa xa-rámša díyèy,<sup>1</sup> kúlley m-gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> rábewa náše xəðye<sup>1</sup> 'u-rába pšit̪t̪ewa xayúθa díyən gu-maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup>

### Christmas

(13) duzùθa,<sup>1</sup> 'éðət be-yàlda<sup>1</sup> lá-raba tàxrən<sup>1</sup> módi y-oðəxwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ina táxrena 'úp 'éðət-be-yàlda<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa rəza<sup>1</sup> 'up-'ay-l-'ùmra<sup>1</sup> Mar-Sàwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mən-táma mzeχəxwale<sup>1</sup> 'é-gət pal̪t̪əxwa,<sup>1</sup> baráxtət 'éðət gðàðe.<sup>1</sup> (14) 'u-har-d-è-dana<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa mbarxáxwa 'eðāwáθət náše gu-beθwáθət díyèy,<sup>1</sup> náše y-aθíwa mbarxíwa 'eðāwàθən.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá-məndi basimewa,<sup>1</sup> məjjəd,<sup>1</sup> sab-kúllən táma náše.<sup>1</sup> 'úp-'ən-iwa xayúθa pšit̪t̪a,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna náše rábewa xəðye.<sup>1</sup> xadúθa 'iθwa<sup>1</sup> mən-sábab náše jəmyewa l-gðàðe<sup>1</sup> 'u-rábewa nášət màθa.<sup>1</sup> (15) 'é-gət háwi náše ràba<sup>1</sup> hálbat búš náša b-ráyəš b-gáne díye<sup>1</sup> qà-t<sup>1</sup>... xaxwúxwa 'əyyewa dúnye díyən.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni líθwa xa-dúkθa xéta buš-basimta<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-íxwa pšixə max-t-íxwa tàma,<sup>1</sup> gu-maθwàθa.<sup>1</sup>

(9) This year, when I went to the land, 'En-Nune—but I did not spend the festival in 'En-Nune, I spent it in Dohok—again we saw our relatives, we knocked red eggs together at half past four in the morning. Then we went and ate breakfast. It was similar to the life that we lived in the villages, but it was not (exactly) like it. Nor was it like that of other towns, such as Baghdad or the towns of the West, where we now live.

(10) We were young and were afraid of our teachers. When we went to a wedding and we saw our teachers sitting with our parents, with our fathers, we did not dare approach them. Why? Because we felt great respect for them and we feared them. It was not like today, we see school children for whom it is meaningless whether their teacher is present or not. We would go and hide when we saw the teacher. (11) On the other hand, we enjoyed ourselves a lot, on account of the food that they made at the weddings and the sound of the drum and pipe, which was very beautiful when they played them. Everybody gathered together at a wedding, enjoying themselves and dancing. (12) When they had made *xumša* and numerous foods, the people sat down at lunch time or at dinner time and ate their dinner, everybody together. The people were very happy. Our life in the villages was very simple.

### *Christmas*

(13) In truth, Christmas—I do not remember much about what we did. I remember, however, that also at Christmas we would go to mass, also in the church of Saint Sawa. Afterwards we would celebrate it and, when we went out (of the church), we would offer festival blessings to each other. (14) Also at that time we would go and offer festival blessings to people in their houses and people would come and offer festival blessings to us. It was a truly a pleasant custom, since all our relatives were there. Although the life was simple, people were very happy. There was joy, since the people gathered together. There were many people in the village. (15) When there are many people, of course a person feels in himself more that...we thought that this was our world, that is, there was not another place that was more beautiful, where we were happy like we were there in the villages.

## Houses

(16) *bεθwàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *duzùθa*,<sup>1</sup> *kùlla*,<sup>1</sup> *másax* 'àmrax'<sup>1</sup> *biz-zóda* t-íyewa *l-kèpe*,<sup>1</sup> *bεθwáθa* t-íyewa *l-kèpe*.<sup>1</sup> *baníwala* *bεθwáθa* *diyéy* *gu-máθa* *hammásé* *l-kèpa*.<sup>1</sup> 'up-<sup>2</sup>a-t-léwa *gu-máθa*<sup>1</sup> 'i-banéwala *wàðr* *máθa*,<sup>1</sup> 'ína *xazéwa* *xá-dukθa* t-íwa *qwíθa*.<sup>1</sup> *képe* *banéwale* *béθa* *diya* 'àlla<sup>1</sup> *qá-t* *béθa* *bùš* t-awéwa *qúwya*.<sup>1</sup> (17) 'ax-mšíxa *b-gáne* t-íle *màra*:<sup>1</sup> *banótla* 'étux *l-kèpa*<sup>1</sup> 'é-gaya *búš* t-óya *qwíθa*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-t-la-<sup>2</sup>áθi *láppat* *míya* *qa-t-majijila*.<sup>1</sup> 'ína *m-d-ò-geba* *xéna*,<sup>1</sup> *bεθwáθa* *kullèy*,<sup>1</sup> *kùlla* *bεθwáθa* *diyən* t-íwa *gu-máθot* 'En-Nüne,<sup>1</sup> *mən-xà-ṭabəq-íwa*.<sup>1</sup> (18) 'áxcī *xákma* *mənnéy* 'íθwala *gòme*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrəxla*,<sup>1</sup> *gomāwàθa*.<sup>1</sup> *qənyàne*,<sup>1</sup> 'ərbe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-tawriyàθa<sup>1</sup> *y-awriwa* *gu-gòma*.<sup>1</sup> *gòma* 'íwa 'əltəx.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* 'ó-ṭabəq *b-əltəx* 'íwa *gòma*.<sup>1</sup> *táma* *qənyàne* *xáyíwa*.<sup>1</sup> (19) 'é-ga 'ε-t-tré *qésət* *qā'íwala* *qa-sətwá*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-náše* *māliwala*<sup>1</sup> t-odíwa *níra*<sup>1</sup> 'u-šaxníwa.<sup>1</sup> 'up-<sup>2</sup>àni<sup>1</sup> *náše* 'i-xawšiwala<sup>1</sup> *mattiwale* *gu-gòme*<sup>1</sup> *qá-t* *barzíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-là-hawíwa* *qam-mátra*.<sup>1</sup> (20) 'u-bεθwáθa 'íwa *mən-trè*,<sup>1</sup> *íla*<sup>1</sup> 'otáxe,<sup>1</sup> *kull-bèθa*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* 'o-başórət *béθa* 'íwa *trè* 'otáxe.<sup>1</sup> 'ína 'íθwa *bεθwàθa*,<sup>1</sup> *tàxrən*,<sup>1</sup> *gu-máθa* *diyən*,<sup>1</sup> *béθat* *xáli* 'Isxárya *Dáni*,<sup>1</sup> 'íwa *múxtər* *t-Bārwx*,<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa *mən-tre-ṭabəqewa* *béθe* *diye*.<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni* 'árba *xámša* 'otáxe 'íθwale.<sup>1</sup> (21) 'u-hálbat<sup>1</sup> *béθe* *diye*<sup>1</sup> *hammásé* *məlyewa* *mən-<sup>2</sup>ərxe*.<sup>1</sup> 'up-<sup>2</sup>árxe *t-y-aθíwa*<sup>1</sup> *pešíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *šaríwa* *gu-béθe* *diye*.<sup>1</sup> *y-axlíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *šatíwa*.<sup>1</sup> *xákma* *mənnéy* t-íwa *bεθwanéy* *rəhqa*<sup>1</sup> 'i-pešíwa *táma*,<sup>1</sup> *šaríwa*.<sup>1</sup> *pešíwa* *xa-léle* *damxíwa*,<sup>1</sup> *yómə* *tré* *qemíwa* 'azíwa *b-úrxa* *diyèy*,<sup>1</sup> *l-bεθwána* *diyèy*.<sup>1</sup> (22) 'ína *bεθwáne* *kùlla* 'íwa *kèpe*,<sup>1</sup> *biz-zóda* *képe* *nqíre*,<sup>1</sup> 'u-gèsa.<sup>1</sup> *pešíwa* *š'e* *bεθwána* *m-gàwa*.<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa* *šyá'a*.<sup>1</sup> *šyá'a* *gúda* *šáyíwale*<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-awéwa* *dùš* *kùlla*.<sup>1</sup> (23) 'u-hal-d-é-dana *b-sátwa* 'íwa *šòpe*.<sup>1</sup> *maplaxíwa* *šòpa*.<sup>1</sup> 'up-<sup>2</sup>áyya *šéta* *xzéli* *šòpa*.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna *xamšassər-šənnə* *šòpa* *lánwa* *xəzəya*.<sup>1</sup> *šòpa* 'íle<sup>1</sup> *qá-t* *šxántə* *sátwa* *hálbat* *siqele*<sup>1</sup> *plítele* *mən-<sup>2</sup>ùllul* *m-béθa*.<sup>1</sup> *máttət* *qésa* *gáwe* *diye*,<sup>1</sup> *t-lóxi* 'ánna *qése*.<sup>1</sup> (24) 'ε-<sup>2</sup>ótəx t-íle *šòpa* *gàwa*<sup>1</sup> 'i-šaxna<sup>1</sup> t-ámrat *buš-mən-d-ánna* *central* *heating* t-íla *láxxa* *gu-Lòndon*.<sup>1</sup> *xa-mánda* 'ajibùθa *yá'ni*.<sup>1</sup> 'o-šòpa 'é-gə t-íla *mattóye* *ílaθa* 'arbá-qese *gàwe*,<sup>1</sup> *gu-mátxət* *xa-daqiqa*<sup>1</sup> *wéla* *lháya* 'an-qése.<sup>1</sup> (25) 'u-<sup>2</sup>itle *xa-panjára* *zòrta*,<sup>1</sup> *kəmá-t* *paθxátla* *ràba*,<sup>1</sup> *buš-háwa* t-áwər *gàwa*.<sup>1</sup> *b-xázət* *lhèla* 'an-qése.<sup>1</sup> *har-lhéla* 'an-qése,<sup>1</sup> *gárəg* *çemətla* 'ε-káwe *diye* *zòrtə* *šòpa*,<sup>1</sup> *qa-t-là-hawe* *šxánta* *ràba*.<sup>1</sup> *sab-<sup>2</sup>m-wèle* *šxánta* *ràba*,<sup>1</sup> *léš-maşət* 'átwət *ílaθà-metre*<sup>1</sup> *rəhqa* *mən-šòpa*.<sup>1</sup> *le-másət* 'átwət<sup>1</sup> *ma-t-àwe* *šaxína*.<sup>1</sup>

*Houses*

(16) The houses—in fact, all, we can say that they were mostly built on stones, houses that were on stones. They built their houses in the village always on stones. Even those that were not in the village, which they built outside the village, where they saw a place that was solid, they would build their house on stones, so that the house would be stronger. (17) Like Christ himself, who says: Build your church on stone. It would then be stronger and waves of water would not wash it away. On the other hand, all the houses, all our houses that were in the village of 'En-Nune, consisted of one floor. (18) Some of them, however, had basement stables, as we called them, basement stables. Domestic animals, sheep, oxen would go into the basement. The basement was below, that is the lower floor was the basement. There the domestic animals would live. (19) Then, secondly, the wood that they cut down for the winter, for the people to kindle, would make a fire and warm (the house). People would store these and put them in the basement to dry, so that they would not be in the rain. (20) The houses consisted of two or three rooms, each house (was like this). The smallest house was two rooms. Yet there were houses, I remember, in our village, the house of my uncle Isxarya Dani, who was the chief of Barwar, his house consisted of two floors. That he had four or five rooms. (21) Of course his house was always full of guests. Guests would come and stay. They would lodge in his house. They would eat and drink. Some of them whose homes were far away would stay there and lodge. They would stay and sleep for a night. The next day they would get up and go on their way, to their homes. (22) Indeed, the houses were all made of stone, mostly dressed stone and gypsum. Their houses were plastered inside. They called it plastering. They would plaster the wall so that it would be straight. (23) Up to that time in winter there were stoves. They used a stove. Also this year I saw a stove. I had not seen a stove for fifteen years. A stove is for heating in winter, which, of course went up and came out from the top of the house. You put wood in it and the wood blazes up. (24) The room in which there is a stove becomes warm, you would say more so than (is the case with) the central heating that is here in London. It is amazing. When they put three or four pieces of wood on the stove in the space of a minute the wood would kindle. (25) It has a small window, the more you opened it, the more air entered it. You would see the wood kindle. As soon as the wood has kindled, you must close this small window of the stove, so that it does not heat too much. For if it heats too much, you can no longer sit three metres from the stove. You cannot sit, since it is so hot.

(26) *fa-áyyat şòpa<sup>1</sup> duzùtha<sup>1</sup> b-sàtwa<sup>1</sup> kùlla maθwátha diyən maplèxìwale,<sup>1</sup> sab-rába qarθewa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kut-òtəx<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa gáwa díya xa-şòpa,<sup>1</sup> mən-sab-é-otəx t-là-hawe gáwa şòpa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni peşáwa tálga hal-qedámta.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xá le-maşéwa damáxwa gáwa díya.<sup>1</sup>*

(27) *b-qəta,<sup>1</sup> duzútha gu-mátha diyən,<sup>1</sup> t-Én-Nüne<sup>1</sup> yan-gu-Bàrwə,<sup>1</sup> qéta léle rába xəmma.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni har-dmáxta diyən<sup>1</sup> biz-zóda gu-bεθwàtha hóya,<sup>1</sup> har-gu-bεθa b-g'áne díye.<sup>1</sup> m-sábab 'up-yárxət šáwwa-w tmánya,<sup>1</sup> m-bar-sá'ət 'əçça b-léle,<sup>1</sup> mšáre xánčĩ qarθa wáya.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni léle 'ax-mđínátha xène,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-gu-mđínátha Dòhok<sup>1</sup> 'ən-Zàxo<sup>1</sup> t-íle xáčča xəmma<sup>1</sup> gárəg dámxi náše l-gàre.<sup>1</sup> (28) 'ína màdre,<sup>1</sup> 'iθ yomàne,<sup>1</sup> t-yéwa xəmma,<sup>1</sup> náše y-asqíwa l-gàre<sup>1</sup> damxíwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iθwa məstik y-amráxwala,<sup>1</sup> daríwala l-ganè<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-'aθyáwa çəna<sup>1</sup> qa-t-nəsàwala.<sup>1</sup> (29) 'ína sáma zóda náše gu-bεθwàna<sup>1</sup> sab-bálki 'áxcĩ b-yárxət šáwwa-w tmánya 'iθwa yománe mənne<sup>1</sup> y-áwa xánčĩ xəmma,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni b-léle,<sup>1</sup> 'é naše-mpaltíwala<sup>1</sup> masqíwala qaráwəttə diyè<sup>1</sup> 'u-šwiyáθə diyè<sup>1</sup>,<sup>1</sup> masqíwala l-gàre,<sup>1</sup> 'u-damxíwa rəš-gàre.<sup>1</sup> 'ína gárəg daríwa,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-lá-'aθya nəsawala çəna,<sup>1</sup> məstik.<sup>1</sup>*

### Swimming in Pools

**GK:** *talítuwa təwalyàθa?*

(30) *təwalyáθa 'iθwa raba<sup>1</sup> 'áxcĩ lá-raba 'i-taxrəmma<sup>1</sup> sab-àna<sup>1</sup> šawwà-šənne,<sup>1</sup> 'əštá-šənne šáwwa plítewən mən-tàma.<sup>1</sup> 'ína<sup>1</sup> xa-məndi<sup>1</sup> rába rába hal-hadíya 'i-taxrənne<sup>1</sup> 'u-basmáwali təwálta 'úwa 'áy sxèθa.<sup>1</sup> (31) 'u-sxèθa<sup>1</sup> tàma<sup>1</sup> líθwalən swimming pool 'ax-làxxa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa gárra gu-nèra.<sup>1</sup> néra šaléwa gu-Én-Nüne.<sup>1</sup> y-odúwa gərre.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga<sup>1</sup> y-asqíwa<sup>1</sup> qúrbət trè-metre<sup>1</sup> y-asóqwa mīya,<sup>1</sup> y-asqíwa.<sup>1</sup> fa-áxnən zòrəxwa<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa msaxəxwa gu-d-ánna gərre.<sup>1</sup> (32) haqənnəxu<sup>1</sup> 'é-gə 'ána 'úmur díyi 'əštá-šənnewa,<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa<sup>1</sup> brōn-mámi 'u-xoráwáθe díye,<sup>1</sup> 'áni qúrbət 'ósra trəsər šənnèwa,<sup>1</sup> biš-gòrewa mənni,<sup>1</sup> lé šawqíwa 'ána saxənwə mənne<sup>1</sup> gu-d-o-gárra díya.<sup>1</sup> y-amríwa 'áwwa t-gòrele.<sup>1</sup> 'at-zòret.<sup>1</sup> xoš-sxí gu-d-ó garrə zòre.<sup>1</sup> (33) xà-gaya,<sup>1</sup> daríwa xà-fəlsa.<sup>1</sup> 'enéy yawíwala l-ḥíra<sup>1</sup> 'u-xaşéy l-gárra.<sup>1</sup> 'i-daríwa xà-fəlsa<sup>1</sup> 'u-šalíwa xárθa gu-gárra xázi 'ó-fəlsa 'əkele.<sup>1</sup> kú-t šaqəlwale<sup>1</sup> 'aw-qrimwale.<sup>1</sup> 'é-gə 'ána zòrən,<sup>1</sup> lé y-šawqíwa mṭələnwa mənne,<sup>1</sup> msəxənwə mənne.<sup>1</sup>*

(26) In winter, indeed, all our villages used this stove, since it was very cold. Every room had a stove in it. Since a room that did not have a stove in it would become icy before the morning and nobody would be able to sleep in it.

(27) In summer, in fact, in our village of ʿEn-Nune, in Barwar, summer is not very hot. We slept mostly in the houses, in the house itself. This was because even in July and August, after nine o'clock at night, it started to get rather cold. It is not like in other towns, like in the towns of Dohok or Zakho, which are quite hot and people must sleep on the roof. (28) But there again, there are days when it is hot and people would go up onto the roof and sleep. There was a mosquito net, as we called it, which they put on themselves so that mosquitoes<sup>1</sup> would not come and bite them. (29) In most cases, however, people were in the houses, for perhaps only in July and August there were some days when it was rather hot, that is at night, and people would take out and take up their beds and bedding, take them up onto the roof and sleep on the roof. But they had to put up a mosquito net so that mosquitoes<sup>2</sup> did not come and bite them.

### *Swimming in Pools*

GK: Did you play games?

(30) There were many games, but I do not remember them well, since I left there when I was seven or six years old. There is, however, one thing that I remember very well, a game that I liked was that of swimming. (31) (When we went) swimming there, there was not a swimming pool like here, there was a pool in the river. The river flowed down into ʿEn-Nune. They would make pools. Then the water would rise to around two metres. We were young and we used to go to swim in those pools. (32) I'll tell you, when I was six years old, a cousin of mine and his brothers, who were around ten or twelve years old, older than me, did not allow me to swim with them in their pool. They said 'This is for the older (children). You are young. Go and swim in the pool for young children'. (33) Once they were throwing a coin. They turned their eyes to the mountain and their backs to the pool. They threw a coin then went down into the pool to find where the coin was. Whoever picked it up won (the game). Since I was young, they did not allow me to play with them and swim with them.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: a mosquito.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: a mosquito.



(34) 'ána gđiqli,<sup>1</sup> xzėwali qa-t-<sup>2</sup>ó-fǎlsa 'ėka npille.<sup>1</sup> 'áni qəm-darıla ganėy kúlla gu-gárra şléla.<sup>1</sup> 'áni şláya 'u-sàqa-w<sup>1</sup> şláya-w sàqa.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa lė-xzàyyalle.<sup>1</sup> xá-bena 'up-<sup>2</sup>ána 'áni şólye ho-dáryønna gáni 'up-<sup>2</sup>ána gu-miyya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-şàlyen.<sup>1</sup> (35) xózyen 'ėkele 'o-fǎlsa<sup>1</sup> 'u-şqílønne b-<sup>2</sup>ıdı.<sup>1</sup> dwıqønne b-<sup>2</sup>ıdı bıye be-b-<sup>2</sup>ıpra,<sup>1</sup> 'o-<sup>2</sup>ıpra t-ıwa tãma,<sup>1</sup> 'u-sàxyen,<sup>1</sup> sıqewən<sup>1</sup> kàlyewən.<sup>1</sup> kəmát sxéla qa-t-xazıwale 'ò-fǎlsa,<sup>1</sup> lėwa mşáya xazıwale.<sup>1</sup> xa-d-ána móre bàssa xéna.<sup>1</sup> dárax xa-fǎlsa xéna.<sup>1</sup> áwıwa zille<sup>1</sup> tşéle,<sup>1</sup> léş máşax xazàxle.<sup>1</sup> (36) 'ána mári qa-brøn-màmi<sup>1</sup> hóle láxxa gu-<sup>2</sup>ıdı.<sup>1</sup> móre pθıxla 'ıdux,<sup>1</sup> xázən.<sup>1</sup> pθıxønna 'ıdı.<sup>1</sup> 'o-<sup>2</sup>ıpra<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>o-fǎlsa<sup>1</sup> gu-<sup>2</sup>ıdıwa.<sup>1</sup> móre 'ėka xzélux.<sup>2</sup> mári şléli 'ána sxèli,<sup>1</sup> ðili 'ėkewa.<sup>1</sup> qəm-şaqłønne,<sup>1</sup> qəm-mpalłønne.<sup>1</sup> mən-d-o-yóma mára harm-hadıya m-bàθər<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>áti madám hàtxewət<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>áti msáxət mènnon.<sup>1</sup> qəm-şoqıwale 'ıp-<sup>2</sup>ana msaxánwa mənne.<sup>1</sup>

### Attacks by Wolves

(37) duzúθa xa-qóşşət lè taxrønna 'ána,<sup>1</sup> 'áxcı xathwàθi haqıla.<sup>1</sup> 'ıθwalən xa-kálba zòra.<sup>1</sup> mnáxət bábı lėwa tãma.<sup>1</sup> 'áxcı xathwàθıwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-yəmmi<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ána zòrənwa.<sup>1</sup> 'ė-ga,<sup>1</sup> b-sàtwa<sup>1</sup> y-aθıwa dèwe<sup>1</sup> mən-turàne.<sup>1</sup> mqarbənıwa l-màθa<sup>1</sup> sab-tálga hawéwa,<sup>1</sup> liθwaley 'ixála.<sup>1</sup> mqarbənıwa l-máθa qa-t-bış mǎçxıwaley 'ixála<sup>1</sup> qa-t-<sup>2</sup>axlıwa.<sup>1</sup> (38) mára sıqewa tálga qırbət tre-qumyàθa<sup>1</sup> 'əθyewa,<sup>1</sup> mótyewa tálga hál garət-béθa,<sup>1</sup> xáčča pyàşa.<sup>1</sup> 'ė-ga<sup>1</sup> mára 'ó-kalba sıqewa rəş-gàre.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>əθyele dèwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-m-báθər m-báθrə bèθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-sıqele<sup>1</sup> 'u-tırpelē<sup>1</sup> l-d-ò-kalba<sup>1</sup> qá-t şaqəlwa nabàlle.<sup>1</sup> (39) 'ė-ga xáθi hàqya,<sup>1</sup>—Jėnnı 'e-gòrta<sup>1</sup>—ámra xòni<sup>1</sup> qəm-garəşle qáli 'o-kálba.<sup>1</sup> mára báyən şàrxən,<sup>1</sup> lás-in mşáya.<sup>1</sup> sáb 'ıθ-xá-məndı hămənıwa bıye.<sup>1</sup> dèwa<sup>1</sup> 'ı-garəşle qálət náşa.<sup>1</sup> léş-maşe-náşa palátle qále diye.<sup>1</sup> (40) mára kázən qa-şàrxən<sup>1</sup> báyən şàrxən<sup>1</sup> qa-t-<sup>2</sup>ázəl dèwe<sup>1</sup> 'ən-qa-t-<sup>2</sup>áθi náşe mhərılı,<sup>1</sup> lən-mşaya.<sup>1</sup> 'ána şràxən tla-gàni,<sup>1</sup> xáčča qála léle plàta.<sup>1</sup> mára şqille zılle 'əmmá-metre rəhqa<sup>1</sup> 'u-xárθa plıta qáli.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ına xárθa mùt paydėwa.<sup>2</sup> yá'ni 'áwıwa şqılalle 'o-kálba<sup>1</sup> 'u-zıla xılalle.<sup>1</sup>

(34) I looked and saw where that coin fell. They all threw themselves in the pool and went down (to look). They went up and down, up and down. Nobody saw it. Then, when they had gone down, I also threw myself into the water and went down. (35) I found where the coin was and took it in my hand. I held it in my hand together with the soil, the soil that was there. I swam, came up and stood up. However much they swam (trying) to find the coin, they could not find it. One of them said 'That's enough. Let's throw another coin. It is lost. We cannot find it anymore'. (36) I said to my cousin 'It is here in my hand'. He said 'Open your hand for me to see'. I opened my hand. The soil and the coin were in my hand. He said 'Where did you find it?' I said 'I swam down, I knew where it was'. I picked it up and took it out'. From that day they said 'From now on, since you are (as good as) that, you also may swim with us'. They allowed also me to swim with them.

#### *Attacks by Wolves*

(37) There is, in fact, a story that I do not remember, but my sisters tell me it. We had a small dog. My father—may he rest in peace—was not there. Only my sisters and my mother. I was young. At that time in winter wolves would come from the mountains. They would come near to the village, since there was snow and they did not have food. They came near to the village in order to find food to eat more easily. (38) They say that the snow had almost reached twice the height of a man.<sup>3</sup> The snow came and almost reached the roof of the house. Then, they say that the dog went up onto the roof. Then a wolf came from behind the house and went up and sprang on the dog to take it away. (39) Then my sister tells me—Jenny, the older one—she says 'Brother, the dog took my breath away'. She said 'I wanted to cry out, but could not do so anymore'. This is because there is something they believed in, namely that a wolf took away the voice of a person and the person could utter his voice. (40) She said 'I tried to cry out, I wanted to cry so that the wolf would go, or so that people would come to help me, but I could not. I (tried to) cry to myself, but no voice came out'. She said '(The wolf) took (the dog) and went a hundred metres away and then my voice came out, but then what was the use?' That is, he had taken the dog and gone and eaten it.

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<sup>3</sup> Literally: two statures.

(41) 'u-màra<sup>1</sup> xà-šabθa y-awóxwa tíwe bxáya 'áille diye,<sup>1</sup> sáb 'áp-xa la-mšèle<sup>1</sup> θéle mṭéle hawàrən<sup>1</sup> 'áw qəm-mparóqle 'o-kálba díyən gu-'iθáθə dèwe.<sup>1</sup> fa-'áp-xa la-θéle<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mṭurbónne l-d-an-hawàre.<sup>1</sup> 'u-qəm-šaqlle<sup>1</sup> qəm-'axəlle.<sup>1</sup> (42) mára hal-hadíya la-manšiyala-'ayya gu-xàya.<sup>1</sup> 'ayya píštela gu-móxa diya.<sup>1</sup> məskánta hal-hadíya la-másya manšiyale 'aw-məndi.<sup>1</sup> 'áxčī 'ayya<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-ila hoqíθəlla 'əyən<sup>1</sup> ya'ni qələn.<sup>1</sup>

(43) kul-máθa 'iθwala qənyàne,<sup>1</sup> bəqra<sup>1</sup> 'u-qənyàne.<sup>1</sup> 'i-mšadríwala b-yòma.<sup>1</sup> 'iθwa baqára y-azəliwa<sup>1</sup> mārəwale gu-turàne.<sup>1</sup> 'è-ga<sup>1</sup> 'ašərtə<sup>1</sup> sá'ət 'ášta 'àtxa,<sup>1</sup> 'ašərtə,<sup>1</sup> 'i-jəməwa bəqra<sup>1</sup> məθəwala baqára.<sup>1</sup> (44) xazətəwale qənyàne 'é-gət y-aθíwa,<sup>1</sup> kulléy jwája m-gəðəðe<sup>1</sup> 'u-kút-xa yāðəwa bəθe diye 'əkəle.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kut-qənyána mṭéle l-gómət bəθe diye<sup>1</sup> zílle wírre gu-bəθe diye.<sup>1</sup> başóra mənney<sup>1</sup> 'i-βešíwa yá'ni t-la maṭíwa 'əkəle bəθəy.<sup>1</sup> fa-náše díya háibat y-áwa spàra.<sup>1</sup> y-ázi məθíwa mattíwala.<sup>1</sup> (45) 'áxčī xà-gaya,<sup>1</sup> txírri xá-məndi xəna,<sup>1</sup> kull-máθa 'iθwala 'ax-t-móri baqára<sup>1</sup> 'i-palətíwa mən-qedámta hal-'ašərtə.<sup>1</sup> har-d-è-dana,<sup>1</sup> kull-máθa 'iθwala tre-ṭlā kálbe<sup>1</sup> palítwā m-bəqra.<sup>1</sup> xa-yòma<sup>1</sup> θéle xa-d-ánna mšurbíya gu-dəmma.<sup>1</sup> (46) 'o-baqára mò-məre?<sup>1</sup> məre 'áwəwa kálba<sup>1</sup> 'ədyo<sup>1</sup> ṭlaθə dèwe<sup>1</sup> jomyeəwa 'álle qa-t-šaqlíwa xa-pàra<sup>1</sup> m-gu-d-ó qənyàne.<sup>1</sup> məre trè-mənnə qəm-qaṭəlla.<sup>1</sup> 'o-xəna mšurbíle gu-dəmma<sup>1</sup> 'u-ríqəle dèwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'úp-'awən mšurbíyewa gu-dəmma.<sup>1</sup> (47) 'ána b-txárən hal-hadíya našət-məθa<sup>1</sup> θəla<sup>1</sup> mərə<sup>1</sup> qúdme lə-mšadritule 'áwəwa.<sup>1</sup> gārəg páyəs ləxxa gu-gòma,<sup>1</sup> xtiθe diyela<sup>1</sup> sab-hóle mšurbíya gu-dəmma diya.<sup>1</sup> (48) 'u-məjjəd 'úwa 'ánna məndyàne<sup>1</sup> 'ax-t-ámrat guards 'úwa<sup>1</sup> d-an-qənyàne,<sup>1</sup> sab-riya mò-bt-awəð?<sup>1</sup> θéle dèwa mò-bt-awəð riya?<sup>1</sup> raba gáye riya palətíwa,<sup>1</sup> 'ap-tópe lə-šaqlíwa mənne diye.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni palətíwa<sup>1</sup> qəsa y-awéwa b-íðe diye.<sup>1</sup> fa-'án-t mxamíwala qənyàne 'u-'ərbe<sup>1</sup> 'úwa 'án-kálbe... t-y-azíwa qəm-bəqra mənna-mənnə-diya.<sup>1</sup> (49) 'ána b-txárən hal-hadíya<sup>1</sup> mšurbíyewa gu-dəmma.<sup>1</sup> náše θəla,<sup>1</sup> mərə mòdila qəşşət?<sup>1</sup> mərə ṭlaθə dèwe,<sup>1</sup> trè-mənnə qṭiləlla<sup>1</sup> 'u-'o-xəna mšurbíyelle gu-dəmma<sup>1</sup> 'u-ríqəle m-qáme diye.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áy hal-hadíya 'əθya l-bàli,<sup>1</sup> sáb plítwalən qəmθe diye.<sup>1</sup> yále zóre qáme qáme.<sup>1</sup>

(41) She said 'We sat for a week weeping for it, since nobody could come to answer our cry for help or save our dog from the clutches of the wolves. Nobody came, that is (nobody) responded to those cries for help, and (the wolf) took it and ate it'. (42) She says that she will never forget this in her life. It remained in her memory. Poor soul, until now she cannot forget that thing. This is how she told it to us.

(43) Every village had domestic animals, cattle and domestic animals. They would send them out in the daytime. There was a cattle minder who would go and pasture them in the mountains. Then in the evening, around six o'clock, in the evening, the cattle minder would gather the cattle and bring them back. (44) You would see the cattle when they came back, all walking along together and each one knew where its house was. Each animal arrived at the basement stable of its house and went into its house. Only a few of them remained without arriving at their house. Their owners, of course, would be waiting and they went to fetch them and put them (in the stable). (45) But once—I remember something else—all the village had, as I said, a cattle minder who went out from morning until evening. At that time each village also had two or three dogs that went out with the cattle. One day one of these came back drenched in blood. (46) What did the cattle minder say? He said 'Today three wolves ganged up together against it in order to take a lamb from among the animals'. He said 'It killed two of them. It drenched the other one in blood and the wolf fled. It (the dog) also became drenched in blood'. (47) I remember until today that the people of the village came and said 'Tomorrow do not send it. It must stay here in the basement stable, it is not right (to send it), since it has been drenched in their (the wolves') blood'. (48) Indeed these (dogs) were guards, as you say, of the animals, for what could a shepherd do? If a wolf came, what could a shepherd do? On many occasions the shepherd went out without taking a gun with him. He went out with a wooden stick in his hand. The ones who protected the cattle and sheep were the dogs, which were in charge of the animals and went along with them. (49) I remember until today that it was drenched in blood. People came and said 'What has happened?' They said '(There were) three wolves, it killed two and drenched the other in blood and it (the wolf) ran away from it'. I remember this until now, since we children went out to meet it.

*The Fruit of the Village*

(50) 'é-gət 'i-háwe yárxət qəṭa,<sup>1</sup> xoš-'àmrəx<sup>1</sup> yárxət 'əçça,<sup>1</sup> bustanəne<sup>1</sup> t-xabùše<sup>1</sup> xazəṭwala kúlla smiqe,<sup>1</sup> nḫíle l-'àrra,<sup>1</sup> xabùše.<sup>1</sup> 'an-ṭ-naplíwa l-'àrra,<sup>1</sup> 'áni lè-y-ax-líwala náše.<sup>1</sup> 'áni daríwala qam-qənyàne.<sup>1</sup> 'i-mjāmíwala gu-guníya<sup>1</sup> 'u-daríwala gu-gòma,<sup>1</sup> qa-mpaltíwa mənney<sup>1</sup> daríwa qam-tawríyàṭa<sup>1</sup> qam-qənyàne<sup>1</sup> qa-t-'axlíwa mənney.<sup>1</sup> (51) mapšəmàntewa<sup>1</sup> líṭwa 'é-ga qèse<sup>1</sup> má'mal-t qèse<sup>1</sup> qa-t-mašíwa 'oḏíwa šandúqe<sup>1</sup> mattíwala xabúše gawəy<sup>1</sup> qa-t-mašlíwala l-mḏinàṭa<sup>1</sup> mزابنìwala.<sup>1</sup> fa-'i-mزابنìwala har-gu-'àrra.<sup>1</sup> (52) y-aṭéwa zonàna,<sup>1</sup> y-aməṭwa<sup>1</sup> 'àyya<sup>1</sup> 'àtxa b-yawənnux bíya díya.<sup>1</sup> márə d-ε-'àrra<sup>1</sup> y-aməṭwa<sup>1</sup> ràzúwə,<sup>1</sup> 'i-mزابنìwala 'àtxa 'šlle díye.<sup>1</sup> léwa b-kild'e.<sup>1</sup> mḡaddərwale kəmə daqráwa,<sup>1</sup> y-ámər 'àtxa b-yawənnux.<sup>1</sup> marḏəwale<sup>1</sup> šaqəlīwale mánne díye.<sup>1</sup> (53) 'ána txárən hal-hadíya halúkkət t-y-axlāxwa<sup>1</sup> 'ənjāšət y-axlíwa,<sup>1</sup> xāwxe,<sup>1</sup> məšmāšše,<sup>1</sup> 'ənwə.<sup>1</sup> kermáne pəryewa.<sup>1</sup> 'íṭwa 'ənwə kōme<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ənwə xwàre.<sup>1</sup> (54) 'u-haqənnux xa-qəššət wītela,<sup>1</sup> xa-gáya síqəx har-m-Bàğdad<sup>1</sup> hal-'En-Nūne.<sup>1</sup> masqənwā tre-xorāwəṭa<sup>1</sup> t-Bàğdad,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni léla nášət Bārəwə.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni 'íwa xonāwəṭəṭ<sup>1</sup> xá-mənnə mən-'Ūrmíwa,<sup>1</sup> 'iranāya,<sup>1</sup> 'aṭurāya,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'o-xəna<sup>1</sup> 'áwəwə nāšət-Diyānəwa,<sup>1</sup> 'ina xíyewa gu-Bàğdad,<sup>1</sup> bəryewa gu-Bàğdad,<sup>1</sup> xíyewa gu-Bàğdad.<sup>1</sup> (55) síqəx l-'En-Nūne.<sup>1</sup> hóle xzáya l-xāwxe<sup>1</sup> seráne gəre,<sup>1</sup> təlye b-'ilāna.<sup>1</sup> hóle šqəlalle xāwxa<sup>1</sup> mxáyalle xa-nagóza,<sup>1</sup> xa-nagóza bīye<sup>1</sup> trè nagóze,<sup>1</sup> tllà nagóze.<sup>1</sup> márele 'o-xəna bīš-basiməle.<sup>1</sup> hole-šqála 'o-xəna,<sup>1</sup> 'ó rapòyalle.<sup>1</sup> (56) sab-táma xúl kəmət-bəyət,<sup>1</sup> balāš-ile.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-xa le-y-ámər qá-mot xála mən-d-anna.<sup>2</sup> 'áxcā náša le-méṭe šandúqa šàqəl.<sup>1</sup> kəmət-'əxəl,<sup>1</sup> xoš-'əxəl.<sup>1</sup> xamšá-xawxe xiləlla.<sup>1</sup>

*Food and Drink*

(57) 'é-ga b-léle tíwəx kəs-xáli d-áni<sup>1</sup> gu-béṭe díye<sup>1</sup> qəm-čayədlən,<sup>1</sup> mərə háyyo kəslən.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'ədyo maštənnexu štəṭa díyən<sup>1</sup> ṭ-in-wíḏəlla 'ána.<sup>1</sup> mḫúltəwa wəski<sup>1</sup> m-xabùše.<sup>1</sup> wəski rába 'atíqa,<sup>1</sup> 'úp bálki-t koḫól gáwe díye<sup>1</sup> bálki-t paltáwa là 'árbi-u-xamša,<sup>1</sup> bálki-t tmāni-u-xamšəwa.<sup>1</sup>

*The Fruit of the Village*

(50) In the summer months, let's say September, in the apple orchards you would see the apples all red and fallen on the ground. People did not eat those that fell on the ground. They gave these to the animals. They gathered them in a sack and put them in the basement stable, so that they could take from them and give them to the cows and animals for them to eat. (51) It was sad that there was no wood factory in those days, in order for them to be able to make boxes to put apples in, to take down to the towns and sell. So, they sold them (while still) on the land. (52) A purchaser would come and say 'I shall give you such-and-such for them'. The owner of the land would say 'I am content (with that)' and would sell them to him in this way. They were not (measured) in kilos. He calculated how much they were worth and said 'I shall give you such-and-such'. He would satisfy the owner and take them from him. (53) I remember until now the plums that we used to eat, the wild plums that they used to eat, the peaches, the apricots, the grapes. The orchards were abundant (with fruit). There were black grapes and white grapes. (54) I shall tell you a story (about something) that happened. Once we went up from Baghdad to 'En-Nune. I brought up two friends from Baghdad, who were not Barwar people. They were our brothers, one of whom was from Urmi, an Iranian Assyrian, and the other was a man from Diyana. They, however, were living in Baghdad, they were born in Baghdad, they were living in Baghdad. (55) We went up to 'En-Nune. (One of them) saw the peaches, the large yellow peaches, hanging on the tree. He took a peach and bit into it, one bite, two bites, three bites. He said the other is more tasty. He took the other one and threw that one away. (56) This was because there you could eat as much as you like, it was free. Nobody would say 'Why are you eating them?' But a person did not bring a box and take them away. He could eat as much as he could eat (on the spot). He ate five peaches.

*Food and Drink*

(57) That night we sat with my uncle and his family, in his house—he invited us, he said 'Come to us'. He said 'Today I shall give you our drink to drink, which I have made. He brought out whiskey, (which was made) from apples, very old whiskey, the alcohol in it was perhaps not forty-five but as much as eighty-five (percent).

(58) *tíwax tàma,*<sup>1</sup> *dóryalle xa-pèk.*<sup>1</sup> *mára qa-d-o-xòri,*<sup>1</sup> *rába ramànwewa,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni paláftwa* 'áshta foot biz-zòda<sup>1</sup> 'u-zàxmwewa rába.<sup>1</sup> *har-mára slámi* 'állux-ile,<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóle štàya.<sup>1</sup> *har-slámi* 'állux-ile,<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-štàya.<sup>1</sup> *š-lá-praqa* 'o-pék díye<sup>1</sup> 'o-xáwri hádax gab-bàra,<sup>1</sup> *xázax wirre gawàye.*<sup>1</sup> (59) *zille,*<sup>1</sup> 'ína *Dani* 'al-iwa *šomme díye,*<sup>1</sup> *mári ha-Dàni* 'al,<sup>1</sup> *mà-lux.*<sup>2</sup> *móre mguyžžnni.*<sup>1</sup> *mári* 'ati *xá-boŋla* 'i-šatátte wèski.<sup>1</sup> *dáx mguyžžnnux mən-d-áwewa pèk.*<sup>2</sup> *móre b-àlaha* 'ána *b-xšáwən* 'áwewa *lèwa wèski.*<sup>1</sup> *móre mòdile.*<sup>2</sup> *móre b-xšáwən* 'áwewa *benžžn tayyarāt-ile.*<sup>1</sup> (60) *yá'ni ma-t-íwa dárājət koŋól díya rába qwìtha,*<sup>1</sup> *mguyžžnne,*<sup>1</sup> *lá-mšaya kále p-àqle.*<sup>1</sup> *fa-náše xamlíwa.*<sup>1</sup> *yáđíwa mpalftíwa* 'áraq.<sup>1</sup> *mpalftíwa wèski* t-ganèy.<sup>1</sup> *léwa sníqe qa-t-áziwa šuqa*<sup>1</sup> *mđinàtha* qa-t-mèθíwa štèθa.<sup>1</sup> *b-ganè mpalftíwala* štèθa díyèy.<sup>1</sup> 'u-é-gət *y-awéwa xhulàne,*<sup>1</sup> *léwa sníqe qa-t-áziwa zoniwa štèθa.*<sup>1</sup> (61) *har-b-ganè mpalftíwala.*<sup>1</sup> *mpalftíwa biz-zòda.*<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúlla 'an-násət *maθwàtha* t-y-aθíwa,<sup>1</sup> *sab-é-gət y-awéwa xhúla gu-En-Nùne,*<sup>1</sup> *lá* 'axčì-èn-nunàye *ewa táma.*<sup>1</sup> *kúlla maθwátha čedíwaley*<sup>1</sup> *mən-kúlla maθwáθə t-íla marzabánət* 'En-Nùne,<sup>1</sup> *xa-tmánya* 'əsrà-maθwaθa,<sup>1</sup> *náše píšewa čide.*<sup>1</sup> (62) 'ína *palftíwa qúrbət tre-ŋláθa* 'álpe *náše,*<sup>1</sup> 'arb-álpe *náše,*<sup>1</sup> *šatjàne*<sup>1</sup> 'm-gòre *b-šonne.*<sup>1</sup> 'əθyela *l-xhúla.*<sup>1</sup> 'áni *kúlla bəyíwa maxóle* 'u-maštòye.<sup>1</sup> *fa-mpalftíwa* *deríwale gu-linyàtha.*<sup>1</sup> *náše kúlley* *šatíwa* *là-xa-yoma.*<sup>1</sup> *sab-xhuláne* *šawwà yománe* *y-awéwa xhúla,*<sup>1</sup> *kút-xa* 'ax-mšèθe *díye.*<sup>1</sup> (63) 'ína 'íθwa *náše* 'ŋlaθà-yomane *y-áwa wáða xhúla.*<sup>1</sup> 'ŋlaθà-yomane *dávola-w zòrna,*<sup>1</sup> *rəqða,*<sup>1</sup> 'u-xumàla,<sup>1</sup> 'u-xálta-w štèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše *y-áwa mabsòme.*<sup>1</sup> 'u-kúl-məndi *y-áwe pərya,*<sup>1</sup> *xálta,*<sup>1</sup> štèθa,<sup>1</sup> *m-kúll-məndi.*<sup>1</sup> *xálta* *y-odíwa* ... *y-aθíwa baxtáθət màtha,*<sup>1</sup> 'i-mbašlíwa,<sup>1</sup> *m-qúrbə qúrbət mārət xhúla.*<sup>1</sup> (64) *bašlíwa gu-qušaryàtha,*<sup>1</sup> *gu-marəgle.*<sup>1</sup> *deríwala gu-marəgle xáltə mbašlíwa.*<sup>1</sup> *xùmšele,*<sup>1</sup> *yan-dúxwewa,*<sup>1</sup> *yan-kúl-xálta bašlíwala.*<sup>1</sup> 'u-har-d-ε-dána štèθa *priθewa-w* *kul-náše tre-ŋlá-yomane* *šatíwa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-axlíwa,*<sup>1</sup> *y-áwa xəðye,*<sup>1</sup> *mubəsmə.*<sup>1</sup>

### Weddings

(65) 'u-*adóttə díyən*<sup>1</sup> *gwára dāx-iwa?*<sup>2</sup> 'ap-*àyya*<sup>1</sup> *b-yawənnux xa-nuhára bəd-díya.*<sup>1</sup> 'ó-məndi *bíš basímewa*<sup>1</sup> 'é-gə *mpaláttət k'álo m-béθət bába díya.*<sup>1</sup> *y-amríwala čáppe bükə.*<sup>1</sup> 'áyya *mpalftíwala k'álo*<sup>1</sup> 'u-mattíwala *xásət kodənta,*<sup>1</sup> *sab-qámθa* *líθwa rába susyáθa.*<sup>1</sup>

(58) We sat there and he poured out a measure. He said 'For my friend'. He was very tall, that is he was more than six feet tall and very strong. He said 'Cheers' and drank. (He says) 'Cheers' and drinks. (While) my friend, who was a huge man, had not yet finished his measure (of whiskey), we saw him go inside. (59) He went away. His name was Daniel. I said 'Daniel, what is the matter with you?' He said 'I felt dizzy'. I said 'You usually drink a bottle of whiskey. How is it that you have become dizzy with this measure?' He said 'By God, I don't think it is whiskey'. He said 'What is it?' He said 'I think it is aeroplane oil'. (60) The degree of its alcohol was so strong that he became dizzy and could not stand on his feet. People enjoyed themselves. They knew how to produce arak. They produced whiskey by themselves. They did not have to go to the market in the towns to bring drink. They produced drink by themselves. When there were weddings they did not have to go and buy drink. (61) They produced it by themselves. They produced a lot. All the people of the villages who came—for when there was a wedding in 'En-Nune, there were not only people from 'En-Nune there. They invited all the villages, (people) from all the villages that were adjacent to 'En-Nune, eight or ten villages. The people were invited. (62) Around two or three thousand people, four thousand people, would turn up, (most of whom were) drinkers, (including) old people. They (all) came to the wedding. They wanted to give them all food and drink. They produced it and put it in pots. Everybody drank, not only one day, since weddings lasted seven days, everybody as much as he could. (63) There were some people, however, who held weddings for three days, three days of drum and pipe, dancing and merriment, eating and drinking. The people enjoyed themselves. Everything was in abundance, food and drink, everything. They would make food. The women of the village would come and they would cook, (the women) who were relatives of the person holding the wedding. (64) They would cook in small pans and large pans. They would put in the large pans the food that they were cooking. It was *xumša* or *duxwa*. They cooked every (type) of food. At that time drink was abundant. Everybody would drink and eat for two or three days. They were merry and jolly.

### *Weddings*

(65) What was our custom at a wedding? I shall give you a description about also this. It was a most pleasant thing when they brought the bride out of the house of her father. They called this *čappe buke*. They would bring the bride out and put her on the back of a mule, since in the old days there were not many horses.



(66) *xásət kodánta* <sup>1</sup> *'i-mattíwala,* <sup>1</sup> *'u-y-azíwa xadhíwa* <sup>1</sup> *barəbárət mǝtha* <sup>1</sup> *hal-ʔ-é-gət* *mamtíwala* *béthət gáwra díya.* <sup>1</sup> *maṭíwa tǝma,* <sup>1</sup> *'íθwa 'ilána.* <sup>1</sup> *'ax-ʔ-ádyoma 'ámrx kéka,* <sup>1</sup> *'íθn kéka gu-burǝxa* <sup>1</sup> *yan-gu-gwára,* *gu-zuwága* <sup>1</sup> *'ádyoma 'íθn.* <sup>1</sup> *qámθa lǝθwa kéka,* <sup>1</sup> *'íθwa 'ilána.* (67) *'ilána y-áwa mútte gáwa xabùše,* <sup>1</sup> *yan-gáwze,* <sup>1</sup> *yan-zùze.* <sup>1</sup> *mšáqlila 'ilána kúlla.* <sup>1</sup> *'u-y-asqíwa rǝš-xa-béthə* <sup>1</sup> *ramána,* <sup>1</sup> *'i-mzabníwa 'ilána.* <sup>1</sup> *'án-zuzət* <sup>1</sup> *'aθíwa mǝn-mzabántət* <sup>1</sup> *'ilána* <sup>1</sup> *'íwa hayǝrta* <sup>1</sup> *qa-k'álo-w xǝtna* <sup>1</sup> *t-íwa gwára.* (68) *yá'ni y-amríwa qa-tǝsa* <sup>1</sup> *xálat xǝtna qǝm-zawǝnna* <sup>1</sup> *'ilána b-xamšǝ dináre.* <sup>1</sup> *mámət xǝtna qǝm-zawǝnna b-ʔammá dináre.* <sup>1</sup> *'o-xéna qǝm-zawǝnna b-ʔǝsrá dináre.* <sup>1</sup> *hál parqǝ kúlla náše* <sup>1</sup> *'an-zoníwa.* <sup>1</sup> *'áy lǝwa ziwána ziwánəlla.* <sup>1</sup> *'áxǝ mšarǝktewa* <sup>1</sup> *hayǝrta qa-k'álo-w xǝtna.* (69) *'é-gət parqíwa,* <sup>1</sup> *'é-ga 'é-'ilána napšíwala.* <sup>1</sup> *m-rǝš-d-ó-gare* <sup>1</sup> *'i-napšíwala,* <sup>1</sup> *kúlla 'an-mǝndiyánə* <sup>1</sup> *t-íwa gáwa díya šalíwa.* <sup>1</sup> *'é-ga xázət yále zǝre* <sup>1</sup> *rǝqa báθər d-àn mǝndyáne,* <sup>1</sup> *'ǝn-čǝklǝtna,* <sup>11</sup> *yan-xabùšena,* <sup>1</sup> *yan-zùzena,* <sup>1</sup> *y-arqíwa kút-xa mjǝmóye tǝla-gǝne.* <sup>1</sup> *'áp 'an-gǝre* <sup>1</sup> *mjǝmíwa.* <sup>1</sup> *'áyya 'ána b-txǝrǝnna hal-hadíya.* <sup>1</sup> *npǝštət 'ilána* <sup>1</sup> *yómət xlúla 'aw-mǝndí y-ođíwale.* (70) *'u-t-trǝ* <sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa* <sup>1</sup> *mjazǝxla náše* <sup>1</sup> *'an-t-ína tíwe gu-xlúla.* <sup>1</sup> *y-attíwa k'álo-w xǝtna* <sup>1</sup> *'i-mattíwa xabùše* <sup>1</sup> *yan-čǝklǝte* <sup>1</sup> *yan-mǝdyáne* <sup>1</sup> *gu-d-ó-majma* <sup>1</sup> *t-íwa mútta l-méz díyǝ.* <sup>1</sup> *'é-ga* <sup>1</sup> *náše t-íwa tǝma tíwe, . . . y-awíwa trǝ* <sup>1</sup> *y-amríwa naǝre,* <sup>1</sup> *'ánna trǝ* <sup>1</sup> *y-aθíwa šaqíwa qa-tǝsa* <sup>1</sup> *xá-xa náše mǝθíwale* <sup>1</sup> *tǝma qǝrba,* <sup>1</sup> *'i-šaqíwa xa-mǝn-d-àn mǝndiyáne,* <sup>1</sup> *'i-mjazíwale.* (71) *'éni mjazǝwale.* <sup>21</sup> *qaríwa,* <sup>1</sup> *t-íle tíwa,* <sup>1</sup> *qaríwət xǝtna.* <sup>1</sup> *y-ámər 'ati* <sup>1</sup> *gǝrǝg máttət xamšá-dinare lǝxxa* <sup>1</sup> *sab-šqíllux xa-xabùšta* <sup>1</sup> *m-gu-d-àwəwa* <sup>1</sup> *mána* <sup>1</sup> *t-málka-w malǝkθa.* <sup>1</sup> *sab-k'álo-w xǝtna* <sup>1</sup> *'íwa málka-w malǝkθa.* <sup>1</sup> *gǝrǝg mattíwa xamšá-dinare tǝma,* <sup>1</sup> *'u-xárθa šaqíwale* <sup>1</sup> *'é-xabùšta díye* <sup>1</sup> *'u-ʔazǝlwa.* (72) *'áyya 'íθwa 'ádat. . . trǝ mǝndyáne* <sup>1</sup> *'íθwa bíya.* <sup>1</sup> *mǝndí qamǝya* <sup>1</sup> *šotapa* <sup>1</sup> *'íθ* <sup>1</sup> *náše xamlíwa,* <sup>1</sup> *moríwa dána b-d-àwəwa mǝndí.* <sup>1</sup> *'u-ʔ-ε-t-trǝ* <sup>1</sup> *'íwa xá mšarǝkta* <sup>1</sup> *mǝdre* <sup>1</sup> *qa-hayǝrtət k'álo-w xǝtna* <sup>1</sup> *m-d-é-mašraf* <sup>1</sup> *t-íla múttəlla* <sup>1</sup> *qa-mpalíwa xá-mǝndí* <sup>1</sup> *'áp-ʔani qalè.* (73) *'áp-ʔanna mǝndyáne taxrǝnna mjǝjd.* <sup>1</sup> *yá'ni y-áθi l-báli* <sup>1</sup> *'u-ʔána zǝra* <sup>1</sup> *'u-ʔúp* <sup>1</sup> *'é-ga-píšwalǝn gǝre.* <sup>1</sup> *'íθwa rába xluláne* <sup>1</sup> *wíye gu-mǝθa.* <sup>1</sup> *y-asqǝxwa,* <sup>1</sup> *'an-mǝndyáne xazǝxwale.* <sup>1</sup> *mxiǝmǝxwala yá'ni duzúθa.* <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this and several ensuing clauses the Christian Urmi form of the 3pl. copula is used (-*ina*).

(66) They would put her on the back of a mule and they would go and take her around the village, until they brought her to the house of her husband. When they reached there, there was a tree. As we say today (wedding) cake, there is a cake in the ceremony, at a wedding, at a marriage, today. In the old days there was no cake, but there was a tree. (67) On the tree apples were placed, or walnuts, or money. They would decorate all the tree. They would go up on a high house and sell the tree. The money that was received from the sale of the tree was assistance for the bride and groom who were getting married. (68) They would say, for example, the maternal uncle of the groom has bought the tree for fifty dinars. The maternal uncle of the groom has bought it for a hundred dinars. Another has bought it for ten dinars. Until all those who were buying had finished. They were not really buying it, but they were sharing in (giving) assistance to the bride and groom. (69) When they finished, they shook the tree. They shook it from on top of the roof. All the things that were on it came down. Then you would see small children running after those things, whether they were chocolates, apples, money. Each one ran to gather for himself. Also the older people would gather them. I remember that until today. The shaking of the tree—they would do this on the day of the wedding. (70) The next day, they would say ‘Let us tax the people who were present at the wedding’. The bride and the groom would sit and they would put out apples, chocolates, various things, on a tray that was placed on their table. Then the people who were sitting there—there were two ushers and these two would come and take (these things), for example, and bring something for each person who was present. Each would take something and they would tax him. (71) Who taxed him? The best man, who was present there, the best man of the groom. He says ‘You must put five dinars here, since you took an apple from this plate of the king and queen’. This is because the bride and groom were the king and queen. He had to deposit five dinars there. Then he took his apple and went away. (72) This custom—there were two aspects to it. Firstly, socially people enjoyed themselves and spent (a happy) time at this (event). Secondly it was a joint effort to assist the bride and groom with the expenses that they had disbursed so that they could get back something for themselves. (73) Indeed I remember also these things. I recall them (from the time when) I was young and also when we grew up. Many weddings took place in the village. We would go up (to the village) and see them. We indeed kept them (in the customary way).

(74) *zmaryáθa xlulàne<sup>1</sup> mòdiwa.<sup>2</sup> qámθa lèwa 'ax-hadíya<sup>1</sup> musìqa-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-bànd<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áyya.<sup>1</sup> yómæt xyáptæt xètna,<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa lèliyàne.<sup>1</sup> y-gzíwa nablìwale<sup>1</sup> l-šaqìθa<sup>1</sup> yàn l-hàmmam,<sup>1</sup> 'ékæt 'íle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-tàma<sup>1</sup> 'i-šaríwa m-báræt xayáφwa xètna,<sup>1</sup> gù xyáptæ-díye<sup>1</sup> 'u-bàr xayáφwa,<sup>1</sup> ... gu-dánæt xyáptæt xètna,<sup>1</sup> 'i-mšaríwa<sup>1</sup> zmàra<sup>1</sup> tre-jwìne<sup>1</sup> 'u-hál-'ε-gæt parèqwa,<sup>1</sup> 'u-mádre hál-'ε-gæt mamtìwale<sup>1</sup> hal-béthè xètna.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya 'íwa lèliyàna.<sup>1</sup> (75) 'u-m-d-ó-geba xèna<sup>1</sup> zmaryáθa 'íθwa ràwe.<sup>1</sup> yá'ni líθwa 'ax-hadíya 'ánna zmaryáθa hadíya t-íla xá-dana zamàra<sup>1</sup> zmàra zmárta-w mænne-mænne musìqa,<sup>1</sup> là.<sup>1</sup> ràweewa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-attíwa gu-dìwəm<sup>1</sup> suràye<sup>1</sup> xoš-'ámrx 'ánna 'úrze,<sup>1</sup> xà b-nošéy,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'i-zamríwa ràwe.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga xázæt xá mæn-d-è-paθa<sup>1</sup> 'u-xéna mæn-d-é-paθa xéta njawùbwala.<sup>1</sup> 'àtxewa 'ánna zmaryáθa.<sup>1</sup>*

### Dancing

(76) *náše 'é-gæt raqðíwa<sup>1</sup> lé raqðíwa l-zmaryàθa,<sup>1</sup> l-qálat dáwla-w zòrna,<sup>1</sup> musìqæt dáwla-w zòrna.<sup>1</sup> 'é-gə dáwla-w zòrna<sup>1</sup> xá-ga maxéwa gu-'Éñ-Nune,<sup>1</sup> nášə Díre šāmìwale,<sup>1</sup> qemíwa y-aθíwa,<sup>1</sup> y-àmri<sup>1</sup> mšurèla mxàya<sup>1</sup> qéməx 'àzexi.<sup>1</sup> (77) yan-xlúla gu-Deròške<sup>1</sup> 'áxnən gu-'Éñ-Nune šāmèxwale qála,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwa b-xšáwəx hadíya mšurèla.<sup>1</sup> sab-xa-xa-gáye 'i-maxéwa tmányà sa'ətte<sup>1</sup> bar-gðáde t-là-kleθa.<sup>1</sup> tmányá sa'ətte y-áwa mxàya<sup>1</sup> 'u-náše diwìqe.<sup>1</sup> (78) 'é-ga líθwa stage,<sup>1</sup> 'íwa<sup>1</sup> dukàne<sup>1</sup> gumáθa díyən 'Éñ-Nune<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa bədràθa.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna bədráθæt meθíwala zrùta<sup>1</sup> 'u-xáttə 'u-hónne y-oðíwala gàwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áni bədráθa tàma náše 'i-raqðíwa.<sup>1</sup> (79) sab-wíðəkwala 'ára dàšta<sup>1</sup> 'u-mašíwa náše doqíwa t-là<sup>1</sup> 'arbà-reze xá-xa-gaye.<sup>1</sup> 'árba xamšà réze y-áwa diwìqe náše b-rqàða.<sup>1</sup> hálbat<sup>1</sup> 'úrze-w bnàθa-w<sup>1</sup> kúlla gu-gðáde.<sup>1</sup> 'u-lwíše mxùmlə<sup>1</sup> júllət 'aθuràye.<sup>1</sup> (80) 'u-haqónnux xá-ga 'áyya wítela.<sup>1</sup> xa-bàxta<sup>1</sup> xa-d-ánna diwìqewa réšət xəgga,<sup>1</sup> diwìqewa réšət xəgga-w<sup>1</sup> rqàða-w<sup>1</sup> šyášəlla rába qùwya,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya buxəlla bìye<sup>1</sup> xa-báxta gòrtewa.<sup>1</sup> (81) 'é-ga y-amràwa<sup>1</sup> 'énile 'ó-t-ile 'átxa šyášəlla gáne diye,<sup>1</sup> cú-məndi léle ðàya.<sup>1</sup> 'o-mut-rəqðəle rqàða.<sup>2</sup> xa-d-ánna 'ámər 'əlla diya<sup>1</sup> lát-ða'a 'o-'énile.<sup>2</sup> mára là.<sup>1</sup> móre 'o-brøn-t-xònx-ile.<sup>1</sup> 'ámra hè,<sup>1</sup> t-amrətle 'abóna gu-qàše<sup>1</sup> léle hátxa rqàða tàza.<sup>1</sup>*

(74) What were the wedding songs? In the old days it was not like now, when there is a music with a band and so forth. On the day of the washing of the groom there were *leliyane*. They went and took him to a channel or a wash house, wherever it was. There, after they washed the groom, during the washing and after they washed, at the time of the washing of the groom, they began to sing in two groups, until it was finished, and again until they brought him to the house of the groom. This was a *leliyana*. (75) On the other hand there were songs (known) as *rawe*. There were not songs like now, when there is a singer who sings a song accompanied by music. No. It was a *rawe*. The Christians, let's say the men, by themselves, would sit in a reception room and sing *rawe*. You would see one person on this side (singing) and another on the other side answering him. Those songs were like that.

### *Dancing*

(76) When people danced, they did not dance to the songs, but to the sound of the drum and pipe, the music of the drum and pipe. When the drum and pipe played in 'En-Nune, the people of Dure would hear and would come. They said 'They have begun to play, let's go'. (77) Or (if there was) a wedding in Dərəške, we in 'En-Nune would hear the noise and say 'We think they have started now. For, sometimes, they played for eight hours continuously without stopping. They would play for eight hours and the people held (each other). (78) At that time there was no 'stage'. There were places in our village of 'En-Nune, there were threshing floors. These were threshing floors where they brought agricultural produce, wheat and such like, which they made there. The people would dance on those threshing floors. (79) This was because they had made the ground level and the people could form three or four rows at once. The people formed four or five rows when dancing. Of course, men and women all together. They were dressed up festively in Assyrian clothes. (80) Let me tell you something that happened once. A woman was jealous of somebody who was at the head of the *xägga* dance, he was at the head of the dance and dancing, shaking very energetically. She was an old woman. (81) She said 'Who is that who is shaking himself like that. He knows nothing (about dancing). What kind of dance is he dancing?' Somebody said to her 'Don't you know who that is?' She said 'No'. He said 'He is the son of your sister'. She said 'Yes, he is like a bishop among priests. Doesn't he dance well!'

*The Gayasa*

(82) *yomə t-trə̃ bar-ʔədət qyàmta¹ ʔile geyàsa.¹ ʔána táxrən hal-hadíya¹ zòrəxwa ʔáxní,¹ y-azə́xwa kalə́xwa m-qamàye¹ sab-yalúnke zòre¹ ʔimə klíwala gu-ʔúmra dīyən,¹ yáʔni táxsət ʔétə dīyən,¹ maklílən qamàye.¹* (83) *ʔi-kalə́xwa m-qamàye¹ ʔu-txàrən¹ qásə Šəmo,¹ ʔó qasə-t-ín b-txàrən ʔille dīye,¹ maxéwa geyàsa.¹ y-áwe síra b-xa-qésa ríxa¹ qúrbət trə̃-metre,¹ tré-metre ʔu-pálge ʔátxa.¹ ʔərxúthe dīyewa.¹ y-áwe síra¹ pündewa,¹ y-áwa síre bíye dīye¹ ʔu-résət púnda ʔùllu! y-awéwa.¹* (84) *fa-y-aθéwa qásə Šəmo,¹ xa-šamáša hayə̀rwale.¹ xà-xa¹ maxewále gu-rə́šən.¹ ʔo-t-txàrən,¹ ʔáxnən zòrəxwa,¹ ʔi-maxéwale xà-gaya¹ xá-ga xéta y-oðə́xwale rə́šən ʔátxa¹ qa-t-xá-ga xéta qayə̀θwa,¹ sab-zòrəxwa,¹ lé pařmáxwa yáʔni duzúθa módila manáy dīya.¹ ʔáxcí b-txàrən hal-hadíya tre-tlā-gaye mamxə́xwala gánən.¹* (85) *ʔu-xá-məndi xəna,¹ ʔé-gət palə́xwa¹ mən-ʔúmra,¹ gu-dártət ʔúmra¹ y-áwa tíwe baxtáθa mpálóye lə́xma.¹ ʔáp-ʔayya p-aqónna ʔə́llux,¹ sab-wítela b-réxi ʔup-ʔayya.¹* (86) *ʔána zòrənwa,¹ xamšə-šəne ʔúmur dīyi.¹ pliten,¹ mən-yamína¹ gárag ʔazə́xwa səmmála¹ qa-t-šaqłə́xwa lə́xma¹ ʔu-pařə́xwa.¹ pařlən¹ ʔé-baxta xarə̀θa¹ ʔu-paltə́xwa.¹ zilli ʔána¹ mənə-mənnət-xorə́wə̀θa.¹ klélən ʔu-šqillən lə́xma-w zillən θələn.¹ . . . [interruption] . . .* (87) *plitlən gu-dártət ʔúmra.¹ duxrənəwa,¹ kút-xa-wa qbila xa-məndi¹ qa-Mar-Sàwa.¹ məθíwa lə́xma¹ yán bə́sra,¹ yán ku-məndi-t-ʔile,¹ ʔən-mərtə́xa¹ qa-t-ó t-íle qbilə́lle¹ qa-t-maqróye táma ʔan-nə́še¹ qa-t-kút-xa šə́qəl ʔu-ʔə́zəl.¹* (88) *ʔána b-txàrən hal-hadíya ʔána-w xa-xòri¹ θələn,¹ ziwə́rən¹ xa-gàya¹ mlélən ʔiθáθən lə́xma-w məndyàne.¹ xá-ga xéta¹ mədre,¹ kút báxta t-in-zála ʔə́lla dīya,¹ ʔána léyðən módila qə́sət,¹ b-šəna bə́bi,¹ b-šəna θélux,¹ dwə́qə́lli,¹ nə́qə́lli,¹ ʔu-yávə́lli mən-d-o-lə́xma¹ yán m-d-o-bə́sra¹ yán m-d-o-mərtə́xa.¹* (89) *ʔu-mláya hóle qə́pli.¹ qə́pli hóle mláya,¹ hon-zála¹ yə́wə́nna¹ mattóyənna kəs-ʔayya xə́θi¹ ʔe-gòrta.¹ ʔap-ʔay mpálóyewa,¹ ʔay ʔu-mnə́xət yə́mmi.¹ mattóyənna tàma¹ ʔu-mə́dre zálən xa-ga-xéta.¹ təlłə́θ gə́ye¹ zilli,¹ ʔána ziwə́rən.¹ ʔána gárag xà-gaya.¹* (90) *xərθa xáθa mərə́ ʔati mòt wáðə.¹ ʔína kə́mà-gaye zillux ʔu-šqillux ʔayya.¹ məri ʔána təlłə́θ gə́ye hal-hadíya.¹ ʔámra bə́ssa.¹ ʔə́bele¹ la-túklən.¹ háyyo tu-tíwa lə́xxa¹*

*The Gayasa*

(82) The second day of Easter is (the ceremony of) the *gayasa*. I remember until today that we were young and we went and stood at the front, for when young children stood in the church, it was a rule of our church that they would make us stand at the front. (83) We would stand at the front and I remember father Šamo—(he is) the priest whom I remember—he would tap the *gayasa* (on our heads). There was tied to a long stick, about two metres, two metres and a half in length, there was tied—they were wicks, they were tied to it, with the top of the wick upwards. (84) Father Šamo would come and a deacon would help him. He would tap it on each of our heads. As far as I remember—we were young—he would tap it once, then we would put our heads like this, so that he would tap again, since we were young and we did not, in truth, understand what the meaning of it was. But I remember until now that we would have ourselves tapped (on the head) two or three times. (85) Another thing—when we came out of the church, in the courtyard of the church there were women distributing bread. I shall tell you also about this, since this also happened to me. (86) I was young, I was about five years old. I went out. We were supposed to go from right to left (along the line of women) to take bread, then finish. We finished with the last woman, then went out. I went together with my friends. We stood and took bread, then went and came back. [*interruption*] (87) We went into the courtyard of the church. It was a memorial. Everybody had donated something to Saint Sawa. They would bring bread or meat, or whatever there was, cake filling, and the one who has donated calls the people so that everybody takes and then goes off. (88) I remember until today that I and my friend came and went round and filled our hands with bread and things, then again. Every woman I went to—I did not know what it was all about—(said) ‘Hello my dear, welcome’. She held me and kissed me, then gave me some of the bread or the meat or the cake filling. (89) My arms were full. When my arms were full, I went and delivered the things to my elder sister and she distributed them, together with my late mother. I deposited them there and again went off. I went round three times. I should have gone only once. (90) In the end my sister said ‘What are you doing? How many times have you gone round and taken this?’ I said ‘I (have been round) three times so far’. She said ‘That’s enough. It’s shameful. Don’t give us a bad name! Come and sit here’.

(91) *mári qa-mò<sup>1</sup> la-kəmət-máṣax t-àzəx.<sup>2</sup> mára là,<sup>1</sup> xà-bena 'ázi náše.<sup>1</sup> 'é-ga xárθa klèli,<sup>1</sup> mári OK mára 'àtxa.<sup>1</sup> qímen kàlyen.<sup>1</sup> 'ína mò,<sup>1</sup> qímtəla ap-'áy xá-ga xéta kúlla púlèθəlla qa-náše,<sup>1</sup> sab-náše rəbɛwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-duxrànɛwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-txárən hal-hadiya.<sup>1</sup>*

### Memorials

(92) *w-áxnɪ 'imə y-oðáxwale duxrána.<sup>2</sup> yomə-təltássər b-'əçça<sup>1</sup> 'úwa 'éðə šliwa.<sup>1</sup> təltássər b-'əçça<sup>1</sup> mən-'əmməyət šənnɛ<sup>1</sup> duxránət Mar-Sáwət 'oðúwale<sup>1</sup> 'úwa təltássər b-'əçça.<sup>1</sup> hal-'ədyoma,<sup>1</sup> kud-šəta<sup>1</sup> 'i-'óði təltássər b-'əçça<sup>1</sup> duxrána<sup>1</sup> 'u-'éðə šliwa<sup>1</sup> 'u-parmi 'ərbe<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-óði dùxa<sup>1</sup> qa-d-áwəwa yòma.<sup>1</sup> (93) 'u-hal-'ədyóma líθ náše rəba<sup>1</sup> 'ína yómət 'éða šliwa<sup>1</sup> təltássər b-'əçça<sup>1</sup> 'é-šetət wírra<sup>1</sup> qúrbət tré-'alpe 'u-xamš-əmmà-náše<sup>1</sup> 'úwa hðìrɛ<sup>1</sup> 'ò-yoma.<sup>1</sup> šqíllən 'ax-t-y-ámri qurbána qaddiša<sup>1</sup> 'u-plítlən qam-tàra<sup>1</sup> 'u-mzuyáxlən 'áwəwa yòma.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'ən-báyət šəkla,<sup>1</sup> 'ittən šəklət vido.<sup>1</sup>*

(91) I said ‘Why? Don’t we go as much as we can?’ She said ‘No. People should go only once’. So, in the end I stopped. I said ‘OK’ and she said ‘Good’<sup>4</sup> I stopped, but what (happened)? She distributed everything again to the people, for there were many people and it was a memorial service. I remember this until today.

### *Memorials*

(92) When do we hold the memorial? The thirteenth of September was the Festival of the Cross. The thirteenth of September. For hundreds of years they observed the memorial of Saint Sawa, which took place on the thirteenth of September. Until today, every year, on the thirteenth of September, they observe the memorial and the Festival of the Cross. They slaughter sheep and perform a sacrifice for that day. (93) Today there are not many people (in the village), but on the day of the Festival of the Cross, the thirteenth of September last year, about two thousand five hundred people were present that day. We took holy communion, as they say, then went out and celebrated the day. If you want (to see) a photograph, we have a video film.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: (may it be) thus.



Informant: Siranoš Xaməs ('Ēn-Nune)

*The Festival of 'The Bride of the Ascension'*

(1) k'álo sulàqa<sup>1</sup> qámθa šaláxwa l-'úmra.<sup>1</sup> kúl-məndi 'amárwalən qàša<sup>1</sup> k'álo dax-'òðitula,<sup>1</sup> b-şaqłitula,<sup>1</sup> 'azítu l-bəθa l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> y-asqàxwa.<sup>1</sup> qarwáxwa, parqáxwa, y-asqáxwa bèθən.<sup>1</sup> (2) qemáxwa béna xa-yálta zúrta<sup>1</sup> y-òðáxwala k'álo sulàqa.<sup>1</sup> y-òðáxwala k'álo.<sup>1</sup> mattáxwa məndiyáne kúlla dax-t-óya k'álo.<sup>1</sup> xa-yálta mənnən-mənnən<sup>1</sup> nabláxwala l-béθa l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'o-t-'ítwale zùze yawálıwa.<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-'ítwale şerniyə yawálıwa.<sup>1</sup> kú-mdit 'ítwale,<sup>1</sup> bè'e,<sup>1</sup> 'ánna bè'e smòqe<sup>1</sup> yawálıwa 'állə dıya.<sup>1</sup> (4) y-azáxwa<sup>1</sup> parqáxwa mən-d-ày,<sup>1</sup> y-azáxwa taláxwa xa-xáwla bə-d... 'ilána,<sup>1</sup> 'ilánət tùθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-òðáxwa hèzuke bíye,<sup>1</sup> kúllən,<sup>1</sup> mən-yále zóre 'u-hal-gòre.<sup>1</sup> kúllən y-azáxwa y-attáxwa,<sup>1</sup> xamláxwa tàmə.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-òðáxwa 'ixàla<sup>1</sup> y-axláxwa,<sup>1</sup> şatáxwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-déráxwa l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup>

*Easter*

(5) yómət 'éða gòra<sup>1</sup> sáwəxwa bè'e.<sup>1</sup> y-ázəxwa 'áxnı zóre mətáláxwa kólàne.<sup>1</sup> kólàne mətáláxwa gáwa.<sup>1</sup> mattáxwala bè'e gu-şawəłta.<sup>1</sup> gu-d-áyya şawəłtən mattáxwala bè'e<sup>1</sup> mətáláxwa xázəx 'əni qárəm.<sup>1</sup> qarmáxwala bè'e,<sup>1</sup> mattáxwala.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa qarámwala tré tlı.<sup>1</sup> (6) 'u-'ánna 'ürze<sup>1</sup> şaqłıwa maxıwa hátxa l-gđáde bəta.<sup>1</sup> y-attáxwa xamláxwa.<sup>1</sup> y-òðáxwa həftə.<sup>1</sup> kúlla raqđıwa,<sup>1</sup> zamrıwa,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni kúl-məndi y-òđıwa.<sup>1</sup> lítwələn qəhər,<sup>1</sup> čú-məndi lítwələn 'è-ga.<sup>1</sup> gu-'áθrət g'ánən<sup>1</sup> rábəxwa xáðye pşixe.<sup>1</sup> píşəx gòre,<sup>1</sup> plıtx mən-'áθra.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Siranoš Xaməs ('Ĕn-Nune)

*The Festival of 'The Bride of the Ascension'*

(1) The Bride of the Ascension<sup>1</sup>—first we would go down to the church. The priest would tell us everything, how you should make the 'bride', adorn her, and go from house to house. We would go back up. After we finished taking communion,<sup>2</sup> we would go back up to our home. (2) Then we would make a young girl the bride of the Ascension. We would make her the bride. We would put on her all kinds of things, as if she were a bride. We would take a girl with us from house to house. (3) Anybody who had money would give (it to her). Anybody who had sweets, would give (them to her), whatever he had, eggs, those red eggs, he would give to her. (4) When we finished with this,<sup>3</sup> we would hang a rope onto a tree, a mulberry tree, and we would swing on it, all of us, from small children to older ones. We would all go and sit and have fun there. We would make food to eat and we drank. Then we returned home.

*Easter*

(5) On the day of the 'Great Festival' (Easter), we would paint eggs. We young people would go and play in the streets. We would play in the streets. We would put eggs in a shoe. We would put eggs in this shoe of ours. We would play and see who won. We would win them and place them aside. Everybody won two or three. (6) The boys would take them and knock the eggs together. We would sit and have fun. We had a party. They all danced and sang. They did everything. We knew no sadness, we had nothing (to sadden us) at that time. In our own land we were very happy and cheerful. When we grew up, we left the land.

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<sup>1</sup> This festival has been combined with the festival of Ascension 40 days after Easter. It is a memorial for an event that took place in 13th century during the Mongol invasions. When the kingdom of the Assyrian king Šaliṭa was under siege, food for the defending troops was collected and conveyed to them by young girls.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: We would take communion, we would finish.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: We would go and finish with this.

*Şawmækka*

(7) *la-θéle rēš-şàwma.<sup>1</sup> b-şaqłáxwa kúlla 'amànnən,<sup>1</sup> kúlla b-şaqłáxwala<sup>1</sup> dérəxwa qəţma mxalləxwala.<sup>1</sup> qəţma,<sup>1</sup> 'áy dax-m-gēb-Ṭide,<sup>1</sup> m-gēb-d-àmma məndiyáne<sup>1</sup> là hawéwa l-náşe kúlla.<sup>1</sup> mxallíwala bəd-qəţma,<sup>1</sup> d-áyya qəţmət qəsa.<sup>1</sup> (8) maqđəxwale qəsa,<sup>1</sup> páyəşwa qəţma<sup>1</sup> 'u-xalləxwa 'amáne biye.<sup>1</sup> derəxwale gu-miyya,<sup>1</sup> páyəşwa hətxa<sup>1</sup> 'ax-jarúta hatxanə-w<sup>1</sup> xalləxwa 'amáne biye 'u-hənnə<sup>1</sup> ta-t-y-awéwa şàwma.<sup>1</sup> (9) 'ó-yomət rēš-şàwma<sup>1</sup> jəməxwa,<sup>1</sup> kúlla náşe jəmíwa,<sup>1</sup> y-ođíwa xa-şawmækka.<sup>1</sup> maluşíwale júlle 'atíqe.<sup>1</sup> y-ođíwa xá-mđi hátxa gu-rəşe.<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-azíwa zavriwa.<sup>1</sup> (10) şawmækka náşa fāqira-wewa,<sup>1</sup> y-ođəxwale júlle nčile kúlla.<sup>1</sup> kúlley júlle diye y-áwa nčile.<sup>1</sup> 'u-kasəxwala pəthe,<sup>1</sup> şoqəxwa xánčī hətxa.<sup>1</sup> marəqđəxwale.<sup>1</sup> marəqđiwale,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-náşe yawíwale yabişe,<sup>1</sup> gəze.<sup>1</sup> şalqəxwa məndiyáne,<sup>1</sup> yawíwa kút-xa b-deríwa gu-'amàna.<sup>1</sup> nablíwala l-béθa ta-t-axlila.<sup>1</sup> (11) nablíwale l-béθa l-béθa,<sup>1</sup> marəqđiwale.<sup>1</sup> zamríwa biye,<sup>1</sup> l-béθa l-béθa l-béθa l-béθa<sup>1</sup> hal-'əsri<sup>2</sup>ta parqəxwa.<sup>1</sup> parqəxwa 'u-kút-xa y-azíwa béθe diye-w.<sup>1</sup> şeməxwa,<sup>1</sup> béna le-y-axləxwa čü-məndi<sup>1</sup> mən-zóre hal-göre.<sup>1</sup> (12) kúlləm y-axləxwa məndiyánət gəlləle.<sup>1</sup> là y-axləxwa<sup>1</sup> məndi la-bəşra,<sup>1</sup> la-məşxa hòr,<sup>1</sup> la-bə'e,<sup>1</sup> la-čü-məndi,<sup>1</sup> xamšī yománe.<sup>1</sup> hal-díya hóla gu-móxən 'áyya 'áxni.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-la-şeməxla məřəx.<sup>1</sup> 'áxni göre,<sup>1</sup> bas-'ánna bnóne zóre<sup>1</sup> hadíya ləla şyaməlla 'áni.<sup>1</sup>*

*Miθəkkə*

(13) *y-aθéwa 'éða zòra<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'ay hədəx y-ođíwa.<sup>1</sup> y-ođəxwale miθəkkə.<sup>1</sup> kəsəxwala pəthe,<sup>1</sup> mtaşəxwale.<sup>1</sup> 'aw-là zamríxwa biye.<sup>1</sup> bas-mtaşiwale-w<sup>1</sup> 'u-nablíwale kəs-náşe hatxanə,<sup>1</sup> xazíwale,<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'aw yawíwale məndiyáne.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna yále zóre<sup>1</sup> kúlla npile bar-gəđəde.<sup>1</sup> 'i-şaqłíwa məndi,<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-azíwa y-atwíwa xála.<sup>1</sup> (14) miθəkkə 'áp-'ay şeməxla 'əsri-w-xamšā yóme.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-'ay le-y-axləxwa hič-məndi,<sup>1</sup> bas-gəlləle-w<sup>1</sup> məndi šliqa.<sup>1</sup> mən-yále zóre hal-göre,<sup>1</sup> kúlla lé-y 'ođíwa 'ixála.<sup>1</sup>*

*Šawmǝkka*

(7) When the beginning of the (Lent) fast came, we would take all our vessels, we would take them all and put ash on them to clean them. The ash was instead of (the detergent) ‘Tide’, instead of such things, which not everybody had. They would wash with ash, wood ash. (8) We would burn wood, it became ash and we would wash vessels with it. We put it in water and it became slippery like this, and we would wash vessels in it and so forth, until it was the fast. (9) On the day of the beginning of the fast we gathered together, everybody gathered together and made a *šawmǝkka*. They dressed it with old clothes. They put a thing like this on top of it. Then they would go around with it. (10) The *šawmǝkka* was a poor man. We made for him ragged clothes. All his clothes were ragged. We would cover his face and left a little (space for him to look out) like this. Then we made him dance. They made him dance so that people would give him raisins, walnuts. We would boil things. Everybody would give (something) and put it in the vessel. They would take (these things) home to eat them. (11) They took him from house to house, they made him dance. They sang to him, from house, to house, to house, to house, until in the evening we finished. After we finished, everybody went to their house. We fasted, we did not eat anything, from small (children) to older people. (12) We all ate vegetarian things, we did not eat anything with either meat or fat, not eggs, nothing, for fifty days. Until now this has remained in our memory. (People said) If we do not fast, we shall become ill. We older ones (still fast), but these young children now do not fast.

*Miθǝkka*

(13) When the Minor Festival (Christmas) came, this was similar. We would make a *miθǝkka*. We would cover his face and hide him. We did not sing to him, but rather they hid him and took him to people, like this. When they saw him, they would give him things. All the young children followed each other. They took something and went and sat down to eat it. (14) (This was) the *miθǝkka*—They would fast also (during) this festival, (they would fast) for twenty-five days. Also in this (festival) we would not eat anything, only vegetables and boiled food. Young children and adults. Nobody made food.

*The Rogation of the Ninevites*

(15) báwθá Ninwàye<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ay 'ítwa.<sup>1</sup> šemìla.<sup>1</sup> t-ámri díge-w kθàye<sup>1</sup> 'áp 'an-zóre xtiàye.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>ay<sup>1</sup> kùlley<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa<sup>1</sup> t-oðíwala<sup>1</sup> šemìwala.<sup>1</sup> tla-yománe hič mándi 'ap-míya là šatíwa,<sup>1</sup> léle-w yòma,<sup>1</sup> tla-yománe.<sup>1</sup> (16) kúlla náše gòre,<sup>1</sup> yómət tla,<sup>1</sup> sá'ət 'arba<sup>1</sup> t-oðíwa qurbàna.<sup>1</sup> qurbána mattíwa gu-pummèy.<sup>1</sup> y-axlíwa-w<sup>1</sup> y-asqíwa tla-yománe hič mándi lé y-axlíwa.<sup>1</sup> (17) 'u-palxíwa šùla,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa zrà'a,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa xzàda,<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa meθóye mándi ta-bèθa<sup>1</sup> 'áni šime.<sup>1</sup> 'ítwaln 'érwe-w tàwre<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa y-oðíwala 'ixàla,<sup>1</sup> meθíwa,<sup>1</sup> 'áni šime kúlla náše.<sup>1</sup>

*Girls' Sunday*

(18) qam-šàwma<sup>1</sup> 'íθ xošéba bnàθa.<sup>1</sup> bnàθa kúlla b-t-azíwa bèθa,<sup>1</sup> b-šaqlíwa 'ixàla mən-d-áwwa d-áwwa d-àwwa,<sup>1</sup> t-azíwa gu-xa-ḥira,<sup>1</sup> t-atwíwa,<sup>1</sup> t-axlíwa,<sup>1</sup> b-šatíwa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>ánna náše gòre,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa t-íla bráte díye gwírta<sup>1</sup> čedíwala<sup>1</sup> meθíwala l-bèθa,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-axlíwa m-ğðaðə,<sup>1</sup> kúlla fámyly m-ğðáde t-axlíwala.<sup>1</sup> (19) 'u-<sup>2</sup>ánna xéne zòre<sup>1</sup> y-azíwa gu-ḥira<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-oðáxwa níra,<sup>1</sup> meθáxwa qése 'u-məndiyàne.<sup>1</sup> y-oðáxwa níra 'u-bašlāxwa.<sup>1</sup> bašlāxwa řázza 'u-deráxwa bəsrá gáwe.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa meθéwa xánči bəsrá.<sup>1</sup> dérxwa kút-xa,<sup>1</sup> páyášwa rāba yá'ni.<sup>1</sup> dérxwa qušárta górta bašlāxwa,<sup>1</sup> y-axlāxwa,<sup>1</sup> parqəxwa-w<sup>1</sup> y-ázəxwa bèθa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya t-xošéba bnàθa.<sup>1</sup>

*The Festival of the Cross*

(20) 'édə šlíwa.<sup>1</sup> 'áp-<sup>2</sup>aw 'édə šlíwa,<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše yómət 'édə šlíwa jāmíwa,<sup>1</sup> y-ásqíwa l-<sup>2</sup>umra<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-aθéwa mbašlíwa,<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwa duxràna.<sup>1</sup> duxràna.<sup>1</sup> 'ítwaln xa-túθa čúwa,<sup>1</sup> bašlíwa duxràna,<sup>1</sup> kút-xa qušárte díye<sup>1</sup> gu-<sup>2</sup>amàna dériwala qušárta.<sup>1</sup> (21) y-oðíwa bušála,<sup>1</sup> bušálet masta.<sup>1</sup> deríwa mǝšxa gáwa hór,<sup>1</sup> napòxta,<sup>1</sup> gèrdo y-amríla.<sup>1</sup> 'áy šmma gèrdole.<sup>1</sup> šaqlíwala,<sup>1</sup> 'u-masqíwala.<sup>1</sup> 'ítln xa-túθa čúwa gòra.<sup>1</sup> kúlla náše jāmíwa tàma.<sup>1</sup> raqðíwa,<sup>1</sup> zamrìwa,<sup>1</sup> máxíwa dáwla-w zòrna.<sup>1</sup>

*The Rogation of the Ninevites*

(15) The Rogation of the Ninevites was also observed (in our community). They would fast during it. They would say ‘The cocks and the chickens, and also the small lowly creatues (should observe the fast)’. Everybody went and observed it and fasted. For three days, nothing, they did not drink even water, night and day, for three days. (16) All the older people, on the third day, at four o’clock, would take communion. They would put the communion (host) in their mouth. They would eat then go up and for three days they would eat nothing. (17) They would work, go to cultivate (the fields), go to harvest, go and bring things for the house, while they were fasting. We had sheep and oxen. People went to give them food and bring (them back), while they all were fasting.

*Girls’ Sunday*

(18) Before the fast (of Lent) was Girls’ Sunday. All the girls went home, took food from here and from there, then went to the mountains, where they sat, ate and drank. The older people, everybody whose daughter was married,—they would invite her and bring her to the house, so that they would eat together. All the family ate together. (19) The other younger people went to the mountains. We made a fire, we brought wood and things. We made a fire and cooked. We cooked rice, we put meat in it. Everybody brought a little meat. We all contributed a little, and it became a big (feast). We set up a big pan and cooked. We ate, then, when we finished, we went home. This is (the festival) of Girls’ Sunday.

*The Festival of the Cross*

(20) The Festival of the Cross. Also on the Festival of the Cross, all the people on the day of the Festival of the Cross would gather together and go up to the church, then came back and cooked and made a memorial. A memorial. We had a smooth mulberry tree. They would cook a memorial (meal), everybody in his own pan, in a vessel, which they would put out, a pan. (21) They would make stew, yoghurt stew. They would put oil in it and syrup. It was called *gərðo*. Its name is *gərðo*. They would take it up. We had a large smooth mulberry tree. All the people gathered there. They danced, they sang, they played the drum and pipe.

(22) *yá'ni lá mtaxámniwa b-čú-məndi gu-d-áyya dúnyə mòdi,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni mòdila.<sup>1</sup> líθwalən yá'ni taxmànta<sup>1</sup> ta-taxəmnəxwa.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa y-azáliwa paləxwa,<sup>1</sup> 'aşərtə y-aθéwa bəθa.<sup>1</sup> 'édə şliwa y-oðəxwale,<sup>1</sup> 'o-yóma xà-yoma,<sup>1</sup> 'itlən təltəssər b-yérxa.<sup>1</sup> 'ó-yoma 'édə şliwa diyən.<sup>1</sup>*

### *The gayasa*

(23) *geyàsa,<sup>1</sup> kúlla b-şalıwa.<sup>1</sup> 'itwala şəmmánət mìθe,<sup>1</sup> matəxrìwala.<sup>1</sup> náşe mìθe<sup>1</sup> kút-xa 'itlə xəzmáne matxərre şəmme.<sup>1</sup> 'u-yawólwa zùze.<sup>1</sup> 'itwa xa-qésət xátte romàye,<sup>1</sup> y-oðíwala rìxa,<sup>1</sup> m-áxxa l-d-a-gòt-hòdəx.<sup>1</sup> bəlloryàθa,<sup>1</sup> xa-zàla y-amrìle,<sup>1</sup> zàla gòra y-áwe.<sup>1</sup> rába rayəxwa.<sup>1</sup> (24) *şaqliwale<sup>1</sup> 'u-y-oðíwale tla-'àrba,<sup>1</sup> máxi 'ánna punde bíye.<sup>1</sup> maxíwale b-réşət náşe,<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'áni là mbarxíwale qáşa-w şamáşa.<sup>2</sup> kúlla mbarxiwale,<sup>1</sup> ... réşən mākípəxwala hátxa,<sup>1</sup> maxéwala gu-rəşən,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-péşəxwa rìxe,<sup>1</sup> hátxa mūrəlla gu-mòxən,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-péşəxwa rìxe.<sup>1</sup> kút-xa ta-gàne,<sup>1</sup> hátxa taqəlhwale gəne,<sup>1</sup> yá'ni qa-t-qáyəθwa gu-rəşe.<sup>1</sup> qa-t-péşəxwa rìxe,<sup>1</sup> háwənən hátxa mələpíwalən 'awáhe diyən.<sup>1</sup> y-ámri**

*Tətəs b-mšixa grele  
hewiye-w sawre drele  
m-marən xawre wele*

*'ε-dána máxi geyàsa.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya y-ámərra qáşa,<sup>1</sup> y-amárra 'u-máxe gu-rəşən.<sup>1</sup> qa-d-páθəx tārət pərdəsa,<sup>1</sup> qa-t-áwri surəye.<sup>1</sup> wíre gu-móxən hátxa mūrəlla,<sup>1</sup> m-o—zóna hal-díya.<sup>1</sup>*

### *Cheese*

(25) *gùpta.<sup>1</sup> méθiwala xəlyə.<sup>1</sup> xəlwa<sup>1</sup> məθiwále.<sup>1</sup> maríwale.<sup>1</sup> 'itwa xímşət gùpta,<sup>1</sup> deríwale gáwa.<sup>1</sup> mattíwala<sup>1</sup> qəlibe,<sup>1</sup> qəlibe.<sup>1</sup> kúlla y-oðíwala,<sup>1</sup> kut-qəlīb xòðe.<sup>1</sup> méθiwa xəlyə,<sup>1</sup> xa-gúða məlyə,<sup>1</sup> xəlyə.<sup>1</sup> 'u-b-deríwala gu-d-án qəlibe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-dériwa m-d-é marəθa,<sup>1</sup> yəmmət marəθa,<sup>1</sup> kúlla píşe qəlibe hátxa t-gùpta.<sup>1</sup>*

(22) We had no care about anything in the world.<sup>4</sup> We had no thought to think. Everybody went to work and returned home in the evening. We held the Festival of the Cross. This was one day, we (hold it) on the thirteenth of the month (of September). That day is the Festival of the Cross in our community.

### *The Gayasa*

(23) The *gayasa*—everybody would go down. They commemorated the names of their dead. The dead people, each had relatives whose name he would commemorate. They would give money. There was a cane of maize, which they made long, from here to that place over there. Pipes, they called it a reed, a reed. It was big. It was very long. (24) They took it and put three or four wicks on it. They tapped it on the head of people, while the priest and the deacon blessed them all. They blessed them all. We would lower our head like this, and they tapped it on our head, so that we would become tall—they put such (an idea) into our heads—so that we would become tall. Everybody stood up straight, so that it would tap on his head, so that we would become tall—our parents taught us in that way. They say:

Titus<sup>5</sup> called the Messiah  
He put his hope and trust (in Jesus to be saved)  
He has become the friend of our Lord

Then they knock the *geyasa* stick (on our heads). The priest says this. He says it and knocks (the stick) on our head, so that the door of paradise opens, so that Christians enter. Such things as this that they said have stayed in our minds from then until now.

### *Cheese*

(25) Cheese—they would bring milk, they would bring curds. They would put rennet into it. There was a sour (remainder) of cheese, which they put in it. They put it out in molds. They would make them all, each mould by itself. They would bring milk and (have) a full churn, milk. They would put it in those moulds. They would add some of the rennet, original rennet. They would all turn into cheese moulds.

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<sup>4</sup> Literally: We did not think about anything in this world what, that is what it is.

<sup>5</sup> The robber on the right side, who believed in Jesus, whereas the one of the left side Dumachus, did not believe.



(26) *šaqləxwala gúpta.*<sup>1</sup> 'íθwa xa-gəlla<sup>1</sup> šámme hàšya<sup>1</sup> 'u-xa-xéna sərmo.<sup>1</sup> sərmo<sup>1</sup> 'u-hàšya<sup>1</sup> gu-túra meθíwale.<sup>1</sup> mparətxəxwale,<sup>1</sup> derəxwale gu-d-o-gúpta.<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxwale jəjək.<sup>1</sup> 'áw jəjək y-amrəxwalé.<sup>1</sup> 'u-zabníwa ta-nàše,<sup>1</sup> 'o-t-wéwa zangine.<sup>1</sup> zabníwa ta-nàše<sup>1</sup> 'u-xámka páyəs<sup>1</sup> ta-g'ána y-axlíwa.<sup>1</sup>

### Winter

(27) 'u-t-aθéwa sətwa,<sup>1</sup> zónəxwa 'ərwə,<sup>1</sup> xámša réše 'ərwə,<sup>1</sup> hənna.<sup>1</sup> 'ərwə zonəxwala<sup>1</sup> 'u-βerməxwa.<sup>1</sup> y-ódəxwa qəlyə,<sup>1</sup> qəlyə gu-'anna tannəkke<sup>1</sup> qa-sətwa<sup>1</sup> kúlla sətwa<sup>1</sup> t-awəxwa xàla.<sup>1</sup> lá-mšəxwa t-ódəxwa čú-mdi qam-təlga.<sup>1</sup> ma-t-y-aθéwa təlga,<sup>1</sup> y-aθéwa,<sup>1</sup> lá-mšíwa 'əp-'axxa paltíwa.<sup>1</sup> t-attəxwa béna gu-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> (28) 'ítwalən prəge,<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'əp-prage wìðtən,<sup>1</sup> 'ána-w yámmi mšarqətəlla,<sup>1</sup> kúlla bəd-'ìð<sup>1</sup> šqaləlla<sup>1</sup> bəd-skínta.<sup>1</sup> derəxwala gu-hónna hətxa,<sup>1</sup> meθəxwala təwre,<sup>1</sup> derəxwala rəša.<sup>1</sup> kúlla-hatxa doríwala.<sup>1</sup> doríwalà,<sup>1</sup> péšíwa prəge.<sup>1</sup> deríwala y-odíwala tamməz,<sup>1</sup> nablíwala l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> ta-kəyàθa.<sup>1</sup> garsíwa y-odíwa hónna mənna<sup>1</sup> čiče.<sup>1</sup> (29) 'u-'ítwalən 'an-məndiyáne xène t-y-odəxwa<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa màše.<sup>1</sup> derəxwa màše.<sup>1</sup> meθəxwala màše.<sup>1</sup> mtáməzəxwale 'əp-'aw,<sup>1</sup> meθəxwa l-bèθa.<sup>1</sup> ta-sətwa,<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'áyya b-sətwa.<sup>1</sup> mələxwale béθa.<sup>1</sup> b-sətwa y-azəxwa derəxwale<sup>1</sup> mbašləxwale.<sup>1</sup> (30) 'íθwa xa-mánda rayámwa rəše,<sup>1</sup> y-amrəxxa šəlləxta.<sup>1</sup> 'ε-šəlləxte diye šaqləxwala<sup>1</sup> páyəsəwa máša xwàra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-derəxwa rəzza gáwə<sup>1</sup> y-axləxwala.<sup>1</sup> 'əp-'ay,<sup>1</sup> rába basíma-wəwa 'əp-'aw.<sup>1</sup>

(26) We would take the cheese. There was a herb that we called *hašya* and another *sarmo*. They brought *sarmo* and *hašya* from the mountains. We crushed it and put it in the cheese. We called it *jajək*. We called it *jajək*. They sold it to people who were rich. They sold it to people and some remained for themselves to eat.

### *Winter*

(27) When winter came, we bought sheep, five head of sheep or so. We would buy sheep and slaughter them. We would make *qalya* (and put it) in tins for the winter, which we would eat all the winter. We could not do anything on account of the winter. So much snow fell that people could not go out even to here. We sat in the house. (28) We had millet. I made also millet, I and my mother, by threshing it, all by hand, then taking it with a knife. We would scatter it on something like this, we would bring oxen, we would scatter it over it, and they would thresh all of it. They would thresh it and it would become millet. They put it out and cleaned it, then took it home. (It was given) to the hens. They ground it and made it into something—*čiče*.<sup>6</sup> (29) We had other things that we made, black lentils. We would serve black lentils. We brought black lentils, we cleaned them and brought them home. This was all for the winter. We filled the house. In winter we went and put them out and cooked them. (30) There was something that covered them, which we call the ‘husk’. We removed this husk and the lentils become white. We put rice in it and ate it. This also was very tasty.

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<sup>6</sup> Millet cooked in yoghurt.

B17 THE MYSTERIOUS PRIEST IN TİYARE

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) *hadīya mtánəx xa-qəşşət t-ıla wita gu-Tiyàre qám-plaša qamàya, yáñi qám-šetət ʔálpa-w ʔəçčá-mma w-arbàssər. náše diyən gu-Türkiya, gu-Tiyàre. xa-qàša, jüllət qəšəlle-w dəqne diyə ʔax-d-o-t-qəša, síqele gu-xa-màθa t-suràye, t-tiyaràye. mətýele ʔaşórta gu-gnəθət yòma.* (2) *zilele gu-xa-bəθa, doryalle śláma l-xa-báxta tàmá mbašðle. ʔíθwala xa-bróna zòra. ʔu-ʔe-bàxta ʔimə t-ıla xziθalle ʔáwwa jüllət qəša ʔalle diyə ʔu-dəqne diyə, zilta nšiqtəlla ʔide diyə, dwiqtəla qədre. muθéθəlle xa-ṭatiya, driθəlle l-ʔara. muθéθəlle barəšta bar-xəše. dwiqtəla qədre diyə.* (3) *məra tu-tüwa. mərə kéle gəwřəx. mərə gəwři hóle plàxa. díya bṭ-àθe. qəša tíwəle spàra-w qiməle ʔaw-yalúnka zòra kùvi-wəwa. lé-y-aθəwa kəs-çü-naša ʔəlla gu-qáplət bəbe.* (4) *qəša qəm-šadəlle-w mşowətle mənne-w ʔu-xkíkə mənne-w qəm-maθéle qəm-mattúle gu-xáne diyə, gu-qáple mšadəllə, mşawóθe mənne diyə, ʔo-yalúnka zòra.* (5) *márat bəθa ʔimət θəle, qəm-xazéle brön-diyə gu-qáple mšadəllə-w ʔu-brön-diyə hádax píša šəna mənne diyə. mərə ṭla-báxta, ʔáwwa mòdile. ʔáwwa rábi qəšəle háyyə nšüqla ʔide diyə. mərə là ʔáwwa ləle qəša. ʔáwwa saṭənele, ʔáwwa dəqne kúlla məlyə saṭəne.* (6) *qíma dwiqəlle qəša ʔu-mírəlle gu-gòma xliqle tára báθre diyə. zilele meθóye qəše ṭla-t-maxəle qəša. báxta zdila, nxìpla. qimla qréla b-šwəwe. zilla mərə ṭla-ráyyəs-t màθa ʔu-θəle.* (7) *mərə ṭla-müt mxáyəlle qəša. mərə ʔáwwa ləle qəša. düglele. ʔáwwa kúlla ʔaw-dəqne diyə məlyə saṭəne. ʔáwwa ləle qəša. wa-l-háşəl mərə ʔáwwa šedənele. qémi mpaltile qəša ʔu-nablile be-ráyyəs.* (8) *ʔu-támá qəm-dawqile qədre diyə ʔu-xille. dártət-yoma qimle riqle, zille m-gu-d-e-màθa. ʔu-zille ləðəx léka zille. ʔámri ʔáwwa Namùdko šedənele. m-hàdax-wəwa wáða hatxəne.*

(9) *zilla xə-šeta-w, tré ʔu-ṭləθa. mşoréle plàša qamàya. ʔimən t-mşoréle plàša, Tiyaràye ʔáp-ani qimla riqle zilla l-ʔürmi. zilla l-ʔürmi, ʔu-šetət šwàssər kləle plàša, priqle. mgləznəye wírra gu-ʔIrən, síqla mtéla l-mállə diyən.* (10) *qəm-xazila málla diyən háibat sniqe-wəwa. yawíwala ʔarzəq, ləxma, ʔu-samíne, yawíwala çy, ʔarzəq. ʔə-ga náše hóla zine sərri, xá bar-d-o-xəna, θáya śqála ʔarzəq ʔu-zála.*

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) Now I shall tell you a story that happened in Țiyare before the First World War, that is before the year 1914. Our people were in Turkey, in Țiyare. A priest, (a man) who had on the clothes of a priest and whose beard was like that of a priest, went up to a village of Christians from Țiyare. He arrived in the evening as the sun was setting. (2) He went to a house and greeted a woman who was there cooking. She had a young son. When the woman saw the priest's clothes on him and his beard, she went and kissed his hand, and showed him reverence. She brought a woollen mat and put it on the ground. She brought a pillow (to put) behind his back. She showed him reverence. (3) She said 'Sit down'. He said 'Where is your husband?' She said 'He is working. He will be coming back right now. The priest sat waiting. The young child was shy. He did not go to anybody unless (he was) in the arms of his father. (4) The priest sang him a lullaby, talked to him and laughed with him. He brought the young child and put him on his lap, singing lullabies to him in his arms, talking to him. (5) When the master of the house came back, he saw his son in his arms, while he was singing him lullabies and his son had become at ease with him. He said to his wife 'What is he?' 'He is a priest. Come kiss his hand'. He said 'No. This is not a priest. This is a demon. His beard is full of demons'. (6) He seized the priest and put him into the basement stable. He locked the door after him. He then went off to fetch wood with which to beat the priest. The woman was afraid and was ashamed. She called the neighbours. She went and told the head of the village and they came. (7) They said 'Why are you beating the priest?' He said 'He is not a priest. It is a lie. All of this beard of his is full of demons. He is not a priest'. In the end they said that he (the householder) was mad. They rescued the priest and took him to the house of the village head. (8) There they showed him reverence and he ate. The next day he fled. He went from the village and went to we know not where. They said this Namudko (the householder) is mad. That is why he was behaving in this way.

(9) A year went by, two, three. The First (World) War began. When the war began, also the people of Țiyare fled and went to Urmi. They went to Urmi and in the year (19)17, the war stopped, it finished. The English entered Iran and came to our community. (10) They found that our community was very needy. They gave them supplies, bread, loaves, they gave them tea, supplies. At that time the people were standing (waiting their) turn, one after another, coming to take their supplies and going away.

(11) *xákma dubbât 'əngləznəye hola-zíne tàma,¹ wáðəlla 'ədàra,¹ yá'ni 'áni mára mpālòla.¹ θéle 'ó-naša t-wéwa píša qáša 'árxe díye,¹ 'áwəwa Namùdko šəmme díye.¹ mṭéla sárrə d-áw tla-t-šaqəl.¹ (12) xá-ðabəṭ 'əngləznəya t-ítwale tḷà káxwe¹ qəm-xazéle¹ qəm-yáðéle.¹ móre 'àti¹ là-hallule 'áwəwa náša,¹ là-hallule.¹ 'àti kli-támáha xaràya.¹ párqí kúlla xaràye.¹ 'áwəwa zdìle¹ móre 'ána mòdin wíðə.¹ m-èka yáðéle¹ 'áwəwa ðəbəṭ¹ t-íle-mára tláli 'àti lá-šaqəl¹ arzāq¹ kli-xaràya.¹ (13) píšle mtaxmóne hátxa gu-xəyále díye.¹ zílle kléle xóðe támaha.¹ har-hóle xyára b-ó-ðabəṭ 'əngləznəya.¹ hóle zdà¹ a.¹ móre mòdi qáṣṣət.¹ bar-priqla kúlla náše šqilla 'arzāq,¹ qréle 'o-'əngləznəya¹ Namùdko,¹ mərə¹ hàyyo,¹ 'áp-²ati šqùl.¹ háy làxxa.¹ (14) móre làt ðá'əlli.¹ móre là,¹ lan-ðà'əllux.¹ móre də-xúr-biyi tàza¹ xázəx làt xəzyəlli ču-gà.¹ móre là,¹ làn-ðà'əllux 'ána.¹ bas-'áwəwa qəlux¹ hon-šəmyəlle¹ bas-là-yáðəṇ 'ima.¹ móre 'ána yáðəṭ 'ənüwəm.¹ móre là.¹ (15) móre 'ána 'o-xà qáša¹ t-ín 'óθya gu-Ṭiyàre,¹ qəm-dəqətli xošətli gu-gòma.¹ qímlux mxəyəlli.¹ mórux 'áwəwa saṭənele,¹ lèle qáša.¹ 'u-báxtux qímla şràxa bíyux,¹ 'u-qréla b-nəše¹ θéla qəm-mparqili m-gu-'iθəθux.¹ (16) móre 'ána 'ò-qáša.¹ dūs-itwa¹ 'ána saṭəṇəwə.¹ 'ána jásūs-inwə 'é-ga,¹ jásūs 'əngləznəya.¹ hóla xzáyətla 'ánna káxwe b-rəš-rúši.¹ 'àna¹ 'úwəwə jásūs 'óθya tàma.¹ 'ən-háwə 'əsrà ṭiyàre xéne¹ 'axwáθux hawəne,¹ la-maṭétuwa l-áwəwa ləxma,¹ 'u-'attituwa ləxxa pəšitəwa hátxa sniqe.¹ 'ina ṭiyarəye 'áp-xa mənna lətwale háwəna.¹ 'u-qíme híwəlle 'arzāq.¹ móre hállule 'arzāq¹ 'u-'áp-²awəwa t-àzəḷ¹ hállule biš-zawəda mən-kúlla náše.¹*

(11) Some English officers were standing there, doing administration, that is they were saying 'Distribute it!'. The man whose guest the priest had been approached. His name was Namudko. His turn came to take (supplies). (12) An English officer who had two stars<sup>1</sup> saw him and recognized him. He said 'You—Don't give to this man, don't give to him! You stand over there in last place. All the others will finish before you'.<sup>2</sup> He was afraid. He said 'What have I done? Where does he know me from, that officer who says to me not to take provisions and stand in last place?' (13) He thought about it to himself.<sup>3</sup> He went to stand alone far away. He kept looking at that English officer. He was afraid. He said 'What is it all about?' After all the people had finished taking provisions, the Englishman called Namudko, he said 'Come, also you take. Come here'. (14) He said 'Don't you know me?' He said 'No. I don't know you'. He said 'Look at me well. Have you never seen me?' He said 'No. I don't know you. But I have heard that voice of yours, but I don't know when.' He said 'Do you know who I am?' He said 'No'. (15) He said 'I am that priest who came to Tiyare, whom you seized and confined in the basement stable. You beat me and said 'He is a demon, not a priest'. Your wife started screaming at you and called people, who came and rescued me from your hands'. (16) He said 'I am that priest. You were right. I was a demon. I was a spy then, an English spy. Look you can see these stars on my shoulder. I was a spy who came there. If ten other men from Tiyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this miserable condition,<sup>4</sup> you would not be sitting here and have become so poor.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. a captain.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: All the last ones will finish.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: in his mind.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: this bread.

B18 THE CHURCH OF ČALLĀK

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) ʔiθ xá-maθa gu-Bàrwəθ<sup>1</sup> šəmma Čállək.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθ xa-ʔúmra<sup>1</sup> y-amríle Mar-Múše.<sup>1</sup> ʔiθwa kočarnáyət qurðáyē<sup>1</sup> ʔánna ʔi-sáli dàšta<sup>1</sup> šaxínta háwi b-sətwə<sup>1</sup> ʔímə t-áwe qárθa gu-ʔuràne.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-ʔímə t-áwe qèʔta,<sup>1</sup> behèr,<sup>1</sup> masqíwa ʔərwèy<sup>1</sup> mašəyəʃ<sup>1</sup> gu-ʔuràne,<sup>1</sup> y-amríla zəwzàne.<sup>1</sup> (2) béna y-àθi<sup>1</sup> góta góta d-è-maθa,<sup>1</sup> ʔi-péši ʔárxe d-è-maθa.<sup>1</sup> ʔərwéy masqíla l-gárət ʔúmra.<sup>1</sup> sab-gárət ʔúmra l-báθre díye mʔiθela l-ʔúra,<sup>1</sup> hátxa ramànele ʔúra.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-gárət ʔúmra hátxele.<sup>1</sup> y-áθi šáli,<sup>1</sup>—yáʔni máše náša t-ásəq l-gáre b-sánəy<sup>1</sup> mεθə-ʔərwèy<sup>1</sup> masqíla l-gáre.<sup>1</sup> (3) nášət máθa kázi yába lá-masqula ʔərwéxu l-gárət ʔúmra.<sup>1</sup> xʔiθela.<sup>1</sup> ʔáni qurðáyela,<sup>1</sup> xelànela.<sup>1</sup> ʔu-nášət máθa šədwala mənnyé.<sup>1</sup> y-ámri lá-ʔaxxa t-àwa.<sup>1</sup> (4) béna tíwe gu-béθa b-lèle nášət máθa,<sup>1</sup> júnnye hátxa,<sup>1</sup> xá mərə<sup>1</sup> Mar-Múše báyē mʔayòne,<sup>1</sup> yáʔni báyē mhayòre.<sup>1</sup> ʔən-lá herəxle,<sup>1</sup> ʔánna qurðáyē kút-yum hátxa t-óði.<sup>1</sup> móra máθo mherəxle,<sup>1</sup> mherəxle Mar-Múše.<sup>21</sup> mərə klò<sup>1</sup> šúqula ʔay-xàmmi.<sup>1</sup>

(5) qímele zìlele<sup>1</sup> múθya xákma gəldē,<sup>1</sup> sírəlla b-gàne.<sup>1</sup> wíðəlla gān-díye ʔax-dəbba,<sup>1</sup> ʔò-naša.<sup>1</sup> lèle-wewa,<sup>1</sup> xúya.<sup>1</sup> síqele hédi hédi hédi,<sup>1</sup> m-báθrət ʔúmra.<sup>1</sup> ʔəθyēle gərə<sup>1</sup> gu-d-án-ʔərwē<sup>1</sup> ʔu-zílele ʔu-šixēle<sup>1</sup> wíðele hó hátxa ʔax-dəbba.<sup>1</sup> (6) ʔərwē čfíle zdiyela.<sup>1</sup> riqela,<sup>1</sup> šəlyela<sup>1</sup> swánət ʔúmra la-qámθa díya ràmta-wawa.<sup>1</sup> pálgə d-an-ʔərwē zədyela ganéy táma.<sup>1</sup> kúlla twìre qðaléy,<sup>1</sup> mìθela.<sup>1</sup> mìθela,<sup>1</sup> ʔáwwa riqele,<sup>1</sup> šəlyele mʔiʔšyəlla gáne.<sup>1</sup> (7) qímela mbádla náše<sup>1</sup> ʔan-marāwáθa ʔina ʔərwéy kúlla nʔíle twíra qðaléy.<sup>1</sup> qíme<sup>1</sup> qráya b-nàše<sup>1</sup> ʔáyya mòdila.<sup>21</sup> móra la-mərm-əlləxu.<sup>21</sup> ʔo-Mar-Múše<sup>1</sup> xelànele,<sup>1</sup> maxələxu,<sup>1</sup> xʔiθela.<sup>1</sup> lá-masqu l-gárət ʔúmra.<sup>1</sup> m-gu-gárət ʔúmra hóla náblula tāmáha rəhqa.<sup>1</sup> ʔla-mótu mεθóyəlla gárət ʔúmra.<sup>21</sup> ʔáwwa Mār-Múše qəm-mayéla ʔáyya biyéxu.<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Bənyamən Bənyamən (ʔEn-Nune)

(1) There is a village in Barwar call Čallək, where there is a church called Mar Muše. There were Kurdish nomads, who went down to the plain to be warm in Winter, when it was cold in the mountains. When it was Summer and Spring, they would bring their sheep up to the summer pastures in the mountains, which are called *zawzane*. (2) So, they would come alongside that village and become guests of the village. They would take their sheep onto the roof of the church. This was because the roof of the church at its back extended to the mountain, so high was the mountain. The roof of the church was like that. They would come and go down (the mountain),—a person could easily go onto the roof—bring their sheep and take them onto the roof. (3) The people of the village tried (remonstrating with them saying) ‘Don’t take your sheep up onto the roof of the church. It is a sin’. They were Kurds. They were tough. The people of the village were afraid of them. They said ‘We don’t want them here’.<sup>1</sup> (4) Now, the people of the village sat in a house at night, gathered together, and one said ‘Saint Muše needs help, he needs help. If we do not help him, the Kurds will do this every day’. They said ‘How will we help him, help Saint Muše?’ He said ‘Leave that to me’.<sup>2</sup>

(5) He went and brought some skins and tied them on himself. The man made himself like a bear. It was night and it was dark. He slowly went up from behind the church. He came onto the roof among the sheep and went along shouting, behaving just like a bear. (6) The sheep were startled and were afraid. They ran and went down over the eaves of the church, the front of which was high. Half of the sheep threw themselves there. They all broke their necks and died. They died, while he fled, went down and hid himself. (7) In the morning the people got up, the owners (of the sheep) saw that they had all fallen and broken their necks. They called to the people ‘What is this?’ They said ‘Didn’t we tell you? Saint Muše is strong. He will strike you. It is a sin. Don’t take them onto the roof. Take them far away from the roof of the church. Why do you bring them on the roof of the church? St. Muše has brought this upon you’.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: Let them not be here.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Stop, leave it, that is my concern.



(8) 'ánna zdìla<sup>1</sup> qíme híwe hǎdíya ṭla-<sup>3</sup>úmra tré rěš-<sup>2</sup>ǎrwe.<sup>1</sup> m-táma hòdǎx<sup>1</sup> qal-  
 bíwa m-zawzáne šláya l-dǎšta<sup>1</sup> tré reše-<sup>2</sup>ǎrwa yawíwala.<sup>1</sup> y-atwíwa<sup>1</sup> xá-ga xéta sàqa<sup>1</sup>  
 l-zawzàne,<sup>1</sup> mθéwa tré rěš-<sup>2</sup>ǎrwe yawíwala hǎdíya ṭla-<sup>3</sup>úmra.<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>áni y-azíwa  
 nablíwa 'ǎrwey tǎmàha ráhqa.<sup>1</sup> lá šabríwa ṭ-aθéwa l-gárət 'úmra.<sup>1</sup>

(8) They were afraid and gave a gift to the church of two head of sheep. From then on, when they came down to the plain returning from the summer pastures, they would give two head of sheep. They would dwell (in the plain) and then again go up to the summer pastures and give a gift of two head of sheep to the church, but they would take their sheep far away, since they did not dare come onto the roof of the church.

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'íθwa xa-<sup>2</sup>ága gu-Bèrwər, 'šomme Rašid-bek. 'áwwa wídle fāsadúθa bēn 'aturāye 'u-bēn barzanāye. 'imət-<sup>2</sup>aθíwa barzanāye kəslə, 'y-ámər 'aturāye hóla yómye b-rešēxu. 'imət 'aθíwa barzanāye, 'áwwa y-amàrwə 'aturāye báyi qat̪lilexu. (2) píšla dəžmənne, 'u-<sup>2</sup>áni lā-xəzye gōdāde, 'u-lā-m.suθe hátxa māndi. Rašid-bek mərə 'aθétu tráθne jwíne kəslí, 'šmma gúre mən-barzanāye 'u-<sup>2</sup>šmma gúre mən-<sup>2</sup>tiyarāye. (3) 'áni <sup>2</sup>tiyarāye 'aturāye-weewa 'é-ga, 'mən-Türki θáya. sətwele, 'təlgele, 'gu-galliyət Qümri. 'galliyət Qümri hátxele, 'galliyele, 'hátxa réša xtāyele. 'u-míya šáli biye diye páyəs tálga. (4) 'ánna surāye dýmən <sup>2</sup>tiyarāye lwíše zargùle, 'čeròxe. 'qurðāye lə<sup>2</sup>a. 'mátylela gu-réšə d-ó galliya. 'galliyət Qümri y-amrile. 'é-ga 'dəryəlla 'ar-rāhan 'mára xázəx 'əni pálat̪ qamāya. 'xa-qurðāya 'u-xa-surāya, 'xa-qurðāya 'u-xa-surāya. 'xa-qurðāya 'u-xa-surāya, 'xa-qurðāya 'u-xa-surāya, 'ta-šáli hátxa b-ò galliya. (5) 'ánna dýmən 'wídla tàgbir. 'íθwa xá Pətto-weewa šomme. Pətto 'əw 'gəwra. 'əw-weewa 'yá'ni réšət kulləy. 'gořət kúlla-<sup>2</sup>ani. 'mərə 'tla-d-ən-diyən surāye, 'mərə 'imə šále 'o-qurðāya qamāya 'o-xéna bəθre 'b-xanjère. (6) mərə 'kut-dánət priqlən m-rəš-<sup>2</sup>tura, 'ána dərən tōpe. 'u-kút-xa 'o-t-qáme diye qat̪lle. 'mərə 'har-ðilexu priqlən mən-túra, 'dərən tōpe, 'kút-xa maxəla 'xánjər diye, 'o-t-íle qáme diye qat̪lle. (7) 'ánna qurðāye barzanāye 'áni hóla jrəta. 'u-surāye ləla jrəta 'sab-zargùlela lwíše. 'ánna kút-danət jrəta, 'surāye dwaqəlla. 'há-t-ila priqe 'šályela gu-galliya-w 'Pətto doryele tōpe. 'u-kút-xa 'o-t-qáme diye qtille. (8) riqele xə<sup>2</sup>a. 'áp-<sup>2</sup>aw kəčəla. 'zilele l-Barzəne. 'án baxtáθa barzanāye mərə 'kəla 'an-gúre xéne? 'mərə kúlla hóla qtille. 'bas-<sup>2</sup>ənən šríta.

B19 RAŠID BEK

Informant: Dawiḏ ʾAdam (Dure)

(1) There was an agha in Barwar whose name was Rašid Bek. He made trouble between the Assyrians and the people of Barzan. When the people of Barzan came to him, he said ‘The Assyrians have sworn by your head’.<sup>1</sup> When the people of Barzan came, he said ‘The Assyrians want to kill you’. (2) So, they became enemies, although they had not met each other and had not said (to each other) any such a thing. Rašid Bek said ‘You, the two sides, should come to me—a hundred men from the people of Barzan and a hundred from the people of Ṭiyare.’ (3) Those people of Ṭiyare were Assyrians at that time, who came from Turkey. It was winter and there was snow in the Qumri valley. The Qumri valley is like this, it is a sloping valley. The water flows down it and becomes ice. (4) Those Ṭiyare Christians of ours were wearing sheepskin boots, but the Kurds were not. They reached the top of the valley, called the Qumri valley. Then they made a bet. They said ‘Let’s see who comes out first.’ (They came out), a Kurd then a Christian, a Kurd then a Christian, a Kurd then a Christian, a Kurd then a Christian, (in single file) in order to come down the valley. (5) Our people made a plan. There was somebody whose name was Pətto. Pətto was an elder. He was head of all of them.<sup>2</sup> The leader of all. He said to our Christian people ‘When a Kurd goes down first, the one behind him (should stab him) with his dagger’. (6) He said ‘When we have finished (coming) over the peak of the mountain, I shall fire a gun and everybody will kill the man in front of him’. He said ‘As soon as you know that we have finished (coming over) the mountain, I shall fire a gun and everyone will strike with his dagger and kill the man in front of him’. (7) The Barzan Kurds were slipping, but the Christians were not slipping since they were wearing sheepskin shoes. Each time they slipped, the Christians grabbed them, until when they had finished coming down the valley, Pətto fired his gun, and each one killed the man in front of him. (8) One man ran away. He was bald. He went to Barzan. The Barzan women said ‘Where are the other men?’ He said ‘They have all been killed. Only I have escaped’.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. They have threatened to kill you.

<sup>2</sup> This can be identified as Peter the king of Lizin in Lower Ṭiyare.

(9) *móre kúlla hóla qṭile.<sup>1</sup> bas-<sup>2</sup>ànən šríta.<sup>1</sup> 'ap-<sup>2</sup>áw doqile qatlıle b-xaṭoryàtha.<sup>1</sup>  
 qəm-qatlıle b-xaṭoryàtha,<sup>1</sup> 'an-xá xaṭoryátha t-ínwa mārəllux<sup>1</sup> mási jülle bíya.<sup>1</sup> 'áni  
 xaṭoryàtha y-amrila.<sup>1</sup>*

(9) He said ‘They have all been killed. Only I have escaped’, and they seized him and killed him with washing-boards. They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with. They are called *xoṭoryatha*.

SECTION C  
SONGS

C1 L&LIYANA WEDDING SONGS

*The Washing of the Groom*

(1) *qime xətna xəpəxle*  
*miya t-werde resəxle*  
*ṭ-azəx xlula mbarxəxle*

(2) *qime ṭ-azəx l-xyapa*  
*bərbiye rapa rapa*  
*xulqane m-bəθət baba.*

(3) *qime ṭ-azəx xəpəxle*  
*werde kulle derəxle*  
*xətnəle magurəxle*

(4) *qime ṭ-azəx l-xyapa*  
*bərbiye rapa rapa*  
*xulqane m-bəθət baba*

(5) *banəx kanune çəmme çəmme*  
*ʔu-ʔəlla mbašləx gəmgəmme*  
*xətnəni m.suqla l-yəmme*

(6) *banəx kanune rabe*  
*ʔu-ʔəlla mbašləx kəbabe*  
*xətnəni m.suqla l-babe<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Informant for 1—6: Xošebo ʔOdišo (ʔEn-Nune).

SECTION C  
SONGS

C1 L&LIYANA WEDDING SONGS

*The Washing of the Groom*

(1) Let us wash the groom  
Let us sprinkle him with rose water  
Let us go and give him the blessing of marriage

(2) Let us go to wash  
The bridesmaids are in flocks  
The best men are from the house of the father (of the bride)

(3) Let us go and wash him  
Let us put roses all over him  
He is the groom, we shall marry him.

(4) Let us go to wash  
The bridesmaids are in flocks  
The best men are from the house of the father (of the bride)

(5) Let us build stoves (with) a little (fire)<sup>1</sup>  
On them we shall cook delicious foods  
Our groom is dressed up by his mother

(6) Let's build many stoves  
On them we shall cook kebabs  
Our groom is dressed up by his father

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. to cook food slowly. *xa çemma* 'a little (of something)'.



*The Selling of the Tree*

(7) 'ilanɛni mxuršanna  
kele xala zawanna?<sup>2</sup>  
'ida t-qariwa twinna.<sup>2</sup>

(8) 'ilanɛni t-hermiya  
be-pálga xa-seniya  
l-Yawsəp zwinta b-neriya

(9) 'ilanɛni t-xabušta  
m-reša-w šetta mnoqašta  
l-Yawsəp zwinta b-dabašta<sup>3</sup>

*Transfer of Household Responsibilities to Bride from Mother-in-Law*

(10) xmaθa l-yašila zinta  
čəlləkθa m-'ida šqilta

(11) 'm-šaqlala xuš-šaqlala  
'm-masya šut-'oðala  
'u-hoya hālalta t̄lala

(12) čalo t̄-aθya maθyanna  
beθi t̄-ora moranna  
yammət beθi t̄-oðanna<sup>4</sup>

*Miscellaneous*

(13) 'ana zamrən Ləlijana  
ku-zmarta lana gana  
gəb xaθi holi 'ana<sup>5</sup>

(14) 'əθyewəx kope kope  
qam-mətra 'u-qam dalope

<sup>2</sup> Informant for 7: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune).

<sup>3</sup> Informant for 8–9: Bibe Bənyamən ('En-Nune).

<sup>4</sup> Informant for 10–12: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune).

<sup>5</sup> Informant for 13: Blandina Barwari ('En-Nune).

*The Selling of the Tree*

(7) Our tree has dried out  
 Where is her (the bride's) uncle who will buy it?  
 The hand of the best man is numb<sup>2</sup>

(8) Our tree is a pear tree  
 In the middle is a tray  
 It has been bought by Yawsəp for a male goat

(9) Our tree is an apple tree  
 It is decorated above and below  
 It has been bought by Yawsəp for a beehive

*Transfer of Household Duties to Bride from Mother-in-Law*

(10) The mother-in-law is standing by the corner  
 The pot<sup>3</sup> has been taken from her hand

(11) If she (the bride) takes it, let her take it<sup>4</sup>  
 If she can, let her do it  
 And let it be permitted for her

(12) The bride will come, I<sup>5</sup> shall bring her  
 She will enter my house, I shall bring her in  
 I shall make her the mother of my house

*Miscellaneous*

(13) I sing a Ləliyana  
 Every song (has) a tune of its own  
 Instead of my sister, it is me

(14) We have come bending low  
 In rain and drizzle

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<sup>2</sup> I.e. numb through holding the tree.

<sup>3</sup> The pot represents household duties.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. let her take over the household duties.

<sup>5</sup> The mother-in-law is speaking.

*ʔən-ʔalbi t-ɣawəx tope*  
*ʔu-lɛwəx naše t-manxope*

(15) *ʔaqli l-darga maxyanna*  
*šəbbərti b-qablanna*  
*brata m-bɛθa mpaltanna*

(16) *ʔaxni naše zawnaye*  
*ʔaturaye qamaye*  
*mašrəx mire ʔu-ʔaɣəye<sup>6</sup>*

(17) *qime ʔ-azəx ʔalobe*  
*ʔəθye-wəx kope kope*  
*ʔu-lɛwəx naše t-manxope*

(18) *Qučanəs qunye qunye*  
*Mar Šəmʔon t-kulla dunye*

(19) *ða-gotət dunye mila*  
*xa-čeri b-Surma zqira*  
*b-xaša d-o-xətna siɾa*

(20) *ða-gotət dunye ʔasa*  
*xa-čeri mare ʔwaša*  
*qa-kʰalo ʔ-asɾa b-xaša*

(21) *ʔəθyewəx m-anna ʔure*  
*ʔu-ʔanna jwanqe tabure*  
*muθyewəx l-anna xure*

(22) *w-ʔana zamrən lɛlijana*  
*ku-zmarti lanət gana*

(23) *šəmša mxela gu-lata.*  
*qime mpaltəxla brata.*  
*yamma baxya swata.<sup>7</sup>*

<sup>6</sup> Informant for 14–16: Guliza Barwari (ʔEn-Nune).

<sup>7</sup> Informant for 17–23: Xošebo ʔOdišo (ʔEn-Nune).

If they ask (for something for the bride) we shall give (even our) rifles  
 We are not people to be shamed

(15) I shall kick the door  
 I shall give my bracelet as an offering  
 I shall bring out the girl from her house

(16) We are people of (ancient) time  
 Ancient Assyrians  
 We give hospitality to princes and aghas

(17) Let us go to ask (for her hand)  
 We have come bending low  
 We are not people to be shamed (by refusal of our appeal)

(18) Qučanəs of wells, wells<sup>6</sup>  
 Mar Shimon (patriarch) of the whole world

(19) One side of the sky<sup>7</sup> is blue  
 A sash is woven by Surma,  
 Bound to the back of the groom

(20) One side of the sky is a small water bowl<sup>8</sup>  
 A swishing sash  
 For the bride to tie to her waist

(21) We have come from those mountains  
 These young men are in squadrons  
 We have been brought by these friends

(22) I shall sing a Ləliyana,  
 Every song of mine has tune of its own.

(23) The sun has shone on the mountain path  
 Let us take out the girl.

---

<sup>6</sup> A village in Tiyare where the patriarch Mar Shimon lived.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: the world.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. it is rainy.

## C2 RAWE SONGS

(1) *šlami l-zomət Čarbiya*  
*ʔu-šətro marθət habriya*  
*pəšəwə mevan diya*

(2) *xamθela ʔu-bəske rixe*  
*warde ʔu-rexane xwixe*  
*šaklila hawa brixə*

(3) *šwiθi daryanna gare*  
*t-asqa čima-w gabbare*  
*ta-t palti nawbadare*

(4) *zomi m-axxa mšanyanne*  
*Kanya Bodqe mattanne*  
*t-asəq šale xazyanne*

(5) *ʔašərtə yoma gnele*  
*ʔu-panya šalana rpele*  
*kizli spara la θele*

(6) *šmili xa qalət zəmra*  
*l-a-taxət baθər ʔumra*  
*rawaya npila m-xamra.<sup>1</sup>*

(7) *šətro šuɬarta lali*  
*rəša xdiya xo-qdali*  
*rəša ʔu-qəma b-našqali*

(8) *ʔEn Nune kəma nawwa!*  
*tiwta b-qwaya b-qawwa*  
*kəmət qawya la-sawwa*

(9) *Kukazeri b-rəš ture*  
*ʔEn Nune barqule*  
*ʔan-xamaθa t-gu-Dure*

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<sup>1</sup> Informant for 1–6: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔEn-Nune).

## C2 RAWE SONGS

(1) My greetings to the summer camps of Čarbiya  
and the beautiful woman who possesses the headscarf  
(If only) I could become her guest

(2) She is beautiful and (with) long locks (of hair)  
with flowers and odiferous herbs mixed (in them).  
They suit her, may they be blessed (for her)

(3) I put my bed on the roof  
Pleiades and Orion will rise  
(I shall not sleep) until the night guards leave.

(4) I shall move my summer camp  
and establish it in Kanya Bodqe  
(When) he goes up and down, I shall see him.

(5) In the evening the sun set  
and cast a shadow on the shadow side of the mountain.  
I tried waiting (for him) but he did not come.

(6) I heard the sound of song  
in the neighbourhood beyond the church.  
The drunkard has fallen on account of wine

(7) Beautiful one, sweet-heart of mine,  
her head is wrapped under my neck,  
she wakes, rises and kisses me

(8) How the Spring of Fishes springs up!  
Sitting scooping with a jug,  
however many jugs, she is not satisfied.

(9) Kukazeri<sup>1</sup> is across the mountains  
and 'En-Nune opposite it.  
Those beautiful girls of Dure.

---

<sup>1</sup> Name of a mountain.

(10) *kurra xamra la-štīle*  
*de-šugle ʾu-de-rāpile*  
*galaya sərre ʾile*

(11) *šmīli m-zome ʾəθyēle*  
*ʾu-čakke b-kuprana tlèle*  
*ʾu-xwarθi mara ʾekēle?*

(12) *hole plīta l-xðara*  
*ʾu-čudle masyəmle bala*  
*ʾu-manšəqle qðaləx xwara.<sup>2</sup>*

(13) *tlalux zamrən sar-bari*  
*basima t-lele qali*  
*xatəruux t-la twirali*

(14) *xwarθi t-azəx šəmmaðre*  
*ləbbəx la pəyəs baθre*  
*naxraya t-azəl ʾaθre*

(15) *tuwi diya ʾekēle*  
*parxi tere xazēle*  
*m-pummi šlame darele*

(16) *tiwa wəmwə ntarəθa*  
*čawərrət beriyəθa*  
*kun ʾaθya t-la xorəθa*

(17) *tərte beriyə xaša*  
*m-an šawaθa b-draša*  
*tərwa reši b-plaša*

(18) *qimli madənxə zliya*  
*qalət tope rəš-tiya*  
*bazi qtille neriya*

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<sup>2</sup> Informant for 7–12: Dawið ʾAdam (Dure).

(10) Boy, do not drink the wine.  
 Leave it and throw it away.  
 It is the revealer of secrets.

(11) I heard that he came from his summer camp.  
 and hung his weapons in the hut  
 and my girlfriend says 'Where is he?'

(12) He went out, wandering around.  
 Invite him and look after him.  
 and let him kiss your white neck.

(13) I shall sing to you my first-born,  
 (I) whose voice is not good,  
 who have not disappointed you.<sup>2</sup>

(14) My friend, let us go (and collect) violets  
 Let not your heart remain (sad) after him.<sup>3</sup>  
 (He was) a stranger who went to his land

(15) If only, wherever he is now,  
 birds would fly and find him  
 and give him salutations from my mouth.

(16) I was sitting in vigil,  
 Waiting for the milkmaids.  
 I hope she will come without her friends.

(17) Two milkmaids were walking,  
 Discussing some words,  
 Both were fighting over me

(18) I got up when the dawn had broken.  
 (There) was the sound of gun shot over the mountain peak  
 My love<sup>4</sup> killed a male goat.

---

<sup>2</sup> Literally: not broken your wishes.

<sup>3</sup> After he left.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: my falcon.



(19) *yamyannux b-<sup>2</sup>umrət Ćamme*  
*'ən bara qəṭla-w dəmma*  
*'iḏa t-la mraḃyən mənne*

(20) *m-o qawlət baθər maθa,*  
*m̄xoləḃlən 'isəḃyaθa,*  
*nšiqli bēl baska l-ḃaθa*

(21) *šmeli xa qalə t-zəmra*  
*b-iθaya m-baθər 'umra*  
*mašithu modi t-amra*

(22) *ya-tara de-mašxədli*  
*b-ṭlabən mənnux ḃquḏli.*  
*hadayya mitli 'u-qidli*

(23) *qimta zoma t-yasqawa.*  
*xa xawra mənna ḃawa,<sup>3</sup>*  
*qa-t zamərwə t-xamlawa.*

(24) *xəzyali l-<sup>2</sup>aqrət tena.*  
*qəryali mərri bəna.*  
*nšiqali bāyawa xrena.*

(25) *də-yamyannux b-awwa kəxwa*  
*t-<sup>2</sup>ile bēl 'ewa l-ṣaxwa*  
*m-ḡḏaḏe t-la barəxwa.*

(26) *m-<sup>2</sup>aššeta 'əšwa šənne*  
*mali kulle b-qanyanne*  
*qa-t xoni maguranne.*

(27) *m-aššeta šeta sriθa,*  
*t-lela dwiqta daliθa*  
*line spiqe l-qurniθa.<sup>4</sup>*

<sup>3</sup> The form *ḃawa* is used in Upper Ṭiyare dialects. It corresponds to *bāyawa* in the C. Barwar dialect.

<sup>4</sup> Informant for 13–27: Andreus Ya'aqov (Lower Ṭiyare). The informant is not from Barwar, but these *rawe* songs were sung in the Barwar region.

(19) I swear to you by the church of Čamme  
If killing and bloodshed occur,  
I will not release him.

(20) (I swear) by that promise (we made) behind the village,  
We exchanged rings,  
I kissed (her) between her hair and face

(21) I heard the sound of a song,  
Coming from behind the church.  
Listen to what she will say.

(22) Oh bird, give me happy news.  
I am asking you, give me instruction.  
Now I have died and burnt away.

(23) She was preparing to go up to the summer camp.  
She wanted a friend with her,  
So that he would sing and she would enjoy herself.

(24) I saw her by the trunk of the fig tree.  
I called her and she said 'Yes'.  
I kissed her and she wanted more.

(25) I swear to you by this star  
which is between the clouds and the clear sky  
that we shall never leave one another.

(26) From this year for seven years (to come)  
I shall collect all my wealth  
so that I can allow my brother to marry

(27) From this year until the bad year,  
in which the vine did not yield (fruit)  
The wine jars are empty in the corner.

(28) *tərte yawne t-xa-qənnə,*  
*xa p̄rixla-w xa m̄şuyənnə.*  
*ʔa-t-p̄rixla naxeri mənna*

(29) *tərte yawne şukraye*  
*tüwe şadrə be-łaye,*  
*xa t-xale ʔu-xa t-xurzaye.<sup>5</sup>*

(30) *m̄teli xo-Dwile*  
*ş̄teli miya qarire*  
*ş̄ətro ʔolaze baθra npile*

(31) *rawe rawe rawəkke*  
*daryale trəkke çəkke*  
*tüwex xmala b-baqloşe dax-xurəkke.*

(32) *rawe rawe t-xo-tena.*  
*ʔana-w xawri ʔu-xa-xena.*  
*qurbəx t-aθən xazena.*

(33) *xa rapə yawne smoqe*  
*parxi ʔu-yatwi l-səryoqe*  
*ş̄ətrantux ʔəna zroqe*

(34) *xa rapə yawne kome*  
*parxi yatwi rəş-zome*  
*ş̄ətranta ʔəna kome*

(35) *xa rapə yawne mile*  
*parxi yatwi yaşile*  
*ş̄ətranta ʔəna kxile*

(36) *xa rapə yone xware*  
*parxi yatwi rəş-gare*  
*ş̄ətranta t-la mare.<sup>6</sup>*

<sup>5</sup> Informant for 28–29: Awiko Sulaqa (ʔƏn-Nune).

<sup>6</sup> Informant for 30–36: Xoşəbo ʔOdišo (ʔƏn-Nune).

- (28) Two doves<sup>5</sup> of one nest  
 One flew away and one became tame.  
 The one that flew away has my mirror<sup>6</sup> with her.
- (29) Two white doves  
 Sitting in the middle of the upper room.<sup>7</sup>  
 One (is the girlfriend) of his uncle and one of his nephew.
- (30) I arrived under Dwile.<sup>8</sup>  
 I drank cool water.  
 (My) beautiful one (lover)—young men followed after her.
- (31) *Rawe, rawe*, little *rawe*  
 She deals for him two counters (literally: ankle-bones)  
 We sit and amuse ourselves (by playing with) small stones like friends.
- (32) *Rawe, rawe* under the fig tree,  
 I, my friend and another man,  
 I am coming to you to see you.
- (33) A flock of red doves,  
 They fly and sit on the twigs,  
 Your sweetheart—her eyes are blue.
- (34) A flock of black doves  
 Fly and sit on the summer camps  
 (Your) sweetheart—her eyes are black.
- (35) A flock of blue doves  
 Fly and sit on the corners of roofs.  
 (Your) sweetheart—her eyes are black with kohl
- (36) A flock of white birds  
 fly and sit on the roofs.  
 Your sweethear is without family.

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<sup>5</sup> Referring to two girls.

<sup>6</sup> A love pledge.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. the room above the basement.

<sup>8</sup> A village in Lower Tiyare.

(37) *qimta zoma t-asqawa*  
*xa xawra mænna bāyawa*  
*qa-t-raqəðwa ʔu-xamlawa*

(38) *šlele m-ərzala čira.*  
*xa xabra lali mira*  
*þšimtən qðali twira.<sup>7</sup>*

(39) *rauwe rauwe rawəkke*  
*tre yalone havrəkke*  
*šarreley rəš-mamməkke*

(40) *siqley kima-w gabbare,*  
*θeley l-þalgət gare,*  
*šətro māmōše þare.*

(41) *m-Šapnəkka l-Dawədiya*  
*ʔu-rubarət ʔAmediya*  
*la tawε bəske diya.*

(42) *də-yamyannux b-aw Mar Sawwa*  
*b-aw yašila t-la-Žawa*  
*t-ʔay m-kulley buš tawa.*

(43) *qumta zala t-gu-Nērwa.*  
*litla pumma t-harwa.*  
*ʔən harwa dunye b-xarwa.*

(44) *qumta rixana balla,*  
*mamməkka burja t-qalla,*  
*šadra meydān t-Barčalla.*

(45) *b-šlaya Žawa Žawa,*  
*ʔu-kunnəkθa mparəprawa,*  
*gu-šadra čakke t-dawa.*

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<sup>7</sup> Informant for 37–38: Yuwəl Xaməs (ʔEn-Nune).

(37) She was preparing to go up to the summer camp  
and wants a friend with her  
so that he will dance and she will enjoy herself.

(38) He got out of bed in a temper.  
She said a word to me:  
'I am sorry. Let my neck be broken'.

(39) *Rawe, rawe*, little *rawe*,  
two rival children  
are fighting on the breasts.

(40) The Pleiades and Orion have risen.  
They have come to the middle of the roof.  
The beautiful woman is giving milk to the lambs.

(41) From (the river) Şapnəkka<sup>9</sup> to (the village of) Dawədiya<sup>10</sup>  
and the river of Amedia,  
her locks are are greatly valued.

(42) I swear to you by Saint Sawa,  
by the corner (of the church) that is on the side of the Zab  
that she is the best of all.

(43) Her figure is (that of) a reed in Nerwa.<sup>11</sup>  
She does not have a mouth that speaks.  
If she speaks, the world will be ruined.

(44) Her figure is (that of) an erect odiferous basil  
Her breasts: a tower of a citadel,  
Her chest: the plain of Barçalla.<sup>12</sup>

(45) She went down towards the Zab,  
Waving her head-scarf,  
On her breast is golden jewelry.

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<sup>9</sup> River running south of Amedia to the Great Zab.

<sup>10</sup> A village lying west of Amedia.

<sup>11</sup> A village lying east of Barwari Bala.

<sup>12</sup> A mountain in the Hakkari region, near to Qočanis.

(46) *hola θela m-la-Maye,*  
*tərwey ʔaqla xəpɣaye,*  
*šərwala təkθa bāye.*

(47) *šadra darga t-zawnae,*  
*qðila mturša l-baznae,*  
*la paθəx ʔla-naxrae.*

(48) *b-Čambət bi-Mallək wawa*  
*tüwa mbašole qawa,*  
*ʔay m-kulley buš ʔawa.*

(49) *b-šlaya galli galli,*  
*tope šišale ʔəlli,*  
*mazdoyi ʔla-t qatəlli.*

(50) *paɣxa t-zome mzumzəmle,*  
*gu-quprana mhurgəmle,*  
*bəskət kačče murəmle.*

(51) *beli-w ʔəlle ʔurane,*  
*bassa mšadər xabrane,*  
*ʔən pəli<sup>8</sup> ʔaθe b-gane.*

(52) *gu-tura šmili qale*  
*ʔide ʔəlli šišale*  
*kli paɣxa t-xazyən ma-le.*

(53) *dmixa wəniwa l-ʔərzala,*  
*θela θa ʔəzzət wala,*  
*šənθət mbadla mpurðala.*

(54) *zome kəmeley basime!*  
*xamaθa t-leley rime*  
*mšaθni b-miya šaxine.*

<sup>8</sup> Upper Tiyare form corresponding to C. Barwar *bāyeli*.

(46) Look she has come from the direction of Maye,  
Both her feet are bare,  
Her trousers need a cord.

(47) Her breast is a door of the ancients,  
a key made by the people of Baz.  
It does not open for strangers.

(48) She was in Čambət bi-Mallək,  
sitting making<sup>13</sup> coffee.  
She is the best of all.

(49) While (I was) coming down the valley,  
he brandished his gun at me,  
threatening to kill me.

(50) The wind of the summer camp whistled,  
roared in the hut.  
He lifted the locks of the girl.

(51) Between me and him are mountains.  
Let him stop sending me news.  
If he wants me, let him come himself.

(52) In the mountains I heard his voice.  
He waved his hand at me.  
Stop wind, so that I can see what is the matter with him.

(53) I was asleep on the bed,  
(when) a wild goat came  
and disturbed my morning sleep.

(54) How beautiful are the summer camps!  
The girls who have not gone up there,  
languish by warm waters.

---

<sup>13</sup> Literally: cooking.



(55) xzeli zina rəš-romta  
qəttət xanjare komta  
ləbbi zille l-d-ε qumta

(56) kul šat b-anna hewane  
bar-bähər šale wane,  
m-šətro badli dukane.

(57) šalya l-nera ʾəšana  
b-bxaya-w mxaya l-gʾana.  
tliba lele šətrana.

(58) šalya l-nera qarira,  
baxya bəxya marira.  
tliba lele šəpira.

(59) šalya l-nera-w la masya  
šadra xwara la mkasya,  
jwanqone drela l-ʾasya.

(60) xa warda-w xa rixana  
bərya b-gəntət talana,  
ʾu-kut laqtale tla-gʾana.

(61) rximtanwale tla xewa.  
yalme dame l-aw t-dewa  
ʾu-b-lele l-xəlmi ʾəθewa.

(62) tu tiwa-w la qu qima  
ʾu-xamra štile basima  
xu-lewət l-xoðux rxima?

(63) tūwe t-baryawa šarre  
t-paltūwa gure țarre  
mgabyanni m-gu-sar-barre

(55) I saw a person standing on the hill,  
 the handle of his dagger was black.  
 I fainted at the sight of that figure.

(56) Every year in this season,  
 the sheep go down to the spring pastures,  
 the places fade (into the background) on account of the beautiful one.

(57) She goes down to the murky river,  
 weeping and beating herself.  
 Her betrothed is not handsome.

(58) She goes down to the cool river,  
 weeping bitterly.  
 Her betrothed is not beautiful.

(59) She goes down to the river but does not wash (clothes).  
 She does not cover her white breast.  
 She has caused the young men embarrassment.

(60) A flower and a basil,  
 growing in a garden on the shady mountain.  
 Each (girl) gathers it for herself.

(61) I fell in love with him for a weaving hook.<sup>14</sup>  
 His face resembles that of a wolf  
 and would come to me in my dream at night.

(62) Sit and do not get up.  
 Drink fine wine.  
 You must be the only man loved (in such a way).

(63) If only there would be war,  
 and young men would go out,  
 then I would choose for myself (one of them) from the first ranks.

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<sup>14</sup> Given as a love pledge

(64) *tǎreni mūqabǎlle*  
*plǐtle gu-tǎra-w šille*  
*lǎbbi jlǐgle-w nubǎlle*

(65) *qumte rixana t-hawdi*  
*xa gera mxele l-kawdi*  
*qtilanne sǎbab mawdi<sup>9</sup>*

(66) *rǎhqǎle-w lǎle m-<sup>2</sup>aθri*  
*našǎ darǎle baθri*  
*taxranne-w dǎmmi naθri*

(67) *xa wardi warda žeri*  
*yala t-<sup>2</sup>amǎr halleli*  
*t-maxǎnne qam sǎmbele*

(68) *yala biša brǎt xali*  
*ʔiðux la drila l-qðali*  
*t-šǎma yǎmmi t-qatłali.*

(69) *yala biša brǎt ʔanti*  
*qumtux la mšuxla b-qumti*  
*naplan tawra xǎzzemti*

(70) *ʔǎn tawra bǎt-mtaršǎnna*  
*l-ʔiðǎt hosta b-yawǎnna.*  
*špiθa t-daiwa bǎt-awðǎnna.*

(71) *čerile m-diya-w baθǎr*  
*tarǎt ʔilana b-naθǎr*  
*ʔu-lǎbbǎt kačče bǎt-qatǎr*

(72) *xa taqǎt rixana bǎðya*  
*ʔaǎ šadra ktana šǎðya*  
*reši bǎl xǎðya l-xǎðya.*

---

<sup>9</sup> The form *qtilanni* with the inflection of the past base with the 1st person suffix expressing the patient of the action is not used in the C. Barwar dialect.

(64) Our door was before him.  
He went out of the door and coughed.  
He snatched my heart and took it away.

(65) His figure was (that of) a basil in my flower-bed.  
An arrow struck my heart.<sup>15</sup>  
He has killed me for what reason?

(66) He is far away and not of my land.  
The people think he is behind me  
but I remember him and my tears run.

(67) A flower of mine, a wild flower.  
A boy will say: Give it to me,  
so that I can put it in front of my moustache.

(68) Bad boy, my maternal cousin,  
do not put your hand on my neck,  
lest my mother hears and kills me.

(69) Bad boy, my paternal cousin,  
do not rub your body against mine.  
If I fall, my nose-ring will break.

(70) If it breaks, I shall repair it.  
I shall deliver it into the hands of a master craftsman  
and shall make it of pure gold.

(71) It is autumn. From now on,  
the leaves of the tree will fall  
and the heart of the girl will be tied up.

(72) (She is like) a sprig of luxuriant basil,  
also her breast is carded cotton.  
My head is between one breast and another.

---

<sup>15</sup> Literally: liver.

(73) *qamət be-laye tuθa*  
*kəmət jawja b-ʔašəquθa*  
*naše nabli šəkkuθa*

(74) *la duqrula qalulta*  
*kriθa, xliθa, taburta,*  
*njagra m-kima bahurta*

(75) *xəzyali l-garət goma*  
*šošiyaθa xuwwe koma*  
*ʔla d-aw dosta laxoma.*

(76) *šəʔro mšutarta l-yəmma*  
*šekər t-pašra gu-pumma*  
*kəma t-mšawθa xale dəmma.*

(77) *kačče wawa max beta*  
*reša la klele šeta.*  
*zille xzele ɖa xreta.*

(78) ʔən ʔila lənge kawa!  
*bəška šabuqe t-dawa.*  
*ʔay m-kulley buš ʔawa.*

(79) *qumta ʔaqət rixana*  
*šadrət ʔile bustana*  
*ʔaʔ mare ʔ-awən ʔana.*

(80) *kačče marθa t-tre xone*  
*mraʔyala tre bəskone*  
*max serət be ʔilone*

(81) *də-yamyannux b-ʔayya šraya*  
*t-litli ʔliba naxraya*  
*šuy mənnux barwarnaya.<sup>10</sup>*

<sup>10</sup> The source for 39–81 is Pennacchietti (1976).

(73) In front of the upper room there is a mulberry tree.  
Whenever she moves coquettishly  
People become suspicious.

(74) Do not consider her to be small,  
short, sweet and submissive.  
She contends with the resplendent Pleiades.

(75) I saw her on the roof of the stable.  
Her plaits were a black snake,  
for that handsome friend of hers.

(76) The beautiful girl is the beloved of her mother,  
in whose mouth sugar melts,  
whenever she speaks, her blood is sweet.

(77) The girl was (white) as an egg.  
He did not stay a year with her.  
He went and found another girl.

(78) If she is lame, let it be!  
Her tresses are sticks of gold.  
She is the best of all.

(79) Her figure is (like) a sprig of basil.  
Her breast, which is a garden  
—I shall become also its owner.

(80) A girl that has two brothers  
lets two tresses grow down,  
like the moon of September.

(81) I swear to you by this lamp  
that I have no betrothed from elsewhere,  
only you, who are from Barwar.

(82) *mbadlela 'u-ha-ga-näya*  
*qrele xa diğa zaya*  
*qaša xšixla-llan gaya.*<sup>11</sup>

(83) *čəğa məre tla-baza*  
*parxəx l-qanət 'Avraza*  
*tarəxla dunye t-aza.*<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Informant for 82: Xošäba Georges (Lower Tiyare). The informant is not from Barwar, but this *rawe* song was sung in the Barwar region.

<sup>12</sup> Informant Mišayəl Barčəm, 'En-Nune.

(82) It is morning and the dawn is about to break.  
A young cock has sung.  
Priest, it is urgent for us!<sup>16</sup>

(83) A *čǰga* bird said to a falcon  
Let's fly to the peak of Avraza  
and send away the world (and its cares).

---

<sup>16</sup> I.e. come quickly and marry us.



C3 DIRGES (ḤINNE)

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune)

I

(1) 'íθwa yammâtha<sup>1</sup> 'i-baxiwa,<sup>1</sup> y-amriwa xlápa d-an-jundiye:<sup>1</sup>

(2) tuwe t-pešanwa nəšra,  
tuwe t-pešanwa nəšra,  
t-yatwanwa l-marzət gəšra,  
parjanwa b-ʔaskar t-xišla.

(3) meθa yammət jundiye.  
b-plašət 'Iran qīlela raba friye.  
ʔo gista xaθəx ləla kulla jmiye.

(4) ʔo-yoy meθa xaθəx xakma tlibe xakma t-la-gwara.  
ʔo-yoy kalowaθa piše t-la-gwara.  
spara kulla dwiqe jundiye ʔasire.

(5) tuwe t-pešanwa nəšra,  
tuwe t-pešanwa nəšra,  
t-yatwanwa l-marzət gəšra.  
parjanwa b-ʔaskar t-xišla.

(6) tuwe t-pešanwa gani  
t-azanwa gu-d-an-turani  
jāmánwa bronət gani.

(7) xišli b-ani ʔurxaθa.  
la xzeli la jwanqe, la-tabute, la naše kulla miθe.  
wirri b-šaqaθa.

C3 DIRGES (*J<sup>ANNE</sup>*)

Informant: Xošebo ʾOdišo (ʾĒn-Nune)

I

(1) There were mothers, who wept and said ‘Oh woe for the soldiers’:

(2) If only I could become an eagle  
If only I could become an eagle,  
and sit on the edge of the bridge  
and watch the army that has gone.

(3) Let the mother of soldiers die.  
In the war with Iran many were killed  
Oh, your poor sister, they are not all gathered in.<sup>1</sup>

(4) Oh woe, let your sister die. Some were engaged, some were not  
married.  
Oh woe, the brides have remained unmarried.  
They are waiting. All (the grooms) were taken as captured soldiers.

(5) If only I were to become an eagle,  
If only I were to become an eagle,  
and sit on the edge of the bridge  
and watch the army that has gone.

(6) If only I could be alone  
and go into the mountains  
and gather up my own son.

(7) I went on those roads.  
I did not see either young men, or coffins or any dead people.  
I crossed streams.

---

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the dead soldiers are not all gathered in but are left in the field.

(8) *məri ya-mari mut t-ođana? qalbən 'azən bεθa.*  
*lītləx fayda.<sup>1</sup>*  
*ču mdi la mšeli moθeli.*  
*mən-xašša tiwli bxeli.*  
*mən dəmmət 'eni pišli knaša*  
*halla xzeli 'u-halla swili.*

## II

(9) *qaşrux banyanne l-tiya*  
*gudane bani kepa xwara mrariya*  
*t-šoqi kawəθa pañjariyaθa biya*  
*'eni t-yawəllux 'ixala 'u-qarire miya*

(10) *qaşrux banyanne l-kanda*  
*xoθe maxi stune 'u-'ap-sanda*  
*b-rešux t-aθya mətra xelantia 'u-'ap-talga*

(8) I said 'My Lord, what shall I do? Let me return home.  
It is no use you<sup>2</sup> (doing this)'.  
I could bring nothing.  
In grief I sat down.  
I began to wipe away the tears of my eyes.  
I still have not found (anybody) and I am not yet satisfied.

## II

(9) I'll build your palace on the hilltop.  
They will build the walls white stone and marble.  
They will leave windows and casements in it.  
Who will give you cold water.

(10) I shall build your palace on a cliff top.  
Under it they will build pillars and a support  
Heavy rain and snow will fall on you

---

<sup>2</sup> Addressing herself.

#### C4 LULLABIES (ŠADLE)

Informant Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) Sárgun bróni<sup>1</sup> lè-y ðäléwa.<sup>1</sup> hár yawéwa bxàya.<sup>1</sup> Léðaxwa máre díye mòdile.<sup>1</sup> yála zòra-wewa<sup>1</sup> gu-dudíya,<sup>1</sup> dargùšta.<sup>1</sup> kàzəxwa<sup>1</sup> nabləxwale l-duxtùre<sup>1</sup> 'u-<sup>2</sup>axxa-w tàmma<sup>1</sup> lè fedáwale<sup>1</sup> lèðíwa bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> yála zòra<sup>1</sup> yá'ni máriwa naþyáþe.<sup>1</sup> réše šayðšwale,<sup>1</sup> hátxa lèðəx bíye.<sup>1</sup> (2) 'ána mo-wíðli?<sup>1</sup> qimli<sup>1</sup> moləxmáli<sup>1</sup> 'áyya,<sup>1</sup> 'áyya zmárta bíye díye.<sup>1</sup> 'imə zamrənwala,<sup>1</sup> kalèwa,<sup>1</sup> masyəðtheta.<sup>1</sup> 'imət parqənwə mən-zómri,<sup>1</sup> šaréwa bxàya.<sup>1</sup> (3) qimən moləxmənnə 'ánna sére bud-díye,<sup>1</sup> 'u-wíðən-əlle šārīt<sup>1</sup> díya.<sup>1</sup> kudánə baxəwa,<sup>1</sup> mattónwale 'o-šārīt,<sup>1</sup> masyəðtheta<sup>1</sup> hal-<sup>2</sup>é-gət parqəwa,<sup>1</sup> ta-t-baxéwa xá-ga xèta.<sup>1</sup> mādórnwale b-rèše<sup>1</sup> 'u-šəmèwala<sup>1</sup> 'u-ðäléwa.<sup>1</sup> 'əy y-awáwa súla díya.<sup>1</sup> y-amrənwə:

(4) darguštu xəsa xwara.  
kawsət yəmmux b-xwara.  
maštalu xalwa xwara.

(5) la baxət bronət babe  
t-yawəllux kulla tlabə  
zuzə t-yawənnux rabe

(6) babi 'əzizət xone  
bəd-zawənnə harmonə  
mšadrənnə l-bəθət Sone

(7) pari 'əzizi ma-le?  
zawənnə bərtəqale.  
mšadrənnə l-bəθət xale.

(8) pari 'əzizət xəþe  
mšadrənnə l-an maþwaþe  
təlbəx m-<sup>2</sup>umra-w 'etaþe

Informant Leya 'Oraha (Dure)

(9) hole nwile gu-dwəra  
qundaxət toþe xwara  
jani broní t-la gwara

C4 LULLABIES (*ŠADLE*)

Informant Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) My son Sargon used not to sleep. He always cried. We did not know what his illness was. He was a baby in a cradle. We tried (to help him) and took him to the doctors, and so forth, but it was no use to him, they did not know what was the matter with him. (He was) a baby and his ears ached. He shook his head, but we did not know what was the matter with him. (2) What did I do? I composed this song about him. When I sang it, he stopped and listened. When I finished my song, he began to cry. (3) I composed these verses about him and I made for him a tape of it. Whenever he cried, I put on the tape and he listened until it finished, then he cried again. I put it back to the beginning and he listened to it and slept. This is what it did (for him). I used to say:

(4) Your cradle is white wood.  
The hair of your mother is becoming white.  
She gives you white milk.

(5) Do not cry, oh son of his father,  
He will give you all requests  
He will give you lots of money

(6) My dear, the beloved of his brother  
I shall buy for him pomegranates  
I shall send him to the house of Sone<sup>1</sup>

(7) What is wrong with my beloved lamb  
I shall buy for him oranges  
I shall send him to the house of his uncle

(8) My lamb, beloved of his sister  
I shall send him to the villages  
We shall request help from the churches.<sup>2</sup>

Informant Leya 'Oraha (Dure)

(9) There, he has appeared in the resting place  
The butt of his rifle is white

---

<sup>1</sup> The name of his grandmother.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: the church and the churches.

(10) *hole nwile gu-zoma*  
*qundaxət tope koma*  
*jani bronı laxoma*

(11) *mānile gare gare*  
*šəpət ʔaqlə bəzmare*  
*Ramʔel θaya m-be-xale*

(12) *goriye l-eni dame*  
*šəklana m-bəθre-w qame*  
*ʔAwiye brōn-t Leya*

(13) *pəšətli qənnə t-nama*  
*ʔap-xa la maṭe tama*  
*ʔAmir biš-rıxa-w rama*

(14) *pəšət ʔenir ləle*  
*yasmin gu-šəllele*  
*ʔAmir maxe b-səmbele*  
*ʔu-ʔap-ʔən litle barele*

Informant: Siranoš Xaməs (ʔEn-Nune)

(15) *hay babi hay*  
*dudiyux t-qārāčay*  
*natrilux ʔumre lay*  
*bustanux gu-jilway*

My soul, my son, is not married.

(10) He has appeared in the summer pastures  
The butt of his rifle is black  
My soul, my son, is handsome

(11) Who is (walking over) the roof?  
His footstep is (full of) nails.<sup>3</sup>  
Ramʔel is coming from his uncle's house.<sup>4</sup>

(12) To whom does my dear resemble?  
He is handsome from the back and the front  
Awiya son of Leya

(13) You are for me (like) a nest of an ostrich  
Nobody can reach it  
(But my son) Amir is taller and higher.

(14) You are (like) the lily of the night,  
Jasmin in waterfalls.  
Amir will touch his moustache (with these herbs)  
Even if he does not have (a moustache) it will grow for him.<sup>5</sup>

Informant: Siranoš Xaməs (ʔEn-Nune)

(15) Oh my dear,  
Your cradle is (made by) gypsies.  
The upper churches (on the mountains) will protect you  
Your garden is among the Jilu people

---

<sup>3</sup> Referring to the nails in his shoes.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. he takes a shortcut over the roofs.

<sup>5</sup> It will grow on account of the herbs.



C5 CHURN SONG

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) *guði māyanne b-gani*  
*'u-biye b-šéšən rušani*  
*ṭla-bronət be-xəmyani*

(2) *guði māyanne b-zakke*  
*marmanne qam-pálakke*  
*xoni b-šaklile čakke*

(3) *guði t-'əzzi d-ε-poše*  
*gu-ṭalana mxarpoše*  
*xanjar t-xoni pəškože*

(4) *guði d-ay moǰənta*  
*təlyə b-taqət sošinta*  
*māyále 'ε-baxta ṭinta*

(5) *bəl margane l-margəšta*  
*θela xa brata lwišta*  
*'ati bara max-qəšta*

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune)

(6) *guði māyanne b-gani*  
*šaršiyanna dranani*  
*məšxi mpəltən b-'amani*

(7) *guði t-'əzza d-a-poše*  
*gu-gəllale mxarpoše*

(8) *guði daryən gu-'iθaθi*  
*zakke zakkən l-'iθaθi*  
*t-la galyan ṭla xorəθi*

C5 CHURN SONG

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) I shall churn my churn by myself  
I shall shake my shoulders with it  
for the son of my father-in-law.<sup>6</sup>

(2) I shall churn my churn with splashes.  
I shall raise it up to the stars.  
The weapons suit my brother.

(3) My churn (made) from my goat called 'white spotted',  
which looked for food on the shady mountain.  
The dagger of my brother has (golden) studs.

(4) My churn (made) from that heiffer,  
hung on the branch of the berry tree,  
which that pregnant woman churns

(5) Between the meadow and a small field  
A dressed-up girl came  
whom (you were following) like a bow (and arrow)

Informant: Xošebo 'Odišo ('En-Nune)

(6) I churn my churn by myself.  
I loosen my arms.  
I bring out the butter into my pot.

(7) My churn (made) from a white spotted goat,  
which scavenges in grass.

(8) I put my churn in my hands,  
Splash, splash on my hands,  
So that I do not reveal it to my friends.

---

<sup>6</sup> I.e. my husband.

(9) *gudi, guḏat neriya*  
*qḏale dərye mveriye*

(10) *gudi, guḏat neriya*  
*qḏala k'alo mveriye*

(11) *gudi, guḏa neriya*  
*talya taqat harmiya*  
*m-qḏala Zalfe mveriya*

(9) My churn, churn of a male goat.  
Bangles<sup>7</sup> are put on its neck.<sup>8</sup>

(10) My churn, churn of a male goat.  
On the neck of the bride there are bangles.

(11) My churn, the churn of a male goat,  
Hung on the branch of a pear tree.  
From the neck of Zalfe (is hanging) a bangle.

---

<sup>7</sup> Consisting of bells and beads.

<sup>8</sup> Since the male goat was the leader.

## C6 DANCE SONGS

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

### I

(1) *me-zome şlela b-hajjəttət maşe*  
*b-ʔaqla zərgule ʔu-ʔəlla qumaşe*  
*kipli naşqənnə xzənnə<sup>1</sup> tre-naşe*

(2) *me-zome şlela b-hajjəttət sarə*  
*b-ʔaqla zərgule ʔu-ʔəlla xumale*  
*kipli naşqənnə xzənnə tre-yale*

(3) *me-zome şlela b-ʔurxət galliya,*  
*b-ʔaqla zərgule b-reša poşiya.*  
*kipli naşqənnə qbilla Mariya.<sup>1</sup>*

### II

(4) *la-ppəxla<sup>2</sup> şapirta,*  
*jəwja m-ʔure l-ʔure,*  
*b-iða dastət warde,*  
*xo-qðala maxmore.*  
*murule t-la-ʔəye jwanqa.*  
*hola xišta l-Dure.*

(5) *la-ppəxla şapirta,*  
*jəwja m-qana l-qana,*  
*b-iða dastət warde,*  
*xo-qðala gardana.*  
*murule t-la-ʔəye jwanqa*  
*hola be-xəmyana.*

---

<sup>1</sup> This verbal form with the past base inflected with a 1st person suffix expressing the patient is not used in Barwar, but rather is characteristic of ʦiyare dialects.

<sup>2</sup> This form is characteristic of ʦiyare dialects.

## C6 DANCE SONGS

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

### I

(1) She came down from his summer pastures with the excuse of (fetching) black beans.

On her legs are sheep-skin shoes, and on her (body) are fabrics.

I bent over to kiss her, two people saw me.

(2) She came down from his summer pastures with the excuse of (fetching) barley.

On her legs are sheep-skin shoes, and on her (body) festive clothes.

I bent over to kiss her, two boys saw me.

(3) She came down from his summer pastures by the road of the valley.

On her legs are sheep-skin shoes, on her head a scarf.

I bent over to kiss her, Maria agreed.

### II

(4) We do not want the beautiful girl,  
walking from mountains to mountains,

in her hand a bunch of flowers,

on<sup>1</sup> her neck jewels.

Tell the youth not to look for her.

She has gone to Dure.

(5) We do not want the beautiful girl,  
walking from (mountain) peak to peak,

in her hand a bunch of flowers,

on her neck a necklace.

Tell the youth not to look for her.

She is in her father-in-law's house.

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: under.

(6) *la-pp̄xla šapirta*  
*jawja m̄-tiye l-tiye,*  
*b-iða dastət warde,*  
*xo-qðala mreniye.*  
*murule t-la-täye jwanqa.*  
*hawla<sup>3</sup> gu-beriyē.*

### III

(7) *Bägiya qumta xlita zeriye*  
*xəzyali gu-beriyē.*  
*Bägiyət rešət maθa*  
*kəma xəlyela səpwəθa!*  
*nšiqali, qṭila šaθa.*

(8) *Bägiya m-bεθa goṛa,*  
*muqyamta max-bəšpora.*  
*b-hurriya mašya t-gawra.*

---

<sup>3</sup> An uncontracted form of *hola*.

(6) We do not want the beautiful girl,  
walking from hilltop to hilltop,  
in her hand a bunch of flowers,  
on her neck bangles.  
Tell the youth not to look for her.  
She is among the milkmaids.

### III

(7) Băgiya, her sweet golden stature,  
I saw among the milk-maids  
Băgiya, who is from the top of the village,  
How sweet her lips are!  
When I kissed her, the fever stopped.

(8) Băgiya of a great family,  
brought up like a little child,  
She can marry in freedom.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> I.e. she can choose her husband.



## Informant Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) 'áyya zmártət Xawšábi.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya gu-Türki-wawa.<sup>1</sup> xa-'àga,<sup>1</sup> 'Ûsman šämme diye,<sup>1</sup> ðéle,<sup>1</sup> 'árxa píšle kəs-Xošába margáya.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa šmyewa bud-diye<sup>1</sup> 'iθwale 'érwe ràbe.<sup>1</sup> xa-káwtət 'érwe 'iθwale ràbe.<sup>1</sup> (2) 'iθwa,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-šávána-wawa,<sup>1</sup> xá 'ázza,<sup>1</sup> šamma 'iwéwa Nüne,<sup>1</sup> 'ázza šamma Nüne.<sup>1</sup> zàxme-wawa,<sup>1</sup> hátxa gòrta.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'iθwa záže b-qðàla.<sup>1</sup> 'áy qamèθa y-awwawa,<sup>1</sup> 'ax-šávána.<sup>1</sup> 'érwe kúlla y-azíwa bára bàra.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'áwwa 'imə-t-šmíle 'Ûsman,<sup>1</sup> ðéle l-béθət Xošába margáya,<sup>1</sup> 'àmər<sup>1</sup> 'ána hon-'əθya 'árxa kəslux,<sup>1</sup> báyən permáti 'ázza 'ε-Nüne.<sup>1</sup> (4) 'ámər qá-mo gáræg zəlmət 'əlli?<sup>1</sup> 'ána 'ázza 'ε-Nüne šávána 'əlli.<sup>1</sup> kúlla 'ərbe hóla lípe 'əlla diya.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-'áy primáli,<sup>1</sup> mòdi t-óðən?<sup>1</sup> permənnux<sup>1</sup> xámša réše 'érwe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-là 'áy.<sup>1</sup> (5) 'ámər 'ána 'əlla-'ay 'áy báyanna,<sup>1</sup> 'ázza 'ε-Nüne.<sup>1</sup> kizle mparpóle bíye diye<sup>1</sup> yà-'ága,<sup>1</sup> lá hətxa.<sup>1</sup> bəna,<sup>1</sup> 'agəwáθa 'é-ga táma zalmíwa suráye.<sup>1</sup> Xošába žígm<sup>1</sup> mārə bəna-wewa.<sup>1</sup> bróne diye<sup>1</sup> 'əšábi-wewa.<sup>1</sup> bróne diye<sup>1</sup> 'əšábi-wewa.<sup>1</sup> (6) qimle mjavòde mən-'ága.<sup>1</sup> mšurèlè<sup>1</sup> mərə ta-mòdi<sup>1</sup> 'əlla 'áy 'ázza 'ε-Nüne?<sup>1</sup> šqúl ða-xəta.<sup>1</sup> Xošába mərə<sup>1</sup> ta-bróne diye<sup>1</sup> bəbi<sup>1</sup> rəhat!<sup>1</sup> le-šawqəm<sup>1</sup> máttu bəsrə<sup>1</sup> t-'ázza 'ε-Nüne gu-pümme.<sup>1</sup> mpaltənne káwde diye<sup>1</sup> b-góte diye.<sup>1</sup> là-wi 'əšábi.<sup>1</sup> šuqla,<sup>1</sup> permənna.<sup>1</sup> (7) qimle,<sup>1</sup> priməlla 'ázza.<sup>1</sup> mùθyalla.<sup>1</sup> mərə 'áxtu mətəwo!<sup>1</sup> šqiləlla tòpe<sup>1</sup> 'u-siqele<sup>1</sup> l-túra.<sup>1</sup> siqele l-túra<sup>1</sup> 'u-hóle tūwa<sup>1</sup> 'Ûsman,<sup>1</sup> 'u-tiwela 'agəwáθa mánne diye.<sup>1</sup> qurðáye rabela,<sup>1</sup> taqriban 'ərbi xamsi,<sup>1</sup> xuláme hóla mánne diye tiwela gu-diwən.<sup>1</sup> (8) 'u-xa-bəna Xošába dərəla tòpe.<sup>1</sup> 'áwwa pəðske<sup>1</sup> mətəwèlè,<sup>1</sup> wídle kəbàbe,<sup>1</sup> 'u-moθéle ta-t-yálla ta-'Ûsman<sup>1</sup> 'u-Xošába dərəle tòpe,<sup>1</sup> xa-šúla m-áxxa ləxxa,<sup>1</sup> qatəlle.<sup>1</sup> 'u-bréla həsa.<sup>1</sup> bəna 'áxxa mərəle<sup>1</sup>

(9) xa Xawšabi margaya,  
b-tope kəmewa daraya!  
qəille 'Ûsman 'agaya.

C7 XOŠABA MARGAYA

Informant Dawiđ 'Adam (Dure)

(1) This is the song 'My Xošaba'. It was (an event that occurred) in Turkey. An agha, whose name was Usman, came and became the guest of Xošaba from Marga. He had heard concerning him that he had many small cattle. He had a herd of many small cattle. (2) There was (in his possession) a nanny-goat like a shepherd whose name was Nune, a nanny-goat whose name was Nune. She was huge, large like this. There were bells on her neck. She was a leader,<sup>1</sup> like a shepherd. All the small cattle used to follow her. (3) When Usman heard this, he came to the house of Xošaba from Marga and said 'I have come as your guest. I want you to slaughter for me the nanny-goat Nune'. (4) He said 'Why must you do me such an injustice? The nanny-goat Nune is a shepherd for me. All the small cattle follow her lead.<sup>2</sup> If I slaughter her, what shall I do? I shall slaughter for you five head of small cattle, but not her'. (5) He said 'I want only her, the nanny-goat Nune'. He tried to supplicate with him 'Oh agha, (let it) not be so'. Well, the aghas used to wrong the Christians at that time. Xošaba was tolerant, but his son was hot-headed. His son was hot-headed. (6) He started arguing with the agha saying 'Why (do you want) only that nanny-goat Nune? Take another one' Xošaba said to his son 'My dear, be quiet! I shall not let him put the meat of the nanny-goat Nune in his mouth. I shall take out his own liver from his side. Don't be hot-headed. Leave alone. I shall slaughter it'. (7) He went and slaughtered the nanny-goat. He brought it and said 'Here you are, grill it!' He took his gun and went up the mountain. He went up the mountain while Usman sat down and (other) aghas sat with him, they were many Kurds, about forty or fifty, sitting in a gathering with servants attending him. (8) Then Xošaba shot his gun. He (a servant) had grilled the pieces of meat, made them into kebabs and brought them to give to Usman when Xošaba shot his gun—it happened very quickly<sup>3</sup>—and he killed him. Panic broke out. So, at this point, the song goes:

(9) There was one Xošaba of mine from Marga,  
What a skilled shooter he was!  
He killed Usman the agha.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally: the first.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: have learnt from her.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: a matter from here to there.

(10) *xa-Xawšabi bne-Marge,*  
*yašila siqa l-palge*  
*’Usman mxurxile jarge.*

(11) *xa-Xawšabi Xawšaba,*  
*l-’ide drele lawlaba*  
*q’ille ’Usman p’rīt-baba.*

(12) *mašmola margayaθa*  
*bas naznəzi b-dudiyatha.*  
*tola šqilli xa-b-!aθa.*

(13) *bəsrət ’əzzi d-ε-Nune,*  
*dərya bšala l-kanune.*  
*’Usman mukreli zawne.*

(10) There was one Xošaba of mine from Marga,  
He climbed half way up the wall  
And burnt the viscera of Usman.

(11) There was one Xošaba of mine, Xošaba,  
he put his hand on the trigger  
and killed that cursed Usman.

(12) Tell the women of Marga  
Stop drooling over the cradles.  
I have taken revenge threefold.

(13) The meat my goat, called Nune,  
was laid out to be cooked on the griddle stones.  
I have shortened the time of Usman.

C8 THE BRIDGE OF ZAKHO

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) *gu-Ẓaxo<sup>1</sup> bnáya wéewa xa-gəšra<sup>1</sup> gəšra y-amrəxle gəšrət Dalàle<sup>1</sup> b-zónət 'Abbasíye.<sup>1</sup> kámət baníwale ta-t-qaṭərwə 'o-gəšra<sup>1</sup> là qaṭərwə.<sup>1</sup> yáni lá maxéwa l-gəðàðe.<sup>1</sup> (2) xa-yòma<sup>1</sup> 'o-gòra<sup>1</sup> 'àgə<sup>1</sup> xzèle b-xəlmə.<sup>1</sup> 'áw zàngīn-weewa<sup>1</sup> xelàna.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale šawwà 'arxáθa<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale šawwà kaláθa.<sup>1</sup> 'íθwale šawwà susyáθa.<sup>1</sup> maláxa móre 'ille díye<sup>1</sup> mən-kúl-xa mən-d-àнна<sup>1</sup> lázəm xa-mbàtlət.<sup>1</sup> mən-kaláθux ḏa-kálθux qàtlət.<sup>1</sup> mən-susəwáθux xa-sústa qàtlət.<sup>1</sup> mən-'arxáθux xa-'árxe màklət.<sup>1</sup> (3) 'anna maláxa móre 'ille díye ta-t-awəðla<sup>1</sup> ta-t-'o-gəšra<sup>1</sup> máxe l-gəðàðe<sup>1</sup> qàtə.<sup>1</sup> mára 'o-gəšra<sup>1</sup> b-šənne<sup>1</sup> b-šənne<sup>1</sup> šúryela bnáya ta-t-máte l-gəðàðe<sup>1</sup> léle məšya.<sup>1</sup> (4) qiməle<sup>1</sup> xa-'árxe mbùtləlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-xá mən-susyáθe qīləlla.<sup>1</sup> 'u-Dalàle<sup>1</sup> kálθe díye zúrta šəmma Dalàle-weewa<sup>1</sup> 'ε-Dalàle<sup>1</sup> qiməle məšúdra<sup>1</sup> mánna 'ixála ta-t-nábla ta-palàxe<sup>1</sup> t-íla plàxa<sup>1</sup> rəš-gəšrət Dalàle.<sup>1</sup> (5) 'anna mürəlla.<sup>1</sup> kú nəšma<sup>1</sup> t-màtya<sup>1</sup> rəš-gəšrət Dalàle<sup>1</sup> 'ε-nəšma bəd-pəša<sup>1</sup> pīmta<sup>1</sup> qīlta.<sup>1</sup> 'ítla kálba mənna.<sup>1</sup> 'ən-hawéwa kálba zíla qamàya<sup>1</sup> qaṭlíwa kálba.<sup>1</sup> là qaṭlíwala Dalàle.<sup>1</sup> qiməla<sup>1</sup> kálba šqille rixá<sup>1</sup> t-xa-kálləš.<sup>1</sup> kálləš yáðət mòdila.<sup>2</sup> xa-'ərba mīθa.<sup>1</sup> (6) zílle kálba rəš-d-è-kálləš.<sup>1</sup> 'áyya Dalàle píšla qaməθa.<sup>1</sup> zílla<sup>1</sup> mṭéla l-gəšra<sup>1</sup> qəm-dawqila<sup>1</sup> qəm-parmila.<sup>1</sup> mattila gu-gəšra<sup>1</sup> gəšra qṭirre.<sup>1</sup> mxéle l-gəðàðe.<sup>1</sup> béna y-àmri:<sup>1</sup>*

(7) *Dalal, Dalal, Dalale,  
gəšra Ẓaxo ramana  
selət xoθe milana  
Dalle dwiqa l-xəmyana.*

(8) *gəšrət Ẓaxo daqíqa  
'u-selət xoθe raqíqa  
'u-Dalle l-xəmyana dwiqa.*

(9) *m-o-kalbət pərruš wele  
šlele rəš-kálləš kēle  
xəmyanət Dalle bxele*

C8 THE BRIDGE OF ZAKHO

Informant: Dawiḏ 'Adam (Dure)

(1) In Zakho they were building a bridge. We call the bridge the bridge of Dalale. (This was) in the time of the Abbasids. However much they built the bridge in order for its arch to be completed, its arch was not completed, it was not put together. (2) One day, the chief, the agha, saw in his dream that he was rich and powerful. He had seven water mills. He had seven daughters-in-law. He had seven horses. An angel said to him (in the dream) 'You must get rid of one of each of these. You should kill one of your daughters-in-law. You should kill one of your horses. You should stop one of your water-mills'. (3) The angel told him to do these things, so that the bridge would come together and its arch would be completed. Indeed, they had started building the bridge (and had been working on it) for years and years in order for it to come together, but it could not (be completed). (4) He went and stopped a water-mill and killed one of his horses. Now, Dalale—his youngest daughter-in-law was called Dalale—he sent food with Dalale for her to take to the workers who were working on the bridge of Dalale. (5) They said to her 'Any soul that comes onto the bridge of Dalale—that soul will be slaughtered, killed'. She had a dog with her. If the dog had gone first, they would have killed the dog and not killed Dalale. But the dog picked up the scent of carrion. Do you know what a *kallaš* is? It is a dead sheep. (6) The dog went to the carrion. So, Dalale became the first one. She reached the bridge and they seized her and slaughtered her. They put her on the bridge and the arch of the bridge was completed, it came together. So, they say:

(7) Dalal, Dalal, Dalale,  
The high bridge of Zakho  
The river under it is blue (with grief).  
Dalle (= Dalale) has been seized by her father-in-law.

(8) The narrow bridge of Zakho,  
The river under it is narrow.  
Dalle (= Dalale) has been seized by her father-in-law.

(9) On account of that dog which was treacherous,  
which went down and stood over carrion,  
The father-in-law of Dalle wept.

SECTION D  
RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

D1 RIDDLES

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) qàša' 'u-bàxte,<sup>1</sup> šamàša' 'u-bràte,<sup>1</sup> pàl̥ti mən-'úmra t̥l̥àθa. 'áyya mòdila?<sup>1</sup>  
brát̥t̥t̥ šamáša báxt̥t̥t̥ qàš̥ela.<sup>1</sup> ga-'ána 'im̥t̥ m̥r̥i' qàša-w bàxte,<sup>1</sup> šamàša' 'u-bràte,<sup>1</sup>  
brát̥t̥t̥ šamáša gwírt̥ela l-qàša.<sup>1</sup> 'ánna pàl̥ti t̥l̥àθ̥ela,<sup>1</sup> 'ina b-š̥mm̥ela' 'àrba.<sup>1</sup>

(2) hadíya 'itlux xa-tàwra.<sup>1</sup> hóle 'itlux šwàwe.<sup>1</sup> g̥àlla' hóle mútta 'al-h̥úđ̥úd t-šwàwe.<sup>1</sup>  
'u-tàwra hóle láxxa gu-b̥èθa.<sup>1</sup> x̥ólye díye qa-d-ènile?<sup>1</sup> 'áti mùt mára?<sup>1</sup>

GK: ta-t̥r̥w̥θna<sup>1</sup>

ta-t̥r̥w̥θna?<sup>1</sup> xz̥i' 'áxxa xli̥tlux.<sup>1</sup>

GK: ta-mòdin xli̥ta?<sup>1</sup>

tàwra 'it̥le x̥ólya?<sup>1</sup> là'a!<sup>1</sup> taw̥r̥θa 'it̥la x̥ólya.<sup>1</sup>

(3) díga' théle tíwle láxxa' gam-tár̥t̥ b̥èθa.<sup>1</sup> 'u-'im̥ò ðille' béta np̥illa' l-tár̥t̥ b̥eθ̥èxu.<sup>1</sup>  
t̥la-d-èni t-óya béta?<sup>1</sup> hadíya díga hóle tíwa 'áxxa,<sup>1</sup> díym̥,<sup>1</sup> 'u-'áxxa díy̥èxula.<sup>1</sup> 'im̥ò  
ðille díga,<sup>1</sup> 'éka np̥illa béta?<sup>1</sup> np̥illa 'áxxa k̥əsl̥èxu,<sup>1</sup> là?<sup>1</sup> t̥la-d-èni t-óya béta?<sup>1</sup> t̥l̥àl̥m̥  
'aw-t̥l̥al̥èxu.<sup>1</sup> díga díym̥-ile' 'u-dúk̥θa díy̥èxula.<sup>1</sup> 'áw̥wa b̥éθa díy̥èxule.<sup>1</sup> 'im̥t̥ ðille  
díga,<sup>1</sup> 'éka np̥illa?<sup>1</sup> 'áxxa gu-b̥eθ̥èxu.<sup>1</sup> t̥la-d-èn̥ila béta?<sup>1</sup> t̥l̥àl̥m̥ 'ən-t̥l̥al̥èxu?<sup>1</sup>

GK: t̥l̥al̥èni.

là!<sup>1</sup> 'ap-áyya la-ð̥ilux.<sup>1</sup>

GK: múr t̥la-mò.<sup>1</sup>

díga l̥è-y-yað̥al.<sup>1</sup> k̥θ̥èθa yádl̥a.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION D  
RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

D1 RIDDLES

Informant: Dawið 'Adam (Dure)

(1) A priest and his wife, a deacon and his daughter—the three leave the church. What is this?

The daughter of the deacon is the wife of the priest. So, when I said ‘the priest and his wife, the deacon and his daughter’, the daughter of the deacon is married to the priest. When they come out they are three, but when you name them they are four.

(2) Now, you have an ox and you have neighbours. The grass is situated on the neighbours’ (side of) the border and the ox is here in (your) home. To whom does his milk belong? What do you say?

GK: To both of them.

To both of them? You see, you are wrong.

GK: Why am I wrong?

Does an ox have milk? No! A cow has milk.

(3) A cock came and sat down here, outside the house. When it laid an egg, it fell in front of the door of your house. Who will have the egg? Now, the cock is sitting here, in our home, and here it is your home. When the cock laid an egg, where did it fall? It fell here in your home. Who will have the egg, we or you? The cock is ours and the place is yours. This house is yours. When the cock laid an egg, where did it fall? Here in your house. Who will have the egg, we or you?

GK: It is ours.

No! You don’t know this one either.

GK: Tell me why.

A cock does not lay eggs. A hen lays eggs.



(4) *bêta,*<sup>1</sup> *bêtət tawra y-axlõtla?*<sup>1</sup> *y-axlõtla bêtət tawra?*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *là.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup>*ána hon-mára y-axlõtla.*<sup>1</sup>

GK: *múr tla-mò.*<sup>1</sup>

*bêta lá tawrõtla?*<sup>1</sup> *lá tawrõtla derõtla gu-<sup>2</sup>amàna?*<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>*áy tawre<sup>1</sup>l* <sup>2</sup>*áti xšwət tawre<sup>1</sup>la.*<sup>1</sup>  
*bêta zàlla,*<sup>1</sup> *yá'ni z<sup>1</sup>lita bêta,*<sup>1</sup> *y-axólla nàša.*<sup>1</sup>

(5) *qaqláxle gu-<sup>1</sup>túra<sup>1</sup>* *dámme şále gu-kúra.*<sup>1</sup> *mára qèsele.*<sup>1</sup>

(6) *zilli l-béθət xa-múra<sup>1</sup>*

*mboqárrí mən-fãqúra<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>2</sup>*áwwa mo-téरेle b-šúra?*<sup>1</sup>

*párxa b-léle.*<sup>1</sup>

(7) *zilli l-béθət xa-pàša<sup>1</sup>*

*mboqárrí mən-xa-nàša<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>2</sup>*áwwa mo-téरेle b-šàša<sup>1</sup>*

*téra t-málka Šlèmun.*<sup>1</sup>

(8) *šárta mènni<sup>1</sup>* *qéθa <sup>2</sup>əbbux.*<sup>1</sup> *mòdila?*<sup>1</sup> *<sup>2</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>θa?*<sup>1</sup> *léla <sup>2</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>θa.*<sup>1</sup> *<sup>2</sup>áxtu xašwítu <sup>2</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>θa<sup>1</sup>*  
*lèla.*<sup>1</sup> *şawθa.*<sup>1</sup> *şáwθa šrí<sup>1</sup>tla mènni<sup>1</sup>* *qítla biyux.*<sup>1</sup>

Informant: Mişayel Barçəm (<sup>2</sup>En-Nune)

(9) *t<sup>1</sup>lá-mma xatáne b-xá xeríya.*<sup>1</sup>

*harmònta.*<sup>1</sup>

(10) *kút-yom yámmux hátxa màwra.*<sup>1</sup>

*dàwra.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Kurdish loan-word *šúra* is used for the rhyme. The normal word for 'milk' is *xəlyá*.

(4) An egg, do you eat an egg of an ox (*tawra*)? Do you eat the egg of an ox?

GK: No.

I say that you eat it.

GK: Tell me why.

Don't you break an egg. Don't you break it and put it in a vessel? This is what *tawra* means. You thought it was an ox.<sup>1</sup> An egg cracks, an egg is cracked and a person eats it.

(5) We kill it in the mountains and its blood flows in the kiln. The answer is: It is wood.

(6) I went to the house of an amir

I asked a poor man:

What bird is this with milk?

(Answer:) a bat

(7) I went to the house of a pasha

and asked a man:

What bird is this with a comb?

(Answer:) The hoopoe bird

(8) It escapes from me and hits you. What is it? A fart? It is not a fart. You think it is a fart. It is not. It is speech. Speech escaped from me and hit you.

Informant: Mišayel Barčəm (?Ėn-Nune)

(9) Three hundred ladies with one veil.

(Answer:) a pomegranate

(10) Everyday your mother allows you to enter in this way.

(Answer:) a wooden bolt

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<sup>1</sup> The word play here is based on the homophony of *tawra* 'ox' and *tawra* 'it (f.) breaks'. The phrase *betat tawra* could, therefore, mean either 'the egg of an ox' or 'the egg that breaks'.

(11) *téra* *thèle*,<sup>1</sup> *péle* *laxma*.<sup>1</sup> *la-šəkər-ile*<sup>1</sup> *ʔu-la-nābāt-ile*.<sup>1</sup>  
*dùša*<sup>1</sup>

(12) *kut-qedàmta*<sup>1</sup> *xá handawáya kóma šáwər xásət yəmmux*.<sup>1</sup>  
*zəqqa kómta tla-grášət miya*.<sup>1</sup>

(13) *qrámtət šórma darmánət bušála*.<sup>1</sup>  
*ʔelìtha*.<sup>1</sup>

(14) *thèle max-mìra*.<sup>1</sup> *táwle max-wǎzìra*.<sup>1</sup> *zille max-fǎqìra*.<sup>1</sup>  
*tàlga*.<sup>1</sup>

(15) *ʔázəl hèm*,<sup>1</sup> *ʔáthe gèm*,<sup>1</sup> *tərwéy ʔaqlathéy sìre*.<sup>1</sup>  
*guða*.

Informant: Nawiya ʔOdišo (Dure)

(14) *Xasádo xápər dùke*.<sup>1</sup> *ʔáxni y-amrəxle*<sup>1</sup> *ʔaw-mút məttele?*<sup>1</sup> *y-amrile dalòpa*.<sup>1</sup>

(15) *Xasádo t-šáwwa qábe ʔaw-bəšlele*.<sup>1</sup>

(16) *ʔíth xa-tanùra*,<sup>1</sup> *xa-lawáša gáwwe*,<sup>1</sup> *mòdile?*<sup>1</sup> *pùmma*.<sup>1</sup>

(17) *ða-gugítha b-šáwwa boyàye*.<sup>1</sup> *mòdile?*<sup>1</sup> *rèša*.<sup>1</sup>

- (11) A bird came and baked bread. It is not sugar and is not a plant.  
(Answer:) Honey.
- (12) Every morning a black Indian jumps on the back of your mother.  
(Answer:) a black water-skin for drawing water.
- (13) The cover of the buttocks is the substance of the stew.  
(Answer:) The fat of a sheep's tail.
- (14) It came like an amir. It sat like a vizier. It went like a poor man.  
(Answer:) Snow.
- (15) It goes with a *həm*, it comes back with a *gəm*, both its legs are tied.  
(Answer:) A churn.

Informant: Nawiya 'Odišo (Dure)

- (14) Xasādo is digging his place. We say 'What is (the meaning of) the riddle?' They say it is 'dripping (of water from a roof)'.  
(15) Xasādo who has seven gowns is an onion.  
(16) There is an oven with a flat bread in it. What is it? A mouth.  
(17) A small stump of a tree with seven holes—What is it? A head.

## D2 PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

- (1) 'ó-t šawórra šáwwa sàkke,<sup>1</sup> ða-qéθa gu-be-tàkke.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) m-xó-t 'ilána gáwze trè mbéni.<sup>1</sup>
- (3) la-mtáqtəq l-tárət nàše<sup>1</sup> ta-t-náše la-mtáqtəqi l-tàru.<sup>1</sup>
- (4) hot-píša 'ápša milàna.<sup>1</sup>
- (5) šmša gànya<sup>1</sup> 'u-bíšta là-ganya.<sup>1</sup>
- (6) pšúṭla 'àqlux<sup>1</sup> qáðər bārəkθux<sup>1</sup>
- (7) 'ən-bábux 'u-yámmux gu-bèθela,<sup>1</sup> léla šəklánta ṭ-ásqət l-gàre<sup>1</sup>
- (8) 'íðux lá-darət gu-nùra<sup>1</sup> t-là-'aqða.<sup>1</sup>
- (9) šmáyya 'íla denánta ṭla-'ára tərte qərtále t-'əpra.<sup>1</sup>
- (10) dāx ṭ-óða 'ázza b-sàrda,<sup>1</sup> gulíra gamárre gòlda.<sup>1</sup>
- (11) wí mbaqràna,<sup>1</sup> ṭ-áwət yaðùwa<sup>1</sup>
- (12) neríya b-gážže lè-y-mayəθ<sup>1</sup>
- (13) qála mən-qáwra lè-y-aθe.<sup>1</sup>

## D2 PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

- (1) He who jumps seven stakes, (one) will hit him in his waist.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) From under the tree only two walnuts can be seen.<sup>2</sup>
- (3) Do not knock on people's door so that people do not knock on your door.
- (4) You have become a green gallnut.<sup>3</sup>
- (5) The sun sets but evil does not set (with it).<sup>4</sup>
- (6) Stretch your legs according to your cloth.<sup>5</sup>
- (7) If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof.<sup>6</sup>
- (8) Do not put your hand in the fire lest it burns.
- (9) Heaven owes the Earth two baskets of dust.<sup>7</sup>
- (10) Just as the goat acts with the tree stalks, the gallnut (growing from the same tree) will tan its skin.
- (11) Be inquisitive and you shall be knowledgeable.
- (12) A male goat does not die (at the sight of) a raised hand.<sup>8</sup>
- (13) A voice does not come from the grave.

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<sup>1</sup> Somebody who constantly takes risks will eventually be injured.

<sup>2</sup> All is not what it seems from a distance.

<sup>3</sup> When a gallnut is still green, you cannot easily see it among the leaves. You say this when you have not seen a friend for a long time.

<sup>4</sup> Evil never sleeps, and it is better to come home early at night after the sun has set.

<sup>5</sup> Do not do things beyond your ability or try to buy what you cannot afford.

<sup>6</sup> You should have respect for your parents and not become arrogant and imperious towards them.

<sup>7</sup> This is a reference to Noah and Elijah who ascended into Heaven and were not buried in the dust of the Earth.

<sup>8</sup> A successful person does not care what others say.

(14) *zvína sérga qam-sùsa*<sup>1</sup>

(15) *dárta l-yòma,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwe gu-gòma.*<sup>1</sup> *dárta l-sèra,*<sup>1</sup> *'áwe l-tèra.*<sup>1</sup>

(16) *'éwe 'm-théla m-la-Zàwa,*<sup>1</sup> *t-áthe xa-yóma tàwa.*<sup>1</sup> *'an-'éwe théla m-Xawòra,*<sup>1</sup>  
*t-áthe xa-yóma kapòra.*<sup>1</sup>

(17) *'o-t-xápər čále tla-xàwre*<sup>1</sup> *b-gàne šále gáwa.*<sup>1</sup>

(18) *šryóxa báθər mziða.*<sup>1</sup>

(19) *'m-xátta pčülle,*<sup>1</sup> *gnáyət táwra d-o-gòra.*<sup>1</sup>

(20) *'íði txo-kèpela.*<sup>1</sup>

(21) *'aw-t-lá-šaxən b-zráqtət šəmša*<sup>1</sup> *b-gnèθa la-šáxən.*<sup>1</sup>

(22) *náša mùlpa*<sup>1</sup> *max-qésa mqùlpa*<sup>1</sup>

(23) *náša b-nàš'*<sup>1</sup> *'u-téra b-gulpane.*<sup>1</sup>

(24) *píšli bēl-šáta l-šənduxta.*<sup>1</sup>

(25) *tálga l-tùre*<sup>1</sup> *'u-déna l-gùre*<sup>1</sup>

(26) *'o-t-dáwəq nùne*<sup>1</sup> *tárya qùne.*<sup>1</sup>

(27) *xazáda là-wele,*<sup>1</sup> *máglə mgubèle.*<sup>1</sup>

- (14) He has bought the saddle before the horse.
- (15) If the sun has a halo, the sheep will be in the basement stable. If the moon has a halo, the sheep will be in the noon sun.
- (16) If the clouds come from the side of the Zab,<sup>9</sup> the good day will come. If the clouds come from the Khabur,<sup>10</sup> an awful day will come.
- (17) He who digs a hole for his friends will fall in it himself.
- (18) (There is) a cord behind the bag.<sup>11</sup>
- (19) If the line (drawn by the plough) is crooked, it is the fault of the big ox.
- (20) My hand is under a stone.<sup>12</sup>
- (21) He who does not get warm with the rising of the sun, does not get warm when it sets.
- (22) A man who has been taught and is like a stripped piece of wood.<sup>13</sup>
- (23) A man (must rely) on men, just as a bird (relies) on its wings.
- (24) I have come between the plaster and the polishing stone.<sup>14</sup>
- (25) As snow is to mountains, so a debt is to men.
- (26) One who catches fishes gets his buttocks wet.
- (27) He has not harvested anything, but he has chosen his scythe.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> I.e. the East.

<sup>10</sup> I.e. the West.

<sup>11</sup> Said of a man who is the puppet of his master. The master may tie or untie the cord of a bag according to his will.

<sup>12</sup> I cannot help you, my hands are tied.

<sup>13</sup> A lot of effort has been put into his education but he has not benefited from it.

<sup>14</sup> I am done for.

<sup>15</sup> A bad workman blames his tools.



(28) ʔo-t-páyaš b-híwi-t nàše<sup>1</sup> míθele mən-bərmàše.<sup>1</sup>

(29) kəmə-t sàprət<sup>1</sup> ʔrəwux b-ràxqi.<sup>1</sup>

(30) zílle b-ríxət kábàbe,<sup>1</sup> xzèle mdaxóye xmàre.<sup>1</sup>

(31) m-xo-mátra xo-dalòpe.<sup>1</sup>

(32) lišána dážmən gàna.<sup>1</sup>

(33) pálxi plixe,<sup>1</sup> ɣ-áxli nixe.<sup>1</sup>

(34) síse b-gáne mǎzidle ʔǎliqe<sup>1</sup>

(35) qušárta xsípla l-pùmma<sup>1</sup> bráta plítla l-ɣàmma.<sup>1</sup>

(36) xátte m-sənnòrta,<sup>1</sup> ɣála m-qaḫàlta.<sup>1</sup>

(37) ləxma léwən b-naθyàθi xíla.<sup>1</sup>

(38) mxáya l-gúda t-šáme gàre.<sup>1</sup>

(39) nísá l-xúwwe m-xàwla šádle.<sup>1</sup>

(40) dšmma la-xáðər l-míya.<sup>1</sup>

(41) xánjər l-gótət xáwrux gu-šalílət tìna.<sup>1</sup>

- (28) He who relies on people is dead by the evening.
- (29) The longer you wait, the further your sheep will move away.<sup>16</sup>
- (30) He went after the smell of kebabs, but he found the branding of asses.
- (31) (He came into the house) from under the rain (but found himself) under leaking (water from the roof).
- (32) The tongue is its own enemy.
- (33) Those who have worked hard work but those who are inactive eat.
- (34) A horse by itself increases its fodder.<sup>17</sup>
- (35) A pot has been turned upside down—the girl has come to resemble her mother.
- (36) Wheat (is seen to be good) from when it is a shoot. A child (is seen to be good) from the time of (his mother's) embrace.
- (37) I have not eaten bread with my ears.<sup>18</sup>
- (38) He is beating the wall so that the roof hears.<sup>19</sup>
- (39) He who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a rope.<sup>20</sup>
- (40) Blood does not turn into water.<sup>21</sup>
- (41) A dagger in the side of your friend (as if) into a basket of straw.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Do not procrastinate.

<sup>17</sup> A man becomes more popular by his own behaviour.

<sup>18</sup> I am not naïve.

<sup>19</sup> He is saying something to somebody so that somebody else hears.

<sup>20</sup> Once bitten twice shy.

<sup>21</sup> Blood is thicker than water.

<sup>22</sup> You do not care for your friend.

- (42) *míya txo-tùna.*<sup>1</sup>
- (43) *gúda máre naθyàθele.*<sup>1</sup>
- (44) *qurðáya ʾm-páyəš dàwa<sup>1</sup> lá darátle gu-jèbux.*<sup>1</sup>
- (45) *tálga lá mattúle pèle.*<sup>1</sup>
- (46) *ʾanna tre-miyéy le-y-ázi b-ðá šaqiθa.*<sup>1</sup>
- (47) *tára divira<sup>1</sup> qáda wira<sup>1</sup>*
- (48) *kúlla tère le-y-axlila tène.*<sup>1</sup>
- (49) *la-xzi<sup>1</sup> ʾu-la-xfi.*<sup>1</sup>
- (50) *xá čučkka gu-ʾiða biš-spáy-ile mən-ʾəšra gu-ʾilàna.*<sup>1</sup>
- (51) *kyála páwxa b-kusiθe.*<sup>1</sup>
- (52) *xámmət qáša māmòðele.*<sup>1</sup>
- (53) *tre-téle darmánət xa-ʾàrya.*<sup>1</sup>
- (54) *xá dáqər ʾàlpa.<sup>1</sup> ʾálpa lá-daqri xà.*<sup>1</sup>
- (55) *kut-ʾərba ʾáqlət gàne páyəš tólya.*<sup>1</sup>
- (56) *ʾax-t-šèša,<sup>1</sup> la-tàlxa.<sup>1</sup>*

- (42) (He is like) water under straw.<sup>23</sup>
- (43) The wall has ears.
- (44) If a Kurd becomes gold coin, do not put it in your pocket.
- (45) The snow will not put aside its fate.<sup>24</sup>
- (46) The water of these two does not flow in the same stream.<sup>25</sup>
- (47) If the door is closed, trouble passes by.
- (48) Not all birds eat figs.<sup>26</sup>
- (49) If you do not see, you will not sin.
- (50) One sparrow in the hand is better than ten in the tree.
- (51) He is measuring the wind with his hat.<sup>27</sup>
- (52) The only concern of the priest is the baptism.<sup>28</sup>
- (53) Two foxes are the medicine of a lion.<sup>29</sup>
- (54) One is worth a thousand. A thousand does not cost one.
- (55) Every sheep is hung up by his own legs.<sup>30</sup>
- (56) When it shakes, it will not (necessarily) collapse.

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<sup>23</sup> A person seems at first sight to be reliable, but he is found to be concealing an undesirable quality.

<sup>24</sup> A person cannot change his character.

<sup>25</sup> They cannot agree.

<sup>26</sup> Not everything is easy for everybody.

<sup>27</sup> He is doing pointless work.

<sup>28</sup> He is not responsible for how a person turns out later.

<sup>29</sup> Two small people collaborating together are better than one big person.

<sup>30</sup> Everybody is responsible for himself.

- (57) *mən-báze bára bazbùze<sup>1</sup> ’u-m-bazbúze bára bàze.<sup>1</sup>*
- (58) *’m-lá doqátle dóqnu<sup>x</sup> b-iðux,<sup>1</sup> la-’ámrat qa-xáwru<sup>x</sup> kòsa.<sup>1</sup>*
- (59) *lá-maxət gúšma ’urədxá.<sup>1</sup>*
- (60) *tú pčila,<sup>1</sup> mšáwəθ dūs.<sup>1</sup>*
- (61) *’m-háwe pláṭa mən-’ərxe ṭíša qəmxa,<sup>1</sup> lá hāmánət ’əlle.<sup>1</sup>*
- (62) *’o-kóra xa-záwga ’əne báye.<sup>1</sup>*
- (63) *šamma gòra<sup>1</sup> ’u-máθa xəràba.<sup>1</sup>*
- (64) *kálba gu-tárət màre<sup>1</sup> ləbbàna y-áwe.<sup>1</sup>*
- (65) *xabúša smóga l-dəbbele xíla.<sup>1</sup>*
- (66) *báθər t-gníw Mar-Qayyòma,<sup>1</sup> qəm-dawríle tǎra.<sup>1</sup>*
- (67) *lišáne ríxa<sup>1</sup> ’u-xáše ṭwíxa.<sup>1</sup>*
- (68) *la-qátlət kəma-t-párəm sèpu<sup>x</sup>.<sup>1</sup>*
- (69) *laxma šaxína daṛmánət náša kpína.<sup>1</sup>*
- (70) *mən-rúqta mtárəš xwíša.<sup>1</sup>*

- (57) From great people little insignificant ones grow, and from insignificant ones great ones grow.
- (58) If you cannot hold your own beard in your hand, do not call your friend beardless.
- (59) Do not punch a needle.
- (60) Sit crooked, but tell the truth.<sup>31</sup>
- (61) If he is coming out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him.
- (62) A blind man wants a pair of eyes.<sup>32</sup>
- (63) The name is big, but the village is a ruin.<sup>33</sup>
- (64) A dog at the door of his owner is brave.
- (65) The red apple has been eaten by the bear.<sup>34</sup>
- (66) After (the church of) St. Qayyoma was plundered, they closed the door.<sup>35</sup>
- (67) His tongue is long, but his back is broken.<sup>36</sup>
- (68) Do not kill as much as your sword can slaughter.
- (69) Hot bread is the medicine of a hungry man.
- (70) From spittle he makes a dish of *xwiša*.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Tell the truth in all circumstances.

<sup>32</sup> Said when somebody is offered his heart's desire.

<sup>33</sup> Said when somebody boasts.

<sup>34</sup> Said when a beautiful woman is married to an ugly man.

<sup>35</sup> They acted too late.

<sup>36</sup> He boasts but cannot do anything.

<sup>37</sup> He is stingy. The dish of *xwiša* consists of wheat flour mixed with butter and an egg.

- (71) *lá-<sup>2</sup>azət l-qése b-xáwłət xàwrux.<sup>1</sup>*
- (72) *lá-mšət garšálla qəšte.<sup>1</sup>*
- (73) *b-núrət rašýe y-áqði məskène.<sup>1</sup>*
- (74) *ʔán genáwa ʔu-márət béθa péxi xà,<sup>1</sup> táwra mpałtíle b-kàwe.<sup>1</sup>*
- (75) *kut-šayášla šorme léle makərxàna.<sup>1</sup>*
- (76) *la-šále b-čú masrəqθa.<sup>1</sup>*
- (77) *léle šwíqa xá t-xayəple ʔimət màyəθ.<sup>1</sup>*
- (78) *bərye m-<sup>2</sup>aqúbre qárṭi mziðe.<sup>1</sup>*
- (79) *yóma, yóma mgáli pàθux,<sup>1</sup> šáxni bnónux ʔu-bnàθux,<sup>1</sup> ʔu-<sup>2</sup>ap-kalàθux.<sup>1</sup>*

- (71) Do not go to (collect) wood with the rope of your friend.<sup>38</sup>
- (72) You cannot draw his bow.<sup>39</sup>
- (73) By the fire of wicked people the poor burn.
- (74) If a thief and a landlord become one, they can take out an ox through a window.<sup>40</sup>
- (75) Everybody who shakes his buttocks is not a metal-polisher.<sup>41</sup>
- (76) He does not go down with any comb.<sup>42</sup>
- (77) He has not left anybody to wash him when he dies.<sup>43</sup>
- (78) Those born of mice gnaw storage bags.<sup>44</sup>
- (79) Sun, sun reveal your face, so that your sons, your daughters and your daughters-in-law may be warm.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Do not rely on other people.

<sup>39</sup> Do not try to do what he does, since he is stronger.

<sup>40</sup> Referring to the actions of a traitor.

<sup>41</sup> Appearances deceive. A polisher uses his feet to polish and in so doing rocks his buttocks.

<sup>42</sup> He cannot be combed down, i.e. he is obstinate and difficult to deal with.

<sup>43</sup> He has no friends.

<sup>44</sup> He is like his parents, a chip off the block.

<sup>45</sup> Said when a cloud covers the sun.



