The Jewish
Neo–Aramaic Dialect
of Challa

BY

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BRILL

For Teddy and Sarah

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PREFACE

Like several other dialects of Neo-Aramaic, that of the Jews from Challa is now extinct. The last competent native speaker, on whose speech this grammar is based, died more than two years ago. Unfortunately, the few remaining Jews who grew up in Challa no longer speak this variety of Neo-Aramaic; their Aramaic speech has been supplanted by that of the related dialect of Jewish Zakho.

I am deeply indebted to several people for their hospitality, friendship, and generosity. The primary informant of this study, the late Shabbo Amrani, *ʾilāha mānəxle*, kindly and graciously welcomed me into his home in Bet ʿAjur on several occasions. He willingly told me of his life and family back in Challa before he immigrated to Israel and provided me with almost all of the data on which this study is based.

I was extremely fortunate to have met Shabbo through his relative, Ahiya Hashiloni. Ahiya, who is also from Challa, generously met with me over a long period of time and patiently went over all of the recordings. He also told me what he remembered of Challa and his relatives, and helped elucidate much of what Shabbo had told me. Without his friendship and kindness, this project would not have been possible.

Two members of the NENAFF colloqium in Jerusalem, Simon Hopkins and Hezy Mutzafi, went over an earlier draft of this book and offered detailed criticisms and corrections. I cannot thank them enough for their help and patience. I owe both of them an enormous debt of gratitude.

It is also a pleasure to thank The Hebrew University Jewish Oral Traditions Research Center and its director, Aharon Maman, as well as The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, for their material support for this project. Finally I wish to thank Brill and the editors of the series *Semitic Languages and Linguistics*.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

abstr.	abstract
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Ar	Arabic
BiblAram	Biblical Aramaic
BiblH	Biblical Hebrew
c.	common
C	Classical Aramaic *hafʿel/ʾafʿel*
card. num.	cardinal number
CAradh	Christian Aradhin Neo-Aramaic
ClAram	Classical Aramaic (as reflected in the vocalization of Biblical Aramaic, Targums Onqelos and Jonathan to the Prophets, and Syriac)[1]
CPA	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
cst.	construct
CUrmi	Christian Urmi Neo-Aramaic
D	Classical Aramaic *paʿʿel*
dem.	demonstrative
denom.	denominative
det.	determined
dim.	diminutive
Dt	Classical Aramaic *h/ʾiϑpaʿʿel*
EgAram	Egyptian Aramaic
Eng	English
Eur	European languages
euph.	euphemism
excl.	exclamation
E-suffixes	enclitic pronominal suffixes
f.	feminine
Fr	French
G	Classical Aramaic *pəʿal*
GN	geographical name
Gr	Greek
Gt	Classical Aramaic *h/ʾiϑpəʿel*
H	Hebrew
Hert	Hertevin Neo-Aramaic
indef.	indefinite
indep.	independent

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[1] For this term see Bar-Asher 1977:XVI.

interr.	interrogative
intr.	intransitive
inv.	invariable
IrAr	Iraqi Arabic
JAmid	Jewish Amidya Neo-Aramaic
JArbel	Jewish Arbel Neo-Aramaic
JAradh	Jewish Aradhin Neo-Aramaic
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
JBetan	Jewish Benature Neo-Aramaic
JChalla	Jewish Challa Neo-Aramaic
JDohok	Jewish Dohok Neo-Aramaic
JGzira	Jewish Gzira Neo-Aramaic
JKoyS	Jewish Koy Sanjak Neo-Aramaic
JNaɣada	Jewish Naɣada Neo-Aramaic
JNeoAram	Jewish Neo-Aramaic
JNerwa	Jewish Nerwa Neo-Aramaic
JNerwa texts	Jewish Nerwa Neo-Aramaic as reflected in the 17th–18th texts published in Sabar 1984
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
JSuleim	Jewish Suleimaniyya Neo-Aramaic
JZakho	Jewish Zakho Neo-Aramaic
K	Kurdish
KAI	H. Donner & W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Band 1; 5., erweiterte und überarbeitete Auflage. Wiesbaden 2002
L	Classical Aramaic *pāʿel*
LAram	Late Aramaic (according to Fitzmyer 1979)
Lat	Latin
LEAram	Late Eastern Aramaic (Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic)
LWAram	Late Western Aramaic (Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Samaritan Aramaic)
L-suffixes	pronominal suffixes introduced by -*l*
LL-suffixes	pronominal suffixes introduced by -*ll*
m.	masculine
Mand	Mandaic
MidAram	Middle Aramaic (according to Fitzmyer 1979)
MishH	Mishnaic Hebrew
Mlaḥ	Mlaḥso Neo-Aramaic
ModH	Modern Hebrew
Mutz	Mutzafi 2008a
NeoAram	Neo-Aramaic
NeoMand	Neo-Mandaic
OAram	Old Aramaic (according to Fitzmyer 1979)
onomat.	onomatopoietic
ord. num.	ordinal number
P	Persian
pl.	plural

pl. tant.	plurale tantum
PNENA	Proto-Northeastern Neo-Aramaic
PrAram	Proto-Aramaic
prep.	preposition
prn.	pronoun
Q	Classical Aramaic quadriliteral stem *palpel*
QAram	Qumran Aramaic
Qaraq	Qaraqosh Neo-Aramaic
recip.	reciprocal
s.	singular
SA	Samaritan Aramaic
Sab	Sabar 2008a
SH	Samaritan Hebrew
suff.	suffix
Syr	Syriac
T	Turkish
TJ	Targum Jonathan
TO	Targum Onqelos
tr.	transitive
Ṭur	Ṭuroyo Neo-Aramaic
voc.	vocative
WNeoAram	Western Neo-Aramaic
<	developed from
>	developed into
*	unattested, reconstructed form
-	enclisis
–	anacoluthon or significant pause
(C/V)	uncertain if the consonant or vowel is realized or clipped phoneme(s)

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Challa

The village of Challa, known today as Çukurca,[1] is located east of the Great Zab at 37° 15′ N 43° 37′ E in southeastern Turkey, about two kilometers from the Iraqi border and 100 kilometers from the Iranian border. *Çāl* in Kurdish means 'ditch, pit, hole, well' and the village is so named because it is located in a geophysical depression.

1.2. Jewish Presence in Challa

The earliest evidence for a Jewish presence in Challa is found in a 16th century letter asking for support sent from a schoolmaster in Mosul to different Jewish communities in Kurdistan:[2]

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[1] For a short description of the village and the livelihood of its inhabitants see *Türk Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1964), 12:146a.

[2] Mann 1931, 1:507, letter 3. See also pp. 482–483. Rivlin (1959:21–22 n.58) wondered if גיל mentioned in connection with Amidya by Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century is Challa:

משם חמשה ימים לעמאריה ושם כמו כ״ה אלף מישראל. והיא תחלת הקהלות הדרים בהרי חפטון כי שם יותר ממאה קהלות מישראל. והיא תחלת ארץ מדי והם מן הגלות הראשון שהגלה שלמנאסר המלך. והם מדברים בלשון תרגום וביניהם תלמידי חכמים והם חונים ממדינת עמאריה ועד מדינת גילן מהלך כ״ה יום עד מלכות פרס.

Thence it is five days to Amadia where there are about 25,000 Israelites. This is the first of those communities that dwell in the mountains of Chafton, where there are more than 100 Jewish communities. Here is the commencement of the land of Media. The Jews belong to the first exile which King Shalmanezar led away; and they speak the language in which the Targum is written. Amongst them are learned men. The communities reach from the province of Amadia unto the province of Gilan, twenty-five days distant, on the border of the kingdom of Persia. (Adler 1907:נא, §עז; English translation p. 54).

The ר of עמאריה is taken by all to be an error for ד and עמאדיה (Adler 1908:54 n. 2). Challa is not, however, a twenty-five day walk from Amidya nor is it thought that there were ever 25,000 Jews in Amidya. The name גילאן (Challa? Jilan in Iran?) is also attested

ומבטח אני באלקי אבי ואדוני שכל מי שיקפח פרנסתי ומחיתי יקפח בניו ויראו עיניו פידו
גם מעניין ביתנורי לא שלח לי שום דבר ואשתקד דאשתקד כתבתי ושלחתי להם ולגלא
ולנירייא ולכאכא

and my trust is in my God, my Father, and my Lord, that whoever deprives
my sustenance and livelihood, may (God) deprive his sons and may his
eyes see his (own) disaster. Also concerning the matter of Betanure he
didn't send me anything and two years ago I wrote and sent to them, and
to Challa, and to Nerwa, and to K'K'.

Challa (גלא) is mentioned in this letter together with Betanure and
Nerwa, two other nearby villages with Jewish communities. *K'K'* could
be an error for nearby *Kāra*.[3] Of the two, Nerwa was the closer village[4]
and the distance between the two could be covered on foot in about three
hours.[5] Another important Jewish center, Amidya, was a one day journey
on foot.[6]

    Other letters that mention Challa (גלא, גאלא, and גילה)[7] come from the
18th century. In the first letter Rabbi Mordechai ben Simeon of Amidya
informs the communities of Nerwa, Challa, and Sindu of the arrival of
the religious judge (דַּיָּן) R. Aaron Ashkenazi from Tiberias, who has
sent the local Rabbi Sasson in his place to collect contributions from the
communities:

קהלא קדישא. ואבן הראשה לכל דבר שבקדושה. ה׳׳ה (= והחכם הגדול) עמי ועדתי
ק׳׳ק נירוא וגלא וסינד יע׳׳א (= יבנה עירנו אמן) ועילא מנהון החכמים הרמים

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in a document written by the head of a yeshiva in Amidya, who writes to the community
of מראגא asking for financial support for his yeshiva:

...והרבה טובות עשיתם עם כל ישראל, כי לא לבד עמי עשיתם הטובות והמצות, שאלו כמה שנים
החזקתם ידי לתורה, כ׳׳א לכל אלו ישראל שבאילו הקהלות והגליליו, שלמדו תלמידים הגרים
במדרש שלי מד׳ פאות העולם, עשיתם עד אשר יש לי במצרים תלמידים ובקושטנטינא ובא׳׳י
ובגילאן ובאשר הקהלות...

    … and many kind deeds you have performed with all of Israel, for not only
with me have you performed kind deeds and religious work, for several years
you have encouraged me in Torah (study), but for all those of Israel in different
communities and regions, students who have studied in my *(bet) midrash* from the
four corners of the earth, you have done so that I have (now students) in Egypt,
and in Constantinople, and in גילאן and other communities … (Assaf 1934: קו,
who wonders if ובגילאן = ובצילאן, though he doesn't explain the latter).

[3] So according to Hezy Mutzafi (p.c.).
[4] See the map in Mutzafi 2004:13.
[5] See § 5.11.1.
[6] Ben-Yaacob 1980, supplement p. 47.
[7] Assaf 1943:141 n. 122א.

The holy community. And the headstone for everything concerning holiness, the great Rabbi with me and my congregation, the holy communities of Nerwa, and Challa, and Sind(u), may the Lord build our cities amen, and above them the distinguished Rabbis…[8]

In a second letter the same Rabbi Sasson writes to Challa asking that they send contributions to Amidya, since he is afraid that if he goes himself to collect, he will be robbed on the way:

שלומות רבות וישועות קרובות לאלפים ורבבות יבאו ממזרח שמש וממערב אל ק״ק גֿאלא...

Many greetings and may thousands and myriads of salvation soon come from the east and west to the holy community of Challa…[9]

A third letter was sent (apparently from Amidya) by an emissary from Jerusalem, Samuel Benjamin, to Nerwa and Challa:

אחינו אנשי גאולתנו גומלי חסדים טובים וחכמים וגבוהים ורמים אשר בק״ק נירווה יע״א ואשר בק״ק גֿילה יע״א... וענין ק״ק גֿילה עליכם לגמור המצוה הזאת...

Our brethren, the men of our redemption, the charitable, and learned, and lofty, and distinguished, who are in the holy community of Nerwa, may the Lord build our city, amen, and concerning the holy community of Challa, may the Lord build our city, amen… and concerning the holy community of Challa, you must fulfill this religious duty…[10]

Another letter was sent by a religious judge of Amidya, Simeon ben Benjamin Halevi to the community of Challa concerning a ritual slaughterer (שׁוֹחֵט) for Challa:[11]

... הה (= והחכם הגדול) שלמה היו (= השם ישמרהו ויצילהו) והֹהֹ יעקב היו ועכֹ כמֹ קֿקֿ (= ועל כל כבוד מעלת קהל קודש) גֹלא כיבֹנֹש (=כן יבנה במהרה נוה שלום) כירא (=כן יהי רצון אמן)... והרשיתי אותו שתאכלו משחיטתו...

and the great Rabbi Solomon, may the Lord protect him and save him, and the great Rabbi Jacob, may the Lord protect him and save him, and all the honorable holy congregation of Challa, may the Lord build speedily a dwelling of peace, so may it be, amen… and I empowered him so that you may eat from his ritual slaughtering…

Challa is also mentioned in oral texts from Betanure recorded by Hezy Mutzafi. It is noted that some Jewish families from Challa fled to Betanure because of Kurdish massacres during World War I and immediately

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[8] Assaf 1943:142.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Assaf 1943:143–144.
[11] Mann 1931, 1:532–533, letter 14, line 7.

afterwards, while others went to Jerusalem and elsewhere.[12] The same Betanure speaker relates that Jews from Amidya, Zakho, or Challa would come to Betanure and offer a poor father of a bride a higher bride-price than the one offered by relatives.[13]

According to the *Kurdish Jewish Encyclopaedia*,[14] there were 30 Jews in Challa[15] in 1933, who engaged in weaving, trade, and agriculture. Some Jews left Challa for Palestine in the first decades of the 20th century; those who remained immigrated to Israel in 1951.

1.3. Christian Presence in Challa

Christians also lived in the Challa area.[16] Today descendants of Christians from Chal (Čāl), as they refer to it, live in Tall Brej on the Khabur River in Syria.[17] They relate that their ancestors are originally from Belatha in Lower Tiari, and moved to Chal only after Belatha had been abandoned. Ahiya Hashiloni, who left Challa in 1929, remembers from his youth that the Christians lived outside of Challa.

1.4. Muslim (Kurdish) Presence in Challa

Ahiya Hashiloni and Shabbo Amrani relate that Kurds and Jews lived together in Challa, though Ahiya remembers that when he left in 1929 the Jews tended to live mostly towards the side of the hill (*ṭappá*) that overlooked Challa.

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[12] Mutzafi 2008a:138–139. On the situation in and around Challa see Malik Yaqu 1964:81–82, who describes in some detail the capture, burning, and destruction of Nerwa, Challa, and nearby villages in September 1916, and mentions the deportation of villagers to Tehum. Jewish life in Challa changed after this.

[13] Mutzafi 2008a:192–193.

[14] Yona 2003, 1:185.

[15] For additional mention of the Jews of Challa, see Rivlin 1959:21; Ben-Yaacob 1980, supplement, p. 47.

[16] See, e.g., mention of a Christian from Chal in a text recorded by a speaker of Barwar (Khan 2008:297).

[17] Talay 2008:28,37. In 1940 there were 100 Christians from Chal in Tall Brej. Their language, which has been studied in Talay 2008, is considerably different from Jewish Challa and shares affinities, according to Talay, with Christian dialects from the Tiari dialect cluster (Talay 2008:48).

1.5. Jewish Challa Informants

The following grammatical description is based primarily on more than twenty hours of recordings made between 2001 and 2006 at the home of the one remaining competent native Jewish speaker from Challa, Shabbo Amrani (שבתאי עמרני).[18] Shabbo came to Israel in 1951 at the age of 30 and was settled in Moshav Ajur (עג'ור; officially Agur) near the city of Bet Shemesh.[19] In Challa he was known as *Shabbo bron ʿAmmo*, and belonged to the *Be Rubabči* clan. He took the name Amrani upon arriving in Israel. He spoke Neo-Aramaic, Kurdish, Turkish, Iraqi Arabic, and Modern Hebrew. He passed away in the summer of 2007 at the age of 86. Shabbo worked in agriculture in Challa with his father till he was drafted into the Turkish army, where he served as a hospital orderly from 1941–1945. He immigrated to Israel in 1951 leading a group of families from Challa; they travelled by rail to Istanbul and from there set sail for Haifa. After a period of time in the transit camp *Shaʿar Aliya* (שער עלייה) near Netania, he and his family were sent to Moshav Ajur. He initially worked for the Jewish National Fund in preparing land for agriculture. He then turned to agriculture himself and worked his own land. He later also worked as a security guard until his retirement.

A younger brother, who still bears the name by which the family was known in Challa, Dogumanchi (< Turkish *dokumacı* 'weaver'), no longer speaks the Jewish Challa variety of Neo-Aramaic, but rather that of Jewish Zakho, which predominates in the greater Jerusalem area.

I made the acquaintance of Shabbo through his cousin, Ahiya Hashiloni (אחיה השילוני),[20] who was born in Challa in 1920, the son of the well-known and respected local rabbi, Jacob Hashiloni.[21] Ahiya gave of his time freely and spent hours going over the recordings of his cousin, who was not always the most patient of informants. Ahiya took care to

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[18] For this reason, one cannot always be certain what reflects Shabbo's idiolect as opposed to the dialect of Jewish Challa.

[19] For additional biographical details, see Yona 2003, 3:763–764.

[20] For biographical details, see Yona 2003, 2:274–275.

[21] For his obituary and stories about his ancestors, including miracles performed through קבלה מעשית ('practical Qabbala' = incantations and the like), see Yona 2003, 2:278–279; Hashiloni and Hashiloni 1985:129–132. Rabbi Jacob Hashiloni belonged to the *Be ʿAjamāye* clan in Challa. Two photographs of Rabbi Jacob Hashiloni taken in the 1930's or 1940's can be found in Brauer 1993 in the photographic section in the middle of the book under 'Man from Tchalla.' and on the following page, 'Man from Kurdistan' (he is photographed without a skullcap). For a photograph taken towards the end of his life, see Yona 2003, 1:185 and 2:279.

explain the events, persons, and background of the stories, and also aided in interpreting Shabbo's speech. Ahiya came to Palestine in 1934 after a stay of five years in Amidya. In Jerusalem he lived in the Neo-Aramaic speaking neighborhood of Zikhron Yosef. On occasion Ahiya supplied Jewish Challa forms that he remembered from growing up in Challa or from the speech of his parents in Jerusalem. These lexical items have been included when they show a divergence from the Jewish Zakho koine, which has greatly influenced his speech.

In addition, a few lexical items have been included from the tape recordings of Ahiya's father, Rabbi Jacob Hashiloni, which were made in 1964 at the Language Traditions Project of The Institute of Jewish Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Rabbi Hashiloni recorded sections of the Passover *haggada* compiled by Rabbi Alwan Avidani, which was first published in 1959[22] together with a translation into the Jewish Amidya dialect,[23] though some features reflect an "all-dialectal Jerusalemite NA [Neo-Aramaic]".[24] Rabbi Hashiloni, when chanting from this *haggada*, sometimes substitutes Jewish Challa grammatical forms for those forms found in the printed *haggada*[25] and on occasion also replaces lexemes with entirely different lexical items.[26] The grammatical forms that deviate from the printed *haggada* are corroborated by Shabbo's speech. The lexical items that deviate from the printed *haggada* are included in this grammar since they provide evidence of where the Jewish Challa dialect differed from the Neo-Aramaic tradition of Rabbi Avidani. It should be kept in mind that these lexical items reflect a literary register.

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[22] Avidani 1959. A second edition appeared in Avidani 1979. These recordings of the *haggada* have recently been digitized and have received the numbers 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 4356, 4360, and 4362. There are also recordings of Rabbi Hashiloni chanting in Hebrew from the Old Testament and the Mishna. For an older list of the recordings, see Fellman 1978:24–25,91,140,241,247.

[23] Hoberman 1989:11; Sabar 2002b: 75–76, 84.

[24] Sabar 1976:175.

[25] E.g., he consistently substitutes the JChalla form 2 pl. pronominal suffix *-exun* for the printed JAmid *-oxun*.

[26] I.e., the preposition *ṭla* 'to, for' is always replaced by JChalla *ta*. On some lexical points Rabbi Hashiloni agrees with the JZakho tradition of the *haggada* reflected in Alfiye 1986 as against the *haggada* of Avidani, yet because of the many divergences from the JZakho tradition, it does not seem likely that Rabbi Hashiloni was following the JZakho tradition.

JEWISH CHALLA AND THE
OTHER *LISHANA DENI* DIALECTS

2.1. Dialectal Position of Jewish Challa

Jewish Challa belongs to the dialectal cluster whose speakers refer to their language as *lishana deni* 'our language'.[1] The cluster comprises the Jewish speakers of Amidya, Aradhin, Atrush, Barashe, Betanure, Challa, Gzira, Dohok, Kara, Nerwa, and Zakho. According to Mutzafi,[2] two features that are shared by these dialects are

    a. the independent genitive pronoun *did-* with pronominal suffixes in the singular, e.g., *didox* 'yours', but the possessive-relative particle *d-* with pronominal suffixes in the plural, e.g., *dexun* 'yours'

    b. -*Vwun* in III-y pl. imperative forms, e.g., *sāwun* 'come!'[3]

2.2. Salient Features of Jewish Challa

JChalla shares many features with other *lishana deni* dialects.[4] The following, however, is a list of salient features of JChalla that sometimes set it apart from some of the other dialects. Each feature is discussed in the appropriate place in the grammar or in the glossary.

    a. Reflexes of the interdentals (§ 3.2.b): ClAram *t̲* > *s* (*sele* 'he came'), *d̲* > *d* (*'ida* 'hand')

    b. Sporadic contraction of the triphthong *āya* > *ā* (§ 3.15): *qurdāya* 'Kurd' > *qurdā́*; *xzāya* 'seeing' > *xzā́*

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[1] Sabar 2002a:5–9.
[2] Mutzafi 2002; Mutzafi 2008b:10–11.
[3] So too in JChalla *sāwun*. In other III-y verbs, however -*ūwun, > ūn*, e.g., **xzūwun > xzūn*.
[4] Of the *lishana deni* dialect group, JChalla appears to be closer in general to modern JNerwa (based on the fieldwork of Mutzafi) and to JBetan than to the other dialects.

c. Independent pronouns (§ 4.1.1): 2 c.s. *’āhat* (also *’āt*), 3 c.s. *’āya* (*’ā*; see [b] above), 1 pl. *’axnan*

d. Pronominal suffixes (§ 4.1.2): 2 pl. *-exun*

e. Demonstrative pronouns (§ 4.1.7): c.s. *’iya* ‘this’ (*yā-* only in the expression *b-iya ’ida u-yá̄-’ida* ‘when it comes down to it’); c.s. *’ē* ‘that’, *’āya* (*’ā*) ‘that (one)’; c.pl. *’anna* (*’an*) ‘these/those’

f. Reflexive pronoun (§ 4.1.9): *gyāna*

g. Reciprocal pronouns (§ 4.1.10): *’ə́ġdād(e)*, *l-ə́ġdād(e)*, *m-ə́ġdād(e)*; *xa l-e-xeta/xet/xe*

h. Interrogative pronoun (§ 4.1.11): *’eni* ‘which’

i. Indefinite Pronouns (§ 4.1.12): *flān* ‘such and such’ occurs before humans and *flāna* before non-humans.

j. Preterite (§§ 4.4.23.4; 4.4.28.19): It is inflected with object affixes for all persons, e.g., *xpiqənne* ‘he embraced me’. Unlike most *lishana deni* dialects, there is no construction of the type *qam xāpəqli* ‘he embraced me’.[5] There are no reflexes of *d in the Preterite of *ydʿ ‘know’, e.g., *y’eli* ‘I knew’.

k. Subjunctive based inflection (§§ 3.18.c; 4.1.6.c,f; 4.4.28.12): 1 f.s. E-suffix *-an* occasionally in place of 1 m.s. *-ən*; 1 c.pl. E-suffix *-axin*;[6] 2 c.pl. with L- suffix pronouns *’amrétūle* ‘you may tell him’, *dārétūle* ‘they may put it’;[7] 3 f.s. of verb *hwy*—*hūwa* ‘she may be’, *kūwa* ‘she is’, *pūwa* ‘she will be’

l. Subjunctive particle (§ 4.4.7): *mən/məl*, e.g., *mən hāwe* ‘let it be!’, *məl ’āzəl* ‘he may go!’

m. Participle III-*y* f.s. (§ 4.4.27.9): *xzeta* ‘seen’[8]

n. Extensive Use of *qym* (§ 4.4.24): Though the construction *qam xāpəqli* is strikingly absent, it is noteworthy that *qym* is used widely to express ingressive action, particularly with participial forms that govern an object (like the *qam xāpəqli* construction), e.g., *qāyəm xāzele* ‘he up (and) sees him’, *qemən gālənnu* ‘I up (and) reveal it’, *qemi mesele* ‘they up (and) bring him’.

o. Preposition ‘to, for’ (§ 4.5): *ta*; *ṭas* when bound by suffixes and the independent genitive pronoun *did-*, e.g., *ṭāsi, ṭāsox, ṭāsax, ṭas didi,*

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[5] The construction is also absent from JNerwa texts (Sabar 1976:XXXIX) as well as modern spoken JNerwa (Hezy Mutzafi—p.c.).

[6] Cf. *-ax(ni)* in other dialects.

[7] Cf. modern J Nerwa *qaṭlétunle* (Hezy Mutzafi p.c.) and elsewhere in *lishana deni* dialects *qaṭlə́tule*.

[8] As opposed to forms with medial *i*.

ṭas didox, ṭas didax; preposition 'to, with, by' *kəsəl, kəs*, and *kəl*, of which the last is attested only before nouns.

p. Particles of existence (§ 4.8): *'it, 'ítən(a)* 'there is'; *let, létən(a)* 'there isn't'.

q. Lexicon: *'áqqar(a)* 'so much', *'əl'uwwa* 'inside', *básbasər* 'right after' (cf. *basər* 'after'), *ḥál-u-masale* 'the upshot', *ḥil/ḥel* 'until', *plāṭa* 'go out' and *(m)palōṭe* 'take out', *plāxa* 'work', *qadōme* 'tomorrow', *bəšṭor* 'better', *qamqam* 'right before' (cf. *qam* 'before'), *xamūšeb* 'Thursday'.

Features (b), (c), (h), (i), (k), (l) and the forms of the lexical items *'áqqara*, *'əl'uwwa* 'inside', *kəl* 'to, with', and *xamūšeb* 'Thursday" appear to be unique to JChalla at this point in the general research of *lishana deni* dialects.

PHONOLOGY

3.1. Consonants

The consonantal inventory of JChalla is

	bi-labial	labio-dental	alveo-lar	post-alveolar	pala-tal	velar	uvu-lar	pharyn-geal	glottal
plosive									
voiced	b ḅ		d ḍ			g	q		ʾ
voiceless	p ṗ		t ṭ			k ḳ			
nasal	m ṃ		n ṇ						
trill			r ṛ						
fricative									
voiced		v ṿ	z ẓ	ž			ġ	ʿ	
voiceless		f	s ṣ	š			x	ḥ	h
affricate									
voiced				j					
voiceless				č č̣					
approximant	w				y				
lateral			l ḷ						

- *f* is restricted to loanwords, e.g., *farq* 'difference', *feka* 'fruit', *kafíl* 'guarantor', *kāfər* 'infidel'. *flān, flāna* 'such and such' (ClAram פְלָן) is either a borrowing from Arabic or Kurdish, or else the *f* of the Arabic cognate فُلَان and the Kurdish *filan* has influenced the native Aramaic form. *flānkas* 'so and so' is a loan from Kurdish (§ 4.2.10.b). *nāfeʾ* 'it is useful' < Arabic نفع is also heard as *nāpeʾ* (hypercorrection?).
- *v* is limited to Kurdish and ModH loanwords, e.g., from Kurdish: *veza* 'so, like this', *kavra* 'cliff'; from ModH: *qvʿ* 'determine', e.g., *wetun kviʿe* 'you have determined'; *ʿvr* 'cross over', e.g., *ʿvərri* 'I crossed over'.[1] The *v* of ModH shows up as *b* in JChalla in *vkḥ* 'argue': *mbokaḥlan* 'we argued', *mbokāḥe* 'arguing'.[2]

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[1] Cf. the genuine NeoAram reflex *ʾwr*, e.g., *ʾürri* 'I entered'.
[2] See Sabar 1990:55 for examples of loanwords in which *v* > *b* in JZakho.

– *ġ* is attested in Arabic loanwords, e.g., *ġer* 'another', *ġrq* 'sink'. In
  native Aramaic words it is an allophone of *x* (§ 3.6.g).
– *p* and *t* are often strongly aspirated.

3.2. BGDKPT

a. The ClAram *bgdkpt* consonants have the following reflexes in JChalla:

ClAram	JChalla	
b	*b*	*bərqa* 'lightning'
ḅ[3]	*w*	*dehwa* 'gold'
g	*g*	*gəlda* 'skin'
g̱	ʾ/ø	*zoʾa* 'pair', *bənhe* 'morning'
d	*d*	*deʾsa* 'sweat'
ḏ	*d*	*ʾida* 'hand'
k	*k*	*kalba* 'dog'
ḵ	*x*	*nəxrāya* 'foreigner'
p	*p*	*pəmma, pumma* 'mouth'
p̄	*p*	*kəpna* 'hunger'
t	*t*	*tarʾa* 'door'
ṯ	*s*	*besa* 'house'

b. A salient phonological feature of JChalla is the reflex of the interden-
tals: *ṯ* > *s* (*sele* 'he came'), *ḏ* > *d* (*qdāla* 'neck'). Cf. JZakho and JGzira *s*
and *z*, JAmid *ṯ* and *d*, JDohok and JBetan *ṯ* and *ḏ*, JAradh *ṯ* and *ḏ*.[4] *ṯ* > *t*,
however, in all forms of the particles of existence, e.g., *ʾit* 'there is' (< *ʾiṯ*),
ʾə́twāli 'I had', and *let* 'there is not' (< *leṯ*), *lə́twāli* 'I didn't have'. The shift
originated in the partial assimilation of *ṯ* to *l* (*ϑ* > *t*/_*l*) in forms such as
ʾətli 'I have' (< איﬨ לי) and *letli* 'I don't have' (< ליﬨ לי). *l* is also responsible
for the *t* (< *ṯ*) of *mətle* 'he died' (cf. *māyəs* 'he may die'). Surprisingly *ṯ* > *t*
in the forms of the verb *ptx* 'open' (cf. JZakh *psx*, JBetan and JDohok *pṯx*).

c. As in other NeoAram dialects, either the plosive or the fricative real-
ization of the *bgdkpt* consonants has become lexicalized. Thus from the
ClAram root **dgl* 'lie' one finds the plosive pronunciation preserved
throughout, e.g., *dugla* 'lie', *mdaglən* 'I may lie'; from ClAram *rgš* 'wake

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[3] The ClAram fricative *ḅ* (< *b*) and the approximant *w* merged in some older Aramaic
dialects as can be seen from the graphic fluctuation of ב and ו in JPA and SA (and also
MishH). Ben-Ḥayyim 2000:34 believes that *w* > *v* in these dialects, whereas Kutscher
1982:121 thought it was impossible to ascertain the direction of the merger. In *lishana
deni* dialects *ḅ* > *w* (Sabar 2002a:24).

[4] See Kapeliuk 1997 on the reflexes of *ṯ* and *ḏ* in NeoAram.

up' one finds *g* > ', e.g., *mur'əšənnox* 'you woke me up'. In *'əl'uwwa* 'inside' (< ClAram גֹּו) *g > *g* > '. *b* has become lexicalized in two verbs borrowed from ModH, בִּקֵּשׁ 'request' and סָבַל 'suffer', e.g., *mbokəšli* 'I requested', *sabli* 'they may suffer'.

d. Reflexes of *bgdkpt* that originated in voicing or devoicing from contact with contiguous consonants have also become lexicalized, as in other NeoAram dialects, e.g., *b > *p* in *pəsra* 'meat' (< ClAram בִּסְרָא), *xpq* 'embrace' (< ClAram חבק), *gupta* 'cheese' (cf. Syr ܓܒ݂ܬܐ , ܓܘܒܢܐ ; JBA גּוּבְנֵי, גְּבִינְתָּא);[5] possibly *d* > *t* in *txr* 'remember' (< ClAram דכר).[6] The possessive-relative particle *d* when suffixed to a noun is devoiced to [t] before an unvoiced consonant, e.g., *nixəd bābi* ['ni:χɪd 'bʰa:bʰi] 'my late father' vs. *'idəd ḥukum* ['ʔi:dʰɪt 'ɦukum] 'the hand of the government'. *d* of the indefinite pronoun *kud* 'each, every' is devoiced before unvoiced consonants in **kud + xa* > *kutxa* 'each one', **kud + 'arbeni* > *kút'arbeni* 'the four of them'. *d* is devoiced to *t* before unvoiced consonants in forms based on the Subjunctive of *hwy* (*d-hūwa > *t-ūwa*) and the 3rd person forms of the Present Copula (**d-'ile* > *t-ile*; (§§ 4.1.8.m; 4.4.6.1.f).

3.3. PHARYNGEALS AND GLOTTALS

a. The ClAram pharyngeals *ḥ* and ' have reflexes of *x* and ' respectively, e.g., *xmāra* 'donkey' (ClAram חֲמָרָא), *xāsa* 'new' (ClAram חֲדַתָּא), *balo'ta* 'throat' (BTA בַּלֹועָא), *'ərota* 'Friday' (Syriac ܥܪܘܒܬܐ). ClAram ' is preserved in the vicinity of *r* in the inflection of the root *ṣ'r* 'curse', *ṣa'āṛe* 'barley', and *'urṭūsa* 'fart', and in *ṭ'y* 'search' in the vicinity of *ṭ*. Words with *ḥ* and ' are either loans originally from Arabic (e.g., *ḥaqq* 'price', *ḥāl* 'situation', *'āṣərta* 'evening', *'aṭarka* 'peddler') or from Hebrew (*'āwon* 'sin').[7] The JChalla nouns *ḥakoma* 'ruler' and *ḥukum, ḥukūma, ḥukumiya* 'government' are derived from Arabic حكم and not from ClAram *ḥkm*.

b. The voiceless fricative glottal *h* is sometimes replaced in word-initial position by a weak glottal stop ', e.g., *'atxa* 'so, such' alongside the more frequent *hatxa*.

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[5] Talay 2008:58 n. 98. See also Sabar 1990:55 on *b* > *p* in loanwords (e.g., *potine* 'boots').

[6] Khan 1999:32. On the possibility of the root *txr* originating in backformation from a ClAram Gt, see Mutzafi 2008a:390 and also below § 4.4.1 n. 109.

[7] On pharyngealization in NeoAram, see Hoberman 1985; Mutzafi 2004:27–33.

c. The glottal stop ’ is often weakly pronounced (“creaky voice”) and at times replaces in initial position the approximant *w*, e.g., *’ewa* ‘he was’ for *wewa*, at other times it is elided altogether (§ 4.4.6.4.a). In medial position it may replace *w*: *yā’eli* ‘he may give me’ (< *yāweli*). A medial glottal stop ’ is occasionally difficult to discern in rapid speech and at times elided, e.g., *’ar(’)a* ‘land’, *tar(’)a* ‘door’, *šme(’)le* ‘he heard’. The glottal stop is preserved medially in roots borrowed from ModH, e.g., *da’gax* ‘we may take care of’.

d. ’ shifts to the pharyngeal ‘ in a few Arabic loans, a phenomenon that is also attested elsewhere in NeoAram:[8] *‘ṃṛ* ‘boss around’, *ma‘ṃū́ṛ* ‘officer-in-charge’, *‘anjil* ‘Gospels’, *qur‘ān* ‘Quran’, *‘aṣəl* ‘(good) origin’, *‘aṣlāye* ‘of good origin’, *‘aṣli* ‘genuine’. It happens in the Aramaic verb *šy‘* ‘plaster’ (§ 4.4.27.5), which elsewhere in NeoAram is attested as *šy‘* < שוע or שעע. It is also attested in the Hebrew hypocoristic *‘Ābo* (אַבְרָהָם) and ModH *‘azor, ‘əzór* ‘area’ (אֵזוֹר).

e. The ‘ of the ModH verb שִׁכְנֵעַ ‘persuade’ is realized surprisingly as *x* in *mšaxnəxle* ‘he may persuade him’.

3.4. Affricates

a. *j* and *ž* occur in loanwords, the former from Arabic, and the latter from Kurdish, e.g., *julle* ‘clothes’, *žang* ‘rust’, *-ži* ‘also, even’. *ž* also occurs as an allophone of *š* in the preposition *reš* before a voiced consonant (§ 3.6.e)

b. *č* occurs in Kurdish and Turkish loanwords,[9] e.g., *‘ačāyəb* ‘how strange!’, *čamča* ‘teaspoon’, *čaydanka* ‘teapot’, and in the ModH based *pənčərāli* ‘I caused a flat tire’. It is attested in a reflex of an old loan into Aramaic (< תִּשְׁרֵי) from Akkadian, *čeri* ‘spring’. It is also heard in Present forms of the verb *y’y* ‘know’ (§ 4.4.9.c) in addition to the forms with *k*, e.g., *lá-či’an* ‘I don’t know’ (also *lá-ki’an*), *či’ətte* ‘you know him’ (also *ki’ətte*[10]). An emphatic realization, *č̣*, is found in the native Aramaic words *č̣ym* ‘close (eyes; < טמם)’, *mṛč̣* ‘crush’ (< מרס), *č̣my* ‘extinguish’ (< סמי), *č̣o’a* ‘smooth’ (< שעע), and *’əč̣’a* ‘nine’ (< תִּשְׁעָה).

c. Shabbo sometimes realizes historical *ṣ* as the affricate *ts* in ModH loans, e.g., *kfətsle* ‘he jumped’.

3.5. Emphatics

a. The emphatic (pharyngealized) pronounciation is found regularly in
ṣ and *ṭ* that are direct reflexes of the corresponding ClAram emphatic
consonants, e.g., *ṣlosa* 'prayer', *ṭina* 'mud'. Non-emphatic consonants in
native Aramaic words sometimes become emphatic in certain words in
JChalla as in other NeoAram dialects,[11] e.g., *ṛ* in *'uṛwa* 'big', *nəxṛāya*
'foreigner', *ṛāba* 'much', *ṛapsa* 'big (f.)', *ṛomāna* 'high', *ṣa'āṛe*[12] 'barley',
šaṛūsa 'lunch'; *ṃ* in *ṃāye* 'water'.[13] Emphaticization of ClAram *t* (as well
as the contiguous *l*) is attested in the numbers based on 'three': *ṭḷāha*
'three' and *ṭḷāsi* 'thirty', but not in *təlta'sar* 'thirteen'.[14] It does not occur
in *tmanya* 'eight' but it is found in *ṭṃāne'sar* 'eighteen' and *ṭṃāni* 'eighty'.
Secondary emphatic consonants due to assimilation to a contiguous
inherited Aramaic *ṭ* or *ṣ* are unmarked, e.g., *mṭele* [əmˤtˤelɛ], whereas
unmotivated, spontaneous emphaticization is marked, e.g., *ṭḷāha* 'three'.[15]
As elsewhere in Neo-Aram, emphaticization may be phonemic, e.g., *mly*
'be sufficient' vs. *ṃly* 'fill', *tora* 'ox' vs. *ṭoṛa* 'Torah' (attested in the corpus
only in the compound *séfarṭoṛa* 'Torah scroll').

b. Emphatic consonants also show up in JChalla in loanwords[16] many
of which do not have an emphatic consonant in the original language.
Often the emphaticization spreads throughout the word. The following
loanwords with emphatic consonants are listed according to the first
emphatic consonant in the word:

    ḅ: *ḅaṇḳ* 'bank', *ḅaṛāne* 'rams', *ḅaṛāza* 'pig', *ḅāš* 'good',[17] *ḅəč'a* 'bastard'
    č̣:   *pyč̣* 'break'
    ḍ: *'oḍa* 'room'
    ḳ: *ḳappāra* 'expiation'
    ḷ: *ḷappa* 'lump'
    m: *ṃāḷ* 'property', *ṃamzer* 'bastard', *'əṃḅāsi* 'corporal'
    ṇ: *quṇṣuḷ* 'consul', *quṇṣuḷya* 'consulate'

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[11] Sabar 2002:32–33; Mutzafi 2008a:19–20.
[12] The emphaticization is the result of assimilation to neighboring *ṣ* and *'*.
[13] See Fassberg 1997 for possibly emphatic forms of 'water' in JPA.
[14] Sabar 2002a:33.
[15] Following Mutzafi 2008a:20.
[16] This reflects the phenomenon of 'emphatic foreignization of borrowed forms'. See
Campbell 2004:82. On emphaticization in loanwords in JZakho, see Sabar 1990:55–56.
[17] Shabbo sometimes pronounces *baškalnāye* 'resident of Bashkala' with an emphatic
realization (*ḅaškalnāye*) under the influence of *ḅāš*.

p: *gopāḷa/gopaḷta* 'shepherd's stick', *paləstināye* 'Palestinians', *paḷḷe* 'coals', *paṇqáṇoṭ* 'lira, paper money', *pássapoṛṭ* 'passport', *poṣṭa* 'mail', *qapṭán* 'captain'

ṛ: *baṛāxa* 'blessing', *doṛ* 'generation', *ṛaḅḅi* 'My Lord!', *ṛaḏyo* 'radio', *ṛaṣṭe* 'right', *ṛeṃa* 'pus', *zyāṛa* 'visit to a shrine'

ṭ: *ṭārix* (also *tārix*) 'date of event', *ṭélgəraf* 'telegraph', *ṭélgəram* 'telegram', *ṭṛaṃbel* automobile', *payṭūna* 'carriage'

γ: *ʾAγrāham* 'Abraham'

ẓ: *bəẓẓoṭe* 'torches', *ġaẓab* 'anger', *qoẓẓəḷqoṛṭ* 'hell, disgusting', *ẓoṛ* 'force'

3.6. Assimilation

a. The verbal prefix *b* assimilates to a following nasal and shifts to *m* (§ 4.4.11.c), e.g., *rešu mmakipíwāle* 'they would lower their heads', *mnapli* 'they will fall', *ʾāna mnablənnax* 'I will lead you away', *mmaxlət* 'will you feed?', though not always, e.g., *bmāxəl* 'he will feed'. The verbal prefix *b* > *p* by assimilation to a contiguous unvoiced consonant, e.g., *pšāke* 'he will complain'. The preposition *b* also assimilates to a following unvoiced consonant and is realized as *p*.

b. The absence of *d/ḏ* in the preposition *qam* would appear to be the result of assimilation to *m* in a biform of ClAram *qŏḏām* when bound by pronominal suffixes *qudm-,[18] as evidenced already in the LAram forms of the preposition with geminated *m*, e.g., SA *qammi* 'before me', JBA *qamme* 'before him' (cf. JChalla *qāme*). A similar case of assimilation to *m* ocurs in **ʿamədnāye* > *ʿamənnāye* 'residents of Amidya' and **baġdadnesa* > *baġdannesa* 'f. resident of Baghdad'. *d* assimilates to *š* in *kuššat* 'every year' (< *kud šāta*). *d* assimilates to *t* in the f.s. Participle **ʾwədta* > *ʾütta* 'done' and in the feminine adjective **naqidta* > **naqədta* > *naqətta* 'thin'.

c. *l* of the L-suffix pronouns (§§ 4.1.4; 4.4.23.1) assimilates to a preceding *n*, *r*, and *t* in Subjunctive- and Preterite-based inflected forms, e.g.,

qaṭlənnox	<	**qaṭlən + lox*	'I (m.s.) may kill you (m.s.)'
mirənne	<	**mirən + le*	'he said to me (m.s.)'
miratti	<	**mirat + li*	'I said to you (f.s.)'

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[18] Cf. PrAram *qudm > ClAram קוֹדָם/קֳדָם, and with pronominal suffixes, e.g., קֳדָמוֹהִי, קֳדָמַי.

ʾamrəttu	<	*ʾamrət + lu	'you (m.s.) may say to them'
kpənnu	<	*kpən + lu	'they starved'
dʾərrox	<	*dʾər + lox	'you (m.s.) returned'

l in *kull assimilates to the following possessive-relative particle *d* in the indefinite pronoun *kull d- > *kud* 'each, every (§ 4.1.12.f). On the partial assimilation of **ṭ* to *l* in the particles of existence, see § 3.2.b.

d. *n* has assimilated to a following consonant in inherited Aramaic words, e.g., *ʾəzza* < **ʿinzā* 'goat', *šāta* < **šantā* 'year'. *n* assimilates to *l* in the Turkish loanword *osmanlı* > *ʾoṣṃoḷḷi* 'Ottoman'. *n* assimilates partially to *p* in *npəlle > *mpəlle* 'he fell' and in *npox > *mpox* 'blow!'

e. *š* in the preposition *reš* 'on, upon' (< *reša* 'head') assimilates in voicing (> *ž*) to a contiguous voiced consonant. Cf. *reš kāse* [ˈrɪʃ ˈkʰaːsɛ] 'on his belly' vs. *reš dide* [ˈrɪʒ ˈdʰiːdʰɛ] 'on him'.

f. The verbal prefix *k-* (§ 4.4.9) found on inflected forms of the Present and Past Habitual (e.g., *kemər* 'he says', *kesewa* 'he used to come') assimilates (> *g*) in voicing to a following consonant, e.g., *gezəl* 'he goes'; before *q* it assimilates entirely, e.g., *lá-qqarwən* 'I do not approach', *šūli qqāḍənne* 'I finish my work'. It is sometimes difficult to discern the prefix *k* before unvoiced consonants, e.g., *(k)taxret* 'Do you remember?'

g. *x* assimilates in voicing (> *ġ*) to the contiguous consonant in the verbs *xzy* 'see', *xdr* 'go around', and *xzd* 'harvest' in the G stem, e.g., *xzeli* [ˈɣzeːli] 'I saw', *xzi* [ɣzi] 'see (m.s.)!',[19] *xdor* [ɣdʰor] 'go around (c.s.)!', *wən xdira* [wɪn ˈɣdʰiːra] 'I (m.s.) have gone around', *xzədle* [ˈɣzɪrrɛ] 'he harvested'. Cf. *xāze* [ˈχaːzɛ] 'he may see'. *x* also assimilates in voicing in the adverb *ʾaxxa* 'here' in the expression *ʾáx-geb tán-geb* [ˈʾaɣgʰɪb ˈtʰangʰɪb] 'when all's said and done', and in the neo-construct form *bax* 'woman' from *baxta* (e.g., *bax mədor* [bʰaɣ ˈmɪdʰor] 'the wife of the mudir') and the neo-construct form *tax* from *tāxa* 'quarter of town' in *tax mallāye* ([ˈtʰaɣ malˈlaːyɛ] 'the Mullahs' Quarter'. *x* also assimilates in voicing in *wax* 'we are' and *ṣāx* 'healthy' when in sandhi before a vowel: *wáx-əsye* [ˈwaɣˌɪsyɛ] 'we have come', *ṣáx-ile* [ˈsˤɑːˌɣiːlɛ] 'he is healthy'.

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[19] This is not always true in the C stem 'show', however. Cf. Past Habitual 1 m.s. [maχˈzɪnwɒ] 'I used to show', Participle m.s. [ˈmuχza] 'shown', pl. [ˈmuχze], but Subjunctive 1 m.s. [maɣˈzɪnnax] 'I (m.s.) may show you (f.s.)', Gerund [maɣˈzoːyɛ] 'showing'.

h. *x* assimilates to a contiguous *q* in *rəqqa* 'distance' (< *rəxqa* < PrAram *rḥq), though *reqa* with loss of gemination is also attested.

i. *r* assimilates to *t* in in the feminine adjective *qarirta* > *qarərta* > *qarətta* 'cold, cool'.

3.7. Dissimilation

m dissimilates to *n* before *b* in the C verb *nbl* 'lead away', e.g., *mābəl* > *nābəl* 'he may lead away', *mabole* > *nabole* 'leading away'.

3.8. Vowels

a. JChalla appears to have a vocalic phonemic inventory of: *ā, a, e, ə, i, o, ö, u, ū, ü,* and *ǖ.* The following minimal pairs were found in the corpus:

ā vs. *a*	*bāle* 'his attention'	vs.	*bale* 'yes, indeed'
ā vs. *e*	*dāna* 'time'	vs.	*dena* 'debt'
ā vs. *ə*	*kāra* 'black'	vs.	*kəra* 'rent'
ā vs. *i*	*māsa* 'village'	vs.	*misa* 'dead'
ā vs. *o*	*yāma* 'sea'	vs.	*yoma* 'day'
ā vs. *ū*	*gāre* 'roof'	vs.	*gūre* 'men'
a vs. *ə*	*qaṭla* 'she may kill'	vs.	*qəṭla* 'killing'
a vs. *i*	*xamša* 'five'	vs.	*xamši* 'fifty'
a vs. *o*	*didax* 'your (f.s.)'	vs.	*didox* 'your (m.s.)'
a vs. *u*	*dida* 'her'	vs.	*didu* 'their'
e vs. *i*	*xze* 'see (f.s.)!'	vs.	*xzi* 'see (m.s.)!'
e vs. *o*	*qema* 'she may arise'	vs.	*qoma* 'stature'
e vs. *ū*	*qeṭa* 'summer'	vs.	*qūṭa* 'vagina'
i vs. *ə*	*kis* 'moneybag'	vs.	*kəs* 'to, with'
i vs. *o*	*misa* 'dead'	vs.	*mosa* 'death'
i vs. *u*	*seli* 'I came'	vs.	*selu* 'they came'
o vs. *ū*	*koša* 'she may descend'	vs.	*kūša* 'descended'
o vs. *ö*	*zora* 'she may go around'	vs.	*zöra* 'small'
ū vs. *ə*	*kūra* 'young goat'	vs.	*kəra* 'rent'
ū vs. *ǖ*	*šūqa* 'market'	vs.	*šǖqa* 'left'

Because of the limited size of the corpus, it is difficult to find exact minimal pairs of *e* vs. *ə* (cf., however, *kemər* 'he says' vs. *kəmra* 'she says'), *u* vs. *ū* (cf. *kur* 'blind' and *kūra* 'young goat'), and *u* vs. *ü.*

b. *a* is usually realized as [a], though one also hears [ae], e.g., *tarʔa* 'door' [ˈtʰarʔa]/ [ˈtʰærʔa]. Final *a* may be rounded, e.g., the final *a* in *tāma*

'there' ['tʰa:mɒ], particularly following /w/, e.g., *ʾǝtwa* [ˈʔɪtwɒ]. Near an emphatic consonant *a* moves back to [ɑ], e.g., [bˤɑ:ʃ] 'good'. Stressed *e* is usually realized as [e], e.g., *b-é-doṛ* [ˈbʰedorˤ] 'in that generation', though sometimes it is more open and realized as [ɛ], e.g., *sele* [ˈselɛ]/[ˈsɛlɛ].

c. *ǝ* is normally realized as [ɪ], e.g., *mǝn* 'from, with' [mɪn], though it may be pronounced [ɣ] in the vicinity of an emphatic, labial, or velar, e.g., *qṭǝlle* 'he killed' [ˈqtɪllɛ]/[ˈqtɣllɛ], *šqǝlle* 'he took' [ˈʃqɪllɛ]/[ˈʃqɣllɛ], *ptǝxle* 'he opened' [ˈptʰɪxlɛ]/[ˈptʰɣxlɛ]. It is realized as [i] before or after *y*, e.g., *zǝmrǝyāsa* 'songs' [zɪmriˈya:sa], *yǝmma* 'mother' [ˈyimma]. On occasion *ǝ* may be realized as [y], e.g., [ˈʔynwɛ] 'grapes'.

d. *ū* is is a reflex of *wi and is mostly limited to verbs II-*w* (§ 4.4.27.4), e.g., *dūqa* 'seized' ([ˈdʰy:qɑ]) alongside *dwiqa* [ˈdʰwi:qɑ], or *tūra* 'broken' ([ˈtʰy:rɑ]), alongside *twira* [ˈtʰwi:rɑ]. *ü* is attested in closed and pretonic syllables in verbs II-*w*, e.g., *ʾüdle* 'he did' alongside *wǝdle*, *düqāla* 'she seized it', as well as in the II-*w* adjective *zürta* 'small' (m.s. *zöra*, c.pl. *zöre*) and in *Tǘrkiya* 'Turkey'. Cf., however, the lack of fronting in *kúšleni* 'we descended' and the the II-*w* adjective *ruxta* 'wide' (m.s. *rwixa*).

e. ö ([ø]) is poorly attested. It is heard in the nouns *löʾa* 'jaw' and *sapöxa 'wrap sandwich', the adjective *zöra, zöre* 'small', and in the numbers *šöʾa* 'seven', *šöʾi* 'seventy', and *šöʾamma* 'seven hundred'. Rarely *o* is fronted to *ö* in additional words, e.g., *ʾödax* 'we may do' as against the more common *ʾodax*.

3.9. General Distribution of Vowels

a. *ā, i, e, o, ö, ū, ǘ* are generally long and *a, ǝ, u* are short. Long vowels usually shorten in open unstressed non-final syllables and become short in closed syllables and open unstressed final syllables.[20]

b. Long vowels occur in open syllables:

1. most frequently in stressed syllables, e.g., *kātǝb* 'secretary', *qāzi* 'qadi', *ʾida* 'hand', *spisa* 'rotten', *qeṭa* 'summer', *reša* 'head', *dūša* 'honey', *gūre* 'men', *qora* 'grave', *tora* 'ox', *tūra* 'broken', *zöra* 'small';
2. *ā, i, e, o* may be found in pretonic syllables, e.g., *ʾāǧāye* 'aghas', *qyāmǝta* 'resurrection', *čiroke* 'story', *jirāne* 'neighbors', *ḥewāne*

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[20] See the detailed description of JBetan in Mutzafi 2008a:25.

'animals', *gopāḷa* 'shepherd's stick', *qotiya* 'small box', *šöʾamma* 'seven hundred'; with the exception of the last example, all of the nouns are loanwords; *ā* is attested in this environment in the verbal system in inflected forms based on the Subjunctive, e.g., *kšāqəlwa* 'he used to take';

3. *i* is attested in a propretonic syllable: *kilomətre* 'kilometers';

4. *ā* and *ū* may occur in a posttonic syllable: *qṭə́lwāle* 'he had killed him'; *dārétūle* 'you may put him';

5. in monosyllabic words: *gā* 'time',[21] *hā* 'here, so!', *mā* 'what?', *xzi* 'see (m.s.)!', *ke* 'c'mon', *go* 'in', *ko* 'that, since', *qū* 'get up! (c.s.)'

c. Long vowels may also occur in closed syllables:

1. in stressed syllables, e.g., *flānkas* 'so and so', *qapṭán* 'captain', *giska* 'young goat', *guník* 'gunny sack', *dehwa* 'gold' (§ 3.11.a), *desta* 'portion of food', *darwéž* 'dervish', *mamnún* 'grateful', *qorúš* 'piaster', *kolka* 'hovel', *qaraqól* 'garrison'; most of the examples are loanwords;[22]

2. in monosyllabic words, e.g., *ḅān* 'I shall go', *ḅāš* 'good', *ḥāl* 'situation', *ʾit* 'there is', *pis* 'filthy', *beb* 'together with', *heš* 'yet, still', *bron* 'son of', *šqol* "take (c.s.)!", *qūn* 'get up! (c.pl.)', *rūt* 'naked';

3. in final unstressed syllables, e.g., *jəwāb* 'answer', *wəždān* 'conscience', *qaddiš* 'memorial prayer', *tagbir* 'counsel, conspiracy', *tārix, ṭārix* 'date of event', *ṭraṃbel* 'automobile, bus', *ʾāwon* 'sin'; all the examples are loanwords with the exception of the E-suffix 1 c.pl. form *-axin* (*pátxaxin* 'we may open'; § 4.1.6.f);

4. in pretonic and even earlier syllables in loanwords: *qāymaqam* 'local governor', *pisyatūsa* 'filth', *nerwāya* 'resident of Nerwa', *hekkarnāya* 'resident of Hakkari', *hekkaratūsa* 'residents or region of Hakkari'.

d. The long vowels *i, e, o* are realized as short in

1. unstressed final open syllables, e.g. *hedi* 'slowly', *ṭḷāsi* 'thirty', *kalbe* 'dogs', *denāne* 'debtors', *māṭo* 'why?', *ṛaḍyo* 'radio'

e. Short vowels occur in open syllables:

1. in monosyllabic words, e.g., *sa* 'come! (c.s.)', *ta* 'to', *xa* 'one';

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[21] In rapid speech the final *a* of *gā* often tends to sound short.
[22] Cf. the inherited Aramaic word *palgúϑ* in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:29) with JChalla *pálgus*.

2. *a, u, ü, ə* may be found in unstressed syllables (propretonic, pretonic, and posttonic), e.g., *ganāwūs*a 'thievery', *ḥakom*e 'kings', *məsəlmān*a 'Muslim', *musel*u 'they brought', *čádə*ra 'tent', *xāṭəreni* 'our sake', *gu-niy*a 'bramble', *gurān*e 'men', *ḥukumiy*a 'government', *qṭəll*u 'they killed', *ṭāp*u 'title deed', *düqāl*e 'he seized her';

3. *a* and *ə* may be found in stressed syllables, e.g., *fišaka* 'bullet', *malək* 'ruler', *masale* 'matter', *kəra* 'rent', *mədor* 'mudir', *ādəta* 'custom'.

f. Short vowels occur in closed syllables:

1. in unstressed syllables, both non-final and final: *baxtūsa* 'wifehood', *darhāme* 'dirhams', *bəndaqiya* 'rifle', *kəndāla* 'steep slope', *kurtāke* 'garments', *qurdāya* 'Kurd'; *qačax* 'smuggled goods', *tre'sar* 'twelve', *qāṭəl* 'he kills', *tābur* 'battalion', *təttun* 'tobacco';

2. in stressed syllables: *ṛapsa* 'big', *sahma* 'portion, lot', *pəsra* 'meat', *wəždān* 'conscience', *ḥušta* 'excuse', *qurʿān* 'Quran', *üdle* 'he did'.

3.10. Shortening of Long Vowels

a. Long vowels in an open syllable shorten when the syllable becomes closed:

ā > a	*nābəl*	'he may lead away'	>	*nabli* 'they may lead away'
	hādax	'this'	>	*hatxa* 'like this'
i > ə	*'itən*	'there is'	>	*'ətle* 'he has'
	basima	'pleasant (m.s.)'	>	*basəmta* 'pleasant (f.s.)'
	grišāli	'I pulled her'	>	*grəšli* 'I pulled him'
e > ə[23]	*kemər*	'he says'	>	*kəmra* 'she says'
ū > u	*dūka*	'place'	>	*duksa* 'place'
ǖ > ü	*'üda*	'done'	>	*'üdla* 'she did'
o > u	*koma*	'black (m.s.)'	>	*kumta* 'black (f.s.)'
	mpoləṭli	'I took him out'	>	*mpulṭāli* 'I took her out'.

b. When the stress shifts in nouns, *ā > a* in open pretonic and propretonic syllables, e.g.,

bāba	'father'	>	*babawāsa*	'fathers'
gāre	'roof'	>	*garawāsa*	'roofs'
hudāya	'Jew'	>	*hudayeni*	'our Jews'
kāpa	'shoulder'	>	*kapāne*	'shoulders'

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[23] But not in *mese* 'he brings' vs. *mesya* 'she brings' or *menəx* 'look around! (c.s.)' vs. *menxun* 'look around! (c.pl.)'. See also Mutzafi 2008a:82.

This applies also to the D Gerund, e.g., *mšadore* 'sending' (cf. *(m)šād∂r* 'he may send').

c. *ā* and *i* do not shorten, however, in loanwords:

ʾāġa	'agha'	>	*ʾāġāye*	'aghas'
			ʾāġātūsa	'masterdom'
pis	'filthy'	>	*pisyatūsa*	'filth'

d. *ā* remains in neo-construct forms:

bāba	'son'	>	*bāb-*	'father of'
brāta	'daughter'	>	*brāt-*	'daughter of'
qdāla	'neck'	>	*qdāl-*	'neck of'

e. *ū* shortens to *u* in open pretonic syllables, e.g.,

dūka	'place'	>	*dukāne*	'places'
ṭūra	'mountain'	>	*ṭurāne*	'mountains'

3.11. Conditioned Vowel Shifts

a. *∂* > *e* before a syllable closing *ʾ* and *h*, e.g.,[24]

behna	'moment'
deʾsa	'sweat'
dehna	'fat'
dehwa	'gold'
nehra	'river'
pehna	'kick'
seʾra	'goat hair'
šmeʾlu	'they heard'[25]
ṭeʾna	'load'

b. *u* > *o* before syllable-closing *ʾ*, e.g.,[26]

baloʾta	'throat'
ṣaboʾta	'finger'
zdoʾsa	'fear'
moʾr∂qle	'he chased him away

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[24] Hobermann 1997:324–325; Mutzafi 2008a:27.
[25] In forms of the C Imperative, **mašm∂ʾ* 'listen! (m.s.)' > *mašme(ʾ)*, but also *mašmi(ʾ)* as a result of the partial merger of verbs III-ʾ and III-*y* (§ 4.4.27.7).
[26] Hoberman 1997:324–325; Mutzafi 2008a:27.

mo'rənne	'he brought me in'
[H]*mo'šəmənnu*[H]	'they accused me'

3.12. Rising Diphthongs

a. The attested rising diphthongs are:

we:	*wetun* 'you were', *pāwe* 'it will be'
wā:	*barwāra* 'slope', *'uṛwāne* 'leaders', *babawāsa* 'fathers'
wa:	*wa'dūsa* 'promise', *warāqe* 'documents'
wi:	*wiza* 'visa', *wida* 'done (m.s.)'
wə:	*ywəšlu* 'they dried up', *yāwən* 'I may give'
yā:	*yāwi* 'they may give', *toryāsa* 'cows'
ya:	*yarxa* 'month', *yamya* 'she may swear'
yə:	*yəmma* 'mother', *yamyən* 'I may swear'
ye:	*hudāye* 'Jews', *qurdāye* 'Kurds'

b. The rising diphthong *wə* frequently contracts to *ü* in closed syllables in forms of II-*w* verbs (< II-*b*; §§ 4.4.27.4; 4.4.28.1): *'üdle* 'he did' (< *wədle*), *düqle* (< *dwəqle*) 'he grasped', though one also hears the uncontracted forms *wədle* and *dwəqle*, as well as *kúšleni* 'we descended', *mākušli* 'he may bring me down'. In open syllables one hears both *wi* and the contracted form *ü*,[27] e.g., *wida, 'üda* 'done' (< *'wida*), as well as *'wida*, and both *dwiqa* and *düqa* 'seized'.

3.13. Falling Diphthongs

ay, aw: The PrAram diphthongs *aw* and *ay* have contracted to *e* and *o* respectively, e.g., *qeṭa* 'summer', *sepa* 'sword', *mosa* 'death', *yoma* 'day'. In loanwords, however, the diphthongs are preserved, e.g., *dawla* 'state', *čayxāna* 'tea house', *mābayn* 'between'. The diphthong *aw* in *gaw-* 'in' is a reduction from *-aww* found in the ClAram determined form *gawwā* (cst. *go-*) or the ClAram form with pronominal suffix, e.g., *gawwe* 'in it'.

āy: is attested in the loanword: *čāy* 'tea'. *āy* > *ay* when this noun becomes part of the compounds (§ 4.2.10.b) *čaydanka* 'teapot', *čayxāna* 'tea house'. The diphthong *āy* contracts to *e* in the f.s. gentilic suffix *-āyəṭā > *-āyṭā > -esa*, e.g., *baġdannesa* 'resident of Baghdad', *maroknesa*

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[27] Shabbo alternates both forms, even in the same sentence: *hatxa le 'üda hatxa le wida* 'Like this he has done, like that he has done.'

'Moroccan', *nerwesa* 'resident of Nerwa', *qurdesa* 'Kurd', *wānesa* 'resident of Wan'.

uy: *uy* appears in the C stem of *y'y* (< *yd') 'make known', e.g., *muyde(')lu* 'they made known'.

əw: See § 3.14

3.14. Other Diphthongs That Have Contracted in Jewish Challa

*ab̯ > ab̯ > aw > o: The ClAram diphthong *ab̯ > aw* (§ 3.2.a n.3) that resulted from the contraction of *a* and spirantized *b* (> *b̯* > *w*) has contracted further to *o*, e.g., *qora* 'grave' (< *qawrā* < *qab̯rā*), *gora* 'man' (< *gawrā* < *gab̯rā*). In the case of the plural *gūre* 'men', an additional shift of *o > u* is attested already in earlier Aramaic (BiblAram גֻּבְרַיָּא). The vowel *o* in *xošeba* 'Sunday' is a contraction of the diphthong *aw*, which arose from *xo + šeba < *xaw + šeba < *xa +b-šabbā < *ḥad b-šabbā (§ 4.2.10.a).

*ib̯ > ib̯ > əw > u/ū: This contraction takes place before a consonant e.g., *dūša* 'honey' (cf. TO, JPA *dib̯šā*; Syr ܕܒܫܐ; TO, BTA, Mand *dub̯šā*); *hūle* 'he gave' (< *həwle < *həb̯le < *yhible); *kāsu* 'he may write' (< *kāsəw < *kāsib), *ksūli* 'I wrote' (< *ksəwli < *ksibli), *ksūta* 'written' (< *ksəwta < *ksibtā). Before a vowel, the diphthong is retained, e.g., *ksiwa* 'written' (< *ksib̯a < *ksībā), *hiwe* 'given' (Participle pl. *hib̯e <*yhibe). The diphthong *əw* is attested, however before *y*, in **ṣwīya > *ṣiwya > ṣəwya 'dyed', and the loanwords *qəwya* 'strong', *qəwyūsa* 'strength'.

*ap̯ > ap̯ > aw > o: *ṭloxe* 'lentils' (< **ṭlawxe < *ṭlap̯ḥe*; cf. TO, BTA טְלוֹחֵי; Syr ܛܠܦܚܐ).

3.15. Contraction of Triphthongs and Related Forms

a. *āya* often contracts to *ā*. This is attested frequently in

  1. the 3 c.s. independent pronoun *'āya* 'he, she' > *'ā* (§ 4.1.1.e)
  2. the m.s. gentilic suffix: *hudāya* 'Jew' > *hudá*, *qurdāya* 'Kurd' > *qurdá*
  3. the Gerund of verbs III-*y*: *bəxzāya* 'seeing' > *bəxzá*; *bəjrāya* 'flowing' > *bəjrá*
  4. *ṭappāya > ṭappá* 'hillside' (§ 5.7.5)

b. *oyo > o* in **'amoyo + d > 'amód* 'the paternal uncle of', **xaloyox > xalóx* 'your maternal uncle'

c. *āwa > ā* in the 1 c.pl. forms of the verb *yhw(l)* 'give' (§ 4.4.28.20) that are based on the Subjunctive, e.g., *yāwaxla > yāxla* 'we may give her', *byāwaxlu > byāxlu* 'we will give them'.

d. *-awya > ūwa[28] in the 3 f.s. inflected forms of the verb *hwy* that are based on the Subjunctive: **hawya > hūwa* 'may she be', **khawya > kūwa* 'she is' and **phawya > pūwa* 'she will be'.

3.16. Glides

a. The glide *y* occurs when the plural ending *-e* is added to a loanword ending in a final vowel:

    ʾāġaye   'agha' (s. *ʾāġā*)
    balāye   'trouble(s)' (§ 4.2.3.1.d)
    kiloye   'kilos' (s. *kilo*)

b. The glide *y* (< *w*?) is attested in *ʾamoya* (*ʾamo* + *a*) 'paternal uncle', and *xaloya* (*xālo* + *a*) 'maternal uncle' (§ 4.2.9.7).

c. The glide *w* appears to be attested in *qurdawūsa* (< *qurdā*? + *ūsa*) 'Kurds' (§ 4.2.9.3.d).

3.17. Aphaeresis

a. Aphaeresis of initial ʾ or *y* preceding a consonant is attested in verbs I-ʾ (§§ 4.4.27.1; 4.4.28.8–9) and I-*y* (§§ 4.4.27.2; 4.4.28.20–21):

    hūle   'he gave' < **yhəwle*
    mira   'said' < **ʾmira*
    mərre   'he said' < **ʾmərre*
    səqli   'I went up' < **ysəqli*
    sira   'bound' < **ysira*[29]
    sirilu   'they bound them' < **ysirilu*
    seta   'come (f.s.)' < **ʾseta*
    sela   'she came' < **ʾsela*
    tiwa   'seated' < **ytiwa*

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[28] It would appear that **awya > *oya > *uya* (partial assimilation of *o* to *y*, which is attested in other *lishana deni* dialects; § 4.4.28.12) > *ūwa* (partial assimilation of *y* to *u*).

[29] *ysira* is attested once in Shabbo's speech.

> *tūle*   'he sat' < *ytəwle
> *xila*   'eaten' < *ʾ*xila*
> *xəlle*   'he ate' < *ʾ*xəlle*[30]
> *zəlle*   'he went' < *ʾ*zəlle*

b. Aphaeresis does not occur, however, in forms of *ymy* 'swear' (§4.4.28.4), e.g., *ymeli* 'I swore', *ymi* 'swear (m.s.)!', or *ywš* 'dry up' (§ 4.4.28.2): *ywəšle* 'he dried up', *ywəšlu* 'they dried up'.

c. Nor does it occur in the Gerund of Verbs I-ʾ, where #ʾC > #ʾiC: ʾ*isāya* 'coming', ʾ*ixāla*'eating', ʾ*izāla* 'going'.

c. ʾ appears to be optional before *w* in the verb ʾ*wd* 'do' (§ 4.4.28.1), e.g., ʾ*wida*, *wida* 'done (m.s.)', ʾ*wāda*, *wāda* 'doing'.

d. Aphaeresis of ʾ (< ClAram ʾ and ʿ) and a following vowel is attested in the following nouns and adjective:

> *koma*   'black' (ClAram אוּכָּם); f. *kumta*
> *tiqa*   'old' (ClAram עַתִּיק; cf. ʾ*atiqa* elsewhere in *lishana deni* dialects);
>   f. *təqta*, pl. *tiqe*
> *dāna*   'time' (ClAram עִדָּנָא 'time'); pl. *dāne* and the conjunction *kud*
>   *dān* 'whenever'

e. *m* is sometimes not audible (and perhaps absent entirely; § 4.4.3) before an initial labial in verbal forms, e.g., *(m)bāqərwa* 'he would ask', *(m)pəlle* 'he fell', *(m)pəllu* 'they fell'. *m* is also not heard occasionally before other consonants in the D stem, e.g., *(m)šadore* 'sending'.

f. The first syllable of the Past Copula (§ 4.4.6.4.c) may be elided when enclitic, leaving only -*wa*, e.g., *ʿ*Éraq-wāwa* > ʿ*Éraq-wa* 'It was Iraq'.

3.18. Syncope

a. Unstressed *ə* is syncopated in the plural forms[31] *kilometre* 'kilometers' (sg. *kilometər*), *metre* 'meters' (s. *metər*), *malkāni* 'chieftains' (s. *malək*), and in *maʿalmine* 'teachers' (s. *maʿalləm*).

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[30] Shabbo also once says ʾ*xəlli* 'I ate'.
[31] Cf. the syncope of *ə* or *e* in a singular base when the suffix -*āϑa* is added (Mutzafi 2008a:97).

It is unsyncopated in *'áqəli* 'my mind', *'áqəlu* 'their mind', *xāṭəreni* 'our sake' because of the syllabic nature of the resonants *l* and *r*. Unstressed *u* is sometimes syncopated in the nouns *kusisa / ksisa* 'hat', *xlūla / xulūla* 'wedding feast'.

b. *'* (< ClAram *'*) has been syncopated in *zora* 'small' < *z'ora* (< ClAram זְעוֹרָא).[32]

c. *n* is syncopated before L-suffix object pronouns in the plural of the Imperative and in 2 pl. forms inflected on the basis of the Subjunctive (§ 4.1.6.j), e.g., *mándūle* 'throw it!', *máttūle* 'put it!', *'amrétūle-ži* 'you may also say to him', *'odétūleni* 'you may do to us', *dārétūle* 'you may put it', *kšaqlétūle* 'you take him', *godétūle* 'you do to him'.

d. With the exception of the 3 m.s. *'āzəl* 'he may go',[33] *l* is syncopated in the forms of the root *'zl* 'go' based on the Subjunctive (e.g., **'azlən > 'āzən* 'I may go'; § 4.4.28.9) Some of the forms of the Future of *'zl* have undergone further syncope:

*bāzən	>	*bān*	'I shall go'
*bāzət	>	*bāt*	'you will go (m.s.)'
*bāzat	>	*bāt*	'you will go (f.s.)'
*bāzəl	>	*bāl*	'he will go'

e. *d* is syncopated in all attested forms of the G stem *y'y* (< ClAram ידע; § 4.4.28.19), e.g., *yā'e* 'he may know', *ki'e* 'he knows', *y'elox* 'you knew'. It is preserved, however, in the C stem 'inform', e.g., *mayd(')ənnu* 'I may inform them', *muyde'li* 'I informed'. *d* is syncopated in *kawənta* 'mule' (cf. the biform *kawdənta*).

f. *s* is syncopated in the preposition *kəsəl* (cf. § 3.19.f), e.g., *kəl muxtar* 'with the mukhtar'.

g. Medial *h* is sometimes elided, particularly in rapid speech, in the 2 c.s. independent pronoun *'āhat* 'you' > *'āt*.

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[32] Sabar 2002a:156.

[33] Note also the syncope of *l* in the inflected forms of the verb *yhw(l)* (§ 4.4.28.20) based on the Subjunctive, e.g., *yāwən* 'I may give', *yāwət* 'you may give'. *l* is preserved only in the 3 m.s. *yāwəl* 'he may give'. The *l* in the verb, however, is not part of the ClAram root (יהב).

3.19. Apocope

a. Vowels may be apocopated on an noun that is annexed to another noun
(§ 4.2.2.b), e.g.,

ʾaxona	'brother'	>	*ʾaxon maʿalləm* 'the brother of the teacher'
baxtása	'women'	>	*baxtás qurdāye* 'the women of the Kurds'
brona	'son'	>	*bron sāwox* 'your grandfather's son'

In the following two examples the final vowel or syllable is apocopated in
a noun that joins another noun in forming a compound:

palg(a)	'half'	>	*pálsāʿa* 'half an hour'
			pálpaṇqàṇoṭ 'half lira'

b. Vowels may be apocopated when preceding the independent genitive
pronoun *did-* (§ 4.1.3) or the reflexive pronoun *gyān-* (§ 4.1.9), e.g.,

bāba	'father'	>	*bāb dide* 'his father'
besa	'house'	>	*bes gyāne* 'his own house'
pāre	'money'	>	*pār gyāni* 'my own money'
xulamawása	'servants'	>	*xulamawás dide* 'his servants'

c. Apocope takes place in the indefinite pronoun *kull + d > kud* and in
the noun following it:

kull + d dāna	>	*kud dān* 'every time'
kull + d yoma	>	*kúd-yom* 'every day'
kull + d šāta	>	*kuššat* 'every year'
kull + d lele	>	*kúd-lel* 'every night'

The final syllable of *yoma* is apocopated in

palgeh d-yomā	>	*palgədyo* 'noon'
hā d-yomā	>	*ʾədyo* 'today'

Note that *lele* is not apocopated in *ʾádlele* 'tonight', unlike in *palgədlel*
'midnight'. Cf. the JBetan forms *ʾədlel, palgədlel, palgədyom, ʾədyo.*

d. Other examples of apocope include *bə́š-rabbā > bə́š-ṛab* 'more', *ʾaxxa*
'here' (> *ʾax-*) and *geba* 'side, direction' (> *geb*) in *ʾáx-geb tán-geb* (*ṭamāha-
geb*) 'when all's said and done'. It occurs sporadically also in (*ʾəl-)tāma*
> (*ʾəl-)tam* 'there, to there'. The final vowel or syllable of the indefinite
pronoun *xeta* 'other' (§ 4.1.10.b) may be apocopated, e.g., *xá-l-e-xet* 'one
to that other', *xa le mšaboḥe ʾe xe* 'one is praising that other'. In the
demonstrative pronoun *ʾanna* 'these, those', the final syllable is at times
apocopated before a word-initial consonant: *ʾanna pāre > ʾan pāre* 'that
money'. *d* of ClAram חַד 'one' is apocopated (*xa*, in pause *xaʾ*).

e. Apocope occurs in the compounds that express the days of the week (§ 4.3.8): *tre* + *b-šabba* > *trūšeb* 'Monday', *ṭlāha* + *b-šabbā* > *ṭlāhūšeb* 'Tuesday', *'arba* + *b-šabba* > *'arbūšeb* 'Wednesday' *xamšā* + *b-šabba* > *xamūšeb* 'Thursday'. Vowels are apocopated in other compounds too (§ 4.2.10;), e.g., *b* + *'o* + *yomā* + *xeta* > *bomāxəd* 'day after tomorrow'.

f. *l* is apocopated in the preposition *kəsəl* (§ 3.18.f): *kəs spindarnāye* 'with the residents of Spindar'.[34]

g. *m* is apocopated in the G c.s. Imperative *qū* 'stand up!' *n* is apocopated in תִּשְׁרִין > *čeri* 'autumn'. *n* of the preposition *mən* is sometimes apocopated,[35] e.g., *m-pārox* 'from your money'.

3.20. GEMINATION

a. In general ClAram gemination has been lost and replaced by a lengthening of the preceding vowel (quantitative metathesis).[36] Were the plural of *dukkāna* 'shop' attested (*dukkāne?), then gemination could be shown to be phonemic: cf. the plural of *dūka* 'place', *dukāne*.

b. The loss of gemination and resulting lengthening of preceding vowel is seen clearly in D verbs, where one finds *ā* in open stressed syllables, e.g., *(m)šādər* 'he may send' (cf. ClAram מְשַׁדַּר), *mdāgəl* 'he may lie' (ClAram מְדַגֵּל). The lack of lengthening of *a* > *ā* in the Gerund *mšadore* 'sending' (JBA מְשַׁדּוֹרֵי) may be attributed to the fact that the pattern is treated by speakers as belonging to the nominal system, where *ā* shortens to *a* before stressed syllables (§ 3.10.b).[37]

c. ClAram gemination is sometimes preserved in the nominal system, e.g., in certain reflexes of the *qvll noun pattern (§ 4.2.6.2): *dəbba* 'bear', *gəlla* 'grass', *ləbba* 'heart', *pəmma, pumma* 'mouth', *xumma* 'heat',[38] *yəmma*

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[34] This is the only example (in other *lishana deni* dialects it is more frequent) and it should be noted that the following word begins with *s*. Mutzafi (2008a:356) believes the *l* of *kəsəl* was elided by metanalysis: *kəšl-e* > *kəs-le*.

[35] Mutzafi (2008a:124) raises the possibility that *m-* is also a reduced form of *'əm* < *'am* 'with'.

[36] A trace of gemination can be seen in the Gerund of geminate verbs (§ 4.4.27.6). See also in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:47–48, 77–79). Quantitative metathesis (CvCC = Cv:C) is the rule in Ṭuroyo for all ClAram gemination. See Jastrow 1985:XXI.

[37] See Mutzafi 2008a:30.

[38] Syr ܚܘܡܐ and JBA חֶמָּא, but TO חוֹמָא.

'mother'.[39] At other times the gemination in these patterns is simplified and one hears a long penultimate vowel, e.g., *gūba* 'loom', *gūda* 'wall', *dūka* 'place', *kāke* 'teeth', *ṛāba* 'much', *xāye* 'life'. Gemination is preserved in cases where the gemination is the result of an assimilated *n*: *ʾəzza* 'goat' (< **ʿizzā < **ʿinzāʾ) and *xəṭṭe* 'wheat' (< **ḥiṭṭe < **ḥinṭayyāʾ). Cf., however, the simplification of ClAram gemination before the f. morpheme -*t* and compensatory lengthening in *šāta* 'year' (ClAram שַׁתָּא < PrAram **šantāʾ). Fluctuation is found in the forms of the noun *skina/səkkina* 'knife'.[40] Gemination is not preserved in adjectives of the **qaṭṭīl noun pattern, e.g., *basima* 'pleasing' (f.s. *basəmta*),[41] *šamina* 'fat' (pl. *šamine*), *yarixa* 'long' (f.s. *yarəxta*, pl. *yarixe*), or in nouns of the **qaṭṭāl pattern, e.g., *ganāwa* 'thief', *sahāda* 'witness', *ṣawāʾa* 'dyer', *šahāra* 'blind'. Gemination of an earlier period that stemmed from the assimilation of *t* in the noun *kāpa* 'shoulder' (< **kappa < ClAram כַּתְפָּא < PrAram **katipāʾ; pl. *kapāne*) has been simplified.

d. Gemination in loanwords is preserved, e.g., *čakke* 'weapons', *čappa* 'left', *ḥaqq* 'salary', *julle* 'clothes', *kappāra* 'expiation'. The gemination in the loanword *maʿalləm* 'teacher' is lost in the plural form along with the following vowel *ə*: *maʿalmine*.

e. Secondary gemination of *m* is attested in several ClAram nouns,[42] e.g., *ʾəmma* 'hundred', *dəmma* 'blood', *šəmma* 'name', *šəmme* 'heavens', *šənne* 'years', *təmmal* 'yesterday'. Secondary gemination of *d* is also attested in *xədda* 'someone'.[43] The secondary gemination in these words seems to have been preceded by the retraction of stress at an early period of NeoAram.[44]

f. The gemination in *rəqqa* 'distance' comes from the assimilation of *x* (< *ḥ*) to *q* (LEAram רוּחְקָא).[45]

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[39] < אִמָּא.

[40] Cf. ClAram סַכִּינָא (and BiblH סַכִּין) and MishH סְכִין.

[41] Cf. JZakho *bassima* with JBetan *basima*.

[42] For a discussion of the phenomenon see Hoberman 2007. The gemination in *pəmma, pumma* 'mouth' goes back to PrAram. For the forms of this word in Aramaic dialects see Nöldeke 1910:177–178.

[43] Cf. ClAram חֲדָא 'one (f.)'. Gemination is also attested in this number in SA *ʾådda* 'the one (m.)' and JPA חַתָּא 'the one (m.)' (Fassberg 1985).

[44] The retraction of stress in these nouns is attested also in WNeoAram, e.g., *aḥḥaḏ* 'one (m.)', *eḥḏa* 'one (f.)', *ešma* 'name', *eḏma* 'blood'. See Spitaler 1938:48–49, 63–65, 113; Arnold 1990:40,314,400.

[45] Quantitative metathesis is also attested in this form: *reqa* (§ 3.6.h). The assimilation of gutturals to contiguous consonants is surprising in NeoAram, though it is attested

g. The gemination in *xuṭṭa* 'stick, rod' results from the assimilation of *r* to *ṭ* (ClAram חוּטְרָא).

h. The inflected forms of the preposition *l-* 'to, for' and *b-* 'in' exhibit what might be secondary gemination that arose by analogy to the gemination of the inflected forms of the preposition *mən* 'from, with' (e.g., *mənni* 'from me' [ClAram מִנִּי], *mənnexun* 'from you'), e.g., *ʾalle* 'to him', *ʾabbe* 'in him'.[46] It is also possible, however, that the gemination of *ʾall-* comes from the affixation of the L-suffix pronouns to the preposition *ʾal* (< ClAram עַל).[47]

i. Non-ClAram gemination is found regularly in the affixing and assimilation of the L-suffix pronouns to final *n* and *r* on verbal bases and to the E-suffix pronouns ending in *n* and *t* on the Subjunctive, e.g.,

*kpən + lu	>	*kpənnu* 'they starved'
*dʾər + lox	>	*dʾərrox* 'you returned'
*ʾamrən + lox	>	*ʾamrənnox* 'I may say to you'
*ʾamrət + lu	>	*ʾamrəttu* 'you may say to them'.

l does not assimilate to final *t* of verbal bases, e.g.,

mətle	'he died'
skətle	'he croaked'

3.21. Syllable Structure

Unlike in ClAram where only Cv, Cv̄, CvC, and Cv̄C syllables were allowed, JChalla, like other NeoAram dialects, evidences additional syllable types: CCv and CCv̄, which in ClAram have the shape CəCv, CəCv̄ (e.g., *ṣlosa* 'prayer' < ClAram *ṣəloṭā*), and CvCC, which occurs only in loanwords (e.g., *ḥaqq* 'right'; *žang* 'rust').

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in this word also in other *lishana deni* dialects. Cf. SH (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000:39) and SA where gutturals regularly assimilated to contiguous consonants (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954:102; Macuch 1982:77).

[46] Hoberman 2007:147 is uncertain as to the mechanism involved in creating these forms.

[47] Mutzafi 2008a:123.

3.22. ANAPTYXIS

a. A synchronic cluster of three consonants is usually resolved by the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel between the second and third consonants, e.g., *ᴴbmaʾšmiᴴ > *mmáʾšəmi* 'they will accuse', *mburbza > *mbúrbəza* 'scattered'; *madʾraxle > *madʾəraxle* 'we may return him'; *maqṭlīli > *maqṭəlili* 'they may have me killed'.

b. When the second consonant is a resonant, however, anaptyxis occurs between the first and second consonants. See, e.g., in verbal forms: *mašlmile > *mašəlmile* 'they may convert him to Islam'; *muxrwālu > *muxərwálu* 'they destroyed her'; *maʾrqile > *maʾərqile* 'they may smuggle him out'; and in nouns: *ʾaqalta* 'foot' (< *ʾaqlta),[48] *tawərta* 'cow' (< *tawrta). Perhaps anaptyxis is also the origin of *ū* in *ʾaxūsa* 'brotherhood' (< *ʾaxəwsa < *ʾaxwsā?) and *naṣwsā > *naṣūsa* 'fight' (< *naṣəwsa < *naṣwsā?; § 4.2.9.3.a). Even though the resonant is the first and not the second consonant in the cluster, anaptyxis occurs between the first and second consonants in *kaləpsa* 'bitch' (< *kalbtā). This occurs regularly when *b-* is prefixed to the Gerund, e.g., *b + qṭāla > bəqṭāla* 'in killing'.

c. Anaptyxis is attested in neo-construct forms (§ 4.2.2.b), e.g., *ʾapər* 'soil' (< *ʾəpr < ʾapra), *ʾaqər* 'bottom' (< *ʾəqr < ʾaqra), *naqəl* 'time' (< *naql < naqla), *qəṭəl* 'killing' (< *qəṭl < qəṭla), and *xətən* 'son-in-law' (< *xətn < xətna).

d. There is no anaptyctic vowel in the following words due to their syllabification:

Parsnāye 'Persians'	=	*par-snáye.*
ʾəltxé(t?) 'under'	=	*ʾəl-txé(t?)*
mundyālu 'they threw her down'	=	*mun-dyālu*
škaftyāsa 'caves'	=	*škaft-yāsa*
lá-gmzabnetun 'you don't sell'	=	*lág-mzabnetun*

e. Occasionally an anaptyctic vowel, sometimes preceded by a glottal stop, is added to an initial consonantal cluster, e.g.,

ʾəḥməlle, ḥməlle	'he stood'
əmṭelan, mṭelan	'we arrived'
əmre(ʾ)la	'it hurt'
əmpəlle, mpəlle	'he fell'

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[48] The expected anaptyctic vowel *ə* appears to have assimilated to the preceding *a* vowel.

əmxéwālu	'they had beaten'
əšqəllu, šqəllu	'they took'
əxzi, xzi	'look (m.s.)!'

3.23. Stress

Stress in JChalla is mainly penultimate and follows that described in detail by Mutzafi for JBetan.[49] It will be marked only when it deviates from the penultima. Exceptions to this pattern include the following categories:

a. in loanwords, where stress is sometimes according to the donor language, e.g., *čắdəra* 'tent', *dúnume* 'dunams', *faqír* 'poor', *kafíl* 'guarantor' (also *káfil*), *máḥkama* 'court', *taḥqiqát* 'investigations'. Some loanwords have been assimilated to the regular JChalla stress pattern, e.g., *ʾarzúḥal* 'petition' (but also *ʾarzuḥál* § 4.2.1.h), *gazeṛa* '(evil) decree', *wakil* 'deputy';

b. in proper nouns, where stress is variable, e.g., the Hebrew name אַבְרָהָם is pronounced with three different stresses: *ʾAwṛắham* (general JChalla stress pattern as well as colloquial Hebrew stress pattern), *ʾAwṛahắm* (formal Hebrew stress pattern), and *ʾÁwṛaham* (also colloquial Hebrew stress pattern);

c. Stress is prepenultimate on verbs that have the past marker *-wa* followed by an L-suffix, e.g., *ʾə́twāle* 'he had', *gbéwāle* 'he used to want', *xaprí-wālu* 'they used to dig', *kaswə́nwālu* 'I used to write them';

d. Stress is prepenultimate on verbal forms with the final allomorphs *-a, -ən(a), -an(a)*, and *-in* on inflected forms of the Subjunctive base and Imperative, e.g., *ʾázəna* 'I (m.s.) may go', *yāʾétuna* 'you (c.pl.) may know', *ḥmóləna* 'wait!', *qématən* 'you (f.s.) may arise', *šáqlaxin* 'we may take'. Stress is also prepenultimate on forms of the Preterite with the 1 c.pl. and 2 c.pl. L-suffixes, e.g., *zə́lleni* 'we went', *zə́llexun* 'you went';

e. Stress is prepenultimate on certain adverbs and prepositions, e.g., *ʾáqqara* 'so much' (< *ʾad + qadara; also *ʾaqqar*); reduplicated forms with stress on the first syllable: *básbasər* 'right after', *bárbara* 'towards', *qámqāmu* 'right before them'.

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[49] See Sabar 2002a:6–37 on stress in *lishana deni* dialects in general, Hoberman 1989: 216–217 on stress in JAmid, and Mutzafi 2008a:35–39 on stress in JBetan.

g. Enclitic particles and words (a hyphen is used to mark enclisis) do not take the stress:

1. the particle *-ž(i)* 'also, even', e.g., *ʾá-ži* 'he too', *ʾətwa suráye-ži* 'there were Christians too'
2. LL-suffix pronouns, e.g., *lewən xə́zya-lle* 'I haven't see him', *wax p̣táxa-lla* 'we are opening her'
3. forms of the Copula, e.g., *ʾāna hudáya-wən* 'I am a Jew', *má-yle* 'what is it?', *hátxa-la* 'that's the way it is', *mare təffáqe-lu* 'they are rifle owners'
4. verbs negated by the particles *la* and *ču*, e.g., *lá-kiʾən* 'I don't know', *lá- gbəttu* 'you don't want them', *lá-gp̄ālxax* 'we don't work', *čú-məndi* 'nothing', *čú-gā* 'never'
5. nouns following attributive demonstrative pronouns (§ 4.1.7.h), e.g., *ʾé-waxt* 'at that time', *b-é-doṛ* 'in that generation'
6. nouns preceded by numbers, e.g., *xá-gā* 'once', *xá-yoma* 'one day', *tré- yome* 'two days', *šöʾá-nāše* 'seven people'(§ 4.3.1.i). Numbers are not always enclitic, however.
7. the noun *geb* 'side' when enclitic to truncated forms of the adverbs *ʾaxxa* 'here' and *tāma* 'there', e.g., *ʾáx-geb tán-geb* 'when all's said and done'

There may also be three and four element syntagms with one major stress, in which case two of the elements become enclitic, e.g., *l-é-ʾida-ži* 'to that side too', *ḥál-u-masale* 'the upshot'.

h. Stress may be variable with the indefinite pronoun *flāna* (§ 4.1.12.d), e.g., *l-flāná-dūka* 'such and such a place' vs. *ʾəl-flána dūka*.

i. Stress on nouns in the vocative is variable, e.g., *qurdá* 'Kurd!', *máʿalləm* 'teacher!'; and with a Kurdish vocative ending (§ 4.2.11.b): *ʾamo* 'Uncle!', *bābo* 'Father!', *māmo* 'Uncle!', *quró* 'boy!', *kəče* 'woman!'

3.24. Pause

Two pausal forms of numbers are attested, both of which take an excrescent glottal stop: *xaʾ* 'one' and *treʾ* 'two' (§ 4.3.1).

MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

4.1. Pronouns

4.1.1. *Independent Pronouns*

a. The inventory of independent pronouns in JChalla is

1 c.s.	*ʾāna*
2 c.s.	*ʾāhat*
3 c.s.	*ʾāya, ʾā*
1 c.pl.	*ʾaxnan*
2 c.pl.	*ʾaxtun*
3 c.pl.	*ʾāni*

b. It is noteworthy that there is only one form for masculine and feminine in all persons, both singular and plural. It would appear that the feminine forms of the 2ⁿᵈ person singular and 3ʳᵈ person singular have replaced the 2ⁿᵈ person and 3ʳᵈ person singular masculine forms. The epicene forms may be the result of the adstrata influence of Kurdish and Turkish.

c. *ʾāhat* (sometimes *ʾāt*; § 3.18.g) is used for both the masculine and feminine, unlike in other *lishana deni* dialects, where one finds 2 m.s. *ʾāhət* and 2 f.s. *ʾāhat*.

d. The 3rd person *ʾāya* is used for both masculine and feminine, unlike in other *lishana deni* dialects, where one finds m. *ʾāwa*, f. *ʾāya*. In the Jewish dialects of the Trans-Zab area, however, one also finds a 3 c.s. form, albeit different: *ʾo < *ʾáhu*.[1] *ʾāya* sometimes contracts to *ʾā* (§ 3.15.a), particularly in rapid speech and before the postpositive particle -*ži* (*ʾá-ži* 'also he'). *ʾāya* also functions as a far demonstrative (§ 4.1.7.b).

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[1] See Mutzafi 2004:10 and 2008b:417–418.

e. The 1 pl. *'axnan* is also attested in some *lishana deni* dialects (JAmid, JGzira, JZakho), but not in others (*'axni* in JDohok, and JNerwa texts). JBetan has both *'axnan* and *'axni*.

f. The independent pronouns function as subjects of clauses. In the following example the independent pronoun *'āna* appears to function as a direct object:[2]

> *mərri* ^H*mmá'šəmi et-(h)a məštará*^H*. lá-*^H*gmá'šəmi*^H *'āna.*
> 'I said: "They will accuse the police. They aren't accusing me."'

In this example *'āna* parallels the Hebrew direct object marker *'et* (את), though it may be just be an awkwardly-formed sentence in which one might have expected *'āna* 'as for me', at the beginning of the clause.

4.1.2. *Pronominal Suffixes on Nouns*

a. The pronominal suffixes in JChalla are

1 c.s.	*-i*	*besi* ('my house')
2 m.s.	*-ox*	*besox*
2 f.s.	*-ax*	*besax*
3 m.s.	*-e*	*bese*
3 f.s.	*-a*	*besa*
1 c.pl.	*-an, -eni*	*besan, beseni*
2 c.pl.	*-exun*	*besexun*
3 c.pl.	*-u*	*besu*

b. Representative examples include

ləbbi	'my heart'
sāwi	'my grandfather'
pārox	'your (m.s.) money'
pāsox	'your (m.s.) face'
yəmmax	'your (f.s.) mother'
xaswāsax	'your (f.s.) sisters'
kusise	'his hat'
'ide	'his hand'
pumma	'her mouth'
'ena	'her eye'
lišaneni	'our language'
hudayeni	'our Jews'
rešan	'our heads'
besan	'our house'

---

[2] In additional passages where one finds occurrrences of *'āya* that might be interpreted as a direct object, it is preferable to explain it as a demonstrative (§ 4.1.7.b).

ʾəprexun	'your (pl.) soil'
məllətexun	'your (pl.) ethnic group'
qalunku	'their narghiles'
ʾidāsu	'their hands'

c. The 1 pl. suffixes *-an* and *-eni* are free variants in JChalla, as they are in many other NeoAram dialects, e.g.,

> *kullan, kulleni ki'ax*
> 'All of us, all of us know.'[3]

d. The 2 pl. *-exun* is also attested in the JNerwa texts as against other *lishana deni* dialects, which have *-oxun* (JAmid, JAradh, JBetan, and JZakho). An *e*-type vowel is also attested, e.g., in Hertevin *-eḥon*, CAradh *-εxu* (L-set form), Bohtan *-exün*,[4] and in some Tiari dialects *-εxun*, *-εxu*.[5]

e. The JChalla 3 pl. *-u* differs from *-ohun* in JAmid and JZakho. One finds both *-u* and *-ohun* in JBetan, and *-ehun*, *-u*, and *-uh* in the JNerwa texts. See also *didu* (§ 4.1.3.a), *-lu* (§ 4.1.4) and *-llu* (§ 4.1.5).

4.1.3. *Independent Genitive Pronoun*

a. Possesion may also be expressed by the addition of the pronominal suffixes to the independent genitive pronoun *did-*:[6]

1 c.s.	*didi*
2 m.s.	*didox*
2 f.s.	*didax*
3 m.s.	*dide*
3 f.s.	*dida*
1 c.pl.	*deni*[7]

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[3] Fluctuation is also attested in the L-suffix pronouns and LL-suffix pronouns (§§ 4.1.4–5). Cf. the marking of exclusiveness by the 1 pl. suffix *-enij* noted by Polotsky 1961:19–20 in CUrmi. See also Khan 2007:315.

[4] Fox 2002:160.

[5] Talay 2008:191.

[6] Epstein 1960:27 and Khan 1999:87 believe that *did* developed by assimilation from *di l-*. Others have proposed an origin of *d + id* 'of the hand' (e.g., Nöldeke 1868:83; Brockelmann 1908:316; Dalman 1905:118; Ben-Ḥayyim 1976:79 n. 4).

[7] In all the hours of recording only once did Shabbo say *didan* instead of *deni*. *didan* is the form found in dialects to the east of the Greater Zab River. The lone occurrence of *didan* in Shabbo's speech may be the result of analogy with the *did-* forms (*didi*, *didox*, *didax*, *dide*, *dida*, and *didu*) or dialectal interference from the language of his wife, who is from Sando (Mutzafi p.c.).

2 c.pl.   *dexun*[8]
3 c.pl.   *didu*

b. *did* + pronominal suffix may follow neo-construct forms (§ 4.2.2.b), nouns in annexation with suffixed *-əd* (§ 4.2.2.a), nouns ending in *-a, -e, or ø*, as well as prepositions (with or without suffixed *-əd*), e.g.,

1 s.   *ṭas didi* 'for me', *pássapoṛṭ didi* 'my passport', *xāye didi* 'my life';
2 m.s.   *sāwa didox* 'your grandfather', *'urxəd didox* 'your way', *bargūze didox* 'your suit'; *'āwon didox* 'your fault';
2 f.s.   *'āwon didax* 'your fault';
3 m.s.:   *bron dide* 'his son', *dabanja dide* 'his pistol', *din dide* 'his religion', *šəmməd dide* 'his name', *ṭanəštəd dide* 'his side', *reš dide* 'on him';
3 f.s.   *qəṭ'a dida* 'her piece', *balo'təd dida* 'her throat', *mənnəd dida* 'from her', *pumməd dida* 'her mouth';
1 pl.   *hudāyəd deni* 'our Jews', *lišāna deni* 'our language (= Jewish NeoAram)', *məndid deni* 'something of ours';
2 pl.   *'əbbəd dexun* 'in you', *'āwon dexun* 'your fault', *pássapoṛṭ dexun* 'your passport';
3 pl.   *'idəd didu* 'their hands', *qatxe didu* 'their cups', *pār didu* 'their money', *xulamawás didu* 'their servants', *potine didu* 'their boots', *'lləd didu* 'to them'

c. There is no apparent difference in meaning or usage among the following triplets:

bāb dide / bābəd dide / bābe
'his father'

'urxa dide / 'urxəd dide/ 'urxe
'his path'

gor dida / gora dida / gora
'her husband'

d. *did* + pronominal suffix may also function without a head noun as in, e.g.,

didox 'áya-la.
'It is yours (m.s.).'

didax 'áya-la.
'It is yours (f.s.).'

---

[8] Once Shabbo uses the form *didexun: la didexun wax xiye* 'not yours (life) have we lived'. Like *didan*, this too is either analogy with the forms with *did-* or dialectal interference from his wife (Mutzafi p.c.).

>*ʾāya dídi-le.*
>'It is mine.'

>*dexun ʾā́ya-la.*
>'It is yours (c.pl.).'

e. There is only one example in the corpus of a form without a pronominal suffix, *dəd*:

>*nāš d-éka-wət? kəmri dəd Wān.*
>'"Where are you from?" They say from Van.'

f. The 3 pl. *didu* contrasts with *dohun* in JZakho, JAmid, and JBetan, and *dēhun* (דיהון) in the JNerwa texts.

4.1.4. *L-Suffix Pronouns*

a. L-suffix pronouns are composed of the preposition *l-* and the pronominal suffixes affixed to nouns (§ 4.1.2.a.)

1 c.s.	*-li*
2 m.s.	*-lox*
2 f.s.	*-lax*
3 m.s.	*-le*
3 f.s.	*-la*
1 c.pl.	*-lan(a), -leni*
2 c.pl.	*-lexun*
3 c.pl.	*-lu*

b. L-suffix pronouns mark the agent on the Preterite (§ 4.4.13) or the object on the Imperative and Subjunctive based forms (§ 4.4.23.1). They may also be suffixed to the interrogative *mā*: *mā́-lox* 'What's with you?'

c. The 1 pl. suffixes *-lan(a)* and *-leni* fluctuate freely, e.g.,

>*zə́lleni mṭelan ᴴgvulᴴ.*
>'We went (and) we arrived at the border.'

>*kúšlana ʾəltəx ʾəltəx. kúšleni ḥel tāma.*
>'We went way down. We went down until there.'

d. *l* assimilates to a preceding *n*, *r*, or *t* in inflected forms of the Subjunctive and Preterite (§ 3.6.c)

4.1.5. *LL-Suffix Pronouns*

a. LL-suffix pronouns may have been formed historically by the affixation of the L-suffix pronouns to the preposition *ʾəl* (< ClAram עַל):[9]

1 c.s.	*-lli*
2 m.s.	*-llox*
2 f.s.	*-llax*
3 m.s.	*-lle*
3 f.s.	*-lla*
1 c.pl.	*-llan(a), -lleni*
2 c.pl.	*-llexun*
3 c.pl.	*-llu*

b. LL-suffix pronouns serve as enclitic object suffixes to forms of the Perfect and Gerund (§ 4.4.23.2).

c. They also function as free-standing object suffixes (< preposition *ʾəl*) following forms of the Perfect and Gerund (§ 4.4.23).

4.1.6. *E-Suffix Pronouns*

a. The forms of the E(nclitic)-suffix pronouns are

1 m.s.	*-ən(a), -an(a)*
1 f.s.	*-an(a)*
2 m.s.	*-ət(ən)*
2 f.s.	*-at(ən)*
3 m.s.	*-ø*
3 f.s.	*-a*
1 c.pl.	*-ax(in)*
2 c.pl.	*-étun(a)*
3 c.pl.	*-i*

b. E-suffix pronouns are affixed to forms based on the Subjunctive and the Copula, where they mark the agent (§§ 4.4.6–7), and to forms based on the Preterite, where they mark the object (§ 4.4.23.4).

c. The 1 f.s. form *-an* seems to have begun to encroach on the 1 m.s. *-ən* in inflected forms based on the Subjunctive and is heard occasionally in place of it, e.g.,

> *lá-gmzabnan*
> 'I (m.s.) shall not buy' (§ 5.2.7)

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[9] Mutzafi 2008a:85. See also § 3.20.h.

In the following examples Shabbo alternates the *-ən* and *-an* forms when referring to a male in the 1ˢᵗ person:

> *baxlan pār didu… ʾāna baxlən pār didu*
> 'I shall use up their money… I shall use up their money' (§ 5.3.16)

> *ʾāna gəbən pálpaṇqaṇoṭ mən pārox tad dārənna go pāri ta* ᴴ*šamran*ᴴ *pāri ta baṛāxa.*
> 'I want a half lira of your money in order to put it in with my money for a blessing (alms).' (§ 5.3.12)

d. There is one example in which Shabbo uses the 2 f.s. *-at* where the 2 m.s. *-ət* is expected: *yāʾat* 'you should know' (§ 5.10.16). There is not enough evidence to conclude that the 2 f.s. suffix is also beginning to encroach on the 2 m.s. suffix.

e. E-suffix pronouns on the Subjunctive base are attested already in MidAram in TO, and in LAram in JBA, Syr, and Mand. They are clipped forms of the independent pronoun in postpositive position.

f. As in other *lishana deni* dialects, the 2 m.s. and 2 f.s. forms may take an additional final *-ən(a)*; this is also the case for the particles of existence *ʾit, ʾitən, ʾítəna* 'there is' and *let, letən, létəna* 'there is not' (§ 4.8.1). Final *-əna* is also attested on the singular Imperative *ḥmóləna* 'wait!' The 1 m.s., 1 f.s., and 2 pl. forms may also take an additional *-a*. The most frequent 1 pl. suffix is *-ax*, which is known from other *lishana deni* dialects. The less frequent *-axin* stands in contrast to *-axni*, which is widespread: JAmid, JBetan, JDohok, JNerwa texts, and JZakho. *-in* in the longer JChalla 1 pl. ending *-axin* appears to be a metathesis of the *-ni* of *-axni* attested in the other dialects; despite the distance from the stress, the vowel *i* has not shortened as expected to *ə*.

Note the fluctuation of 1 pl. forms (*-ax* and *-axin*) in the same sentence:

> *ʾaxnan kpalxax hənna kpálxaxin ʾəbbəd* ᴴ*kuwaḥ ha-šem*ᴴ *la ʾəbbəd* ᴴ*kuwaḥ*ᴴ *gyānan.*
> 'We work, um, we work by the power of God, not by our own power.'

g. The longer forms of the E-suffixes are attested mainly on G verbs and do not affect the position of word stress (§ 3.23.d).

h. E-suffixes precede L-suffixes on inflected forms based on the Subjunctive, e.g.,

> *qaṭlaxle*
> 'we may kill him'

yāwaxle
'we may give it'

i. The past marker *-wa* is infixed between E-suffixes and L-suffixes in the Past Habitual (§ 4.4.10), e.g.,

šalxáxwālu
'we used to take them off'

ʾaxnan panjāre ᶻgəmráxwālaᶻ.
'We used to call it *panjare* (window).'

j. Final *-n* of the 2 pl. E-suffix *-etun(a)* is deleted before an L-suffix (§ 3.18.c), e.g.,

ki'étūle, naxón? ktaxrétūle.
'You (pl.) know him, correct? You (pl.) remember him.'

4.1.7. *Demonstrative Pronouns*

a. Compared with other *lishana deni* dialects, a limited inventory of demonstrative forms is attested in the corpus:

Near	Far
c.s. *'iya (yā)*	c.s. *'e*
c.pl. *'anna ('an)*	

b. The independent pronoun *'āya ('ā)* also serves as a far demonstrative 'that (one).'[10] In the first three examples below, it is possible to understand *'āya* as the independent pronoun in extraposition; however, neither the intonation of the sentences nor the other examples support such an interpretation and instead point to a demonstrative use:

'āya qṭəllu Spindarnāye.
'The residents of Spindar killed that one.' (§ 5.6.8)

u-'āya mokušlu m-kawə́nta
'and that one they brought down off the mule' (§ 5.2.11)

lewət wida lə-'áya u-lə-'áya u-lə-'áya
'you haven't done (it) to that one and to that one and to that one'

'āya ṭarma šüqlu l-ta(ma).
'They left that corpse the(re).' (§ 5.2.14)

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[10] Cf. JBetan far demonstrative f.s. *'āya* (Mutzafi 2008a:42–43).

c. The near demonstrative pronoun *'iya* has a clipped form *yā*[11] that occurs only in the expression *b-íya-'ida u-yá̆-'ida* 'when it comes down to it' (lit., 'in this hand and this hand'). The pl. demonstrative also has a clipped form *'an* that occurs before consonants (§ 3.19.d):

> *'an bargūze / 'anna bargūze*
> 'these suits'

d. As is the case with the independent pronouns, the common form of the far demonstrative *'e* looks as if it is the feminine far demonstrative.[12]

e. The far singular pronoun *'o* is rare in Shabbo's speech and occurs in borrowed expressions from JZakho, e.g., *mən dogā* 'from that time', *'ó-yoma* 'that day'. Cf. the usual JChalla forms *mən d-é-doṛ* 'from that generation', *'é-yoma* 'that day'.

f. There is once occurrence in the corpus of a far demonstrative (m.s.) *'ayāha* 'that one over there'.[13]

g. The demonstrative *'ad* is attested in the words *'ədyo* 'today' and *'ádlele* 'tonight' (cf. *'é-lele* 'that night'), and *'áqqar(a)* (< *ad + qadara) 'so much'.[14]

h. Demonstratives occur attributively before the noun modified, e.g.,

> *'iya gora*   'this man'
> *'e gora*   'that man'
> *'anna 'uṛwānəd didu*   'those leaders of theirs'

Often the following noun is enclitic to the demonstrative (§ 3.23.g)

i. Demonstratives may function independently, e.g.,

> *'iya 'ādə́ta-la.*
> 'This is a custom.' (§ 5.6.6)

> *'anna lu wide 'askar go Tű́rkiya.*
> 'Those have done military service in Turkey.' (§ 5.6.12)

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[11] So too in JArbel. See Khan 1999:85.
[12] Elsehwere in *lishana deni* dialects *'e* marks the f.s. as against the m.s. *'o*.
[13] When asked if there is a far demonstrative 'those', Shabbo, after hearing his cousin Ahiya and his brother Ḥayyo use JZakho *'anāha*, also says *'anāha*, but he never uses it in the many hours of recorded speech.
[14] See Jastrow 1990:101–102 on the reflexes of *'ad* in NeoAram, where he notes that *'ad-* is best preserved in Hertevin. It occurs on a limited scale in Ṭuroyo but in most NENA dialects only in one or two fossilized words.

j. The far demonstrative *ʾe* + 'woman' is attested as a euphemism for the 1ˢᵗ person independent pronoun in *ʾé-baxta pṣarxa* 'I shall shout' (§ 5.8.6). This usage is attested in JPA and JBA.[15]

4.1.8. *Possessive-Relative Particle* d

The ClAram relative pronoun (דְּ/דִּי) has allomorphs in JChalla: *-əd, -d, d-, ʾəd-.*

a. One reflex occurs as the suffix *-əd* (before unvoiced consonants [-ɪt]; § 3.2.d)[16] on nouns in annexation (§ 4.2.2.a), e.g., *ʾāġāyəd Čalla* 'the aghas of Challa', *qəṭləd ʿaṭarka* 'the killing of the peddlar', *nixəd ʾamoyi* 'my late paternal uncle', *yəmməd bābox* 'your father's mother'. The vowel *i* of *məndi* 'thing' is preserved before *-d* in *məndid deni* 'something of ours' (§ 5.4.1; see also below *ʾānid* § 4.1.8.g).

b. *-əd* is also suffixed to nouns and prepositions bound by the independent genitive pronoun *did-* (§ 4.1.3), e.g.,

šāləd dide	'his belt'
ṭarməd dide	'his corpse'
ʾəbbəd dide	'in him'
ʾəlləd didu	'to them'
mənned dide	'from him'

c. *-əd* may be suffixed to a noun that serves as the head of a relative clause,[17] e.g.,

yoməd pləṭlan
'the day we went out'

yarxəd kese
'the month he comes'

denānəd muselu
'the debtors whom they brought'

kud duksəd gəbe
'whatever place they want'

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[15] See, e.g., Dalman 1905:108; Sokoloff 1990:120 and 2002:128, 259.

[16] Khan 2007:322. See Khan 1999:169 on the possibility of the vowel *ə* of *-əd* originating in the LEAram ending *-ā* on sg. nouns (< ClAram def. article), *-e* on pl. nouns (ClAram cst. pl.), or, most likely, the 3 m.s. proleptic suffix *-e* in a syntagm of the type בֵּיתֵהּ דְּמַלְכָּא 'the king's palace' < 'his palace of the king'.

[17] Goldenberg 1993:631 and 1995.

nāšəd gbe ^Hʾemét^H
'people who want truth'

ʾáxxa-ži let xa dūkəd xapči šətyəd gyāni maštən ʾəlla.
'There isn't here even a place (where) I can (stretch out and) moisten a bit of my own yarn.' (§ 5.6.3)

ʾé-məšəlmānəd nixəd bābi muqṭəlle
'that Muslim whom my father had killed' (§ 5.6.19)

d. *-əd* may be suffixed to a noun in annexation to a cardinal number (§ 4.3.5), e.g.,

yarxəd ʾarba
'fourth month'

e. *-d* is suffixed to *kull-* 'all' yielding the indefinite pronoun *kud-* 'each, every' (§§ 4.1.12.f; § 4.3.1.h).

f. *-d* is suffixed to the interrogative *mā* yielding *mād* 'whatever', e.g.,

mād gbənwa muselu.
'Whatever I would want, they brought.'

mād ʾamraxlu la ^Zgəmrilan^Z la.
'Whatever we say to them, they don't say no to us.'

g. *-d* may be suffixed to independent and demonstrative pronouns, e.g.,

ʾānid lu mə́xye-lle ʾāya. ^Hken^H, ʾānid əmxéwālu ʾəlle.
'Those who have beaten him, that one. Yes, those who had beaten him.' (§ 5.2.16)

ʾannəd qāmi
'those that (are) on me'

h. *-d* may be suffixed to the preposition *ta* forming the conjunction 'in order to':

tad dārənna
'in order to put her'

i. *-d* is prefixed to the negative particle *la* and forms the preposition 'without' (§ 4.5) and the conjunction 'lest' (§ 4.6), e.g.,

dla pāre   'without money'
dla šarwāla 'without trousers'
dlá-ʾārəqla 'lest he flee'

j. *d-* may be prefixed to a demonstrative pronoun or adverb following a preposition (§ 4.5):

mən d-axxa	'from here'
mən d-iya	'from this'
xor d-axxa	'like here

k. *d-* may be prefixed to a noun following an early or recent loan ending in *-a*:

ʾāġa d-Čalla	'an agha of Challa'
ʾāġa d-láxma-ewa	'he was the Agha of bread'
ᴴtaḥanáᴴ d-basra	'the next station' (cf. *kud ᴴtaḥanə́dᴴ gezaxwa* 'every station which we went to' (§ 5.10.1)
wal ᴴpolátikaᴴ d-hudāye ṛába-la.	'Indeed, the craftiness of the Jews is great.' (§ 5.6.5)
ᴴhistóriyaᴴ d-kullu ki'ənna.	'I know the history of everyone.' (§ 5.6.11)

d- also is prefixed to a noun following a ModH loan that ends in *-e*:

ᴴkafé d-bokərᴴ	'the morning coffee' (§ 5.4.6)

l. *d* may occur twice in succession: first suffixed to a noun and then prefixed to a relative clause, demonstrative pronoun, or adverb:[18]

xalwəd d-iwət xíla-lle mən xədyawāsəd yəmmox
'the milk which you have drunk[19] from your mother's breasts'

ʾaxnan lewax nāšəd d-axxa.
'We are not (like) the people here.'

m. When prefixed to the Subjunctive of the verb *hwy* and to the 3rd forms of the Present Copula,[20] *d > t* (§ 3.2.d):

māṭo t-ūwa?
'How will it be?'

mā t-ūwa
'what should be'

ʾanna t-ilu ʾuṛwānəd hənna…
'those who are the leaders of, um…'

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[18] It is also found suffixed to a noun and as part of the independent genitive pronoun *did*. See above § 4.1.8.b.

[19] Lit., 'eaten'.

[20] As in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:42).

ʾe hudāya t-ile nǝxṛāya l-tāma
'that Jew who is a foreigner there'

n. Sometimes *d* has the allomorph *ʾǝd-*,[21] e.g.,

ʿāwon didox ʾǝd-kúlla hudāye mǝn kullu dukāne
'your guilt (and) of all the Jews from everywhere' (§ 5.8.19)

ʿāwon didax u-ʾǝd-górax b-qdāléxun
'you and your husband are responsible' (§ 5.9.13)

ʾatta ʾǝd-gyāni pšalxǝnnu
'now I will take them off of myself' (§ 5.2.8)

ʾegā ʾāni ʿādǝtǝd dídu-la ʾǝd-ʾáġa.
'Now it is a custom of theirs with the Agha.' (§ 5.4.6)

4.1.9. Reflexive Pronoun

gyāna 'soul' serves as the reflexive pronoun: *gyāni* 'myself', *gyānox* 'yourself (m.s.)', *gyānax* 'yourself (f.s.)', etc. It may occur as the second element in an annexation construction, e.g.,

dūkǝd gyāne
'his own place'

ḥaqqǝd gyānan
'our due'

ʾāna [H]*mbakšǝn*[H] *pār gyāni.*
'I request my money.' (§ 5.2.2)

[H]*dowar*[H] *gyānu zǝlle kǝl qāymaqam,* [H]*dowar*[H] *gyānan msulmālan.*[22]
'Their mail went to the local governor, our mail we delivered.' (§ 5.7.1)

4.1.10. Reciprocal Pronouns

a. The form *ʾǝġdād* 'each other, one another' may occur with the prefixed prepositions *m-* and *l-* as well as the suffix *-e*: *ʾǝ́ġdād(e), l-ǝ́ġdād(e), m-ǝ́ġdād(e)*:

ʾāni kiʾewa b-ǝġdād.
'They knew (of the matter from) each other.' (§ 5.8.13)

tūlu barqul ʾǝ́ġdāde.
'They sat opposite each other.' (§ 5.3.3)

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[21] See also in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:41).
[22] Note that Shabbo treats [H]*dowar*[H] as both m. (*zǝlle*) and f. (*msulmālan*).

lu tiwe ʾāni barqul óǧdād.
'They had sat opposite each other.' (§ 5.3.10)

ráqqe-lu m-óǧdād(e).
'They are far from each other.'

b. Reciprocity may also be expressed by the construction *xa l-e-xeta/xet/ xe* 'one to the (lit., 'that') other':

xa ᴴ*gʿazri*ᴴ *l-e-xét, xa mraḥmi l-e-xéta.*
'One helps the other, one pities the other.'

ṣrəxlu xá-l-e-xet
'they shouted to each other' (§ 5.2.10)

xa lu mšaboḥe ʾəl-xé
'one is praising the other' (§ 5.3.10)

4.1.11. *Interrogative Pronouns*

mā   'what?'
         mǻ-lox. 'What's with you?'
         mǻ-le. 'What's with him?'
         mā wáxt-ile. 'What time is it?'
         mā ʾódəna. 'What should I do?'

mani   'who?'
         lá-ki'ən mani xéta-ži
         'I don't know (on) whom else either' (§ 5.5.1)

         mani lu qṭíle-lle ʿaṭarka?
         'Who have killed him, the peddler?' (§ 5.5.1)

ʾeni   'which?'[23]
         mar ʾeni ᴴ*mədinǻ*ᴴ *bəšṭor.*
         'Say which state (is) better!'

         mən ᴴ*Tŭrkiya*ᴴ *ʾeni dūka?*
         'From which place (in) Turkey?'

The interrogative *mā* is also used to express exclamation:

mā qársa-la l-tāma go ṭūra!
'How cold it is there on the mountain!' (§ 5.2.11)

ʾiya mā qurdáya-le! hatxa narm u-ḥāle garməd dide.
'What (sort of) a Kurd this is! His bones are so soft and the like!' (§ 5.3.6)

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[23] Cf. *ʾemi* (JZakho and JDohok), *ʾema* (JBetan). It also functions as an adjective in *ʾéni-əšti kiloye, šoʾi kiloye* 'some sixty kilos, seventy kilos' (§ 5.3.15).

4.1.12. *Indefinite Pronouns*

A number of words function as indefinite pronouns:

a. *xa* 'a, a certain':[24]

> *xa nəqwa*   'a female'
> *xa šwāna*   'a shepherd'
> *xa yalunka* 'a child'

b. *xanči* 'some, a few':

> *xanči qṭililu. xanči drelu go* ᴴ*bet sohar*ᴴ*. xanči ʾriqālu mən* ᴴ*paḥad*ᴴ*. xanči pəšlu.*
> 'Some they killed. Some they put in prison. Some fled out of fright. Some remained.' (§ 5.1.8)

c. *xədda*[25] 'someone':

> *xədda qāṭə́llexun*
> 'someone may kill you (pl.)'

> *ʾən xədda* ᴴ*pṣəʿle*ᴴ
> 'if someone got injured'

d. *flān(a)* 'such and such, a certain'. *flān* is used with humans, e.g.,

> *flān brāta*   'such and such a daughter'
> *flān muxtar*   'such and such a mukhtar'
> *flān nāša*   'such and such a person'
> *flān bər flān kəslox ʾāya?* 'Is so and so with you?'

flāna is used with non-humans, e.g.,

> *flāna dūka*   'such and such a place' (also *flāná-dūka*; § 3.23.h)
> *flāna māsa*   'such and such a village'
> *flāna šāta*   'such and such a year'

e. *flānkas* 'so and so, a certain person':

> *flānkas ké-le?*
> 'Where is so and so?'

f. *kud* (< *kull + d-; § 3.6.c) 'each, every':

> *kud duksa*   'each place'
> *kúd-dūka-u-dūka*   'each and every place'

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[24] For a detailed analysis of the use of *xa* as an indefinite pronoun in NENA, see Khan 2008:288–293.
[25] See §§ 3.20.e; 4.3.1.d.

kud kma yarxe   'every few months'
kúd-lel   'every night'
kud mḥokéle-ži   'whoever also spoke'
kud šuftiya   'each watermelon'
kúd-yom   'every day'
kuššat   'every year' (§ 3.6.b)

g. *kutxa* (< *kud* + *xa*; § 3.2.d) 'each one':

kútxa-le dūkəd gyāne.
'Each one is (in) his own place.' (§ 5.11.6)

kutxa xa ʾənglízi-la l-kāpəd dide.
'Each one (has) an English (rifle) on his shoulder.' (§ 5.11.9)

kutxa səkkinəd dide l-axxa.
'Each one's knife is here.' (§ 5.4.10)

h. *kút-xa-u-xa* 'each and every one'

i. *kud* + numbers (above 'one') + pronominal suffix:

kútreni   'the two of us'
kútrexun   'the two of you'
kutru   'the two of them'
kútḷāhun   'the three of them'
kútʾarbeni   'the four of us'

j. *kull-* 'all'

kullan, kulléni   'all of us'
kúllexun   'all of you'
kullu lu zile   'all of them have gone'
kulle lašše   'all of his body'
kulle gəldəd ʾide   'all of the skin of his hand'
kulle mənni šqə́llexun   'You have taken all of it from me.'
kulle məndi   'all sorts of things'
kulla ʾarʾa   'all of the land'
kulla ʿIraq   'all of Iraq'
kullu xāṣu   'all of their backs'

k. *məndi* 'thing':

mesewa məndi.
'They would bring something.'

mərru məndid deni šqəllu.
'They said they took something of ours.'

l. *xá-məndi* 'something':

> *mərru xá-məndi.*
> 'They said something.'

m. *čú-məndi* 'nothing':

> *čú-məndi xet let.*
> 'There is nothing else.'

> *lewe bāda čú-məndi.*
> 'He isn't doing anything.'

> *lá-ki'etun čú-məndi.*
> 'You (pl.) don't know anything.'

n. *čú-xa* 'no one':

> *čú-xa xet lə́twāle.*
> 'He didn't have anyone else.'

> *čú-xa lewe míra-lli.*
> 'No one has told me.'

> *čú-xa lewe pliṭa.*
> 'No one has come out.'

o. *kma* 'some':

> *kma qorūše*
> 'some piasters'

4.2. Nouns and Adjectives

4.2.1. *Inflection of Nouns*

a. The inflected endings on inherited Aramaic nouns in JChalla are

	singular	plural
m.	*-a*	*-e*
f.	*-ta, -sa*	*-āsa*

b. As in other *lishana deni* dialects and elsewhere in NENA, inherited Aramaic masculine nouns end in *-a* (< *ā'*, the old determined suffix), e.g.,

dəmma   'blood'
gəlda   'skin'
qāša   'priest'
pəsra   'flesh'

    sahāda   'witness'
    ṣiwa   'wood'
    talga   'snow'

c. Some inherited Aramaic nouns that end in -*a* are feminine, e.g.,

    ʾaqla   'foot'
    ʾarʾa   'land'
    ʾena   'eye, well'
    ʾərba   'sheep'
    ʾida   'hand'
    ʾurxa   'path'
    kāsa   'belly'

d. Some feminine nouns ending in -*a* in JChalla are of ultimate Arabic origin, where they were feminine with *tā' marbūṭa*, e.g.,

    bəndaqiya   'rifle'
    daqiqa   'minute'
    ḥukūma   'government'
    máḥkama   'court'
    qaḥba   'whore'
    səjjāda   'prayer rug'

e. Most inherited Aramaic feminine nouns end in either -*ta* or -*sa* (< ClAram -*tā*, *ṯā*),[26] e.g.,

    ʾəlisa   'fat tail'
    basəmta   'pleasing'
    kaləpsa   'bitch'
    səpsa   'lip'
    ṣaboʾta   'finger'

f. The following Arabic words entered JChalla through Kurdish, where they ended in -*t*. The Aramaic suffix -*a* has been added to them:

    ʿādəta   'custom'
    darbəta   'blow from God'
    məlləta   'ethnic group'
    qudrəta   '(Divine) omnipotence'
    qyāməta   'resurrection'

ʾəmməta 'nation' and *məlkəta* 'property' may have also entered through Kurdish (or Turkish).

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[26] See Khan 2007:323–324 for a discussion of conditioning factors in NENA in the choice of the feminine suffix (-*ta* or -*ṯa*) and subsequent deviations.

g. Some loanwords ending in -ø are also feminine, though not all of them are so in the donor languages: *ḥukum* (Ar m.) 'government',[27] *kāwód* (H m.) 'honor', *madām* (T, K f.) 'Madam', *maṭár* (Ar m.) 'airport', *ṭəffaq* 'rifle (K f.)', *xānəm* (T, K f.) 'Madam', *žang* (K f.) 'rust'.

h. Many loanwords in JChalla do not receive the ending -*a*, e.g.,

ʾarzūḥal	'petition' (also *ʾarzuḥál*)
ʿaskar	'army, soldier'
ʿāwon	'guilt, sin'
ʿənyān	'matter'[28]
doktor	'doctor'
ḥākəm	'judge'
ḥarb	'war'
māḷ	'property
páṣṣaporṭ	'passport'
sartuk	'cream'

Others loanwords, however, do, which indicates that they were borrowed into Aramaic at an early period and have over time become Aramaized,[29] e.g.,

ʿaqida	'(military) leader'
baṛāza	'pig'
dašta	'field'[30]
kavra	'cliff'
máfəra	'opportunity'
naqla	'time'
nəzima	'low'
pehna	'kick'
qatxa	'cup'[31]
ṛema	'pus'
šarwāla	'trousers'

Some loanwords appear both with and without -*a*:[32]

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[27] Perhaps under the influence of the feminine synonyms (also loanwords) *ḥukūma*, *ḥukumiya*.

[28] The noun is attested in LAram. On the one hand, the absence of the ending -*a* in Shabbo's speech suggests it may be a recent borrowing (from ModHeb); the penultimate stress, on the other hand, suggests it is not.

[29] Note also the following ModH nouns in Shabbo's speech, which he has Aramaized with either singular or plural suffixes: *dapé* (דַּף) 'pages'; *pastela* (פַּסְטֵל < Judeo-Spanish) 'pie'; *ṣrife* (צְרִיף), pl. 'cabins'.

[30] Already in JBA. An older borrowing from Iranian is attested in QAram דחשת.

[31] Already in Syriac.

[32] Cf. also the indefinite pronoun *flān(a)* 'such and such' (§ 4.1.12.d).

ḥarắm, ḥarāma   'forbidden'[33]
h̬əzur, h̬ə́zura   'estimation'
kef, kefa   'joy'
sayyid, sayyida   'descendant of Muhammad'
wāli, walya[34]   'vali'
waxt, waxta   'time'
xanjar, xanjāra   'dagger'

Shabbo seems to use the addition of the suffix -*a* to distiguish between *qačax* 'smuggled goods' and *qačāxa* 'smuggler'.

i. There are additional singular nouns that end in a vowel other than *a* or ø.[35] One finds in the inherited Aramaic vocabulary:

e: *ʾərxe* 'mill', *dugle* 'lie(s)', *gāre* 'roof',[36] *lele*
i: *čeri* 'autumn',[37] *məndi* 'thing'

Loanwords include

e: *čappe* 'left', *dunye* 'world', *masale* 'matter', *məzgafte* 'mosque', *panjāre* 'window', *raṣṭe* 'right'
i: *gərāni* 'famine', *kursi* chair', *nāwí* 'prophet', *tangāwi* 'distress', *tūsi* 'type of thorn'
o: *raḍyo* 'radio'
u: *ṭāpu* 'title deed'

4.2.2. *Annexation of Nouns*

The genitive relationship is expressed in JChalla by the annexation of one noun to another:

a. The most frequent method of annexation is the suffixing of the posses-sive-relative particle *d* (§ 4.1.8.a) to the first of two nouns, be it of original Aramaic stock or a loanword, e.g.,

ʾidəd ḥukum   'the hand of the government'
ʾurxəd ṭḷáha-yome-ži   'also a path of three days'
baxxatəd[38] *ʾilāha*   'for the mercy of God!'
denəd hudāye   'the debt (owed) to the Jews'
marəd dukkāna   'the shopkeeper'

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[33] Cf. the antonym *ḥalāla* 'kosher, lawful'.
[34] See s.v. in the glossary for a possible origin of the form *walyá-bak*.
[35] See Mutzafi 2008a:90.
[36] On the development in NENA of this originally Akkadian noun, see Mutzafi 2008a:91.
[37] An early loan into Aramaic from Akkadian.
[38] Cf. *baxxat ʾilāha* (Sabar 2002a:110).

ṭalāqəd báxtox-ži	'also the divorce of your wife'
yoməd din	'the Day of Judgment'

b. Less common are neo-construct syntagms in which the final *-a* or *-e* of the first noun is apocopated (§ 3.19.a),[39] e.g.,

ʾəpər hudāye	'the soil of the Jews'
ʾəqər dunye	'the bottom of the world'
dum ḥoq	'the tail of the law'
lel šapsa	'Saturday night'
naqəl ʾarba	'the fourth time'
palgus māsa	'center of the village'
naqoṣ ʾəṣra	'minus ten'
tol babexun	'revenge for your father'
xāy yəmmox	'By the life of your mother!'
xətən walyắ-bak	'the son-in-law of the Vali Bey'[40]
yom ʾərota	'Friday'

This construction also occurs with loanwords that do not take a final vowel in NENA, e.g., *māḷ hudāye deni* 'the property of our Jews'. In the case of *baxta* 'woman, wife', the final syllable is apocopated yielding *bax*,[41] e.g., *bax ʾaxone* 'his sister-in-law', *bax mədor* 'the mudir's wife'.

There are no differences in usage between nouns annexed by *-əd* and by neo-construct forms. Cf. *lel šapsa* 'Saturday night' and *yoməd šapsa* 'the Sabbath' (also *yoma šapsa* § 4.2.2.e).

c. A third type of annexation is what appears to be the direct reflex of ClAramaic construct forms. It is attested with the nouns *brona* 'son', *brāta* 'daughter', and *māra* 'owner', where one hears in construct the forms *bər*,[42] *brāt*, and *mare*:[43] *bər Nəfto* 'son of Naphtali', *xmāra bər xmāra* 'what an ass!'; *brāt maʿalləm Mədo* 'the daughter of the teacher Mido', *brāt qaḥba* 'daughter of a whore'; *mare gora* 'married woman' (< 'owner of a husband'), *mare ʿaṣəl* 'possessing a good nature'. A fourth noun, *besa* 'family, household, house' differentiates between *be* 'family',[44] which

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[39] Sabar 2002a:38–39; Mutzafi 2008a:33,92. Another example may be *ʾomər* (< *ʾumra < *ʿumra 'monastery') in the syntactically difficult and awkward *ʾítəna tāma ʾomər Biya u-hənna l-tāma* 'there is over there the monastery of Biya and, um, there.'

[40] See s.v. in the glossary.

[41] See § 3.6.g for the phonetic realization of this form.

[42] A neo-construct form *bron* is also attested, but never annexed to a personal name, e.g., *bron ʾāġa* 'son of the agha.'

[43] A neo-construct form *mar* is also attested, e.g., *mar dukkāna* 'shopkeeper'. Cf. also the annexed form with *-əd*: *márəd dukkāna*.

[44] בי 'house' can be found as an absolute form in EgAram, JPA, and Syr (Leander

serves as a construct form in JBA (in addition to בית), and *bes* 'house':
be ʾAsmāre 'Asmare's family', *be brāt xmāsi* 'the family of my mother-in-
law's daughter', *bes muxtar* 'house of the mukhtar'. The preposition *reš*
'on, upon' may also be a direct reflex of the ClAram construct state.[45]

d. The Kurdish genitive particle *-e* is attested in the originally Arabic
expression *ʾawlād-e rasúl* 'descendant of the Messenger (i.e., Muham-
mad)'.[46]

e. There is no morphological marker of annexation between two apposed
nouns in *qəṭʾa gāla* 'an item of kilim rug' or *yoma šapsa* 'the Sabbath day'.
The same may or may not be true for *ʾida čappe* 'left hand (= to the left)'
and *ʾida ṛaṣṭe* 'right hand (= to the right)' (§ 4.2.4.b. n. 57).

f. Annexation by the independent genitive particle *did* is attested in other
lishana deni dialects[47] but is rare in JChalla (§ 4.1.3.e).

4.2.3. *Nominal Plural Forms*

4.2.3.1. *Plural Forms Ending in* -e

a. The most frequent plural suffix is *-e* (< LEAram *-e*). It occurs on both
inherited Aramaic nouns and loanwords. It replaces the ending *-a* on
masculine and feminine singular nouns, e.g.,

ʾərbe	'sheep' (s. *ʾerba*)
baxte	'women, wives' (s. *baxta*)
daqiqe	'minutes' (s. *daqiqa*)
dawāre	'riding animal' (s. *dawāra*)
ganāwe	'thieves' (s. *ganāwa*)
garme	'bones' (s. *garma*)
guniye	'bramble' (s. *guniya*)
kalbe	'dogs' (s. *kalba*)
kepe	'stones' (s. *kepa*)
kutwe	'thorns' (s. *kutwa*)
lašše	'corpses' (s. *lašša*)
lišāne	'tongues' (s. *lišāna*)
malʾāxe	'angels' (s. *malʾax*)

1928:23–24), and possibly even in OA (בי טב KAI 216:16 unless the orthography reflects
the assimilation of the final *taw* to the word-initial *ṭet*).

[45] Mutzafi 2008a:92.

[46] The *-i* vowel in *tuxmi xalwa la pāyəš go xədyawǽs didu* 'no trace of milk remains in
their breasts' may be another example of the Kurdish *izafet*.

[47] In JBetan it is also rare (Mutzafi 2008a:92).

naxire	'noses' (s. *naxira*)
qəṭʾe	'pieces' (s. *qəṭʾa*)
reše	'heads' (s. *reša*)
sahāde	'witnesses'(s. *sahāda*)
ṣiwe	'trees' (s. *ṣiwa*)
skine, səkkina	'knives' (s. *skina, səkkina*)
sūse	'horses' (s. *sūsa*)
šafqe	'hats (with a brim)' (s. *šafqa*)
tene	'figs' (s. *tena*)

b. *-e* may be suffixed to nouns whose singular form ends in ø, e.g.,

dināre	'dinar' (s. *dinar*)
qorúše	'piasters' (s. *qorúš*)
ṭraṃbele	'automobiles' (s. *ṭraṃbel*)

c. *-e* may replace the ending *-ta* on feminine nouns, e.g.,

kawdəne	'mules' (s. *kawdənta*)
ṭarrāše	'bushes' (s. *ṭarrašta*)

d. *-e* may be added following the glide *y* to loanwords whose singular ends in a vowel:

ʾāġāye	'aghas' (s. *ʾāġa*)
kiloye	'kilos' (s. *kilo*)
mallāye	'mullahs' (s. *malla*)

balāye functions as both a singular and plural "trouble(s)', as in JBetan,[48] and appears to have been based on a singular *bala* (attested elsewhere in NENA),[49] to which the glide *y* was added when *-e* was suffixed.

4.2.3.2. *Plural Forms Ending in* -āne

a. The plural suffix *-āne* (< LEAram *-āne*) most frequently replaces *-a* found on bisyllabic singular nouns:[50]

ʾarʾāne	'lands' (s. *ʾarʾa*)
dukāne	'places' (s. *dūka*, also *duksa*)
govāne	'stalls' (s. *gova*)
gudāne	'walls' (s. *gūda*)
kapāne	'shoulders' (s. *kāpa*)
misāne	'dead' (s. *misa*)

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48 Mutzafi 2008a:336.
49 Sabar 2008a:110.
50 The suffix *-ān* on the Kurdish loanword *mamāni* 'my uncles' is the Kurdish plural morpheme.

> *qanāne*   'horns' (*qāna < *qanna < *qarna)
> *qaṣrāne*   'mansions' (s. *qaṣra*)
> *tarʾāne*   'doors' (s. *tarʾa*)
> *ṭurāne*   'mountains' (s. *ṭūra*)

b. *-āne* is attested on a noun whose singular ends in a geminated consonant

> *ḥaqqāne*   'rights' (s. *ḥaqq*)

as well as on a loanword that ends in *-i*:

> *ṣofyāne*   'sufis' (s. *ṣofi*)

c. The bases of two plural forms that take the suffix *-āne* differ slightly from the bases of the corresponding singular forms:

> *gurāne*   'men' (s. *gora*, also pl. *gūre*)
> *malkāne*   'chieftains' (s. *malək*)[51]

4.2.3.3. *Plural Forms Ending in* -āhe

The suffix *-āhe* (< LEAram *-āhe*) replaces the singular suffix *-a* on two nouns:[52]

> *ʾəmmāhe*   'hundreds' (s. *ʾəmma* 'hundred'; § 4.3.3)
> *dəmmāhe*   'guilt of bloodshed' (s. *dəmma* 'blood, blood money')

4.2.3.4. *Plural Forms Ending in* -āsa

The feminine plural suffix *-āsa* (< LEAram *-āṯā*) replaces the singular suffix *-a*[53] attested on masculine and feminine nouns, e.g.,

> *ʾaqlāsa*   'feet' (s. *ʾaqla*, also *ʾaqalta*)
> *ʾidāsa*   'hands' (s. *ʾida*)
> *baxtāsa*   'wives' (s. *baxta*)
> *dəbbāsa*   'bears' (s. *dəbba*)
> *qorāsa*   'graves' (s. *qora*)
> *yomāsa*   'days' (s. *yoma*, also pl. *yome*)

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[51] On the syncope of *ə*, see § 3.18.a.

[52] The plural marker *-āh* is not atttested on either noun in older Aramaic. The suffix is found on additional nouns in other *lishana deni* dialects, e.g., JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:96) *ʾalpāhe* 'thousands' (cf. JChalla *ʾalpe*), *šəmmāhe* (~ *šemmāne*) 'names', *dargāhe* 'gates'. A plural *šəmmāhe* 'heavens' is found in the 17th and 18th century manuscripts of the Song of Songs (6:5) (Sabar 1991:62).

[53] In JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:96–98) *-āsa* may also be added to feminine nouns ending in *-ta* or *-ϑa*. In JChalla the *t* of *baxta* is part of the root and the plural *ʾaqlāsa* may be based on either or *ʾaqla* or *ʾaqalta*.

y is the final root consonant in the following feminine nouns:

> *kəsyāsa*   'hens' (s. *ksesa*)
> *šaqyāsa*   '(water) channel' (s. *šaqisa*)

w may be the final root consonant in the following nouns:

> *naṣwāsa*   'fights' (s. *naṣūsa*; § 3.22.b)
> *xaswāsa*   'sisters' (s. *xāsa*)
> *qaṭwāsa*   'cats' (s. unattested, but cf. JBetan *qaṭūϑa*).

4.2.3.5. *Plural Forms Ending in* -yāsa

The feminine plural suffix *-yāsa* is found on the following feminine singular nouns:

> *knəšyāsa*   'synagogues' (s. *knəšta*)
> *maxəlyāsa*   'fine sieves' (s. *maxəlta*)
> *nasyāsa*   'ears' (s. *nāsa*)
> *ṣuryāsa*   'cheeks' (s. *ṣurta*)
> *škaftyāsa*   'caves' (s. *škafta*; § 3.22.d)
> *ṭanəšyāsa*   'sides' (s. *ṭanəšta*)
> *toryāsa*   'cows' (s. *tawərta*)

The singular form of the following plurals is not attested in the corpus:

> *čanyāsa*   'satchels'
> *kuləkyāsa* 'ulcers'
> *nunyāsa*   'fish'
> *zəmrəyāsa* 'songs'

4.2.3.6. *Plural Forms Ending in* -awāsa

The plural suffix *-awāsa* is attested on several nouns, most of which take the suffix *-a* in the singular:

> *ʾamawāsa*   'paternal uncles' (s. *ʾamoya*)
> *ʾaxawāsa*   'brothers' (s. *ʾaxona*)
> *ʾedawāsa*   'holidays' (s. *ʾeda*)
> *babawāsa*   'fathers' (s. *bāba*)
> *garawāsa*   'roofs' (s. *gāre*)
> *marawāsa*   'masters' (s. *māra*)
> *nehrawāsa*   'rivers' (s. *nehra*)
> *xəzmawāsa*   'in-laws' (s. *xəzma*)
> *xulamawāsa* 'servants' (s. *xulāma*, also pl. *xulāme*)

y of *xədyawāsa* 'breasts' is part of the root.

4.2.3.7. *Plural Forms with Reduplicated Consonant*

A few nouns form a plural by reduplicating the final consonant and inserting *ā*:[54]

ʾalāle	'sides' (s. *ʾāla*)
ʾəzlāle	'yarn' (s. *ʾəzla*)
gəllāle	'grasses, plants, herbs' (s. *gəlla*)
jebābe	'pockets' (s. *jeba*)

4.2.3.8. *Plural Forms Ending in* -ine

There is only one noun attested with the plural ending *-ine*:[55]

maʿalmine   'teachers' (s. *maʿalləm*; § 3.18.a)

4.2.3.9. *Multiple Plural Forms*

a. Some singular nouns take more than one plural form:

ʾaqla	'foot', pl. *ʾaqle* and *ʾaqlāsa* (< *ʾaqalta*?)
ʾarʾa	'land', pl. *ʾarʾāsa* and *ʾarāne*
gora	'man', pl. *gūre* and *gurāne*
yoma	'day', pl. *yome* and *yomāsa*

b. Different plural forms distinguish between the two meanings of the s. *ʾena* 'eye, well': pl. *ʾene* 'eyes', *ʾenāsa* 'wells'.

4.2.3.10. *Irregular Plural Forms*

a. The plural forms of some nouns are not derived directly from the singular base:

ʾaxona	'brother'; pl. *ʾaxawāsa*
ʿaširat	'tribe'; pl. *ʾaširatte*
besa	'house'; pl. *bāte*
brāta	'daughter'; pl. *bnāsa*
brona	'son, boy'; pl. *bnone*
gora	'man, husband'; pl. *gūre, gurāne*
šāta	'year'; pl. *šənne*
šex	'sheikh'; pl. *šexāye*
šūla	'work, affair'; pl. *šuʾāle*

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[54] See Nöldeke 1868:143–145; Sabar 2002a:44.
[55] This ending is typical in religious titles in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:103).

b. In the following example a suppletive paradigm is formed from the singular, which has the Kurdish/Arabic gentilic suffix *-i*, and the plural, which has the Aramaic plural gentilic suffix *-āye*:

> *ḥajji*   'hajji, pilgrim'; pl. *ḥajjāye* (§ 4.2.9.1. n. 74)

4.2.3.11. *Pluralia Tantum*

The following *pluralia tantum* are attested:

ʾahāli	'population, people'
ʾəxre	'excrement'
čakke	'weapons'
ganmoke	'maize'
ṃāye	'water'
pāre	'money'[56]
prāge	'millet'
šəmme	'sky'
təhome	'abyss'
xarbé	'ruins'
xruwiye	'sorghum'

4.2.4. *Inflection of Adjectives*

a. Adjectives of Aramaic origin, including participles, are inflected for gender and number, e.g.,

m. *tiqa*	'old' (§ 3.17.d), f. *təqta*, pl. *tiqe*
m. *qida*	'burnt', f. *qədta*, pl. *qide*
m. *yarixa*	'long', f. *yarəxta*, pl. *yarixe*
m. *zöra*	'small' (§ 3.18.b), f. *zurta* (§ 3.10), pl. *zöre*

b. Several adjectives of non-Aramaic origin have one invariable form in the singular:[57]

ʿāni	'poor' (*lu piše ʿāni* 'they became poor')
ʿaṣli	'genuine' (*səjjāde ʿaṣli* 'genuine rugs'; cf. Aramaized *ʿaṣlāye* 'of good origin')
ḅāš	'good' (*ḅáš-ila* 'it is good')

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[56] A singular form *pāra* 'coin' is not attested in the corpus unlike JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:368) and elsewhere (Sabar 2002a:253).

[57] Nöldeke 1868:125–126. One might add to the list presented below *čappe* 'left' and *ṛaṣṭe* 'right' in the expressions *ʾida čappe* 'to the left (= left hand)', *ʾida ṛaṣṭe* 'to the right (= right hand)', though elsewhere in NENA both words appear as the second noun in an annexation construction, e.g., JBetan *ʾiðəd čappe* (Mutzafi 2008a:331). See § 4.2.2.e.

faqír   'poor' (*peši faqír* 'they become poor')[58]
gərūwer   'round-shaped' (*tre gərūwer* 'two round-shaped [objects])
həšyar   'careful' (*həšyar wetun* 'you [pl.] are careful')
məšša   'many' (*ṭarke məšša-lu* 'there are many sticks')
muḥtāj   'in need' *lewu muḥtāj* 'they are not in need')[59]
narm   'gentle' in *narm u-ḥāle* 'soft and the like' (*hatxa nāše ḅāš. hatxa narm u-ḥāle. hatxa nāše ḅāš* 'Such good people. So soft and the like. Such good people.')
ṣāx   'healthy' (*'íwaxən ṣāx* 'we are healthy')
xuṛṭ   'aggressive' (*xúrṭ-ilu* 'they are aggresive')

Though the following adjectives are attested only in a masculine singular context, elsewhere in NENA they are invariable:

naxwaš   'ill'
pis   'filthy, dirty'
rūt   'naked'
xwaš   'good'

c. The loanword *tāza* 'new, precious' has both masculine singular and plural forms,[60] but not a feminine form:

dūka tāza   'new place'
mən [H]*yahalóm*[H]*-ži ḅə́š-tāza-la*   'she is more precious than a diamond'
bāte tāze   'new houses'

d. There is one attested inherited Aramaic adjective that is invariable, *xeta*[61] 'other':

pelafta xeta   'the other shoe'
xá-nāša xeta   'a certain other person'
nāše xeta   'other people'
'anna xeta   'those others'

4.2.5. *General Remarks on Noun and Adjective Patterns*

The morphology of the nominal system[62] has allowed non-ClAram pho-notactics that have led to nominal patterns not found in ClAram, e.g., patterns with final consonantal clusters, e.g., CaCC *hatk* 'disgrace', *ḥarb*

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[58] Also attested with a Hebrew plural suffix: *lá-gpēšax faqirím* 'we are not becoming poor'. See Sabar 2002a:264: pl. ם-/פקירין *faqīrīn/m, faqīre*.

[59] Shabbo glossed this as *lewu sniqe*.

[60] See Nöldeke 1868:126,135.

[61] This is a reflex of an older feminine singular form. Cf. Syr ܐܚܪܬܐ.

[62] For discussions of nominal morphology in *lishana deni* dialects see Sabar 2002a:38–47; Mutzafi 2008a.

'war'; CəCCaCC *kərmanj* 'Kurd, peasant'; CaCCaCoCC *pássaporṭ* 'passport'. Many patterns contain only loanwords, e.g., CiCCa and CeCCa, whereas inherited Aramaic nouns and Aramaized loanwords take the form CəCCa. The inventory of patterns is rich as a result of the mixing of foreign and inherited nouns, and in many cases loanwords have assimilated into Aramaic patterns and as such are indistinguishable from inherited Aramaic vocabulary, e.g., in the CāCa pattern, the loanwords *gāla* 'kilim' and *tāxa* 'quarter of village' are no different in form from the inherited Aramaic *qāla* 'voice' and *qāša* 'priest'. The most frequently attested patterns in the speech of Shabbo are CvCa and CvCCa.

Nouns and adjectives are presented below according to their synchronic patterns. When a singular form happens to be unattested in the corpus (and its plural form is attested) and, based on other *lishana deni* dialects, the singular form seems certain, the singular noun is listed with an asterisk. When one cannot be certain about the singular, however, the word is not included below, e.g., *dədwe* 'flies', which has attested singular forms in NENA of *dıdwa* or *dıdūṭa* (Sabar 2002a:138); similarly, *bāqe* 'mosquitoes', which shows up in NENA dialects as *bāqa* (Sabar 2002a:104) and *baqta* (Mutzafi 2008a:337).

4.2.6. *Noun and Adjective Patterns*

4.2.6.1. *Monosyllabic*[63]

CV		
	Ca	*xa* 'one'
	Cā	*gā* 'time'
CCV		
	CCe	*tre* 'two'
CVC		
	CaC	*bak* 'bey'
		xam 'care'
	CāC	*ḅāš* 'good'
		čāy 'tea'
		gār 'time'
		ḥāl 'situation'
		ṃāḷ 'property'
		ṣāx 'healthy'
	CeC	*ʾel* 'family'
		kef 'joy' (also *kefa*)

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[63] With the exception of *xa* 'one' and *tre* 'two', all monosyllabic nouns are loanwords.

		šex 'sheikh'
		ter 'sufficient'
	CiC	*din* 'religion, judgment'
		kis 'money bag' (cf. *kəsta*)
		pis 'filthy'
	CoC	*doṛ* 'generation'
		ẓoṛ 'force'
	CuC	*kur* 'blind'
	CūC	*ḥūt* 'large fish'
		rūt 'naked'
CCVC		
	CCāC	*flān* 'such and such' (also *flāna*)
		jwāb 'answer' (also *jə́wāb*)
CVCC		
	CaCC	*baḥs* 'report'
		baṇk 'bank'
		dard 'pain'
		farq 'difference'
		hatk 'disgrace'
		ḥaqq 'right'
		ḥarb 'war'
		narm 'soft'
		waxt 'time' (also *waxta*)
		žang 'rust'
	CəCC	*jəns* 'type'
	CuCC	*xuṛṭ* 'aggresive'

4.2.6.2. *Bisyllabic*

CVCV

	CaCa	*bala* 'misfortune'
		šawa 'week'
	CāCa	*ʾāġa* 'agha'
		ʾāla 'side'
		ʾāra 'shame'
		bāba 'father'
		bāla 'attention'
		dāda 'justice'
		dāna 'time'
		gāla 'kilim'
		*kāka 'tooth'
		kāpa 'shoulder'
		kāsa 'belly'
		māsa 'village'
		nāsa 'ear'
		nāša 'person'

	pāša 'pasha'
	qāla 'voice'
	*qāna 'horn'
	qāša 'priest'
	sāʿa 'hour
	sāwa 'grandfather'
	tāxa 'quarter of town'
	tāza 'fresh'
	xāsa 'new'
	xāṣa back'
	yāla 'child'
CāCe	*gāre* 'roof'
CāCi	*kāni* 'spring'
	qāzi 'qadi'
	nāwí 'prophet'
	wāli 'vali' (also *walya*)
CāCu	*ṭāpu* 'title deed'
CeCa	*ʾeda* 'holiday'
	ʾena 'eye, spring'
	ʾera 'penis'
	ʿeba 'disgrace'
	besa 'house'
	dena 'debt'
	feka 'fruit'
	geba 'side'
	gera 'threshing'
	jeba 'pocket'
	jeza 'penalty' (also *jezā́*)
	kefa 'joy' (also *kef*)
	kepa 'stone'
	qeṭa 'summer'
	ṛeṃa 'pus'
	reqa 'distance' (also *rəqqa*)
	reša 'head'
	sepa 'sword'
	tena 'fig'
	ṭera 'fowl'
CeCe	*lele* 'night'
CeCi	*čeri* 'autumn'
CəCa	*kəra* 'rent'
CiCa	*ʾida* 'hand'
	lira 'lira'
	misa 'dead'
	nixa 'deceased'
	piča 'small quantity'
	qida 'burnt'

	tiqa 'old'
	ṣiwa 'wood'
	ṭima 'price'
	ṭina 'mud'
	wiza 'visa'
CiCi	*hivi, hiwi* 'hope'
CiCo	*kilo* 'kilo'
CoCa	*ʾoḍa* 'room'
	c̣oʾa 'smooth'
	gora 'man'
	gova 'stall'
	*goza 'walnut'
	koma 'black'
	mosa 'death'
	moxa 'brain'
	poxa 'wind'
	qoma 'stature'
	qora 'grave'
	ṣopa 'stove'
	tola 'revenge'
	tora 'ox'
	xora 'friend'
	yoma 'day'
	zoʾa 'pair'
CöCa	*löʾa* 'jaw'
	šöʾa 'seven'
	zöra 'small'
CoCi	*ṣofi* 'sufi'
CöCi	*šöʾi* 'seventy'
CuCa	*qura* 'boy'
CūCa	*c̆ūka* 'bird'
	dūka 'place' (also *duksa*)
	dūma 'tail'
	dūra 'durra'
	dūša 'honey'
	gūba 'loom'
	gūda 'wall'
	nūra 'fire'
	qūṭa 'vagina'
	sūsa 'horse'
	šūla 'work'
	šūqa 'market'
	ṭūra 'mountain'
	tūsa 'mulberry tree'
CūCi	*tūsi* 'type of thorn'

CCVCV

    CCāCa *flāna* 'such and such' (also *flān*)
              gdāda 'thread'
              qdāla 'neck'
              šwāna 'shepherd'
              xmāra 'ass, donkey'
              *xwāra 'white'
              zyāṛa 'visit to a shrine'
    CCāCi *ṭṃāni* 'eighty'
              ṭḷāsi 'thirty'
    CCeCa *ṣfera* 'whistle'
    CCiCa *ʿjiza* 'tired, weary'
              nqiṣa 'lacking'
              pṭixa 'wide'
              qdila 'key'
              rwixa 'wide'
              skina 'knife' (also *səkkina*)
              sniqa 'needy'
              spiqa 'empty'
              spisa 'rotten'
              *sqila 'beautiful'
              *swiʾa 'satiated'
              xlima 'thick'
    CCoCa *brona*
              ṭrosa 'truth'
    CCūCa *xlūla* 'wedding feast' (also *xulūla*)

CVCCV

    CaCCa *abla* 'older sister'
              ʾaḷḷa 'God'
              ʾalpa 'thousand'
              ʾamra 'wool'
              ʾaqla 'foot' (also *ʾaqalta*)
              ʾarʾa 'earth'
              ʾarba 'four'
              ʿabba 'inner pocket of garment'
              bamba 'bomb'
              *baqqa 'frog'
              baxta 'woman'
              čamča 'spoon'
              dahba 'animal'
              darga 'gate'
              dawla 'state'
              daxla 'crop'
              falda 'strip of meat placed in cholent'
              garma 'bone'
              ḥafla 'party'

kalba 'dog'
karʾa 'butter'
kavra 'cliff'
ḷappa 'lump'
lašša 'body, corpse'
laxma 'bread'
malla 'mullah'
naqda 'bride price'
naqla 'time'
palga 'half'
paqʾa 'crack'
*paḷḷa 'live coal'
qahwa 'coffee'
qaḥba 'whore'
qalya 'fried and heavily salted meat'
qaṣra 'mansion'
qatxa 'cup'
qaṭṛa 'boulder'
ṣadra 'chest'
šafqa 'hat (with a brim)'
šalla 'pants'
*šaqfa 'piece'
šaqqa 'half, section'
šarʿa 'religious law'
talga 'snow'
talma 'water-jug'
tarʾa 'door'
ṭaṛka 'stick'
ṭarma 'corpse'
walya 'vali' (also *wāli*)
waxta 'time' (also *waxt*)
xabra 'thing, word'
xalwa 'milk'
xamša 'five'
yarxa 'month'
zanqa 'chin'

CaCCe	*čappe* 'left'
	ṛaṣṭe 'right'
CaCCi	*ʾarbi* 'forty'
	ʿaṣli 'genuine'
	ḥajji 'pilgrim'
	xamši 'fifty'
	xanči 'some, a few'
CeCCa	*kelka* 'stone wall'
	*teška 'whelp'

CəCCa[64]   ʾəč̣ʾa 'nine'
            ʾəmma 'hundred'
            ʾəpra 'earth, soil'
            ʾəqra 'bottom'
            ʾərba 'sheep'
            ʾəspa 'loan'
            ʾəṣra 'ten'
            ʾəšta 'six'
            ʾəzla 'yarn'
            ʾəzza 'goat'
            ḅəč̣ʿa 'bastard'
            bərqa 'lightning'
            *bəṣla 'onion'
            bəxya 'crying'
            bəzza 'wretched person'
            čəpka 'drop'
            dəbba 'bear'
            dəmma 'blood'
            dənga 'punch'
            dəpna 'side'
            dəqna 'beard'
            gəlda 'skin'
            gəlla 'grass'
            gəšṛa 'bridge'
            gəxka 'laughter'
            gəzra 'pile of chopped wood'
            kəpna 'hunger'
            kərma 'worm'
            kərya 'short'
            ləbba 'heart'
            məšxa 'liquid butter'
            nəqwa 'female'
            *nəžda 'gang'
            pəmma 'mouth' (also pumma)
            pəsra 'meat'
            qəbla 'qiblah'
            qəṭʾa 'piece'
            qəṭla 'killing'
            qəṭma 'ashes'
            rəqqa 'distance' (also reqa)
            ṛəzza 'rice'
            səswa 'winter'

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[64] See also nouns in which ə > e before ʾ and h (§ 3.11.a): inherited Aramaic words include dehna 'fat', dehwa 'gold', nehra 'river', seʾra 'goat hair', and ṭeʾna 'load'; loanwords include behna 'moment' and pehna 'kick'.

	ṣəḥya 'thirsty'
	šəmma 'name'
	šəmša 'sun'
	šərma 'buttocks'
	šərṭa 'policeman'
	šətya 'warp'
	šəxda 'good tidings'
	šəxta 'dirt'
	təqla 'weight'
	*xəlya 'sweet'
	xətna 'bridegroom'
	xəṭṭa 'a grain of wheat'
	xəška 'darkness'
	xəzma 'in-law'
	yəmma 'mother'
	zəbla 'garbage'
CiCCa	*giska* 'young goat'
	xiṭka 'bar indicating military rank on a uniform'
CəCCa	*qəwya* 'strong'
	ṣəwya 'dyed'
CəCCe	*ʾərxe* 'mill'
	bənhe 'morning
CəCCi	*ʾəsri* 'twenty'
	ʾəšti 'sixty'
	məndi 'thing'
CoCCa	*kolka* 'hovel'
	poṣṭa 'post'
CoCCi	*ʾordi* 'army'
CuCCa	*ʾurxa* 'road'
	ʾuṛwa 'big'
	ʾušya 'cluster (of grapes)'
	julla 'article of clothing'
	kutka 'knee'
	kutwa 'thorn'
	pumma 'mouth' (also *pəmma*)
	qurwa 'vicinity'
	ṣudra 'shirt'
	ṣurta 'face'
	tuxma 'type, kind'
	xulma 'dream'
	xumma 'heat'
	xurga 'step-son'
	xuṭba 'Muslim Friday sermon'
	xuṭṭa 'stick'
	xuwwa 'snake'

	CuCCe	*dugle* 'lie(s)'
		dunye 'world'
	CuCCi	*kursi* 'chair'
CCVCCV		
	CCaCCa	*tmanya* 'eight'
CVCVC		
	CaCaC	*bahar* 'spring season'
		falaq 'bastinado'
		jalab 'herd'
		qačax 'smuggled goods'
		ṭaraf 'side'
	CaCāC	*ʾalắy* 'military regiment'
		*ʿaqār 'immovable property'
		garắč 'garage'
		ḥarắm 'forbidden' (also *ḥarāma*)
		madắm 'Madam'
	CaCəC	*ʿaṣəl* '(good) origin'
		malək 'chieftain'
		qaṭəl 'killing'
	CaCiC	*faqír* 'poor'
		kafil 'guarantor' (also *kafíl*)
		wakil 'agent'
	CāCaC	*šākar* 'sugar'
	CāCāC	*ḥāxắm* 'rabbi'
	CāCəC	*čāwəš* 'sergeant'
		ḥākəm 'judge'
		kāfər 'heretic'
		kātəb 'secretary'
		lāzəm 'necessary'
		xānəm 'Madam'
		xāṭər 'sake'
	CāCiC	*tārix* 'date of event' (also *ṭārix*)
	CāCuC	*nāmus* 'proper behavior'
		qānun 'law'
		qāṣud 'messenger'
		ṣābun 'soap'
		tābur 'battalion'
	CeCaC	**ḥewan* 'animal'
		jemaʿ 'mosque'
	CeCəC	*ʿeġəl* 'the Golden Calf'
		metər 'meter'
	CeCiC	*nečir* 'hunting'
	CəCāC	*ʿənād* 'mutual resistance'
		jəwāb 'answer' (also *jwāb*)
	CəCəC	*ʾəmər* 'order'
	CəCuC	*ḥəzur* 'estimation' (also *ḥə́zura*)

	CiCaC	*dinar* 'dinar'
	CiCāC	**jirān* 'neighbor'
	CoCaC	*šoḥad* 'bribe'
	CoCoC	*domóz* 'pig'
	CoCūC	*qorúš* 'piaster, small coin'
	CuCiC	*guník* 'gunny sack'
	CuCuC	*ḥudud* 'border'
		ḥukum 'government'
		quṣur 'defect'
	CūCaC	*ṛūbar* 'stream'
CVCCVC		
	CaCCaC	*ʾawwal* 'first'
		ʿaskar 'army'
		baḥḥar 'sea'
		baxxat 'mercy'
		*darham 'dirham'
		kallax 'corpse'
		naxwaš 'ill'
		xanjar 'dagger' (also *xanjāra*)
	CaCCāC	*qapṭán* 'captain'
	CaCCeC	*darwéž* 'dervish'
	CaCCəC	*sayyəd* 'descendant of Muḥammad' (also *sayyəda, sayyədka*)
	CaCCiC	*ʿanjil* 'Gospels'
		qaddiš 'memorial prayer'
		tagbir 'counsel'
	CaCCuC	*mažbur* 'forced'
		sartuk 'cream'
	CaCCūC	*maʿmúṛ* 'officer-in-charge'
	CəCCaC	*təmmal* 'yesterday'
	CəCCaC	*həšyar* 'careful'
		təffaq 'rifle'
	CəCCāC	*ʾəštár* 'document'
		wəždān 'conscience'
	CəCCəC	*dəžmən* 'enemy'
	CəCCuC	*təttun* 'tobacco'
	CoCCoC	*doktor* 'doctor'
	CuCCaC	*muxtar* 'mukhtar'
	CuCCāC	*muḥtāj* 'in need'
		qurʿān 'Quran'
	CuCCəC	*gumrək* 'customs'
	CuCCuC	*quṇṣuḷ* 'consul'
CVCCVCC		
	CəCCaCC	*kərmanj* 'Kurd, peasant'
CCVCCVC		
	CCaCCeC	*ṭraṃbel* 'automobile'

4.2.6.3. *Bisyllabic with Feminine Ending*

CVCV

	CāCa	*pāsa* 'face'
		šāta 'year'
		xāsa 'sister'
	CeCa	*xeta* 'other'

CCVCV

	CCāCa	*brāta* 'daughter'
		xmāsa 'mother-in-law'
	CCiCa	*ksisa* 'hat' (also *kusisa*)
	CCeCa	*ksesa* 'hen'
	CCoCa	*ṣlosa* 'prayer'

CVCCV

	CaCCa	*ʾamta* 'maternal aunt'
		dašta 'field'[65]
		ṛapsa 'big, large'
		karta 'load'
		masta 'yoghurt'[66]
		qarsa 'cold'
		šapsa Sabbath'
		xalta 'maternal aunt'
		xasta 'new'
	CəCCa[67]	*kəsta* 'small bag'
		nəxta 'deceased'
		qədta 'burnt'
		səksa 'peg'
		šənsa 'sleep'
		səpsa 'lip, edge'
		təksa 'waistband'
		təqta 'old'
	CeCCa[68]	*desta* 'portion of food'
	CuCCa	*duksa* 'place' (also *dūka*)
		gupta 'cheese'
		kumta 'black'
		ruxta 'wide'
	CüCCa	*zürta* 'small'

CCVCCV

	CCaCCa	*škafta* 'cave'
		swaʾta 'satiety'
		žwanta 'expecting'

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[65] *t* of the original Kurdish word has been reinterpreted as the feminine marker.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Also *deʾsa* 'sweat' in which *ə* > *e* before ʾ and h (§ 3.11.a).
[68] See above n. 64.

CCəCCa[69]   *knəšta* 'synagogue'
              jmətta 'frozen'
              sməxta 'pregnant'
              sqəlta 'beautiful'

4.2.6.4. *Trisyllabic*

CVCVCV

CaCaCe	*masale* 'matter'
CaCāCa	**baṛāna* 'ram'
	baṛāxa 'blessing'
	baṛāza 'pig'
	dabāḥa 'ritual slaughterer'
	dawāra 'riding animal'
	ganāwa 'thief'
	hayāma 'period of time'
	ḥalāla 'kosher'
	ḥarāma 'forbidden' (also *ḥarǻm*)
	našāma 'soul'
	nawāga 'grandson'
	qačāxa 'smuggler'
	qalāma 'pen'
	rakāwa 'rider'
	sahāda 'witness'
	ṣawāʾa 'dyer'
	šahāra 'blind'
	*ṭabāqa 'story, floor'
	warāqa 'paper'
CaCāCe	*ṭalāqe* 'divorce'
CaCāCi	*rašādi* 'gold lira'
CaCeCa	*gazeṛa* '(evil) decree'
	ṭarefa 'non-kosher meat'
CaCiCa	*ʾamita* 'civilian police'
	ʿaqida '(military) leader'
	ʿaziza 'beloved'
	basima 'pleasing'
	gamiya 'ship'
	daqiqa 'minute'
	naxira 'nose'
	šamina 'fat'
	*qarira 'cold'
	qaṭiʾa 'stick'
	xazina 'treasure, safe'
	yarixa 'long'

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[69] Also *mreʾta* 'hurting', *zdeʾsa* 'fear' (ə > e /_ ʾ; § 3.11.a).

		zaviya 'field'
	CaCoCa	**ḥakoma* 'ruler'
		*kapora 'faithless, cruel'
		naqoṣa 'minus, less'
		qaṭola 'killer'
		ṭahora 'clean, pure'
	CaCöCa	**sapöxa* 'wrap sandwich'
	CaCoCe	*qadome* 'tomorrow'
	CaCūCa	**bahūra* 'bright'
		*garūsa 'large'
		qalūla 'quick, fast'
	CāCəCa	*čắdəra* 'tent'
	CeCiCa	*setira* 'long three-shot rifle'
	CəCāCa	*jəgāra* 'cigarette'
		məzāda 'auction'
	CəCiCa	*nəzima* 'low, inferior'
		šərika '(business) partner'
	CəCuCa	*ḥə́zura* 'estimation' (also *ḥəzur*)
	CiCaCa	*fišaka* 'bullet'
	CiCāCa	*ʾilāha* 'God'
		ʾilāna 'tree'
		ʾixāla 'food'
		lišāna 'tongue'
	CiCiCa	*riviya* 'fox'
	CiCoCe	*čiroke* 'story'
	CoCāCa	*gopāḷa* 'shepherd's stick' (also *gopaḷta*)
		kolāna 'alley'
	CoCiCa	*qotiya* 'small box'
	CuCāCa	*xulāma* 'servant'
	CuCiCa	*guniya* 'bramble'
	CuCūCa	*ḥukūma* 'government'
		xulūla 'wedding feast' (also *xlūla*)
	CūCəCa	*tūkəla* 'piece of clothing'
CCVCVCCV		
	CCaCəCCa	*sparəgla* 'quince'
CVCCVCV		
	CaCCaCa	*kaččala* 'bald'
	CaCCāCa	*barwāra* 'shortcut route'
		ḳappāṛa 'expiation'
		*šaqqāma 'slap on face'
		šarwāla 'trousers'
		ṭayyāra 'airplane'
		xanjāra 'dagger' (also *xanjar*)
	CaCCāCe	*panjāre* 'window'
	CaCCiCa	*sayyəda* 'sayyid, descendant of Muḥammad' (also *sayyəd*, *sayyədka*)

	CaCCūCa	*pappūka* 'pitiful'
		payṭūna 'carriage'
	CəCCāCa	*ʾərbāla* 'coarse sieve'
		*bəzmāra '(metal) nail'
		dərmāna 'medicine'
		kəndāla 'steep slope'
		səjjāda 'prayer rug'
		təjjāra 'merchant'
		xəyyāra 'cucumber'
	CəCCāCi	*ʾəmbāši* 'corporal'
	CəCCeCa	*səmbela* 'mustache'
	CəCCiCa	*səkkina* (also *skina*)
	CəCCoCa	*šəryoxa* 'shoe-string'
		šəxxoṛa 'coal'
	CəCCūCa	*bənjūka* 'bead to avert the evil eye'
	CoCCiCe	*qolčiye* 'custom-house guards'
	CuCCāCa	*dukkāna* 'shop'
	CuCCiCa	*šuftiya* 'watermelon'
CVCVCCV		
	CaCaCCa	*dabanja* 'pistol'
		kalamča 'handcuff'
	CaCuCCa	*ʾaqubra* 'mouse'
CVCCVCCV		
	CaCCaCCi	*ʾaffandi* 'effendi'
	CaCCəCCa	*jandərma* 'gendarme'
	CuCCuCCa	*quṇṣuḷya* 'consulate'
CVCVCVC		
	CaCaCoC	*qaraqól* 'garrison'
	CaCaCiC	*ʿaraqin* 'arrack'
	CaCiCaC	*ʿaširat* 'tribe, clan'
	CeCaCoC	*télafon* 'telephone' (also *télefon*)
	CeCeCoC	*télefon* 'telephone' (also *télafon*)
CVCCVCVC		
	CaCCaCoC	*paṇqáṇoṭ* 'lira, paper money'
	CaCCeCəC	*ʾabresəm* 'silk'
	CeCCəCaC	*ṭélgəraf* 'telegraph'
		ṭélgəram 'telegram'
CVCVCCVC		
	CeCəCCaC	*gehənnam* 'hell'
CVCCVCVCC		
	CaCCaCoCC	*ṗáṣṣapoṛṭ* 'passport'

4.2.6.5. *Trisyllabic with Feminine Ending*

CVCVCV

	CaCiCa	*maxisa* 'blow'
		šaqisa '(water) channel'
	CāCəCa	*ʿādəta* 'custom'
	CəCiCa	*ʾəlisa* 'fat tail'
	CəCoCa	*ʾərota* 'Friday'
	CuCiCa	*kusisa* 'hat' (also *ksisa*)

CCVCVCV

| | CCāCəCa | *qyāməta* 'resurrection' |

CVCVCCV

	CaCaCCa[70]	*ḥalalta* 'kosher'
		ḥaramta 'forbiddden'
		nawagta 'granddaughter'
		ṣaʿarta 'grain of barley'
		šaharta 'blind'
	CaCəCCa[71]	*ʾarməlsa* 'widow'
		basəmta 'pleasing'
		kawənta 'mule' (also *kawdənta*)
		maxəlta 'fine sieve'
		naqətta 'thin'
		qarətta 'cold'
		rakəxta 'soft'
		šaxənta 'warm'
		ṭanəšta 'side'
		yarəxta 'long'
	CaCuCCa[72]	*xanuqta* 'throat'
		yatumta 'orphan'
	CāCəCCa	*ʿāṣərta* 'evening'
	CeCaCCa	*pelafta* 'shoe'
	CəCCəCa	*ʾəmməta* 'nation'
		məlkəta 'property'
		məlləta 'ethnic group'
	CuCCəCa	*qudrəta* '(Divine) omnipotence'

CVCCVCCV

| | CaCCaCCa | *ṭarrašta* 'thicket' |
| | CaCCəCCa | *kawdənta* 'mule' (also *kawənta*) |

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[70] *ʾaqalta* 'foot' < *ʾaqlta (§ 3.22.b).
[71] *kaləpsa* 'bitch' < *kalbta and *tawərta* 'cow' < *tawrta (§ 3.22.b).
[72] *baluʾta > *baloʾta* 'throat' and *ṣabuʾta > *ṣaboʾta* 'finger' (§ 3.11.b).

4.2.6.6. *Quadrisyllabic*

CVCVCVCV

	CaCaCāCi	*jamadāni* 'keffiya'
	CaCaCiCa	*ʿamaliya* '(medical) operation'
		balamina 'iron pole for making holes to insert dynamite' (pl. *balamine*)
	CaCaCūCa	*maḥafūza* 'guarding' (also *muḥắfəza*)
	CuCāCəCa	*muḥắfəza* 'guarding' (also *maḥafūza*)
	CuCuCiCa	*ḥukumiya* 'government'

CVCCVCVCV

	CəCCaCiCa	*bəndaqiya* 'rifle'

CVCVCCVCV

	CaCaCCiCa	*qarantina* 'quarantine'

CVCVCVCVC

	CiCoCeCəC	*kilometər* 'kilometer'

CVCCVCVCVC

	CaCCiCeCəR	*sántimetər* 'centimeter'

4.2.6.7. *Quadrisyllabic with Feminine Ending*

CVCCVCVCV

	CaCCaCiCa	*ḥambaqisa* 'dense smoke'

4.2.7. *Diachronic Overview of Patterns*

Some of the JChalla nouns that are inherited from older Aramaic are presented below according to reconstructed original Aramaic patterns in order to show, on the one hand, the JChalla forms that are linear descendants of older Aramaic patterns,[73] and on the other, how far other forms have diverged and cannot be derived from the reconstructed general Aramaic patterns. The latter group of forms are the result of internal developments such as analogy or sound change, which took place during the Proto-NENA period or even earlier. In some cases the reconstructed form may be reconstructed differently. When it is difficult to reconstruct the original vowel of the noun because of the different realizations in the various Aramaic dialects, *v* is used to designate the uncertain vowel.

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[73] These are not reconstructed Proto-Semitic patterns. Were these Proto-Semitic reconstructions, *ʾəpra* and *xətna*, e.g., would be assigned to *qatal and not to *qatl.

*qal	ʾida, dəmma, xa
*qalt	šāta
*qilat	ʾəmma, šənsa
*q(v)l	bər, šəmma
*q(v)lat	brāta
*qāl	qāla, sāwa
*qīl	ṣiwa, ṭina
*qīlat	kəsta
*qūl	nūra, šūqa, ṭūra
*qall	ʾuṛwa, geba, *kāka, qāša
*qallat	qarsa, ṛapsa
*qill	gəlla, ləbba, yəmma
*qillat	səksa, təksa
*qull	dūka, gūba, gūda, moxa, xumma
*qullat	duksa
*qvll	bəzza, dəbba
*qatl (including II-*w/y*)	ʾalpa, ʾamra, ʾaqla, ʾarʾa, ʾeda, ʾena, ʾəpra, besa, darga, garma, gora, kalba, kāpa, karʾa, kāsa, kepa, kəpna, laxma, loʾa, mosa, palga, poxa, *qāna, qoma, qora, sepa, talga, talma, tarʾa, tora, xalwa, xāṣa, xətna, xora, yoma, yarxa
*qitl	ʾəčʾa, ʾərba, ʾəspa, ʾəšta, ʾəzla, ʾəzza, gəlda, gəšṛa, məšxa, pəsra, qəṭma, reša, šəmša, šətya, təqla, xəška, xulma
*qutl	ʾurxa, dugle, nāsa, qurwa, rəqqa, reqa, šərma, šəxda, xuṭṭa
*qvtl	ʾərxe, ʾəṣṛa, dəpna, dūša, gəzra, qəṭla, səswa, šawa, šöʾa
*qatlat	ʾaqalta, kaləpsa, tawərta
*qatilat	knəšta
*qatāl	qdāla
*qatīl (including II-*w/y* and III-*y*)	kərya, misa, naxira, nixa, qida, rwixa, sniqa, šəmya, xəzya, xlima
*qatīlat	ʾəlisa, nəxta, qədta, ruxta, sməxta, xzeta
*qitāl	xmāra
*qutāl	nāša, zöra
*qutālat	zürta
*qvtāl	gdāda
*qātvl	*kapora, qaṭola
*qattāl	ganāwa, rakāwa, sahāda, ṣawāʾa, šahāra
*qattalat	šapsa
*qittal	xuwwa
*qittāl	ʾəqra, dāna, lišāna, *xwāra

*qattīl	*basima, *qarira, šamina, skina,*
	səkkina, tiqa, yarixa
*qattīlat	*basəmta, naqətta, qarətta, rakəxta,*
	šaxənta, yarəxta
*qattūl	*bahūra*
*quttāl	*koma*
*quttālat	*kumta*
*qalqal	*lele*

The best-attested inherited Aramaic pattern is *qatl followed by *qitl. Analogical developments and sound changes have severed many nouns from their original patterns. See, e.g., the JChalla nouns that in older Aramaic belonged to *qal and *qittāl, and which show different synchronic realizations, all of which are far removed from the Proto-Aramaic and even Classical Aramaic patterns. Original gemination is generally lost, e.g., in the *qattāl and *qattīl patterns, though in *qvll nouns the gemination is sometimes preserved (*qill: *gəlla, ləbba, yəmma*), yet other times replaced by compensatory lengthening (*qull: *dūka, gūba, gūda,* but not so with *xumma*). The process of compensatory lengthening (§ 3.20.c) is alive in JChalla as attested by the pair of forms *rəqqa, reqa*. Secondary gemination is attested in some JChalla nouns (§ 3.20.e).

4.2.8. *Prefixes*

a. The classical Aram prefix *mv-* is no longer productive and is attested only on inherited Aramaic words, e.g., *momāsa* 'oath', and on loanwords such as

maʿqūle	'nobles'
máfəra	'escape, opportunity'
máḥkama	'court'
mamnún	'grateful'
marḥāma	'mercy'
məṣwá	'religious duty'
məšpāḥa	'family'

b. The Kurdish proclitic preposition *be-* 'without' is attested with non-native words:

be-ʿáṣəl	'bad origin'
be-čắra	'helpless'
be-dắda	'without justice'
be-dín	'religionless'
be-dárd	'painlessly'

be-hívi 'hopeless'
be-nắmus 'improper behavior'

4.2.9. *Suffixes*

4.2.9.1. -āya, -esa, -āye

a. The reflexes of the ClAram gentilic suffixes are productive in JChalla (m.s. *-āya*, f.s. *-esa*, pl. *-āye*). They are found on the inherited Aramaic adjectives

qamāya 'previous'
šulxāya 'naked' (pl. *šulxāye*)
xəpyāya 'barefoot'

b. The suffix-*āye* also appears on two adverbs of Aramaic origin:

qamāye 'at first'
xarāye 'finally'

c. The suffixes occur on the inherited Aramaic nouns:

hudāya, hudesa, hudāye 'Jew(s)'
nexṛāya 'foreigner'
surāya, suresa, surāye 'Christian(s)'

d. The pl. suffix is found on the following loanwords,[74] whose singular forms are not attested in the corpus:

'arabāye 'Arabs'
qaṛacāye 'gypsies, highway robbers'

e. The feminine singular form is attested on the adjective *drangesa* 'late' (m.s. **drangāya*).

f. The gentilic suffixes are well attested on place names:

barzanāya 'resident of Barzan'
goranāye 'residents of Gorani'
karāye 'residents of Kara'
muṣlāya 'resident of Mosul'

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[74] Mutzafi 2008a:96 notes in JBetan a group of nouns denoting titles that take this plural suffix (*mallāye, ʾāġāye, pāšāye, kohanāye, lewāye*). In § 4.2.3.1.d it has been suggested analyzing two of these nouns in JChalla, *ʾāġāye* and *mallāye* as the singular base (*ʾāġa, malla*) + glide *y* + plural *-e*, though it is also possible to include them in a subgroup of titles or professions, as does Mutzafi, in which case JChalla also exhibits *ḥajjāye* (§ 4.2.3.10.b), *qaṛačāye*, and *šexāye* (§ 4.2.3.10.a).

nerwāya, nerwesa, nerwāye	'resident(s) of Nerwa'
paləstināye	'Palestinians'
pənčāya, pənčāye	'resident(s) of Pinianish'
qurdāya, qurdesa, qurdāye	'Kurd(s)'
rekanāya, rekanāye	'resident(s) of Rekan'
ṭəyarāye	'residents of Tiari'
türkāya, türkāye	'Turk(s)'
wānesa	'resident of Van'

4.2.9.2. -nāya, -nesa, -nāye

There is also a series of gentilic suffixes beginning with *n-*:[75] m.s. *-nāya*, f.s. *-nesa,* pl. *-nāye.* Attested forms include:

ʾanglisnāya, ʾənglisnāya	'Englishman'[76]
ʾaṭrušnesa	'resident of Atrush'
ʾuramarnāya	'resident of Uramar'
ʿamənnāye (§ 3.6.b)	'residents of Amidya'
ʿeraqnāya, ʿeraqnāye	'Iraqi(s)'
baġdannesa (§ 3.6.b)	'resident of Baghdad'
baškalnāye[77]	'residents of Bashkala'
čalnāya	'resident of Challa'
hekkarnāya	'resident of Hakkari'
kurdināya, kurdināye	'Kurdistani Jew(s)'
maroknāya, maroknesa, maroknāye	'Moroccan(s)'
parsnāye	'Persians'
spindarnāya, spindarnāye	'resident(s) of Spindar'
ṭəyarnāya	'resident of Tiari'
zaxonāya	'resident of Zakho'
zebarnāya, zebarnāye	'resident(s) of Zebar'

4.2.9.3. -ūsa, -atūsa

a. The ClAram abstract suffix *-ūṭā > -ūsa* is productive. It occurs widely on inherited Aramaic words as well as loanwords, and almost all of them express abstract concepts:

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[75] The insertion of *n* in gentilics of locations is attested already in Syriac. The increased usage attested in JChalla (and elsewhere in NENA) may lie in the metanalysis of certain place names (e.g., Barzan, Rekan, Wan) that end in *n* (*barza + nāya, reka + nāye, wā + nesa*). The metanalysis may have been motivated in part by the existence of the inherited Aramaic suffixes *-ān, -āna, -āne.*

[76] Cf. the adjective *ʾanglizi* 'English'.

[77] Also realized as *baškalnāye*. See § 3.5.b n. 17. The Jews from Bashkala referred to their city as *Başqalán* (§ 5.1.7 n. 11).

ʿurṭūsa	'fart'
bahwarūsa	'faith'
bārawanūsa	'separation'
baxtūsa	'wifehood'
farqūsa	'distinction'
fasādūsa	'corruption'
ganawūsa	'thievery'
gorūsa	'manliness'
hawūsa	'favor'
ḥaramūsa	'prohibition'
nəxpūsa	'embarrassment'
qəwyūsa	'strength'
šaṛūsa	'lunch'
šidanūsa	'craziness'
waʿdūsa	'promise'
wājəbūsa	'obligation'
xədyūsa	'joy'
xorūsa	'friendship'
xuṛṭūsa	'force'
yārūsa	'camaraderie'

In the case of *ʾaxūsa* 'brotherhood' and *naṣūsa* 'fight' (pl. *naṣwāsa*), it is possible that the vowel *-ū* of what appears to be the abstract *-ūsa* suffix might actually be a reflex of *w* and an anaptyctic vowel (**ʾaxwsā > *ʾaxəwsa > ʾaxūsa*; **naṣwsā > *naṣəwsa > naṣūsa*; § 3.22.b).

b. *-ūsa* is attested sometimes on loanwords suffixed to *-at* (< the Kurdish abstract ending *-ati*):[78]

ʾāġātūsa	'masterdom'
jirānatūsa	'neighborliness'
pisyatūsa	'filthiness'

c. *-atūsa* is also attested on place names and expresses either the gentilic plural or the region including its inhabitants:[79]

hekkaratūsa	'residents/region of Hakkari'
karatūsa	'residents/region of Kara'
pənčatūsa	'residents/region of Pinianish'

d. In *qurdawūsa* 'Kurds' the suffix *-ūsa* seems to have been added with a glide to *qurdá* 'Kurd' (§§ 3.15.a; 3.16.c)

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[78] MacKenzie 1981, 1:217; Blau & Barak 1999:110.
[79] There are traces of the use of this suffix to express plurality also in Qaraqosh. Khan (2002:180–181) cites *xalyuṭa* 'syrup of cooked dates', *xwaruṭa* 'dairy products', and *yaltuṭa* 'group of youths' as referring to tangible entities. For a recent treatment of the development from abstract > collective > plural, see Hasselbach 2007:130–131.

4.2.9.4. -ona, -one

The ClAram diminutive suffix -ōnā (< *-ānā) is attested only on the
kinship terms

> ’axona   ‘brother’ (pl. ’axawāsa)
> brona   ‘son’ (pl. brone)

4.2.9.5. -unka, -unke

The diminutive -ūn[80] (< -on < *ān) is attested with the Kurdish diminutive
suffix -k (§ 4.2.9.8) and the Aramaic ending -a on the noun yalunka ‘child’,
and with the Aramaic ending -e on the plural yalunke.[81]

4.2.9.6. -āna, -anta, -āne

a. The suffix -āna is productive in JChalla and is attested suffixed to

1. verbs:

> mṛaḥmāna   ‘merciful’ (mṛāḥəm ‘he may have mercy’)

2. nouns and adjectives:

> ’əryāna   ‘rain’ (Syr ܚܢܬܐ)
> *’uṛwāna   ‘leader’ (pl. ’uṛwāne; ’uṛwa ‘big’)
> de’sāna   ‘sweaty’ (de’sa ‘sweat’)
> denāna   ‘debtor’ (dena ‘debt’)
> *milāna   ‘blue’ (pl. milāne; Syr ܡܠܐ)
> ṛomāna   ‘high’ (f. ṛomanta; pl. ṛomāne; ClAram רְמָא)
> šəxtāna   ‘dirty’ (šəxta)
> šidāna   ‘crazy’ (ClArm שֵׁדָא)
> *zad’əwāna   ‘fearful’ (pl. zad’əwāne; *zado/u’a?)
> zodāna   ‘additional’ (pl. zodāne; Ar زَوْد)

3. It occurs as part of the nouns məšəlmāna ‘Muslim’ (f. məšəlmanta;
   pl. məšəlmāne) and xəmyāna ‘father-in-law’.

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[80] Nöldeke 1868:107.
[81] For examples of additional nouns with the diminutive suffixes -unka, -unke in
JBetan, see Mutzafi 2008a:109.

b. *-ān* is also found on inherited Aramaic nouns and on loanwords, e.g.,

ˀərwāna	'kindness'
qorbāna	'sacrifice'
ramazā́n	'Ramadan'
yuqdāna	'conflagration'

4.2.9.7. -oya

A suffix *-oya* is found on the kinship terms

ˀamoya	'paternal uncle' (cf. *ˀamta* 'paternal aunt')
xaloya	'maternal uncle' (cf. *xalta* 'maternal aunt')

The forms may have arisen from the vocative forms *amo* (Kurdish) and *ˁammu / xālu* (Iraqi Arabic) with the addition of a glide (*w > y*) and the suffix *a*.[82]

4.2.9.8. -k

The Kurdish suffixal element *-k*, which sometimes expresses the dimimutive and other times is a free variant,[83] is found on the following nouns:

1. with the singular ending *-a*:[84]

ˁaṭarka	'peddler'
qalunka	'narghile'
sayyədka	'sayyid, descendant of Muhammad' (also *sayyəd, sayyəda*)

and possibly also on *xiṭka* 'bar indicating military rank on a uniform', though the etymology of the noun is uncertain. See also *yalunka* 'child' (§ 4.2.9.5).

2. with the plural ending *-e*:

govke	'stalls'
pəšūke	'gnats'
qaṛačke	'gypsies'
qoruške	'piasters, small coins'

See also *yalunke* 'children' (§ 4.2.9.5).

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[82] Rizgar 1993:22 and Woodhead & Beene 2003, 2:149, 324. Maclean 1895:231 lists both nouns under the agent noun pattern *qātōl*. On the glide see § 3.16.b.

[83] MacKenzie 1981, 1:217; Rizgar 1996:274; Blau & Barak 1999:110–111.

[84] Garbell 1965:48.

3. on hypocoristics followed by the vowels *-o, -a,* and *-u* (§ 4.2.9.11):

> *ʾAwrahamko*
> *ʾAzizko, ʾAzizku*
> *Maḥmudko*
> *Mərko*
> *Mošāka, Moška*
> *Najəmko*
> *Noka*
> *Šambiko*

4.2.9.9. -əski

This suffix, derived from the ClAram adverbial ending *-āʾiṯ* with the Kurdish suffix *-ki*,[85] is attested in the corpus once marking a language (see also § 4.2.9.10.c):

> *qurdəski*   'Kurdish (language)'

4.2.9.10. -i

a. The Kurdish suffix *-i*, which is used to form abstract nouns from adjectives,[86] is attested on the following loanwords:

> *gərāni*   'famine'
> *kotakki* 'hardship'
> *tangāwi* 'distress'

b. The Kurdish/Arabic suffix *-i*, which is used to form adjectives from nouns,[87] is attested on the following loanwords:

> *ʾanglizi* 'English'[88]
> *ʿaṣli*   '(good) origin'

c. The suffix *-i* marks languages (see also § 4.2.9.9):

> *qurdi*   'Kurdish (language)'
> *türki*   'Turkish (language)'

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[85] See Mutzafi 2008a:110 for additional languages marked by the suffix.
[86] MacKenzie 1981, 1:217.
[87] MacKenzie 1981, 1:218.
[88] As in *təffaq ʾanglizi* 'an English rifle'. Cf. the noun 'Englishman' with the Aramaic gentilic suffix: *ʾanglisnāya, ʾənglisnāya*.

4.2.9.11. -li

The Turkish suffix *-li* indicating possession of a quality is attested on the loanword

ʾoṣṃoḷḷi   'Ottoman' (§ 3.6.d)

4.2.10. *Compound Nouns*

a. Compounds formed with inherited Aramaic elements are

ʾarbamma < ʾarba + ʾəmma	'four hundred'
ʾarbaʾsar < ʾarba + *ʿəsar	'fourteen'
ʾarbūšeb < ʾarba + *b-šabba	'Wednesday'
ʾəčšaʾsar < ʾəčʾa + *ʿəsar	'nineteen'
ʾəštaʾsar < ʾəšta + *ʿəsar	'sixteen'
baxbāba[89] < bax + bāba	'stepmother'
bomāxəd < b-ʾo + yōmā + xetā	'day after tomorrow'
gobʾena < go + be + ʿena?	'forehead'
palgədlel < *palgeh + d + lele	'midnight'
palgədyo < *palgeh + d + yomā	'noon'
pálpaṇqàṇoṭ < palg(a) + paṇqáṇoṭ	'half lira'
pálsāʿa < palg(a) + sāʿa	'half an hour'
šöʾamma < šöʾa + ʾəmma	'seven hundred'
tremma < tre + ʾəmma	'two hundred'
trūšeb < tre + *b-šabba	'Monday'
ṭḷāhūšeb < ṭḷāha + *b-šabba	'Tuesday'
xamšamma < xamša + ʾəmma	'five hundred'
xamūšeb < xamša + *b-šabba	'Thursday'
xošeba < *ḥaḏ + b-šabba	'Sunday' (§ 3.14)

b. Loans that are compounds in the donor languages include

ʾarzuḥál	'petition (also ʾarzūḥal)
čaydanka	'teapot'
čayxāna	'tea house'
flānkas	'so and so'
gehənnam	'hell'
genʿedən	'Garden of Eden'
jəzdān	'purse'
marʿaz	'cloth made of fine goat-wool'
pəzaġāya (?)	'village noble'
qāymaqam	'local governor'
qólordi	'army corps'
séfarṭoṛa	'Torah scroll'
səfərṭās	'lunch box'

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[89] Realized as [ˌbʰɑɣˈbʰaːbʰa].

4.2.11. *Proper Names and Hyporcoristics*

a. The following are some of the proper names attested in the corpus. Many of them contain the suffix -*o*, which is both a Kurdish and general Semitic hypocoristic suffix.[90] A few names also contain the Kurdish hypocoristic -*k* (§ 4.2.9.8).

’*Aḥmado* (Ar أَحْمَد)
’*Āko* (H יַעֲקֹב)[91]
’*Awṛāham*, less frequently ’*Avṛāham*, ’*Awṛáw* (H אַבְרָהָם)[92]
’*Awṛahamko* (H אברהם)
’*Azizko*, ’*Azizku* (K < Ar عَزِيز)
’*Isāxar* (H יִשָּׂשכָר)
‘*Ābo* (H אַבְרָהָם) (§ 3.3.d)
‘*Ammo* (H עַמְרָם)
Baṣāle (H בְּצַלְאֵל)
Bənyāme (H בִּנְיָמִן)
Faṭmāye (Ar فَاطِمَة)
Fray (H אֶפְרַיִם)
Hārun (H אַהֲרֹן)
Hoče (H יְהוֹשֻׁעַ)[93]
Home (H אַבְרָהָם)
Ḥamo (K < Ar مُحَمَّد)
Ḥayyo (H חַיִּים)
Magaddi (H גְּדַלְיָהוּ)
Maḥmudko (K < Ar مَحْمُود)
Māno (H מְנַחֵם)
Maṣlo (H מַצְלִיחַ)
Mədo (H מָרְדְּכַי)
Məxo, Məxwa (H מִיכָאֵל)
Məṣṭo (K < Ar مُصطَفَى)
Mi’ər, Mərko (H מֵאִיר)
Mošāka, Moška (H מֹשֶׁה)
Murdax (H מָרְדְּכַי)
Najəmko (K < Ar نَجْم)
Nəfto (H נַפְתָּלִי)
Noka (H נֹחַ)
Nuwaḥ (H נֹחַ)
Pəto (H פִּנְחָס)

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[90] On hypocoristics in general in Semitic languages, see Lidzbarksi 1898. On hypocoristics in Jewish NeoAram dialects see Sabar 1974, and on Christian NeoAram dialects see Krotkoff 1982:115–116 and Odisho 1997.

[91] Cf. ’*Āqo* (Sabar 1974:46).

[92] Cf. ’*Avṛāham, ’Avro, ’Avvi* (Sabar 1974:50). See also § 3.23.b.

[93] Cf. ’*Ōče* (Sabar 1974:46).

Qāle (H יְחֶזְקֵאל)[94]
Rašo (K < Ar رَشِيد)
Sise (K *Sısıne*, H שׁוֹשַׁנָּה)
Šaʿya (H יְשַׁעְיָהוּ)
Šabbo (H שַׁבְּתַאי)
Šambi, Šambiko (K *Šambo*, H שַׁבְּתַאי)
Šəlo (H שְׁלֹמֹה)
Šino (H שֵׁם טוֹב)
Yosef (H יוֹסֵף)
Zāwo (H זְבוּלֻן, זְבֻלוֹן)

b. Note also the following nouns, all attested also in Kurdish, which end with the Kurdish vocative endings *-o* (masculine) and *-e* (feminine):

ʾamo	'Uncle!'
bābo	'Father!' (= 'By God!')
kəče	'Woman!'
māmo	'Uncle!'
quró	'Boy!'[95]

4.3. Numerals

4.3.1. *Cardinal Numbers 1–10*

xa, xaʾ	'one'
tre, treʾ, tərte	'two'
ṭlāha	'three'
ʾarba	'four'
xamša	'five'
ʾəšta	'six'
šöʾa	'seven'
tmanya	'eight'
ʾəčʾa	'nine'
ʾəṣra	'ten'

a. *xa* may function adverbially (§ 4.7.4) before a numeral with the meaning 'about, approximately,' e.g.,

xa ʾəṣra ʾalpe
'about ten thousand'

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[94] Cf. *Ḥasqo* (Sabar 1974:50).
[95] The ultimate stress is unexpected on this Kurdish loanword (MacKenzie 1981, 1:156). See § 3.23.i.

bābəd xa ʾəṣṛa treʾsar yalúnke-le.
'He is the father of about ten, twelve children.'

b. On the multiplicative use of *xa*, see below § 4.3.7.

c. A pausal form *xaʾ* occurs with the meaning 'only one' (as in JBetan[96]):

ʾe dexun pə́šwāle xaʾ.
'That one of yours (house) remained the only one (still standing).'

d. 'One' has an originally feminine form, *xədda*, which functions as the indefinite pronoun 'someone' (§§ 3.20.e; 4.1.12.c)

e. The form *treʾ* occurs in pause, and like *xaʾ*, seems to have the meaning 'only two':

waḷḷa ʾe ᴴḥavérᴴ u-nixəd bābi, treʾ, qəmlu zəllu.
'By God, that friend and my late father, only the two (of them), up (and) went.' (§ 5.6.17)

ʾá̄-ži kemər: hal treʾ!
'He also says: "Give (me) only two!"' (§ 5.10.4)

f. The old ClAram f. form *tərte* is attested only in pause in the recitation of the *haggada*:

karb xaʾ; ġazab tərte; ʾeqo ṭḷāha[97]
'anger—one; rage—two; trouble—three'

ṭpārəd jəgra xaʾ; karb tərte; ġazab ṭḷāha[98]
'burning of his wrath—one; rage—two; and trouble—three'

g. Cf. *šöʾa* 'seven' and *šawa* 'week,' both of which are reflexes of ClAram שבעא.

h. Indefinite pronouns may be formed from *kud* + number (+ pronominal suffix) (§ 4.1.12.g-i).

i. A cardinal number may form a clitic compound with a following noun, in which case the ultimate syllable of the cardinal number receives the stress,[99] e.g., *xamšá-yāle* 'five children,' *šöʾá-brone* 'seven sons.' Often,

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[96] Mutzafi 2008a:114.
[97] Cf. כַּרְבָּא—כָּא, וּגֵזַב—תְּרֵי, וְאִקָּא (Avidani 1959:38) and גְדָאב כָא. וְגֶגְרָא תְּרֵי. וְאֵיקוֹ טְלָאהָא טְלָהָא (Alfiye 1986:47).
[98] Cf. גְּגֶר סַמְתֶּה—כָא (Avidani 1959:39) and טְפָארֵית גֶּגְרֵי כָא. גְדָאב תְּרֵי. וְסַהְמָא טְלָאהָא כַּרְבָּא—תְּרֵי, גַּב—טְלָהָא (Alfiye 1986:47).
[99] See, e.g., Meehan & Alon 1979:177 n. 15; Mutzafi 2008a:114.

however, the number is not clitic, e.g., *tmanya ḇaṛāne* 'eight rams'. Both accentual patterns are also attested for cardinal numbers above ten, e.g., *xamša'sár-metre* 'fifteen meters', *ṭmane'sar yome* 'eighteen days'.

4.3.2. *Cardinal Numbers 11–20*

xade'sar	'eleven'
tre'sar	'twelve'
təlta'sar	'thirteen'
'arba'sar	'fourteen'
xamša'sar	'fifteen'
'əšta'sar	'sixteen'
šwa'sar	'seventeen'
ṭmane'sar	'eighteen'
'əčča'sar	'nineteen'

4.3.3. *Cardinal Numbers—Tens and Hundreds*

'əsri	'twenty'
ṭlāsi	'thirty'
'arbi	'forty'
xamši	'fifty'
'əšti	'sixty'
šö'i	'seventy'
ṭmāni	'eighty'
'əmma	'hundred'
'əmmāhe	'hundreds'
tremma u-xamši	'two hundred and fifty'
'arbamma	'four hundred'
xamšamma	'five hundred'
šö'amma	'seven hundred'

The plural of *'əmma* 'one hundred' (e.g., *'əmma dūkāne* 'a hundred places') is *'əmmāhe* (§ 4.2.3.3):

> *kma 'əmmāhe šənne?*
> 'How many hundreds of years?' (§ 5.13.4)

Above 'one hundred' the noun *'əmma* compounds with the numbers from 2–9 (§ 4.2.10) and takes the form *-mma*,[100] e.g.,

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[100] See Steiner 1995 for evidence of the shortened form מה as attested in Hebrew *derashot* based on popular dialects of Late Aramaic.

tremma[101] *u-xamši kilo*
'two hundred and fifty kilos'

ʾan xamšamma bāte
'these five hundred houses' (§ 5.1.2)

There is an exception:

kalba bər šöʾammāhe kalbe!
'Son of seven hundred bitches!'

4.3.4. *Cardinal Numbers—Thousands and Above*

ʾalpa, ʾalpe	'thousand, thousands'
ʾəsri u-tmanya ʾalpe	'twenty-eight thousand'
məlyone	'millions'
ʾəšta məlyone	'six million'

4.3.5. *Ordinal Numbers*

The ordinals consist of a noun annexed to a cardinal number. The counted noun may be either a neo-construct form (e.g., *yom, naqəl*) or a form with the possessive-relative *-əd* (e.g., *yarxəd*):

yom ʾawwal[102]	'the first day'	*náqəl-ži ʾawwal*	'also the first time'
yom tre	'the second day'	*naqəl tré-ži*	'also the second time'
yom ṭlāha	'the third day'	*naqəl ṭlāha*	'the third time'
yom ʾarba	'the fourth day'	*naqəl ʾarba*	'the fourth' time'
yom xamša	'the fifth day'		
yom ʾəšta	'the sixth day'		
yom šöʾa	'seventh day'	*naqəl šöʾa*	'seventh time'
yarxəd tre	'the second month'		
yarxəd ʾarba	'the fourth month'		
yarxəd ʾəšta	'the sixth month'		
yarxəd tmanya	'the eighth month'		
yarxəd xadeʾsar	'the eleventh month'		

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[101] Rabbi Hashiloni reads תְּרֵי אִמָּא דַרבְּיֵי in the *haggada* (Avidani 1959:38) as *tre ʾəmmāya darbiye* but later on in the same paragraph he reads תְּרֵי אִמָּא וְכַמְשִׁי דַרבְּיֵי (Avidani 1959:39) as *tre ʾəmma u-xamši darbiye*. Cf. in the Zakho *haggada* (Alfiye 1986:47–49): תַּרְתֵּאֶמָה וַחֲמִשִׁי זַרבְּתִיסָא and תַּרְתֵּאֶמָה זַרבְּתִיסָא.

[102] Also in the JNerwa texts (Sabar 1984:248). Cf. JBetan *qaṃāya* 'first' (Mutzafi 2008a:117). Forms of *ʾawwal* penetrated Aramaic already in the Middle Ages as attested in Palestinian Aramaic corpora (Samaritan Aramaic, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum Psalms, and Targum Job). See Weiss 1979:99.

4.3.6. *Fractions*

a. Attested fractions are

palga   'half'
rubaʿ   'quarter'

b. One finds *pal* (§ 3.19.a) and *palgəd* in the following compounds (§ 4.2.10):

pálsāʿa   'half an hour'
pálpaṇqàṇoṭ   'half lira'
palgədlel   'midnight'
palgədyo   'noon'

c. The fossilized form *palge* (< *palgeh* 'half of him') follows a noun, e.g.,

sāʿa u-palge   'an hour and a half'
tre u-palge   'two and a half'
šáta-u-palge   'a year and a half'

4.3.7. *Multiplicatives*

xá-u-tre   'double'[103]
xá-u-ʾarba   'fourfold'
xá-u-šöʾa   'sevenfold'[104]

4.3.8. *Days of the Week*

xošeba   'Sunday'
trūšeb   'Monday'
ṭlāhūšeb   'Tuesday'
ʾarbūšeb   'Wednesday'
xamūšeb   'Thursday'
ʾərota   'Friday'
šapsa   'Saturday'

Note also *lel xošeba* 'Saturday evening'.

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[103] 'Double' and 'fourfold' occur in Rabbi Shiloni's recitation of the *haggada*: *hawūsa xa b-tre xa ʾarba* (טוֹבָה כְּפוּלָה וּמְכֻפֶּלֶת). Cf. in the written *haggadot*: הַוֵּיסָא דְּאִפְּתָא וּמוּדְאַפְּתָּא (Avidani 1959:43) and הַווּסָא דְּאִפְּתָא וּמוּדְאַפְּתָּא (Alfiye 1986:53).

[104] Cf. the multiplicative use of *xa* + cardinal number in BiblAram (חַד שִׁבְעָה Dan 3:19).

4.3.9. *Other Expressions of Time*

šāta (pl. *šǝnne*)	'year'
šawa (pl. *šawe*)	'week'
yarxa (pl. *yarxe*)	'month'
sāʿa (pl. *sāʿe*)	'hour'
sāʿa tre	'two o'clock'
sāʿa ṭḷāha	'three o'clock'
sāʿa xamša	'five o'clock'
sāʿa ʾǝčʾa	'nine o'clock'
sāʿa ʾǝṣra	'ten o'clock'
ʾǝsri u-ʾarba sāʿe	'twenty-four hours'
rúbaʿ-sāʿa	'quarter of an hour'
pálsāʿa	'half an hour'
daqiqa (pl. *daqiqe*)	'minute'
treʾsar naqoṣ ʾǝṣra, rubaʿ	11:50, 11:45 a.m./p.m.

4.4. Verbs

4.4.1. *Stems*

a. There are three productive stems (*binyanim*) in JChalla: G (*pǝʿal*), D (*paʿʿel*), and C (< *ʾafʿel*), as well as a quadriliteral stem Q. The older Aramaic relationship between G and D (factitive), and G and C (causative) is still preserved in many verbs, e.g., G *qālu* 'it may be clean' vs. D *mqālu* 'he may clean', and G *qāṭǝl* 'he may kill' and C *maqṭǝl* 'he may have killed'. This inventory of stems is found in other *lishana deni* dialects[105] as well as in other Neo-Aramaic dialects.[106] It contrasts with several Trans-Zab dialects, where there is a binary opposition between two stems, one based on ClAram G, and the other an amalgamation of ClAram D and C.[107]

b. In JChalla there are a few verbs that may be reflexes of older t-stem forms in Aramaic:

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[105] JAmid (Hoberman 1090:196–197), JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:44–45), JDohok, JNerwa texts (Sabar 1984:241–242), JZakho (Sabar 2002a:48).

[106] See, e.g., Maclean 1895:90–105.

[107] See, e.g., Fox 1997:23; Khan 1999:89. The reflexes of the ClAram stems is a bit more complicated in JKoyS (Mutzafi 2004:75–77).

1. G *d'p* 'fold' (ܩܦܠܬܐ)[108]
2. G *txr* 'remember' (אתדכר)[109]
3. Q *šthr* 'go blind' (אשתהר)[110]
4. G *zd'* 'fear' (ܕܚܠܬܐ)[111]

c. Cf. the NeoAram dialects of Ṭuroyo and Mlaḥso, which preserve ClAram t-stems (Gt, Dt, and Ct [rare]), and NeoMand, which preserves the Gt and traces of the Dt.[112]

d. The *t* of the G verb *tfq* 'occur, happen' is a reflex of the geminated *t* of the Ar VIII stem form *'ittafaqa* ($\sqrt{}$وفق).

4.4.2. *G Stem*

	Subjunctive	Preterite
grš 'pull'		
1 m.s.	*gárš∂n(a)* 'I may pull'	*grešli* 'I pulled (him)'
1 f.s.	*gáršan(a)*	*grešli*
2 m.s.	*gárš∂t(∂n)*	*grešlox*
2 f.s.	*gáršat(∂n)*	*grešlax*
3 m.s.	*gāreš*	*grešle*
3 f.s.	*garša*	*grešla*
1 c.pl.	*gáršax(in)*	*grə́šlan(a), grə́šleni*
2 c.pl.	*garšétun(a)*	*grə́šlexun*
3 c.pl.	*garši*	*grešlu*

Infrequently also 1 m.s. *garšan* (§ 4.1.6.c).

Preterite with f. base (*griša*): *grišāli* 'I pulled her', *grišālox, grišālax, grišāle, grišāla, grišálan(a), grišáleni, grišálexun, grišālu*

Preterite with pl. base (*griši*): *grišili* 'I pulled them', *grišilox, grišilax, grišile, grišila, grišílan(a), grišíleni, grišílexun, grišilu*

For the inflection of the Preterite with incorporated objects in the 1st and 2nd persons, see § 4.4.23.4.

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[108] Mutzafi 2008a:343.
[109] Nöldeke 1968:194–195; Sabar 2002a:48; Mutzafi 2008a:390. Mutzafi points out, however, that it is possible that *t* is the result of partial assimilation to the contiguous *x* in G forms like *dxar 'he remembered' > *txar* (see above § 3.2.d).
[110] Mutzafi 2008:387.
[111] Nöldeke 1868:195.
[112] Jastrow 1997:360.

Participle   m.s. *griša*, f.s. *grəšta*, c.pl. *griše*
Imperative   c.s. *groš*,[113] c.pl. *grošun*
Gerund   *grāša*

4.4.3. *D and C Stems*

	D Stem *plṭ* 'take out'	C Stem *plx* 'employ'
Subjunctive		
1.m.s.	*mpalṭən* 'I may take out'	*mápləxən* 'I employ'
1 f.s.	*mpalṭan*	*mápləxan*
2 m.s.	*mpalṭət*	*mápləxət*
2 f.s.	*mpalṭat*	*mápləxat*
3 m.s.	*mpāləṭ*	*mapləx*
3 f.s.	*mpalṭa*	*mápləxa*
1 c.pl.	*mpalṭax*	*mápləxax*
2 c.pl.	*mpalṭetun*	*mapləxetun*
3 c.pl.	*mpalṭi*	*mápləxi*

Infrequently also 1 m.s. *mpalṭan* and *mápləxan* (§ 4.1.6.c).

Preterite		
1.s.	*mpolǝṭli* 'I took out'	*mupləxli* 'I employed'
2 m.s.	*mpolǝṭlox*	*mupləxlox*
2 f.s.	*mpolǝṭlax*	*mupləxlax*
3 m.s.	*mpolǝṭle*	*mupləxle*
3 f.s.	*mpolǝṭla*	*mupləxla*
1 c.pl.	*mpolǝṭlan, mpolə́ṭleni*	*mupləxlan, muplə́xleni*
2 c.pl.	*mpolə́ṭlexun*	*muplə́xlexun*
3 c.pl.	*mpolǝṭlu*	*mupləxlu*

D Preterite with f. base (*mpulṭa*): *mpulṭāli* 'I took her out', *mpulṭālox*, *mpulṭālax*, *mpulṭāle*, *mpulṭāla*, *mpulṭālan*, *mpulṭā́leni*, *mpulṭálexun*, *mpulṭālu*

with pl. base (*mpulṭi*): *mpulṭili* 'I took them out', *mpulṭilox*, *mpulṭilax*, *mpulṭile*, *mpulṭila*, *mpulṭilan*, *mpulṭíleni*, *mpulṭílexun*, *mpulṭilu*

C Preterite with f. base: *mupləxāli* 'I employed her', *mupləxālox*, *mupləxālax*, *mupləxālan*, *mupləxáleni*, *mupləxálexun*, *mupləxālu*

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[113] See also § 4.4.15.

with pl. base: *mupləxili* 'I employed them', *mupləxilox, mupləxilax, mup-ləxilan, mupləxíleni, mupləxílexun, mupləxilu*

Participle		
m.s.	*mpulṭa*	*múpləxa*
f.s.	*mpolaṭṭa*	*muplaxta*
c.pl.	*mpulṭe*	*múpləxe*

Imperative		
c.s.	*mpāləṭ*	*mapləx*
c.pl.	*mpalṭun*	*mápləxun*

Gerund	*mpaloṭe*	*maploxe*

The longer forms of the E-suffix pronouns (§ 4.1.6.a,f) are infrequent on D and C verbs, e.g., 1 m.s. *menxəna* 'I may look'.

The prefix *m-* in forms of the Subjunctive and Preterite of the D verbs is not always audible and often is clearly absent from Shabbo's speech. It would appear that *m-* has begun to disappear from the stem. This is well-attested, e.g., in the many attestations of *šdr* 'send', e.g., *(m)šodərre* 'he sent him', *(m)šadər* 'he may send', *(m)šādər* 'send!', *(m)šadore* 'sending'.

4.4.4. Q Stem

The attested Q verbs in Shabbo's speech,[114] many of which are loanwords, are *ʾrgn* 'organize', *ʿṣbn* 'irritate', *brbz* 'scatter, disperse', *bzbz* 'squander', *dmbk* 'pummel', *drmn* 'medicate', *gndr* 'roll down', *grgš* 'drag', *ġrgr* 'be hoarse', *ḥlḥl* 'peremeate', *hymn* 'believe', *krkm* 'make yellow', *lxlx* 'dirty', *nxnx* 'mumble threats', *pčkn* 'finish', *pnčr* 'cause a flat tire', *prns* 'manage', *prpr* 'writhe', *prpṭ* 'agonize', *pršq* 'stretch', *prtx* 'make change', *ptpt* 'shred', *qrpč* 'snatch', *ṣfṣf* 'utterly disregard', *šḥrr* 'free, release', *šthr* 'become blind' (§ 4.4.1.b), *tlfn* 'telephone', *wlwl* 'wail', *xṛxṛ* 'have pity'.

Subjunctive	3 m.s. *mbarbəz* 'he may scatter'
Preterite	3 m.s. *mburbəzle*
Imperative	m.s. *mbarzbəz*
Participle	*mbúrbəza, mburbazta, mbúrbəze*
Gerund	*mbarboze*

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[114] On Q verbs in NeoAram, see Murad 1963; Sabar 1982.

There are examples of a longer E-suffix form on the Q verb *hymn*, e.g., *mhémnəna* 'I may believe'.

The prefix *m-* is often not audible or lacking, as in the D stem (§ 4.4.4), e.g.,

> *(m)walwole*   'wailing' (§ 5.7.9)
> *(m)dambəkle*   'he pummels him' (§ 5.6.4)

4.4.5. *Inventory of Verbal Forms*

The inventory of verbal forms in JChalla is that known from other *lishana deni* dialects and consists of the Copula, Subjunctive, Preterite, Imperative, Gerund, and the Participle.[115] These inflectional bases combine with affixes and the Copula to form the different tenses and moods. Affixes include

> *k/g-*   expressing the indicative present (§ 4.4.9)
> *b/p-*   expressing the future (§ 4.4.11)
> *-wa/-wā-*   expressing the past or remote past (§§ 4.4.8,10,12)
> *-wa*   expressing repetition or reversion back to a place (§ 4.4.26)

4.4.6. *Copula*

4.4.6.1. *Present Copula*

> 1 m.s.   (')íwən(a), wən
> 1 f.s.   (')íwan(a), wan
> 2 m.s.   (')íwət(ən), wət
> 2 f.s.   (')íwat(ən), wat
> 3 m.s.   (')ile, -yle, le
> 3 f.s.   (')ila, -yla, la
> 1 c.pl.   (')íwax(in), wax
> 2 c.pl.   (')iwétun(a), wetun
> 3 c.pl.   (')ilu, -ylu, lu

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[115] Capital letters (e.g., Preterite) marks the morphological form; small-case letters (e.g., preterite) indicate the function of the form. Cf. the terminology used by Hetzron 1969 and adopted by Hoberman 1989 and Fox 1997: Preterite = P(reterite), Subjunctive = J(ussive), Imperative = O(rder), and Verbal Noun = C(ontinuous); Mutzafi 2003 and 2008a: Preterite = P, Subjunctive = S, Imperative = O, Gerund = I(Infinitive); Tsereteli 1978 and Krotkoff 1982: Subjunctive = 1st conjugation and the Preterite = 2nd conjugation; Nöldeke 1868: Subjunctive = 1. Partic.; Preterite = 2. Partic.

a. The Perfect is composed of the shorter forms of the Present Copula and the Participle (§ 4.4.16.a); the actual and continuous present (§ 4.4.19) is expressed by the shorter forms of the Present Copula and the Gerund.

b. After a word-final vowel one usually finds the shorter forms of the Present Copula, e.g.,

> *máni-le?*
> 'Who is it?'

> *rešexun šaxína-le*
> 'You (pl.) are hot(-headed)'

> *ʿāṣə́rta-la.*
> 'It is evening.'

> *mare təffáqe-lu.*
> 'They are rifle owners.'

c. Occasionally, however, one hears longer forms of the Present Copula after a word-final vowel, and it is attested with or without a slight initial glottal stop ('creaky voice'; § 3.3.c), e.g.,

> *xa ʾárʾa-ʾila qam tar didu.*
> 'There is a (plot of) land outside their door.' (§ 5.8.7)

> *ʾéka-ʾile*
> 'where it is' (§ 5.1.12; cf. *ʾéka-le*)

Note both

Qóto-ʾile l-flāná- dūka.	and	*Qóto-le go gūba.*
'It is Qoto in such and such a place.'		'Qoto is at the loom.'

d. The shorter forms of the Present Copula may also be found after a word-final consonant. Cf. the longer and shorter forms in the following sequence of sentences:

> *waḷḷa Qárani naxwaš ʾile. náxwaš-le.*
> 'By God, Qarani is ill. He is ill. Yes.' (§ 5.4.6).

e. Unlike several NeoAram dialects, the final *a* vowel of a noun does not normally coalesce with the initial *i* of the Copula to produce an *e*-vowel,[116] e.g.,

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[116] Krotkoff 1982:36; Jastrow 1988:28; Hoberman 1989:33; Fox 1997:40; Mutzafi 2008a: 51.

>   *Rašíd ʾáǧa-ʾile*
>   'Rashi is an agha' (§ 5.5.5.)
>
>   *bas ʾāni ṛába-ilu*
>   'but they are many' (§ 5.4.2)

a does coalesce with *i*, however, in *ké-le* 'Where is he?' (cf. *ʾéka-ʾile*)

The 3ʳᵈ person allomorphs *-yle, -yla, -ylu* may occur after *mā* 'what' and *kma* 'how much':

>   *má-yle, má-yla*
>   'What is it?'

Cf. the following three allomorphs:

>   *kmá-ʾile / kmá-yle / kmá-la*
>   'How much is it?'

f. The relative *d- > t-* before forms of the Present Copula (§§ 3.2.d; 4.1.8.m).

g. The Present Copula is enclitic to the new prominent information in the clause,[117] which is usually the predicate:

>   *ʾāna Hekkarná-wən.*
>   'I am a resident of Hakkari.' (§ 5.2.3)
>
>   *jebi ṃə́lya-le.*
>   'My pocket is full.' (§ 5.3.13)
>
>   *tarʾeni b-léle-ži ptíxa-le.*
>   'And our door is open at night.' (§ 5.2.16)
>
>   *ʾárʾa-ži xapči jmə́tta-la.*
>   'Also the earth is a bit frozen.' (§ 5.2.12)
>
>   *ṛápsa-la ʾe-məzgáfte.*
>   'That mosque is large.' (§ 5.1.7)
>
>   *ʾiya ʿādə́ta-la.*
>   'This is a custom.' (§ 5.6.6)
>
>   *qatxe didu zőre-lu.*
>   'Their glasses are small.' (§ 5.10.11)

In the following examples, the Copula is enclitic or postpositive to the subject, which is the prominent new information, e.g.,

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[117] Khan 2002:396.

Qóto-le go gūba.
'Qoto is at the loom.' (§ 5.4.3)

kəsyāsa lu gāwa.
'Hens are on it.' (§ 5.10.4)

kullu xāṣu le l-gūda.
'All of them, their back is to the wall.' (§ 5.11.3)

marawāse lu ʾəltəx ʾəl-ʾárʾa. ʾáya-le go ᴴrəkevetᴴ.
'The owners are below, on the ground. He is in the train.' (§ 5.10.1)

4.4.6.2. *Negated Present Copula*

1 m.s.	*léwən(a), lắwən(a)*[118]
1 f.s.	*léwan(a)*
2 m.s.	*léwət(ən)*
2 f.s.	*léwat(ən)*
3 m.s.	*lewe, lāwe*
3 f.s.	*lewa*
1 c.pl.	*léwax(in)*
2 c.pl.	*létun(a)*
3 c.pl.	*lewu*

a. The negated Present Copula is usually preposed to the predicate, e.g.,

waḷḷa lewe qṭila.
'By God, he has not been killed.' (§ 5.7.9)

ʾEli! ʾāhat lewət mən gūre ʾida gdāre l-kəstox
'Eli! You are not (one) of (those) men (who) puts (his) hand in his money-bag' (§ 5.6.21)

sartuk lewe məšxa
'*sartuk* (cream) is not *məšxa* (cooking oil)' (§ 5.8.2)

though it may follow it to stress the prominent new information, e.g.,

ắġa-ži xmāra lewe.
'And the Agha is not an *ass*.' (§ 5.4.6)

ki(ʾət) ʾāna xorexun xmāra léwəna.
'You kn(ow that) I, like you, am not an *ass*.' (§ 5.3.16)

čú-məndi lewe.
'It is *nothing*.' (§ 5.6.6)

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[118] *lāwən* and *lắwəna* are significantly less frequent than *lewən, léwəna*.

4.4.6.3. *Deictic Present Copula*

a. Infrequently one finds present copular forms *wəlle* (3 m.s.), *wəlla* (3 f.s.), and *wəllu* (3 c.pl.), which are attested also in in JAmid and JBetan,[119] and appear to have a deictic nuance emphasizing the here and now, e.g.,

> *wəlle Ben-Guryón dexun, ʿaqida dexun, wəlle l-axxa.*
> 'Right here is your Ben-Gurion, your (military) leader, he is right here.'

> *tene wəllu qam tarʾeni.*
> 'Figs are right here in front of our door.'

b. There are rare attestations of what appear to be present deictic copular forms *wele*, *wela*, etc., as in JZakho, JAmid, and JBetan:[120]

> *walḥāṣəl malšən deni máni-le? máni-le? wele kəsleni.*
> 'In short, our slanderer, who is he? Who is he? He is right here with us.'

> *ʾən wela, wela tangāwi ʾəllexun, ʾaxtun kesetun kəsleni. ʾən wela hənna kəslexun wela ᴴb-sedərᴴ, ʾaxtun lá-ki-ʾètūlan*
> 'If you are right now, right now in distress, you come to us. If there is, right now, um, with you, (if) it is now okay, you don't know us.'

4.4.6.4. *Past Copula*

> 1 m.s.   *wənwa, (ʾ)ənwa*
> 1 f.s.   *wanwa, (ʾ)anwa*
> 2 m.s.   *wətwa, (ʾ)ətwa*
> 2 f.s.   *watwa, (ʾ)atwa*
> 3 m.s.   *wewa, (ʾ)ewa*
> 3 f.s.   *wāwa, (ʾ)āwa*
> 1 c.pl.   *waxwa, (ʾ)axwa*
> 2 c.pl.   unattested
> 3 c.pl.   *wewa, (ʾ)ewa*

a. The initial *w* of the Past Copula is sometimes replaced by an initial glottal stop (*wewa* > *ʾewa*) after word-final vowels (§ 3.3.c) or elided completely, e.g.,

> *múfti-ʾewa. qắzi-ʾewa. kullu šuʾāle ʾewa.*
> 'He was the mufti. He was the judge. He was all things.' (§ 5.1.10)

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[119] Hoberman 1989:33; Mutzafi 2008a:52,57–58 (perhaps from *u* 'and' + *ʾəlla* 'behold' p. 393). It is clearly distinguished in pronunciation from the interjection *waḷḷa* 'By God'. See also the adverbial *wal* (§ 4.7.4).

[120] Polotsky 1967:111; Meehan & Alon 1979:179 n. 22; Hoberman 1989:33,173–176; Mutzafi 2008a:393; Cohen 2008.

ya'ni 'āġa d-láxma-ewa.
'That is, he was the "agha of bread". (§ 5.5.5)

b. Initial *w* usually occurs after word-final consonants, e.g.,

wakil qāymaqam wewa.
'He was the deputy of the local governor.' (§ 5.9.1)

ṭḷāha jandərme mənnan wewa.
'Three policemen were with us.' (§ 5.13.2)

though it can also be heard after vowels, e.g.,

pa 'ega 'eka wewa 'iya?
'So then where was this?'

qóme-ži kərya wewa, la yarixa.
'His height was short, not tall.' (§ 5.8.12)

c. The Past Copula is infrequently clipped and reduced to enclitic -*wa* (§ 3.17.f), e.g.,

'Éraq-wa ...
'It was Iraq ...' (§ 5.2.6)

gə́zra-wa l-tāma.
'There was a pile of chopped word there.' (§ 5.13.11)

la, 'āna [H]*mazkír*[H]-*wa.*
'No, I was the secretary.'

d. The 2 pl. form of the Past Copula is unattested in the corpus. Cf. JAmid 2 m.s. *wɨtwa* vs. 2 c.pl. *wɨtwa*;[121] JBetan 2 m.s. *wətwa* vs. 2 c.pl. *wə́tūwa*;[122] CAradh 2 m.s. *wɨtwa* vs. 2 c.pl. *wútu:wa*.[123]

e. Like the Present Copula, the Past Copula may occur before or after the predicate, depending on what information is given prominence, e.g.,

Qoto wewa šə́mməd dide
'His name was Qoto' (§ 5.4.3)

bāb didu 'é-Piro wewa.
'Their father was that Piro.' (§ 1.1.3)

'axnan wewax b-[H]*ṣad*[H].
'We were at the side.' (§ 5.3.10)

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[121] Hoberman 1989:198.
[122] Mutzafi 2008a:52.
[123] Krotkoff 1982:37–38.

f. So rarely does Shabbo use the past copular forms *wele, weli*, etc.,[124] that, as in the case of JAmid and JBetan, it is likely that they are the result of JZakho influence.[125]

4.4.7. *Subjunctive*

a. The Subjunctive base developed from the older Aramaic active participle (G *qāṭəl < qāṭil*, D *mqāṭəl < mqaṭṭil*, C *maqṭəl < maqṭil*), to which have been added E-suffix pronouns (§ 4.1.6), which mark the agent. See, e.g., G *ptx* 'open':

1 m.s.	*pátxən(a)*	'I may open'
1 f.s.	*pátxan(a)*	
2 m.s.	*pátxət(ən)*	
2 f.s.	*pátxat(ən)*	
3 m.s.	*pātəx*	
3 f.s.	*patxa*	
1 c.pl.	*pátxax(in)*	
2 c.pl.	*patxétun(a)*	
3 c.pl.	*patxi*	

1 m.s. *pátxan(a)* is infrequent. (§ 4.1.6.c).

b. The Subjunctive expresses modality, e.g.,

mā ʾamrənnox?
'What can I tell you?' (§ 5.6.2)

ʾatta má-odi b-Qoṭo? mā lá-odi b-Qoṭo?
'What on earth should they do with Qoto?'

c. The Subjunctive may be preceded by *mən* or *məl*, e.g.,

mən hāwe
'Let it be!'

mən ṭāləq
'Let him divorce!'

məl ʾāzəl
'Let him go!'

mád-gbe ʾāmər mən ʾāmər!
'Whatever he wants to say, let him say (it)!'

---

[124] E.g., *Čalla wela* 'it was Čalla', *zöre welu* 'they were small.' When Shabbo does use it, it comes after the predicate as in JZakho (Polotsky 1967:111).
[125] Hoberman 1989:177–178; Mutzafi 2008a:393.

d. The negative is expressed by *m(ən)-lá*:

> *ʾāni m-lá-ḥarmi!*
> 'They shouldn't become impure!'

e. The origin of *mən* and *məl* is unclear.[126] Cf. the syntagm *mən d-* + Subjunctive (ClAram מן ד- 'as soon as, after') as in JZakho *mın yāʾe* 'as soon as he knows.'[127] Optional subjunctive particles in other NeoAram dialects include JZakho and JBetan *šud/t* (< שבוק ד[128]); Maha Khtaya D-Baz *hal* (< √yhwl);[129] Telkepe *šud/šwoq d-*,[130] Qaraqosh *(šə)d-*;[131] Ṭuroyo *ṭro-* (<√ṭry 'allow, leave');[132] JKoyS *mar* (< √ʾmr imperative),[133] *ba*, and *dabi*; JArbel *mar, da,* and *ba*; JSuleim *mar* and *ba*;[134] Mlaḥso *mlo* (< √mlʾ?);[135] *khûsh* (< √ḥwš) is also attested in several dialects.[136]

f. The Subjunctive may occur in the protasis of conditional clauses, e.g.,

> [H]*be'emét*[H] *ən ba'yat, la', xamša'sar yomāsa xet ʾāhat la pūwat ʾaxxa. ən la ba'yat-ži 'áwon dīdax u-'əd-gorax b-qdalexun.*
> 'Really, if you want (me to arrange the transfer, then) no, you won't be here in another fifteen days (because I can arrange your transfer). If you don't want (me to arrange it), then you and your husband are responsible.' (§ 5.9.13)

g. The Subjunctive serves in asyndetic constructions where in ClAram an infinitive might have been expected, e.g.,

> *gəbən ʾāzən*
> 'I want to go'

> *u-ʾāhat lá-mṣət ṃāḷeni ʾaxlətte.*
> 'And you cannot filch our possessions.' (§ 5.2.3)

> *wax ʾəsye xāzax dəmmox. kmá-le?*
> 'We have come to see (about) your blood money. How much is it?' (§ 5.5.6)

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[126] The syntagm *mən* (preposition) + active participle is a salient feature of LWAram (JPA, CPA, and SA) where it functions as a predicative accusative of state (*ḥāl*). See Kutscher 1976:51–58.

[127] Sabar 2002a:220. On מן ד- and other subordinators in the historical development of Aramaic syntax, see Pat-El 2008.

[128] Sabar 2002a:275; Mutzafi 2008a:387. Also *dı* (Sabar 1976:XL).

[129] Mutzafi 2000:315.

[130] Mutzafi 2008a:387.

[131] Khan 2002:305.

[132] Jastrow 1985:157.

[133] Mutzafi 2004:110, 231. Khan 1999:252 believes *mar* is of Kurdish origin.

[134] Khan 2004:287.

[135] Jastrow 1994:51,183.

[136] Maclean 1901:96.

4.4.8. *Past Subjunctive (Subjunctive + wa)*

The Subjunctive + *wa* represents a contrary-to-fact condition:[137]

> *čú-məndi lewu ʾanna pāre. ʾatta hāwéwāli xa ʾəmma tremma paṇḍáṇoṭe yāwə́nwālox. ʾāna ᴴsameaḥᴴ wənwa hādax.*
> 'This money isn't (worth) anything. Now were I to have about a hundred, two hundred liras, I would give (them) to you. I would have been happy (if it were) like this.' (§ 5.3.12)

> *ʾən (hwe)wále məšəlmāna, ʾida dārewa, dārewa skina go kāse. čāyə́qwāle mātúwāle hənna ʾafəllu xamšamma šənne hāwewa go ᴴbet sohar.ᴴ*
> 'Had he been born a Muslim, he would have inserted (his) hand (and) stuck a knife in his stomach. He would have ripped him open, he would have knocked him down, um, even if he had to be in jail five hundred years.'

4.4.9. *Present (g/k + Subjunctive)*

a. The Subjunctive base with prefixed *g-/k-*[138] expresses the present tense (general present[139]). In the case of the verbs *ʾmr* 'say', *ʾwd* 'do', *ʾsy* 'come', and *ʾxl* 'eat', the vowel of the Present differs from the vowel found in the Subjunctive (§ 4.4.9.i).

b. Before voiced consonants one finds *g-* (§ 3.6.f), e.g.,

> *gbāxən*   'I cry'
> *gdāre*   'he puts in'
> *gzaqri*   'they weave'

c. Before unvoiced consonants one finds *k-*, e.g.,

> *kpeši*   'they remain'
> *kšāmeʾ*   'he hears'
> *ktaxrətta?* 'Do you remember it?'

k is sometimes fronted to *kʸ* (§ 3.4.b) and other times *k > č /_i* in *čiʾətte* 'you know him' and *lá-čiʾan* 'I don't know' (§§ 5.6.13; 5.13.3).

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[137] Hoberman 1989:68.

[138] See Heinrichs 2002:243–257 on the prefixing of *k-/g-* in NeoAram, their distribution in different dialects, and the origin of the particles (the syntagm -קָא [< קָאֵים] + participle as exemplified by JBA and Mandaic, where it marks the continuous aspect). See also Khan 2002:299; Rubin 2005:129–136; Mutzafi 2008b:420–421; Breuer 1997.

[139] The continuous (actual) present is expressed by the Copula + *b* + Gerund (§ 4.4.19.b).

d. The prefix assimilates to a following *q* (§ 3.6f), e.g.,

> *lá-qqarwən*   'I do not approach'
> *šūli qqāḍənne*   'I finish my work'

e. The prefix is sometimes difficult to hear before an unvoiced consonant (§ 3.6f).

f. In the case of the verbs I-ʾ *ʾmr* 'say', *ʾsy* 'come', and *ʾxl* 'eat', as well as the I-h verb *hwy* 'be', *k-* is heard because historically the prefix was contiguous to an unvoiced consonant:

> **kʾāmər   >   kemər*[140]
> **kʾāse   >   kese*
> **kʾāxəl   >   kexəl*
> **khāwe   >   kāwe*

This is not the case, however, with the verb *ʾzl* 'go':

> **kʾāzəl   >   gezəl*

Cf. the verb *ʾwd* 'do' < ClAram עבד, in which *k-* has assimilated to a following originally voiced consonant (ʿ):

> **kʿāwəd   >   gewəd*

g. *g-/k-* is sometimes absent after the first verb in a series, e.g.,

> *kesən besa u-menxən kullu.*
> 'I come home and look at all of them.' (§ 5.11.6)

> *ᴴma šeᴴ-gmesétun ʾida dāretun go jebābu.*
> 'What you bring (is because) you put (your) hand into their pockets.'

Cf. the following passage where *g-/k-* occurs with each verb in the sequence:

> *tāma ʾaxnan gzarʾax gmarʾax gmaštax kxazdax ṣiwe gmesax mən tāma.*
> 'There we sew, we take to pasture, we irrigate, we harvest, (and) we bring wood from there.'

h. *g-/k-* is obligatory after all negatives, even in a series, lest the verbal forms be understood as modal, e.g.,

> *lá-gzonetun lá-gmzabnetun*[141] *lá-gzaqretun lá-kəmḥaketun lá-kxadretun.*
> 'You don't buy, you don't sell, you don't weave, you don't talk, you don't go around.' (§ 5.11.6)

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[140] *gemər* is also attested in JChalla. It is, however, the result of JZakho influence.
[141] On the syllabification of this verb preceded by the negative, see § 3.22.d.

la gzāde' mənni u-lá-gnāxəp mənni.
'He doesn't fear me and he isn't embarrassed by me.'

i. As in other *lishana deni* dialects, there is a clear distinction in the thematic vowel between I-ʾ forms (including ClAram ʿ > NENA ʾ) expressing the present tense and those expressing modality. The former have an initial *e*-vowel, whose origin is unclear, whereas the latter have an *a*-vowel:

kemər 'he says'	vs.	*ʾāmər* 'he may say'
gezəl 'he goes'	vs.	*ʾāzəl* 'he may go'
kese 'he comes'	vs.	*ʾāse* 'he may come'
gewəd 'he does'	vs.	*ʾāwəd* 'he may do'
kexəl 'he eats'	vs.	*ʾāxəl* 'he may eat'

j. The Present of *b'y* 'want', *gəbən, gəbət,* etc. (§ 4.4.28.10) is not formed from the Subjunctive base (*bāʾe*) but rather from the old passive participle *bʿe*.[142]

4.4.10. *Past Habitual (*g/k + *Subjunctive* + wa*)

The past habitual is expressed by the prefixing of *g-/k-* and the suffixing of the past tense marker *-wa* to the Subjunctive base, e.g.,

waḷḷa mən tāma mən Ṣṭambul kud ᴴtaḥanə́dᴴ gezaxwa, mesewa məndi gəmzabniwa.
By God, from there, from Istanbul, (at) every station which we went to, they would bring something (and) would sell.' (§ 5.10.1)

dəbbāsa ʾətwa. kesewa u-maxərwiwa dukāne... ʾarʾāsa.
'There were bears. They would come and destroy places… the fields.' (§ 5.6.16)

ᴴʾazᴴ kəsleni gyatwiwa. kudlel kesewa ᴴʾorḥímᴴ zamriwa ḥil palgədlel.
'So they would sit with us. Every night guests would come. They would sing till midnight.' (§ 5.8.17)

ʾāna kiʾənwa xa šắta-u-palge xa məndi.
'I knew (it was) something (like) a year and a half.' (§ 5.1.13)

4.4.11. *Future (b/p + Subjunctive)*

a. The future is expressed by the prefixing of *b-* (before vowels and voiced consonants) to the Subjunctive base, e.g.,

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[142] Mutzafi 2008a:80.

bāzən 'I shall go'
bāsən 'I shall come'
bodi 'they will do'
bdaʾrən 'I shall return'
byāwət 'you will give'

b. *b-* is devoiced to *p-* before unvoiced consonants, e.g.,

pšāke 'he will complain'
pqaṭʾən 'I shall cut'
ppešan 'I shall become'

In the case of *pāwe* 'he will be', *b* > *p* /_*h*: *bhāwe > * phāwe > *pāwe*.[143]

c. *b* > *m* before a nasal (§ 3.6.a), e.g.,

ʾāya mmājəblox
'he will answer you'

la māra: mmaxlət ṭarefa l-yalunke?
'She is saying: "Will you feed the children non-kosher meat?"'
(§ 5.10.8)

xá-gdāda garšət mənne ʾalpa rqāʾe mnapli mənnəd dide.
'(If) you pull one thread from it, a thousand patches will fall from it.'
(§ 5.3.11)

though not always:[144]

ʾá-ži mhomənna ko bmāxəl l-yalunke.
'Also she believed that he will feed the children.' (§ 5.10.5)

d. *b-/p-* is prefixed also in the other *lishana deni* dialects of JAmid,[145] JZakho,[146] JAradh,[147] and JBetan,[148] though in JDohok, JAradh and in the older texts of JNerwa one finds the free standing בת/בד (*bəd/bət*),[149] which is also attested elsewhere in NENA.[150]

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[143] Mutzafi 2008a:24.
[144] An example in the Past Prospective is *bnāšə́twāle* 'you would have forgotten it'. Cf. with assimilated *b* in the Past Prospective *mmakipíwāle* 'they would bend (their head)'.
[145] Hoberman 1989:30.
[146] Sabar 2002a:104.
[147] See the sample text published in Mutzafi 2002:485.
[148] Mutzafi 2008a:54.
[149] Sabar 1984:242.
[150] See, e.g., Maclean 1895:82, Krotkoff 1982:33, Fox 1997:32; Talay 2008:307–309.

4.4.12. *Past Prospective (*b/p + *Subjunctive* + wa*)*

The past prospective[151] is expressed by the prefix *b-/p-* on forms of the Subjunctive base with the past tense marker suffix *-wa*; it is attested in the apodosis of hypothetical conditional sentences:

> *pāša, ʾən hāwéwāli bamrənwa ʾəlle.*
> 'Pasha, if I had (the money), I would have told him.'

It also functions similarly to the Past Habitual, e.g.,

> *bāziwa b-xuṛṭūsa go besa pšaqliwa mād gbewa.*
> 'They would go by force into the house (and) they would take whatever they wanted.' (§ 5.1.12)

> *m-axxa byātūwa qalunka mayráxwāle l-tāma.*
> 'One would sit here (and) would extend the narghile (all the way) over there.' (§ 5.11.3)

> *basər hādax ʾegā bāsewa rešu mmakipíwāle.*
> 'Afterwards then they would come (and) they would bend their head.'

> *bāsewa dax kpə́nwālu, (b)ʾoriwa.*
> 'They would come, as soon as they had gotten hungry they would enter.' (§ 5.4.2)

4.4.13. *Preterite*

a. The Preterite is formed from the base of the older Aramaic passive participles (G *qṭəl-* < קְטִיל; D *mqoṭəl-* < מְקַטַּל, C *muqtəl-* < מְקְטַל) to which are attached E-suffix pronouns (§ 4.1.6), which function as the object, followed by L-suffix pronouns (§ 4.1.4), which function as the agent.[152]

b. It occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g., *qṭilili* 'I killed them', *šqilāli* 'I took her', *kpənnu* 'they were hungry', *kəple* 'he bent over', *mṭeli* 'I arrived'.

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[151] Hoberman uses the term 'conditional' (1989:68 "fulfilled consequence of a condition in the past time"); Mutzafi, on the other hand, prefers 'past prospective' (2008a:61).

[152] Original *qṭīl li* 'is killed by me' > 'he is killed by me' > *qṭəlli* 'I killed (him)'. On the formation of the Preterite in NeoAram, see Hopkins 1989a.

c. The Preterite is the most commonly used form in narrating past events, e.g.,

> *pār gyāni šqilili. bargúze-ži lu qāmi zəllan besa. zəllan besa šlixili. hiwili ṭas dide. zəllu 'án-bargūze. zəlli l-tāma xá-gā xet. mərri…*
> 'I took my money. And we went home (with) the woolen suit on me. We went home, (then) I took them off. I gave them to him. That woolen suit went (to the Agha). I went there another time (and) I said…' (§ 5.2.9)

> *waḷḷa šqilālu təffaq. hedi ᴴkanéᴴ dəryālu hənna ᴴkanéᴴ dəryālu go nāsəd dide. ṭiq! waḷḷa zəlle. baxta qəmla har hatxa wədla.*
> 'By God, they took the rifle. Slowly they stuck the barrel, um, they stuck the barrel in his ear. Bang! By God, he died. The wife got up (and) did just like this.' (§ 5.6.18)

> *bāb dide skətle zəlle. nixəd bábi-ži nəxle. xá-yoma zəlli 'əlləd pareni l-tāma.*
> 'His father croaked (and) died. Also my late father passed away. One day I went there for our money.' (§ 5.2.1)

d. For the passive Preterite, see § 4.4.20.e.

4.4.14. *Plupreterite (Preterite + Infixed* wa*)*

a. The Plupreterite is formed from the infixing of the the past tense marker *-wā* between the Preterite base and an L-suffix pronoun.

b. It expresses background information in the past, e.g.,

> *hudāyəd pə́šwālu-ži kə́tt-u-māt 'riqālu.*
> 'And the Jews who had remained fled bit by bit.' (§ 5.1.11)

> *bāb didu 'é-Piro wewa. 'āya séwāle m-go Pənčāye. mən Blejan séwāle.*
> 'Their father was that Piro. He had come from (the area of) Pinianish. He had come from Blejan.' (§ 5.1.3)

c. It may be used to express the distant past, e.g.,

> *…'ako zə́lwālu go ᴴgalútᴴ. mani 'ā séwāle l-axxa? Nawoxadnesər, ᴴnaxónᴴ?*
> '…when they went into exile. Who (was) it (who) had come here? Nawochadnezer, correct?' (§ 5.1.1)

> *flāná-yoma séwāle l-axxa.*
> 'One day he had come here.'

4.4.15. *Imperative*

a. The Imperative in JChalla is a reflex of the older Aramaic imperative. In the G stem the thematic *o*-vowel (< *u) of transitive verbs has replaced entirely the thematic *a*-vowel of older intransitive verbs and of verbs III-guttural and *r*,[153] with the exception of the Imperative forms of ʾ*mr* 'say': s. *mar*, pl. *marun*. There are two forms, a singular and a plural, e.g., c.s. *ptox* 'open!', c.pl. *ptoxun*. *o* > *u* in the Imperative when there is an object suffix, e.g., *ptuxle* 'open it!' In verbs III-*y* there are three forms: m.s. *xzi* 'say!', f.s. *xze*, c.pl. *xzūn*. A lengthened form of the singular Imperative is attested in Shabbo's speech only with the verb *ḥml* 'wait': *ḥmóləna*.[154]

b. The suffix -*un* on the plural form is attested already in LAram in Syr, Mand, and JPA.

c. The imperative is negated with the particle *la* + Subjunctive (as in ClAram), e.g.,

> *lá-mḥākət!*
> 'Don't talk!'

or, unlike in ClAram, by *la* + Imperative:

> *lá-šti!*
> 'Don't drink!'

These two methods of expressing the negative imperative are attested elsewhere in NeoAram, though in some dialects, e.g., CUrmi, JZakho, and JBetan, *la* + Subjunctive denotes a continued or general action, whereas *la* + Imperative denotes a single action.[155]

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[153] Nöldeke 1868:225–226, but cf. *a* in Ṭuroyo (Jastrow 191985:62) and Mlaḥso (Jastrow 1994:50). Cf. the thematic *o* vowel of the plural Imperative in JChalla *ptoxun* and JZakho (Sabar 2002a:261) *psoxun* with the *u* vowel in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:64) *pϑūxun* and JAmid (Hoberman 1989:196) *ptuxun*.

[154] The shorter form *ḥmol* also occurs. The suffix -*ən* is also attested in the JNerwa texts: שקולן (*šqōlın*). See Sabar 1976:XXXVII and 1984:241.

[155] Maclean 1895:147 relates to CUrmia, and Hoberman 1989:70–71 reports that Polotsky finds the same distinction in JZakho. For JBetan see Mutzafi 2008a:84. In JArbel (Khan 1999:282) *la* + Subjunctive is imperfective as against *la* + Imperative, whch is aspectually neutral. Both Hoberman 1989:71 and Fox 1997:33 n. 9 do not feel they have enough evidence to show whether this is true for JAmid and Jilu respectively. Khan 2004:322 indicates that both syntagms may express contingent and permanent prohibitions in JSuleim. Cf. Mlaḥso, where the Imperative is negated by *lo* + Imperative as opposed to Ṭuroyo, where one finds *la* + Subjunctive (Jastrow 1994:51).

d. The reflexive (2nd person L-suffix) or so-called 'ethical dative'[156] is sometimes suffixed to the forms of the Imperative, as elsewhere in Neo-Aram,[157] e.g.,

hal, hallox	'give (m.s.)!'
se, selax	'go (f.s.)!'
soq, soqlox	'ascend (m.s.)!'
šmoʾ, šmoʾlox	'hear (m.s.)!'
šqol, šqullox	'take (m.s.)!'

e. The 'narrative' imperative[158] occurs in narrative descriptions:[159]

šqəlle xa ṣiwa ʾəlləd dide u-xṭərre hatxa. krox! tāma Túrkiya-la. godi šarʿa ᴴnaxón.ᴴ
'He took a stick to him and beat him like this. He smashed (him) [Lit., 'Smash!'] There it is Turkey. They enforce religious law properly.'

mətwāli l-ʾarʾa ʾegā krox! ᴴbli raḥma(nūt), türkit türkitᴴ. króx-u-króx-u-króx-u-króx-u-króx-u!
'I laid her down on the ground (and) so then I smashed her [Lit., 'Smash!'] Without mer(cy)—Turkish, Turkish (style?). I smashed her over and over and over again. [Lit., 'Smash and smash and smash and smash and smash and!'] (§ 5.8.11)

məndelu qāman. məndelu. mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi! ḥel wəlle desta, ᴴpastelaᴴ reš ᴴpas ʾadamáᴴ.
'They threw him down in front of us. They threw him down. They beat him over and over and over again. [Lit., 'Strike and strike and strike and strike and strike and strike!'] Until he is right now a portion of food, mincemeat, on the face of the earth.' (§ 5.2.12)

4.4.16. *Perfect (Present Copula + Participle)*

a. The Perfect is composed of the shorter form of the Present Copula (§ 4.4.6.1) and the Participle (§ 4.4.18), e.g.,

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[156] For the vast literature on the function of the ethical dative in Semitic languages, particularly in the different periods of Hebrew, see most recently Halevy 2004 and the bibliography there. In discussing the situation in CUrmi, Polotsky 1979:206, 211 cites only verbs of motion with the L-suffixes, which he desribes as a reflexive use.

[157] E.g., JZakho *(ʾi:)sálo:xun* 'come'! (Avinery 1988:216), JAmid *ʾăhit lă=dᵾqlᵾx káwod* 'Don't insist on your honor' (Hoberman 1989:70). In Qaraq (Khan 2002:350–351) the second person L-suffix expresses greater immediacy; it is the norm for the imperative *ʾϑy* and attested occasionally on other verbs.

[158] For a treatment of the narrative imperative in Arabic and other languages as well as bibliography, see Henkin 1994.

[159] See Mutzafi 2004:112.

1 m.s.   *wən ptixa* 'I have opened'
1 f.s.   *wan ptəxta*
2 m.s.   *wət ptixa*
2 f.s.   *wat ptəxta*
3 m.s.   *le ptixa*
3 f.s.   *la ptəxta*
1 c.pl.   *wax ptixe*
2 c.pl.   *wetun ptixe*
3 c.pl.   *lu ptixe*

b. There is, however, an occasional example of the longer form of the Present Copula in the Perfect construction:

kullu ᴴrošeᴴ hənna ᴴšvatímᴴ ʾilu ʾəsye kəsleni.
'All the heads of, um, tribes have come to us.' (§ 5.11.3)

bamri ᴴšotrímᴴ-ilu qṭíle-llu.
'They will say policemen have killed them.'

c. For the negation of the Present Copula, see § 4.4.6.2.

d. The Perfect construction usually expresses a dynamic present perfect event,[160] e.g.,

ʾiya nāša ᴴk-nərʾéᴴ mən genʿedən le ʾəsya.
'This person apparently has come from the Garden of Eden.' (§ 5.3.6)

le xdira go d-an ᴴṣrifeᴴ kullu.
'He has gone around in all of those huts.' (§ 5.3.4)

ʾena la dreta ʾəlli.
'She has put her eye on me.' (§ 5.8.1)

ʾiya ʾidəd hudāye la mṭeta ʾəbbəd dide.
'This (is the) hand of the Jews (that) has reached him.' (§ 5.4.7)

xa julla la mtúta-lli tam qam ᴴḥalón.ᴴ
'She has put a piece of cloth there for me in front of the window.' (§ 5.8.6)

ᴴba-ʿérexᴴ báz-zodāna m-alpa šənne lu tiwe ʾəbbəd Čalla
'more than about a thousand years they have been settled in Challa' (§ 1.1.1)

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[160] Hoberman 1989:86–90; Mutzafi 2008a:56–59. For a detailed investigation of the uses of the Perfect in CUrmi, see Kapeliuk 2008.

e. Not infrequently, however, the Perfect expresses preteriteness,[161] noticeably the remote past, e.g.,

> *be sāwi xa ᴴtkufáᴴ l-Kắra-ewa. xarāye m-Kāra lu zile l-Šiwa. lu piše l- Šiwa. xarāye m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu dʾíre-wa l-Čalla. basər hənna . . . lu zile mən Kāra l-Šiwa. m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu dʾíre-wa l-Čalla.*
> 'The family of my grandfather was in Kara for a period. Later they have gone from Kara to Shiwa. They have remained in Shiwa. Later once again they have returned back to Challa from Shiwa. After, um . . . they went from Kara to Shiwa. From Shiwa once again they have returned back to Challa.' (§ 5.6.7)

> *kem(ər:) ḥắl-u-masaləd bronox hatxa ʾāwa. flắn-brāta lewa prə́qta-lle. le dwű́qa-lla. hāda(x) le lṭixa ʾəbba. hāda(x) le krixa ʾəbba. le wida ʾəlla ᴴḥolắᴴ. le múndye-lla l-tāma. (b-)xurṭūsa gəba—, gbāwa ʾāya dāməx mənnəd dida. tarʾa la ḥləqta ʾəlləd dide. mā le ᴴmbukšaᴴ mənna? lewa ᴴmšuḥrərartaᴴ ʾəlle. tarʾa lewa ptə́xta-lle. b- ᴴkowaḥᴴ tarʾa le ptíxa-lle u-hátxa-la. hátxa la breta. ke(mər): lewe nqiša ʾəlləd dida.*
> 'He sa(ys): "The upshot of the story of your son was like this. A certain girl hasn't left him alone. He has grabbed her (in order to get the key out of her pocket so that he could open the locked door). For this reason he (went up and) has struggled with her. Like th(is) he has beaten her. He has made her ill. He has thrown her down there. (By) force she want(ed)—, wanted him to sleep with her. She has locked the door on him. What has he asked of her? She hasn't let him go. She hasn't opened the door. By force he has opened the door and that's the way it is. That's the way it happened." He said: "He hasn't touched her."' (§ 5.8.19)

> *waḷḷa grešla, lá-ki'ən xá-šāta, šắta-u-palge. ʾiya kalba bər kalba le ʾwida ṛəzza, ʾarʾāsa. ṛəzza le ʾū́da reqa mən ᴴkfar.ᴴ*
> 'By God, it dragged on, I don't know, a year, a year and a half. This son of a bitch has grown rice, (in) fields. He has grown rice far from the village . . .' (§ 5.6.15)

f. The Perfect construction may also express a stative/passive present perfect.[162] In most of the cases the Present Copula precedes the Participle,[163] e.g.,

> *ʾeka le qṭila?*
> 'Where has he been killed?'

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[161] As in Jilu. See Fox 1997:86–87. To highlight the use of the form, it is translated, however, as a perfect.

[162] Hoberman 1989:84–89; Hopkins 2002:288–298; Mutzafi 2004:105–109; Mutzafi 2008a:56–57.

[163] Cf. in JBetan, where the Copula may be preposed or postposed (Mutzafi 2008a:56–57). The normal position of the Copula in the non-perfect constructions is postpositive.

ʾən le qṭila, ᴴgufā́tᴴ dide. ʾən ʾile ᴴḥayᴴ, (m)palṭile.
'If he has been killed, (let's see) his corpse. If he is alive, let them bring him out.' (§ 5.13.6)

xa dūka har kāsox ʾila mreʾta, hudá.
'Somehow your stomach still hurts, Jew.' (§ 5.11.7)

waḷḷa har tāma le qwira. lewu músye-lle.[164]
'By God, he is buried right there. They haven't brought him.' (§ 5.6.10)

žang la mrupeta
'rust has come loose' (§ 5.7.2)

sa ʾida dre go jebābi. ʾāna wən sira. šqol mād gəbət.
'Come (and) put (your) hand in my pockets! I am tied up. Take whatever you want!'

ʾāna wən piša šəxtāna.
'I have become dirty.'

. . . ʾaqlāsi síre-lu? lewu ysire ʾaqlāsi.
'. . . are my feet tied up? My feet aren't tied up.' (§ 5.8.20)

g. Sometimes the Copula is omitted in the Perfect construction after a preceding Perfect construction, e.g.,

ʾāya le ʾəsya, le ᴴmúrgəšaᴴ. ʾəsya le wira go ᴴtiras mul ḥalón.ᴴ
'He has come (and) he has noticed. (He has) come (and) he has entered the corn(field) opposite the window.' (§ 5.8.7)

ʾāna ki'ən ʾAwṛāham le ʾəsya mulšəna ṭasexun.
'I know Abraham has come (and has) informed on (me) to you.'
(§ 5.8.16)

This is not the case, however, in, e.g.,

ṭḷāha jandərme mənnan wewa. ḥmile. . . lu ḥmile tam manox(e).
'Three policemen were with us. (They have) stopped. They have stopped there (and are) looking around.' (§ 5.13.2)

ᴴʾasúrᴴ-la ᴴliᴴ baqrənne čuku yəmya ʾəlle.
'It is forbidden for me to ask him because he (has) sworn to him.'

ḥil yoma gənya
'until the sun (has) set'

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[164] Cf. the immediately following *la, lu qwíre-lle l-tāma* 'No, they have buried him there.'

4.4.17. *Pluperfect (Past Copula + Participle)*

The Pluperfect is composed of the Past Copula + Participle and is relatively infrequent in the corpus. It is attested expressing the stative/passive past perfect. The Past Copula may precede or follow the Participle:

> *waxwa skine*
> 'we had lived'

> *lá-wənwa gwira. la waḷḷa lá-wənwa gwira.*
> 'I hadn't married. No, by God, I hadn't married.' (§ 5.8.4)

> *hudāye pə́lye-wa. kutxa ʾə́twāle hudāyəd gyāne.*
> 'The Jews had been divided up. Each one (agha) had his own Jew(s).' (§ 5.6.1)

> *kusise u-gopaḷte təlye-wa b-xá-səksa l-tāma*
> 'His hat and his shepherd's stick had been hung on a peg there.' (§ 5.13.5)

4.4.18. *Participle*

a. The Participle is a reflex of the determined forms of the older Aramaic passive participles.

> G   m.s. *qṭila* 'killed', f.s. *qṭəlta*, pl. *qṭile*
> D   m.s. *mšudra* 'sent', f.s. *mšodarta*, pl. *mšudre*
> C   m.s. *múqṭəla* 'put to death', f.s. *muqṭalta*, pl. *múqṭəle*

b. The Passive Participle in D and C in older Aramaic dialects has the thematic vowel *a*, e.g., BiblAram מְקַטַּל, מְקַטֵּל. The *u*-vowel marking the passive is attested (alongside with forms with an *a*-vowel) in the Yemenite traditions of Biblical Aramaic, Targum Onqelos, and JBA.[165]

c. Word order usually distinguishes between the use of the Participle as an adjective and its use as part of the Perfect construction. In the case of the former the Copula is mostly found after the predicate whereas in the latter the copula precedes the Participle.

> Cf.   *tarʾa ptíxa-le.*   vs.   *tarʾa la ḥlə́qta-lle.*
>   'The door is open.' (§ 5.8.5)   'She has locked the door.' (§ 5.8.8)

Note also the distinction in word order and meaning in the following contiguous sentences:

> *ʾaxnan wax mbuqre. ʾaxtun hudāye gzire wetun*
> 'We have inquired. You are circumcised Jews' (§ 5.8.10)

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[165] Morag 1988:151,161.

4.4.19. *Gerund*

a. The forms of the Gerund are reflexes of older Aramaic infinitive forms.[166]

b. The Gerund is used to express the continuous and actual present in the construction Present Copula[167] + *b* + Gerund, e.g.,

> *go ləbbi wən bimāra*
> 'in my heart I am saying' (§ 5.3.3)

> *wən bəxzāya nūra le bizāla m-pāsox.*
> 'I am seeing fire going (forth) from your face.' (§ 5.3.13)

> *xmāra hənna le bəgrắša-lla.*
> 'A donkey, um, is pulling her.'

> *lewən bəxzắya-lle.*
> 'I don't see him.' (§ 5.8.12)

Usually one finds the shorter form of the Present Copula, though the longer form is also attested, e.g.,

> *ʾile bəṭlāba baxxatəd ʾilāha*
> 'and he is requesting the mercy of God'

> *mədore ṛāba ʾilu bisắya.*
> 'Many mudirs are coming.'

> *ʾilu* ᴴ*bəšlāta*ᴴ *l-axxa.*
> 'They are in control here.'

The distance between the Present Copula and *b* + Gerund in the following sentence shows that syntactically the construction expressing continuous action is still relatively free:

> *wax reš gāre l-xulūla kulleni kapaneni lu b-əġdad bərqắda.*
> 'We are on the roof at the wedding feast, all of us, our shoulders are together, dancing.' (§ 5.2.5)

c. Unlike the *lishana deni* dialects of the JNerwa texts,[168] JZakho,[169] JAmid,[170] and JBetan,[171] there are no examples of *pyš* + *b-* + Verbal Noun

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[166] Fassberg 2008.
[167] The Present copula is omitted in *ʾaxnan-… la, l-tāma, tāma go* ᴴ*rəkevet*ᴴ *yom (wax) b-izāla ta Ṣṭambul* 'We-… no, there, there in the train the day we (are) going to Istanbul'. (§ 5.10.4).
[168] Sabar 1976:XL, Sabar 1983:242.
[169] Polotsky 1967:109; Sabar 2002a:48.
[170] Hoberman 1989:81–82.
[171] Mutzafi 2008a:64.

(expressing the past inchoative, e.g., JBetan *dəmme pəšle bəṛϑāxa* 'his blood began to boil' Mutzafi 2008a:64).

d. On the Gerund following the verbs *'sy* 'go' and *ytw* 'sit' see § 4.4.21.

e. The prefixed *b-* is usually not audible before labials (*b, p,* and *m*),[172] e.g.,

> *lewe mḥakoye mənni* [H]*yafé məsudár*[H].
> 'He is not speaking with me nicely (or on a) regular (basis).' (§ 5.8.15)

> *báxte-ži la manoxe 'əbbe.*
> 'Also his wife is looking at him.' (§ 5.10.8)

> *lu plāṭa m-*[H]*bet sefər*[H] *lewu mṣāya…*
> 'they are graduating from school, (but) they are not able…'

> *lewa práqa-lli.*
> 'She isn't leaving me (alone).' (§ 5.8.9)

On occasion, however, *b-* is clearly audible, e.g.,

> *tūla bəbxāya*[173] *(m)walwole.*
> 'She began crying (and) wailing.' (§ 5.7.9)

> *le bəmyāsa.*
> 'He is dying.'

> *xədda sele bəmzabone čāy.*
> 'Someone came selling tea.' (§ 5.10.11)

> *'it xa məndi kəslox. 'áqqara bə'wāra bəplāṭa bə'wāra bəplāṭa. xa məndi 'it.*
> 'There is something (funny) about you. So much entering, leaving, entering, leaving. There is something (funny about it).' (§ 5.9.9)

f. The Gerund is attested as a verbal noun infrequently in the corpus:

> *mərri: la, la, mxalope let l-axxa.*
> 'I said: "No, no, there is no exchanging here."' (§ 5.2.8)

g. The Gerund may function adverbially, e.g.,

> *manoxe xāze julləd mani bəš tāza-l(e).*
> 'Looking around, he sees whose garment is nicer.' (§ 5.2.5)

> *manoxe le māra*
> 'Looking (at Abraham) he is saying' (§ 5.10.7)

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[172] As, e.g., in the standardized literary dialect of Urmi (Nöldeke 1868:225, Polotsky 1991:270) and in Jilu (Fox 1997:32). Mutzafi 2008a:63 describes *b-* as facultative with G infinitives and absent before D and C infinitives.

[173] In the oral texts from JAmid published by Hoberman *b-bxaya* seems to be attested to the exclusion of *bxāya* (Hoberman 1989:215).

sūn maṣoḥe!
'Go check (it out)!'

'ắna-ži qəmli manox(e).
'Also I got up to look.' (§ 5.2.16)

4.4.20. *Passive Voice*

a. The expression of the passive is uncommon in JChalla.[174]

b. The passive voice may be expressed by an inflected form of *'sy* 'come' + Gerund:[175]

> *'an [H]nyarót[H] selu mgalgole kəsəl [H]rašám 'agudót[H].*
> 'Those papers were transferred to the registrar of companies.'

> *kullu bāse ksāwa go [H]mixtắv[H].*
> 'All of them will be written in a letter.'

> *'áqqara lire 'é-gora—, byāwən ham 'āya nāša… 'āse l-qəṭla.*
> 'So many liras that man—, I will also give (in order that) that person…
> should be killed.' (§ 5.6.19)

> *'ən māḷeni 'āse l-'ixāla*
> 'if our possessions should get filched' (§ 5.2.3)

c. The passive voice is also expressed by *mṭy* 'arrive' + Gerund:

> *'atta [H]gam[H] mṭelu 'əlləd hənna qəṭla.*
> 'Also now they were, um, killed.' (§ 5.1.12)

qəṭla replaces the expected Gerund *qṭāla* in the idioms *sele/mṭele l-qəṭla* 'he was killed'.[176]

d. The expression of the passive voice by the Preterite base + E-suffix is attested only once in the corpus:[177]

> *hiwa xanči [H]xəm'a[H]*
> 'a bit of butter was given' (§ 5.8.2)

e. There are no examples of an inflected form of *pyš* + Participle.[178]

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[174] As in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:67–69).
[175] Hoberman 1989:90–91.
[176] Mutzafi 2008a:69.
[177] See also JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:67–69).
[178] See Krotkoff 1982:39. This use is also unattested in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:68).

4.4.21. *Inchoative Aspect*

In the corpus inchoateness in the past is expressed by *ytw* + *b* + Gerund:[179]

> *waḷḥāṣəl tūlu bəštá.*
> 'In short, they began drinking.' (§ 5.10.11)

> *tūla bəbxāya (m)walwole.*
> 'She began, crying (and) wailing.' (§ 5.7.9)

> *waḷḷa tūlu mbakoḥe ʾāni mābayn gyānu.*
> 'By God, they began arguing among themselves.'

> *tūle ᴴmtakoneᴴ pəlafte.*
> 'He began fixing his shoe.'

> *ʾā le tiwa ᴴmtakoneᴴ pəlafte.*
> 'He has begun fixing his shoe.'

4.4.22. *Negation of Verbs*

Verbal forms are negated by *la*, which is often proclitic to the verb, e.g., *lá-gbən* 'I don't want to', *lá-ktaxrət* 'you don't remember', but at times is free standing, e.g., *la qbílwāle* 'he hadn't received', *la šqəlle* 'he didn't take'. For the negation of the Imperative, see § 4.4.15.c. For the forms of the negated Present Copula, see § 4.4.6.2.

4.4.23. *Object Markers*

The forms of the L-suffix pronouns, LL-suffix pronouns, and E-suffix pronouns are presented in §§ 4.1.4–6.

4.4.23.1. *Objects Marked by L-Suffix Pronouns*

a. L-suffixes mark the object on forms derived from the Subjunctive base (§ 4.4.7–10) and on the Imperative (§ 4.4.15), e.g.,

> *byāmaxlox.*
> 'We will swear to you (m.s.).'

> *kulleni gbe qaṭlilan mandelan ʾəbbəd ṃāye!*
> 'They want to kill all of us (and) throw us into the water!'

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[179] Cf. *pyš* + *b* + Gerund in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008:64), and *pyš/tḥl/hrš* + *b* + Gerund in JAmid (Hoberman 1989:79).

nắbǝlle!
'Take him away!'

ptuxle!
'Open it!'

šqulla!
'Take her!'

qbulla!
'Accept it!'

mqálūle!
'Clean him!'

b. The *l* of the suffix assimilates to a preceding *n*, *r*, and *t* (§ 3.6.c). *n* of the plural forms of the Imperative and of the 2nd person plural on forms derived from the Subjunctive are syncopated when L-suffixes are added (§§ 3.18.c; 4.1.6.j).

4.4.23.2. *Objects Marked by LL-Suffix Pronouns*

LL-suffixes mark objects of the Perfect (§ 4.4.16) and of the Gerund (§ 4.4.19), e.g.,

čú-xa lewe xíla-lle.
'No one has eaten it.'

tarʾa la ḥlǝ́qta-lle.
'She has locked the door.' (§ 5.8.8)

lewǝn míra-llu-ži.
'I haven't even told them.' (§ 5.8.15)

ʾāni lu zwíne-llu.
'They have bought them.'

^Htürkit^H le mǎra-lli.
'He is speaking Turkish to me.'

ṭamǎ́ wetun mačṃóye-lle?
'Why are you extinguishing it?' (§ 5.4.10)

qǝbla lewa bǝdwǎ́qa-lla.
'It is not facing (lit., 'grasping') the qibla.' (§ 5.3.5)

4.4.23.3. *Objects Marked by Independent Forms of LL-Suffix Pronouns*

a. LL-suffixes marking objects of the Perfect and Gerund may be free standing (§ 4.1.5.a), e.g.,

ʾāni lu qṭile ʾəlle.
'They have killed him.' (§ 5.5.6)

ʾiya ^Hsevəl^H ʾaxnan wax ^Hsbile^H ʾəlle.
'We have suffered this burden.'

Cf. the following two contiguous sentences in which one finds in the first an enclitic LL- pronoun, but in the second a free standing form:

lewan xzéta-lle. ʾāhat lewat xzeta ʾəlle?
'I (f.s.) haven't seen him.' 'You (f.s.) haven't seen him?'

b. Independent LL-suffixes are used to mark the object following forms of the Preterite:[180]

kāsan əmre(ʾ)la ʾəllan mən gəxka.
'Our stomach hurt us from laughter.' (§ 5.3.6)

hatxa ʾüdle ʾəlle.
'Like this they did to him.'

mxele ʾəlle.
'He hit him.'

mxelu ʾəllu.
'They hit them.'

One also finds objects marked by *ʾəlləd did-*:

u-^Hmʾoyəmlu^H ʾəlləd didu
'and they threatened him'

c. The object of an Imperative may be marked by a free standing LL-suffix instead of the L-suffix (§ 4.4.23.1):

hatxa ʾodun ʾəlle!
'Like this do (c.pl.) to him!' (§ 5.4.7)

mxalṣun ʾəlli!
'Save (c.pl.) me!' (§ 5.6.5)

d. Forms based on the Subjunctive may not take two L-suffixes; instead one finds an L-suffix and a free standing LL-pronoun, e.g.,

madʾərətte (< madʾəret + le) ʾəlleni.
'You (m.s.) should return him to us.'

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[180] They are an alternative to the use of E-suffix pronouns (§ 4.4.23.4).

4.4.23.4. *Objects Marked by E-Suffix Pronouns*

a. E-suffix pronouns function as object affixes in forms of the Preterite. They are added to the base of the Preterite in all persons and are followed by L-suffix pronouns (which mark the subject). In the following paradigm the subject is expressed by the 3 m.s. L-suffix pronoun -*le*:

> Object
> 1 m.s.   *nšiqənne* (< nšiq + ən + le) 'he kissed me'
> 1 f.s.   *nšiqanne* (< nšiq + an + la) 'he kissed me'
> 2 m.s.   *nšiqətte* (< nšiq + ət + le) 'he kissed you'
> 2 f.s.   *nšiqatte* (< nšiq + at + le) 'he kissed you'
> 3 m.s.   *nšə̀qle* (< nšiq + ø + le) 'he kissed him'
> 3 f.s.   *nšiqāle* (< nšiq + a + le) 'he kissed her'
> 1 c.pl.   *nšiqaxle* (< nšiq + ax + le) 'he kissed us'
> 2 c.pl.   *nšiqétūle* (< nšiq + etun + le) 'he kised you'
> 3 c.pl.   *nšiqile* (< nšiq + i + le) 'he kissed them'

b. The E-suffix pronouns may function as indirect objects, e.g., *widənna* ^H*ʾaruḥā́*^H 'She made me a meal' (§ 5.9.8), *məsennax julle* 'You brought me clothes' (§ 5.9.11).

c. One cannot tell from the restricted corpus if there is a difference in III-y verbs between *xzele* 'he saw him' and **xzele(?)* 'he saw them'.

d. The affixing of E-suffix pronouns of all persons obtains also in the JNerwa texts,[181] JAmid,[182] and JAradh.[183] In JZakho[184] and JBetan[185] Preterite forms containing the E-suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons are replaced by the synthetic structure *qam*[186] + Subjunctive + E-suffix pronoun + L-suffix pronoun,[187] e.g., *qam xāpəqli* 'he embraced me' (JChalla *xpiqənne*), *qam ʾamrənnox* 'I told you' (JChalla *mirətti*). In JAmid and JAradh *qam* + Subjunctive may alternate with the E-suffix pronouns in all

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[181] Sabar 1976:xl.
[182] Sabar 2002a:49.
[183] Mutzafi 2002:481–482.
[184] Hoberman 1989:36,40; Sabar 2002a:49.
[185] Mutzafi 2008a:86.
[186] Its origin has been explained in several ways: (1) *qdām* (adverb); (2) *qədam/qaddem* (G/D verb); (3) the Participle *qāʾim*. For a discussion of the possibilities see Pennacchietti 1997 (who suggests an original grammaticalized form of the Participle *qāʾim*) and Rubin 2005:33–34 (who prefers an original G verb).
[187] In the 3rd person in JZakho and JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:86) the Preterite base + L-suffix form (e.g., *murpyāle* 'he released her') may interchange with *qam* + Subjunctive base + E-suffix pronoun + L-suffix pronoun (*qammarpela*).

persons. The structure *qam* + Subjunctive is so rarely attested in JChalla (*'e-'armə́lsa qam gāwərra* 'he married that widow'; § 5.1.3) that it is clearly the result of JZakho influence.

e. The object E-affixes may be replaced by the independent LL-suffixes (§ 4.4.23.3), e.g., "he spoke to me' may be expressed by both *mirənne* and *mərre 'əlli.*

4.4.23.5. *Dummy Objects*

Dummy 3 f.s. object affixes[188] are attested on the verbs *'rq* 'flee' (§ 4.4.28.7), *qḏy* 'spend time,'[189] and *xḏy* 'rejoice'. Representative examples are 1 c.s. *'riqāli* 'I fled', 2 m.s. *'riqālox* 'you fled,' 3 m.s. *xədyāle 'əlli* 'he rejoiced over me', 3 c.pl. *qədyālu* 'they passed the time' (§ 5.6.6), *xədyālu 'əlleni* 'they rejoiced over us'. It would appear that there are also examples with a dummy 3 f.s. object on the verbs *rpy* 'C loosen, release, attack', *mxy* G 'strike, hit', and *plṭ* D 'take out':

> *kalbe mrupyālu l-'Awṛāham gəbe qaṭlile. b-íya-'ida u-yắ-'ida 'anna nāše mrupyālu 'əlləd 'Awṛāham.*
> 'The dogs let Abraham have it, they wish to kill him. When all's said and done, those people let Abraham have it.' (§ 5.7.10)

> *tar'a ptəxli gyāni. məxyāla 'əlli xá-gā xeta basri.*
> 'I opened the door myself. She hit me once again from behind.' (§ 5.8.13)

Though one may see in the following three examples a 3 f.s. dummy object on the verbs D *plṭ* 'take out' and Q *prtx* 'make change', it appears more likely that the noun *paṇqáṇoṭe*, despite its plural suffix, is treated as a feminine singular:

> *xamši paṇqáṇoṭe xá-yoma mpulṭāle.*
> 'One day he took out fifty liras.' (§ 5.10.2)

> *mpulṭāle xamši paṇqáṇoṭe*
> 'he took out fifty liras' (§ 5.10.6)

> *'egā 'āhat byāli xamši paṇqáṇoṭe? pa da-ḥmól. mpartəxənna.*
> 'So now you'll give me fifty liras? (Abraham says:) "So just wait. I will get change for it."' (§ 5.10.2)

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[188] On the phenomenon of the dummy morpheme in other dialects, see, e.g., Garbell 1965:76; Hoberman 1989:215,221; Israeli 1998:117–118; Mutzafi 2004:103.
[189] But not when it is transitive ('finish something'), e.g., *šūli qqāḏ̣ənne* 'I finish my work'.

4.4.24. Qym + *Verb*

a. A frequent narrative construction in JChalla is a Subjunctive form of *qym* followed by another Subjunctive governing an object, e.g.,

> *qemən mpalṭənne*
> 'I (m.s.) up (and) take him out'
>
> *qémana xapqannox*
> 'I (f.s.) up (and) hug you (m.s.)'
>
> *qemət gālətti*
> 'you (m.s.) up (and) reveal to me'
>
> *qema doqāli xapqāli*
> 'she up (and) grabs me (and) hugs me'
>
> *qemi doqile*
> 'they up (and) grab him'

b. Significantly less common are constructions with the Preterite or the Imperative, e.g.,

> *qəmle mšudraxle*
> 'he up (and) sent us'
>
> *qəmlu zəllu*
> 'they up (and) went'
>
> *de qū misi!*
> 'so up (and) bring (it)!'

c. The origin of the construction *qym* + verb would appear to lie in the ingressive use of *qym* as an auxiliary verb, which is well attested in NeoAram as well as in general Semitic.[190] In JChalla it is used to mark ingressive action, be it in narrating past, present or future action. Cf. the ingressive auxiliary use of *qym* in JBetan, which is restricted to the Preterite.[191]

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[190] See Dobbs-Allsopp 1995. According to Pennacchietti (1997:478), in dialects of Ashita and Upper Tiari, the syntagm expresses the imminent future whereas in dialects of the Mosul area it expresses a past event immediately following a preterite. Mutzafi (2007:353), however, considers the manuscript that Pennacchietti bases his description on to be "a concoction of various Christian NENA dialectal words and forms and is replete with fictitious and hyper-corrected forms, although quite a few other words and forms indeed reflect Ṭyare."

[191] Mutzafi 2008a:376.

d. JChalla *qym* + Subjunctive frequently occurs following a verbal form marking the past:

> *zəlle mjāməʿ denānəd gyāne. qemi qaṭlile.*
> 'He went to gather together his debtors. They up (and) kill him. (§ 5.6.9)'

> *waḷḷa ʾiya ʾaxoni Mədo mpəlle b-ʾidəd didu. qemi doqile.*
> 'By God, this brother of mine, Mido, fell into their hands. They up (and) seize him.' (§ 5.13.1)

> *walḥāṣəl waḷḷa Qoto zəllu muselu. qemi qorile.*
> 'In short, by God, they went (and) brought Qoto. They up (and) bury him.' (§ 5.4.11)

> *mə́twāle b-gyāne l-tāma go məzgafte. qemi dārele balāye ʾəbbəd reš hudāye ta šāqəl mənnu pāre.*
> 'He had died by himself there in the mosque. They up (and) put trouble on the Jews in order to take money from them.' (§ 5.5.8)

4.4.25. *Sequences of Verbal Forms*

a. A story that took place in the past may be told with alternating verbal forms. The Preterite is the most common, though, as can be seen below, one also finds the Perfect, *qym* + Subjunctive, Present, Future, and Gerund (in the continuous present syntagm), each one expressing a different tense or aspectual nuance. See, e.g.,

> *mən ʾáx-geb ʾitən tāma škaftyāsa ʾuṛwe ʾuṛwe. qemi nablile xá-yoməd ʾəryā-na… walḥāṣəl nobəllu l-tāma. nobəllu l-tāma. lu zile xa ʾəsrí-nāše mare xanjāra. kutxa səkkinəd dide l-axxa. u-zəllu ḥil zəllu l-tāma. ʾəryána-le bisāya. tləllu. zəllu škafta. bodi nūra. zəllu. ʾüdlu nūra. kəmri ta Qoto: ʾāhat mesət ṣiwe! Qoto musele ṣiwe. məttūle. drele reš-, ʾüdle nūra. ʾāni nūra mučṃelu. xá-gā xet kemər: ṭamá́ wetun mačṃóye-lle? kəmri: maʾləqle! ʾāni-, ʾiya, ʾiya mā kəmrila, ʾāya gəbe kāyəp d-āni ḥməllu ʾəbbəd ᴴsəkkiním. kenᴴ. walḥāṣəl xá-gā xet moʾləqle nūra. ʾāni mučṃelu nūra. naqəl ṭḷāha moʾləqle. mučṃelu. waḷḷa m-é-ʾida kəple. kemər: de-mpóx ʾəbbəd paḷḷe ta pāyəš ḥənna ta lā́ʾq. waḷḷa kəple reš dide. mundelu qam xanjāra. qemi qaṭlile. šoqile l-tāma u-selu. ʿā́ṣərta.*
> On this side (of Bet Kare) there are very big caves there. They *up* (and) *lead* him one rainy day… In short, they *led* him there. They *led* him there. About twenty people (each one) with a dagger *have gone*. Each one's knife is here (at the side). And they *went* and by the time they got there rain *is falling*. They *got wet*. They *went* (to) a cave. They *will make* a fire. They *went*. They *made* a fire. They *say* to Qoto: "You should bring wood!" Qoto *brought* wood. He *put it down*. He *placed* it on—, he *made* a fire. They *extinguished* the fire. Once again he (lights the fire, they extinguished it and he) *says*: "Why *are you extinguishing* it?" They *say*: "Light it"! They—, this, what do they call it?—he *has to bend* down (to light the fire) so that

they *could attack* him with knives. Yes. In short, once again he *lit* the fire. They *extinguished* the fire. A third time he *lit* it. They *extinguished* it. By God, he *bent* over (the fire) from that side. (One) *says* (to Qoto): "Now blow on the coals so that (the fire) will become, um, will catch." By God, he *bent* over it (the fire). They *attacked* him with a dagger. They *up* (and) *kill* him. They *leave* him there and *came*. (It is) evening. (§ 5.4.9–11)

f. The fluctuation of tenses in narrative, particularly of participial and preterite forms, is known from earlier Aramaic.[192]

4.4.26. *Repetitive—Reversive Postverbal Particle*

There are a few examples of a clipped form of the repetitive-reversive postverbal Kurdish particle *-wa* (< *hawa*):[193]

> *ʾən gebat dáʾrat-wa ʾəl-Čalla—*
> 'If you (f.s.) want to return back to Challa—' (§ 5.9.12)

> *xarāye m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu dʾíre-wa l-Čalla… m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu dʾíre-wa l-Čalla.*
> 'Later once again they have returned back to Challa from Shiwa… 'From Shiwa once again they have returned back to Challa.' (§ 5.6.7)

> *ʾáqqara bəʾwāra bəplāṭa bəʾwāra bəplāṭa… ᴴbeʾemétᴴ séli-wa.*
> 'So much entering, leaving, entering, leaving… Really, I had come (and gone and come and gone).' (§ 5.9.9–10)

> *ʾāya séle-wa dáre-wa quṭməd jigāre go ʾene*
> 'He came back to put ashes in his eyes again' (§ 5.6.12)

4.4.27. *Verb Classes*

The different verb classes are presented below according to the following order: I-ʾ, I-*y*, II-ʾ, II-*w*, II-*y*, II-geminate, III-ʾ, III-*w*, III-*y*. They are followed by doubly weak and irregular verbs: I-ʾ and II-*w*, I-*y* and II-*w*, I-*y* and III-*w*, I-*y* and III-*y*, II-*w* and III-ʾ, II-*w* and III-*y*, *ʾsy, ʾzl, bʾy, hwy, hymn, mnx, mṣy, nbl, npl, xyy, yʾy, yhw(l), ytw*. When the verb is

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[192] Cf., e.g., the following selection in JPA from Ms. Vatican 30 of *Genesis Rabba* ‏אזלין ואזון בני תלתה יומין, ועל ארגינטי ומזגא קודמיהון ועלין וסחון ואתון‏…:(Kutscher 1967:62) ‏לגביה‏… 'they *go* and they *heated up* the bath for three days, and ʾRGYNṬY (a demon) *entered* (the bathhouse) and *mixed* it (the water of the bath) before them and they *enter* and *bathed* and *came* to him (Emperor Diocletian). See also the situation in BiblAram (Rosenthal 1995:59–60).

[193] On the uses of this particle in NENA, see, e.g., Mutzafi 2004:85–86.

infrequent in the corpus, only attested forms (including those with object affixes) are cited.

4.4.27.1. *Verbs I-ʾ*

Attested original I-ʾ roots include *ʾmr* (< אמר) 'say' and *ʾxl* (< אכל) 'eat'.

G *ʾmr* 'say'	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	*ʾámrən(a)*	*kə́mrən(a)*	*bámrən(a)*	*mərri*
1 f.s.	*ʾámran(a)*	*kə́mran(a)*	*bámran(a)*	*mərri*
2 m.s.	*ʾámrət(ən)*	*kə́mrət(ən)*	*bámrət(ən)*	*mərrox*
2 f.s.	*ʾámrat(ən)*	*kə́mrat(ən)*	*bámrat(ən)*	*mərrax*
3 m.s.	*ʾāmər*	*kemər*	*bāmər*	*mərre*
3 f.s.	*ʾamrat*	*kəmra*	*bamra*	*mərra*
1 c.pl.	*ʾámrax(in)*	*kə́mrax(in)*	*bámrax(in)*	*mərran, mə́rreni*
2 c.pl.	*ʾamrétun(a)*	*kəmrétun(a)*	*bamrétun(a)*	*mə́rrexun*
3 c.pl.	*ʾamri*	*kəmri*	*bamri*	*mərru*

The prefix *g-* on forms of the Present, e.g., *gemər, gəmri*, is significantly less frequent than *k-*, and thus is most likely the result of JZakho interference.

> Imperative c.s. *mar*, c.pl. *marun*
> Participle m.s. *mira*, f.s. *mərta*, c.pl. *mire*
> Gerund *ʾimāra*

G *ʾxl* 'eat'	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	*ʾáxlən(a)*	*kə́xlən(a)*	*báxlən(a)*	*xəlli*[194]
1 f.s.	*ʾáxlan(a)*	*kə́xlan(a)*	*báxlan(a)*	*xəlli*
2 m.s.	*ʾáxlət(ən)*	*kə́xlət(ən)*	*báxlət(ən)*	*xəllox*
2 f.s.	*ʾáxlat(ən)*	*kə́xlat(ən)*	*báxlat(ən)*	*xəllax*
3 m.s.	*ʾāxəl*	*kexəl*	*bāxəl*	*xəlle*
3 f.s.	*ʾaxlat*	*kəxla*	*baxla*	*xəlla*
1 c.pl.	*ʾáxlax(in)*	*kə́xlax(in)*	*báxlax(in)*	*xəllan, xə́lleni*
2 c.pl.	*ʾaxlétun(a)*	*kəxlétun(a)*	*baxlétun(a)*	*xə́llexun*
3 c.pl.	*ʾaxli*	*kəxli*	*baxli*	*xəllu*

> Imperative c.s. *xol*, c.pl. *xolun*
> Participle m.s. *xila*, f.s. *xəlta*, c.pl. *xile*
> Gerund *ʾixāla*

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[194] *ʾxəlli* is also attested once. See § 3.17.a.

C *'xl* 'feed'

Subjunctive	2 m.s. *maxlət*, 3 c.pl. *maxli*
Present	2 m.s. *gmaxlət*
Future	2 m.s. *mmaxlət*, 3 m.s. *bmāxəl*

Note the loan from ModH (הֶאֱשִׁים):

  3 c.pl. *moʼšəmənnu* 'they accused me'

' in *'wd* 'do, make' and *'wr* 'enter' (§ 4.4.28.1) is a reflex of original ʿ, as is ʾ in *'lq* G ʿ(search and) find', C 'kindle, light', e.g., *k'alqax* 'we earn', *moʼəlqāla* 'she lit it'. See also *'rq* 'run, flee' (§ 4.4.28.7), *'sy* 'come' (§ 4.4.28.8) and *'zl* 'go' (§ 4.4.28.9).

4.4.27.2. *Verbs I-y*

An original I-*y* root is *yrq* 'become green' (< ירק). Inflected similarly is *yrx* 'be long' (< ארך):

G	Present	3 m.s. *gyārəq* 'he becomes green'
	Preterite	3 m.s. *yrəxle* 'he has become long'
C	Subjunctive	2 m.s. *mayrəxətta* 'you may lengthen her', 3 m.s. *mayrəx* 'he may lengthen', *mayrəxla* 'he may lengthen her'; 3 c.pl. *mayrəxilu* 'they may lengthen them'

Two additional verbs have gone over to I-*y*: *ysq* 'ascend' (< סלק) and *ysr* 'bind' (< אסר):

G	Subjunctive	3 m.s. *yāsəq* 'he may ascend', 1 c.pl. *yasqax* 'we may ascend', 3 c.pl. *yasrilox* 'they may bind you'
	Present	1 m.s. *gyasrənnexun* 'I bind you (pl.)', 1 c.pl. *gyasraxlu* 'we bind them', 3 c.pl. *gyasrile* 'they bind him'
	Future	3 c.pl. *byasríleni* 'they will bind us'
	Preterite	1 c.s. *səqli*, 'I ascended', 3 m.s. *səqle* 'he ascended', 3 c.pl. *sirilu* 'they bound them'
	Participle	m.s. *sira* 'bound', *ysira*, c.pl. *sire*

There is only one example of a C form:

  Preterite   3 m.s. *musqaxle* 'he brought us up'

Note also the loan from ModHeb (יִשֵּׁר):

D	Future	3 c.pl. *(m)myašrilu* 'they will straighten them'

See also verbs I-*y* and II-*w* (§ 4.4.28.2), *y'y* 'know' (§ 4.4.28.19), *yhw(l)* 'give' (§ 4.4.28.20), and *ytw* 'sit' (§ 4.4.28.21).

4.4.27.3. *Verbs II-ʾ*

II-ʾ verbs are reflexes of different verbal roots:

a. ClAram II-*g*: *rʾš* C 'wake up' (< רגש)
b. ClAram II-*w*: *dʾš* 'tread on' (< דוש? or conflation of Aram דוש + Ar دعس?)
c. ClAram II-ʿ: *dʾp* 'fold' (< ܟܦܠܐ; § 4.4.1.b), *dʾr* 'return' (< ܗܕܪ), *ṭʾn* C 'load' (< טען)

G *dʾr* 'return (intr.)'	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	*dáʾrən(a)*	*dʾərri*
1 f.s.	*dáʾran(a)*	*dʾərri*
2 m.s.	*dáʾrət(ən)*	*dʾərrox*
2 f.s.	*dáʾrat(ən)*	*dʾərrax*
3 m.s.	*dāʾer*	*dʾərre*
3 f.s.	*daʾra*	*dʾərra*
1 c.pl.	*dáʾrax(in)*	*dʾərran, dʾə́rreni*
2 c.pl.	*daʾrétun(a)*	*dʾə́rrexun*
3 c.pl.	*daʾri*	*dʾərru*

Imperative   c.s. *dʾor*, c.pl. *dʾorun*
Participle   m.s. *dʾira*, f.s. *dʾərta*, c.pl. *dʾire*
Gerund   *dʾāra*

C 'return (tr.)'

Subjunctive   1 m.s. *madʾərənna* 'I may return her', 2 m.s. *madʾərətte* 'you may return him', 1 c.pl. *madʾəraxle* 'we may return him'
Preterite   3 c.pl. *mudʾərənnu* 'they returned me'

See also *bʾy* 'want' (§ 4.4.28.10) and *yʾy* 'know' (§ 4.4.28.19).

4.4.27.4. *Verbs II-w*

This verb class is made up of reflexes of

a. ClAram II-*b*: *dwq* 'hold' (< דבק), *gwr* 'marry (intr.)' (< גבר), *jwj* 'move' (< שבש), *kwš* 'descend' (< כבש), *lwš* 'wear'(< לבש), *nwḥ* 'bark' (< נבח), *qwr* 'bury' (< קבר), *šwq* 'leave' (< שבק), *twr* break' (< תבר), *zwn* 'buy' (< זבן)

b. ClAram II-*w*: *xwr* 'be white' (< חור)
c. loanwords: *zwr* 'go around'

G *dwq* 'hold, grasp'	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	*dóqən(a)*	*düqli*
1 f.s.	*dóqan(a)*	*düqli*
2 m.s.	*dóqət(ən)*	*düqlox*
2 f.s.	*dóqat(ən)*	*düqlax*
3 m.s.	*dāwəq*	*düqle*
3 f.s.	*doqa*	*düqla*
1 c.pl.	*dóqax(in)*	*düqlan, dűqleni*
2 c.pl.	*doqétun(a)*	*dűqlexun*
3 c.pl.	*doqi*	*düqlu*

Imperative c.s. *doq*, c.pl. *doqun*
Participle: m.s. *dwiqa, dűqa*, f.s. *dwəqta, düqta*; c.pl. *dwiqe, dűqe*
Gerund *dwāqa*

C Subjunctive 3 m.s. *mādüqlu* 'he may have them seized', *mākušli* 'he may bring me down', *manwəxle* 'he may make him bark', 3 c.pl. *magwərila* 'they may marry her off', *makšilu*[195] 'they may bring them down'
Past Habitual 3 m.s. *māzúrwāle* 'he would turn him around', 3 c.pl. *mazüríwāle* 'they would turn him around'
Preterite 3 c.pl. *mugwərālu* 'they married her off', *mokušlu* 'they brought down'
Plupreterite: 1 s. *mugəŕắwāli* 'I had her married off'
Participle c.pl. *múgwəre* 'married off'

On the contraction of *wi* > *ū/ü*, see § 3.12.b.

See also the doubly weak verbs I-ʾ and II-*w* (§ 4.4.28.1), I-*y* and II-*w* (§ 4.4.28.2), II-*w* and III-ʾ (§ 4.4.28.5), II-*w* and III-*y* (§ 4.4.28.6).

4.4.27.5. *Verbs II-*y

This class consists of the following verbs:

a. ClAram II-*w*: *mys* 'die' (< מות; § 3.1.b), *nyx* 'rest' (< נוח), *pyš* 'remain' (< פוש), *pyx* 'become cool' (< פוח), *qym* 'stand up' (< קום), *ṛym* C 'lift' (< רום)

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[195] For expected *makušklu* or *makwəšilu*.

b. ClAram geminate: *čym* 'close' (< טמם), *kyp* 'bend' (< כפף), *pyd*
   'pass by' (< פגז), *syl* 'fuck' (< סלל), *tym* 'finish' (< תמם), *xyk* 'scratch'
   (< חכך), *xyp* 'wash' (< חפף)

c. ClAram I-*y*: *lyp* 'learn' (< ילף), *qyd* 'burn' (< יקד)

d. loanwords: *čyq* 'tear out', *čyr* 'move around', *ḍyʿ* 'be lost', *ḥyl* 'dese-
   crate' (see also § 4.4.27.6), *ḥyš* 'insert', *jyb* 'answer', *pyč* 'crush', *ṣyḥ*
   'check', *zyd* 'increase'

G *pyš* 'remain'		
	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	*péšən(a)*	*pəšli*
1 f.s.	*péšan(a)*	*pəšli*
2 m.s.	*péšət(ən)*	*pəšlox*
2 f.s.	*péšat(ən)*	*pəšlax*
3.m.s.	*pāyəš*	*pəšle*
3 f.s.	*peša*	*pəšla*
1 c.pl.	*péšax(in)*	*pəšlan, pə́šleni*
2 c.pl.	*pešétun(a)*	*pə́šlexun*
3 c.pl.	*peši*	*pəšlu*

Imperative   c.s. *poš*, c.pl. *pošun*
Participle   m.s. *piša,* f.s. *pəšta, c.*pl. *piše*
Gerund   *pyāša*

The imperative forms of *qym* 'arise' are c.s. *qū* and c.pl. *qūn*.[196]

Of interest is the root *šyʿ* 'plaster', which elsewhere shows up in NeoAram
as *šyʾ* (< שוע or שעע; § 3.3.d):

   G   Preterite   3 m.s. *šəʿle* 'he plastered it'
        Imperative   c.pl. *šáʿūle* 'plaster it'

In the D stem one finds only the verb *hyr* 'dare':

   Subjunctive   3 m.s. *mhāyər*, 1 c.pl. *mherax*, 3 c.pl. *mheri*

In the C stem, original II-geminate and II-w/y verbs, which have col-
lapsed together into one inflection in G, show different inflections, even
in the same verb:

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[196] Cf. in other NeoAram dialects *qū(lox), qūmun, qūn, qū(lōxun)*. See, e.g., Krotkoff
1982:29; Sabar 2002a:278. For a survey of literature on the origin of *qu*, pl. *qumun*, and
the imperative suffix *-mun*, see Polotsky 1961:27–29.

Subjunctive   1 m.s. *mắkipən* 'I may bend (tr.)', *malpənnox* 'I may
                       teach you', *majbənne* 'I may answer him', *malpənne* 'I
                       may teach him', m.s. *maṛmət* 'you may lift up', *majbətti*
                       'you may answer me', 3 m.s. *māṛəm* 'he may lift up',
                       1 c.pl. *ᴴmaxinaxluᴴ* 'we may prepare them', 2 c.pl.
                       maqimetun 'you may set up', 3 c.pl. *maḍiʿilu* 'they
                       may miss them', *majbili* 'they may answer me', *malpile*
                       'they may teach me'
Present   3 m.s. *gmākəple* 'he bends him (tr.)'
PastHabitual   3 c.pl., *mapidiwa* 'they were making (it) pass by'
Future   3 m.s. *mmājəblox* 'he will answer you'
Past Prospective   3 c.pl. *mmakipíwāle* 'they were bending it'
Preterite   1 s. *ᴴmoḥəlliᴴ* 'I desecrated', *mujbāli* 'I answered
                       her', 3 m.s. *mokəple* 'he bent it', 1 c.pl. *mojəblan* 'we
                       answered him', 3 c.pl. *mokəplu* 'they bent it'
Imperative   c.s. *māṛəm* 'lift up!', *mājəb* 'answer!'
Gerund   *maṣoḥe* 'checking', *maṛome* 'lifting up', *ᴴmaxoneᴴ*
                       'preparing'

4.4.27.6. *Geminate Verbs*

The attested geminate verbs are *tll* 'get wet' (< תלל) and *xll* 'wash (tr.)' (<
חלל):[197]

G   Preterite   3 m.pl. *tləllu* 'they got wet'
D   Preterite   3 m.s. *mxuləlle* 'he washed it'
Gerund   *mxassóse-lla* 'renewing her'

See also *xyy* 'live' (§ 4.4.28.18). H חֲלֵל 'desecrate' shows up as as a II-y root
ḥyl (§ 4.4.27.5), but also as a geminate root in the Participle in the Perfect
construction: *wən mḥúlla-lla* 'I have desecrated it'.

4.4.27.7. *Verbs III-ʾ*

a. There are three sources of III-ʾ verbs:

   1. ClAram III-ʿ: *blʾ* 'swallow' (< בלע), *grʾ* 'shave' (< גרע), *šmʾ* G 'hear'
      and C 'listen' (< שמע), *mrʾ* 'be in pain' (< מרע), *pqʾ* 'cut' (< פקע), *qṭ*
      (< קטע), *zdʾ* 'fear' (< זוע; § 4.4.1.b), *zrʾ* 'sow' (< זרע)
   2. ClAram III-*g*: *plʾ* 'divide' (< פלג)
   3. loanword (III-ʿ): *nfʾ* 'be useful'

See also the C stem of *yʾy* 'know' (§ 4.4.28.19).

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[197] Cf. JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:77–79).

b. ʾ is often difficult to hear or elided. When questionable it appears in parentheses.

c. *ə* > *e*/_ ʾ (§ 3.11.a), e.g., *gšāmə* > *gšāmeʾ* 'hears', *šməʾli* > *šmeʾli* 'he heard'.

Attested forms include

G	Subjunctive	2 m.s. *zadʾət* 'you may fear', *qaṭʾətta* 'you may cut her', 3 m.s. *šāmeʾ* 'he should hear', 3 f.s. *zadya* 'she may fear', *marya* 'she may hurt', 1 pl. *qaṭʾaxlu* 'we may cut them'
	Present	2 m.s. *gzadʾət* 'you fear', 3 m.s. *gšāmeʾ* 'he hears', *gnāfeʾ* 'it is useful', 1 c.pl. *gzadʾax* 'we may fear'
	Future	1 m.s. *bzadʾən* 'I shall fear', *pqaṭʾnne* 'I shall cut him', 2 m.s. *pšām(ʾ)ət* 'you will listen', 3 f.s. *pqaṭya* 'she will cut',
	Preterite	1 m.s. *qətyāli* 'I cut her', 3 m.s. *šmeʾle* 'he heard', *qteʾle* 'he cut', 3 f.s. *əmre(ʾ)la* 'it hurt', 1 c.pl. *šmeʾlan* 'we heard'
	Imperative	c.s. *šmoʾ*, m.s. *šmoʾlox*, c.pl. *šmoʾun*
	Participle	m.s. *šəmya* 'heard', *zərya* 'sown', f.s. *mreʾta* 'hurt', c.pl. *šəmye, qətye*
D	Subjunctive	3 m.pl. *mpāle(ʾ)lu* 'they distributed'
	Participle	f.s. *mpole(ʾ)ta* 'distributed', c.pl. *mpulye*
C	Subjunctive	2 m.s. *mašm(ʾ)ət*
	Imperative	c.s. *mašmi(ʾ)/ mašme(ʾ)*, c.pl. *mašm(ʾ)un*
	Gerund	*mašmoye*

The partial merger of verbs III-ʾ with verbs III-*y* is evident, e.g., in the final vowel *i* before ʾ in the Imperative *mašmi(ʾ)* (cf. III-*y maxzi* 'show!') alongside *mašme(ʾ)*, and in those forms where *y* has replaced historical ʾ, e.g., *zadya* 'she may fear' (< *zadʾa), *šemya* 'heard' (< *smiʾa).

See also verbs II-*w* and III-ʾ (§ 4.4.28.5) and *yʾy* 'know' (§ 4.4.28.19).

4.4.27.8. *Verbs III-*w

This class is a reflex of ClAram verbs III-*b*: *gnw* 'steal' (< גנב), *ksw* 'write' (< כתב), *rkw* 'ride' (< רכב), *xlw* 'milk' (< חלב), *xrw* 'be destroyed' (< חרב), *xšw* 'think' (< חשב). On the contraction of the diphthongs leading to the *ū*-vowel in several of the forms, see § 3.14.

G *ksw* 'write'	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	*káswən(a)*	*ksūli*
1 f.s.	*káswan(a)*	*ksūli*
2 m.s.	*káswət(ən)*	*ksūlox*
2 f.s.	*káswat(ən)*	*ksūlax*
3 m.s.	*kāsu*	*ksūle*
3 f.s.	*kaswa*	*ksūla*
1 c.pl.	*káswax(in)*	*ksūlan, ksū́leni*
2 c.pl.	*kaswétun(a)*	*ksū́lexun*
3 c.pl.	*kaswi*	*ksūlu*

Imperative s. *ksū*, pl. *ksūn*
Participle m.s. *ksiwa*, f.s. *ksūta*, pl. *ksiwe*
Gerund   *ksāwa*

D Subjunctive 2 m.s. *mqalwətta* 'you may clean her', 3 c.pl. *mqalwilu* 'they may clean them'
   Imperative c.s. *mqālu* 'clean!'

C Subjunctive 3 m.s. *maxrūla* 'he may destroy her', *maxrū́lexun* 'he may destroy you (pl.)'
   Past Habitual 3 c.pl. *maxərwíwa* 'they used to destroy'
   Preterite 3 m.s. *muxərwắle* 'he destroyed her', 3 c.pl. *muxərwắlu* 'they destroyed her'
   Participle m.s. *múxərwa* 'destroyed', c.pl. *múxərwe*

See also *ytw* 'sit' (§ 4.4.28.21).

4.4.27.9. *Verbs III-y*

This is the largest of the weak classes and includes

1. ClAram III-y: *bry* 'happen' (< ברי), *čmy* 'be extinguished' (< סמי), *dry* 'put in' (< דרי), *gly* 'reveal' (< גלי), *gny* 'set (sun)' (< גני), *ksy* 'cover' (< כסי), *msy* 'wash' (< מסי), *mṭy* 'arrive' (< מטי), *mly* 'fill' and *mly* 'be sufficient', (< מלי), *mxy* 'strike' (< מחי), *ndy* 'throw down/away' (< נדי), *nṣy* 'fight' (< נצי), *nšy* 'forget' (< נשי), *qry* 'call, read' (< קרי), *rpy* 'release, loosen' (< רפי), *sny* 'hate' (< סני), *sxy* 'bathe' (<סחי), *ṣly* 'pray' (< צלי), *šny* 'move' (< שני), *šry* 'untie' (< שרי), *šty* 'drink' (<שתי), *tly* 'hang' (< תלי), *ṭ'y* 'search' (< טעי), *ṭpy* 'stick, kindle' (< טפי), *ṭry* 'drive' (< טרי), *ṭšy* 'hide' (< טשי), *xdy* 'rejoice' (< חדי), *xzy* 'see' (< חזי) *zky* 'deserve' (< זכי)

2. loanwords: *dʿy* 'pray', *dġy* 'be branded', *jry* 'flow', *kry* 'be short', *lzy* 'hurry, *mḥy* 'erase', *qdy* 'spend time, finish', *šky* 'lodge a complaint', *zxy* 'deserve'

G *xzy*[198] 'see'		
	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	*xǎzən(a)*	*xzeli*
1 f.s.	*xáyzan(a)*	*xzeli*
2 m.s.	*xǎzət(ən)*	*xzelox*
2 f.s.	*xázyat(ən)*	*xzelax*
3 m.s.	*xāze*	*xzele*
3 f.s.	*xazya*	*xzela*
1 c.pl.	*xǎzax(in)*	*xzelan, xzéleni*
2 c.pl.	*xāzétun(a)*	*xzélexun*
3 c.pl.	*xāze*	*xzelu*

Imperative   m.s. *xzi*, f.s. *xze*, c.pl. *xzūn*[199]
Participle   m.s. *xəzya*, f.s. *xzeta*,[200] c.pl. *xəzye*
Gerund   *xzāya*

C   Subjunctive   1 m.s. *maxzənnax* 'I may show you'
    Past Habitual   1 m.s. *maxzənwa* 'I would show'
    Imperative   m.s. *maxzi* 'show!'

Other verbs:

D   Subjunctive   1 c.pl. *mrāpaxlox* 'we may release you'
    Preterite   1 c.s. *mrupyāli* 'I released her', 3 f.s. *mropənna* 'she released me', 3 c.pl. *mrupyālu* 'they released her'[201]
    Participle   f.s. *mrupeta* 'released'; c.pl. *mrupye*
    Imperative   m.s. *mrápilu* 'release them!'

C   Subjunctive   1 m.s. *mandənne* 'I may throw him', 2 m.s. *mandət* 'you may throw', 3 m.s. *mazkela* 'may he grant her merit', 3 c.pl. *mandelu* 'they may throw them'
    Past Habitual   3 c.pl. *mandéwālu* 'they used to throw'

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[198] On the realization of /x/ as [ɣ] in this root, see § 3.6.g.

[199] Mutzafi 2002:480–481 presents the plural of verbs III-y ending in *-V̄wun* as a common feature of *lishana deni* dialects. I do not hear it, however, in the speech of Shabbo. It is found in JChalla only in the imperative of *ʾsy* 'come': *sāwun*.

[200] Cf. the f.s. with *i* in other *lishana deni* dialects, e.g., *xzisa* (JZakho), *xziϑa* (JBetan). Polotsky 1961:15–16 suggests that the feminine Participle in some NENA dialects was formed on the analogy of the Preterite. Mutzafi (p.c.) suggests that analogy to verbs III-ʾ (e.g., *greʾta* 'shaven') may be responsible.

[201] See § 4.4.23.5.

Preterite		1 c.s. *mundeli, mǝndeli* 'I threw', 3 m.s. *mundele, mǝndele* 'he threw', 3 f.s. *mundela* 'she threw', 1 c.pl. *mundyālan* 'we threw her', 3 c.pl. *mundelu, mǝndelu* 'they threw him', *mundyālu* 'they threw her'
Imperative		m.s. *mandi*, 'throw!' *mándila* 'throw her!', c.pl. *mándūle* 'throw him!'
Participle		c.pl. *múndye*
Gerund		*mandoye* 'throwing'

See also verbs I-*y* and III-*y* (§ 4.4.28.4), II-*w* and III-*y* (§ 4.4.28.6), *'sy* 'come' (§ 4.4.28.8), *b'y* 'want' (§ 4.4.28.10), and *mṣy* 'be able' (§ 4.4.28.15).

4.4.28. Doubly Weak and Irregular Verbs

4.4.28.1. Verbs I-ʾ and II-w

Two verbs are attested: *'wd* 'do, make' (< עבד) and *'wr* 'enter' (< עבר).

G 'do, make'	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	*'ódǝn(a)*	*'üdli, wǝdli*[202]
1 f.s.	*'ódan(a)*	*'üdli, wǝdli*
2 m.s.	*'ódǝt(ǝn)*	*'üdlox, wǝdlox*
2 f.s.	*'ódat(ǝn)*	*'üdlax, wǝdlax*
3 m.s.	*'āwǝd*	*'üdle, wǝdle*
3 f.s.	*'oda*	*'üdla, wǝdla*
1 c.pl.	*'ódax(in)*	*'üdlan, 'űdleni, wǝdlan, wə́dleni*
2 c.pl.	*'odétun(a)*	*'űdlexun, wə́dlexun*
3 c.pl.	*'odi*	*'üdlu, wǝdlu*

Imperative	c.s. *'od*, c.pl. *'odun*
Participle	m.s. *'wida, wida, 'űda* (§ 3.12.b), f.s. *'ütta* (§ 3.6.b), c.pl. *'wide, wide, 'űde*
Gerund[203]	*'wāda, wāda*; following the preposition *b-*: *bāda*

C	Subjunctive	2 m.s. *ma'rǝtte* 'you may bring him in'
	Preterite	3 m.s. *mo'ǝrre* 'he brought him in', *mo'rǝnne* 'he brought me in', 3 c.pl. *mo'rǝnnu* 'they brought me in'

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[202] *'üdli* < *ʾwǝdli. Cf. JZakh *'uzli* (Sabar 2002a:91), JAmid *ʾʉdli,ʾwǝdli* (Hoberman 1989:214), JBetan *wǝdli* (Mutzafi 2008a:76).

[203] Cf. JZakh *'wāza* (Polotsky 1967:105), JAmid *'wada* (Hoberman 1989:214), JBetan *wāða* (Mutzafi 2008a:76).

4.4.28.2. *Verbs I-y and II-w*

One verb is attested: *ywš* 'dry up' (< יבש)

| | G | Preterite | 3 m.s. *ywəšle* 'he dried up', 3 c.pl. *ywəšlu* 'they dried up' |

4.4.28.3. *Verbs I-y and III-w*

See *ytw* 'sit' (§ 4.4.28.21).

4.4.28.4. *Verbs I-y and III-y*

Attested verbs are *ymy* 'swear' (< ימי) and *ypy* (< אפי).

G	Subjunctive	3 m.s. and c.pl. *yāme* 'he may swear'
	Present	1 m.s. *gyāmən* 'I swear', 3 m.s. *gyāme* 'he swears', *gyāpe* 'he bakes'
	Future	1 m.s. *byāmən* 'I shall swear', 1 f.s. *byamyannox* 'I shall swear to you', 2 m.s. *byamət* 'you will swear', 2 f.s *byamyatti* 'you will swear to me', 1 c.pl. *byamaxlox* 'we shall swear to you'
	Preterite	1 c.s. *ymeli* 'I swore', 2 m.s. *ymelox* 'you swore', 3 m.s. *ymele* 'he swore'
	Imperative	m.s. *ymi* 'swear!'
	Gerund	following the preposition *b-*: *bipá̄* 'baking'
	Participle	m.s. *yəmya* 'sworn', c.pl. *yəmye*
C	Present	1 m.s. *gmaymənnox* 'I adjure you'
	Participle	3 m.s. *múyəmya* 'adjured'

See also *y'y* (§ 4.4.28.19).

4.4.28.5. *Verbs II-w and III-ʾ*

Two verbs are attested: *ṣwʾ* 'paint, dye' (< צבע) and *ṭwʾ* 'fall asleep' (< טבע):

G	Past Habitual	3 m.s. *ṣāwéʾwāle* 'he used to dye'
	Pluperfect	1 c.s. *ṭweʾwāli* 'I had fallen asleep'
	Participle	m.s. *ṣəwya* 'dyed' (§ 3.14)

4.4.28.6. *Verbs II-w and III-y*

Attested verbs are *ṛwy* 'grow' (< רבי), and *ṭwy* 'roast' (< טוי):

G Present   3 m.s. *gṛāwe* 'he grows'
   Preterite   2 m.s. *ṛwelox* 'you grew'
   Participle   m.s. *ṛəwya* 'grown'
D Past Habitual 3 c.pl. *mṭāwéwālu* 'they would roast'
C Preterite   1 c.pl. *muṛwelan* 'we raised'

See also *hwy* 'be, be born' (§ 4.4.28.12)

4.4.28.7. ʾrq (< ערק)

The verb *ʾrq* is inflected regularly when it means 'run', e.g.,

G Preterite   1 s. *ʾrəqli* 'I ran'
   Gerund   *ʾrāqa*

When it means 'flee', however, it takes a 3 f.s. dummy object, e.g.,

G Subjunctive 1 m.s. *ʾarqənna* 'I shall flee', 3 m.s. *ʾārəqla*
   Preterite   1 s. *ʾriqāli* 'I fled', 2 m.s. *ʾriqālox*, 3 c.pl. *ʾriqālu*
   Perfect   2 m.s. *wət ʾríqala* 'you have fled'
   Imperative   c.pl. *ʾrúqūla*

C Subjunctive 2 m.s. *maʾərqətte* 'you may chase him away', 3 c.pl. *maʾərqile* 'they may smuggle him out'
   Preterite   3 m.s. *moʾrəqle* 'he chased him away', 3 f.s. *moʾərqāle* 'he smuggled her out', 3 c.pl. *moʾərqilu* 'they chased them away'
   Perfect   3 c.pl. *lu móʾərqi-lle* 'they have smuggled him out'

4.4.28.8. ʾsy (< אתי)

G 'come'				
	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	*ʾắsən(a)*	*késən(a)*	*bắsən(a)*	*seli*
1 f.s.	*ʾāsyan*	*kəsyan*	*basyan*	*seli*
2 m.s.	*ʾắsət(ən)*	*késət(ən)*	*bắsət(ən)*	*selox*
2 f.s.	*ʾásyat(ən)*	*kə́syat(ən)*	*básyat(ən)*	*selax*
3 m.s.	*ʾāse*	*kese*	*bāse*	*sele*
3 f.s.	*ʾasya*	*kəsya*	*basya*	*sela*
1 c.pl.	*ʾắsax(in)*	*késax(in)*	*bắsax(in)*	*selan, séleni*
2 c.pl.	*ʾāsétun(a)*	*kesétun(a)*	*bāsétun(a)*	*sélexun*
3 c.pl.	*ʾāse*	*kese*	*bāse*	*selu*

Imperative[204] c.s. *sa*, c.pl. *sāwun*
Participle m.s. *ʾəsya*, f.s. *seta*,[205] c.pl. *ʾəsye*
Gerund *ʾisāya*

Attested forms of C 'bring'[206] include

Subjunctive	2 m.s. *mesət* 'you may bring', *mesətte* 'you may bring him', 2 f.s. *mesyattu* 'you may bring them', 3 m.s. *mese* 'he may bring', *meselu* 'he may bring them', 2 c.pl. *mesétūla* 'you may bring her'
Present	3 m.s. *gmese* 'he brings'
Past Habitual	3 c.pl. *mesewa* 'they used to bring'
Preterite	1 c.s. *museli* 'I brought', *məseli*, 3 m.s. *musele* 'he brought', *məsele*, 3 f.s. *musela* 'she brought', 3 c.pl. *muselu* 'they brought', *məselu*
Imperative	m.s. *misi* 'bring!', *mísili* 'bring me!', f.s. *méselu* 'bring them!'; c.pl. *mū́sūle* 'bring him!'
Participle	m.s. *musya* 'brought', c. pl. *musye*
Gerund	*masoye* 'bringing'

4.4.28.9. ʾzl (< אזל)

G 'go'	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	*ʾắzən(a)*	*gézən(a)*	*bāzən(a)*	*zəlli*
1 f.s.	*ʾắzan(a)*	*gézan(a)*	*bázan(a)*	*zəlli*
2 m.s.	*ʾắzət(ən)*	*gézət(ən)*	*bázət(ən)*	*zəllox*
2 f.s.	*ʾắzat(ən)*	*gézat(ən)*	*bázat(ən)*	*zəllax*
3 m.s.	*ʾāzəl*	*gezəl*	*bāzəl*	*zəlle*
3 f.s.	*ʾāza*	*geza*	*bāza*	*zəlla*
1 c.pl.	*ʾắzax(in)*	*gézax(in)*	*bázax(in)*	*zəllan, zə́lleni*
2 c.pl.	*ʾāzétun(a)*	*gezétun(a)*	*bāzétun(a)*	*zə́llexun*
3 c.pl.	*ʾāzi*	*gezi*	*bāzi*	*zəllu*

The following syncopated forms (§ 3.18.d.) of the Future are attested:

1 m.s.	*bān*
1 f.s.	*bān*
2 m.s.	*bāt*
2 f.s.	*bāt*
2 m.s.	*bāl*

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[204] Cf. the different forms of the Imperative of 'come' in the *lishana deni* dialects of JAradh, JBetan, JDohok, and JZakho as listed in Mutzafi 2002:481. See also JAmid *ϑa*, pl. *ϑuwun* (Hoberman 1989:214).
[205] On the aphaeresis of initial ʾ see § 3.17.a.
[206] See Mutzafi 2008a:82 nn. 76–77 on vowel assimilations in the forms of this verb.

Imperative[207]   m.s. *si*, f.s. *se*, *selax*, c.pl. *sūn*
Participle   m.s. *zila*, f.s. *zəlta*, c.pl. *zile*
Gerund   *ʾizāla*

4.4.28.10. bʾy *(< בעי)*

Attested forms of G 'want, desire' include

Subjunctive   1 s. *bāʾən* 'I may want', 2 f.s. *baʾyat* 'you may want', 3
                m.s. *bāʾe* 'he may want', 2 c.pl. *bāʾetun* 'you may want', 3
                c.pl. *bāʾe* 'they may want'
Present   1 s. *gəbən* 'I want', *gbənne* 'I want him', *gbənnax* 'I want
                you', *gbənnu* 'I want them', 1 f.s. *gbannox* 'I want you', 2
                m.s. *gəbət* 'you want', *gbəttan* 'you want us', 2 f.s. *gəbat*
                'you want', *gbatte* 'you want him', 3 m.s. *gəbe* 'he wants',
                3 f.s. *gbālox* 'she wants you', 1 c.pl. *gəbax* 'we want', 2
                c.pl. *gəbetun* 'you want', 3 c.pl. *gəbe* 'they want'
Past Habitual   3 m.s. and c. pl. *gbewa* 'he/they used to want', 3 f.s.
                gbāwa 'she used to want'
Preterite   1 c.s. *bʾeli* 'I wanted', 1 c.pl. *bʾelan* 'we wanted', 3 c.pl.
                bʾelu 'they wanted'
Participle   c.pl. *beʾye* 'wanted'

The vowel *ə* of *gəb-* is elided in the Present following a sandhi vowel, e.g.,
following the negative *la*, e.g., *lá-gbən* 'I don't want', *lá-gbe* 'he doesn't
want. On the difference between the base of the Subjunctive and the
Present, see § 4.4.9.j.

4.4.28.11. hnnl *(< hənna)*

The filler *hənna* (§ 4.9.a) may be inflected verbally. Examples include

Subjunctive   3 c.pl. *mhannəlili* 'they may do, um, to me'
Future   3 c.pl. *phannəlilu* 'they will do, um, to them'
Preterite: 3 m.s. *hənnəlle* 'he did, um',[208] *hənnəlle*, 3 c.pl. *hənnəllu*,
                hənnallu 'they did, um'
Plupreterite   3 m.s. *hənnəlwāle* 'he had done, um'

4.4.28.12. hwy *(< הוי)*

Attested forms of G 'be, be born' include

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[207] The forms of the Imperative are derived from the root *sgy* < *śg'. See Mutzafi
2005:105–106 and 2008a:379.
[208] Cf. *hnɪlle* (Sabar 2002a:151).

	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	*hāwən*	*kāwən*	*pắwən(a)*	*hweli* 'I was born'
2 m.s.	*hāwət*	*kāwət*	*pāwət*	
3 m.s.	*hāwe*	*kāwe*	*pāwe*	
3 f.s.	*hūwa*	*kūwa*	*pūwa*	
1 c.pl.	*hāwax*	*kāwax*	*pāwax*	
2 c.pl.	*hāwetun*	*kāwetun*	*pāwetun*	
3 c.pl.	*hāwe*	*kāwe*	*pāwe*	

The forms of the 1 f.s. and 2 f.s. are unattested in the corpus. The 3 f.s. forms with *ū* (*hūwa, kūwa, pūwa*; § 3.15.d) are unattested in other *lishana deni* dialects. Cf. 3 f.s. *hōya (höya), kōya* in JZakh, JAmid, and JBetan.[209] See § 4.4.9.f for the prefix *k-* on forms of the Present, § 4.4.11.b for the prefix *p-* on forms of the Future, and § 3.2.d and § 4.1.8.l for the relative *d- > t-* before forms of the Subjunctive.

There appears to be a fossilized form *welāle* (< *hwewāle*) in

> *wélāle šö'á-brone.*
> 'Seven sons were born to him.' (§ 5.1.3)

4.4.28.13. hymn *(< היםן < C אמן)*

Attested forms of Q 'believe, trust' include

Subjunctive	1 m.s. *mhemnən* 'I may believe', *mhémnəna*, 2 m.s. *mhemnət* 'you may believe', 3 m.s. *mhemən* 'he may believe', *mhemənne* 'he may believe him', 3 f.s. *mhemnat* 'she may believe'
Present	1 m.s. *lá-gmhèmnəna* 'I don't believe', 3 f.s. *lá-gmhemna* 'she doesn't believe'
Preterite	3 m.s. *mhomənne* 'he believed', 3 f.s. *mhomənna* 'she believed'
Participle	c.pl. *mhumne* 'believed'

4.4.28.14. mnx *(< נוח?; < עיני?)*

Attested forms of C 'look at' include

Subjunctive	1 m.s. *ménxən(a)* 'I may look at', 3 c.pl. *menxi* 'they may look at'
Present	1 m.s. *gmenəx* 'I look at', 3 c.pl. *gmenxi* 'they look at'

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[209] Polotsky 1967:107; Avineri 1998:226, Sabar 2002a:149, Hoberman 1989:32; Mutzafi 2008a:178,194.

Preterite   1 c.s. *monəxli* 'I looked at', 3 m.s. *monəxle* 'he looked at',
                   3 f.s. *monəxla* 'she looked at'
Imperative   c.s. *menəx* 'look at!', c.pl. *menxun*
Gerund   *manoxe*

4.4.28.15. mṣy *'be able'* (< מצי)

The Subjunctive/Present of the verb is based on the ClAram passive participle *mṣe* rather than on the ClAram active participle *māṣe*.[210] The verb is more often than not attested with a negative:

G   Subj / Pres   1 m.s. *lá-mṣən* 'I am not able', *lá-mṣəna*, 2 m.s.
                     lá-mṣət 'you are not able', 3 m.s. *lá-mṣe* 'he is not
                     able'
     Past Habitual   1 m.s. *mṣənwa* 'I was able', *lá-mṣənwa* 'I wasn't able',
                     1 pl. *lá-mṣaxwa* 'we weren't able'
     Preterite   3 m.s. *əmṣele* 'he was able'
     Gerund   *lewu mṣāya* 'they are not able'

4.4.28.16. nbl *(< יבל)*

Attested forms of C 'lead away' include

Subjunctive   1 m.s. *nablən* 'I may lead away', 3 m.s. *nābəl* 'he may lead
                   away', 3 f.s. *nabla* 'she may lead away', 3 c.pl. *nabli* 'they
                   may lead away', *nablile* 'they may lead him away'
Preterite   3 m.s. *nobəlle* 'he led away', 3 c.pl. *nobəllu* 'they led away'
Imperative   c.s. *nābəl* 'lead away!', *nábəlle* 'lead him away!'
Gerund   *nabole* 'leading away'

On the shift *m > n /_ b* see § 3.7.

4.4.28.17. npl *(< נפל)*

Attested forms of G 'fall' and C 'fell' include

G   Subjunctive   3 m.s. *nāpəl* 'he may fall', 3 f.s. *napla* 'she may fall', 3
                     c.pl. *napli* 'they may fall'
     Future   3 c.pl. *mnapli* 'they will fall'
     Preterite   1 c.s. *(m)pəlli* 'I fell', 3 m.s. *(m)pəlle* 'he fell', 1 c.pl.
                     (m)pəlleni 'we fell', 3 c.pl. *(m)pəllu* 'they fell'
C   Subjunctive   *mampəl* 'it may fell'
     Gerund   *mampole* 'causing to fall'

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[210] Mutzafi 2008a:83. There is one attestation, however, of *māṣe*: *ʾako mən tāma ʾāya*

n > *m* /_*p* (§ 3.6.d). *m* appears to be optional before *p* in the G Preterite (§ 3.17.e).

4.4.28.18. xyy (<חיי)

Attested forms of G 'live' include

Subjunctive	3 m.s. *xāye* 'he may live', 2 m.pl. *xāyetun* 'you may live', 3 c.pl. *xāye* 'they may live'
Future	3 m.s. *pxāye* 'he will live'
Past Habitual	1 c.pl. *xāyaxwa* 'we were living'
Participle	m.s. *xiya* 'lived', pl. *xiye*
Imperative	m.s. *xi* 'live!'

4.4.28.19. yʾy (< ידע)

Attested forms of G 'know' include

Subjunctive	1 m.s. *yāʾən* 'I may know', 2 m.s. *yāʾət* you may know', *yāʾətte* 'you may know it', 3 m.s. *yāʾe* 'he may know', 2 c.pl. *yāʾetun* 'you may know'
Present	1 m.s. *kiʾən* 'I know', *kiʾənne* 'I know him', *kiʾənna* 'I know her', *kiʾənnu* 'I know them', 1 f.s. *lá-čiʾan* 'I don't know' (§ 4.4.9.c), 2 m.s. *kiʾət* 'you know', *kiʾətte* 'you know him', *čiʾətte* 'you know him' (§ 4.4.9.c), *kiʾəttu* 'you know them', 3 m.s. *kiʾe* 'he knows, 3 f.s. *kiʾa* 'she knows', *kiʾāli* 'she knows me', 1 c.pl. *kiʾax* 'we know', *kiʾaxlu* 'we know them', 2 c.pl. *kiʾetun* 'you know', 3 c.pl. *kiʾe* 'they know', *kiʾele* they know him'
Future	3 m.s. *byāʾət* 'you will know'
Past Habitual	1 s. *kiʾənwa* 'I used to know', 3 c.pl. *kiʾewa* 'they used to know'
Preterite	1 c.s. *yʾeli* 'I knew', *yeʾyāli* 'I knew her', 2 m.s. *yʾelox* 'you knew', 3 pl. *yʾelu* 'they knew'

A reflex of the original *d* of the root ידע does not appear in any of the attested forms of the G stem (§ 3.18.e), unlike in other *lishana deni* dialects.[211] *d* is preserved, however, in the C stem.

Attested forms of C 'inform' include

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māṣe ᴴ*šālət*ᴴ 'When from there he is able to control' (§ 5.11.7). Sabar reports a similar form also in 2002a:223.

[211] See, e.g., in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:81). The absence of a reflex of *d* in the Preterite seems unique to JChalla. Cf. JAmid *ydeʾli* (Hoberman 1989:224), JBetan *ðeʾle* (Muzafi 2008a:81), JNerwa texts *yḏeʾli* (Sabar 1984:277), JZakho *zeʾli* (Avinery 1988:232).

Subjunctive   1 c.s. *mayd(')ᵊnnu* 'I may inform them'
Past Habitual   1 c.pl. *mayd(')axwala* 'we used to inform her'
Preterite   1 c.s. *muyde(')li* 'I informed', 3 m.s.*muyde(')le* 'he
                  informed', 1 c.pl. *muyde(')lan* 'we informed', 3 c.pl.
                  muyde(')lu 'they informed'

4.4.28.20. yhw(l) *(< ל + יהב)*

Attested forms of G 'give' include

Subjunctive: 1 m.s. *yāwᵊn* 'I may give', 2 m.s. *yāwᵊtta* 'you may give
                  her', *yāwᵊtti* 'you may give me', *yāwᵊttu* 'you may give
                  them', 3 m.s. *yā'eli* 'he may give me, 1 c.pl. *yāxle* 'we
                  may give him', *yāxla* 'we may give her', 2 c.pl. *yāwetun*
                  'you may give', 3 c.pl. *yāwile* 'they may give him',
                  yāwilu 'they may give them'
Present   3 m.s. *gyāwᵊl* 'he gives', 2 c.pl. *gyāwetun*' you will give'
Future   1 m.s. *byāwᵊn* 'I shall give', *byāwᵊnnox* 'I shall give
                  you', *byāwᵊnnu* 'I shall give them' 1 f.s. *byāwannox*
                  'I shall give you', 2 m.s. *byāwᵊt* 'you will give', 3 m.s.
                  byāwᵊl 'he will give', *byāwélexun* 'he will give you', 1
                  c.pl. *byāxlox* 'we will give you', *byāxlu* 'we will give
                  them', 2 c.pl. *byāwétūle* 'you will give him'
Past Habitual   1 m.s. *yāwə́nwālox* 'I used to give you', 3 m.s.
                  gyāwᵊlwa 'he used to give'
Past Prospective 3 c.pl. *byāwíwāle* 'they would give him'
Preterite   1 c.s. *hūli* 'I gave, *hiwili* 'I gave them', 3 m.s. *hūle*[212] 'he
                  gave', 3 f.s. *hūla* 'she gave', 2 c.pl. *húlexon*, 3 c.pl. *hūlu*
                  'they gave', *hiwaxlu* 'they gave us'
Imperative   c.s. *hal* 'give!', m.s. *hallox* 'give!', *hallu* 'give them', c.pl.
                  halun 'give!', *hálūle* 'give him'
Participle   m.s. *hiwa* 'given', f.s. *hūta*, c.pl. *hiwe*

Note that *āwa* contracts to *ā* (§ 3.15.c) in the 1 c.pl. forms based on the
Subjunctive, and that intervocalic *w* > ' (§ 3.3.c) in *yā'eli* 'he may give me'.

See Mutzafi 2008a:81 on the underlying morphology of this verb. On *ᵊw*
> *ū* in several of the forms, see § 3.14.

4.4.28.21. ytw *(< יתב)*

Attested forms of G 'sit' include

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[212] Cf. *hulle* in JZakho (Polotsky 1967:107) vs. *hūle* in JAmid (Hoberman 1989:224)
and JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:81).

Subjunctive	1 m.s. *yátwən* 'I may sit', *yátwəna*, 2 f.s. *yatwat* 'you may sit', 3 c.pl. *yatwi* 'they may sit'
Present	1 m.s. *gyatwən* 'I sit', 2 m.s. *gyatwət* 'you sit', 3 f.s. *gyatwa* 'she sits'
Past Habitual	3 m.s. *gyātū́wa* 'he used to sit', 3 c.pl. *gyatwiwa* 'they used to sit'
Future	1 m.s. *byatwən* 'I sit', 2 m.s. *byatwət* 'you will sit'
Preterite	1 c.s. *tūli* 'I sat', 3 f.s. *tūla* 'she sat', 3 c.pl. *tūlu* 'they sat'
Imperative	c.s. *tū* 'sit!'
Participle	m.s. *tiwa* 'seated', c.pl. *tiwe*

Attested forms of C 'place, put' include

Preterite	1 c.s. *mətwāli* 'I placed her', 3 m.s. *mətwāle* 'he placed her', *məttūle* 'he placed', *mətwile* 'he placed them', 3 f.s. *məttūla* 'she placed'
Imperative	c.s. *mattu* 'put!', *máttūle* 'put him!'
Participle	m.s. *mətwa*
Gerund	*mattowe*

t is geminated before vowels.[213]

4.4.29. *Modern Hebrew Verbs*

a. Many Modern Hebrew verbs entered Shabbo's Aramaic speech after his arrival in Israel in 1951. When the root exists in both older Aramaic and in Modern Hebrew, the influence of the latter may be evidenced by (1) phonology, e.g., the pronunciation of ModH [k] instead of historical [q], ModH [ḥ] instead of NeoAram [x], or [ʕ] where NeoAram [ʔ] is expected; (2) semantics, e.g., a ModH meaning for a root instead of the ClAram meaning of the same root, or ModH neologism or slang. Verbs are fully assimilated to the inflectional patterns of NeoAram, e.g., *ʕazŕənwālox* 'I was helping you', *badkax* 'we may examine', *lu pgiʕe* 'they have injured', *maxone* 'preparing', *mən mašmədle* 'he should destroy it!', *mʕuṣbənne* 'he irritated him', *mnahalaxlu* 'we manage them', *mšaboḥe* 'praising', *mtakniwa* 'they were fixing', *mulšənne* 'he informed against me', *murgəšli* 'I felt', *muskəmli* 'I agreed', *nasʕax* 'let's travel', *qemi mafʕəlilu* 'they up (and) activate them', *wetun kviʕe* 'you have determined', *wetun mšurte* 'you have served', *zxeli* 'I merited'.

b. Loan verbs from ModHeb generally show up in JChalla in the same stem as in Hebrew. Dt and Qt ModH verbs, however, appear in the

213 Mutzafi 2008a:83.

corresponding stem without *t*: הִתְגַּלְגֵּל 'roll around', הִתְוַכֵּחַ 'argue', הִסְתַּדֵּר 'manage, get along', הִתְעַלֵּל 'torment', and הִתְעַסֵּק 'deal with' > D and Q: *mʿāsək* 'he deals with', *mʿāləl* 'he torments', *mbokəḥlan* 'we argued', *mbakoḥe* 'arguing', *mgalgole* 'rolling around', *(m)sadretun* 'you may get along'. The ModHeb C verb הֶעֱנִישׁ 'punish' is inflected in D: *(m)ʿanšile* 'they punish him' and the ModHeb D verb חִלֵּל is inflected in C as II-*y* *moḥəlli* 'I desecrated' but also in D as geminate *wən mḥúlla-lla* 'I have desecrated it'.

c. The following verbal roots are from ModH: *'rgn* Q 'organize' (אִרְגֵּן), *'rz* G 'pack' (אָרַז), *'ym* D 'threaten' (אִיֵּם), *'šm* C 'accuse' (הֶאֱשִׁים), *'bd* (עָבַד), *'ll* D 'torment' (הִתְעַלֵּל), *'nš* D 'punish, fine' (הֶעֱנִישׁ), *'sk* D 'deal with' (הִתְעַסֵּק), *ṣbn* Q 'irritate' (עִצְבֵּן), *'vr* G 'pass by, cross over', C 'bring over' (עָבַר; e.g., ModH *'vərri* 'I passed by' vs. NeoAram G *'ürri* 'I entered'; ModH *mu'vərre* 'he brought over' vs. NeoAram C *mo'rənne* 'he brought me in'), *'wf* C 'cause to fly = throw out' (הֵעִיף), *'zr* G 'help' (עָזַר), *bdk* G 'examine, investigate' (בָּדַק; § 3.1), *bkḥ* D 'argue' (הִתְוַכֵּחַ, § 3.1), *bkš* D 'request' (בִּקֵּשׁ), *btl* D 'cancel' (בִּטֵּל), *d'g* G 'worry' (דָּאַג), *drx* G 'cock a gun' and C 'instruct' (הִדְרִיךְ; דָּרַךְ), *dhy* G 'postpone' (דָּחָה), *f'l* C 'activitate' (הִפְעִיל), *fsd* C 'lose' (הִפְסִיד), *gdr* D 'fence in' (גִּדֵּר), *glgl* Q 'roll around' (הִתְגַּלְגֵּל), *gyr* D 'convert' (גִּיֵּר), *gys* D 'draft' (גִּיֵּס), *ḥkr* G 'investigate' (חָקַר), *ḥlḥl* Q 'permeate' (חִלְחֵל), *ḥlk* D 'divide' (חִלֵּק), *ḥlt* C 'decide' (הֶחְלִיט), *ḥsl* D 'finish off, eliminate' (חִסֵּל), *ḥyv* D 'obligate' (חִיֵּב), *ḥzk* C 'hold' (הֶחְזִיק), *k'v* G 'hurt' (כָּאַב), *kfts* G 'jump' (קָפַץ), *kv'* G 'determine' (קָבַע), *lxlx* Q 'dirty' (לִכְלֵךְ), *mšx* C 'continue' (הִמְשִׁיךְ), *ng'* C 'deserve' (הִגִּיעַ), *ngš* C 'present (trans.)' (הִגִּישׁ), *nhl* D 'manage' (נִהֵל), *ns'* G 'travel' (נָסַע), *pg'* G 'injure' (פָּגַע), *pnčr* 'cause a flat tire' (פִּנְצֵ'ר < 'puncture'), *pzr* D 'distribute' (פִּזֵּר), *r'd* C 'tremble' (רָעַד), *r'l* C 'poison' (הִרְעִיל), *rgš* C 'feel' (הִרְגִּישׁ), *rvḥ* C 'earn' (הִרְוִיחַ), *sbl* G 'suffer, bear' (סָבַל), *sdr* D 'arrange' (סִדֵּר), D 'manage, get along' (הִסְתַּדֵּר), *skm* C 'agree' (הִסְכִּים), *slḥ* G 'forgive' (סָלַח), *smḥ* D 'make happy' (שִׂמַּח), *smx* C 'authorize' (הִסְמִיךְ), *spk* C 'manage' (הִסְפִּיק; NeoAram cognate 'be empty'), *spr* D 'tell' (סִפֵּר), *skr* C 'rent out' (הִשְׂכִּיר), *ṣfṣf* Q 'disregard utterly' (צִפְצֵף), *ṣlm* D 'photograph' (צִלֵּם), *šbḥ* D 'praise' (שִׁבַּח), *šdd* G 'rob' (שָׁדַד), *šft* G 'judge' (שָׁפַט), *šḥrr* Q 'free, release' (שִׁחְרֵר), *škn* D 'settle' (שִׁכֵּן), *šlm* D 'pay' (שִׁלֵּם), *šmd* C 'destroy' (הִשְׁמִיד), *šrt* D 'serve' (שֵׁרֵת), *štf* D 'let participate' (שִׁתֵּף), *šxnx* Q 'persuade' (שִׁכְנֵעַ; § 3.3.e), *tḥl* C 'begin' (הִתְחִיל), *tkn* D 'fix, repair' (תִּקֵּן; ClAram *tqn* 'set'), *tkf* C 'attack' (הִתְקִיף; ClAram 'strengthen'), *tmx* G 'support' (תָּמַךְ), *txnn* Q 'plan' (תִּכְנֵן), *xbd* D 'honor' (כִּבֵּד), *xrḥ* C 'force' (הִכְרִיחַ), *xtf* G 'seize' (חָטַף), *xyn* C 'prepare' (הֵכִין), *yšr* D 'straighten' (יִשֵּׁר), *zbr* C 'explain' (colloquial הִזְבִּיר > הִסְבִּיר), *zgr* C 'hand over' (colloquial הִזְגִּיר > הִסְגִּיר), *zxy* G 'merit' (זָכָה).

4.5. Prepositions

Some of the prepositions below have allomorphs with the possessive-relative particle *d* suffixed: *b-/ˀəbbəd, l-/ˀəl-/ˀəlləd, mābayn/mābaynəd, mən/mənnəd*. Several prepositions, with and without suffixed *-d*, are followd by the independent genitive pronoun *did-* with pronominal suffixes: *ˀəbbəd did-, ˀəlled did-, bárakus did-, barqul did-, basər did-, básbasər did-, dəpən did-, kəsəl did-, mənnəd did-*. Four prepositions exhibit reduplication:[214] *básbasər, kəsəkəsəl, qamqam, rešreš*. Prepositions may be followed by *d* (the possessive-relative particle) that is proclitic to a demonstrative (pronoun or adverb; § 4.1.8.j), e.g., *mən d-axxa* 'from here' (but also *m-axxa* and *mən ˀaxxa*), *xe d-iya* [H]*degel*[H] 'under this flag', *xor d-axxa* 'like here', *xor d-iya* 'like this', *xor d-anna ˀarabāye* 'like those Arabs' (§ 5.1.9).

ˀəbbəd	see *b-*
ˀəl-, ˀəlləd	see *l-*
ˀəltxé(t?)	'under'
	This compound preposition is attested only once in *ˀit xa ˀena ˀəltxé(t?) ṭappá* 'there is a spring at the bottom of the hillside' (§ 5.7.5). One cannot be certain if *t* is pronounced or not before the noun *ṭappá*. Cf. *txe* and *txeṯ* in the JNerwa texts.[215]
b-, ˀəbb-, ˀəbbəd	'in, at, on'
	Before unvoiced consonants, *b-* is devoiced to *p* (§ 3.6.a) *b-* is more common preceding a noun than its allomorph *ˀəbbed*, e.g., *b-dor* 'in a generation', *b-xáṣe* 'on his back' vs. *ˀəbbəd ˀida* 'in her hand', *ˀəbbəd dugle* 'in lies'. Cf. *balāye lu dárye-lla b-reš qdāl Hoče u-Miˀər* 'they have blamed Hoče and Meir' (§ 5.5.3) vs. *qemi dārela balāye ˀəbbəd reš hudāye* 'they up (and) blame the Jews' (§ 5.5.8). The form *bəd*, known from other *lishana deni* dialects,[216] is unattested in JChalla.
	Pronominal suffixes may be attached to the base *ˀəbb-* (§ 3.20.h), e.g., *ˀəbbi, ˀəbbox, ˀəbbax, ˀəbbe, ˀəbba*, or to the independent genitive pronoun following *ˀəbbəd*, e.g., *ˀəbbəd dide, ˀəbbəd didu*.
badal, m-badal	'in place of'
	badal kullu 'in place of all of them', *m-badal ḥaqqox* 'in place of your salary'

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[214] See also the adverb *gárgāra* 'from time to time' (§ 4.7.2). Cf. *báϑ-baϑər, mánne-mən, qám-qam, réša-reš*, and *xéϑa-xeϑ* in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:121, 125). See also Maclean 1895:175–176.

[215] Sabar 1984:343.

[216] E.g., JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:121).

bárakus   'in front of, opposite'
                         barakuseni, bárakus dide
barqul   'in front of, opposite'
                         barqulexun, barqul dida, barqul ʾeni 'before my eyes'
basər   'after, behind'
                         basre, basər dide, basər mənnexun, basər bes didu 'after
                         their house', *basər xa tarʾa* 'after one door'
básbasər   'right after'
                         básbasre, básbasru, básbasər dide, básbasər didu
dəpən, l-dəpən   'next to'
                         dəpnexun, l-dəpni, l-dəpnox, l-dəpən dide
dax, daxwās-   'like'
                         dax occurs before nouns, e.g., *dax nāše* 'like people',
                         and *daxwās* when bound by pronominal suffixes,
                         e.g., *daxwāsa, daxwāseni*. It is also attested before a
                         filler: *daxwás hənna* [H]*ḥayót mtorafím*[H] 'like, um, crazy
                         animals'
dla   'without'
                         dla pāre 'without money', *dla šarwāla* 'without trousers'
go, gaw-   'in, within'
                         go is attested before nouns, *gaw-* when bound by
                         pronominal suffixes and the independent genitive
                         pronoun, e.g., *gawexun, gaw dide, gaw dida, go besa* 'at
                         home', *go ʾidás didu* 'in their hands'
ḥil, ḥel   'until, as far as'
                         ḥil ʾatta 'until now', *ḥil tāma mṭelu ḥil Məṣṣər* 'they
                         reached until there, as far as Egypt', *ḥel yom basra* 'until
                         the next day'
kəsəl, kəl, kəs   'to, with, chez'
                         *kəslexun, kəslu, kəsəl dide, kəsəl didu, mən kəsəl, kəsəl
                         Rašíd ʾāġa* 'with Rashid Agha'. The syncopated form
                         kəl (§ 3.18.f) occurs only before nouns, e.g., *kəl muxtar*
                         'with the mukhtar', *kəl xmāse* 'with his mother-in-law';
                         an apocoated form *kəs*[217] (§ 3.19.f) occurs once: *kəs
                         spindarnāye* 'with the residents of Spindar'
kəsəkəsəl   'right with'
                         kəsəkəsleni 'right with us'
l, ʾəl, ʾəlləd   'to, at, for'
                         l- usually occurs after vowels, e.g., *ʾako zəlli l-Čalla*
                         'when I went to Challa', *zəllu l-tāma* 'they went there'. It
                         is less frequent after consonants, e.g., *tam l-é-ʾal* 'from
                         there on'. It may mark an object, e.g., *ṣrəxle l-xet* 'he
                         called to the other', and it is the basis of the L-suffix

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[217] *kəs* is attested in *lishana deni* dialects, e.g., JZakho (Sabar 2002:187), JBetan (Mutzafi
2008a:357), and the JNerwa texts (Sabar 1984:285).

pronouns (§§ 4.1.4; 4.4.23.1). There are allomorphs *ʾəl* and *ʾəlləd*, which follow both vowels and consonants, e.g., *sāwun ʾəlle* 'Come to him!', *xá-yoma zəlli ʾəlləd pareni l-tāma* 'One day I went there for our money'. Like *l-* in ClAram and in NeoAram, the preposition *ʾəl* also functions as an object marker: *go reš ṭura xá-gā xaʾ-bərqa le məxya ʾəlləd kepa* 'On the top of the mountain suddenly there was lightning that had struck a rock', *ṣrəxli ʾəlləd Ṣabri* 'I called out to Sabri', *ʾāna-ži ṭrəpli ʾəlləd dida* 'I also attacked her'. It is also the basis of the LL-suffix pronouns (§§ 4.1.5; 4.4.23.2). Pronominal suffixes may be attached to *ʾəll-* or to *ʾəlled did-*, e. g.,*ʾəlli, ʾəllox, ʾəlle, ʾəlla, ʾəllan, ʾəlleni, ʾə́llexun, ʾəllu, ʾəlləd dida, ʾəlləd didu*.

mābayn, mābaynəd	'between, among'
	mābayneni, mābaynəd didu, mābayn kepe 'among the stones', *mābayn nāše* 'among the people', *mābayn gyānu* 'among themselves', *mābayn d-anna baxtāsa* 'among those women'
mən, m-, mənnəd	'from, with'
	mən, as well as a clipped form *m-* (§ 3.19.g), occurs before nouns, adverbs, the independent genitive particle *did-*, and other prepositions, e.g., *mən ʾaqle* 'with his feet', *mən Moṣəl* 'from Mosul', *mən tāma* 'from there', *mən didu,* 'with them', *m-qam gyāni* 'from on me', *m-ʾarʾa'* from the ground', *m-ʿEraq* 'from Iraq', *m-eka* 'from where'? *n* is geminated when bound by pronominal suffixes, e.g., *mənni, mənnox, mənne, mənna, mənneni, mənnexun, mənnu*.
m-badal	see *badal*
m-qam	'due to'
	m-qam qaṛačke 'due to highway robbers'
qabəl mən	'before' (spatial)
	qabəl mənni
qam	'before, in front of, on (clothes)'
	qāmi, qāme, qam didu, qam qalʾa 'before the fortress', *qam tar didu* 'outside their door', *xa zoʾa bargūze le qāmi* 'a (lit., 'pair') woolen suit is on me'
*qamqam	'right before, right in front of'
	qámqāman, qámqāmu
qurwa	'near'
	qurwəd tāma 'near there', *qurwəd ḥanukka* 'near Hanukka'
reš	'on, at, upon'
	rešeni, reš dide, reš didu. reš kāse 'on his belly', *reš ṭura* 'on the mountain'. The *š* of *reš* is voiced *ž* before voiced consonants (§ 3.6.e).

rešreš	'right above'
	rešreš dide 'right above him'
ta, ṭas, ti	'to, for'
	ta occurs before nouns, e.g., *kəmra ta bāba* 'She says to her father', *bāzət ta Čalla* 'you will go to Challa'. *ṭas* is bound by pronominal suffixes and by *did-*: *ṭāsi, ṭāsox, ṭāsax, ṭāse, ṭāsa, ṭāsan, ṭaseni, ṭasexun, ṭāsu, ṭas didi, ṭas didox, ṭas didax, ṭas dide, ṭas dida, ṭas didan, ṭas dexun, ṭas didu.* Infrequently JZakho *ṭāl-* is heard in Shabbo's speech, primarily when he is speaking with a JZakho speaker. *ti* is attested regularly before *gyān-* and is the result of assimilation of the *a* vowel to the following *y*.[218]
xe, xes-, xa-	'under'
	xe occurs before nouns, e.g., *xe d-iya* [H]*degel*[H] 'under this flag'. *xes-* occurs when bound by pronominal suffixes, e.g., *xese, xesu.* The allomorph *xa-* is found only before *reš* 'head': *xa-réšəd dide* 'under his head'; *m-xa-réšəd dide* 'from under his head'
xor	'like'
	xore, xorexun, xor didu

dla, *ḥil/ḥēl*, and *qabəl mən* also function as conjunctions (§ 4.6).

4.6. Conjunctions

ʾafəllu	'even'
	ʾan xeta ʾafəllu mbárbəzi 'Even those others will scatter' (§ 5.3.11); *ʾafəllu xá-*[H]*šaʿal*[H] *ʾarʾa lə́twālu* 'they didn't have even one inch of land' (§ 5.1.4)
ʾako	'when'
	ʾako dena xləsle [A]*xaḷaṣ*[A] 'When the debt is finished, it's over' (§ 5.2.2); *ʾako zəlli l-besa mšadrənnu ʾəllox* 'When I have gone home I will send them to you.' (§ 5.2.7)
ʾegā	'so then, now then'
	ʾegā kíʾət-ži mā wáxt-ile? 'So then you know what time it is?' (§ 5.2.11); *ʾegā lu bənšāqa ʾə́ǧdāde* 'so now they are kissing each other' (§ 5.3.10)
ʾəlla[219]	'except, but rather'
	la, la Rekanāya ʾəlla Barzaná 'no, not a resident of Rekan, but rather of Barzan' (§ 5.5.5); *dla b-doṛ dide, ʾəlla b-dóṛ bábe-ʾāwa* 'not in his generation,

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[218] See also *tɪ gyāni* (Sabar 2005:199, 208).
[219] Cf. as an adverb (§ 4.7.4).

	but rather it was in the generation of his father' (§ 5.1.10)
ʾən	'if, either'
	ʾən wət góra-ži, nábəlli 'if you are a man, lead me away' (§ 5.8.8); yaʿni hudāye ʾən kpənnu, gezi reš dena tiqa 'That is to say, if Jews are hungry, they go for an old debt (to collect it)' (§ 5.2.2);
ʾən la	'if not'
	ʾən čfəlle... lu píče-lle. ʾən lá-čfəlle... 'if he is startled... they have crushed him. If he is not startled...' (§ 5.6.6); qaṭláxlexun ʾən lá-hatxa 'We'll kill you if (it is) not like this' (§ 5.8.21); bale, balé 'however' bale ʾāhat mən ᴷʾawlắd-e rasū́lᴷ-ʾiwət 'however, you are from the descendants of the Messenger' (§ 5.3.12); la skətle, bale pəšle pálgəd-nāša 'he didn't croak, but he became half a person' (§ 5.6.5)
čukun, čuku, čunku	'because'
	ʾāna lebi yatwəna čukun lə́tleni 'I am not able to sit (with you) because we don't have (enough honor)'; ᴴʾasū́rᴴ-la ᴴliᴴ baqrənne čuku yəmya ʾəlle 'It is forbidden for me to ask him because he (has) sworn to him'; čunku ʾiya zaxū́t (m-)ʾəlohím lewa 'because this right is not (from) God'
dla	'lest'
	dlá-ʾārəqla 'lest he flee'
ḥil, ḥel	'until'
	u-ḥil ʾaxnan wax pliṭe m-tāma 'and until we had left there' (§ 5.1.1); ḥel xləšle 'until he finished' (§ 5.5.7)
ka-	'when, since'
	ka-ʾégā čāy šətyáleni 'since then we drank the tea' (§ 5.10.13)
ko	'because, that, since'
	pəšlu ko ʾāna dá'rən-wa 'they remained since I would return back' (§ 5.11.5); mərri ma-yla ᴴsəbaᴴ ko ʾāna bāsən tlā 'I said: "What's the reason that I am going to hang?"'; lá-ʾamrən ko ʾāna gnaxpən mənnox 'I don't say because I am embarrassed by you.'
kud dān	'whenever'
	kud dān ʾilāha mšodərre xá-malʾax 'whenever God sent an angel'
lākən	'but, however'
	zəlli kəsəl dide. lākən basər tré-yome ṭḷāhá'-yome mṭeli l-besa 'I went to him, but after two days, three days, I came home.'
mādắm	'since, as'
	mādắm gəbət, sa! 'Since you want (to), come!'; mādắm hādax gora ʾiwət 'Since like this you are a man'

qabəl mən	'before'
	qabəl mən ʾaxnan ʾāsaxwa 'before we used to come'
ta, tad	'in order to'
	ʾāna gəbən pálpaṇqàṇoṭ mən pārox tad dārənna go
	pāri ta ^Hšamran^H pāri ta baṛāxa 'I want a half lira of
	your money in order to put it in with my money for a
	blessing (alms)' (§ 5.3.12); ^H(m)ʿanšile^H *ta šaqli mənne*
	pāre 'they punish him in order to take his money away
	from him'
ta-lá	'lest'
	ta-lá-ʾāmər 'lest he say' ; *ta-lá-ʾāse balāye b-rešeni* 'lest
	disaster befall us' (§ 5.3.2)
u-	'and'
	u is usually proclitic, e.g., *ʾəsri u-šöʾá-maʿalmine*
	'twenty-seven teachers', though not always, e.g., *ṣíwe-u*
	ṣíwe-u ṣiwe 'sticks and sticks and sticks', *xa šöʾá-yāle-u*
	xa tmanyá-yāle-u xa ʾəṣṛá-yāle-u xa xamšá-yāle 'One
	(had) seven children and one (had) eight children and
	one (had) ten children and one (had) five children.'
	(§ 5.1.4)
-ž(i)	'also, and, even'[220]

dla, *ḥil/ḥel*, and *qabəl mən* also function as prepositions (§ 4.5).

4.7. ADVERBS

4.7.1. *Interrogative Adverbs*

ʾeka	'where?'
	m-eka 'from where?', *ʾéka-ʾile* 'Where is he?', *ʾéka-le,*
	ké-le
ʾimal	'when?'
	ta ʾimal 'until when?'
ke-	see *ʾeka*
kma	'how many?'
	b-kma 'for how much?'
māṭo	'how?'
qay	'why?'
	qay wetun qṭile xədda? 'Why, have you killed
	someone?' (§ 5.2.17)
ṭamá́[221]	'why?'

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[220] For a detailed description of the functions of this adverb, see Khan 1999:371–378.
See now also Cohen 2008b.

[221] Shabbo also says *ṭāma* under the influence of ModH לְמָּה‘.

4.7.2. *Temporal Adverbs*

ʾádlele	'tonight'
ʾatta	'now'
	ʾatta-u-l-é-ʾāl 'from now on', *m-atta* 'from now'
ʾədyo	'today'
ᶻʾogāᶻ	'at that time'
ʿāṣərta	'(in the) evening'
basər hādax	'afterwards'
bənhe	'(in the) morning'
bomāxəd	'day after tomorrow'
čú-gā	'never'
čú-gār	'never'
gárgāra²²²	'from time to time'
dax	'as soon as'
	dax mundyālu l-ʾarʾa 'as soon as they threw it on the ground' (§ 5.3.8)
ham	'also'
har	'always, still, in any case'
hayāma	'(for a) period of time'
haya	'quickly, early'
kúd-lel	'every night'
kúd-yom	'every day'
kuššat	'every year'
lele	'(at) night'
lel basra	'the night after'
māṭod	'as soon as'
m-zūna	'long ago'
palgədlel	'(at) midnight'
palsāʿa	'(for) half an hour'
palgədyo	'(at) noon'
qabəl hādax	'beforehand'
qadome	'tomorrow'
qam hādax	'beforehand'
qamāye	'at first'
šawəd basra	'the week after'
təmmal	'yesterday'
xá-gā	'once'
xá-gā xet(a)	'once again'
xá-behna	'in a moment, suddenly'
xarāye	'later, finally'
yom basra	'the day after'

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²²² For a similar reduplication see *bárbara* below and also § 4.5.

4.7.3. Locative Adverbs

'axxa	'here'
	l-axxa, 'here, to here', *mən-áxxa, m-axxa* 'from here', *mən d-axxa* 'from here', *mən d-axxa u-l-é-'al* 'from here on'
'əltəx[223]	'below, beneath'
	'əltəx 'əltəx 'way below'
'əl'uwwa	'inside'
čappe	*'ida čappe* 'to the left (= 'left hand')'
l-'əlal	'above'
l-é-'āl	'beyond, further (lit., 'in that direction)'
m-rə́qqa	'from afar'
qam tar'a	'outside' (lit., 'before the door')
raṣṭe	*'ida raṣṭe* 'to the right (= 'right hand')'
tāma, tam, 'əl-tắma, 'əl-tám	'there, to there'
	tam l-é-'āl 'from there on', *mənne u-l-é-'āl* 'from there on', *m(ən)-tāma* 'from there'

4.7.4. Adverbs of Manner

'aqqar, 'áqqara	'so much, to such an extent'
'áškara[224]	'openly, publicly'
'əlla	'certainly'
	pummox patḥətte 'əlla, kemər, 'āna qaṭlənnox ' "Should you open your mouth," he says, "I'll certainly kill you." ' (§ 5.5.9)[225]
baláš	'for free'
balki, balkit	'perhaps'
bárbara[226]	'together'
bas, bassa	'enough'
	bassa bassa 'more than enough'
ḅāš	'well, very'
	Qárani pəšle naxwaš ḅāš 'Qarani became very ill'
b-əspa	'on loan'
b-dugle	'falsely'
be-dárd	'painlessly'
bəš	'more'
	bə́š-ṛab 'more', *bə́šṭor* 'better', *bə́z-zodāna* 'more'
b-salāmat	'safely'
b-xuṛṭūsa	'forcefully'
b-ẓoṛ	'forcefully'

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[223] Cf. the preposition *'əltxé(t?)* 'under' (§ 4.5).

[224] The stress on this word in *lishana deni* dialects usually falls on the penultima. Shabbo appears to have been influenced by the ModH stress on the prepenultima (אֹשְׁכָּרָה).

[225] Cf. as a conjunction (§ 4.6).

[226] See *gárgāra* above.

ča	'c'mon!'
	before an imperative: *ča méselu xanči ṃāye* 'C'mon (and) bring them some water!'
ču	'no, not, any'
	čú-gā 'never', *čú-gār* 'never', *čú-xa* 'no one, anyone', *čú-mǝndi* 'nothing'
de, da	'so, now, well then'
	The particles occur frequently before imperatives, e.g., *de ksūn* 'So write!', *da-ḥmól* 'So wait!', *de qū misi* 'Now up (and) bring (it)!', *da qū mísili* 'Now up (and) bring (it) to me!', but not exclusively, e.g., *de xilālox* 'Now you've had it!', *de-bắzi* 'so now they will go!'
dǝrǝst	'correct, straight, straightaway'
dumāyik	'at the end'
hā	'so, then'
	It occurs before an imperative: *hā šqol ḥaqqox* 'Here take your due!' (§ 5.10.2)
hādax	'thus, so'
har hatxa	'just like this'
hatxa, 'atxa	'so, such, like this'
he	'yes'
hedi	'slowly'
hedi hedi	'very slowly'
heš	'yet, still'
ke	'c'mon!'
	ke occurs before an Imperative: *ke sa* 'c'mon!'
kắtt-u-māt	'bit by bit'
la, lā, la'	'no'
	lā and la' are infrequent and emphatic.
pa	'so, then'
ṛāba	'much, very'
raḥat	'calmly, relaxed'
tǝne, b-tǝne	'alone, only'
veza	'so, in such a way, like this'
wal	'indeed, surely'
	wal ᴴ*polátika*ᴴ *d-hudāye ṛắba-la* 'Indeed the craftiness of the Jews is great.' (§ 5.6.5)
walḥāṣǝl	'in short'
xa	'about, approximately' (before a numeral)
	xa 'ǝṣṛa 'alpe 'about ten thousand', *xa 'ǝṣṛa tre'sar yalunke* 'about ten, twelve children'
xá-b-xa	'one by one'
xapči	'a bit, slightly'
	'ár'a-ži xapči jmắtta-la 'also the earth is a bit frozen' (§ 5.2.12), *zǝlla xapči* ᴴ*lǝ'át*ᴴ 'it departed a bit slowly'
ya'ni	'that is to say'

4.8. PARTICLES OF EXISTENCE AND ABILITY

4.8.1. *Particles of Existence*

a. The predicators of existence are

ʾit / ʾítən(a)	'there is'
ʾətwa	'there was'
leṭ / létən(a)	'there is not'
lətwa	'there was not'

b. Though deriving from ClAram ʾiṯ and leṯ, which according to the phonological rules of JChalla should have developed into ʾis and les, the ṭ of ʾiṯ and its congeners originated in the contact with the l of ʾətle, lətle, etc. (§ 3.2.b). Cf. in other *lishana deni* dialects: JZakho ʾīs, ʾiswa, lēs, laswa vs. ʾiṭli, laṭli; JAmid ʾiϑ, ʾiṯli, iϑwalan, liṭle, liϑwāle; JDohok ʾiϑ, leϑ /lat, ʾəϑwa, ləϑwa, ʾəϑli / ʾətli, ləϑli/ laṭli; JBetan ʾiϑ/ʾiϑən(a), liϑ/liϑən(a), ʾəϑwa, lə́ϑwāle, ʾəṭli, ləṭli.

c. There is also an example of *lat* before the Copula: *lat ʾiwən qṭila* 'I have not killed'.

d. The particles of existence with L-pronominal suffixes yield a meaning 'to have' (< ʾiṯ + l- 'There is to…') and 'not to have' (< leṯ + l- 'There is not to…'):

	Present	Past
1 c.s.	ʾətli 'I have'	ʾə́twāli 'I had'
2 m.s.	ʾətlox	ʾə́twālox
2 f.s.	ʾətlax	ʾə́twālax
3 m.s.	ʾətle	ʾə́twāle
3 f.s.	ʾətla	ʾə́twāla
1 c.pl.	ʾətlan, ʾə́tleni	ʾə́twālan, ʾə́twāleni
2 c.pl.	ʾə́tlexun	ʾə́twālexun
3 c.pl.	ʾətlu	ʾə́twālu

	Present Negative	Past Negative
1 c.s.	lətli 'I don't have'	lə́twāli 'I didn't have'
2 m.s.	lətlox	lə́twālox
2 f.s.	lətlax	lə́twālax
3 m.s.	lətle	lə́twāle
3 f.s.	lətla	lə́twāla
1 c.pl.	lətlan, lə́tleni	lə́twālan, lə́twāleni
2 c.pl.	lə́tlexun	lə́twālexun
3 c.pl.	lətlu	lə́twālu

4.8.2. *Particles of Ability*

Ability may be expressed[227] by the affixing of the preposition *b-* and pronominal suffixes to the particles of existence:

ʾiṯ + *b-* 'there is in' > 'be able'
leṯ + *b-* 'there isn't in' > 'be unable'

	Positive Ability	Negative Ability
1 c.s.	*ʾibi*	*lebi*
2 m.s.	*ʾibox*	*lebox*
2 f.s.	*ʾibax*	*lebax*
3 m.s.	*ʾibe* 'he is able'	*lebe* 'he is unable'
3 f.s.	*ʾiba* 'she is able	*leba* 'she is unable'
1 c.pl.	*ʾiban, ʾíbeni*	*leban, lébeni*
2 c.pl.	*ʾíbexun*	*lébexun*
3 c.pl.	*ʾibu*	*lebu*

Representative examples include: *ʾibi ʾāzən* 'I can go', *lebe ʾamər* 'he can't say', *ʾən ʾibi ʾāna yāwənne, byāwənne. ʾən lebi yāwənne…* 'If I can give it, I will give it. If I can't give it …', *lebi wən ʾəsya* 'I wasn't able to come'.

Depending on the context, these forms also show the literal meaning, e.g., *ʾibe* 'there is in him', *lebe* 'there isn't in him', e.g., *ʾibe ᴴb-gilᴴ ʾəšta šənne* 'He is six years old'. (§ 5.8.3).

One finds in the past:

> *Čalla ʾə́twāba hudāye*
> 'Challa contained (lit., 'there was in her') Jews.' (§ 5.1.1)

> *nixəd bābi ʾakčən xá-ʾidəd dide lə́twābe*
> 'My late father, (even if he were fighting with only) one hand, one couldn't best him.' (§ 5.6.4)

4.9. FILLERS

There are several different fillers[228] in Shabbo's speech:
  a. *hənna* 'um'.[229] This filler is ubiquitous:

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[227] See also the use of *mṣy* 'be able' (§ 4.4.28.15).
[228] See Fox 1997:69 for examples of fillers in Jilu.
[229] Other translations found in the literature are 'whatchamacallit', 'thingamajig', 'that thing', 'what do you call it'?

> *ʾāni hənna ᴴfallaḥímᴴ wewa.*
> 'They were, um, fellahin.' (§ 5.1.6)

> *ʾətwa qāymaqam ʾəlləd hənna… la, la, l-Baškala.*
> 'There was a local governor at, um… no, no, at Bashkala.' (§ 5.1.7)

> *kemər hənna: ʾāhat lá-mḥakyat!*
> 'He says, um: "Don't you talk!"' (§ 5.10.5)

> *Mašiaḥ hənna sāwəd bābox wewa.*
> Mashiach, um, was your father's grandfather.' (§ 5.1.9)

hənna is sometimes attested with the copula, e.g., *hənna-le.* The possessive-relative particle *d* may be suffixed to it, e.g., *hənnəd.* Infrequently it takes the pl. form *hənne,* e.g.,

> *ksūli l-tāma mắ-ᴴ(h)a-toxnìtᴴ lu wide hənne kurdināye ṭaseni.*
> 'I wrote there what the plan (was that) they have made, um, the Kurds for us.' (§ 5.12.2)

Shabbo also once attaches a 2 pl. pronominal suffix to the filler:

> *ʾaxnan hənnexun ʾaxwa—, ʾiyya mā kəmrila ᴴʿavadímᴴ dexun ʾaxwa*
> 'We, um, we were—, what do you call it?—"we were your slaves".'

It also forms the basis of the verb *hnnl* 'do, um' (§ 4.4.28.12).

b. *ʾiya mā kəmrila* 'what do they call it?—' (lit.,'this, what they call it'). This expression too is common:

> *ʾiya mā kəmrila ʾEli məndele xabre.*
> 'What do they call it?—Eli said things.' (§ 5.6.19)

> *ʾiya mā kəmrila ʾaxoni Ḥáyyo-ži zəlle mənne ʾanna kutru.*
> 'What do they call it?—my brother Hayyo also went with him, those two.'

c. *kiʾət* 'you know'. It is less frequent than the previous two fillers:

> *xá-yoma pəšlu veza, kiʾət?*
> 'One day they became like this, you know?' (§ 5.11.3)

> *yoməd ᴷḥašr u-našrᴷ kiʾət, yoməd din*
> 'ḥašr u-našr, you know, the Day of Judgment' (§ 5.13.15)

d. *yʾelox* 'you know' (lit.,' you knew'). This too is less frequent than the first two fillers:

> *ʾidəd ḥukum lá-gmāṭewa l-Čalla, yʾelox, ŕəqqa-ewa mənnəd didu*
> 'the (long) arm of the government did not reach Challa, you know, it was a distance from them' (§ 5.1.9)

e. *ḥāle* 'and the like' (lit., 'its condition') is attested infrequently:[230]

> *hatxa narm u-ḥāle garməd dide.*
> 'His bones are so soft and the like.'[231] (§ 5.3.6)

> *hatxa narm u-ḥāle. hatxa narm u-ḅāš.*
> 'So soft and the like. So soft and good.'

f. Shabbo sometimes uses more than one filler in a sentence, e.g.,

> *ʾə́twāle xa hənna ʾiya mā kəmrila ᴴḥagoráᴴ ʾənglizi(t).*
> 'He had an, um, what do they call it?—an English belt.'

> *walḥāṣəl hənna ʾiya mā kəmrila Šambi qṭəllu.*
> 'In short, um, what do they call it?—they killed Shambi.' (§ 5.6.14)

g. The adverbs (§ 4.7) *walḥāṣəl* 'in short', *yaʿni* 'that is to say', *ᴴʾazᴴ* 'then' and the exclamation *waḷḷa* 'by God!' (§ 4.10) are so frequent in Shabbo's speech that they approach the status of fillers; with the exception of *yaʿni*, they occur only at the beginning of a clause.

4.10. Exclamations and Expressions

Many of the following are borrowings from other languages, in several cases from Arabic through Kurdish:

> ᴬʾ*ahlan wa-sahlan*ᴬ
> 'Welcome!'

> *ʾalḥámdəlullà*
> 'Praise God!'

> ᴬʾ*aḷḷa karím*ᴬ
> 'God is generous!'

> *ʾāxər*
> 'Well!'

> *ʾáx-geb tán-geb*
> 'when all's said and done' (lit. 'here side, there side')

> *ʾáx-geb tán-geb ṭaṃáha-geb*
> 'when all's said and done' (lit. 'here side, there side, way over there side')

> *ʾāya sāyəlla yəmmeni*
> 'He should fuck our mother!'

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[230] Mutzafi reports (p.c.) that this usage is attested in several NeoAram dialects.
[231] See s.v. *garma* in the glossary for the meaning of this expression.

ʾilāha mānəxle
'May God rest his soul'

ʾilāha mazkela
'May God grant her merit!'

ʾilāha lá-māzədlu
'May God not increase them!'

ʾilāha mayrəx xāye dide u-dexun
'May God lengthen his days and yours!'

ʾišaḷḷa
'God willing'

ᵀʕačāyəbᵀ
'How strange!'

ᴬʕala bāb ʾaḷḷaᴬ
'At God's mercy!'

ᴬʕala ʕeniᴬ (and its calque in JChalla: *go ʾeni!*)
'At your service!'

ᴷbāba ṣṭaġfərəḷḷáᴷ
'I ask God's forgiveness!'

bābo
'Father! My God!'

ᴴḅārux-xábbaᴴ
'Welcome!'

baxxatəd ʾilāha
'For the mercy of God!'

baxxatox u-baxxatəd ʾilāha
'For your mercy and the mercy of God!'

baxxatəd didu qurʕān didu u-Maḥammad didu
'For their mercy, their Quran, and their Muhammad!'

b-íya-ʾida u-yắ-ʾida
'when it comes down to it, at any rate' (lit. 'in this hand and this hand')

ᴴb-séfər-ṭoṛaᴴ
'(I swear) by the scroll of the Pentateuch!'

b-xudreši
'(I swear) by my head!' (= 'Take my word for it!')

b-xudrešexun
'(I swear) by your head!'

b-xudreš ʾaxawāsox u-qurʕān dexun ʾəbbəd Maḥammad dexun
'(I swear) by your brothers and your Quran and by your Muhammad!'

^{K}čāwəm^K
'(I swear by) my eye!'

haḷḷa haḷḷa
'How fortunate!'

hay
'Hey!'

^{T}hoš géldənəz^T
'Welcome!'

kalba bər kalba, kalba bron kalba
'Son of a bitch!'

kalba bər šö'ammāhe kalbe
'Son of seven hundred bitches!'

kalbe yāl kalbe
'Sons of bitches!'

kaləpsa brāt kalba
'What a bitch!'

mād hāwe hāwe
'Whatever will be will be!'

mād zəlla zəlla
'Let bygones be bygones!'

(m)xabine
'What a loss!'

qaḥba brāt qaḥba
'Daughter of a whore!'

qəṭma go reše
'May he mourn!'[232]

^{T}qozzəḷqorṭ^T
'Hell!, Disgusting!'

reš səjjādəd Maḥammad
'(I swear) by the prayer rug of Muhammad!'

si qlo'!
'Go to hell!'

ta xāṭər 'ilāha
'For the sake of God!'

waḷḷa
'By God!'

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[232] Lit., '(May) ash be upon his head!'

xmāra bər xmāra
'What an ass!'

xwazí ʾāsewa
'Would that he would go!'

[A]*yā ṛaḅḅi*[A]
'Oh my Lord!'

TEXTS AND TRANSLATION

The following texts are transcriptions of recorded conversations with Shabbo Amrani. His cousin Ahiya Hashiloni was present at all the tapings and occasionally added remarks that are noted in square brackets with the letters [A.H.].[1] Also present at one recording were Yosef (Joseph) Hashiloni [Y.H.],[2] and Shmuel (Samuel) Barzani [S.B.][3] from Kara. Three dots (...) mark a break in the narrative, diversions in Hebrew, or indistinct and incomprehensible speech. The em-dash indicates cases of anacoluthon, incomplete speech, or significant pause. Parentheses are used for restored vowels and syllables that Shabbo has clipped ad hoc in rapid speech, or uncertain phonemes. His speech is quite free, his sentences often badly formed, and he jumps around incessantly in relating a story. As will be apparent, it is at times quite difficult to follow the logical development of what he has to say.

I have preserved the many fillers and breaks in speech in order to transmit as accurately as possible the difficult staccato style of Shabbo's speech. Explanatory words in parentheses are added without which the text would often be incomprehensible.

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[1] He was born in Challa. He speaks primarily JZakho. See § 1.5.

[2] Cousin of Shabbo and younger brother of Ahiya Hashiloni. He was born in Jerusalem and speaks JZakho.

[3] Cousin of Shabbo. He was born in Kara and speaks Jewish Kara.

5.1. The History of Jews in Challa

1 *ᴴv-ᴴʾaxnan tam ʾaxwa mād ʾāna wən šəmya—, ᴴba-ʿérexᴴ bə́z-zodāna*
   m-ʾalpa šənne lu tiwe b-Čalla. [A.H.: *mā?*] *bə́z-zodāna m-ʾalpa šənne. yaʿni*
   mən ᴴyṣiʾátᴴ d-axxa, ᴴyṣiʾátᴴ—, ʾako zə́lwālu go ᴴgalútᴴ. mani ʾā séwāle
   l-axxa? Nawoxadnesər, ᴴnaxónᴴ? mən d-é-doṛ u-ḥil ʾaxnan wax pliṭe
   m-tāma, Čalla ʾə́twāba hudāye.

2 *xá-doṛ xamšamma bāte ʾewa. ʾan xamšamma bāte, ʾəsri u-šöʾá-maʿalmine*
   ʾətwa gaw dida. xamša knəšyāsa-ži ʾətwa, ḥil qam qalʾa. qam qalʾa. (k)tax-
   rətta? ḥil l-é-ʾida-ži bāte ʾewa. bāte ʾan—, ʾe kəndāla. [A.H.: *bātəd hudāye.*]
   ʾe kəndāla mṭéwāle l-Najəmko. ᴴharéᴴ4 yalunke zöre l-tāma qoríwālu.
   ktaxrət? yalunke zöre. ʾe xeta. [A.H.: *he, he, he.*] *ʾe xeta—. ᴴbet kavarótᴴ*
   ʾətwa l-é-ʾāl kəndāl Kərika. [A.H.: *he.*]

3 *ᴴʾaz ləʾát ləʾátᴴ sele xa—, xa məšəlmāna. Piro ᶻgəmríwāleᶻ. Piro. ʾā pəšle—,*
   taxrət ᶻgəmriwāleᶻ Piro Sbakyát? taxrət, ᴴnaxónᴴ? [A.H.: *laʾ, laʾ, lá-kiʾən.*]
   lá-ktaxrət. [A.H.: *lá-kiʾən.*] *ta pəzaġāye—, ᶻgəmríwāluᶻ5 Piro Sbakyát. bāb*
   didu ʾé-Piro wewa. ʾā séwāle m-go Pənčāye. mən Blejan séwāle. šqəlle xa
   baxta ᴴʾalmanə́ᴴ mən Bet Kāre. Bet Kāre (k)taxrətta? mən tāma šqəlle xá-
   baxta ᴴʾalmanə́ᴴ. ʾə́twāla xa xurga… [Y.H.: *mar ʾagunsa*; A.H.: *ʾarmə́lsa*]
   he. ʾə́twāla xa xurga. ʾe-ʾarmə́lsa ᶻqam gāwərraᶻ. wélāle šöʾá-brone. ʾe kalba
   bər kalba!

4 *ʾanna, ʾanna šöʾá-bron(e), əxzi mād ʾətwa! ʾanna šöʾá-brone lə́twālu čú-*
   məndi. ᴴbə-xlál bə-xlálᴴ čú-məndi ču—, ʾafəllu xá-ᴴšaʿalᴴ ʾarʾa lə́twālu.
   séwālu l-tāma ᴴb-torᴴ hənna ʾiya mā k(əmri)—mahájər. ᴴpalítᴴ. he.
   séwālu l-tāma. de má-ʾodax? ʾán-šöʾa-brone kutxa mpəlle basər dide. ʾilāha
   la māzədlu! (m)pəllu basər dide. xa šöʾá-yāle-u xa tmanyá-yāle-u xa

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4 Neo-Aramaic *har ʾe* is less likely here since it is followed by *yalunke zöre* and not
yalunka zöra.
5 Error for *gəmríwāle.*

5.1. The History of Jews in Challa

And we were there, as far as I have heard—, more than about a thousand **1**
years they (Jews) have been settled in Challa. [A.H.: What?] More than a
thousand years. That is to say, since the exodus from here, the exodus—,
when they had gone into exile. Who (was) it (who) had come here?
Nawochadnezer,[6] correct? From that generation and until we had left
there, there were Jews in Challa.

A generation (ago) there were five hundred houses, these five hundred **2**
houses. There were twenty-seven teachers in it (Challa). There were
also five synagoguges (situated) over towards the fortress. Towards the
fortress. Do you remember it? Also there were houses over towards that
side. The houses, those—, that steep slope. [A.H.: The houses of the Jews.]
That steep slope reached Najimko.[7] As you know, they used to bury the
little children there. Do you remember? Little children. And the other.
[A.H.: Yes, yes, yes.] The other—. There was a cemetery on that side of
the steep slope of Kerika. [A.H.: Yes.]

Then very slowly came a—, a Muslim. They called him Piro. Piro. **3**
He became—, you remember they used to call him Piro Sbakyat? You
remember, correct? [A.H.: No, no, I don't know.] You don't remem-
ber. [A.H.: I don't know.] To the village nobles—, they called him Piro
Sbakyat. Their father was that Piro. He had come from (the area of) Pini-
anish. He had come from Blejan. He married a widow from Bet Kare.
Bet Kare, you remember it? He married a widow (*'almana*) from there.
She had a stepson… [Y.H.: Say *'agunsa* (deserted wife)! A.H.: Widow
(*'armǝlsa*).] Yes. She had a stepson. He married that widow. He had seven
sons. That son of a bitch!

Those seven sons, look what there was! Those seven sons didn't have **4**
anything. Nothing at all, nothing at (all)—, they didn't even have an inch
of land. They had come there as, um, what do they call it?—a refugee.
palit. Yes. They had come there. So what should we do? Each of those
seven sons followed him. May God not increase them! They followed
him. One (had) seven children and one (had) eight children and one

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[6] = Nebuchadnezzar.
[7] The former business partner of Rabbi Jacob Hashiloni, Ahiya Hashiloni's father.

ʾəṣŕá-yāle-u xa xamšá-yāle. šöʾá-nāše u-ʾe xéta-ži har mənnu ʾanna tmanyá-brone. walḥāṣəl de de de de de de zədlu. zədlu ʾánna-nāše. mɑ́-odi? mā lá-odi?[8] lətlu čú-məndi.

5 ʾé-waxt, b-é-doṛ kulla ^H^areṯṣ^H^ hənna Čalla mpole(ʾ)ta ʾāwa. ^H^ḥelək ʾaxí tof^H^ ʾəd-hudāye-ewa. xa ^H^ḥelək katán^H^ ʾit xa məzgafte l-tāma. xa məzgafte ʾit. xa ^H^ḥelək^H^ məzgafte ʾāwa. [A.H.: ʾeka?] g(o)-Čálla. g(o)-Čalla. [A.H.: Čalla? ʾeka go Čalla? məzgafte ʾeka ^Z^wela^Z^? . . .] məzgafte. he, he, he. go-Čá- [A.H.:^Z^ʾāwa^Z^? məzgafte ṛapsa did kiʾənna?] ʾé-məzgafte. ʾé-məzgafte. [A.H.: ʾāya? basər ʾen be malla?] he. basər ʾen be malla. l-é-ʾāl-le Tax Mallāye l-tāma.[A.H.: ʾāya ^Z^wela^Z^?] ʾāya ^Z^wela^Z^.[9]

6 walḥāṣəl tāma ʾətwa suráye-ži. ʾətwa surāye. ^H^az^H^ ʾán-surāye-ži ham ʾāni hənna ^H^fallaḥím^H^[10] wewa. godiwa hənna ^H^mʿabdiwa ʾadamót^H^ hudāye u-^H^mʿabdiwa ʾadamót^H^ gyánu-ži. . . ʾanna mɑ́-odi? mā lá-odi? mašmiʾ! ^H^mtuxnənnu^H^ ti gyānu šaqli ʾəpər hudāye. (b-)xuṛṭūsa. šaqli ʾəpər hudāye. [A.H.: mā?] šaqli ʾəpər hudāye.

7 hudāye ^H^muzmənilu^H^ l-é-məzgafte. ṛápsa-la ʾe-məzgáfte. . . walḥāṣəl ^H^muzmənilu^H^ l-tam xa yom ʾərota u-^H^mʾoyəmlu^H^ ʾəlləd didu. kəmri: ʾarʾa—, ʾanna—, kulla ʾarʾa gəbe dārétūla b-šəmmeni. godax ^H^ḥozé^H^-ži. ^Z^ogā^Z^ ʾətwa b-é-doṛ—, ḥukum ʾoṣmoḷḷi ʾāwa. ʾətwa qāymaqam ʾəlləd hənna. . . la, la, l-Baškala. l-Baškala. Baškala. Baškalan[11] ʾurxəd ṭḷɑ́-yome m-Jólamerg[12] l-é-ʾāl-ila.

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[8] Positive-negative formulae are an areal feature (Hopkins p.c.) and are common in NeoAram, e.g., JNaɣada *ma odan ma l-odan* 'What on earth can I do?' (Hopkins 1989b:258,274), JZakho *ʾēka bāzax, ʾēka la gēzax?* 'Where shall we go, where shall we not go?' (Sabar 2005:216), JBetan *mā ʾoδax mā la ʾoδax* 'What [on earth] should we do and what should we not do?' (Mutzafi 2008a:252–253), JChalla ^H^ḥkirənnu^H^ mɑ́-ʾətwa mɑ́-lətwa 'They investigated me (as to) what there was, what there wasn't.' Cf. the use of a different positive-negative formula that serves as an introduction to stories, e.g., in Jilu (Fox 1997:96 *iwa liwa* 'Once upon a time' [= 'There was, there wasn't']) and Bohtan (Fox 2007:73 *ətwa lətwa*).

[9] In imitation of the preceding JZakho form spoken by Ahiya.

[10] Ar > ModH.

[11] The Jews of Bashkala referred to the place as *Bašqalán*.

[12] Cf. JBetan *Julamerg* (Mutzafi 2008a:226).

(had) ten children and one (had) five children. Seven sons[13] and (with) that other one (Piro) still with them (that makes) eight grownups.[14] Those eight sons. In short, so, so, so, so, so, so, they increased. Those people increased. What on earth should they do?[15] They don't have anything.

At that time, in that generation, all the land, um, Challa, was divided.   **5** The best part was of the Jews. (In) a small section there is a mosque. There is a mosque. (In) a section there was a mosque. [A.H.: Where?] I(n) Challa. I(n) Challa. [A.H.: Challa? Where in Challa? Where was the mosque?...] The mosque. Yes, yes, yes. In Cha(lla). [A.H.: That one? The large mosque that I know?] That mosque. That mosque. [A.H.: That one? Behind the spring of the mullah's family?] Yes. Behind the spring of the mullah's family. On that side is the 'Mullahs' Quarter'. [A.H.: It was (there)?] It was (there).

In short, there were Christians there too. There were Christians. So   **6** those Christians too also they, um, were fellahin. They used to do, um, they would work the fields of the Jews and they would also work their own fields... What on earth should they do? Listen! They planned for themselves that they should take the soil of the Jews. (By) force. They should take the soil of the Jews [A.H.: What?] They should take the soil of the Jews.

They invited the Jews to that mosque. That mosque is large... In short,   **7** they invited them there one Friday and they threatened them. They say: "The land—, those—, you should put all the land in our name. We even make a contract." At that time, in that generation—, it was Ottoman rule. There was a local governor at, um... no, no, at Bashkala. At Bashkala. Bashkala. From Bashkala it (is) a three day journey from Jolamerk, it is on the other side.

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13 Lit., 'people'.
14 Lit., 'sons'.
15 Lit., 'What should they do? What shouldn't they do?'

8 walḥāsəl mə́-odax? mā lá-od(ax)? šqəllu mənnu. xanči qṭililu. xanči drelu
go ^{H}bet sohar^H. xanči ’riqālu mən ^{H}paḥad^H. xanči pəšlu. nixəd sāwox
u-xa xeta, ’e-xéta lá-ki’ən šəmme má-yle, qemi mšadrilu ’əl-Baškala q(am)
qāymaqam mən d-an hənna ^{H}etekím ’et ḥozím mzuyafím u-d-rama’út^H
ko ’anna lu šqíle-lla hənna ^{H}kowaḥ^H mən didu. mād ’ə́twālu-ži go besa
’áya-ži šqəllu. ’áya-ži zəlle. kud mḥokéle-ži qemi qaṭlile. u-’āni hənnə́llu-
ži ^{H}muspəklu^H ’arqila, ’riqālu.

9 walḥā̄ṣəl tāma qəmlu mšodərru l-nixəd sāwox xa xéta-ži mənne. lá-ktaxrən
šəmme má-yle. ^{H}tiré^H. [A.H.: ^{Z}sāwoyəd^Z bābi. ^{Z}sāwoyəd^Z bābi. ^{Z}sāwoyəd^Z
bābi.] sāwox. Mašiaḥ hənna sāwəd bābox wewa. [A.H.: la, Mašiaḥ ^{Z}sāwó-
yi^Z-le.] ^{Z}sāwoyox wele^Z. qəmlu mšudrilu l-Baškala qam qāymaqam. ^{H}’az^H
’é-waxt b-é-doṛ ’idəd ḥukum lá-gmāṭewa^{16} l-Čálla, y’elox, rə́qqa-ewa mən-
nəd didu. u-kurdináye-ži kalbe bə́šṭor lu mənnu. be-dín-ilu xor d-anna
‘arabāye.

10 walḥāsəl waḷḷa šodərru be ’āġa l-Jólamerg. ’itən tāma xa ^{Z}gəmrile^Z Ḥusní-
’affandi. ^{H}az^H ’āya xətən Walyá-bak^{17} wewa, ’e Ḥusní-’affandi. ’āya xətən
Walyá-ba(k) l-táma-ži hənna ’ewa. múfti-’ewa. qə́zi-’ewa. kullu šu’āle
’ewa. šodərru l-tāma. u-bāb díde-ži darwéz-’affandi ^{Z}gəmríwāle^Z. ’anna
hudāye mən tāma la da’ri. [A.H.: Walyá-bak ’āġa did Čalla ^{Z}wele^Z.]
Walyá-bak, ^{H}gam^H bāb dide, dla b-doṛ dide, ’əlla b-doṛ bábe-āwa. b-doṛ
sáwe-’āwa. kullu ’anna… kalbe. [A.H.: ’āni ’āġawāyəd Čalla ^{Z}welu^Z]. he,
’āni ’āġawāyəd^{18} Čalla.

11 šodərru kəmri kutru ’āse l-qəṭla. mandelu ’əbbəd ṃāye. mā—, hənna Zāwa
deni, ki’ə́tte. ’e—, ṃāye ’uṛwa… téreni bāwədwa. walḥāsəl waḷḷa qemi ’āni
qaṭlilu. hudāyəd pə́šwālu-ži kə́tt-u-māt ’riqālu. ^{H}ha-sóf^H didu lu mətye
hənna be ’Awṛāham, be Nuwaḥ… l-Mə́ṣṣər-ž(i). xa ^{H}məšpaḥắ^H mənnu
zə́lwālu l-Məṣṣər. ’atta lu d’ire qam kma šənne l-axxa.

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^{16} For expected *gmaṭyáwa*.
^{17} See s.v. in the glossary for the possible origin of this phrase.
^{18} Shabbo usually uses the plural form *’āgāye*. He merely repeated the form that Ahiya
had just said.

In short, what on earth should we do? They took (the land) from them. **8**
Some they killed. Some they put in prison. Some fled out of fright. Some
remained. Your late grandfather and the other one, the other (one) I don't
know what his name is, they (the Jews of Challa) up (and) send them
to Bashkala before the local governor with those, um, copies and forged
contracts and trickery because they (the Kurds) have taken it (the land),
um, (by) force from them (the Jews). They also took whatever they had
in the house. Also it went. They up (and) kill whoever also spoke. And
those who did um, managed to flee, fled.

In short, they up (and) sent there your late grandfather (and) also **9**
the other one (who was) with him. I don't remember what his name
is. Look! [A.H.: The grandfather of my father. The grandfather of my
father. The grandfather of my father.] Your grandfather. Mashiaḥ, um,
was your father's grandfather. [A.H.: No, Mashiaḥ is my grandfather.] He
was your grandfather. They up (and) sent them to Bashkala before the
local governor. So at that time, in that generation, the (long) arm of the
government did not reach Challa, you know, it was a distance from them
(the residents of Challa). And as for the Kurds too, even dogs are better
than them. They are without religion, like those Arabs.

In short, by God, they sent (them) to the house of the Agha in Jola- **10**
merk. There is one there they call Husni Effendi. So he was the son-in-law
of the Vali Bey, that Husne Effendi. He (was), um, the son-in-law of the
Vali there. He was the mufti. He was the judge. He was all things. They
sent (them) there. And they used to call his father Dervish Effendi. (They
sent them there so that) those Jews should not return from there. [A.H.:
The Vali Bey was the Agha of Challa.] The Vali Bey, also his father, not in
his generation but rather it was in the generation of his father. It was in
the generation of his grandfather. All of those … dogs [A.H.: They were
the aghas of Challa.] Yes, they (were) the aghas of Challa.

They sent (them) saying the two of them should be killed. They should **11**
throw them into the water. What—, um, our Zawa (River), you know it.
That—, big (body of) water… It would be sufficient for us (here in Israel).
In short, by God, they up (and) they kill them. And the Jews who had
remained fled bit by bit. The last of them have come, um, the family of
Abraham (and) the family of Noah … to Egypt. One (other) family had
gone with them to Egypt. Now they have returned here (to Israel) a few
years ago.

12 *walḥāsəl hatxa widilu. kətte kətte ʾriqālu m-qam didu. ṃāḷu šqəllu. mxelu*
    ʾəllu. u-kullu ^Hdvarím^H wədlu ʾəllu. ʾatta ^Hgam^H mṭelu ʾəlləd hənna qəṭla.
    bāziwa b-xuṛṭūsa go besa pšaqliwa mād gbewa. ^Zgəmriwa^Z . . . [A.H.: . . .
    l-Məṣṣər, Šamaʿya ^Zwele^Z.] he, he, Šamaʿya . . . walḥāsəl ḥil tāma mṭelu ḥil
    Məṣṣər. ʾāni zəllu ʾidəd Páras-ži zəllu. ʾā—, la-kiʾaxlu har lá-kiʾax ^Hysod^H
    didu ʾéka-ʾile. mā pəšlu? pəšlu ḥel dóṛ . . . tāma.

13 *ʾáxtun-ži m-qam didu ʾriqálexun, ʾanna xeta t—, basər mənnexun ʾanna*
    t—, be ʾamoyi Zawūlun. ʾáni-ži zəllu. pəšlan ʾaxnan tāma. [A.H.: kma
    waʿda basər mənnan mpəqlu? xá-šāta?] mani? ʾāna kiʾənwa xa šáta-u-palge
    xa məndi. he, hatxa. ʾá-ži nixəd ʾamoyi Zawúlun-ži mxéwālu. šodə́rwālu
    xa ʿAbdi ^Zgəmríwāle^Z. xa Ṣaləḥko u-xa xeta mšudrilu bárakus dide. ʾāya
    mən Moṣəl kesewa. go Galli. Galli ktaxrətte? [A.H.: he, he.] ^Hʾaz^H tāma
    waḷḷa mə́rwāle ʾāġa ṭas didu ġulamawás dide: qaṭlétūle Zawūlun.

14 *zəllu l-tāma. ʾāni ṭḷāha-ewa. ^Hmoḥlətlu^H. xa kemər ta d-e xeta kemər:*
    xa ʿáwon-la. tré-ži mxabine b-iya hudá qaṭlile. māxax xa təffaq l-ʾaqle.
    bamrax ta ʾāġa lá-^Hmuṣləḥlan^H qaṭlaxle. ʾriqāle. waḷḷa xa ^Hkadúr^H drelu
    ʾəbbəd dide u-mxelu ʾaqle ʾaqle. mən aqle qemi ^Hpaṣʿile^H. zəlle ʾriqāle zəlle
    l-Kəri. Kəri u-Maləxta ʾətwa hənna xa ^Hnəkudát^H hənna ʾiya mā kəmrila
    ^Hmištarət^H ʿEraqnāye l-tāma.

5.2. The Agha Takes What He Wants

1 *u-^Hʾaz^H ʾāya šqə́lwāle—, tmanya ḅaṛāne xilíwāle. ḥaqqeni lá-hūle. ʾāni*
    haḷḷa haḷḷa ʾaġáye-lu. mare təffáqe-lu. xa šöʾi tmāni təffāqe ʾətle. šəmməd
    dide—, bābe Rašíd ʾÁġa-ʾewa. ʾā b-gyāne Maḥammat Ṭāhər ʾáġa-ʾewa.
    bāb dide skətle zəlle. nixəd bábi-ži nəxle. xá-yoma zəlli ʾəlləd pareni l-tāma.
    kemər ṭāsi: mə́-gəbət?

In short, they made them (dispersed) like this. One by one they fled **12** from before them. (The Kurds) took their property. They beat them. They did all sorts of things to them. Also now they were, um, killed. They (the Kurds) would go by force into a house (and) they would take whatever they wanted. They would say—. [A.H.: … to Egypt, it was Shemaia]. Yes, yes, Shemaia… In short, they got as far as there, until Egypt. They also went in the direction of Iran. As for him—, we didn't know them, in any case we don't know what their origin is. What has become of them? They remained till the generation… there.

Also you fled before them, those others w(ho)—, after you those **13** w(ho)—, the family of my uncle Zebulun. Also they went. We remained there. [A.H.: How long after us did they leave? One year?] Who? I knew (it was) something (like) a year and a half. Yes, (something) like that. Also they (the Kurds) had beaten my late uncle Zebulun. They had sent someone called Abdi. They sent after him (Zebulun) a certain Ṣaleḥko and someone else. He had come from Mosul. In Galli. Galli, you remember it? [A.H.: Yes, yes.] So there, by God, the Agha had said to his servants: "You should kill Zebulun."

They went there. They were three. They decided. One says to the other: **14** "One: it's a sin; two: it's also a pity (that) they should kill that Jew. Let's shoot at his foot (with) a rifle. We will tell the Agha that we didn't succeed in killing him. He fled." By God, they put a bullet in him and shot him in his foot. They up (and) injured him in his foot.[19] He went, he fled, to Kiri. There was at Kiri and Malexta, um, an outpost,[20] um, what do they call it?—the Iraqi police there.

5.2. The Agha Takes What He Wants

And so he had taken—, eight rams he had filched. He did not pay us **1** for them. They, how fortunate, are the aghas! They are rifle owners. One has about seventy, eighty rifles. His name—, (by the way) his father was Rashid Agha. He himself (the son), was Mahammat Taher Agha. His father croaked (and) died. Also my late father passed way. One day I went there for our money. He says to me: "What do you want?"

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[19] The repetition of *'aqle* (*'aqle 'aqle*) raises the possibility of distributive meaning and that he was shot in both his feet, though it would then be hard to explain how he fled.

[20] Lit., 'point'.

2   *mərri: tmanya baṛāne ʾaxiwélexun*[21] *ʾarbi dināre ʾit rešexun, qurdắ! bābox*
    le šáila-llu. ʾāna [H]*mbakšən*[H] *pār gyāni. kemər:* [K]*juwa ke brəsi bihn ču sar*
    dene kawa.[K] *ki'ət* [H]*perúš*[H] *má-yla? lá-ktaxrətta kurdi,* [H]*naxón*[H]*? la'?* [A.H.:
    la'.] yaʿni hudāye ʾən kpənnu, gezi reš dena tiqa. ʾắna-ži mərri ṭas dide
    mərri: denəd hudāye hálūle! la kese reš dena tiqa. ʾako dena xləsle [A]*xaḷaṣ*[A].

3   *mərri: qurdắ, xzi! ʾāna Hekkarnắ-wən. u-ʾāhat Be Bắdən-wət. u-ʾāhat lá-*
    mṣət māḷeni ʾaxlətte. ʾən māḷeni ʾāse l-ʾixāla, ʾit ʾāġa d-Čalla. ʾit Pənčatūsa.
    ʾit Karatūsa. ʾāna mare—, mare [H]*kówah*[H]*-ʾiwən, lá-xašwət? jirānatūsa*
    [H]*mašehí ʾahér*[H]. *má-'ətwa basəmta godila bə́ž-basəmta. bale ʾən pəšla*
    ʿənyān hənna ʾiya má-kəmri [H]*nakamót*[H], *ʾāhat lá-mṣət ʾəlleni.*

4   *kemər: si! mā ʿurṭūsəd ʾitən go šallox mándila! wáḷḷa-ži hməlli mərri: ḅāš*
    xa qurdáya-le mənni pəzaġắ mən Čalla. ʾegā drele gopaḷta. mərri: la'. la
    māxətte! la māxətte! šuqle! ʾaxnan hudāye ʾako kpənnan gezax reš dena
    tiqa. kemər: he. mərri: [H]*b-sedər*[H].

5   *hmóləna! xulūl d-iya Daniyél bər Hoče ʾewa. xa zoʾa bargúze-le qāmi.*
    [H]*náylun*[H]*-ži hādax lewe. lu bəjrắ. wax reš gāre l-xulūla kulleni kapaneni*
    lu b-əġdad bərqāda. ʾé-Maḥammat Ṭāhər ʾāġa sele. ʾāġa-le. manoxe xāze
    julləd mani bə́š tāza-l(e). monəxle monəxle monəxle. sele. nixəd bābi u-Hoče
    u-ʾāni lu ʾəltəx. ʾāni lu bəštắ. ʾaxnan ʾiwax reš gāre bərqāda. ʾəryắna-le-ži.

6   [A.H.: *ʾeka? go Čalla?*] *la, go Kāra. Kāra ʾāt lewət xə́zya-lla. he. Kāra lewət*
    xə́zya-lla ʾāhat. [A.H.: *la'. lewən. . .*] *ʾewa, ʾewa l-Kāra. sele kemər ṭāsi:*
    má'alləm! ʾắna-ži mərri: má-lox Maḥammat Ṭāhər ʾāġa? ʾanna bargúze
    gəbe yāwəttu ṭāsi. ʾānid qāmi. . . [A.H.: *Kāra ʿIraq* [Z]*wela*[Z], *lewa-*). *he he.*
    [A.H.: *Kāra ʿIraq* [Z]*wela*[Z].] *he he ʿÉraq-wa. . .*

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[21] For *xilíwālexun*?

I said: "You've filched eight rams. You owe forty dinars, Kurd! Your **2** father has taken them. I request my money (for the rams)." He says: "*juwa ke brəsi bihn ču sar dene kawa*." Do you know what the meaning is? You don't remember Kurdish, correct? No? [A.H.: No.] That is to say, if Jews are hungry, they go for an old debt (to collect it). I also said to him: "Hand over (your) debt to the Jews! (Jews) don't come for an old debt. When the debt is finished, it's over. (But this isn't a debt like that.)"

I said: "Kurd, Look! I am a resident of Hakkari and you are (a resident **3** of) Be Baden. And you cannot filch our possessions. If our possessions should get filched, (then you should remember that) there is an agha of Challa (who will look after us). There are those (aghas) from Pinianish. There are those (aghas) from Kara. I am—, powerful, don't you think? (As for good) neighborliness (that is) something else. Whatever may be pleasant (to start off with), good relations make it even nicer. But if it becomes a matter of, um, what do they call it?—revenge, then you cannot best us."

He says: "Go! Whatever fart you've got in your pants, release it!" Also **4** by God, I waited (and) said (to myself): "(It is) good that it is a Kurd (that) is with me, a village noble from Challa." So then (the village noble from Challa) beat him with a shepherd's stick. I said: "No! Don't hit him! Don't hit him! Leave him! We Jews, when we are hungry, we go (to collect) an old debt." He says: "Yes." I said: "Okay."

Wait! It was the wedding feast of this Daniel son of Hoče. I am wearing **5** a woolen suit. It isn't nylon (material) like this (that I am now wearing). (The participants in the wedding feast) are moving around. We are on the roof at the wedding feast, all of us, our shoulders are together, dancing. That Mahammat Tahər Agha came. He is the Agha. Looking around, he sees whose garment is nicer. He looked around (and) around (and) around. He came (near). My late father and Hoče are down below. They are drinking. We (on the other hand) are on the roof dancing. Also it is rain(ing).

[A.H.: Where? In Challa?] No, in Kara. You haven't seen Kara. Yes. You **6** haven't seen Kara. [A.H.: No, I haven't...] It was, it was in Kara. He came (and) says to me: "Teacher!" I said: "What's with you, Mahammat Taher Agha?" (Mahammat Taher says:) "You must give me that woolen suit." The one that (is) on me (Shabbo)... [A.H.: Kara was Iraq, it isn't—.] Yes, yes. [A.H.: Kara was Iraq.]... Yes, yes. It was Iraq...

7 ʾắna-ži... ʾắna-ži mərri: qurdá! ʾāna ču bargūze lá-gmzabnan. lá-julli-ži šalxənnu m-qam gyāni yāwənnu ta—. kəm(ər): mād pāre gebət byāwənnox. ʾāna gyắni-ži ʾatta byāwənnu ṭā(sox). mərri: waḷḷa gəmrən kulla ʿEraq gyānox yāwətta ṭāsi, ʾāna julle m-qāmi lá-gšalxənnu yāwənnu ṭā(sox). ʾako zəlli l-besa mšadrənnu ʾəllox. waḷḷa ʾiya ^H^mašehu aḥér^H^. bale l-axxa? la!

8 ʾáx-geb tán-geb ṭaṃáha-geb, waḷḷa kemər: ʾāna ʾanna bargūze gbənnu. māṭo t-(h)ūwa. kmād gebət byāwən. mərre: ^H^b-sedər^H^. ʾatta ʾəd-gyāni pšalxənnu byāwənnu. mərri: la, la, mxalope let l-axxa. ʾako zəlli l-Čalla, ʾāna mšadrənnox. kma, kmá-la? mərri tre'sár-dināre. menəx! xāzax! menəx! bargūze qam xəddá-ʾit?

9 ʾanna Karāye kullu ^H^ʿantíka^H^-ilu. kúllu-ži. mani ʾilu? yaʿni gyānu gbela ṛāba. wət bəxzāya mən didu? la, waḷḷa let. u-let. u-zəlli l-besa u-mšadrənnox. pār gyāni šqilili. bargúze-ži lu qāmi zəllan besa. zəllan besa šlixili. hiwili ṭas dide. zəllu ʾán-bargūze. zəlli l-tāma xá-gā xet mərri gəbən pār gyāni...

10 ^H^az^H^ ʾāni zəllu tūlu go ʾurxa dide. xa ʿāṣərta le bisāya. ʾegā bāzən Be-Búwa xa dūka, Be-Búwa ^Z^gəmrila^Z^. tāma mədor didu gyātu go d-é-^H^azọr^H^, Be-Búwa. xá-le tiwa go d-iya ṭarrašta reš ʾurxa. xa ʾəl-ʾída... xa ʾəl-ʾída. waḷḷa ṣrəxlu xá-l-e-xet: de-m-é-(i)da m-é-(i)da sāwun ʾəlle! hatxa monəxle. he, xa təffaq-ži la mənnu. ṭḷāha náše-lu-ži bisāya. ʾanna deni. ʾāya ʾəšta xuláme-lu mənnu. kutxa xa—, xa təffaq ʾənglízi-la b-kāpe. ʾáya-ži xa reš kutke. hənna ^H^ʾekdáḥ^H^-ži-ila b-ṭanəšta. b-ṭanəštəd dide.

11 ʾāni ʾriqālu xulamawás dide, u-ʾāya mokušlu m-kawənta. mokušlu m-kawənta. ʾan bargūze d-wən mzúbna-llu ṭāse, ʾāni-lu qāme. ʾāni didi ʾe(wa) ta xlūl Daniyél bər Hoče. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa mokušlu. kəmri: hay yəmmox siláleni! hay baxtox səllan! xāsox səllan! yəmməd bābox səllan! ʾāhat ṃāḷ

As for me ... as for me, I said: "Kurd! I will neither sell any woolen suit **7** nor will I take my clothes off of myself to give them to you." (Mahammat Taher sa)ys: "Whatever money you want I will give you. I myself will now give it (the money) to yo(u)." I said: "By God, I say should you give me all your very own Iraq, I shall not take off the clothes I am wearing to give them to (you). When I have gone home, I will send them to you. By God, this (is) something else (altogether). But here? No!"

When all's said and done, by God, (Mahammat Taher) says: "I want **8** that woolen suit. However it may be. Whatever you want I will give." (Mahammat Taher) said: "Okay. Now I will take them off of myself, I will give them (to you)." I said: "No, no, there is no exchanging here. When I have gone back to Challa, I will send (them) to you." (Mahammat Taher said:) "How much, how much is it (the price)?" I said: "Twelve dinars. Look around! Let's see! Look around! Is there on anyone (else here) a suit (like this)?"

Those from Kara are all old-fashioned. All of them even. Who are they? **9** That is to say, they pride themselves very much. Can you see (anything as fine as my suit) with them? No, by God, there isn't (anything like my suit), not at all. And (when) I have gone home, I will send you (it)." I took my money. And we went home (with) the woolen suit on me. We went home, (then) I took them off. I gave them to him (Mahammat Taher). That woolen suit went (to the Agha). I went there another time (and) I said (to Mahammat Taher): "I want my money (since I sent you my woolen suit)."

So they (a group of ambushers out to punish Mahammat Taher for not **10** paying for the woolen suit) went (and) stationed themselves on his path. Evening is coming on. So then I will go to Be Buwa, a place they call Be Buwa. Their mudir is stationed there in that area, Be Buwa. One (of the ambushers) has settled himself in this thicket on the path. One on (this) side... one on (that) side. By God, they shouted to each other: "So from that side! From that side approach him!" Like this he looked (around). Yes, they have one rifle. Three men are also coming (towards Mahammat Taher). Those ones of ours. There are six servants with them. Each one (of Mahammat Taher's servants has) an—, an English rifle is on his shoulder. Also he (Mahammat Taher) (has) one on his knees. Um, also there is a pistol at the side. At his side.

They, his servants, fled and (the ambushers) brought that one (Mah- **11** ammat Taher) down off the mule (he was riding on). They brought him down off the mule. That woolen suit, which I have sold him, is on him. It was mine for the wedding feast of Daniel son of Hoče. In short, by God, they brought him down (off the mule). (The ambushers) say: "Hey! We

hudāyəd deni baxlətte? de mándūle qāman. ʾegā kíʾət-ži mā wáxt-ile?
ḥanúkka-ʾile. mā qársa-la l-tāma go ṭūra! ʿāṣə́rta-la. pu!

12 *šqəllu ᴴmakélᴴ ʾalləd dide. ʾüdlu b-ṣudra u-šarwāla. bas ṣudra u-šarwāla.*
məndelu. qāman. məndelu. mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi! ḥel wəlle
desta, ᴴpastelaᴴ reš ᴴpas ʾadamáᴴ. ʾárʾa-ži xapči jmə́tta-la. tāma xanči
tálga-ži le ʾəsya. [A.H.: . . . ᴴḤanukkáᴴ.] he.

13 *šāləd dide—, šāle kiʾəttu má-ylu? xərxāṣe. šāləd dide ʾə́twāle xa hənna ʾiya*
mā kəmrila ᴴḥagoráᴴ ʾanglizi(t) ʾəd-ᴴkaṣinímᴴ hənna ʾəd-ᴴʿórᴴ. ʾanna treʾ.
ʾāya b-ᴴəkdáḥᴴ ʾāwa. ᴴəkdáḥᴴdide. təffaq dide. [A.H.: dabanja.] sāʿəd
dide. dabanja dide. ʾan bargūzəd ʾāna mzübniwāli ṭāse treʾsar dināre. u-
ʾə́twāle ᴴarnákᴴ-ži. šöʾa—, šwaʾsar dināre u-palge go ᴴarnákᴴ dide ʾewa.

14 *ʾāya mundelu l-tāma. kəmri: xzi! kalba bər kalba! ʾaxnan yaʿni qam ʾilāha*
gnáxpaxin ʾəlla šarwāla u-ṣúdra-ži kšalxáxwālu²² qāmox. qemi šoqile l-
tāma. šoqile l-tāma ʾé-lele. ʾāya pəšle l-ta(m). xulamawás dide ʾriqālu zəllu.
ʾanna ᴴdavarímᴴ, kawənta ʾanna kullu məselu. ʾāya ṭarma šüqlu l-ta(ma),
šüqlu l-tāma u-ʾāni selu.

15 *ʾanna ᴴdavarímᴴ məselu u-selu. ʾāya pəšle l-ta(m) ḥel yom basra. selu nāše*
pədlu mən tāma kxāzele ʾāya ṭárma-le l-tam. ʾegā laššе le mʿubya mād
lu mə́xye-lle ʾəbbəd ᴴmaklótᴴ. kulle laššе le piša paqʾe paqʾe. xa hənna go
hənna ʾewa—. qəwya ʾéba-le. yəmme čiqálu-lle.

16 *walḥāṣəl xá-lele ʾaxnan beseni. tarʾeni b-léle-ži ptíxa-le. tək-u tək-u tək,*
mxelu l-tarʾa. máni-le? yəmmi ṣrəxla ʾalləd dide. kemər: Sise, Sise! tarʾa
ptuxle! ʿÁbo-le. šəmme ʿÁbo-le. [Y.H.: ḥukum mxelu ʾəlle?] lā. ʾānid lu
mə́xye-lle ʾāya. ᴴkenᴴ, ʾānid əmxéwālu ʾəlle. lā. d-qbə́lwāle ᴴmakótᴴ, ʾā

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²² For expected *kšalxaxlu*.

fucked your mother! Hey! We fucked your wife! We fucked your sister! We fucked your father's mother! Will you filch the possessions of our Jews? Now throw it (the woolen suit) down before us." So then do you know what time of year it is? It is Hanukka. How cold it is there on the mountain! It is evening. Phew!

They took a stick to him (Mahammat Taher). They did it (to him) in **12** (his) shirt and trousers. (He was) only (in his) shirt and trousers. They threw him down in front of us. They threw him down. They beat him over and over and over again.[23] Until he is right now a portion of food, mincemeat, on the face of the earth. Also the earth is a bit frozen. Some snow has also fallen there. [A.H.: … Hanukka.] Yes.

His belt—, you know what a *šale* is? His cummerband. His belt has, **13** um, what do they call it?—an English officers' belt, um, of leather. Those (are) the only two (weapons on the belt). It was with a pistol. His pistol. His rifle. [A.H.: *dabanja* (pistol).] His watch. His pistol. That woolen suit that I had sold him (for) twelve dinars. And he also had a purse. Seven—, seventeen and a half dinars were in his purse.

That one (Mahammat Taher) they threw down there. They say: "Look! **14** Son of a bitch! We, that is to say, before God we are embarrassed, but we are taking (your) trousers and shirt off of you." They up (and) leave him there. They leave him there that night. He remained there. His servants fled, they went away. (The ambushers) brought (back) all of those things, (including) the mule. They left that corpse (of Mahammat Taher), they left (it) there and they came (back).

They brought those things and they came. He remained there (lying **15** there on the ground) till the next day. People came, they passed by there, they see him. That corpse is there. Now then his body has swollen up (since) they have beaten it (so much) with sticks. His whole body has become pieces. A, um, in, um, it was—. It was dreadful. They tore his mother apart over it.

In short, one night we (are in) our house. And our door is open at **16** night. *Knock, knock, knock*. They knocked on the door. "Who is it?" my mother called out to him (the one who knocked). He says: "Sise, Sise! Open the door! It is Abo." His name is Abo. [Y.H.: Did the government beat him?] No, those who have beaten him, that one (are at the door now). Yes, those who had beaten him (are at the door). No, he who had received

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[23] Lit., 'strike and strike and strike and strike and strike and strike!' (narrative imperative).

pəšle ṭarma go ṭūra. xulamāse ʾriqáwālu. tarʾa ptəxla yəmmi. ʾána-ži qəmli manox(e). ʿĀbo má-yla? le ᴴbərʾādaᴴ mənnəd zdoʾsəd gyāne.

17 *qurdāya má-lox? qay wetun qṭile xədda? lā, le māra. ʾe kalba bər kalba xzile! yəmmax sílela(!)[24] ʾälləd dide. lá-kiʾən ᴴḥáy ᴴ-le ᴴʾoᴴ le misa. máni-le ʾe kalba bər kalba? Maḥammat Ṭāhər ʾāġa. ʾahá! ʾáġa-le-ži. he. má-yla breta? yʾele hənnəd gyāne gunikəd gyāne. šqilāle. téra-ila. tera… godiwa hənna tāma. pəmma pṭíxa-le ʾáqqara. sele qlibāle l-tāma.*

18 *xzi! ʾanna bargūze didox flāna yoma m-xlúla qāmox? ʾáya-ži hánna-ži m-xlúla ʾewa. mərri: ʾewa dídi-lu. kemər: ᴷčəhú mən. čəhú mənᴷ yaʿni hudāya. hudāya kemər. ʾiya dabanja. ʾiya xanjar. ʾiya šāla. [Y.H.: dabanja warwar?] he, he. warwar. ᴴkenᴴ. ʾaxnan ᶻgəmraxᶻ dabanja.*

5.3. Sufi Abraham, the Prayer Rug, and the Ḥajj

1 *walḥāṣəl zəllan ʾälləd hənna ʾiya mā kəmrila zónaxin … ᴴsmixótᴴ. zonax ᴴsmixótᴴ. ʾúrreni go xá-dukkāna. šəmməd (d)e-mar dukkāna ḥajji Qádər-le. sele barakuseni. qbilaxle ᴴyaféᴴ. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa, de! šəmmox má-yle? kemər: ṣóf(i)-Ibrāhim. ʾÁwṛaham pəšle ṣóf(i)-Ibrāhim. kutxa xa šəmma drele l-gyāne.*

2 *walḥāṣəl de ṣofi! má-ʾāhāt? nāš d-éka-wət? kəmri dəd Wān. ʾeka bāzət? kemər: bāzən ḥajj. mašmi'! bāzət ḥajj? ʾiya səswa bodaxle l-Ṣṭambul. ᴴkšeᴴ-báhar bāzən ḥajj. o! kemər: ṛāba dāʿət ṭaseni, ṛāba hiwi, dʿāya ʾodət ṭaseni! ʾāzət reš qōr Maḥammad hənna ṛāba dāʿət ṭaseni ta-lá-ʾāse balāye b-rešeni, heeeee. ᴴhakol b-sedərᴴ… he he.*

3 *ʾegā dbəšle b-ʾidəd ʾAwṛāham mučuᵘ mučuᵘ mučuᵘ. le bə-nšáqa-lla. kulle gəldəd ʾide hənnélle—. mərri: ʾAwṛāham! go—, go ləbbi wən bimāra ʾegā ʾatta ʾidox… ḥil bəšṭor wāwa. lá-hatxa. walḥāṣəl tūlu barqul ʾóġdāde.*

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24 For expected *səlla?*

blows, he (Mahammat Taher) had become a corpse in the mountain. His servants had fled. My mother opened the door. Also I got up to look. "Abo, what is it?" He is shaking from his own fear.

"Kurd, what's with you? Why, have you killed someone?" "No," he says. **17** "See that son of a bitch! Your mother fucked him. I don't know (if) he is alive or has died." Who is that son of a bitch? Mahammat Taher Agha. Aha! Moreover he is an agha. Yes. What has happened? He recognized his, um, his gunny sack. He took it. It is a large bag. A large bag... they used to make (them), um, (large) there. The mouth (of the gunny sack) opens up so big. He came, he emptied it out there.

"Look! Is this suit yours (from) such and such a day from the wedding **18** feast (that was then) on you?" This, um, was (from) the wedding feast. I said: "It is mine." He says: "*čəhú mən. čəhú mən* (My Jew. My Jew.)" That is to say, Jew. "Jew," he says. "This (is his) pistol, this (is his) dagger, this (is his) belt" [Y.H.: *Dabanja* (is) a pistol?]. Yes, yes. revolver. We say *dabanja* (pistol).

5.3. Sufi Abraham, the Prayer Rug, and the Ḥajj

In short, we went to, um, what do they call it?—to buy ... blankets. To buy **1** blankets. We entered a shop. The name of that shopkeeper is Hajji Qader. He came towards us. He received us nicely. In short, by God (he says): "So! What is your name?" (My brother Abraham) says: "Sufi Ibrahim." Abraham became Sufi Ibrahim. Each one (of us Jews) gave himself a (Muslim) name.

In short, "So Sufi! What are you? Where are you from?" They say **2** from Van. (Hajji Qader says:) "Where are you going?" (Abraham) says: "I am going on hajj." (Hajji Qader says:) "Listen! You are going on hajj?" (Abraham says:) "We will spend this winter in Istanbul. When it is spring I am going on hajj." Oh! (Hajji Qader) says: "Pray a lot for us! Lots of pleading, do a lot of praying for us! You should go to the grave of Muhammad, um, (and) you should pray a lot for us lest disaster befall us." Yessss. Everything is okay... Yes, yes.

So then he stuck (his lips) to Abraham's hand (and) *smack smack smack* **3** he is kissing it. All the skin of his hand became um—. I said: "Abraham!" In—, in my heart I am saying so now your hand... until it was better. Not like that. In short, they sat opposite each other.

4   *sele xa sayyə́dka-ži. sayyədka le bəxdāra l-^Hnədavá^H. le bəxdāra l-^Hnəda-vá^H sayyədka. le xdira go d-an ^Hṣrife^H kullu. ^Hba-ʿérex ʾuláy^H tre paṇqáṇote u-palge pāre daqiqe ti gyāne le ṭə́ʿya. waḷḷa tūlu barqul ʾə́ġdāde. sayyədka šə̀mme hənna sayyəd Májid-ʾile. u-ʾAvṛāham ʾāya ṣof(i)-Ibrâhim-le. u-ʾe xeta ḥajji Qádər-ile...*

5   *walḥāṣəl musele xa səjjāda. ʾAwṛāham mətwāle l-ʾarʾa. har hatxa le bāda səjjāda, ptála-lla hatxa. b-iya ʾida le ḥmila réša-ži. hatxa le ʾwida qam ʾenəd kutru. hatxa le bāda səjjā(da). hā le māra: ʾiya səjjāda qəbla lewa bədwáqa-lla. he mašmi(ʾ)! qəbla lewa bədwáqa-lla. ʾan kutru qurdāye xet, sayyədka u-ʾe xet lu manoxe ʾəbbe, mar dukkāna. ʾe səjjāda šqilāle d-ipāle, šqə̀lle xa xet. ʾá-ži mətwāle l-ʾarʾa. hatxa le bāda ʾəbbəd dida... ʾíya-ži qəbla lá-dūqāla.*

6   *xa ʾə̀ṣṛa səjjāde ʾāni har lu manoxe ʾəbbəd dide. ʾiya—, mā qurdáya-le. hatxa narm u-ḥāle garmǝd dide. ʾiya nāša ^Hk-nərʾé^H mən genʿedən le ʾəsya... ʾAwṛāham... he, he. ṣof(i)-Ibrâhim. walḥāṣəl ʾáxnan-ži, ʾāna, nixǝd ʾaxoni ʾAwṛāham u-nixǝd Baṣālel ʾidan pəmman ta la gaxkax. he. kāsan ə̀mre(ʾ)la ʾəllan mən gəxka. xa səjjāda xe ʾá-ž(i) šqilāle d-ipāle. xa xet šqə̀lle məttūle l-ʾarʾa. hátxa-le. ʾəl-ʾárʾa. ʾíya-ži səjjāda lá-gdoqāla.*

7   *hənna mar, hənna mar ^Hḥanút^H-ži kemər ṭas dide: ṣof(i) ʾiya má-iwət bāda? kemər: ʾit xa Maḥámmad-ʾāġa m-kəslexun l-axxa le ʾəsya kəsleni. təjjāra ʾewa. meséwāle səjjāde ʿaṣli. səjjāde ^Htovím^H. māṭod mandéwālu l-ʾarʾa qəbla gdoqíwāla. ʾanna lewu qəbla—. bābo! kemər: səjjāde mən kəsleni gzoni, lu ʾəsye? māṭo qəbla...?*

Also a sayyid came. The sayyid is going around (begging) for a hand-out. He is going around for a hand-out, the sayyid. He has gone around in all of those huts. About perhaps, two and a half liras[25] (oops sorry, I mean) small change he has sought for himself. By God, they sat opposite one another. The sayyid, his name, um, is Sayyid Majid. And Abraham, he is Sufi Ibrahim. And that other one is Hajji Qader... 4

In short, he brought a prayer rug. Abraham placed it on the ground. He is doing just like this (to the) prayer rug (on) the ground, he is unrolling it in this way. Also he is standing over it on this side. Like this he has done (it) before the eyes of the two of them. He is unfolding[26] the prayer rug like this. "Here," he is saying, "this prayer rug is not facing the qibla.[27] Yes, Listen! It is not facing the qibla." Those two other Kurds, the sayyid and that other one, are looking at him, the shopkeeper. He took that prayer rug, folded it up, (and then) took another. He also placed it on the ground. Like this he is doing to it... this one too did not face the qibla. 5

(After) about ten prayer rugs they still are looking at him. (They think:) "This—, what (sort of) a Kurd (Abraham) this is! He is a pleasant fellow![28] This person apparently has come from the Garden of Eden..."[29] Abraham... Yes, yes. Sufi Ibrahim. In short, we too, I, my late brother Abraham and the late Besalel, the hand (is on) our mouth in order that we shouldn't laugh. Yes. Our stomach hurt us from laughter. He (Abraham) took another prayer rug (and) folded it. He took (yet) another one (and) placed it on the ground. It is like this. On the ground. Nor does this prayer rug face it (the qibla). 6

Um, the owner, um, the shopkeeper says to him: "Sufi, what (is) this you are doing?" He (Abraham) says: "There is a Maḥammad Agha of yours here who has come to us. He was a merchant. He used to bring genuine prayer rugs. Good prayer rugs. As soon as he would throw them down on the ground, they would face the qibla. These do not (face) the qibla—." (The shopkeeper says:) My God! He says: "The prayer rugs come from us, they buy (them from us?) How the qibla...? 7

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[25] Shabbo has probably anticipated the sum mentioned in § 5.3.9.

[26] Lit., 'doing'.

[27] Lit., 'the prayer rug is not grasping the qibla,' i.e., when it is unfolded and falls to the ground, it does not point to the qibla in Mecca and thus, according to Abraham, is not ritually satisfactory.

[28] Lit., 'His bones are so soft and the like.'

[29] They think that Abraham is truly a holy man because of his insistence that in throwing down the prayer rug, the rug should orientate itself in the direction of the qibla.

8 *kemər: b-xudrešox ʿaziza! b-é-ḥajj ʾāzən ʾəlləd dida. kemər: dax mundyālu l-ʾarʾa səjjāda qəbla gdoqáwāla. ʾanna lewu bədwáqa-lla. ^Ayā raḅḅi!^A māṭo ʾiya—? ʾiya b-(ʾ)eni ^Hzaxút^H?" ... walḥāṣəl pa kullu səjjāde phannəlilu ^H(m)myašrilu^H l-ʾarʾa barqul qəbla u-mdagli reš didu. kemər: lā, ʾiya mā—, dax mundyālu l-ʾarʾa, qəbla l-gyāna gdoqáwāla.*

9 *ʾaxnan ʾída-la pumman. ^Ayā raḅḅi^A má-odax? (hā)dax ^Hzmán-ʿavàr^H. xá- ^Hsmixà^H wax ptáxa-lla, manoxe wa—, bəďápa-lla, mattówe-lla l-dūka, bə-šqāla xa xe. ^Hzmán-ʿavàr^H. de mā—, māṭo pūwa māṭo lá-kūwa? xa b-kmá-ila? kemər: kúd-^Hsmixą^H ṭasexun ʾaxtun bāzetun əl-ḥajj tre paṇqáṇoṭe u-palge ^Hpaḥót^H. ʾiya ^Hhanaxát^H dexun. walḥāṣəl b-íya-ʾida u-yá-ʾida pəšlan ḥil ʿāṣərta. hādax ʾá-le bəšqāla ^Hsmixót^H mattowe l-ʾarʾa. səjjāda zöra b-xá-metər. hatxa ... he he. hatxa le bāda ʾəbbəd didu. lā, qəbla lewu bədwáqa-lla ʾanna. ʾanna lewu. lewu mənna ḅāš.*

10 *ḥil ʾe sayyə́dka-ži—, qə́mleni ... ʿāṣərta drangésa-la. kemər ta sayyəd-ka—. ʾegā lu bənšāqa ʾə́ǵdāde. xa xəllu ^Ksar čāwəd^K d-e-xéta. lu tiwe ʾāni barqul ʾəǵdād. ʾaxnan wewax b-^Hṣad^H. xa lu mšaboḥe ʾəl-xé, ^AAwŗāham u-marəd dukkāna u-ʾé-sayyədka. sayyəda ^Kʾawlád-e rasúl^K-ile. ʾāya mən ^Hmišpaḥat^H Maḥámmat-le. hādax lu ʾwíde-lle. ʾAwŗāham bāzəl ḥajj gəldəd ʾide xəllu. he, ʾāya bāl ḥajj. he, bale hiwi u-ďāya gbewa ṭas didu. pə́šle, ʾe xeta, sayyədka. kemər ṭas dide: qəmlan b-ʾaqle, he mbárbəzax. wax zū̃ne. kutxa mād le zwū̃na le zwina.*

11 *kemər ta sayyədka, kemər: sayyəd, ʾá-ži mərre ^Kaz qurbán sofyé-mən^K. kemər: ʾāna gəbən yāwətti palpa(ṇqaṇoṭ)—, pálgəd-lira mən pārox tad dārənna go pāri ta baṛāxa. ḥmə́lle monəxle ʾəbbe. ʾide drele go jeba xa šāla le*

He (Abraham) says: "Take my word for it, precious one! On this hajj **8**
I am going to it (the qibla)." He (Abraham) says: "As soon as they threw
the prayer rug on the ground, it would face the qibla. These (prayer rugs)
do not face the qibla." Oh my Lord! How is this—? By virtue of what is
this?" … In short, so all the prayer rugs, they will um them, they will
straighten them on the ground facing the qibla and they tell lies about
them. (Abraham) says: "No, this is what—, as soon as they threw it (the
prayer rug) on the ground, it would the face qibla by itself."

The hand is (on) our mouth (so we shouldn't laugh). Oh my Lord! **9**
What should we do? Like this time passed: we are opening a blanket,[30]
looking at (it) and—, folding it, putting it back in place, taking another.
Time passed. So what—, what on earth will be? How much does one cost?
(Hajji Qader) says: "Each blanket for you (is) two and a half liras less
(because) you are going on hajj. This (is) your discount." In short, when
it comes down to it, we remained till the evening. Like this he is taking
blankets (and) putting them down on the ground. A small prayer rug of
one meter. Like this… yes, yes. Like this he is doing to them. No, those
(prayer rugs) are not facing the qibla. Those are not. They are not good
with regard to it (the qibla).

And until that sayyid—, we arose… it is late evening. (Abraham) says **10**
to the sayyid—. So now they are kissing each other. Each declared himself
at the service of the other.[31] They have sat down opposite each other. We
were at the side. One is praising the other, Abraham and the shopkeeper
and that sayyid. The sayyid is a descendant of the Messenger.[32] He is from
the family of Muhammad. They have done like this to him. (Because)
Abraham will go on hajj, they ate the skin off his hand (from kissing it
so much). Yes, he will go on hajj. Yes, indeed, pleading and praying was
necessary for them. He remained, that other one, the sayyid. Abraham
says to him: "We have gotten up on (our) feet, yes, we should go our
separate ways.[33] We have bought (what we wanted). Each one has bought
whatever he has bought."

(Abraham) says to the sayyid, he says: "Sayyid." Also (the sayyid) said: **11**
"My dear sufi (Abraham)."[34] (Abraham) says (to the sayyid): "I want you
to give me a half lir(a)—, a half lira of your money so that I can put it

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[30] I.e., a prayer rug.
[31] Calque on Kurdish 'on the eyes'.
[32] I.e., Muhammad.
[33] Lit., 'scatter'.
[34] Lit., 'I am (your) sacrifice, my Sufi.'

qāme. xá-gdāda garšət mənne ʾalpa rqāʾe mnapli mənnəd dide. bə́z-zodāna mən təksa, he, bə́z-zodāna mən təksa lá-kpeša. ʾan xeta ʾafəllu mbárbəzi. ʾá-ži ʾida drele go jeba ʾan pāre le jə́mʿa-llu ᴴnədavā́ᴴ u-drele go ʾidás ʾAwṛāham.

12 *ʾAwṛā́w-ži šqilile monəxle ʾəlləd didu. kemər: ʾāna gəbən pálpaṇqàṇoṭ. ʾāna wən bizāla l-ḥajj. ṛāba pāre ʾāna gəbən (m)bázbəzən. ṛāba pá́re-ži ʾətli. bale ʾāhat mən ᴷʾawlə́d-e rasǘlᴷ-ʾiwət. ᴷʾawlə́d-e rasǘlᴷ, yaʿni mən ᴴmišpaḥatᴴ Maḥammad ʾiwət. ʾāna gəbən pálpaṇqàṇoṭ mən pārox tad dārənna go pāri ta ᴴšamranᴴ pāri ta baṛāxa. sayyə́dka-ži kemər ṭas dide: kma gnapli qāman? čú-məndi lewu ʾanna pāre. ʾatta hāwéwāli xa ʾəmma tremma paṇqáṇoṭe, yāwə́nwālox. ʾāna ᴴsameaḥᴴ wənwa hādax.*

13 *kemər: ʾāna lá-gbən. ʾāna bāzən ḥajj. gəbən barbəzə—, hə́nna-la, ᴴ(m)báz-bəzənᴴ pāre ʾāna. jebi mə́lya-le. lewən ʿāni. bale ham ʾāhat—, wən bəxzāya nūra le bizāla m-pāsox. ʾāhət wət ʾəsya mən gənʿedən. ʾāna gəbən ta baṛāxa šaqlən mən pārox, he. dārənnu go pāri ta baṛāxa ta ᴴšamrənᴴ pāri.*

14 *pəšla ᴴb-kowaḥᴴ mābayn dide ʾəd-ʾAwṛā́ham. b-íya-ʾida u-yá-ʾida sayyəd-ka le māra: kullu šqullu! ʾāna mərri: la … pálpaṇqàṇote. waḷḷa ᴴb-sofó šəl davárᴴ qāyəm sayyədka max—. ᴴmáxrəhleᴴ. pār gyāne šqilile. pálpaṇqà-ṇoṭ hūle ṭas dide.*

15 *tāma ᴴʿəzórᴴ šuftíye-le. kud šuftiya ʾətlox hatxa: ʾéni-əšti kiloye šöʾi kiloye … waḷḷa ʾāni mədlu məndi reš ʾə́gdāde. si zon! kilo tré-qorūše. waḷḥāṣəl ʾanna pálpaṇqàṇoṭ xamši qorūše-la. ʾanna ʾəsri u-xamša kiloye šuftiya basya ʾəbbu. waḷḷa kúšleni mən dukkāna. ʾərḥə́qleni xor m-axxa ᶻhəlᶻ reš*

(together) with my money for a blessing (alms)."[35] (The sayyid) stopped (and) he looked at him. He put his hand in the pocket of certain pants (that) are on him. (If) you pull one thread from it (the pants), a thousand patches will fall from it. No more than the waistband, yes, not more than the waistband remains (from the pants if you pull out one thread). Even those other (threads) will scatter. And he put his hand in (his) pocket (and took) that money (that) he has collected as a hand-out, and he put (it) in the hands of Abraham.

Abraham took them (the money) and looked at it. He says: "I want a **12** half lira. I am going on hajj. I want to distribute a lot of money.[36] Also I have a lot of money. However, you are from the descendants of the Messenger. Descendants of the Messenger, that is to say, you are from the family of Muhammad. I want a half lira of your money in order to put it in with my money for a blessing (alms)." The sayyid also says to him: "How much (do you think) has come my way? This money isn't (worth) anything. Now were I to have a hundred, two hundred liras, I would give (them) to you. I would have been be happy (if it were) like this."

(Abraham) says (to the sayyid): "I don't want (it). I will go on hajj. I **13** want to distrib—, um, I will distribute the money. My pocket is full. I am not poor. However, also you—, I am seeing fire going (forth) from your face. You have come from the Garden of Eden. I want to take some of your money for a blessing. Yes. I will put them (your money together) in with my money for a blessing so that I keep my money (safe and blessed)."

It was by force (this give-and-take) between him (the sayyid) and **14** Abraham. When it comes down to it, the sayyid is saying: "Take all of them (the liras)!" I said: "No… (I want only) half liras." By God, in the end, the sayyid gets up (and) for—. He forces him. (The sayyid) took (and gave Abraham) his own money. A half lira he gave him.

There is an area (for selling) watermelons there. Each watermelon **15** you have (is) like this: some sixty kilos, seventy kilos!… By God, they stretched out something on each other. Go buy (one)! A kilo (for) two piasters. In short, that half lira is fifty piasters. For them comes a watermelon of twenty-five kilos. By God, we went down out of the shop. We moved continually farther away, like from here to the road.[37] (Abraham)

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[35] It is to be given as charity to the poor upon arriving in Mecca.
[36] To the poor upon arriving.
[37] From the room in Shabbo's house in which the story was told to the road outside his house.

^Hkviš^H. le māra: de ʾégā mā—, ʾāna yəmməd d-iya hənna sayyədka lá-silāli? kemər: de ʾegā sāwun ʾázaxin pálpaṇqàṇoṭ dide yāxla b-šuftiya.

16 *ʾắna-ži kəmrən ṭas dide: mā lewət zū́na-lla—, u-šqíla-lla tad dārətta go pārox ta baṛāxa? ki(ʾət) ʾāna xorexun xmāra léwəna. ʾāna ṭamá baxlən pār gyāni? baxlan pār didu. ko wət šqíla-lla ta baṛāxa ʾāhat! kemər: ^Hšmor^H hənna ta ^Hšamrax^H l-pārox! mā? ʾāya ^Kawlád-e rasṹl^K. kemər: ʾaxtun, kemər: lá-kiʾətun čú-məndi. ʾāna kiʾən… ʾāna baxlən pār didu. ṭamá baxlən pār gyāni?*

5.4. The Death of Mighty Qoto³⁸

1 *walḥāṣəl məndid deni ʾəšqəllu. ^Hbeʾemét^H kesewa. ʾe hənnəd ʾiya mā kəmri ʾən hāwewa xa qəṭʾa gāla go besa ʾá-ži kšaqlíwāle. pəšla ^Hsən'á^H mābayneni. ʾāni zədlu. xor baṛāze gmese treʾsar təlta'sar teške m-ə́ġdāde. hādax zədlu. ʾátta-ži lu piše ʿāni. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa mắ-odi? hudāye ^Hbeʾemét gəborím^H-ewa.*

2 *bas ʾāni ṛába-ilu. bāsewa dax kpə́nwālu, (b)ʾoriwa. qemi hudāye mpāle(ʾ)lu l-gyānu. kutxa hudāyəd xə́dda-le. bāsewa—, ʾiya məndi lətle, bāsewa ʾiya məndi gəbən. lə́tleni. de qū misi! hatxa bodax. māxéwālu. ^Hbeʾemét^H selu ʾiya mā kəmrila—. ʾətwa hənna Qoto.*

3 *Qoto bāb Šəmʿon wewa. [S.B.: ^Hken, naxón, naxón.^H] Qoto bāb Šəmʿon wewa. Qoto. mā Qóto-le? hatxa dāwəqle … Qoto wewa šəmmə́d dide, ʾāna wən šəmya Qoto. walḥāṣəl sele. ʾə́twāle xa ʾáġa šəmme Qárani ʾewa. sele Qárani pəšle—. ksesa gəbe, lá-kiʾən, məšxa gəbe mād sele. Qóto-le go gūba.*

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³⁸ For a slightly different version of this story told on a different date, see Fassberg 2008b.

is saying: "So then what—, did I not fuck the mother of this, um, Sayyid!" (Abraham) says: "So then come on, let's go (and) spend his half lira on a watermelon.

Also I (Shabbo) say to him (Abraham): "What, have you not bought it—[39] and taken it to put it with your money for a blessing?" (Abraham says:) "You kn(ow that) I, like you, am not an ass. Why should I use up my own money? I will use up their money." (Shabbo says:) "(But) you have taken it for a blessing!" (Abraham) says: "Keep it, um, so that we will keep your money." (Shabbo says:) "What? (But) he (is) the descendant of the Messenger!" (Abraham) says: "You," he says: "You don't know anything." I know… I will use up their money. Why should I use up my own money?"

5.4. The Death of Mighty Qoto

In short, they took something of ours. Really, they would come. That, um, of what do they call it?—if there was an item of kilim rug in the house, that too they would take. There was hatred between us. They increased. Like pigs (these Kurds) bring (into the world) twelve, thirteen young (animals) all together. Like this they increased. And now they have become poor. In short, by God, what should they (the Jews) do? The Jews really were heroes.

But they (the Kurds) are many. They would come, as soon as they had gotten hungry they would enter. They up (and) distribute the Jews for themselves. Each Jewish house was assigned to a particular gang of robbers.[40] (The Kurd) would come—, this thing he he hasn't got (so) he would come (and say:) "I want this thing. We don't have (it). Now up (and) bring (it)! Like this we will do (to you if you don't)!" He would beat them. Really, they came, what do they call it?—. There was, um, Qoto.

Qoto was the father of Simeon. [S.B.: Yes. Correct, correct.] Qoto was the father of Simeon. Qoto. What (kind of person) is Qoto? Like this he grabs him… His name was Qoto, I have heard (about) Qoto. In short, he came. He had an agha (whose) name was Qarani. Qarani came (and) became—. He wants a chicken, I don't know, he wants cooking oil, whatever came along. Qoto is at the loom. (Qarani) says: "Now up (and)

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3

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[39] This is a false start.
[40] Lit., 'Each one is a Jew of someone.'

kemər: da qū mísili! ʾiya b-xuṛṭūsa—, qaṭíʿa-ži-le go ʾide, yaʿni, lá-mesət, ham māxənnox. ham gəbe mesət. ᴴtovᴴ. [A.H.: ham pšăqəl.] he, pšăqəl.

4 *walḥāṣəl ʾá-le go gūba. ʾá-ži sele kemər: ʾāġa lətli. kemər: lətlox? ḥmol! ʾatta pāwelox! mxele ʾəlle. mundele qam qaṭiʿa. Qóto-ži ʾriqāle. ʾürre lʿuwwa. Qaráni ʾürre basre. waḷḷa Qoto qāyəm dāwəqle, xor ᴴpaxᴴ dāʾəple. mundele qam kulle. hādax ʾüdle ʾəlləd dide. garma ṣax la', lá-šuqle go laššəd dide. [S.B.: məšəlmāna?] he, he. ʾáġa-le. ʾā pəzaġáya-le. šəmmu lu dərye, la pəzaġāye. ᴴtovᴴ.*

5 *walḥāṣəl Qoto pləṭle qam tarʾa. kemər: baxxatəd ʾilāha! Qárani qṭilaxle. sāwun mxálṣuli mən go ʾidás dide! hādax le ʾwida l-Qárani: le mṛíčʿa-lle go ʾəġdād. pləṭle qam tarʾa. ṣrəxle: baxxatəd ʾilāha! mxálṣuli mənnəd qaṭəl! he. he. ʾá-ži kemər: de xilālox. ḥmol! ta pešət nāša pešət xwaš hudāya. lewe bəḥmāla l-ʾaqle mād le krixa ʾəbbe. le mṛíčʿa-lle. mṭele l-tắma. zəlle Qárani. Qárani pəšle naxwaš ḅāš. pəšle naxwaš.*

6 *ʾegā ʾāni ʿādətəd dídu-la ʾəd-ʾáġa. gəbe kúd-yom ʾāzi ʾanna t-ilu ʾuṛwānəd hənna reša hənna reš hənna ᴴroš ha-mišpaḥótᴴ. gəbe ʾāzəl yatwi ʾəlləd ʾoḍəd ʾāġa ᴴkaféᴴ d-ᴴbokərᴴ šāte l-tāma. ᴴtovᴴ. xá-yoma Qarani la zəlle, tré-yome la zəlle, ṭḷá-yome la zəlle. mắ-le? kəmri: waḷḷa Qárani naxwaš ʾile. náxwaš-le. he. ʾáġa-ži xmāra lewe. lewe. ʿáqəl-ile. kemər: bābo pa, mā naxoš mắ-yla pa la—? flānā yoma séwāle l-axxa. čú-məndi lə́twāle. hādax-ži kemər: waḷḷa le zila go hudāye. ᴴyaxól lihyótᴴ hudāye lu wide l-axxa məndi.*

7 *kemər: bābo! sūn tāma! hatxa ʾodun ʾəlle! ʾən zde'le čfəlle, yā'etun waḷḷa hudāye ʾidāsu lu məṭye ʾəbbe. ʾən lá-čfəlle, čú-məndi lewa breta ʾəlle. [S.B.:*

bring (it) to me!" This by force—, a stick is also in his hand, that is to say, (Qarani says:) "if you don't bring (it), I will also beat you. You should also bring (it)." Fine. [A.H.: He will also take it.] Yes, he will take (it).

In short, he (Qoto) is at the loom. And (Qarani) comes (to steal and 4 Qoto) says: "Agha, I don't have (any)." He says: "You don't have (any)? Stand still! Now you will have (some)!" He struck him. He attacked him with the stick. And Qoto fled. He entered inside (the house). Qarani entered after him. By God, Qoto up (and) grabs him, like tin (Qoto) bends him (Qarani). He beat him with everything. He did to him like this. He didn't leave an unbroken bone in his body. [S.B.: (He was a) Muslim?] Yes, yes. He is the Agha. He is a village noble. They gave themselves the name of (village nobles, but they) weren't the village nobles. Fine.

In short, Qoto went outside. He says: "For the mercy of God! Qarani 5 has beaten us up! Come rescue me from his clutches!" (Qoto) has done like this to Qarani: he has crumpled him up. (Qoto) went outside. He shouted: "For the mercy of God! Rescue me from the beating!" Yes, yes. (Qarani) says (to Qoto): "Now you've had it!⁴¹ Wait! (I beat you up) so that you should be a human being, you should be a good Jew." (Qarani) is not standing on his feet so much has (Qoto) smashed him up. He has crumpled him up. He reached there. Qarani left. Qarani became very ill. He remained ill.

Now it is a custom of theirs with the Agha. They have to go every day, 6 those who are leaders of, um, the head, um, the head, um, the head of the families. He has to go and sit in the room of the Agha to drink morning coffee there. Fine. One day Qarani didn't go (for the morning coffee), two days he didn't go, three days he didn't go. What's with him? They say: "By God, Qarani is ill. He is ill." Yes. And the Agha is not an ass. He is not. He is intelligent. He says: "By God, so then, what (is) he ill (with), what's happened, (after all) he's not—." On such and such a day he had come here. He had nothing (wrong with him). He says like this: "By God, he has gone among the Jews. It might be that the Jews have done something here."

(The Agha) says (to the heads of the families): "My God! Go there 7 (to Qarani)! Do like this to him (and poke him)! If he is afraid (and) startled, (then) you know, by God, the Jews, their hands have reached him. If he is not startled, (then) nothing has happened to him." [S.B.:

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⁴¹ Lit., 'you ate it' (calque on ModH? Kurdish?).

dərəst.] *dərəst. gezi. de Qárani máṭo-wət? māṭo lewət? bābo naxwaš ʾíwəna.*
ʾā gnắxəp-ži ʾāni hudáye-lu. lu mdúmbəke-lle. waḷḷa hatxa xədda, hatxa
ʾüdle ʾəlle. ā! kəmri: ʾiya ʾidəd hudāye la mṭeta ʾəbbəd dide. he.

8   *waḷḷa Qárani* ^H*mumšəxle*^H *ʾəbbəd* ^H*maḥalát*^H *gyāne.* ^H*uláy*^H *xa ʾəṣrá-yome*
mqulqəlle. skətle. zəlle. skətle. zəlle. ʾatta ʾegā mani hādax le ʾwida ʾəlle?
Qoto hādax le ʾwida ʾəlle. de. Qóto-ži ʾarba xamša lá-mṣe ʾəlləd dide. Qoto,
má-Qoto-l(e)? hatxa ʾanəškəd gyāne kud gorəd ḥāməl qam dide mandele
xamšaʾsár-metre.

9   *walḥāṣəl xá-yoma* ^H*moḥlətlu*^H *gəbe—. kəmri: gəbé nablaxle go Galli, go*
Galli qaṭlaxle. he, hənna ʾiya mā kəmrila, ʾé-Galli mənne u-l-é-ʾāl xá-māsa
ʾitən Bet Kāre ^Z*gəmrila*^Z*. Bet Kāre wət ʾə́sya-lla?* [S.B.: *he,* ^H*betaḥ*^H.] *mən*
ʾáx-geb ʾitən tāma škaftyāsa ʾuṛwe ʾuṛwe.

10 *qemi nablile xá-yoməd ʾəryāna . . . walḥāṣəl nobəllu l-tāma. nobəllu l-tāma.*
lu zile xa ʾəsri nāše mare xanjāra. kutxa səkkinəd dide l-axxa. u-zəllu
ḥil zəllu l-tāma ʾəryána-le bisāya. tləllu. zəllu škafta. bodi nūra. zəllu.
ʾüdlu nūra. kəmri ta Qoto: ʾāhat mesət ṣiwe! Qoto musele ṣiwe. məttūle.
drele reš—, ʾüdle nūra. ʾāni nūra mučməmelu. xá-gā xet kemər: ṭamá wetun
mačməmóye-lle? kəmri: má'ləqle! ʾāni—, ʾiya, ʾiya mā kəmrila, ʾāya gəbe kāyəp
t(a)-āni ḥamlile ʾəbbəd ^H*səkkiním. ken*^H.

11 *walḥāṣəl xá-gā xet mo'ləqle nūra. ʾāni mučməmelu nūra. naqəl ṭḷāha mo'ləqle.*
mučməmelu. waḷḷa m-é-'ida kəple. kemər: de-mpóx ʾəbbəd paḷḷe ta pāyəš hənna
ta lā'əq. waḷḷa kəple reš dide. mundelu qam xanjāra. qemi qaṭlile. šoqile l-
tāma u-selu. ʿāṣərta. kəmri: sāwun! Qóto-'ile l-flāná-dūka. músūle ṭarməd
dide. le qṭila. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa Qoto zəllu muselu. qemi qorile. ʾāya zəlle. [S.B.:
qurru go Čalla?] *he. he. go Čalla* ^H*betaḥ*^H.

True.] True. They go. (They say to Qarani:) "So Qarani, how on earth are you?" (Qarani says:) "My God! I am ill." He (Qarani) is also embarrassed that they are Jews (who have beaten him up). They have pummelled him. By God, like this, one (poked him), he did like this to him. "Ah," they say: "this (is the) hand of the Jews (that) has reached him." Yes.

By God, Qarani continued with his illness. Perhaps (after) about ten **8** days he kicked the bucket. He croaked. He died. He croaked. He died. So now then who (is it who) has done this to him? Qoto has done this to him. Now Qoto (is so strong that) even four (or) five (people) cannot (best) him. Qoto, what (sort of person is) Qoto? He had such elbows that any man standing next to him (if he nudged him with his elbows) he throws fifteen meters.

In short, one day they decided (saying we) should—. They say: "We **9** should lead him away to Galli to kill him, in Galli." Yes, um, what do they call it?—that Galli, beyond it on the other side is a village they call Bet Kare. Have you been to Bet Kare? [S.B.: Yes, of course.] On this side (of Bet Kare) there are very big caves there.

They up (and) lead him one rainy day… In short, they led him there. **10** They led him there. About twenty people (each one) with a dagger have gone. Each one's knife is here (at the side). And they went and by the time they got there rain is falling. They got wet. They went (to) a cave. They will make a fire. They went. They made a fire. They say to Qoto: "You should bring wood!" Qoto brought wood. He put it down. He placed it on—, he made a fire. They extinguished the fire. Once again he (lights the fire, they extinguished it and he) says: "Why are you extinguishing it?" They say: "Light it!" They—, this, what do they call it?—he has to bend down (to light the fire) so that they could attack him with knives. Yes.

In short, once again he lit the fire. They extinguished the fire. A third **11** time he lit it. They extinguished it. By God, he bent over (the fire) from that side. (One) says (to Qoto): "Now blow on the coals so that (the fire) will become, um, will catch." By God, he bent over it (the fire). They attacked him with a dagger. They up (and) kill him. They leave him there and came. (It is) evening. They say: "Go! It is Qoto in such and such a place. Bring his corpse! He has been killed." In short, by God, they went (and) brought Qoto. They up and bury him. He died. [S.B. They buried (him) in Challa?]. Yes, yes, in Challa, of course.

5.5. The Murder of a Peddler

1 *basər hādax brela ġér-^Hmikrę̇^H. ġer-^Hmikré^H kəslexun Kāra. mašmi'! 'āna go ^Hṣawā́^H wənwa b-é-^Htkufā́^H. go ^Hṣawā́^H wənwa. sele xa ʿaṭarka 'əlləd Kāra. 'e ʿaṭarka mətle go məzgafte. qemi dārela hənnəd dide qəṭəl dide [A.H.: 'əl-hudāye] u-qdāl Hoče nixəd xəmyāni. lá-ki'ən mani xéta-ži. mən-nexun Karāye. [S.B.: ʿaṭarka mətle go məzgafte?] he, he mə́twāle go məzgaf-te. de mašmi'! mə́twāle. ʿáqəlu mpəllu. mani lu qṭíle-lle ʿaṭarka? mani lewu qṭíle-lle? hudāye lu qṭile.*

2 *l(!)-é-məzgafte xe bes be-Hóče-wa l-tāma. go palgus māsa, ^Hnaxón^H? [S.B.: 'āwa qam tar beseni.] he 'əlla! jwāb mṭele l-nixəd bābi. nixəd bắbi-ži ḥməlle. kemər: mā 'iya qurdá? xlə́ṣwālu kullu? hudāya le zila ʿaṭarka qṭíle-lle go hənna 'iya mā kəmrila go məzgafte?*

3 *waḷḷa qəmle səqle kəsəl 'āġa, səqle ta hādax. kas didu maryá-rešeni. ^Hmvu-dadím^H lá-waxwa. kemər 'āġa: ḥál-u-masale hátxa-la. 'á́-ži kemər: 'āhat m-éka-wət šəmya? kemər: 'āna l-tāma (wə)nwa. balāye lu də́rye-lla b-reš qdāl Hoče u-Mi'ər u-lá-ki'ən mani xeta. lu məxye 'əllu ko lu zile lu qṭile l-e ʿaṭarka go məzgafte. 'á́-ži kemər: mā 'iya hādax brela? qurdāye xlə́ṣlu? 'āġa mərre: he! hudāye 'āzi go məzgafte qaṭli?*

4 *kemər 'āġa: mani le 'wída-lle? xədda-, Rašo Be-Zamərná. (k)taxrətte? [S.B.: māṭo ktaxrənne?] 'əlla xzi! waḷḷa [S.B.: 'atta lá-ktaxrənne.] hənna 'iya mā kəmrila, Ḥajji 'Áḥmad-ži ṣrəxle 'əlləd kma ^Hbaḥurím^H mənnəd hənna*

5.5. The Murder of a Peddler

After this another incident (of persecution of Jews) took place, another **1**
incident by you (in) Kara.[42] Listen! I was in the army during that period.
I was in the army. A peddler came to Kara. That peddler died in the
mosque. They up (and) place (the responsibility of), um, his death [A.H.:
on the Jews] and (on) Hoče, my late father-in-law. I don't know (on)
whom else either. With you residents of Kara. [S.B.: The peddler died
in the mosque?] Yes, yes, he had died in the mosque. Now listen! He had
died. They fell from their senses.[43] Who on earth has killed the peddler?
(The Kurds decided that) the Jews have killed (him).

That mosque was there below the house of Hoče's family. In the middle **2**
of the village, correct? [S.B.: It was there outside our house.] Yes, where
else (would it have been)? The news reached my late father. My late father
stopped. He says: "What sort of Kurd (is) this (who has been killed)? Are
all of them (the Kurds) exempt from suspicion[44] (that only the Jews are
left to blame)? A Jew has gone (and) killed the peddler in, um, what do
they call it?—in a mosque?"

By God, (Shabbo's father) up (and) appealed[45] to the Agha (Hajji **3**
Aḥmad), he appealed to him over this. They (Hajji Ahmad and his family)
are angry on our behalf.[46] We were not isolated. The Agha says: "The
upshot is like this." Also he says: "From where have you heard?" (Shabbo's
father) says: "I was there. They have blamed[47] Hoče and Meir and I don't
know whom else. They have beaten them because (the Jews have) gone
(and) have killed that peddler in the mosque." And he (the Agha) says:
"What is this (that) has happened like this? Are the Kurds exempt from
suspicion (that they should now blame the Jews)?" The Agha says: "Hey!
Should Jews go into a mosque to kill?"

The Agha says: "Who is the one who has done it?" (Shabbo's father **4**
answered:) "Someone (named) Rasho from Be-Zamor." Do you remem-
ber him? [S.B.: How should I remember him?] But look! By God [S.B.: I
don't remember him now.], um, what do they call it?—and Hajji Ahmad
summoned some young men from, um, from the family, his household.

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[42] This comment was directed to Samuel Ben-Yosef from Kara.

[43] A calque on Kurdish?

[44] Or 'all of them are finished' or 'they finished all of them', i.e., have they finished with
all of them that they now turn to the Jews?

[45] Lit., 'he went up'.

[46] Lit., 'their stomach hurts over us'.

[47] Lit., 'they have put trouble on the neck of…'

mənnəd ^Hmišpaḥá^H, be didu. xa Ṣalə́ḥko-'ewa, 'e Maqṣu d-godət baḥse u-xa xeta. kemər: bāba! sūn Bé-Zamòr! marun ta Rašíd-'āġà: xāzax dəmməd d-é-'aṭarka kmá-ile ta 'āna yāwənne. ya'ni 'iya...

5   *walḥāṣəl 'amrétūle-ži: xāzax. hə́nne-āwa 'an hudāye. hudāyéni-lu... lu qtíle-lle 'aṭarka, pa dəmma gnāpəl 'əllan gəbe 'axnan dəmma yāwaxle. 'e hudāya t-ile nəxṛāya l-tāma, máni-le? kəmri 'á-ži hənna Zebarnáya-le. hudāyəd Barzāna. [S.B.: Rekanāya.] la, la Rekanāya 'əlla Barzaná. kemər: 'áni-ži 'amawaseni, yāl 'amawaseni-lu. farq lewa. 'á-ži har déni-le hudāya. walḥāṣəl qəmlu mšodərru kəsəl Rašíd 'ā̌ga. Rašíd 'ā́ga-'ile, lewe hənna... 'āya qəmle zəlle⁴⁸ kəsəl dide. [S.B.: naxón...laḥma gyāwəlwa]... he, he, laxma ṛāba gyāwəlwa. ya'ni 'āġa d-láxma-ewa.*

6   *walḥāṣəl qəmle zəlle l-tāma. 'axtun mani wetun?... 'axtun mani wetun? 'axnan pəzaġāyəd Čalla. yāl 'amawāsəd Ḥajji 'Aḥmad 'iwax. wax 'əsye xāzax dəmmox. kmá-le? 'āhat—, hənna 'e 'aṭarka lu qtíle-lle. hudāye déni-lu. hudāyəd Kāra hudayéni-lu 'əd—, hənna Čalla. 'āni lu qtile 'əlle. xāzax kmá-yle dəmme dide ta 'áxnan-ži yāwaxle. wax 'əsye mə́sye-llox dəmma. ^Htov^H. b-íya-'ida u-yá́-'ida, bāba ṣṭaġfəṛəḷḷá. 'āya kə́rmanj-ewa. 'anna deni 'aširátte-lu. 'āġáye-lu. ^Haz^H... Mirko u-hənna 'Isāxar u-Hoče 'anna lu zile lu qtile 'aṭarka go məzgafte? ^Htov. b-sedər^H.*

7   *walḥāṣəl 'áx-geb tán-geb le b-dárd-u-balāye Rašo. má-^Havàl^H? walḥāṣəl kemər: 'āna ^Hmbakšən 'ət sliḥá́^H. kəmri: lewət b-^Hsliḥá́^H. 'āhat wət ^Hmó'šə-ma^H-llu 'əbbəd qəṭləd 'aṭarka go məzgafte. mā? qurdāye lu xliṣe? hudáye-ži go məzgafte qaṭli nāše? 'imal la breta 'iya xədda? hay kalba bər kalba. ḥmol! 'əlla 'aqlāsox gəbe qaṭ'axlu 'əllox 'āhat. b-íya-'ida u-yá́-'ida 'əbbəd šoḥad u-'áx-geb tán-geb ya'ni b-hiwiye u—... ḥel xləṣle mənnəd Ḥajji 'Aḥmad. u-'əxre ... pəšla b-Rášo. 'āna lewən mira u-lá-ki'ən ^Hšəmu'ót^H. karāye lu mire u-lá-ki'ənwa.*

⁴⁸ Error for the plural *'āni qəmlu zəllu.*

One was Salihko, (a second was) that Maqsu about whom you talked, and (there was) another one. He says: "By God! Go to Be-Zamor. Say to Rashid Agha: 'Let's see how much the blood money of that peddler is that I should pay it.' That is to say, this…"

In short, also you should say to him: "Let's see. It was um, those Jews. **5** They are our Jews… they have killed that peddler, then the blood money falls on us (and) it is necessary for us to pay the blood money. That Jew who is a foreigner there, who is he?" They say: "He is, um, a resident of Zebar. A Jew from Barazan." [S.B.: A resident of Rekan]. No, not a resident of Rekan but rather of Barazan. (The Agha Hajji Aḥmad) says: "They are our uncles, our cousins. There is no difference. He too is still ours, the Jew." In short, they up (and) sent to Rashid Agha… Rashid is an agha, he is not, um… he up (and) went to him. [S.B. He used to give bread.]… Yes, yes, he used to give a lot of bread.[49] That is, he was (known as) the agha of bread.

In short, he up (and) went there. (Rashid Agha says:) "Who are you?… **6** Who are you?" (The three representatives of Ḥajji Aḥmad say:) "We are the village nobles of Čalla. We are the cousins of Hajji Ahmad. We have come to see (about) your blood money. How much is it? You—, um, they have killed that peddler. They are our Jews. The Jews of Kara are our Jews, of—, um, Čalla. They have killed him. Let's see how much is his blood money that we pay it. We have come (and) brought you blood money." Fine. When it comes down to it, I ask God's forgiveness! He was a Kurd. Those are our tribes. They are Aghas. So… Mirko and, um, Issachar, and Hoče, those have gone (and) killed a peddlar in a mosque? Fine. Okay.

In short, when all's said and done, Rasho is pained and troubled. **7** But what? In short, he (Rashid Agha) says: "I request forgiveness." They (the representatives of Hajji Aḥmad) say: "You aren't forgiven. You have accused them (the Jews) of killing the peddler in the mosque. What? Are the Kurds all exempt from suspicion (that they should begin accusing Jews)? Jews should kill people in a mosque? When has such a thing happened? Hey! Son of a bitch!" (The representatives say:) "Stop! We should certainly cut off your feet." When it comes down to it, (it was concluded) with a bribe and, when all's said and done, that is to say, with pleas and … until he finished (the deal) with Hajji Ahmad. And shit… remained on Rasho (from the incident). I have not said and I don't know (the) rumors. Residents of Kara have told (me) and I didn't know.

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[49] I.e., he would give the Jews food if they needed it.

8 ^Hʾax ʾaxar^H masale mpučkənālu, waḷḷa ʿaṭarka nobəllu qurru. muṣláya-
ewa. u-nobəllu qurru u-ʾáni-ži mənnəd ^Hʾaharayút mšaharərilu^H. mə́twāle
b-gyāne l-tāma go məzgafte. qemi dārela balāye ʾəbbəd reš hudāye ta šāqəl
mənnu pāre. [A.H.: ^Hsʿirím la-ʿazazél^H.] he, he, he.

9 walḥāṣəl waḷḷa šqəlle, šqəlle mənnəd hənna mənnəd dide pāre mād gbele. u-
mbokəšle ^Hsliḥā́^H-ži reš hənnəd ^Hʾašmát mó'šəmwāle^H hudāye. kemər xá-gā
xeta: pummox patḥətte ʾəlla, kemər, ʾāna qaṭlənnox. čú-məndi xeta lá-godən
ʾəllox ^Hḥatixát^H kalba bər kalba. ʾāhat ^Hmá'šəmət^H hudāyeni ʾəbbəd dugle?
hudāye lu bizāla bəqṭāla qurdāye? qurdāye lu bəqṭāla hudāye! ʾāhat wət
bimāra hudāye ^Hkvar^H lu zile bəqṭāla hənna qurdāye. b-íya-masale, ʾiya
l-axxa xləṣla.

5.6. The Beating and Killing of Jews

1 hā mṭelan ʾəlləd qəṭləd Qoto.[50] qemi qaṭlile. muyde(')lu kəmri: wax qṭíle-lle
flāná-dūka. sūn músūle ṭarməd dide! basər hādax ʾiya mā kəmrila kúd-
dūka-u-dūka ko dax kpə́nwālu kalbe bāsewa. kutxa bāzəlwa. hudāye pə́lye-
wa. kutxa ʾə́twāle hudāyəd gyāne. ʾé-(ʾi)ya məndi gəbən, ʾiya məndi.

2 ^Hʿesək mutḥəlle^H b-nixəd sāwi. ʾə́twāleni ʾaxnan ʾərxe l-tāma. ʾə́twālan besa.
ʾətwa ʾarʾāsa. mā ʾamrənnox? ʾáqqara ʾakčən məzzəd rešox. kullu šqilíwālu.
mpu… l-gyānu. [A.H.: ʾaqāre] he, he. walḥāṣəl sele xədda ^Zgəmríwāle^Z
Məṣṭo. nixəd sáwi-le go gūba le bəzqāra. sele kemər ṭas dide. məttūle go
tarʾəd besa.

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50 See § 5.4.

But after they wrapped up the story, by God, they took the peddler **8** away (and) buried him. He was a resident of Mosul. And they took him away and buried him, and they also absolved them (those Jews) of responsibility. (The peddler) had died by himself there in the mosque. They up (and) blame the Jews[51] in order to take money from them. [A.H.: Scapegoats.]. Yes, yes, yes.

In short, by God, he (Rashid Agha) took from, um, from him (Ḥajji **9** Aḥmad) money, whatever he wanted. And he requested forgiveness for, um, the accusation with which he had accused the Jews. (Ḥajji Aḥmad) says another time: "Should you open your mouth," he says, "I'll certainly kill you. I will do nothing less to you, (you) piece of a son of a bitch. You accused our Jews falsely? The Jews are going (around) killing Kurds? (On the contrary), Kurds are killing Jews! You are saying Jews have already gone killing, um, Kurds. With this matter, this here is finished."

5.6. The Beating and Killing of Jews

So (now) we have reached the killing of Qoto. They up (and) kill him. **1** They announced saying: "We have killed him (in) such and such a place. Go bring his corpse!" After this, what do they call it?—in every single place, since as soon as they got hungry, the dogs (the aghas) would come. Each one would go. The Jews had been divided up.[52] Each one (agha) had his own Jew(s). That (agha says:) "I want this thing, (I want) that thing."

The affair began with my late grandfather. We had a mill there. We had **2** a house. There were lands. What can I tell you? (We had) as much as the hairs on your head! (The aghas) took all of them. They di(vided it up) for themselves. [A.H.: landed property.] Yes, yes. In short, one came whom they called Misto. My late grandfather is at the loom weaving. (Misto) came (and) says to him(: "Give what you have for me!"). He placed it outside the house.[53]

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[51] Lit., 'put trouble on the head of the Jews'.
[52] The aghas would divide up the Jews among themselves. Each agha would be responsible for the safety and protection of his Jews, who in turn owed him their allegiance. See Brauer & Patai 1993:223–227.
[53] I.e., give me my dues. In return for the agha's protection, the Jews had to give him whatever he demanded.

3 ʾə́twālu xa ᴴginədᴴ bəṣle. bə́ṣle-ži lu—, ṭima hatxa ᴴyaféᴴ. məsele, məttūle
. . . go tarʾa. ʾé-Məṣṭo. lá-pedetun mən d-áxxa-ži. nixəd sắwi-ži kemər ṭas
dide kemər: ʾāġa, kulle mənni šqə́llexun. ʾáxxa-ži let xa dūkəd xapči šətyəd
gyāni maštən ʾəlla.

4 šqəlle gopaḷta u-mxele l-sāwi. ʾāya. sắwi-ži ʾürre lʿuwwa. ʾürre. básbasre-
wa. ʾriqāle m-gora. lá-mxele-lle ḅāš. waḷḷa ʾida drele ʾəl-ṣádər dide. sāwi
ᶻgəmrənnoxᶻ: dəbba ʾətwa. dāwəqla hatxa. maḥməlla ʾəbbəd xá-ʾi(da). . .
he, he, he, he, he. [A.H.: bə́š-ṛoṃāna ᶻweleᶻ mən nixəd bābox?] mani?
ᴴbetaḥᴴ. nixəd bābi ʾakčən xá-ʾidəd dide lə́twābe. walḥāṣəl moʾərre lʿuwwa.
moʾərre lʿuwwa. (m)pəlle ʾəlləd d-iya Məṣṭo ʾegā (m)dambəkle. hādax ʾüdle
l-Məṣṭo. Məṣṭo mṛə́čle ʾəġdāde.

5 pləṭle qam tarʾa. sāwi kemər: baxxatexun! sāwun! mxalṣun ʾəlli m-idəd
Məṣṭo! wal ᴴpolátikaᴴ⁵⁴ d-hudāye ṛə́ba-la. walḥāṣəl selu nāše ta xāṭəreni.
hudắye-lu. ṃāḷ didu wetun šqile-lle. hátxa-ži lá-od. kemər: de b-xá-gā xeta
lāyəp hatxa lá-ʾāwəd, ʾəlla xá-gā xeta pqaṭʾənne. ᴴaválᴴ le ʾüda ʾəlləd dide
lá-mṣe ʾegā ʾāzəl b-urxa, yāsəq ʾəl-bésa. waḷḷa Mə́ṣṭo-ži zəlle. Məṣṭo mpəlle.
pəšle ʾá-ži ṭarma pəšle. la skətle, bale pəšle pálgəd-nāša.

6 ʾegā. . . xá-yoma tré-yome kxāzewa ʾāġa kullu ʾanna ʾuṛwānəd didu lewu
bizāla kəsle bənhe šāte ᴴkaféᴴ. ʾiya ʾādə́ta-la. (m)bāqərwa: flān nāša, flān-
kas ké-le? ṭamá lewe ʾəsya? bābo! lewe ᴴmargíš tovᴴ. ʾā mərre: sūn hatxa
ʾodun ʾəlle! ʾən čfəlle. . . [A.H.: hudāye.] lu píče-lle. ʾən lá-čfəlle, ʾāhat—,

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⁵⁴ Apparently *politika* < MHeb פּוֹלִיטִיקָה.

They had an onion garden. Onions fetch a good price. (My grandfa- **3** ther) brought it, he placed it … at the gate. That Misto. (He says:) "Don't even pass by here!" My late grandfather says to him: "Agha, you took all of it from me. There isn't here even a place (where) I can (stretch out and) moisten a bit of my own yarn."[55]

(Misto) took a shepherd's stick and struck my grandfather. That (was **4** what he did). And my grandfather came inside. (Misto) came in. He was right after him. (My grandfather) fled from the man. (Misto) didn't strike him hard. By God, (my grandfather) put his hand on his (Misto's) chest. I (will) tell you (a story about) my grandfather. There was a bear. (My grandfather) grabs him like this. He stops it with one ha(nd)… Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes. [A.H.: Was he taller than your late father?] Who? Of course. My late father, (even if he were fighting with only) one hand, one couldn't best him.[56] In short, (my grandfather) brought him inside. He brought him inside. He fell upon this Misto (and) then he pummels him. He did like this to Misto. He has crumpled Misto up.

(Misto) went outside. My grandfather says: "For your mercy! Come! **5** Save me from the hands of Misto!" Indeed, the craftiness[57] of the Jews is great. In short, people came on our behalf. They are Jews. (My grandfa- ther says to Misto:) "You (Kurds) have taken their possessions. Don't do such a thing!" (My grandfather) says: "So then next time he should learn not to do such a thing, but next time I will cut him (down to size)." But he (my grandfather) has done (such) to him (that) (Misto) isn't able then to walk in the road, to go up home. By God, Misto went. Misto fell (to his sickbed). He became, he became a corpse. He didn't croak, but he became half a person.

So then… (for) one day, two days, the Agha was noticing (that) all **6** those nobles of theirs were not coming to him in the morning to drink coffee.[58] This is a custom. He would ask: "Where is such and such a person, so and so? Why hasn't he come?" (They say:) "My God! He isn't feeling good." (The Agha) said: "Go do like this to him!"[59] If he is startled… [A.H.: (It's) the Jews]. (The Jews) have crushed him. If he

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[55] The long threads for weaving were laid out on the ground, moistened, and then left out in the sun to dry.

[56] Lit., 'My late father, the size of one of his hands, he couldn't.'

[57] Lit., 'politics'.

[58] Several of these elements appear in § 5.4.

[59] I.e., poke him with your finger.

*čú-məndi lewe. ʾit xa ᴴsəbaᴴ xeta. hatxa qədyālu mənnəd didu ḥil kullu
mburbəzlu.*

7   *be sāwi xa ᴴtkufáᴴ l-Kắra-ewa. xarāye m-Kāra lu zile l-Šiwa. lu piše l-
Šiwa. xarāye m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu dʾíre-wa l-Čalla. basər hənna… lu zile
mən Kāra l-Šiwa. m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu dʾíre-wa l-Čalla. mā? kulle məndi
didu šqə́lwālu. čú-məndi lá-šuqwālu ṭāsu. ʾən xədda hāwewāle xa šálla-u-
… kšaqlíwāla mənne. be-dín wewa.*

8   *walḥāṣəl tam l-é-ʾāl ʾiya mā kəmrila qṭəllu hənne ʾĀko bər Pəto, ʾāna
ktaxrən. ᴴṣaʿírᴴ-wa (k)taxrətte? [A.H.: lá-ktaxrən, la'.] ʾāya qṭəllu Spindar-
nāye. qṭəllu Spindarnāye. [S.B.:… mani wewa?] ʾĀko, ʾĀko. Yaʿqov ᶻgəm-
riᶻ. Yáʿqo-we(wa) šəmme. ᶻgəmríwāleᶻ ʾĀko. ʾāya qṭəllu. basər dide qṭəllu
bāb Šmūʾel [A.H.: yalunke lə́twāle.] mani? [A.H.: Pəto.] ᴴḥūṣᴴ mənne
lə́twāle čú-məndi. ʾāya b-təne ʾewa. ʾāya b-təne ʾewa. čú-xa xe lə́twāle. ʾāya
hənna ʾāya zəlle.*

9   *basər hādax qṭəllu Šambi, Šámbi-ži reš pāre. ʾə́twāle denāna. zəlle mjāməʿ
denānəd gyāne. qemi qaṭlile. bāb Šlomo. he, he bāb Šlomo. [A.H.: ʾamoyəd
yəmmi.] he, ʾamoyəd yəmmox. walḥāṣəl ʾắ-ži… nixa. ʾắ-ži qemi qaṭlile.
[A.H.: ᶻdamməd qam qaṭlileᶻ…] ʾáya-ži zəlle. [A.H.: ᶻqam xāzeleᶻ go xa
wādi u-hənna xa qaṭṛa reše. zəllu m-hənna mesele…]*

10 *waḷḷa har tāma le qwira. lewu músye-lle… [A.H.: kulla misa ʾắ-ži qurru
tāma.] la, lu qwíre-lle l-tāma. šüqwālu l-ṭṃaneʾsar yome nixa qam šəmša,
hənna ʾiya mā kəmrila ḥel doktor məselu mən Wān reš dide. mən Wān
doktor sele reš dide. la pə́šwāle, la pəsra u-la čú-məndi ᴴḥūṣᴴ mən garme
lá-pə̀šwāle. kulle pšə́rwāle qam šəmša. walḥāṣəl… har Šambi qṭəllu.*

11 *ʾiya nixəd ʾEli ʾə́twāle brona. ʾiya—, Guli. [A.H.: Yoḥānan.] Yoḥānan. ʾāya
bréwāle bāziwa ʾəlləd hənna ᴴbritᴴ60 dide. qəmle lel xošeba ktaxrən…*

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60 Cf. the JNeoAram ⁺*barīṯ mīla* (Sabar 2002:115).

isn't startled, you—, it is nothing. (Then) there is another reason (for his absence). In such a way they passed the time with him[61] until they all dispersed.

The family of my grandfather was in Kara for a period. Later they have **7** gone from Kara to Shiwa. They have remained in Shiwa. Later once again they have returned back to Challa from Shiwa. After, um... they have gone from Kara to Shiwa. From Shiwa once again they have returned back to Challa. What? (The aghas) had taken all their things. They had left nothing for them. If someone had (e.g.,) a pair of pants and... they would take it from him. They were without religion.

In short, from there on, what do they call it?—they killed, um, Ako **8** son of Pito, I remember. He was young, you remember? [A.H.: I don't remember, no.] As for him, the residents of Spindar killed him. The residents of Spindar killed (him). [S.B.: ...Who was it?] Ako, Ako. They call him Yaʿqov (Jacob). Yaqo was his name. They called him Ako. That one they killed. After him they killed the father of Samuel [A.H.: He didn't have children.] Who? [A.H.: Pito.] Apart from him, he didn't have anything. He was alone. He was alone. He had nothing else. He, um, he died.

After that they killed Shambi, Shambi also over money. He had **9** debtors. He went to gather together his debtors. They up (and) kill him. The father of Shlomo. Yes, yes, the father of Shlomo. [A.H.: My mother's uncle.] Yes, your mother's uncle. In short, he too... died. He too, they up (and) kill him. [A.H.: When they killed him...] He too died [A.H.: They found him in a certain wadi with, um, a boulder on him. They went from, um, they bring him...]

By God, he is buried right there. They didn't bring him (there). [A.H. **10** Every dead person they buried there.] No, they have buried him there. They had left the deceased for eighteen days in the sun, um, what do they call it?—until they brought a doctor for him from Van. From Van a doctor came for him. Nothing had remained, neither flesh nor anything (else) apart from his bones had remained. All of him had melted in the sun. In short... they also killed Shambi.

This late Eli had a son. This—, Guli.[62] [A.H.: Yochanan.] Yochanan.[63] **11** He had just been born (and) they were going to, um, his circumcision.

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[61] Shabbo erroneously says 'with them'.
[62] ʾEli's wife.
[63] ʾEli's son.

[S.B.: ʾeka bréwāle ʾāwa?] mani? [S.B.: Yoḥānan.] Yoḥānan, Bétanūre.
[S.B.: ʾā Bétanūre.] he, he l-Bétanure. mā hənne ʾEli [A.H.: mā bréwāle *Z*ʾo*Z*
Raḥamím, ʾaxón ʾEli?] [S.B.: náxwāle.] ʾāya náxwāle. zəlle *H*mʿuṣbənne*H* xa
kalba. yʾelox? kalba qəmle gyāne məxyāle ʾəlle. kulle naxír dide xə́lwāle ʾəlle.
*H*ʾaz*H* düqle *H*kalevet*H* u-... mətle. [S.B.: lā.] *H*beʾemét*H*. ʾāna *H*histόriya*H*
d-kullu kiʾənna... *H*histόriya*H* d-kullu kiʾənna.

12 [A.H.: ʾāna kiʾən, (k)taxrən, (k)taxrən *Z*qam doqile*Z* l-ʿaskar. zəlle drele
quṭma go ʾene ta gyāne məštāhər...] he, he. ʾāya u-Baṣālel kutru düqíwālu.
masale pəšla. ʾāya séle-wa dáre-wa quṭməd jigāre go ʾene ḥil ʾene.... xzi!
ʾilu ʾūde ʿaskar go—, ʾanna lu wide ʿaskar go Tŭŕkiya. ʾāni hənna xanči
mənnu lu wide go ʿEraq. xzi! māṭo šəmme u-ʾarʾa rə́qqa-lu m-əġdād! go
Tŭŕkiya *H*ḥukím*H* u-ʿEraq hādax ʾərqa[64]-lu m-əġdāde.

13 go Tŭŕkiya náše-lu. la, lá-hāwe, hənna, *H*baʿayót*H* lá-od—. lá-godi *H*baʿa-
yót*H*. [A.H.: máni-lu go ʿIraq?]... l-axxa ʾitən Šaʿya, čiʾətte.[65] wət *H*gyísa*H*-
lle ʾāhat. ʾāya le ʾwida go ʿEraq. xaloyi Šālom le ʾwida go ʿEraq. [A.H.:
*H*tov*H*, ʾāni *H*ʾIrāqim*H Z*welu*Z*.] la, ʾegā *Z*gəmrənnox*Z*. mənnəd—, *H*havdél*H*
ʾile ʾəbbəd *H*ḥuká. ken*H*. mənnəd *H*ḥuká*H*. [A.H.: Šālom nəxle.] he le nixa...

14 walḥāṣəl hənne ʾiya mā kəmrila Šambi qtəllu. *H*beʾemét*H* nixəd bābi-, xá-
yoma düqlu... nablilu l-*H*bet sohar*H*. ʾáx-geb tán-geb qurdáye-lu. zəllu
hūlu šoḥad. kəmri: ʾā *H*zakén*H*-ewa. xe ʾavrāza le nixa. da ʾjiza wət dwiqa
ʾāhat. kemər: le misa. *H*tov*H* ʾāya zəlle. *H*beʾemét*H* nixəd bābi mpəlle xe
*H*ḥaverím*H* gyāne. ʾāni d-ətle qurdāye *H*ḥaverím*H*. walḥāṣəl xədda... qtə́l-
wāle nixəd Šambi. qtə́lwāle xa qurdāya mənnəd mas gyáne-ži. waḷḷa nixəd
bābi qāyəm meselu ʾé-məšpaḥà. kemər: ʾimal tol babexun parqétūle? mərre:
ʾaxnan gzadʾax mən ḥukum ʾáx-geb tán-geb taṃắha-geb. bābi kemər:

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[64] Apparently an error for *rəqqa*.
[65] See § 3.4.b n. 10.

I remember he got up on Sunday night… [S.B.: Where had he been born?] Who? [S.B.: Yochanan.] Yochanan (in) Betanure. [S.B.: Ah, Betanure.] Yes, yes, in Betanure. What (about), um, Eli? [A.H.: When was that Rahamim born, Eli's brother?] [S.B.: He had died.] He had died. He went (and) irritated a dog. Did you know? The dog up (and) hurled himself at him. (The dog) had eaten off all his nose. Then he caught rabies and… died. [S.B.: No.] Really. I know the history of everyone … I know the history of everyone.

[A.H.: I know, I remember, I remember they seized him for the army. **12** (Eli) went (and) put ashes in his eyes so that he would go blind…] Yes, yes. He and Besalel, the two of them, they (the army) had seized them. The affair remained. He came back to put ashes in his eyes again until his eyes… Look! They have done military service in—, those have done military service in Turkey. They, um, a few of them have done (military service) in Iraq. Look! What distance from each other are the heavens and the earth! In Turkey and (in) Iraq the laws are such a distance from each other!

In Turkey they are (decent) human beings. No, there shouldn't be, um, **13** don't do—. They don't make problems. [A.H.: Who are in Iraq?]… here there is Shaya, you know him. You recruited him (for police service).[66] He did (military service) in Iraq. My maternal uncle Shalom did (military service) in Iraq. [A.H.: Fine, (but) they were Iraqis.] No, so then I tell you. With—, there is a difference in the constitution. Yes. With the constitution. [A.H.: Shalom died]. Yes, he has passed away…

In short, um, what do they call it?—they killed Shambi. Really. As for **14** my late father—, one day they seize (some Kurds)… They take them away to prison. When all's said and done, they are Kurds. They went (and) gave a bribe. They say: "He (the victim) was an old man. He has passed away at the bottom of the hard climb." (A policeman says to one of the arrested): "(You're not going to be charged with murder since) you grabbed a sick person." (The policeman) says: "He has died." Fine. He died. Really, my late father fell in (with a good bunch) of friends. Those friends he has (are) Kurds. In short… someone killed the late Shambi. A Kurd from his own village had killed him. By God, my late father up (and) brings them, that family (of Shambi). He says: "When will you avenge (the death) of your father?" (A member of the family) said: "When all's said and done,

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[66] Ahiya was in charge of police recruitment during part of his police service.

ḥukum? ^Hʿal ʾaḥarayutí^H. ʾe xéta-ži ^Hbišúaʿ ʿavodắ^H har ʾaxtun gyānexun.
kəmri b̭āš-ila.

15   waḷḷa grešla, lá-kiʾən xá-šāta, šắta-u-palge. ʾiya kalba bər kalba le ʾwida
     ṛəzza, ʾar'āsa. ṛəzza le 'ŭda reqa mən ^Hkfar ba-ʿérəx^H xor mən kəslexun
     Pisgát Zə'év 'aqqar rəqqa mənnəd māsa. 'āya... [A.H.: 'eka ^Zwele?^Z go
     Byadre?] la, la', la',la'. xá-māsa kəmrila Marūfa. Pənčāye... 'āya u-baxte
     [A.H.: 'āna wən hüya go Pənčāye, ki'ət?] 'āhat? [A.H.: he. lá-ki'ət bā(bi)
     zắlwāle xá-šāta tre šənne go Pənčāye ^Zwele^Z bābi]. ^Htov, mxubád^H wewa.
     kullu dukāne gbéwāle 'āya.

16   ^Haz^H waḷḷa le wida 'ar'āsa. 'egā kəsleni 'ətwa dahbe kesewa u-maxərwiwa.
     hənna—, b̭aṛāze 'ətwa. dəbbāsa 'ətwa. kesewa u-maxərwiwa dukāne [A.H.:
     'ar'āsa], 'ar'āsa. he. 'āya le zila reš hənna—, ṛāba 'ar'āsa le 'wida ṛəzza. 'ā
     le—, ^Hkšāmər^H 'əlləd didu qam b̭aṛāze. b̭aṛāze kesiwa. 'ətwa ^Htəlamím. 'az^H
     kxapríwālu. 'ətlu xor, xor skine... 'əllu. ṭāʿewa l-kərme. 'āni kəxli kə́rme-ži.

17   walḥāṣəl 'āya-le l-tāma. waḷḷa 'e-^Hḥavér^H u-nixəd bābi, tre', qəmlu zəllu.
     le reš qaprāna dmixa 'āya u-baxte u-'ətle tə́ffaq-ži 'ətle xa-ré́šəd dide. 'an
     xet dlá-təffaq. waḷḷa hedi zəllu. təffaq qemi šaqlila m-xa-ré́šəd dide. bābi
     kemər: baxta lá-qaṭlètūla. hə́šyar hāwetun. baxta lá-qaṭlètūla. lá-dāretun
     dəmmāhe zodāne qdāl gyānexun. hə́šyar hāwetun. 'ən baxta mḥokela,
     marun: ^Htov^H 'āya zəlle, 'axnan pšaqlaxlax. 'āhat la gpešat hādax hənna
     ^Hm'ugenet^H mā ^Zgəmrila^Z? [A.H.: baxtāsa naqoṣe ^Zwelu^Z.] he. baxtása-ži
     naqóṣe-wa. 'āya zəlle hūle ... ^Hlo ḥašúv^H.

we are afraid of the government." My father says: "The government? It's my responsibility. But apart from that, carrying out the work is only up to you." They say: "It's fine."

By God, it dragged on (until revenge was exacted for the murder of **15** Shambi), I don't know, a year, a year and a half. This son of a bitch (the murderer) has grown rice, (in) fields. He has grown rice far from the village (of Challa), about as far as Pisgat Zeev from you (in Ma'ale Adummim[67]), about that far from the village. He... [A.H.: Where was he? In Byadre?] No, no, no, no. A village they call Marufa. (An area known as) Pinianish. He and his wife. [A.H.: I was born in Pinianish, do you know?] You? [A.H.: Yes, don't you know my fat(her) had gone away (and) for a year or two was in Pinianish?] Fine. (Your father)[68] was respected. (People) liked him everywhere.

So, by God, he (the murderer) has worked the fields. Now then there **16** were wild animals with us (which) would come and destroy. Um—, there were pigs. There were bears. They would come and destroy places [A.H.: the fields], the fields. Yes. He has gone concerning, um—, many fields he has cultivated with rice. He has—, is guarding them from the pigs. The pigs would come. There were furrows. Then they they would dig them up. They had (tusks) like, like knives... They would hit with them to search for worms. They also eat worms.

In short, he (the murderer) is there. By God, that friend and my late **17** father, only the two (of them), up (and) went (to avenge the murder). He (the murderer) and his wife were asleep on (top of) a hut and he has, he has a rifle under his head. Those others (the friend and Shabbo's father were) without a rifle. By God, they went slowly. They up (and) take the rifle from under his (the murderer's) head. My father says: "Don't kill the woman. You should be careful. Don't kill the woman. Don't make yourselves responsible for more bloodshed.[69] You should be careful. If the wife speaks, say: 'Fine, he is dead, but we will take you (with us). You won't remain like this,' um, a deserted wife (*m'ugenet*), what do they call it?" [A.H.: Women were few.] Yes, also women were few. He went (and) he gave ... It's not important.

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[67] I.e., from where Ahiya lives in Ma'ale Adummim to Pisgat Zeʾev, which is a distance of several kilometers.

[68] Ahiya's father, Jacob, was a well-respected rabbi in the area. See § 1.5.

[69] Lit., 'Don't put more guilt of bloodshed on your own necks.'

18 *waḷḷa šqilālu tˤffaq. hedi ^HkanéH dˤryālu hˤnna ^HkanéH dˤryālu go nāsˤd dide. ṭiq! waḷḷa zˤlle. baxta qˤmla har hatxa wˤdla. kemˤr: gyānax láqṭulla! ʾāna ^Hmuxán^H-iwˤn qadome bomāxˤd ʾāna mnablˤnnax. ^H ʾavál zehu^H. waḷḷa baxta zˤlla. sele jˤwāb ta nixˤd bābi. kˤmri: waḷḷa wax qṭílelle. šˤmmˤd dide hˤnna 'Abd Raḥmanko wewa. xa ḅaṛāza ʾewa ^Zgˤmrˤn-nox^Z . . .*

19 *waḷḷa ʾāya u-nixˤd bābi u-nixˤd ʾEli mjohˤ́dwālu l-Bétanūre. mašmiʾ l-íya ^Hsiḥá! ^Zqam qaṭlile^Z ʾe nāša . . . he, Bétanūre. bābi zˤ́lwāle l-Bétanūre ʾˤllˤd hˤnna kud kma yarxe gezˤlwa ʾˤl-tāma qam ṣlosa, ^Hkol miné dvarím^H-u, ʾiya mā kˤmrila, ʾEli mˤndele xabre. mˤndele xabre. kemˤr: lewˤt bāda čúmˤndi l-tāma, ʾáx-geb tán-geb. ʾáqqara lire ʾé-gora—, byāwˤn ham ʾāya nāša. . . ʾāse l-qˤṭla. ʾEli byāwˤl. [S.B.: mani ʾāse l-qˤṭla?] ʾé-mˤšˤlmānˤd nixˤd bābi muqṭˤlle. [A.H.: ʾEli m-eka ʾˤ́twāle?]*

20 *de mašmiʾ! [A.H.: ^HyatǔmH.] bābi ʾˤḥmˤlle monˤxle ʾˤbbe kemˤr: ʾEli. kemˤr: mā? kemˤr: xzi ḥabibi! ʾāna, kemˤr: ʾāhat daxwˤ́s ʾile xalóx, xalóyile-ži,. . . har ʾe. . . hˤnna soti brāt ʾamód d-e Šambi ʾāwa. xās Šino wāwa. Šino (k)taxrˤtte. xās Šino, ʾāni yāl ʾamawˤ́sa-ewa. Šambi u-Šino, ʾāni yāl ʾamawˤ́sa-ewa. xá-mišpaḥà-ʾilu. waḷḷa ʾāya kemˤr: xzi!. . . he be ḥanúkkalu.*

21 *walḥāṣˤl kemˤr ṭas dide kemˤr: xzi! ʾāt byāwˤt lire. kemˤr: he. kemˤr: ʾāna lá-gmˤhˤ̀mnena. kemˤr: ʾit ^HhavdélH mābayn mḥakesa u-ʾwādˤd ^Hpʿulá^H . . . he, mābayn ^Hbiṣūaʿ ʿavodá^H u-mḥakesa, ʾanna—, ʾit ṛāba ^HhavdélH. rˤ́qqa-lu m-ˤ́ġdāde. ʾEli! ʾāhat lewˤt mˤn gūre ʾida gdāre l-kˤstox u-ʾāna kíʾˤn-ži lˤtlox. ʾegā ṭamˤ́ mḥākˤt? bāse yoma ʾé-masale pqaṭya. k(emˤr):*

By God, (my father and his friend) took the rifle. Slowly they stuck **18** the barrel, um, they stuck the barrel in his (the murderer's) ear. Bang! By God, he died. The wife got up (and) did just like this (grabbed a rifle, and threatened to shoot herself). He says: "Don't kill yourself! I am ready to take you away tomorrow, the day after tomorrow. But that's it." By God, the woman went off (with them). My late father got his own back (for the murder of Shambi).[70] They say: "By God, we have killed him." His name was, um, Abd Rahmanko. I tell you, he was a pig...

By God, moreover, my late father and the late Eli had quarreled in **19** Betanure. Listen to this conversation! They killed that person (Abd Rahmanko)... Yes, (in) Betanure. My father had gone to Betanure to, um, every few months he would go there for prayer,[71] all sorts of things and, what do they call it?—Eli said things.[72] He said things. (My father) says (to Eli): "When all's said and done, you are not doing anything there. So many liras that man—, I will also give (in order that) that person... should be killed. Eli will give (money for the revenge)." [S.B.: Who should be killed?] That Muslim whom my father had killed. [A.H.: From where did Eli have it?][73]

Now listen! [A.H.: (Eli was an) orphan.] My father stood, looked at him **20** (and) says: "Eli." He says: "What?" (My father) says: "Look, my friend! I," he says, "just as he is your maternal uncle, so too is he my maternal uncle ... since that... um, my grandmother was the daughter of the paternal uncle of that Shambi." She was the sister of Shino. You remember Shino. The sister of Shino, they were cousins. Shambi and Shino, they were cousins. They are one family. By God, he says: "Look!... yes, they are the Hanukka family."

In short, (my father) says to him (Eli), he says: "Look! You will give **21** liras (for the revenge)." (Eli) says: "Yes." (My father) says: "I don't believe (it)." (My father says): "There is a difference between talking and doing the job... yes, between performing the work and talking, those—, there is a big difference. They are are a distance from each other. Eli! You are not (one) of (those) men (who) puts (his) hand in his[74] moneybag, and I also know you don't have (any money). Now why are you talking? The

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[70] Lit., 'The response came to my late father.'

[71] Because there were not enough men for a prayer quorum (מִנְיָן) in Challa.

[72] I.e., he spread rumors.

[73] I.e., the information that Shabbo's father had been involved in revenging the murder of Shambi.

[74] Lit., 'your'.

ʾāna ʾatta byāwənna. ʾÉli-le-ži šxina. ʾilāha mānəxle. šaxina ʾewa. lá-
mḥakesa.

22 ʾáx-geb tán-geb bābi lá-mḥokele. kemər: ʾEli, ᴴkodəm kolᴴ pšām(ʾ)ət. ʾāna
ʾatta lá-ᶻgəmrənᶻ čú-məndi. pšām(ʾ)ət xa yoma. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa ʾEli šmeʾle.
nixəd bābi basər hādax zəlle l-tāma. kemər: kma lire ʾāhat mə́rwālox? ʾarbi
lire byāwət? ʾə̄šti lire byāwət? u-misi xamša. da xāzax. qū misi xamša. ʾan
xet kullu ṭāsox. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa zəlle məšəlmāna. baxtəd díde-ži xa xeta
šqilāle. ʾāya zə̄lle.

5.7. Abraham Gets Drunk

1 masaləd ʾĀko. ʾĀko qtəllu. ᴴbeʾemétᴴ dəmməd dide qāyəm šāqəlle. selan
masaləd ʾəd-ʾAwṛáham. ʾAwṛāham. ʾaxnan zəllan ʿAmədya ʾána-wən u-
ʾāya u-xá-məšəlmāna. zəllan nobəllan poṣṭa, ᴴdowarᴴ. nobəllan ᴴdow-
arᴴ. [S.B.: mən Čalla?] mən Čalla he. nobəllan ᴴdowarᴴ he, ta ʿAmədya.
ᴴdowarᴴ gyānu zəlle kəl qāymaqam, ᴴdowarᴴ gyānan msulmālan. kəmri:
qadome ʾāsetun šaqletun ᴴtšuváᴴ. ʾədyo let. ᴴb-sedərᴴ ʾədyo let. ʾaxnan
zəllan.

2 ᴴbrítᴴ-ila go xá-besa ʾəl-ʿAmə́dya. muzmənaxlu l-tāma. lu musye tre ṭá-
nəke, ʿaraqin mənnəd ʾArādən. ʾArādən xəzyālox…[S.B.: laʾ, bale wən
šəmya.] he, he. surāye l-tāma. [S.B.: ʾanna surāye, ᴴnaxónᴴ.] ʾegā ʿaráqin-
ži. mā ʿaráqin-le? kullu drelu go d-anna ṭánəke… lu músye-ll—, žang
la mrupeta… má-le-ži qéṭa-le. qéṭa-le. waḷḷa zəllan. lá-pṛəqlu mənnan
hudāye… walḥāṣəl muzmənaxlu. zəllan ᴴbritᴴ. tāma lu ʾwide ᴴsəʿudá.ᴴ[75]

3 basər ᴴsəʿudáᴴ muselu ʿaraqin. ʾAwṛāham déni-ži ʾida drele ʾəbbəd dida
bəštāya ʿaraqin. šaxə́nta-la. xumma. [S.B.: ʾAwṛahə́m bər Noka?] he, he,
ʾAwṛāham bər Noka. ʾána-wən u-ʾāya u-xa məšəlmāna. [S.B.: ʾAwṛahə́m

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[75] Cf. the JNeoAram forms sıʿōḏa, saʿūḏ/da (Sabar 2002a:242).

day will come (and) that matter will be decided." (My father sa)ys: I will now give it (money for the murder)." Eli is hot(-headed). May God rest his soul. He was hot(-headed). No doubt about it.[76]

When all's said and done, my father didn't talk. He says: "Eli, first of all **22** you will hear (what I have to say). I now am not saying anything. One day you will hear." In short, by God, Eli heard. My late father, after this (that Shambi's murder was avenged), went there. He says (to Eli): "How may lira did you say it was? Will you give forty liras? Will you give sixty liras? (Get up now and) bring five (liras)! Now we'll see (if you'll actually do it). Get up (and) bring five (liras) and the rest (of the money) is all for you." In short, by God, the Muslim (who murdered Shambi) died. Somebody else took his wife. She (indeed) went off.

5.7. Abraham Gets Drunk

(And now) the matter of Ako. They killed Ako. Really, he up (and) spills[77] **1** his blood. We've come (now) to the matter of Abraham. Abraham. We went to Amidya: I am (there) and he and a Muslim. We went (and) brought *posta*, 'mail'. We brought mail. [S.B.: From Čalla?] From Čalla, yes. We brought mail, yes, to Amidya. Their mail went to the local governor, our mail we delivered. They say: "Tomorrow you should come take the return mail. Today there isn't (any)." Okay, today there isn't (any). We left.

There is a circumcision ceremony in a house in Amidya. They invited **2** us there. They have brought two large tin cans, arrack from Aradhin. You saw Aradhin… [S.B.: No, but I've heard (about it).] Yes, yes. Christians (were) there. [S.B.: Those (were) Christians, correct.] So then arrack also (is there). What arrack is it? They put all (sorts of things) in those large tin cans… (that) they have brought—, rust has come loose (and is floating about inside)… What's more, it's summer. It's summer. By God, we went. The Jews didn't leave us (alone)… In short, they invited us. We went (to) the circumcision ceremony. They made a festive meal there.

After the festive meal, they brought arrack. And our Abraham put his **3** hands on it (the large tin can), drinking the arrack. It is hot. (There is oppressive) heat. [S.B.: Abraham son of Noka?]. Yes, yes, Abraham son of Noka. I am (there), and (so is) he, and a Muslim. [S.B.: Abraham

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[76] Lit., 'no talk'.
[77] Lit., 'takes'.

šatāya wewa?]. ^H*mā-še—*^H, *kšātewa, bale ʾegā réše-ži lá-gpāyəšwa l-dūke.*
[S.B.: *mar: šaxina-le.*] *he, he, he. walḥāṣəl štele. məšəlmána-ži tǔrki ʾā*
le māra-lle: lá-šti! lá-šti! ʾāhət lá-mṣet šātət! ʾắ-ži lu musye, lu músye-lle
məšəlmána-ži. wíde-lle ^H*aruḥắ lə-ḥúd. ʾət ha-ʾemét*^H. *ʾắ-ži le tiwa mənneni.*

4   *xanči ʾāna šteli ʿaraqin. šaxina. mani ʾibe šātele? qéṭa-ži. ču* ^H*keraḥ*^H *let.*
ču talga let. [A.H.: *gdāréwāle go ʾena* ^Z*xapča*^Z]. *mā ʾena? ʾena ʾéka-la? xá-*
yoma, xá-yoma geziwa ḥil gmāṭewa l-ʾena… walḥāṣəl waḷḷa štelan. štelan
u-xəllan.

5   *čanyāsa šqililan. ʾāna zəlli. poṣṭa gyāni šqilāli,* ^H*tšuvá*^H *mən qāymaqam.*
selan. bāzax. ʾāxər ʾAwṛāham le bəgxāka … ham (m)pəlle. ham nāpəl. he.
xúmma-le-ži. ʾit xa ʾena ʾəltxé(t?) ṭappá ^Z*gəmrila*^Z-, *kāni Karačke* ^Z*gəm-*
rila^Z. *kušlan ḥil tāma.* ^H*kim'ắt*^H *'urxəd pálsā'a-la.* ^H*yridắ*^H-*ži ʾila. kúšlana*
ʾəltəx ʾəltəx. kušleni ḥel tāma. ʾAwṛāham le mənnan.

6   *waḷḷa ʾAwṛāham kemər: ʾāna lá-kesən. ṭamắ la kesət, ʾAwṛāham? kemər:*
^H*be'emét*^H *ʾāna lá-kesən. qadome hənna ʾədyo xamúšeb ʾile. ʾəróta-ži l-axxa*
pāwən. yom šapsa hə́nna-la—, godi ^H*məsibắ*^H *ṛapsa. kemər: pšātax ʿaraqin.*
ʾāh! kemər: dunya čú-məndi-le.

7   *ʾaxnan lewax nāšəd d-axxa, ḥabibi! ʾaxnan lewax nāšəd d-axxa. ʾaxnan*
mən Tǔrkiya ʾiwax. ʾāni ʾilu go ʿEraq. ʾatta ʾaxnan poṣṭa pšaqlaxla. ʾāhat
lətlox kvar ^H*zaxút*^H *l-axxa, pešət l-axxa.* ^H*zaxút*^H *d-é-poṣṭa ʾāhat iwət ʾəsya*
l-axxa. la. ʾáx-geb tán-geb taṃáha(-geb) b-séfer-ṭoṛa. ʾAwṛāham m-kāni
Karačke mxéle ʾəlla ḥil səqle ʾəl-ʿAmə́dya.

8   *mašmi'!* [A.H.: *skira?*] *he. səqle kemər: ʾāna la kesən. ʾắna-ži—, ʾə́twāleni*
ʾəzla, ʾəzla ṣəwya. xa hənna ʾətwa Maṣlo bron d-é-Yosef ṣawāya. ʾāya ʾə́twāle
hənna ṣắwewa ʾəlləd Bétanūre-ži. ʾəzla—, šúqa-le l-Bétanūre. ʾāna u-məšəl-
māna mxelan ʾəlla. zəllan Bétanūre. zəllan Bétanūre. ʾəzleni šqəllan.

was a drinker?] Whatever (he could get), he would drink, but then he would lose control.[78] [S.B.: Say: "He is hot(-headed)!"] Yes, yes, yes. In short, he drank. The Muslim is speaking to him Turkish: "Don't drink (from rusty tins)! Don't drink! You can't drink (that stuff!)" They also have brought him, they have brought him, the Muslim, too. They have made him a separate meal. (I am telling you) the truth. He too has sat down with us.

I drank a bit of of arrack. (It is) warm. Who is able to drink it (in this **4** heat)? (It is) summer. There is no ice. There is no ice. [A.H.: They used to put (the arrack) in a spring (of water) for a bit (till it cooled down).] What spring? Where is there a spring? One (whole) day, one (whole) day they used to walk until they would reach a spring… In short, by God, we drank. We drank and we ate.

We took the (mail) satchels. I went. I took my own mail, return mail **5** from the local governor. We came (to collect the mail and then) we will go. Well! Abraham is laughing… and he fell. And he falls (because he is drunk). Yes. And it is hot. There is a spring at the bottom of the hillside they call it—, the spring of Karachke they call it. We went down there. (It is) a path of almost half an hour. It is a descent. We went way down. We went down until there. Abraham is with us.

By God, Abraham says: "I am not coming." (Shabbo says:) "Why aren't **6** you coming, Abraham?" He says: "Really, I am not coming. Tomorrow, um, today is Thursday. I shall be here Friday. Saturday there is, um—they make a big party." He says: "We will drink arrack." "Ah," he says: "Nothing is happening (anyway) in the world (so I can stay)."

(Shabbo says:) "We are not people from here, my friend! We are not **7** people from here. We are from Turkey. It is they (who are) in Iraq. Now we will take the mail. You (Abraham) no longer have a right here, to remain here. You have come here by right of that mail. No. When all's said and done, (I swear) on the Torah scroll." From the spring of Karachke Abraham hit it (the road) until he went up to Amidya.

Listen! [A.H.: (Abraham was) drunk?] Yes. (Abraham) went up (to **8** Amidya) saying: "I am not coming. And I—." We had yarn, dyed yarn. There was, um, a Maslo son of that Joseph the dyer. He had, um, he used to dye for Betanure also. Yarn—, there is a market (of it) in Betanure. I and the Muslim hit (the road). We went (to) Betanure. We went (to) Betanure.

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[78] Lit., 'but his head would not remain in its place'.

ʾé-lele pǝšlan tam. dmǝxlan tam. bǝnhe qǝmli sāʿa ʾǝṣṛa [S.B.: yom ʾǝrota.],
he, yom ʾǝrota, sāʿa ʾǝṣṛa ^Hkvar^H bésa-(wa)xwa-(ʾa)xnan.

9   baxte sela ^Hmǝskena^H ʾAsmāre, kǝmra: ké-le ʾAwṛāham? mǝrri: waḷḷa le
    zila l-ʿAmǝdya kšāte ʿaraqin. le piša. ʾāya ^Hmǝskena^H murpyāla l-bǝxya.
    kǝmra: le qṭila. ʾaxtun letun mára-lli. kǝče, waḷḷa lewe qṭila. ʾá-le zila
    šāte ʿaraqin. ʾáx-geb tán-ġǝb taṃáha-geb waḷḷa lá-mhomǝnna ʾǝlla. tūla
    bǝbxāya (m)walwole.

10 ʾAwṛāham pǝšle l-ʿAmǝdya. yom xošeba mxele ʾǝlla. sele l-Kāra mǝn ʿAmǝ-
    dya... de-mášmi'! ʾegā tāma ʾé-'urxa ʾaqqar mayrǝxla. mǝn Kāra yom
    trūšeb mxele ʾǝlla. ʾit xa ʾurxa Razoke ^Zgǝmrila^Z [S.B.: ki'ǝnna, ki'ǝnna.]
    ki'ǝtta. b-é-'ida sǝqle ḥil sele reš 'enǝd Sǝgrazoke. ʾǝrbǝd Spindarnāye lu l-
    tāma. ṭḷāhá-'arba-qǝṭ'e. mā—, tāma kalbe la mrāpelu[79] ʾǝllǝd ʾAwṛāham.
    mašmi'! kalbe mrupyālu[80] l-'Awṛāham gǝbe qaṭlile. b-íya-'ida u-yá-'ida
    ʾanna nāše mrupyālu ʾǝllǝd ʾAwṛāham. ʾAwṛāham xá-p-tǝne-le. xa tre
    čanyása-ži lu b-xāṣe. ʾáx-geb tán-geb waḷḷa qemi ʾodile be-čára. m-é-'ida
    selu tmanya... ʾan Pǝnčāye ʾAvṛāham (m)polǝṭlu m-go 'idás didu.

5.8. The Attempted Seduction

1   xa nǝ́qwa-ži lewa gurta. ʾena la dreta ʾǝlli. ʾāna lá-ki'ǝn. čú-gā lewǝn
    mḥukya mǝnna u-lewǝn zíla-ži l-tāma. he, he. xzi! la go hǝ́nna-ži-la,
    ^Hm'oreset^H-la-ži. xa behna kxázǝnna. ʾǝ́twāleni xa šwāna. ʾǝ́twale—, xor
    ^Hkǝbúṣ^H-ewa u-'ǝ́twāle ^Hparót^H u-'ǝ́twāle kulle mǝndi. ʾāya šātǝt ʾarba
    lewǝn xǝ́zya-lle. waḷḷa qāyǝm dāwǝqli.

2   hiwa xanči ^Hxǝm'a^H u-xanči sartuk... [Y.H.: xanči mǝšxa. mar: mǝšxa!]
    he, mǝšxa. sartuk lewe mǝšxa. ʾe xeta kar'a, ʾit kar'a, he, kar'a ʾiya hǝ́nna-le.

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[79] The verbal form is difficult, yet the general context seems clear.
[80] See § 4.4.23.5.

We took our yarn. We remained there that night. We slept there. In the morning I got up at ten o'clock. [S.B.: Friday.], yes, Friday, at ten o'clock we were already (at) home.

His wife came, the poor Asmare. She says: "Where is Abraham?" I **9** said: "By God, he has gone to Amidya drinking arrack. He has remained (there)." That poor one broke out crying. She says: "He's been killed. You aren't telling me." (Shabbo says:) "Woman! By God, he has not been killed. He has gone to drink arrack." When all's said and done, by God, she didn't believe it. She began crying (and) wailing.

Abraham remained in Amidya. Sunday he hit it (the road). He came to **10** Kara from Amidya... Now listen! Now then that path there makes it so much longer. Monday he hit (the road) from Kara. There is a path (that goes by a village) they call Razoke [S.B.: I know it, I know it.] You know it. He went up in that direction until he came to the spring of Segrazoke. The sheep of the residents of Spindar are (grazed) there, three, four flocks. What—, there the dogs (residents of Spindar) let Abraham have it. Listen! The dogs let Abraham have it, they wish to kill him. When all's said and done, those people let Abraham have it. Abraham is all alone. There are one (or) two satchels on his back. When all's said and done, by God, they up (and) made him helpless.[81] Eight (people) come from that direction... Those residents of Pinianish delivered Abraham out of their hands.

5.8. The Attempted Seduction

(There was) a certain female (who) hasn't married. She has put her eye **1** on me. I was unaware. I have never spoken with her nor have I gone over there (to her). Yes, yes. Look! And she is in, um, and she is engaged. Suddenly I see her. We had a shepherd. He had—, it was like a kibbutz and he had cows and he had all sorts of things. I hadn't seen him for four years.[82] By God, he up (and) grabs me.

A bit of butter was given and a bit of cream[83]... [Y.H.: A bit of *məšxa* **2** (cooking oil). Say: *məšxa*!] Yes, *məšxa*. *sartuk* (cream) is not *məšxa*. That

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[81] I.e., Abraham is unable to flee because of the weight of the satchels he is carrying.
[82] Lit., 'It was the fourth year I have not seen him.'
[83] Earlier in the recording he mentions that he has run out of butter and gone to the shepherd, Mustafa, for some more.

məšxa xāsa ʾile. ta d-anna ᶻgəmriᶻ karʾa. ᴴtovᴴ. tūle l-tāma gyāpe laxma. kud laxma ʾāya ʾakčən d-íya-ᴴšulḥằnᴴ. məsənne ᴴʾaruḥát ṣohorayimᴴ tre sapoxe. ʾxəlli...

3 *xa maṃzer. xa yalunka ᴴba-ʿérəxᴴ ʾibe ᴴb-gilᴴ ʾəšta šənne sele. šəmme Məṣṭáfa-le məšəlmāna. kemər: Məṣṭāfa-ž(i). kemər: mā? kemər: hudáya-le l-axxa? ʾá-ži kemər: ʾāna wən tiwa dəpən dide. bābi le mira ʾāse kəsleni. xzi mā ᴴmaṃzerímᴴ-ilu! šəmməd, šəmməd bāba—, la mšudarta basri u-ʾāna lá-kiʾən. waḷḷa ᴴtovᴴ. kemər: le bixāla. ko xəlle xarāye bas...*

4 *[Y.H.: la wətwa gwira?] ha? la, la, lá-wənwa gwira. lá-wənwa gwira. la waḷḷa lá-wənwa gwira. waḷḷa ḥel tre sapö(xe) xəlli xá-gā xeta sele ʾé-ḅəč̣ʾa. kemər bābe le ḥmila žwanti. yom ʾəróta-le-ži yaʿni gezəl xuṭba. mərri: mā? bābox lewe zila l-xuṭba?*

5 *lā kemər. qam tar didu hénna-le ṛūbar m̥āye kāwəš. kemər: gyāne le ᴴmaxóneᴴ-lla. bāzəl xuṭba ᴴʾim ha-maṃzerímᴴ [Y.H.: le maḥzore gyāne bāzəl xuṭba.] he, he. bāzəl xuṭba ʾá-ži. xəlli tre sapöxe. qəmli. gézəna. tarʾa ptíxa-le ʾána-ži zəlli.*

6 *ᴴšalóm šalómᴴ, ʾá-la go tarʾa. ké-le bābax? kəmra: wəlle reš m̥āye. ʾátta-bāse. xa julla la mtűta-lli l-tam qam ᴴḥalónᴴ. ʾazᴴ zəlli tūli. ʾəlli tarʾa ḥləqla. ᴴbeʾemétᴴ... ʾāhat məšəlmanta, ʾāna hudá. kəmra: ʾāna gbannox. ʾiya basər ʿAzizko lu qṭile ʾəlle, ʾila ʾiya masale. ʾána-ži mərri... ʾā düqāli murḥəqāli mən gyáni. kəmra: xzi! gəbət? mar: ken. lá-gbət ʾé-baxta pṣarxa.*

7 *ʾé-məšəlmāna wənwa kəsəl dide, xa ʾárʾa-ʾila qam tar didu. ʾāni lu wídella ᴴtiras.[84] tirasᴴ wetun xəzye gṛāwe, he hatxa gṛāwe. ʾāya le ʾəsya, le ᴴmúrgəšaᴴ. ʾəsya le ʾwira go ᴴtiras mul ḥalónᴴ. le manoxe ʾəbbeni. [A.H.: barqul šabắk] he, he. barqul šabbāka. ʾaxnan panjāre ᶻgəmráxwālaᶻ. [A.H.: panjāre]. he.*

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84 On other occasions Shabbo uses NeoAram *ganmnoke* 'maize'.

other (thing), butter (*kar'a*), there is butter, yes, butter, it is, um, butter. It is new cooking oil. They call these (things) butter (*kar'a*). Fine. He sat there baking bread. Each (loaf of) bread (is) the size of this table. He brought me lunch, two wrap sandwiches. I ate...

A bastard, a child, about six years old, came. (The shepherd's) name **3** is Mustafa, (he is) a Muslim. (The child) says: "Mustafa!" (Mustafa) says: "What?" (The child) says: "Is the Jew (Shabbo) here?" And he (Mustafa) says: "I am seated next to him." (The child says:) "My father has said he should come to us." See what bastards they are! The name of, the name of her father—, (that woman) has sent for me and I don't know (why). By God, fine. (Mustafa) says (to the child): "He is eating. Since I ate enough...

[Y.H. You hadn't married?] Huh? No, no, I hadn't married. I hadn't **4** married. No, by God, I hadn't married. By God, by the time I ate the two sandwiches, that bastard (child) came again. (The child) says his father has been waiting for me expectantly. And it is Friday, that is to say, he goes to the (Friday) sermon (in the mosque). I said: "What? Your father hasn't gone to the Friday sermon (because he is waiting for me)?"

"No," he says. Outside their door, um, descends a stream of water. (The **5** child) says: "(My father) is preparing himself." He will go to the Friday sermon with the bastards. [Y.H.: He is preparing himself to go to the Friday sermon.] Yes, yes. He also will go to the Friday sermon. I ate two sandwiches. I got up. I go. The door is open and I go (in).

"Hello, hello" (the woman says), she is in the doorway. (I say:) "Where **6** is your father?" She says: "He's right at the water. Now he will come." She has put a piece of cloth there for me in front of the window (to prevent people from looking in). So I went (in and) sat down. She locked the door on me. Really... (I say:) "You (are) a Muslim, I (am) a Jew." She says: "I love you." This is after they have killed Azizko, it is this affair. And I said:... I grabbed her (and) pushed her away me. She says: "Look! Do you want to? Say: 'Yes.' (If) you don't want to, I[85] shall shout."

(As for) that Muslim at whose place I was, there is a (plot of) land **7** outside their door. They have grown it with corn. You have seen corn growing, yes, like this it grows. He (that Muslim) has come (and) he has noticed. (He has) come (and) he has entered the corn(field) opposite the window. He is looking at us. [A.H.: In front of the *šabak* (window).] Yes, yes... in front of the *šabaka* (window). We used to call it (a window) *panjare*. [A.H.: *panjare*] Yes.

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85 Lit., 'that woman' (§ 4.1.7.j).

8 *walḥāṣəl waḷḷa mād mərri ṭāsa la ^{H}ʿzərra^H ʾəlli. tarʾa la ḥlə́qta-lle. qdila la*
   dréta-lla go jeba. mərri: mašmeʾ! ʾāhat qurdésa-wat ʾāna hudáya-wən. ʾāna
   lá-gbənnax. lá-qqarwən ʾəbbax. kəmra: xzi! pṣarxan u-maqṭəlannox. ʾən
   wət góra-ži, nábəlli. ʾāna ppešan hudesa. mərri: hudāye ʾəbbax lá-gzedi. lá-
   ʾasyat hudáye-ži maḥərmattu. ʾāni lu piše ḥalāle. ʾāni m-lá-ḥarmi. ʾaxnan
   lá-gbax ʾəmməteni xorexun zeda ʾəbbəd ḥaramūsa.

9 *waḷḷa lá-^{H}ʿzərra^H ʾəlli. lá-^{H}ʿzərra^H ʾəlli. lewa práqa-lli. mərri: ʾamrənnax*
   [Y.H.: bāba kiʾewa mən kulla…] ʾāna lá-kiʾəna. bāba lá-(we)wa l-tam.
   ^{H}yaxol lihyot^H kiʾewa. ʾāni kəslu ʾərwána-la mād mázəḷṭi xa hudāya. ʾən
   hudesa [A.H.: b-idəd məšəlmāne] šaqlila ʾodila. yaʿni ʾən kutru… mərri:
   ṭamá̄ wat ʾšə́qta-lli?

10 *^{H}kodəm kol^H, ʾāhat ^{H}mʾoréset^H-wat. kəmra: pšoqanne ʾāya. mərri: ṭamá̄?*
   mā masále-la? kəmra: ʾaxnan wax mbuqre. ʾaxtun hudāye gzire wetun,
   yaʿni ʾodetun ʾəlleni. ʾərwána-la ʾodax ʾəlléxun-ži. ʾərwána-la. ʾən kutru
   ʾalāle, ʾərwāna ^{H}mšuláš^H ʾila. kutru ʾalāle.

11 *mərri: ḅə́š-ila hatxa gəbat. mərra: he. mərri: ptox tarʾa! ʾe kaləpsa brāt*
   kalba. la, lá-kpatxa. waḷḷa düqāli baloʾtəd dida. mətwāli l-ʾarʾa ʾegā krox!
   ^{H}bli raḥma(nūt), türkit türkit^H. króx-u-króx-u-króx-u-króx-u-króx-u-!
   ʾegā dreli pumməd dida.

12 *ʾá-le qam ^{H}ḥalón^H le manoxe. ʾāna lá-kiʾən. lewən bəxzáya-lle. qóme-ži*
   kərya wewa, la yarixa. he. waḷḷa hādax ʾüdli ʾəlləd dida. b-iya baṛāxa
   ʾüdāli ^{H}pastela^H. mə́ndyāli l-tāma. qaḥba brāt qaḥba! ʾāna hudāya u-ʾāhat
   məšəlmanta. wəllu qurdāye terax ter yəmmax ter xaswāsax ter kullexun
   ʾilu. ʾən gə́bat-ži nablənnax. ʾit türkāye l-axxa. ʾanna ṭḷāhá-ʾarba šənne lu go
   ^{H}ṣavá̄^{H}. byāwənnax ʾəl-ʾídu. didax ʾáya-la. čú-gā ču ^{H}taʿanót^H lá-hāwelax.

In short, by God, whatever I said to her didn't help me. She has locked **8**
the door. She has placed the key in her pocket. I said: "Listen! You are
a Kurd, I am a Jew. I don't want you. I am not coming near you." She
says: "Look! I will shout and I will have you killed. If you are a man, lead
me away. I shall become a Jewess." I said: "Through you, the Jews are not
going to increase (in number). You will not come (and) pollute the Jews.
They (Jews) have remained pure. They shouldn't become impure (now
by your becoming Jewish)! We don't want our nation to increase like you
(Kurds) through impurity!"

By God, it didn't help me. It didn't help me. She isn't leaving me (alone). **9**
I said: "I'll tell you" [Y.H.: Did her father know of all the . . . ?] I don't know.
Her father wasn't there. It is possible that he knew. With them it is a good
deed to convert a Jew. If a Jewess (falls) [A.H.: into the hands of Muslims],
they take her to make her (a Muslim). That is to say, if both of them . . . I
said: "Why have you desired me?"

(I said to her:) "First of all, you are engaged." She says: "I will leave that **10**
one." I said: "Why? What's the story?" She says: "We have inquired. You
are circumcised Jews, that is to say, you should do it to us (circumcise us).
It is a good deed that we should do (it) for you. It is a good deed. If both
sides (want it), it is a triple good deed . . . (For) both sides."

I said: "It's fine (if) that's the way you want (it)." She said: "Yes." I said: **11**
"Open the door!" That bitch! No, she doesn't open (the door). By God, I
seized her throat. I laid her down on the ground (and) so then I smashed
her.[86] Without mer(cy), Turkish, Turkish (style?). I smashed her over and
over and over again. So then I stuck my (fist) in her mouth.

He is in front of the window looking. I am unaware. I don't see him. **12**
His height was short, not tall. Yes. By God, I did like this to her. With
this blessing[87] I made mincemeat out of her. I threw her (down) there.
Daughter of a whore! (I said:) "I (am) a Jew and you (are) a Muslim. Right
now the Kurds are enough for you, enough for your mother, enough for
your sisters, enough for all of you. If you want, I will lead you away. There
are Turks here. Those (Turkish men) are in the army for three (or) four
years (and are desperate to have a woman). I shall hand you over to them.
It is yours (to decide). May you never have any complaints (since they will
satisfy your sexual desires)."

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[86] Lit., 'So then smash!' (narrative imperative).
[87] Is Shabbo being sarcastic about the blessing over food since he is talking about
making mincemeat out of her?

13 *walḷa qdila mǝn jeb dida mpolǝṭli. tarʾa ptǝxli gyāni. mǝxyāla*[88] *ʾǝlli xá-gā xeta basri. walḷa zurri ʾǝllǝd dida ḥil ʾarʾa… m-ʾarʾa la qǝmla. mǝrri: da-ḥmól! ʾurxa düqāli. seli l-besa* [Y.H.: *bāba la mǝrre čú-mǝndi?*] *lewe l-besa bāba.* [Y.H.: *mǝrrox* [Z]*wele*[Z] *ḥmila manoxe ʾǝbbǝd panjāra…*] *ʾāya mǝrra. ʾe xet ʾāya xá-nāša xeta… sela kǝmrāli: kiʾewa. ʾāni kiʾewa b-ǝġdād. ʾāna lá-kiʾǝn. walḥāṣǝl walḷa ʾiya masale zǝlla. ʾiya masale zǝlla.*

14 *seli l-besa. mǝšxa mǝseli. hūli… mǝrri: lá-mšadrǝtti xá-gā xeta go qurdāye. ʾǝn sníqa-wǝt xǝdda sele kǝslox gǝbǝt* [H]*ʿazrǝtte*[H]*, si gyānox! ʾāna lá-gezǝn. la mǝrri ṭāse čú-mǝndi. walḷa zǝlla.* [H]*beʾemét*[H]*. mǝrri tas dide: b-gyānox ʾāzǝt. lá-ʾamrǝt ṭāsi. ʾāna lá-mṣǝn mābayn d-anna baxtāsa xadrǝn, la. kullu dukāne lu bǝʾrāqa basri ḥǝnna. mā ʾodǝn ʾǝbbu? ʾāna lá-gbǝnnu. walḥāṣǝl walḷa la* [H]*murgǝšle*[H] *mǽ-ʾit u-mǽ-let. ʾiya masale pǝšla xapči* [H]*šeket*[H]*. zǝlla.*

15 *xá-yoma* [H]*ba-ʿérǝx*[H]*… xzi! xa ṭḷǽ-yarxe zǝlla ʾǝbbǝd dida. ʾiya nixǝd ʾAwṛā-ham zǝlle mulšǝnne kǝsǝl nǝxtǝd yǝmmi: kiʾat brónax-ži le mpila basǝr baxtǽs qurdāye? la yǝmmi kiʾa la bābi ko mā masále-la. lewǝn míra-llu-ži. walḷa bábi-ži* [H]*mʾuxzá(v)*[H]*. le báda-lli* [H]*parṣufím kol mine dǝvarím*[H]*. lewe mḥakoye mǝnni* [H]*yafé mǝsudár*[H]*. ʾáx-geb tán-geb, ʾít-xa mǝndi.*

16 *xá-yoma kǝmrǝn ta nǝxtǝd yǝmmi. mǝrri: mǽ-lox?*[89] *kǝmra: ʾāhat pǽšwālox ṭahóra-ži. zǝllox basǝr baxtás qurdāye? mǝrri: m-eka kiʾat? xulma wetun xǝzye? mā bréla ʾǝllexun? kǝmra: bale, bale ʾit sahāde. mǝrri: sahāde? ʾāna kiʾǝn ʾAwṛāham le ǝsya mulšǝna ṭasexun. mǝrri: ḅǽš-ila. da-ḥmól! lá-mḥokeli.* [A.H.: *mar:* [Z]*mluqṭa*[Z]] *ʾā?…le māra ḥǝnna ʾūda fasādūsa. fasādūsa* [Z]*gǝmri*[Z] [Y.H.: *mar: fasādūsa*]. [H]*ken*[H]*. fasādūsa.*

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88 See § 4.4.23.5.
89 An error for *mǽ-lax.*

By God, I took the key out of her pocket. I opened the door myself. She **13** hit me once again from behind. By God, I turned around to her until the ground... She didn't get up from the ground. I said: "Now stop!" I took to the road. I came home. [Y.H.: Her father didn't say anything?] He isn't in the house. [Y.H.: You said he was standing looking in at the window.] She said it. And that other one, another person... She came (and) says to me: "He knew." They knew (of the matter from) each other. I don't know. In short, by God, this affair went away. This affair went away.

I came home. I brought the cooking oil (which I had originally been **14** sent to get). I gave it... I said (to my father): "Don't you send me again among the Kurds. If you are in need (because) someone has come to you (and) you want to help him, go yourself! I am not going." I didn't tell him anything (about the incident). By God, it passed. Really. I said to him: "Go yourself. Don't tell me (to go). I am not able to go around among those women, no. They are running after me everywhere, um. What should I do with them? I don't want them." In short, by God, he (my father) didn't notice anything at all. This affair remained a bit quiet. (The affair) went away.

One day about... look! About three months went by since (the inci- **15** dent). (Then) this late Abraham went (and) he informed (on me) to my late mother: "Do you know your son has chased after women of the Kurds?" Neither my mother knows nor my father what the incident is. I haven't even told them. By God, my father (is) disappoin(ted). He is making all sorts of faces at me. He is not speaking with me nicely (or on a) regular (basis). When all's said and done, (I can tell that) there is something (wrong).

One day I say to my late mother, I said: "What's with you?" She says: **16** "You had been pure. (But then) you went after women of the Kurds?" I said: "From where do you know (this)? Have you been dreaming? What happened to you?" She says: "Yes indeed, yes indeed, there are witnesses." I said: "Witnesses? I know Abraham has come (and has) informed (on me) to you." I said: "It's fine. Now stop!" I didn't talk. [A.H.: Say: *mluqṭa* (he has informed against).] Huh?... He is saying, um, he has spread[90] gossip. They say *fasadusa* (gossip). [Y.H.: Say: *fasadusa* (gossip)!] Yes. *fasadusa*.

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[90] Lit., 'done'.

17 walḥāṣəl zəlla ʾəbba. ^Haz^H jirānəd d-e, d-é-baxta xa ^Hbaḥúr^H ʾətwa l-tāma. zamára ʾewa ṛāba. ^Haz^H kəsleni gyatwiwa. kudlel kesewa ^Horḥím^H zamriwa ḥil palgədlel. ^Hba-ʿérəx^H sā'a tre'sar hatxa geziwa kutxa mbarbəziwa gezəlwa l-bes gyāne. ʾé-nāša ^Hmuzmənni^H. ʾāhat[91] xə́lwāli kəsəl dide ^Haruḥắ^H. u-ʾé zamára-ži ^Hmuzmənni^H xá-yoma. Ḥasan ^Zgəmriwāle^Z. mərri: ʾāsət kəsleni xanči zəmrəyāsa basime ʾamrət. kemər: ^Htov^H. Mə́ṣṭo-ži mesətte mən gyānox, mərri... selu kəsleni.

18 nixəd bābi lá-ki'e yəmmi lá-ki'a mā masále(-la). tūlu zmərru ḥil palgədlel. hənna-wa qurwəd ḥanukkắ-(w)a. waxtəd qəmlu ʾána-ži mərri ṭāse: Mə́ṣṭo! kemər: mā? ʾə́twāle tre ʾaxawāsa. mərri: ʾāhat b-xudreš ʾaxawāsox u-b-qur'ān dexun ʾəbbəd Maḥammad dexun, ʾāna gmaymənnox ^Z'ó^Z-yoma d-āna seli kəslexun, kəslox, u-let hənna məšxa, düqənnox, lá-qbəllox ʾāzən. mərrox ḥel ^Haruḥắ^H lá-ʾaxlət kəsli lá-gezət. mắ-ʾətwa? ʾāna gəbən ʾamrət ^Hʾemét^H.

19 ḥməlle monəxle. waḷḷa qəmle ḥməlle qam nixəd bābi. kemər: xzi! ʿāwon didox ʾəd-kúlla[92] hudāye mən kullu dukāne. kemər: qdāli hūwa. qdāl bə́b-u-yəmmi hūwa. reš hənna səjjādəd Maḥammad ʾāna ...hatxa ʾən ʾāna mdaglənnox. kem(ər:) ḥál-u-masaləd bronox hatxa ʾāwa. flán-brāta lewa práqta-lle. le dwû́qa-lla. hāda(x) le lṭixa ʾəbba. hāda(x) le krixa ʾəbba. le wida ʾəlla ^Hḥolắ^H. le múndye-lla l-tāma. (b-)xurṭūsa gəba—, gbāwa ʾāya dāməx mənnəd dida. tar'a la ḥləqta ʾəlləd dide. mā le ^Hmbukša^H mənna? lewa ^Hmšuḥrərarta^H ʾəlle. tar'a lewa ptə́xta-lle. b- ^Hkowaḥ^H tar'a le ptíxa-lle u-hátxa-la. hátxa la breta. ke(mər): lewe nqiša ʾəlləd dida.

20 basər hādax ^Haz^H bābi mpuršəqle. kefe sele. mərri: kud ^Hčizbát^{H[93]} sele mən xá-dūka gyatwət mašm(')ət ʾəlləd dide... lewən sira! u-ʾidi síra-le[94] ʾaqlāsi síre-lu? lewu ysire ʾaqlāsi. ʾāna la gezən kəsəl didu. lá-gbən.

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[91] An error for ʾāna.
[92] For expected kullu.
[93] < ModH < Ar.
[94] An error for síre-le.

In short, (the gossip?) about it went (around?). Then there was a young **17** man there who (was) a neighbor of that, of that woman. He was a great singer. So (people) would sit with us. Every night guests would come. They would sing until midnight. (At) about something like twelve o'clock, they would go, each one would leave (and) go to his own house. I invited that person (the singer). I had eaten a meal at his place. And moreover one day I invited that singer. They called him Ḥasan. I said: "You should come to us (and) sing a few nice songs."[95] He (the singer) says: "Fine." "You should also bring Misto (the shepherd) with you," I said… They came to us.

Neither my late father nor my mother know what the story (is). They **18** sat (and) sang until midnight. It was, um, it was close to Hanukka. At the time they got up (to leave) I said to him: "Misto!" He says: "What?" He had two brothers. I said: "Take my word for it by the head of your brother and by your Quran (and) by your Muhammad, I adjure you that on that day that I came to you all, to you, by God, and there isn't, um, cooking oil, you grabbed me (and) you didn't agree that I should go. You said: 'Until you eat a meal with me you are not going.' What was it there? I want you to tell the truth."

(Misto) stopped (and) looked. By God, he got up (and) he stood before **19** my late father. (Misto) says: "Look! Your guilt (and) of all the Jews from everywhere," he says: "may it be upon us.[96] May the guilt be that of my father and my mother. On, um, the prayer rug of Muhammad, I (swear)… thus (may they do to me) if I am lying to you. He sa(ys): "The upshot of the story of your son was like this: a certain girl hasn't left him alone. He has grabbed her (in order to get the key out of her pocket so that he could open the locked door). For this reason he (went up and) struggled with her. Like th(is) he has beaten her. He has made her ill. He has thrown her down there. (By) force she want(ed)—, wanted him to sleep with her. She has locked the door on him. What has he asked of her? She hasn't let him go. She hasn't opened the door. By force he has opened the door and that's the way it is. That's the way it happened. He sa(ys): "He hasn't touched her."

After this then my father stretched out (and relaxed). He rejoiced. I **20** said: "You sit (and) listen to each lie (that) comes from any place… I am not tied up! Are my hands tied (and) are my feet tied up? My feet aren't tied up. I am not going to them (if you need something from them). I don't want to."

[95] Lit., 'say'.
[96] Lit., 'May it be (on) my neck'.

21 *walḥāṣəl ʾáx-geb tán-geb . . . pəšla ^Hšeket^H. qəmlu ʾida drelu ʾəbbəd ʾaxawāsi.*
ʾanna mənni pəšlu be-hívi. ^Htov^H. ʾaxawāsi—, ^Hbeʾemét^H nixəd ʾAwṛāham
zəlle mən . . . ʾiya mā kəmrila ʾaxoni Ḥáyyo-ži zəlle mənne, ʾanna kutru.
[Y.H.: la ʾüdlu ʾəllu čú-məndi?] la! ḥmol! heš lewu mətye l-hādax ʾodi ʾəllu.
qamāye gbe b̦āš ^Hmšaxnəxilu^{H97} b̦āš mazəḷṭilu. xarāye ʾegā ^Həmmʾeymi^{H98}
ʾalləd didu: qaṭláxlexun ʾən lá-hatxa.

5.9. The Wife of the Mudir Repays Kindness

1 *kma šənne kəsleni mədor wewa. kma ^Htafkidím^H le xlipa. wakil qāymaqam*
wewa. dukāne nablíwāle. Mẓaffər ^Zgəmríwāle^Z. ʾāna ^{H,}vərri^{H99} mən tāma.
baxte xəzyāli qam tarʾa . . . ḥel ʾiya mā kəmrila ʾáya-la qam tarʾa. hatxa
monəxla ʾəbbi. ʾāya kiʾāli [Y.H.: baxtəd quṇṣuḷ?] la, bax mədor, mədor.
[Y.H.: ʾā, bax mədor.] ʾāna mənnəd hənna wən bəqrāwəd Jólamerg.

2 *waḷḷa sela. kəmra ṭāsi: m-eka wət bisāya? ʾāya kiʾāli. ʾəsri, ʾəsri, ṭḷāsi šə́nne-*
wax, go Čalla wewa. ʾalpa šuʾāle wax wide ṭas didu. walḥāṣəl mərri: xānəm
waḷḷa ʾāna mən Moṣəl wən bisāya. kəmra: ʾaxxa ʾurxəd Móṣəl-la? mərri:
pəšla ʾurxəd Moṣəl. pəšla ʾurxəd Mosəl. waḷḷa ʾāna mən Moṣəl wən bisāya.
ʾegā gəbat mhémənat ^Hʾo^H čú-məndi.

3 *ʾāna wən piša šəxtāna. ʾāya tmaneʾsar yome b-ʾaqle wən bisāya. tmaneʾsar*
yome. ʾegā le—, le hənna, sāʿa, ʾəṣra, treʾsár-sāʿe sir(e) ʾaqle. xarāye ʾegā
yasrilox mən ʾaqlāsox u-ḥil ṣadrox ʾəbbəd ^Hamíd^H.¹⁰⁰ mərri: ḥál-u-masale
hátxa-la. ʾeka bāzət? mərri: bān Jólamerg. kəmra: Jólamerg lewa ṛába . . .
ṛəqqa hənna ṛāba réqqa-le. ʾárba xamša sāʿe māṭət Jólamerg.

4 *bale ʾádlele hənna šapsa déxun-ila. ^Hšabát^H-ʾila. ʾeka bāzət? mərri: ʾətlan*
ʾaxnan ṛāba ^Hḥaverím^H tāma. waḷḷa xāzeli ^Hpxatfīli^H. má-āhat kxašwat?
ʾətlan ^Hḥaverím^H ʾaxnan kullu dukāne.

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⁹⁷ Unexpected reflex of ModH שְׁכְנַע.
⁹⁸ < *bmʾāymi.
⁹⁹ Elsewhere Shabbo uses the NENA form *ʾürri*.
¹⁰⁰ For expected ^Hʿamidá^H.

In short, when all's said and done… it became quiet. They up (and) **21** put a hand on my brothers. They despaired of me. Fine. My brothers—, really the late Abraham went with… What do they call it?—my brother Ḥayyo went with him, the two of them. [Y.H.: They didn't do anything to them?] No, wait! They hadn't yet got to doing anything to them. At first one should convince them nicely to convert. Then later they threaten them. "We'll kill you if (it is) not like this (and you don't convert)."

5.9. The Wife of the Mudir Repays Kindness

He was the mudir with us for a few years. He has switched several **1** positions. He was the deputy of the local governor. They used to transfer him (to different) places. They called him Mzaffer. I passed by there. I saw his wife outside… until, what do they call it?—she is outside. Like this she looked at me. She knows me. [Y.H.: The wife of the consul?] No, the wife of the mudir, the mudir. [Y.H.: Ah, the wife of the mudir.] I with, um, I am approaching Jolamerk.

By God, she came (up to me). She says to me: "Where are you coming **2** from?" She knows me. Twenty, twenty, thirty years we (have known each other); she was in Challa. We have done a thousand things for them. In short, I said: "Madam, by God, I am coming from Mosul." She says: "Is the path to Mosul here?" I said: "It became the path to Mosul. It became the path to Mosul. By God, I am coming from Mosul. So then (if) you want, believe (it), or not at all."

I have become dirty. It (is) eighteen days (that) I have been walking **3** on foot. Eighteen days. So then is—, is, um, my feet are tied up[101] an hour, ten, twelve hours. Then later they tie you up from your feet until your chest in a standi(ng position). I said: "The upshot is like this." (She says:) "Where are you going?" I said: "I am going (to) Jolamerk." She says: "Jolamerk is not very… a distance, um, (not) a great distance. You should reach Jolamerk in four, five hours."

"Indeed tonight, um, is your Sabbath. It is *Shabbat*. Where are you **4** going?" I said: "We have many friends there (in Jolamerk)." By God, they see me (and) they will snatch me up. What (else) do you think? We have friends in all places.

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[101] Shabbo had crossed the border illegally into Iraq, was caught, imprisoned, and marched back to the border tied up.

5   *kəmra: waḷḷa pešət kəsleni. mərri: xānəm ʾāna māṭo pešən kəslexun? ʾiya*
    šəxta? b-iya hənna hatxa la gərya? la xipa? la mxulpa? la čú-məndi? hatxa
    šəxtāna b-iya ᴴmaṣávᴴ? hā, kəmra: mā? ʾaxnan ᴴbne ʾadámᴴ lewax? didox
    ʾáya-le. jullox masyannu. mesyannu ġér-julle. jullox mesyannu. damxət
    kəsléni-ži. kəsleni pāwət. xošeba xarāye si! xošeba si!

6   *mǽ-ʾāhat? mərri. ʾüdli—, mərri: b-iya šəxta . . . kəslexun? kəmra: byāxlox*
    ṣābun. byāxlox xa margəlta. byāxlox ṣiwe. tāma ṣiwe let. tāma ʾit guniye.
    ʾáni-maqdi. si! wəlle hənna néhra-ži-le qāmox. si reš nehra (m)šāxənnox
    ṃāye. xóp-u loš julle qliwe! jullox māsaxlu.

7   *māṭo? ʾāhat bax mədor, masyat julli? kəmra: mā ʾegā ʾǽna-ži ᴴbne ʾadámᴴ;*
    lewax xor kullu? mā? ʾitən piča wetun plixe ṭaseni? ʾǽna-ži mərri: xānəm,
    ʾāna gnaxpən. ṭāsi ʿéba-ži, ʾāna hudāya u-ʾāhat bax mədor yatwat masyatti
    julle? kəmra: xzi! ʾaxnan ᴴgaʾavanímᴴ lewax. ʾaqqar šuʾāle ḅāš wetun ʾǘde
    ṭaseni. ᴴl-ʿolámᴴ ʾaxnan lá-gnāšax. ᴴtovᴴ. mərri: ᴴtodá rabáᴴ.

8   *zəlla. məsela ṭāsi məšxa, karʾa, gupta, sartuk, masta. šləqla beʾe go čaydan-*
    ka. kiʾa kullu ᴴtoxniyótᴴ deni, hudāye kiʾālu. widənna ᴴʾaruḥáᴴ. xəlli.
    mərri: mǽdor-bak ʾéka-le? kəmra: ʾile b-ᴴmisrádᴴ. ʾáya-la u-yəmma u-xá-
    brona. ʾətla xá-brona. bron ʾəč̣ʾá-šənne. ʾāya gezəl ᴴbet seferᴴ. ʾā u-yəmma
    kpeši l-ʿuwwa, gor dída-ži gezəl ᴴmisrádᴴ.

9   *(ma)noxe. ʾiya besa hatxa ta góva-ži. ʿáqəli lá-qāṭeʾ nāfeʾ. bale gāwe geb*
    lu ʾǘde-lle kulle ᴴluḥótᴴ ṣiwe ᴴyafé yaféᴴ lu wide. ʾāna-ži har pləṭli qam
    tarʾa. ʾürri. ʾüdli-, ʾürri. ʾāya la manoxe əbbi la bəgxāka. mərri: mǽ-
    ʾāhat bəgxāka? kəmra: ʾít-xa-məndi kəslox. ʾáqqara bəʾwāra bəplāṭa bəʾwāra
    bəplāṭa. xa məndi ʾit.

She says: "By God, you should remain with us." I said: "Madam, **5**
how should I remain with you? (With) this filth (on me)? In this, um,
unshaven (state) like this? Unwashed? Unchanged? (Without) anything?
Dirty like this, in this state?" "Here," she says: "What? Aren't we human
beings? It (our house) is yours. I'll wash your clothes. I'll bring you other
clothes. I'll bring your clothes. And you should sleep with us. You will be
with us. (On) Sunday finally go! Go (on) Sunday!"

"What (are) you?" I said. "I did—," I said: "In this filth… with you?" **6**
She says: "We will give you soap. We will give you a cauldron. We will give
you pieces of wood (to heat up the water)." There aren't pieces of wood
there. There are brambles there. They burn (them to heat up the water).
(She says:) "Go! Right now, um, the river is in front of you. Go to the
river (to get water and) I'll warm up water for you. Wash and wear clean
clothes! We'll wash your clothes."

(I said:) "How so? You, (are) the wife of the mudir. You should wash **7**
my clothes?" She says: "What, I too am a human being; aren't we like
everyone? What? Is it a little thing (what) you have done for us?" I
also said: "Madam, I am embarrassed. It is also a disgrace for me, I
a Jew, and you the wife of the mudir that you should sit (and) wash
clothes for me" She says: "Look! We are not proud. You have done so
many good things for us. We never forget." Fine. I said: "Thank you very
much."

She went. She brought me cooking oil, butter, cheese, cream, (and) **8**
yoghurt. She poached eggs in a teapot. She knows all our customs,[102] she
knows the Jews. She made me a meal. I ate. I said: "Where is the mudir
bey?" She says: "He is in (the) office." She is (there in the house along
with) her mother and a son. She has one son. The son (is) nine years old.
He goes (to) school. She and her mother remain inside and her husband
goes (to the) office.

(I am) looking (around). And this house, like this, (is) a stall. My mind **9**
doesn't comprehend (how it) suits (them). But on the inside they have
made it all wood panels. They have made (it) very nice. I went outside.
I just went in and out. I did—, I entered. She is looking at me, she is
laughing. I said: "Why are you laughing?" She says: "There is something
(funny) about you. So much entering, leaving, entering, leaving. There is
something (funny about it)."

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[102] Lit. 'plans'.

10 *xa* ^H*ḥeder*^H *xéta-ži ʾətlu. tre* ^H*ḥədarím*^H *lu* ^H*b-sax ha-kól*^H. *ʾürri l-táma-ži.*
pləṭli. kəmra: ṭamā́ ʾāhət bāda? mərri: gəbe gāwe xá-məndi ti gyáni. yārūsa
ʾüdli ʾəbba. kəmra:… māḏ gəbət. ^H*beʾemét*^H *séli-wa. xləṣli monəxli zurri*
basər bes didu. mənnu l-é-ʾāl-ži ṛūbar ṃáye-le. mərri: məḏor ʾimal bāse?
kəmra: sāʿa treʾsar.

11 *… mərri mašmeʾ! gəbən nablənnax mən d-axxa. ḥməlla. monəxla ʾəbbi.*
kəmra māṭo nablətti mən d-axxa? mərri mašmeʾ! ʾāna hudāya. wən bisá́
m-^H*bet sohar*^H. *ʾāhat tūla(x) mselax julle ṭāṣi. məsənnax julle. ʾāna zəlli*
xəpli. mxoləpli. ʾāna ʾiya ^H*təmurá́*^H *gəbən madʾərənna ʾəllax.*

12 *kəmra mā bodan? mərri xze! ʾən gəbat dáʾrat-wa ʾəl-Čalla—. ʾāhat go qaṣra*
watwa tre ^H*qomót naxón*^H*? ktaxrat? kəmra he.* [A.H.: *tre ṭabāqe*]. *he tre*
ṭabāqe u-ʾarba ^H*ḥedarím*—^H*ewa l-ʾələl, ʾárba-ži l-ʾəltəx.* ^H*naxón*^H*? kəmra*
^H*naxón*^H. *mərri ʾāhat lewat* ^H*matʾimá́*^H *l-axxa hūwat.*

13 ^H*beʾemét*^H *ʾən baʾyat, laʾ, xamšaʾsar yomāsa xet ʾāhat la pūwat ʾaxxa. ʾən la*
baʾyat-ži ʾāwon dīdax u-ʾəd-górax b-qdalexun. kəmra māṭo nablətti? mərri
xze! ʾāhat ʾāya šüqla ṭāṣi māṭo nablənnax. ʾatta bāse gorax. ʾāya gora wakil
qāymaqam wewa. məḏor wewa. ʾəmma dukāne le zila. ʾəmma ^H*tafkidím*^H
gṃalēwa. ʾāya kiʾe kullu dukāne.

5.10. The Art of Stealing While on a Moving Train

1 *waḷḷa mən tāma mən Ṣtambul kud* ^H*taḥaná́d*^H *gezaxwa, mesewa məndi*
gəmzabniwa. ʾáx-geb tán-geb bāmərwa: halu! halu! pšāqəlwa u-pšāqəlwa
u-pšāqəlwa. marawāse lu ʾəltəx ʾəl-ʾárʾa. ʾáya-le go ^H*rəkevet*^H.

2 *xamši paṇqáṇoṭe xá-yoma mpulṭāle.* ^H*bakašá́*^H. *hā šqol ḥaqqox! ḥabibi*
xá-šawa ʾāna mzabnən xamši paṇqáṇoṭe lá-kāʾeli.[103] *ʾegā ʾāhat byāli*[104]

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[103] See § 3.3.c.
[104] Apparently a contracted form from the verb *yhw(l)*.

They also have another room. They are two rooms all together. I also **10**
entered there. I went out. She says: "Why (are) you doing (that)?" I said:
"There must be something in it for me." I made a joke with her. She
says...: "Whatever you want." Really, I had come (and gone and come
and gone). I finished, I looked, (and) I went around behind their house.
From them on in that direction there is a stream of water. I said: "When
is the mudir coming?" She says: "Twelve o'clock."

... I said: "Listen! I want to take you away from here." She stopped. She **11**
looked at me. She says: "How can you take me away from here?" I said:
"Listen!" I (am) a Jew. I am coming from prison. You sat (and) washed
clothes for me. You brought me clothes. I went (and) washed. I changed
(my clothes). In exchange I want to return this favor to you."

She says: "What shall I do?" I said: "Look! If you want to return **12**
to Challa—. You were in a mansion that had two floors, correct? You
remember?" She says: "Yes." [A.H.: Two floors.] Yes, there were two floors
and four rooms upstairs, and four rooms downstairs. (I said to her:)
"Correct?" She said "Correct." I said: "You don't fit here."

Really, if you want (me to arrange the transfer, then) no, you won't **13**
be here in another fifteen days. And if you don't want (me to arrange
it), then you and your husband are responsible. She says: "How will you
transfer me?" I said: "Look! You leave it to me how I transfer you. Now
your husband will come." That man was the deputy local governor. He
was the mudir. He has gone (for work) to a hundred (different) places.
He filled a hundred positions. He knows all the places.

5.10. The Art of Stealing While on A Moving Train

By God, from[105] there, from Istanbul, (at) every station which we went **1**
to, they (sellers) would bring something and would sell. When all's said
and done, he (Abraham) would say: "Hallo! Hallo!" He would take and
take and take. The owners (of the merchandise) are below, on the train
platform.[106] He (Abraham) is (up above them) in the train.

One day (Abraham) took out (of his wallet) fifty liras. (He says:) **2**
"Please. Here take your due!" (The seller says:) "My friend, I sell (during
an entire) week and (yet) I don't get fifty liras (by the end of the week).

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[105] Error for 'to' as is apparent from the rest of the story.
[106] Lit., 'the ground'.

xamši paṇqáṇoṭe? pa da-ḥmól. mpartəxənna. bāzəlwa mən tam ḥāməlwa
go—, let ᴴrəkevet. rəkevetᴴ zəlla.

3 ᴴbe'métᴴ *xá-qorṵš mən tāma ḥel sele l-Ṣṭambul. xá-qorṵš 'ā—, mād šqəlle*
kulle baláš. mād šqəlle kulle baláš. 'iya ḥāleni-l... Baṣālel lewe wida 'án-
šu'āle. Baṣālel ᴴbe'métᴴ [S.B.: ᴴ*ze nikrá gezəl*ᴴ.] *'ā!* ᴴgezəlᴴ *kəsəl dide čú-*
məndi lá-ewa.

4 *xá-yoma məselu xa* ᴴmagášᴴ *kəsyāsa, xa ṭḷāsi ṭḷāsi u-xamša kəsyāsa*
mbušle. 'axnan wax go ᴴrəkevetᴴ *wax bizāla. waḷḷa sele le bəṣrāxa. mərre:*
kəsyāsa! hənna ᴴmagášᴴ-*ile rešreš dide. kəsyāsa lu gāwa. ksesa 'əbbəd lira*
u-palge mbušalta. 'á-ži kemər: hal tre'!... 'Awṛāham, he... la, l-tāma, l-
tāma go ᴴrəkevetᴴ *yom bizāla ta Ṣṭambul. kemər: hal tre'! 'á-ži hūle. hūle*
tre'.

5 *'āni nāše xapči* ᴴmvugarímᴴ. *mxabdiluᴴ ṛāba. kəslu 'ítəna* ᴴkavód ʿaṣmíᴴ.
waḷḷa kemər ṭas dide: hal tre'! šqəlle tre. báxte-ži kəmra: gmaxlət ṭarefa l-
yalunke? kem(ər): de 'āhat lá-mḥakyat! kemər hənna: 'āhat lá-mḥakyat!
baxli baxli! 'á-ži mhomənna ko bmāxəl l-yalunke.

6 *waḷḷa hənna kəsyāsəd gyānan mətwile l-tāma. mar! kəsyása-ži 'əltəx reš*
ᴴ*pas rəkevet*ᴴ *ile mzabone. mzobənne ḥil—. xa 'əṣra daqiqe* ᴴrəkevetᴴ
ḥamla bóz-zodāna la bāza. walḥāṣəl hénna-la ṣrəxle. kemər: ᴴdod, dodᴴ,
xāzax pārəd kəsyāsa. mpulṭāle xamši paṇqáṇoṭe, düqále. 'egā ṭḷāhá-'arba
metre ṛoṃāna-ile 'āya mən dide. ᴴbakašáᴴ *šqol ḥaqqox!*

7 *manoxe le māra: ḥabibi! 'arba* ᴴmagašímᴴ *'āna mzabnənwa b-ẓoṛ māṭe*
l-xamši paṇqáṇoṭe. m-eka yāwənnox? kem(ər): pa da-ḥmól. 'atta mpartə-
xənna 'əllox. sele l-é-'āl go ᴴrəkevetᴴ. *waḷḷa* ᴴrəkevetᴴ *zəlla.* ᴴrəkevetᴴ *zəlla.*
mašmi'! zəllan xapči l-é-'āl. 'egā kəsyāsa lu l-tāma.

So now you'll give me fifty liras? (Abraham says:) "So just wait. I will get change for it." (Abraham) would go from there (inside the train in order to get change), (and the seller) would wait on (the train platform)—, there is no train! The train departed (and the seller is left without his goods and without his change)!

Really, (Abraham didn't spend) a piaster from there until he came to Istanbul. (Not) a piaster did he—, whatever he (Abraham) took, it (was) all free. Whatever he took, it (was) all free. This (was) our situation... Beşalel[107] hasn't done those (sorts of) things. Beşalel really [S.B.: This is called robbery.] Ah! Robbery is nothing for him (Abraham). **3**

One day they brought (around) a tray of hens, about thirty, thirty-five cooked hens. We are in the train (and) we are moving. By God, (a seller) came (and) is shouting. He said: "Hens!" Um, the tray is right above him (the seller).[108] Hens are on it. A hen for a lira and half, cooked. He (Abraham) also says: "Give (me) only two (of them)!"... Abraham, yes... no, there, there in the train the day we (are) going to Istanbul. He (Abraham) says: "Give (me) only two!" He gave him (them). He gave him two. **4**

They (the sellers) (are) somewhat older. They respect them greatly. They have self respect. By God, (Abraham) says to him (the seller): "Give (me) only two (hens)!" He (Abraham) took two. And his wife says: "Are you feeding the children non-kosher meat?" (Abraham) says: "Now don't you talk!" He says, um: "Don't you talk! They will eat (it), they will eat (it)!" Also she believed that he will feed the children (non-kosher meat). **5**

By God, um, (the seller) placed our hens there (on the tray). Say! He is also selling the hens on the railway track below. He sold until—. About ten minutes more the train stands (and) won't depart. In short, um, (the seller) called out. He says: "Uncle, uncle, let's see the money for the hens." (Abraham) took out fifty liras (and) grabbed it (the tray). Now then he (Abraham) is three to four meters higher than him (the seller). (Abraham says to the seller:) "Please, take your due!" **6**

Looking (at Abraham) he is saying: "My friend! Were I to sell four trays, it would hardly come to fifty liras. From where should I give you (change)? (Abraham) sa(ys): So wait. Now I will make change for you." (Abraham) came to the other side of the train (pretending to look for change). By God, (in the meantime) the train departed. The train departed. Listen! We went a little to that side. Now then the hens are (still) there (on the train). **7**

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[107] Abraham's brother.
[108] I.e., he is holding the tray up high over his head.

8 báxte-ži la manoxe ʾəbbe. la māra: mmaxlət ṭarefa l-yalunke? la, kemər:
ʾāhat lá-mḥakyat! ṣoʾərre ʾəlləd dida. ṣoʾərre ʾəlləd dida. walḥāṣəl kemər: lā,
lā, ʾāhat lá-mḥakyat! lá-mʿaṃrat!

9 waḷḷa šqilāle xa ksesa. qəṭʾa kəsəl dida düqāle. zurre go ᴴrəkevetᴴ kem(ər)
ksesa ksesa ta ᴴḥayalímᴴ! ḥayalímᴴ mə́šša-lu go ᴴrəkevetᴴ. ta ᴴḥayalímᴴ.
xá-lira u-palge wən zwūna-lla, xá-lira u-palge ṭasexun.

10 waḷḷa sele. xa šqilāle... de mašmiʾ! sele. zəlle l-xeta. ʾá́-ži mzübnāle har
hādax. kemər: ṭamá? gzonax jigāre gzonax ᴴdvarím ʾaherímᴴ. ʾən snəqlan
tāma baxla(x) m-pār gyānan. baxlax mənnəd didu.

11 waḷḷa zəllan ᴴtaḥanáᴴ d-basra. xədda sele bəmzabone čāy. ʾāni šöʾá-ᴴnafa-
šòtᴴ-ilu. walḥāṣəl ʾá-le, u-baxte u-xamša yalunke. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa kemər:
de-hál! mar—, ʾatta mare čāy. xá-ta Moše u-xá-ta Nuwaḥ u-xá-ta Bārux
u-xá-ta Səmḥa u-xá-ta d-e-xét, xá-ta d-e-xét. šöʾa čāye šqəlle. qatxe didu
zṓre-lu. walḥāṣəl tūlu bəštá. [A.H.: ʾəstakāne]. he. tūlu bəštá. walḥāṣəl čāy
xləšla. šətyālu. qátxe-ži pəšlu l-tāma. mare čáy-ži har le mzabone. ᴴkosᴴ
b-ʾəsra qorūše. ᴴtovᴴ.

12 mṭele ʾəlləd hənna kemər: bāba. hallu! qatxi u-pāri! ʾatta ᴴrəkevetᴴ jó-
žāle.[109] ᴴrəkevetᴴ ṣrəxla ᴴkvarᴴ. ʾá́-ži mpolətle xamši paṇqáṇoṭe... har ʾé-
xamši paṇqáṇoṭe. čú-məndi xet let. har ʾé-xamši paṇqáṇoṭe. ʾá́-ži le māra:
bāba m-eka ʾāna mesənnox xamši—, ᴴʿodefᴴ xamši paṇqáṇoṭe yāwənnox?
xá-šawa ᴴšalémᴴ ʾāna mzabnən čāy xamši paṇqáṇoṭe lá-kese b-ʾidi. ᴴʾazᴴ
m-eka? ʾā kemər: pa da-ḥmól mpartəxənna.

13 ᴴrəkevet benatayimᴴ zəlla. ʾiya bron dide Moše, wət xə́zya-lle? [S.B.: mani?]
Moše bron dide. [S.B.: la kiʾənne...] ʾAḥiya kiʾənne... walḥāṣəl ʾá́-ži kemər
ṭas dide: ... ka-ʾégā čāy šətyáleni. ʾanna qatxe...hənna múdʾra-llu ʾəlləd
didu. məskena. čāy dide ḥaqqa lá-hūlan. qatxəd díde-ži pəšlu ṭaseni...

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[109] For expected *jujla*?

Also his (Abraham's) wife is looking at him (Abraham). She is saying: 8
"Will you feed the children non-kosher meat?" "No," he says: "Don't you
talk!" He cursed her. He cursed her. In short, he says: "No, no, don't you
talk! Don't give orders!"

By God, he took a hen. He grabbed a piece of it. He went around on 9
the train say(ing): "A hen, a hen for soldiers!" There are many soldiers on
the train. (He calls out:) "(Hens) for soldiers!" (He says to the soldiers:)
"I have bought it (the hen) for a lira and a half, for you (at the same price)
a lira and a half."

By God, he came. He took one (hen)... Now listen! He came (to 10
one soldier). He went to another (soldier). He (Abraham) sold it just
like this. (Abraham) says: "Why (do I do this)? We buy cigarettes, we
buy other things. If we need to (buy things once we arrive) there, we
will use our own money. (But now) we will use their (other people's)
money.

By God, we went to the next station. Someone came selling tea. They 11
are seven people. In short, he is (there), his wife, and five children. In
short, by God, he (Abraham) says: "Now give (me some tea). (The tea-)
seller—, now the tea-seller. One for Moses, and one for Noah, and one for
Baruch, and one for Simha, and one for that other, one for this other." He
(Abraham) took seven (glasses of) tea. Their glasses are small. In short,
they began drinking. [A.H.: ʾǝstakāne (small glasses for tea.)] Yes. They
began drinking. In short, the tea was finished. They drank it. And the
glasses remained there (with Abraham). The tea-seller is still selling (tea).
A glass for ten piasters. Fine.

(The tea-seller) came to, um, he says: "By God! Give them! My glasses 12
and my money!" (Just) now the train moved. The (whistle of the) train
already called (out to go). He (Abraham) takes out fifty liras... the same
fifty liras (as before). There is nothing else (as simple as that). The same
fifty liras. He also (the tea-seller) is saying: "By God! From where should
I bring you (change for) fifty—, give you change (for) fifty liras? I sell
tea (for) a whole week (and) I (still) don't earn fifty liras. So from where
(should I get change)?" (Abraham) says: "Then wait that I make change
for it."

Meanwhile the train departed. This son of his, Moses, have you seen 13
him? [S.B.: Whom?] Moses, his son. [S.B.: I don't know him...] Ahiya
knows him... In short, he (Moses) says to him (Abraham, his father):
... since then we drank the tea... those glasses... um, returned them
to them. Poor fellow. We didn't give (him) the price of his tea. And his
glasses remained with us...

14 *he, he, de-mášmiʾ! ṣofi ʾAv̄r̄áham-le, mā ṣofi? hənna ṣof(i)-Ibráhim-le. walḥāṣəl qatxe pəšlu. ʾá-ži kemər waḷḷa qatxe híwā-llu ʾəlləd didu. ʿáwon-ila. məskena. čáy-ži šətyālan qátxe-ži pəšlu. k(əmər:) ʾāt wət ʾəsya pešṭ sahāda rešeni?*

15 *xa gopáḷta-la go ʾide. šqilāle l-Moše... Moše brone. kemər: ʾāt wət ʾəsya pešṭ sahāda rešeni? mā? ʾāna wən mbaqore mənnox? čáy-ži pšātaxla qatxe-ži peši ṭaseni. kemər: ʾāhat lišānox yaríxa-le. Moše pappūkaʾ ʾā xəlle mə́šša-xuṭṭe. zöra ʾewa. ʾā kemər—, ^H gil^H šöʾá-tmanya šənne wewa. waḷḷa xəlle xuṭṭ(e).*

16 *mərri: ʾAwr̄āham. kemər: mā? ke(mər:) ʾāna xorexun ʾaffandi lewən. yáʾat.[110] ʾāna baxlən m-pār didu. lá-kəxlən m-pāreni. ʾáya kúd-dūka-u-dūka lu masoye ^H ʿugiyót, mā—, kol mine dvarím^H. ʾāya har le bəšqāla. he, xamši paṇqáṇoṭe-ži lewe mpúrtəxa ʾəlle. xləṣla. ^H maʿasé^H b-xamši paṇqáṇoṭe ḥil mṭéleni l-Ṣṭambul. ʾiya ḥāleni hátxa-ewa.*

5.11. Shabbo Decides to End
Business Dealings with His Kurdish Neighbors

1 [A.H.: *kma sāʿe ʾizāla ^Z wela^Z m-Čalla l-tāma?*] ^H ba-ʿerex^H ʾarba sāʿe. ʾarba sāʿe. nāša qalūla ʾāzəl ʾarba sāʿe. ʾən la, garša xamša, xamša u-palge. [A.H.: *Nerwa ṭḷāha sāʿe.*] Nerwa ʾurxa bə́š-^H yašàra^H ʾāwa. tāma gbe košiwa l-ʾəqər dunye. təhóme-awa tāma. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa zəlli xá-gā xet. mərri ṭas d-é qurdāya: wetun wide ^H tová^H. bax ʾaxoni r̄āba yarxe l-axxa ʾāwa. wetun ^H mtuple^H ʾəbba. ʾáxnan-ži wax ^H ʿzire^H ʾəllexon ^H mtuple^H. ʾanna ḥaqqəd gyānan.

Yes, yes, now listen! He is Sufi Abraham,[111] what Sufi? Um, he is Sufi **14**
Ibraham. In short, the glasses remained (with us). He (Abraham) even
says that, by God, (the tea-seller has) given them the glasses. It's a sin.
The poor fellow (the tea-seller). We both drank the tea and the glasses
remained (with us). (Abraham says to his son Moses:): "You have come
to be a witness against us?"

There is a shepherd's stick in his (Abraham's) hand. He attacked Moses **15**
with it...[112] Moses, his son. (Abraham) says (to Moses): "Have you come
to be a witness against us? What? Am I asking you (for anything)? We will
both drink the tea and the glasses will remain with us." (Abraham) says
(to Moses): "You are cheeky."[113] The poor Moses suffered[114] a lot of (blows
with) sticks. He was young. He says—, he was aged seven (or) eight years.
By God, he suffered blows.

I said: "Abraham." He says: "What?" (Abraham) sa(ys:) "I am not a **16**
gentleman like you (people). You should know. I shall spend their money.
I don't spend our money." He (Abraham), every single place they are
bringing cookies, what—, all sorts of things. He is just taking. Yes, he
(Abraham) did not make change for him for fifty liras. It's finished. (This
was) the story of (how we lived on) fifty liras until we arrived in Istanbul.
Our situation was like this.

5.11. Shabbo Decides to End
Business Dealings with His Kurdish Neighbors

[A.H.: How many hours walking was it from Čalla to there (Kara)?] **1**
About four hours. Four hours. A quick person should go in four hours.
If not, it drags out to five, five and half. [A.H.: Nerwa (was) three hours.]
The path was more direct to Nerwa. One had to descend there to the
bottom of the world. It was an abyss there. In short, by God, I went once
again. I said to that Kurd: "You have done a favor. My brother's wife was
here many months. You have taken care of her. We too have helped you,
(have) taken care (of you). Those are our obligations towards you."

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[111] See § 5.3.
[112] Lit., 'He took it to Moses.'
[113] Lit., 'You've got a long tongue.'
[114] Lit., 'he ate.'

2 xá-gā xet d'ərre l-é-xabra. mərri: ^Hb-sedər^H. ḥmol! mosox qam xāṣi nāpəl
'ən 'āna lá-m'almənnox, go ləbbi. seli l-besa. ^Hbeznəs^H qətyāli m-qurdāyəd
^H'azór^H deni. ^Hšúm-davàr^H. la ^Hmasá^H u-la ^Hmatán^H. har selu u-zəllu har
selu u-zəllu. lá-gleli ṭásu-ži má-'āna gəbən.

3 xá-yoma pəšlu veza, ki'ət? kulla 'ənyān dídu-lu[115] go 'ideni. kesən l-besa.
mā kesən u-ménxəna? kullu ^Hrošе^H hənna ^Hšvatím^H 'ilu 'əsye kəsleni. xa
'əč'a 'əṣra muxtáre-lu-ži mənnu. lu 'əsye beseni. lu mulye-lle. xāṣu lu híwe-
lle— [Y.H.: ^Zbesoxun^Z b-Čalla?] he, l-Čalla. xāṣu lu hiwe-lle l-gūda qam
qalunke. 'āt (k)taxrəttu qalunke? [A.H.: he, he.] m-axxa byātūwa qalunka
mayróxwāle l-tāma [Y.H.: 'amoyi Šəlo 'ilāha mānəxle gewádwāle.] ^H'az
zehu.^H walḥāṣəl lu bəgrāša. kullu xāṣu le l-gūda.

4 'āna 'ürri b-tar'a. waḷḷa qəmlu kəmri: 'éka-wətwa ḥel 'atta? 'an majbili,
majbili. mərri: xa hənna xa ^Hpakíd^H 'əd-^Hesəkím^H mābaynəd dide. gəbən
'āzən xalṣənnu. mərri ta yəmmi: méselu təttun l-axxa. waḷḷa ṣópa-ži-la
qāmu. qalunku mən garšila mayrəxilu kud duksəd gəbe. 'āna zəlli. mesyattu
'ixāla u-čāy u-kullu. čú-məndi lá-hāwe ^Hḥasér^H 'əlləd didu.

5 u-'āna zəlli. mərru xá-məndi. mərri: 'atta bāse u-'átta-ži bamrənnu 'āna
'ətli šūla. 'atta bāzən u-bāsən. waḷḷa zəlli. zəlli 'āna. gyāni muḍi'āli 'əlləd
didu ^Hba-'érex^H. 'āni har pəšlu. pəšlu ko 'āna dá'rən-wa. 'āna lá-d'rri.
^Hs(v)ivót^H sā'a 'əṣra hatxa mərri: bāzən besa. 'atta kullu lu zile. čú-xa lewe.
lewe piša.

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¹¹⁵ For expected -le, apparently by attraction to the preceding *didu*.

Once again he returned to that matter.[116] I said: "Okay. (He said:) **2**
"Wait! I'm responsible for your death, in my heart, if I don't inform you
(that I am planning on leaving Challa)."[117] I came home. I cut off business
with the Kurds of our area. Nothing. No (business) negotiations (with
them at all). (The Kurds) still came and went, still came and went. I didn't
reveal to them what I intend (to do).

One day they became like this, you know? All their (business) affairs **3**
are in our hands. I come home. I come and I see what? All the heads,
um, of the tribes have come to us. About nine, ten mukhtars are also
with them. They have come to our house. They have filled it. (They sat
there with) their backs to the wall—[118] [Y.H.: Your house in Challa?]
Yes, in Challa. They (sat there) with their backs up against the wall in
front of the narghiles. Do you remember the narghiles? [A.H.: Yes, yes.]
One would sit here (and) would extend the narghile (all the way) over
there. [Y.H.: My paternal uncle Shilo, may God rest his soul, used to do
it.] So that's it. In short, they are smoking. All of them, their back is to the
wall.

I entered through the door. By God, they got up (and) say: "Where **4**
were you until now?" I answered them, I answered them. I said: "A
certain, um, an official, with whom (there is) some business." I want to
go get rid of them. I said to my mother: "Bring tobacco here for them.
By God, the stove is in front of them. Let them smoke their narghiles
(and) lengthen them (to) whatever place they want." I went. (I said to my
mother:) "You should bring them food and tea and everything. Nothing
should be lacking to them."

And I went (away). They said something. I said (to myself): "Now they **5**
will come and now I will also say to them: 'I have work (to do). Now I
will go and come (back).'" By God, I left. I left. (I thought that) I had just
about rid myself of them. (But) they still remained. They remained since
I would return back, (but) I didn't return. Around ten o'clock I said like
this: "I will go home. Now all of them have gone. There is no one. No one
remains."

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[116] I.e., a story (§ 5.2) Shabbo had told earlier about how an agha expropriated his
property.

[117] Lit., 'Your death will fall on my back, if I don't inform you.'

[118] Lit., 'They have given their back to it (the wall).'

6 *kesən besa u-menxən kullu. kútxa-le dūkəd gyane. xə́dda-ži lewe zila.*
   [Y.H.: ^Havál^H zəllox, ma ʾüdlox ^Zdamməd^Z zəllox?] zəlli xdərri. [Y.H.:
   ʾah! ^Hstam^H xdərrox.] he, he. lá-gbən ʾodən ^Hʿesəkím^H mənnu. la pəšta
   ʾəlli ^Hnəmʾás^H. kāsi la mreʾta mənnu. waḷḷa késəna. har xzeli. qəmle xədda
   tarʾa ḥləqle. tarʾa ḥləqle. kəmri: tū mābayneni! tūli. kemər: má-yla? má-
   ^Hsəba^H-la ^Hbeznes^H letun bāda mənneni? lá-gzonetun, lá-gmzabnetun, lá-
   gzaqretun, lá-kəmḥaketun, lá-kxadretun. má-^Hsəba^H-ila? má-ʾit?

7 *xa kalba bər kalba xa məndi le ʾwida xa məndi le mira? xa dūka har*
   kāsox ʾila mreʾta, hudá. mərri: ʾamrə́nnexun. kəmri: mā? mərri: flāna māsa
   kiʾétūla? kəmri: he. mərri: ʾako mən tāma ʾāya māṣe¹¹⁹ ^Hšālət^H, māḷeni l-
   axxa ʾāxəlle. ʾāna go Tűrkiya. ʾāya go ʿEraq, ʾiya xaʾ. ʾāna hudāyəd ʾāġa
   d-Čalla. ʾá-ži bāb dide ʾāna ktaxrən. ʾəṣri naqle bābi le mira ^Hharé^H beseni
   xá-gā l-Kāra ʾewa. bābi le də́rya-lle (ʾax)xa kutkākəd gyāne.

8 *bābəd dide Rāšo ^Zgəmríwale^Z. tāma le piša ʾatta ʾāġa. ʾāya ʾāxəl māḷi. ʾāna*
   lá-gyatwən l-axxa qurdāye. lele-ʾile qurwəd sāʿa ʾəṣra ʾəṣra u-palge kəmri:
   ʾāya sāyəlla yəmmeni u-bas. u-qəmlu. bas ʾiya xabra. ʾāya sāyəlla yəmmeni
   u-bas. qəmlu zəllu kəmri: ^Hmaspík^H šmeʾlan.

9 *waḷḷa qəmlu u-zəllu u-tūlu go ʾurxəd dide ṭḷāha nāše b-xá-təffaq. xá-təffaq-*
   la. xá-yoma kese Maḥammat Ṭāhər ʾāġa ʾəšta xulāme kutxa xa ʾanglízi-
   la l-kāpəd dide, m-anna kərye. [Y.H.: he, he.] he. u-ʾāya b-gyáne-ži xa
   ʾanglízi-la reš kutkākəd¹²⁰ dide. rakáwa-le l-xa kawənta xazina ʾanglízi-
   la xese [Y.H.: ^Hkarabín, lo? rové karabín^H; A.H.: ^Hlo, ze mark for^H... təffaq
   ʾanglizi.] he, ^Hze^H təffaq ʾanglizi. [A.H.: ʾit xamša fišake]. la ʾəṣra, ʾəṣra
   šaqli. ʾəṣra. u-xá-ži go ^Hbet bliʿá^H ʾanna xadeʾsar.[A.H.: ^Aʾaywa, ʾaywa ^A.]
   kem(ər): walḥāṣəl...

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¹¹⁹ See § 4.4.28.15 n. 210.
¹²⁰ Error for *kutkāpəd*, perhaps under the influence of *kutkākəd* in § 5.11.7.

I come home and look at all of them. Each one is (in) his own place. **6**
No one has gone. [Y.H.: But you left. What did you do when you left?] I
left (and) I walked about. [Y.H.: Ah! You simply walked about.] Yes, yes.
I don't want to do business with them. I've had it.[121] My stomach hurts
from them. By God, I come. I still see (them). One got up (and) locked the
door. He locked the door. They say: "Sit among us." I sat. He says: "What
is it? What is the reason you all aren't doing business with us? You don't
buy, you don't sell, you don't weave, you don't talk, you don't go around.
What is the reason? What is there?"

"Has a son of a bitch done something or said something? Somehow **7**
your stomach still hurts, Jew." I said: "Let me tell you." They say: "What?"
I said: "Do you know such and such a village?" They say: "Yes." I said:
"When from there he is able to control (us), he filches our posessions
here. I (am) in Turkey. He (is) in Iraq, this (is point) one. I (am) a Jew
of the Agha of Čalla. I also remember his father. My father has told me
(about him) twenty times since our house was once in Kara. My father
has borne a grudge against him here.[122]

They called his father Rasho. He has now become the Agha there. He **8**
filches my possessions. I'm not staying here (anymore), Kurds." It is night,
close to ten o'clock, ten-thirty (and then) they say: "He should fuck our
mother and (we've had) enough!" And they got up. Just this statement.
"He he should fuck our mother and (we've had) enough!" (The Kurds)
up (and) went saying: "We heard enough (and now we're going to take
action on your behalf)."

By God, they up and went and three people with one rifle sat in his **9**
(Rasho's)[123] path (waiting to ambush him). There is one rifle. One day
Mahammat Taher Agha[124] comes (with) six servants (and) each one (has)
an English (rifle) on his shoulder, of those short ones (rifles). [Y.H.: Yes,
yes.] Yes, and as for himself, there is also an English (rifle) on his shoulder.
(Mahammat Taher Agha) is a rider on a mule, (with) an English cashbox
underneath him. [Y.H.: A carabine, no? A carabine rifle.; A.H. No, it's a
'Mark Four' (rifle)... an English rifle.] Yes, it's an English rifle... [A.H.:
It has five bullets.] No, they (those rifles) take ten (bullets). Ten. And
another one in the chamber (makes that) eleven. [A.H.: Yes, yes.] He
sa(ys:) In short...

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[121] Lit., 'It has become for me despicable.'
[122] Lit., 'My father has placed him here, all his teeth.'
[123] The one who has caused problems for Shabbo.
[124] He is the son of Rashid, who is mentioned in the previous paragraph. See also § 5.2.

5.12. The Death Threats over Leaving Challa for Israel

1 walḥāṣəl ʾatta ʿənyān Čalla. ʿənyān Čalla. zəlli. əṢṭambul séli-wa. ᴴazᴴ ʾiya
   ᴴtoxnítᴴ ʾúdwālu. sele xa məšəlmāna mirənne. ki'ewa lu wide tagbir. ʾətlu
   ᴴḥašāšᴴ ʾaxtun mən d-axxa bāzetun. ᴴazᴴ bāse reš Zāwa qemi ʾəllexun.
   kullu ʾanna ʾuṛwe (q)qaṭlilu yalunke nablilu u-bāzi. ʾegā xzi! ʾiya—. bale
   báḥse-ži lá-odən. mərri mənne baḥs šəmme lá-od(ən). ki'ewa pqaṭlili.

2 ʾāna zəlli ʾé-naqləd mənnəd hənna seli mən Moṣəl, ᴴemétᴴ hənna zəlli kəsəl
   xa məšəlmāna. kātəb wewá-(hə)nna ʾewa. mərri: xa hənna ʾiya mā kəmrila
   ᴴbakašāᴴ ksūli! ksūle ṭāsi xa ʾarzūḥal. nobəlli hūli l-wāli b-ʾidi. ksūli l-tāma
   ᴴmá-(h)a-toxnìtᴴ lu wide hənne kurdināye ṭaseni. kemər palṭa(x) m-tāma
   pqaṭlilan ʾáx-geb tán-geb. ʾürreni ṭas dide.

3 kemər: ʾāhat hudáya-wət? mərri: ᴴkenᴴ wāli. kemər: ṭamá zadʾəwāne
   wetun ʾaxtun? waʿdūsa kemər ʾəlli: ʾən bāre xá-məndi, ʾiya ʾəpra, kəmər:
   dārənne l-ʾərbāla maxəlta. mərri: pāša, mā? ko drelox ʾərbāla maxəlta
   ya'ni, ʾaxnan ʾən qṭilaxle ya'ni mā? mā ᴴmurvəḥlanᴴ mən d-iya? ʾāna
   gəbən lá-ʾasya b-rešan čú-məndi, lá-hāwe ᴴkašéᴴ l-ḥukum. ᴴtovᴴ. reš d-iya
   ʾarzuḥál—, u-mšádərre ta mədor ʾāhat ʾəbbəd ᴴdowarᴴ dexun ko yoməd
   ʾāna palṭən tāma yā'eli[125] ᴴmištaráᴴ. yā'eli mḥáfəza m-ʿEráq. pləṭlan
   m-tāma ᴴmitaḥat la-šmiráᴴ.

5.13. The Seizure of Shabbo's Brother
and Attempted Forced Conversion

1 waḷḷa ʾiya ʾaxoni Mədo mpəlle b-ʾidəd didu. qemi doqile. (b-)xuṛṭūsa qemi
   mašəlmile. wədlu qurdá. ʾaxnan ʾé-yoma zəllan. ʾaxoni ʾAwṛāham šuqwāle
   reš ᴴḥovótᴴ. zəllan mṭelan Txūma. zəllan b-urxa b-urxa. mə́rwāli: ʾāsetun
   ḥamletun ʾəlləd flāná-dūka.

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[125] See §3.3.c.

5.12. The Death Threats over Leaving Challa for Israel

In short, now the matter of Čalla. The matter of Čalla. I left. I came back to **1**
Istanbul. Then (the Kurds) made this plan. A certain Muslim came (and)
told me. He knew they have conspired. (He said:) "There is a fear you
will leave here. So they (the Kurds) will go to the Zab (River) to rise up
against you. They should kill all of the grown-ups, lead away the children,
and leave. So then look! This—. (He said) also however that I shouldn't
make mention of him. I said I wouldn't mention his name. He knew they
will kill me.

I went at that time when I came from, um, from Mosul, truly, um, I **2**
went to a certain Muslim. He was a clerk, he was an, um. I said: "Write
for me a, um, what do they call it?—a request!" He wrote out a petition
for me. I took it away (and) gave it by hand to the Vali. I wrote there what
the plan (was that) they have made, um, the Kurds, for us. (The Vali) says
we should leave there (since the Kurds) will kill us when all's said and
done. We entered into his (presence).

He says: "You are a Jew?" I said: "Yes, Vali." He says: "Why are you **3**
cowards?" He makes me a promise: "If something happens, this soil," he
says: "I will put it through a coarse sieve (and) a fine sieve (looking for
the killer[s])." I said: "Pasha, (so) what? That you put (all the soil through)
a coarse sieve (and) a fine sieve, that is to say, as for us, if (a Kurd has)
killed us, that is to say, (so) what? What have we benefited from this? I
want that nothing should happen to us, that it should not be difficult for
the government (to protect us). Fine. Concerning this petition—, and
you send it to the mudir in your post office that on the day I leave there,
he should give me a police (escort). He should give me protection from
Iraq." We left there under guard.

5.13. The Seizure of Shabbo's Brother
and Attempted Forced Conversion

By God, this brother of mine, Mido, fell into their hands. They up (and) **1**
seize him. (By) force they up (and) convert him to Islam. They made him
a Kurd. We went that day. My brother Abraham had left behind debts.
We went (and) we reached Tekhuma. We went along the way. I had said:
"You should come (and) wait at such and such a place."

2 ’ətli *Hhaském^H* mənnəd quņsulya *Hyisra’elí(t)^H* go hənna Ṣṭambul. gəbe
yāwən *Hmivrák^H* b-(’)eni sāʿa ’āna pləṭli mən Čalla u-kma *Hnafašót^H*-
ilu mənni. ’āna zəlli ’əlləd *Hdowar^H*. ’āni zəllu. zəllan b-é-duksəd mə́rwāli
ṭāsu. ’āni jandərme. ṭḷāha jandərme mənnan wewa. ḥmile. šöʿa kərāčíye-ži
dawāre mənnan. lu ḥmile tam manox(e). ’axoni lewe l-tam.

3 kəmrən ta yəmmi: ké-le Mədo? kəmra: lá-ki’an.¹²⁶ lá-či’an. *Htov^H*. ’é-lele
zəllan Txūma. mən tāma yom basra muṭʿənnan zəllan go Zāraž, go Zāraž.
xa māsa xet ’ətwa ’urxəd xa sáʿa rəqqa mən dūkəd lele ’axwa, l-dūkəd
Txūma.

4 tāma ’ətwa télafon. *Htulfənni^H* ta ’Anwar, he. ’Anwar *Zgəmrənnox^Z*: …
mərri: ’axoni wetun dúqe-lle. kma šənne, kma ’əmmāhe šənne ’axnan
Hʿabadím^H dexun l-axxa qurdā? wetun dūqe l-’axoni. wən gəlya ’əlle. gleli.
hūli *Hsimán^H* ta ’Awṛāham. mərri: gezəlwa l-flāná-besa. si l-tāma! balkit
xa *Hsimán^H* pxāzət.

5 waḷḷa zəlle l-tāma. *Hsimán^H* xzele: kusise u-gopaḷte təlye-wa b-xá-səksa
l-tāma. mərre ta *Hbaʿalát bayit^H*. gūre zə́lwālu xazdiwa *Htiras^H*. baxta
pə́šwāla l-besa. kəmra: lewan xə́zya-lle byamyannox. byamyatti ’əlle? waḷḷa
séle-wa mirənnu.

6 mərri: ’atta nābəl xa hənna *Hšotér^H* mən gyānox ’āzət əl-tám. xāzax má-
ylu wíde-lle. ’ən le qṭila, *Hgufát^H* dide. ’ən’ ile *Hḥay^H*, (m)paḷṭile. waḷḷa
Hšotér^H nobəlle u-zəlle. zəlle l-tāma. har gopaḷta hənna lu l-tam. ksise. xzi!
’ən ’ilāha xədda moḍiʿāle ’əlle, lá-mṣe ’āwəd čú-məndi. ’āni lewu wide ḥəzur
maḍiʿilu.¹²⁷ kəmri: la, ’axnan lewax xə́zye-lle u-ma’rqile nablile l-ʿEraq.
hə́dax-ži lá-mṣaxwa ’odaxwa čú-məndi ’əlləd dide.

7 waḷḷa šodərri ’Awṛāham ’əlləd didu. zəlle. kemər ta baxta, kemər: ’éka-
le gora? kəmra: ’əl-flā́na dūka lu bəxzāda. ke(mər): mšādər basre ’āse!

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¹²⁶ *k* is realized as [kʸ].
¹²⁷ For expected *maḍiʿile*.

I have an agreement with the Israel consulate in, um, Istanbul. I need **2** to send a telegram (informing them) as to which hour I left Čalla and how many people are with me. I went to the post office. They went (with us, i.e., the police protection sent by the Vali to protect them from the Kurds). We went to that place which I had mentioned to them. They (are) policemen. Three policemen were with us. (They have) stopped. Seven muleteers (with) their mules (were) with us. They have stopped there (and are) looking around. My brother isn't there.

I say to my mother: "Where is Mido?" She says: "I don't know. I don't **3** know." Fine. That night we went (to) Tekhuma. From there, the next day we loaded (the animals and) went into Zaraj, in Zaraj. There was another village, a journey of one hour's distance from the place we were during the night, to the place Tekhuma.

There was a telephone there. I phoned Anwar,[128] yes. "Anwar," I say to **4** you: . . ." I said: "You have seized my brother. How many years, how many hundreds of years (have) we (been) your servants here, Kurd? You have seized my brother. I have found it out. I found it out. I gave Abraham a sign." I said: "(Mido) used to go to such and such a house. Go there! Perhaps you will see a sign (of him)."

By God, he went there. He saw a sign: his hat and his shepherd's stick **5** had been hung on a peg. He spoke[129] to the mistress of the house. The men had gone (and) were harvesting the corn. The wife had remained at home. She says: "I haven't seen him, I will swear to you." (Abraham says to her:) "You will swear to me concerning him? By God, they said to me that he came back."

I said (to Abraham): "Now take a policeman (there) with you. You **6** should go there. Let's see what they have done to him. If he has been killed, (let's see) his corpse. If he is alive, let them bring him out." By God, he led the policeman and he went. He went there. The shepherd's stick, um, still is there. (And) his hat. Look! If God has made someone go missing, it is not possible to do anything. (But) they have not estimated (that) they would notice that he was missing. They say: "No, we haven't seen him" (but) they should smuggle him out (and) take him away to Iraq. In that case we wouldn't have been able to do anything for him.

I sent Abraham to them. He went. He says to his wife, he says: "Where **7** is (your) husband?" She says: "At such and such a place they are harvest-

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[128] He was in charge of the post office See § 5.13.15.
[129] Lit., 'he said'.

(m)šodərra basre. gor dida sele. kemər: ʾiya nāša mare d-iya gopálta-u ksísa
ʾāna gbənne.

8   kemər: ʾaffandi, byāmaxlox. ʾaxnan lewax xəzye ʾəlle. ᴴba-ʿérex ʾuláyᴴ qam
     xá-yarxa séwāle. ʾā u-broneni ᴴḥaverímᴴ wewa. lewət xə́zya-lle? kemər: la.
     kemər: si! si-ḍból! byāmət. kemər: he, byāmən. ʾəṣra naqle.

9   walḥāṣəl məsele. (m)šodərre—, gyāne ḍbilāle. türkāye hādax godi. qamāye
     byāme de-bázi ḍabli xarāye. sele kemər: de-ymí! b-iya qurʿān! ké-le yāla?
     kemər: byāmənnox b-iya qurʿān lewax xə́zye-lle. lu dárye-lle go gova. šö'á-
     govāne. ʾətwa xa basər xa tarʾa lu ḥliqe-llu l-reš dide ta-lá-ʾārəqla. ᴴtovᴴ.
     waḷḷa ke(mər).

10   ymele ʾəbbəd qurʿān ko lewe xə́zya-lle. kemər: baxta ʾətlox? kemər: he.
     kemər: de-ymí b-ṭaláqox-ži. ymele ṭaláqe-ži, he! kemər: ʾatta lewət xə́zya-lle
     ᴴnaxónᴴ? la, lewən xə́zya-lle ʾaffandi. ʾən wali(!) xə́zya-lle bamrə́nwālox.

11   xa ṭaṛka šqəlle ʾəlləd dide. ṭaṛke mə́šša-lu. mese ṣiwe ta səswa. gə́zra-wa l-
     tāma. xa ṭaṛka šqəlle ʾəlle. kemər: ᴬbə-smi-llāhi raḥmán u-raḥímᴬ. traq-u
     traq-u traq! tāma ᶻgəmrənnoxᶻ, türkāye ᴴmuṭḥəlluᴴ, ᴴ hafs(aka) ᴴ, hənna
     ᴴhafsakáᴴ let. hādax ʾüdlu[130] ʾəlləd dide ḥil (m)pəlle. (m)pəlle. har le bəṣrā-
     xa, le bimāra: baxxatəd ʾilāha! ʾe türkáya-ži le māra ta ʾAwṛāham, má-yle
     māra? ʾile bəṭlāba baxxatəd ʾilāha.

12   kemər: ʾilāha? la ʾatta ymele ʾəbbəd dide b-dugle? ʾegā má-gəbe mən ʾilāha?
     ʾatta le bəṭlāba baxxatəd ʾilāha. txərre ʾəlləd ʾilāha, ᴴnaxón? kenᴴ. le yəmya
     ʾəbbe b-dugle. ʾatta ᴴkol ʿodᴴ ʾilāha lá-mšādər… kemər: ᴴkol ʿodᴴ ʾilāha
     lá-mšādər xa malʾax ʾāmər: ᴴšáḥrərūleᴴ!… ᴴkol ʿodᴴ ʾilāha lá-āmər:
     (m)šādər xá-malʾax ᴴmáfsikᴴ—. ʾā har le māra baxxatəd ʾilāha. ʾən ʾilāha
     bā'e ᴴmšaḥarərənneᴴ, bəš xa lá-māxənne. ʾilāha məlyone malʾāxe ʾətle.

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[130] For expected ʾüdle.

ing." (Abraham) sa(ys): "Send (someone) after him that he should come!" She sent (someone) after her husband. He came. (Abraham) says: "I want this person, the owner of this shepherd's stick and hat."

(The husband) says: "Effendi, we will swear to you. We have not seen **8** him. Perhaps about a month ago he had come. He and our son were friends." (Abraham says:) "You haven't seen him?" (The husband) says: "No." (Abraham) says: "Go! Go have a ritual bath (and then) you will swear!" He says: "Yes, I shall swear. Ten times."

In short, he brought him. He sent—, he had a ritual bath. Like this the **9** Turks do (it). At first they will swear, later they will go to have a ritual bath.[131] He came, (Abraham) says: "Now swear! On this Quran! Where is the child?" He says: "I shall swear to you on this Quran we haven't seen him." (But) they have (actually) put him in a stall. There were seven stalls. There was one after the other. They have locked the door on him lest he flee. Fine. By God, he sa(ys).

He swore on the Quran that he hasn't seen him. (Abraham) says: "You **10** have a wife?" He says: "Yes." (Abraham) says: "Now also swear on your divorce!" He swore also (on) the divorce, yes! (Abraham) says: "Now you haven't seen him, correct?" (He says:) "No, I haven't seen him, Effendi. If I had seen him, I would have told you."

(Abraham) took a stick to him. There are many sticks. They bring wood **11** for winter. There was a pile of chopped wood there. He took a stick to him. He says: "In the name of the Merciful and Just God." Thwack and thwack and thwack! There, I tell you, (once) the Turks began (to hit), stoppi(ng)—, um, there is no stopping. He did to him like this until he fell down. He fell down. He is still screaming, he is saying: "For the mercy of God!" That Turk is saying to Abraham, what is he saying? He is requesting the mercy of God.

He says: God? Didn't he swear now by him falsely? So now what does **12** he want from God? Now he is requesting the mercy of God. (Now) he remembered God, correct? Yes. He has sworn by him falsely. Now as long as God does not send…" (Abraham) says: "As long as God does not send an angel (that) says: 'Free him!'… As long as God does not say: 'Send an angel (that) he should stop—,' he is still saying: 'for the mercy of God!' But if God wants me to free him, I won't beat him a single (blow) more. God has millions of angels."

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[131] Shabbo has reversed the order: he should have a ritual bath before taking an oath as in the preceding paragraph.

13 (m)šādər xá-malʾax—, *ᴴʾavál mafsíkᴴ*—, hənna *ᴴtafsíkᴴ*, ʾāna pšaqlənne *ᴴmakélᴴ* didi mándənne l-tāma bəš xet *ᴴrašútᴴ* lətli. *ᴴkol ʿod šəᴴ*ʾiláha lá-ʾāmər, (m)šādər čú-xa ko ʾāna *ᴴmáfsəkənᴴ*, ʾāna har kkarxən ʾəbbe. hādax ʾüdle ʾlləd dide. səqle ʾegā reš kāse ʾəbbəd potine. potine didu ʾətlu bəzmāre hatxa l-ʾəqru ta-háyya lá-māxe. hādax ʾüdle ʾlle. dəmma (m-)pəmme u-šərme se(le).

14 xarāye ṣrəxle: baxxatəd ʾiláha, ta xāṭər ʾiláha! sa ploṭ! (g)maqṭələnnox. ʾāhət lá-kiʾət mā sela b-reši. ʾən gbəttan ta dineni, ʾiláha, sa ploṭ mxáləsli! ʾən la, sa-, si qloʿ! si mən d-axxa! kemər: ḥil ʾatta la xzéwālox. ʾatta ymelox b-dugle ʾəbbəd ṭalāqəd báxtox-ži. ʾəbbəd qúrʿān-ži. pa ʾegā ʾeka wewa ʾiya? *ᴴʾazᴴ* ʾətlan m-de ʾáškara.

15 sele ʾAwṛāham télafon-ži. *ᴴyom šalémᴴ* reš télafon-le. waḷḷa kemər: waḷḷa xzeli ḥə́l-u-masale hátxa-la. ʾāna dbəšli ʾəbbəd ʾAnwar. ʾAnwar *ᴴmnahélᴴ dówarᴴ*-ile. mərri: qurdāye (m)šə́drūle yāla zöra! lā, kemər: le piša qurdá. yoməd *ᴷḥašr u-našrᴷ* kiʾət, yoməd din ʾāya bāzəl pšāke ʾlleni. bāmər ʾāna gbənwa pešənwa qurdá. balé hā qurdāye lá-qbəllu. ʾegā din dide nāpəl rešeni. ʾaxnan (p)pešax *ᴴḥayavímᴴ*. Maḥámmad-*ᴴ*(m)mʿānəšlan *ᴴ*![132]

16 ʾiya qurdá—, ʾāna bāzən dūka ṛapsa. ʾāna bāzən dūka ṛapsa. ʾaxtun (p)pešetun go Čalla. ʾāna ʾaxoni har pšaqlənne. lá-ʾamretu: lewən mira. mā mərre ṭāsi? kemər: *ᴷčāwən. čāwənᴷ* yaʿni ʾeni. *ᴷčāwənᴷ*. kemər: ʾən ʾāhət mṣelox ʾaxonox šqəllox mənneni, ʾaxnan ʾiya *ᴴazórᴴ* kulleni baxtaseni byāxlu ṭāsox!

17 ʾāna mṭeli l-Jólamerg hənna ta Hakkāri. *ᴴmogəšli bakašá la-bét məšpátᴴ*. ʾə́twāli *ᴴḥaverímᴴ* türkāye l-tam. šme(ʾ)lu selu. má-yla breta? mərri: hátxa-la. kəmri ṭāsi: ḥmol! ʾaxnan ʾatta bāzax *ᴴbadqaxᴴ* ḥok. ʾaz ha-ḥókᴴ mā *ᶻgemərᶻ ᴬqāḍiᴬ*? ʾən ʾətlox *ᴴzaxútᴴ* (m)ḥākət ʾəbbəd dide, u-lətlox *ᴴzaxútᴴ* ʾatta bamrənnox. ʾən *ᴴpaḥótᴴ*-ile m-treʾsar, héš-ile xe ʾidox ʾətlox *ᴴzaxút ᴴ*. ʾən la, *ᴴʿvərreᴴ* treʾsar, *ᴴʿaṣmaʾíᴴ*-le. lətlox *ᴴzaxút ᴴ* (m)ḥākət ʾəbbəd dide.

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[132] Shabbo actually says [maˈħamman ˈʿaːnˈɪʃlan].

"Should (God) send an angel—, but stopping—, (saying) um, 'Stop!' **13**
(then) I will take it, my stick, (and) I will throw it down there (because
then) I do not have any more permission (to beat him). (But) as long as
God does not say, (i.e.,) send anybody (saying) that I should stop, then
I shall keep on bashing him." He did like this to him. He trod on his
stomach with boots. Their boots have nails like this at their bottom in
order not to strike quickly. He did to him like this. Blood ca(me out from)
his mouth and his ass.

Finally he screamed: "For the mercy of God, for the sake of God! Come **14**
on out! You are having me killed. You don't know what has happened to
me. If you love our religion, God, come on out! Save me! If not, come—,
go to hell!" (He said to Abraham, who was beating him): "Go away from
here!" (Abraham) says: "Until now you hadn't seen him. Now you also
swore falsely on (the) divorce of your wife. On the Quran too. So then
where was he? So we have (this affair) now in the open."

And Abraham came (to) the telephone. He is on the telephone a whole **15**
day. By God, he says: "By God, I saw (that) the upshot is like this." I stuck
to Anwar. Anwar is the head of the post office. I said: "Kurds! Send the
young child!" "No," he says, "he has become a Kurd. *ḥašr u-našr*, you
know, (on) the Day of Judgment, he will go complain against us. He
will say: 'I wanted to remain a Kurd but then the Kurds didn't agree.'
So then his religion will be our responsibility. We shall become guilty.
Muhammad will punish us."

This Kurd—, I am going to a large place. I am going to a large place. **16**
"You will remain in Challa. I will yet take my brother. Don't say: 'I haven't
said.' What did he say to me? He says: '*čawən*.' *čawən*, that is to say 'my eye.'
čawən. (Anwar) says: "If you are able to take your brother from us, we, all
of us (in) this area, we will give you our wives!"

I reached Jolamerk, um, Hakkari. I handed in a request to the court. **17**
I had Turkish friends there. They heard (and) came. (They said:) "What
has happened?" I said: "It's like this." They say to me: "Wait! We will go
now (and) check the law." So regarding the law, what does the judge say?:
"If you have the right to speak with him, (fine). And if you don't have the
right, now I will tell you. If he is less than twelve, he is still under your
authority (and) you have the right. If not (and) he has passed twelve, he is
independent. (Then) you don't have the right to speak with him. He has
the right (to make up his own mind)."

GLOSSARY

The following contains all Aramaic lexemes found in the recordings of Shabbo ʿAmrani, a few additional words contributed by Ahiya Hashiloni (when they differ from the JZakho koine he speaks and it appears that they do reflect Challa) as well as some words culled from Ahiya's father, Rabbi Jacob Hashiloni, when reciting the Passover *haggada* (from the printed JAmid version and only when he deviates from what is written there). Words found only in the oral recitation of the *haggada* often reflect an older literary register and are marked in the glossary as *haggada*. Verbs are listed by root as abstracted from the form of the Subjunctive. The entries are listed according to the alphabetical order ʾ ʿ *a/ā b ḅ č č̣ d ḍ e ə f g ġ h ḥ i j k l ḷ m ṃ n o/ö p p̣ q r ṛ s ṣ š t ṭ u/ū ü/ṻ v w x y z ẓ ž*. The reconstructed singular of words attested only in the plural are marked by an asterisk. When the reconstruction of the singular form is difficult because of conflicting evidence from other Neo-Aramaic dialects, the word is listed in the plural. The gender of nouns is marked only when it is explicit in the text in which it occurs.

Square brackets contain earlier Aramaic evidence of the lexemes and occasional etymological information. Sometimes reference is made to a particular Aramaic dialect or dialects, other times to a phase of the Aramaic language (according to Fitzmyer's 1979 classification), and often the siglum ClAram (Classical Aramaic) has been used to indicate that the lexeme is found in at least two of the three vocalized Aramaic corpora (Biblical Aramaic, Targums Onqelos and Jonathan, and Syriac). Cross-references to relevant paragraphs in the grammar are sometimes noted.

Borrowings from other languages with which Jewish Challa was in contact in Kurdistan are also noted. The loans that penetrated the dialect prior to Shabbo's arrival in Israel come from either Kurdish (Kermanji), Turkish, or Arabic, languages which Shabbo spoke fluently. The ultimate origin of many of the loanwords is undoubtedly Arabic, but it is often difficult to tell whether a given loanword entered Jewish Challa through Kurdish, Turkish, or Arabic, or more than one of the languages. Older Hebrew borrowings from before Shabbo came into contact with Modern Hebrew are marked with the siglum H, and borrowings from Modern Hebrew are marked by ModH. The latter are included when Shabbo has inflected them as Aramaic, e.g., the verb עזר 'help' (ʿ*zrru* 'they helped')

or the noun *dapé* 'pages'.[1] At times one cannot be certain if the lexeme is a reflex of the older Aramaic lexeme or a borrowing from the Modern Hebrew cognate.

In order to highlight the relationship of the lexicon of JChalla to that of other *lishana deni* dialects, constant reference is made to the dictionary of Sabar (2002a), which contains data from JAmid, JDohok, the JNerwa texts, and JZakho, and to the glossary in Mutzafi (2008a), which contains data from JBetan. For the sake of brevity Sabar's dictionary is referred to simply as Sab and Mutzafi's glossary as Mutz (e.g., Sab174 = Sabar 2008a:174, Mutz398 = Mutzafi 2008a:398). When the lexeme takes the same form in other *lishana deni* dialects as in Jewish Challa, the relevant page in the two books is noted. If the Jewish Challa realization or meaning differs from those found elsewhere in *lishana deni* dialects, then the other realizations are noted by "cf." When unattested in either Sabar or Mutzafi, but found in Maclean (1901)'s dictionary, the latter is also noted as well as other relevant works on Neo-Aramaic.

Verbs

ʾ

ʾby   [ClAram √עבי; Sab89] D *mʾabya* 'swell up'

ʾlq   [Ar. √علق; cf. ʿlq and ʾlq Sab250 and Mutz335] G *ʾáləq* '(search and) find, earn'; C *maʾləq* 'kindle'; see *lʾq*

ʾmr   [ClAram √אמר; Sab97; Mutz332; §4.4.27.1] G *ʾámər* 'speak'; *xanči zəmrəyāsa basime ʾamret* 'you should sing a few nice songs'; see *ʾəmər*, *ʿṃṛ*, *maʾṃúṛ*

ʾrgn   [ModH אִרְגֵּן] Q *mʾargən* 'organize'

ʾrq   [ClAram √ ערק; Sab101; Mutz333; §4.4.28.7] G *ʾārəq* 'run' *rəqli* 'I ran'; 'flee' (with dummy 3 f.s. obj. suff.) *ʾriqāli* 'I fled' C *maʾrəq* 'make run, chase away, smuggle out'

ʾsy   [ClAram √אתי; Sab101–102; Mutz333; §4.4.28.8] G *ʾāse* 'come'; marking passive voice: *ʾən ṃāḷeni ʾāse l-ʾixāla* 'if our possessions get filched'; C *mese* 'bring'

ʾšm   [ModH הֶאֱשִׁים] C *maʾšəm* 'blame, accuse'

ʾwd   [ClAram √עבד; Sab90–91; Mutz333; §4.4.28.1] G *ʾāwəd* 'do, make, spend (time)'; *ʾāni lu wíde-lla ^Htiras^H* 'they have grown it with corn'; *le māra hənna ʾúda fasādūsa* 'he is saying, um, he has spread gossip'; cf. *ʿbd*

ʾwr   [ClAram √עבר; Sab91; Mutz333; §4.4.28.1] G *ʾāwər* 'enter'; C *māʾər* 'bring in'; cf. *ʿvr*

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[1] Cf. ClAram דַּפָּא 'column, board'.

’xl   [ClAram √אכל; Sab95; Mutz333; § 4.4.27.1] G *’āxəl* 'eat, spend, suffer, filch'; *baxla(x) par gyānan* 'we will spend our money'; *’ā xəlle mə́ššaxuṭṭe* 'he suffered a lot of (blows with) sticks; *’axlət māḷeni* 'you filch our property'; C *māxəl* 'feed'

’ym   [ModH אִיֵּם] D *m’āyəm* 'threaten'

’zl   [ClAram √אזל; Sab92; Mutz333; § 4.4.28.9] G *’āzəl* 'go'; fig. 'die'; *si* 'go!'

ʕ

ʕbd   [ModH עִבֵּד] D *mʕābəd* 'cultivate, till'

ʕks   [IrAr √ عكس 'stop, block' Clarity et al. 2003:318; cf. 'be cross' Sab249] G *ʕākəs* 'stop, block'

ʕll   [ModH הִתְעַלֵּל] D *mʕāləl* 'torment'

ʕlm   [Ar. √علم; C 'teach' Sab249] D *mʕāləm* 'teach, inform'; see *maʕalləm*

ʕmṛ   [Ar √ امر; Sab250; Mutz335; § 3.3.d] D *mʕāṃəṛ* 'boss around, give orders'; see *maʕṃúṛ, ’mr, ’əmər*

ʕnš   [ModH הֶעֱנִישׁ] D *mʕānəš* 'punish, fine'

ʕsk   [ModH הִתְעַסֵּק] D *mʕāsək* 'deal with'

ʕṣbn   [ModH עִצְבֵּן] Q *mʕaṣbən* 'irritate'

ʕṣr   [Ar √عصر; Sab251; Mutz335] G *ʕāṣər* 'squeeze'

ʕšq   [Ar √عشق; Sab252] G *ʕāšəq* 'desire'

ʕvr   [ModH עָבַר; Sabar 1975:495] G *ʕāvər* 'pass by, cross over'; C *maʕvər* 'take across'; cf. *’wr*

ʕyf   [ModH הֵעִיף] C *māʕəf* 'fly (tr.), throw out'

ʕyš   [Ar √عيش; Sab249] G *ʕāyəš* 'live'

ʕzr   [ModH עָזַר] G *ʕāzər* 'help'

b

b’y   [ClAram √בעי); Sab103; Mutz335] G *bā’e* 'want, wish, love'; *gəbe* 'it is necessary'

bḥn   [ModH בָּחַן; cf. Syr ܒܚܢ 'try, test'] G *bāḥən* 'examine'

bkḥ   [ModH הִתְוַכֵּחַ; § 3.1] D 'argue' *mbākəḥ*

bl’   [ClAram √בלע; Sab110; Mutz339] G *bāle’* 'swallow'

blbl   [ClAram √בלבל; Sab110; Mutz339] Q *mbalbəl* 'search, look for'

bny   [ClAram √בני; Sab112] G *bāne* 'build'

bqr   [ClAram √בקר; Sab113; Mutz340] D *mbāqər* 'ask, inquire'

brbz   [LAram √בזבז Sab114; √בזז Mutz340] Q *mbarbəz* 'scatter'; cf. *bzbz*

bry   [ClAram √ברי; Sab114; Mutz340] G *bāre* 'happen, be born'

brx   [ClAram √ברך; cf. *brx* 'bless', +*brx* 'dedicate a house, greet with a gift' Sab115, *brx* 'bless, congratulate, wed bride and bridegroom' Mutz341] D *mbārex* 'bless'; see *barāxa*

brz   [Ar √برز?; cf. 'dry, dry up, fear greatly' Maclean 1901:39, 'be dry' Sab114, 'dry up, be stiff' Mutz340] G *bārəz* 'fear greatly'

bsm   [ClAram √בסם; Sab112; Mutz341] G *bāsəm* 'be pleasing'; D *mbāsəm* 'make pleasing'; see *basima*

bšl   [ClAram √בשל; Sab116; Mutz341] G *bāšəl* 'cook (intr.)'; D *mbāšəl* 'cook (tr.)'

bṭl   [ClAram √בטל; Maclean 1901:30,153; Sab107; Mutz341] G *bāṭəl* 'be cancelled, nullified'; D *mbāṭəl* 'cancel, nullify'

bxy   [ClAram √בכי; Sab110; Mutz341] G *bāxe* 'cry'

bzbz   [ModH בִּזְבֵּז] Q *mbazbəz* 'squander'; cf. *brbz*

č

čfl   [Ar √جفل; Sab132; Mutz342] G *čāfəl* 'be startled'

čyk   [K; Sab131; Mutz342] G *čāyək* 'stick in, poke'

čyq   [Ar √شقق; Sab131 and 2006:169 n. 57] G *čāyəq* 'tear out'

čyr   [K; Khan 1999:552 and 2004:582; Mutzafi 2004:220] G *čāyər* 'move around'

ç

çṃy   [√סמי Mutzafi 2005:92–93 and 2008a:342; Sab132] G *çāṃe* 'be extinguished'; C *maçṃe* 'extinguish'

çym   [ClAram √טמם Mutz342 and 2006a:88–89; Sab131] G *çāyəm* 'close (eyes)'

d

dʾg   [ModH דָּאַג] G *dāʾəg* 'be worried, take care of'

dʾp   [Syr ܬܚܦ، حڤ, *dʾp* Mutz343; Sab136] G *dāʾəp* 'fold (tr.)'

dʾr   [Ṭur and Mlaḥ *dʾr* Mutz343 and 2004:221; cf. Ar √دور Maclean 1901:59; Syr √ܬܚܪ Sab137] G *dāʾər* 'return (intr.)'; C *madʾər* 'return (tr.)'

dʾš   [ClAram דוש? Sab141; Mutz343; or conflation of ClAram דוש + Ar دعس?] G *dāʾəš* 'tread on'

dʾy   [Ar √دعو; cf. G 'pray, plead, curse,' C 'demand, sue, pray' Sab143, D 'plead, pray, curse, demand rights acording to marriage contract' Mutz343] G *dāʾe* 'pray'; D *mdāʾe* 'demand (rights)'

dbḥ   [Ar √ذبح; cf. ClAram √דבח; cf. *d̲/dbḥ, z̲bḥ* Sab147, *dbḥ* Mutz344] G *dābəḥ* 'slaughter'; see *dabāḥa*

dbš   [denom. < ClAram דבשא 'honey' Sab138; Mutz344] G *dābəš* 'stick to'

dgl   [ClAram √דגל; Sab138; Mutz345] D *mdāgəl* 'lie'; see *dugle*

dġy   [K, T Maclean 1901:60; Sab138] G *dāġe* 'be branded, cauterized'

dḥy   [ModH דָּחָה] G *dāḥe* 'postpone'

dmbk   [cf. K *dinbiliḳ* 'drum' Rizgar 1993:257, IrAr *dumbug* 'drum' Clarity et al. 2003:59; Eng 'drum into someone'] Q *mdambək* 'pummel'

dmdm   [ClAram √דם?; cf. 'bleed, cup, howl' Maclean 1901:159, 'grumble, bleed' Sab142–143] Q *mdamdəm* 'stuff, fill'

dmx   [ClAram √דמך; Sab143; Mutz345] G *dāməx* 'sleep'; C *madməx* 'put to sleep'

drmn   [denom. < *dərmāna* 'medicine, remedy' < K, T; Sabar 1982:162] Q *mdarmən* 'medicate'; see *dərmāna*

drš   [ModH דָּרַשׁ] G *dārəš* 'ask, request, demand'

drx   [ModH דֶּרֶךְ, הִדְרִיךְ] G *dārəx* (1) 'tread', (2) 'cock (a gun)'; C *madrəx* 'instruct'

dry   [ClAram √דרי Mutz346; Sab145] G *dāre* 'put, put in, insert'; *drele gopaḷta* 'he beat him with a walking stick'; *dreli pumməd dida* 'I stuck my (fist) in her mouth'

dwq   [ClAram √דבק; Sab139–140; Mutz346] G *dāwəq* 'hold, grasp, seize'; *'iya-ži qəbla lá-dūqāla* 'this one too does not face the qibla' (lit. 'does not grasp the qibla'); *'urxa dūqāli* 'I took to the road' (Meehan & Alon 1979:183 n.38); C *mādüq* 'cause to grasp, seize'

dxl   [Ar √دخل; Sab142] G *dāxəl* 'enter'

ḍ

ḍbl   [ClAram √טבל; Sab170] G *ḍābəl* 'have a ritual bath'

ḍyʿ   [Ar √ضيع; cf. *ẓ/⁺dyʿ* Sab271, *ǧyʿ* Mutz347] G *ḍāyeʿ* 'be lost, disappear' C *māḍəʿ* 'cause to lose, miss'

f

fʿl   [ModH הִפְעִיל] C *mafʿəl* 'activate'

fhm   [Ar √فهم; Sab262; Mutz347] G *fāhəm* 'understand'

fsd   [ModH הִפְסִיד; cf. JBetan (< Ar √فسد) D 'disclose secretly or without permission' Mutz347] C *mafsəd* 'lose'

g

gdr   [ModH גִּדֵּר] D *mgādər* 'fence off'

glgl [LAram אִתְגַּלְגֵּל; ModH הִתְגַּלְגֵּל; cf. NeoAram Q 'make a round shape' Sabar 1982:155] Q *mgalgəl* 'roll around (intr.)'; cf. *gndr*

gly   [ClAram √גלי; Sab122; Mutz349] G *gāle* 'reveal'

gndr [ClAram √גנדר; Sab123] Q *mgandər* 'roll down (tr.)'; cf. *glgl*

gnw   [ClAram √גנב; Sab123; Mutz349] G *gānu* 'steal'; see *ganāwa*, *ganawūsa*

gny   [LAram √גני; Sab123; Mutz349] G *gāne* 'set (sun)'

grʾ   [ClAram √גרע; Sab123; Mutz350] G *gāreʾ* 'shave'

grgš [ClAram √גרש; Sab124 and 1982:162; Mutz350] Q *mgargəš* 'drag, pull behind'; see *grš*

grš   [ClAram √גרש; Sab125; Mutz350] G *gārəš* 'drag, pull, last (drag out time), smoke' (*jəgāra*); see *grgš*

gwr   [denom. < Aram גַּבְרָא; Sab120; Mutz350] G *gāwər* 'marry (intr.)'; C *māgur* 'marry off'; see *gwira*

gxk   [LAram √גחך; Sab122; Mutz350] G *gāxək* 'laugh'; see *gəxka*

gyr   [ModH? LAram √גיר; denom. < ClAram גִּיּוֹרָא; Sab122] D *mgāyər* 'convert to Judaism (tr.)'

gys   [ModH גִּיֵּס] D *mgāyəs* 'draft, recruit'

gzr   [ClAram √גזר; Sab121; Mutz351] G *gāzər* 'circumcise'; see **gzira*

ġ

ġrġr [onomat. or Ar √غرغر?; Ar √غور? Sab135] Q *mġarġər* 'be hoarse'

ġrq [Ar √غرق; Sab135] G *ġārəq* 'sink' (intr.)'

h

hjm [Ar √هجم; Sab149] G *hājəm* 'attack'

hnnl [filler *hənna* + *l-*; Sab52,151; Mutz352; Rubin 2005:78–79 n.46; §4.4.28.11] irreg. 'do, um'; *hənnə́lle* 'he did, um-'; see *hənna*

hwy [ClAram √הוי; Sab149; Mutz352] G *hāwe* (1) 'be', (2) 'be born'

hymn [ClAram √הימן < PrAram C *ʾmn; Sab150; Mutz352; §4.4.28.13] Q *mhemən* 'believe'

hyr [TJ and JBA√יהר 'overbearing'? Syr √ܝܗܪ 'annoy'? cf. D and C Sab150, D Mutz352–353] G *mhāyər* 'dare'

ḥ

ḥḍr [Ar √حضر; cf. *ḥẓ/dr* Sab168, *ḥẟ̣r* Mutz353] G *ḥāḍər* 'be ready'; C *maḥḍər* 'make ready'

ḥkm [Ar √حكم; Sab166; Mutz353] G *ḥākəm* 'rule'; C *maḥkəm* 'appoint as ruler'

ḥky [Ar √حكى; cf. D and C Sab166; D (rare) and C Mutz353] D *mḥāke* 'speak'; see *mḥakesa*

ḥkr [ModH חָקַר] G *ḥākər* 'investigate'

ḥlḥl [ModH חִלְחֵל] Q *mḥalḥəl* 'permeate'

ḥlk [ModH חִלֵּק] D *mḥālək* 'divide'

ḥll [H חִלֵּל; cf. C Sab165] D *mḥaləl* 'desecrate'; see *ḥyl*

ḥlq [Ar √غلق; cf. *ġlq*, *xlq* Sab135, *ḥlq* Mutz354] G *ḥāləq* 'lock, close (door)'

ḥlt [ModH הֶחְלִיט] C *maḥlət* 'decide'

ḥml [Ar √حمل; Sab166–167; Mutz354] G *ḥāməl* 'stand, wait, stop'; C *maḥməl* 'make one stand, stop'; *ḥamlile ʾəbbəd* ᴴ*səkkiním*ᴴ 'that they attack him with knives'

ḥrm [Ar √حرم; Sab168] G *ḥārəm* 'be polluted'; C *maḥrəm* 'pollute, impurify, ban, confiscate'; see *ḥarám(a)*, *ḥaramūsa*

ḥsl [ModH חָסַל] D *mḥāsəl* 'finish off, eliminate'

ḥyl [H חִלֵּל; C Sab165] C *māḥəl* 'desecrate'; see *ḥll*

ḥyš [Ar √حشى; Sab165; Mutz354] G *ḥāyəš* 'insert (tr.)'

ḥyw [ModH חִיֵּב] D *mḥāyu* 'obligate'

ḥzk [ModH הֶחֱזִיק] C *maḥzək* 'hold'

j

jḥd [Ar √جهد; Sab127; Mutz354] D *mjāḥəd* 'argue, quarrel'; cf. *nṣy*

jmʿ [Ar √جمع; Sab128; Mutz355] G *jāməʿ* 'gather (tr. and intr.)'; D *mjāməʿ* 'gather (tr.)'

jrm [Ar √جرم; cf. Sab129] D *mjārəm* 'impose a fine, punish'

jrmṭ   [Ar √شرمط?; cf. *šrmṭ* Sab304] Q *mjarməṭ* 'be entangled'
jry   [Ar √جرى; cf. +*jry* Sab129] G *jāre* 'flow'
jwb   [Ar √جوب; cf. D and C Sab126–127, D Mutz355] C *mājəb* 'answer'; see *jəwāb, jwāb*
jwj   [LAram √שבש Mutz355; JBA זוז? Sab127] G *jāwəj* 'move'

k

kbs   [Ar √كبس; Sab181] G *kābəs* 'conquer'
kfṭs   [ModH קָפַץ; cf. TO, JBA, and JPA √קפץ] G *kāfəṭs* 'jump'
klt   [ModH קָלַט] G *kālət* 'absorb'
kpn   [ClAram √כפן; Sab188; Mutz357] G *kāpən* 'become hungry'; see *kəpna, kpina*
krd   [Ar √كرد; Sab188] G *kārəd* 'drive away'
krkm   [denom.; Syr √ܟܘܪܟܡ; LEAram כּוּרְכְּמָא 'saffron'; Sab189; Mutz358] Q *mkarkəm* 'to make yellow'
krx   [ClAram √כרך 'wrap around'?; cf. G 'go round, be wrapped round, surround,' D and C 'shroud, wrap up' Maclean 1910:140,177, G 'be attached,' D 'shroud' Sab189] G *kārəx* 'smash someone, wrestle'
kry¹   [LEAram √כרי; Sab189; Mutz358] C *makre* 'shorten'; see *kərya*
kry²   [Ar √كرى; cf. +*kry* Sab189] C *makre* 'rent out'
ksb   [K, Ar √كسب; cf. *ks/zb* Sab187, *ksb* Mutz358] G *kāsəb* 'earn'
ksw   [ClAram √כתב; Sab190; Mutz358] G *kāsu* 'write'; C *maksu* 'dictate' (< ModH הִכְתִּיב)
ksy   [ClAram √כס; Sab187; Mutz358] D *mkāse* 'cover'
kvʿ   [ModH קָבַע] G *kāvə* 'determine'
kwš   [ClAram √כבש; Sab184; Mutz359] G *kāwəš* 'descend'; C *mākuš* 'cause to descend'
kym   [ClAram √אכם; Sab185; Mutz359] G *kāyəm* 'become black'; see *koma*
kyn   [ModH הֵכִין] C *māxən* 'prepare'
kyp   [ClAram √כפף; Sab185; Mutz359] G *kāyəp* 'bend (intr.)'; C *mākəp* 'bend (tr.)'

l

l'q   [Ar √علق] G *lāʾəq* 'be kindled, burn (intr.)'; see *'lq*
lqy   [ClAram √לקי; Sab208; Mutz360] D *mlāqe* 'punish (God)' (*haggada*)
lšn   [ModH? or earlier H הִלְשִׁין?; JPA and JBA √לשן < MishH] C *malšən* 'slander, inform against'
lṭx   [Ar √لطخ; Sab205] G *lāṭəx* 'stick (intr.), be attached'
lxlx   [ModH לִכְלֵךְ] Q *mlaxləx* 'dirty (tr.)'
lwš   [ClAram √לבש; Sab205; Mutz360] G *lāwəš* 'wear'
lyp   [TO √אלף, Syr √ܝܠܦ < PrAram *אלף; cf. *lyp, ylp* Sab206, *lyp* Mutz360] G *lāyəp* 'learn'; C *māləp* 'instruct'
lzy   [K; Sab206] G *lāze* 'hurry (intr.)'

m

mḥy   [Ar مَحَا, ModH מְחָה; Sab215; Mutz363] C *mamḥe* 'erase, wipe out']

mly   [ClAram √מלי; cf. ⁺*mly* 'fill,' *mly* 'be sufficient' Sab219 and Mutz364,366] G *māle* 'it is sufficient'; see *ṃly*

mnx   [blend of **m'yn* (√עין) + *mānəx* (√נוח) Mutz363; √נוח? Sab51,232; < √עיני? Meehan & Alon 1979:180, n. 27; cf. LWAram and WNeoAram *'yny*] C *menəx* 'look, look around'

mpl   see *npl*

mpx   see *npx*

mr'   [ClAram √מרע; Sab224; Mutz364] G *māre'* 'be in pain'; *kāsan əmre(')la 'əllan* 'our stomach hurt us'

mṛč   [ClAram √מרס; ⁺*m-r-č* Sab224] G *māṛəč* 'crush'; *mṛəčle 'əġdāde* 'he crumpled him up'

msy   [LEAram √מסי; Sab221; Mutz365] G *māse* 'wash (tr.)'

mṣy   [ClAram √מצי; Sab223; Mutz365; §4.4.28.15] G *mṣe* 'be able'

mšx   [ModH הִמְשִׁיךְ] C *mamšəx* 'continue'

mṭy   [ClAram √מטי; Sab215–216; Mutz365] G *māṭe* 'arrive'; marking passive voice: *'atta ᴴgamᴴ mṭelu 'əlləd hənna qəṭla* 'Also now they were, um, killed' (§4.4.20.c); C *mamṭe* 'cause to arrive, bring'

mxy   [ClAram √מחי; Sab218; Mutz365] G *māxe* 'strike, hit'; *mxele 'urxa* 'he hit the road' (cf. *mxēle l/b'urxa* "he hit the road" Sab218); *mxele 'əlla* 'he hit it (the road)'; *gyāne məxyāle 'əlle* 'he hurled himself at him'; *məxyāla 'əlli* 'she hit me'; see *maxisa*

myd   [Ar √مدد; Sab216] G *māyəd* 'line up (tr.)'

mys   [ClAram √מית; Sab217; Mutz365] G *māyəs* 'die'; *mətle* 'he died' (§3.1.b); see *misa, mosa*

ṃ

ṃly   [ClAram √מלי; cf. ⁺*mly* 'fill,' *mly* 'be sufficient' Sab219 and Mutz364,366] G *ṃāle* 'fill'; see *mly*

n

n'l   [IrAr √نعل < √لعن 'curse' Clarity et al. 2003:463; cf. 'curse' Maclean 1901:183, 'marry off (pejorative of gentile marriage)' Sab233] D *mnā'əl* 'marry off' (pejorative for non-Jews)

nbl   [ClAram √יבל; cf. *nbl, byl, ybl* Sab229, *nbl, lbl* Mutz366; §§ 3.7;4.4.28.16] C *nābəl* 'lead away'; *nobəlle* 'he led him away'

ndy   [ClAram √נדי; cf. *ndy, nyd* Sab230, *ndy* Mutz366] C *mande* 'throw down/away'; *pehna mande* 'kick (lit. throw a kick)'; *mundele qam qaṭi'a* 'he beat him with a stick'; *mundele qam kulle* 'he beat him with everything'

nf'   [Ar √نفع; Sab233; Mutz367] G *nāfe'* 'be useful, benefit, suit'; also *nāpe'*

ng'   [ModH הִגִּיעַ] C *māgə'* 'deserve' (< 'reach')

ngš   [ModH הִגִּישׁ] C *māgəš* 'hand in'

nhl   [ModH נִהֵל] D *mnāhəl* 'manage'

np'   see *nf*

npl   [ClAram √נפל; cf. *n/mpl* Sab233–234, *npl* Mutz367] G *nāpəl* 'fall,' *(m)pəlle basər* 'follow' (lit., 'fall [in line] after'); C *mampəl* 'cause to fall'

npx   [ClAram √נפח; cf. *n/mpx* Sab233; *npx* Mutz367] G *nāpəx* 'blow'; *mpox* 'blow!' (§3.6.d)

nqm   [ClAram √נקם; Sab235] G *nāqəm* 'take revenge'

nqṣ   [Ar √نقص; Sab235] G *nāqəṣ* 'lessen' (intr.); C *manqəṣ* 'lessen' (tr.); see *naqoṣa, nqiṣa*

nqš   [ClAram √נקש; Sab235; Mutz367] G *nāqəš* 'touch'

ns'   [ModH נָסַע, הִסִּיעַ] G *nāsə'* 'travel'; C *māsə'* 'transport'

nṣy   [ClAram √נצי; Sab234; Mutz368] G *nāṣe* 'fight, quarrel'; see *naṣūṣa*; cf. *jḥd*

nšq   [ClAram √נשק; Sab235; Mutz368] G *nāšəq* 'kiss'

nšy   [ClAram √נשי; Sab235; Mutz368] G *nāše* 'forget'; C *manše* 'cause to forget'

nṭr   [ClAram √נטר; Sab232; Mutz368] G *nāṭər* 'keep, guard'

nwx   [ClAram √נבח; Sab231] G *nāwəx* 'bark'; C *manwax* 'cause to bark'

nxnx   [onomat.?; cf. 'mumble threats, breathe heavily on one's neck' Sab233] Q *mnaxnəx* 'mumble threats'

nxp   [ClAram √נכף; Sab233; Mutz368] G *nāxəp* 'be embarrassed'; see *nəxpūsa*

nyx   [ClAram √נוח; Sab232; Mutz363] G *nāyəx* 'rest'; fig., 'pass away'; C *mānəx* 'give rest'; *'ilāha mānəxle* 'May God rest his soul'; see *nixa*

p

pčkn   [K *pêçan* 'pack, wrap' Rizgar 1993:144?; cf. 'go bad (gum)' Sabar 1982:169] Q *mpačkən* 'finish, wrap up'

pg'   [ModH פָּגַע] G *pāgə'* 'injure'

pl'   [ClAram √פלג; cf. *pl', ply* Sab256, *pl'* Mutz369] G *pāle'* 'divide'; D *mpāle'* 'distribute'

plṭ   [ClAram √פלט; Sab256] G *pāləṭ* 'go out'; D *mpāləṭ* 'take out'; *mpolərtlu pássaporṭ* 'they issued a passport' (calque on ModH הוֹצִיא דַּרְכּוֹן/פַּסְפּוֹרְט)

plx   [ClAram √פלח; Sab256; Mutz370] G *pāləx* 'work'; C *mapləx* 'employ'; cf. *falxa*

pnčr   [ModH פַּנְצֵ'ר < Eng 'puncture'; Sabar 1990:55] Q *mpančər* 'cause a flat tire'

pq'   [ClAram √פקע; Sab257; Mutz370] G *pāqe'* 'burst' (tr. and intr.)

prns   [ModH פִּרְנֵס; LEAram √פרנס;] Q *mparnəs* 'manage, provide for'

prpr   [Syr √ܦܪܦܪ 'flutter, quiver'; cf. 'spin, whirl' Sabar 1982:169] Q *mparpər* 'agonize, writhe'

prpṭ   [LEAram √פרט; Sab259 and 1982:169; Mutz370] Q *mparpəṭ* 'agonize, writhe'; cf. *prṭ*

prq   [ClAram √פרק; Sab250; Mutz370] G *pārəq* 'desist, leave'; D *mpārəq* 'redeem, revenge'; see *tola*

prs   [ClAram √פרס; Sab259; Mutz370] G *pārəs* 'spread (tr.)'

prš   [ClAram √פרש; Sab259; Mutz370] G *pāreš* 'separate'

pršq [LEAram √פשק; Sab260 and 1982:159; Mutz370] Q *mparšəq* 'stretch, straighten (tr.)'

prṭ [ClAram √פרט; Sab259; Mutz370] 'tear, rip up'; see *priṭa*, *prpṭ*

prtx [Syr √ܦܪܬܟ 'split'; Kamil 1963:17; Sab260] Q *mpartəx* 'make change (money)'

prx [ClAram √פרח; Sab259; Mutz370] G *pārəx* 'fly' (intr.)

pṣʿ [ModH פָּצַע] G *pāṣəʿ* 'injure' (tr. and intr.)

pšr [ClAram √פשר; Sab260; Mutz371] G *pāšər* 'melt' (intr.)

ptl [Syr √ܦܬܠ; Sab261; Mutz371] G *pātəl* 'roll, twist'

ptpt [Syr √ܦܬܦܬ; Sabar 1982:170; Mutz371] Q *mpatpət* 'shred, cut up'

pṭr [ModH פטר?; ClAram √פטר; cf. G Maclean 1901:249] D *mpāṭər* 'finish, leave (tr. and intr.)'

ptx [ClAram √פתח; Sab261; Mutz371] G *pātəx* 'open (tr. and intr.)'

pyč [K *pičan* 'break' Chyet 2003:454; in related NENA dialects 'crush with a foot, trample' Mutzafi p.c.] G *pāyəč* 'crush'

pyd [Syr √ܦܝܕ; cf. *pâ -it*, *fâ -it* Maclean 1901:246, *pyd* Sab255, *pyð* Mutz371] G *pāyəd* 'pass by'; C *māpəd* 'cause to pass by'

pyš [LEAram √ פוש; Sab255; Mutz371] G *pāyəš* 'remain, be'; *ʾāna ppešan hudesa* 'I will become a Jewess'

pyx [ClAram √פוח; Sab255] G *pāyəx* 'become cool'; attested only with *ləbbe*: *ləbbe pəxle* 'he felt relieved'; C *māpəx* 'cool' (tr.); *ləbbe mopəxle* 'it relieved him'

pzr [ModH פִּזֵּר; cf. ClAram √בדר] D *mpāzər* 'distribute'

q

qbl [ClAram √קבל; Sab273; Mutz373] G *qābəl* 'accept, agree, allow'

qḍy [Ar √قضى; cf. 'finish, be finished' Maclean 1901:269; 'provide (need), fulfill, wish' Sab282 and Mutz373; §4.4.23.5] G *qāḍe* 'finish, complete, spend time'

qlʿ [Ar √قلع; cf. 'go away, go to hell, cause harm by casting the evil eye' Sab279] G *qāləʿ* 'go away, drive away'

qlb [Ar √قلب; Sab279; Mutz374] G *qāləb* 'overturn'

qlql [denom. < JBA קלקלתא 'trash heap' Mutzafi p.c.; cf. 'despise, make little of' Maclean 1901:195;] Q *mqalqəl* 'kick the bucket' (used for non-Jews); cf. *skt*

qlw [denom. < Syr ܩܠܟ 'mould, pattern'?; Sab279; Mutzafi 2004:238] G *qālu* 'be clean'; D *mqālu* 'clean'

qnʿ [Ar √قنع; Sab281; Mutz374] G *qānəʿ* 'be content, convinced'

qrm [ClAram √קרם; Sab283] G *qārəm* 'cover'

qrmṭ [LEAram √קמט; cf. 'wrinkle' Sab283 and 1982:170] Q *mqarməṭ* 'seize, grasp'

qrpč [?; cf. *qrpč*, *qrčp* Sab284 and 1982:170] Q *mqarpəč* 'snatch'

qrw [ClAram √קרב; Sab282] G *qāru* 'approach'

qrx [ClAram √קרח; Sab283; Mutz374] C *maqrəx* 'whiten, make shine'

qry [ClAram √קרי; Sab283; Mutz374] G *qāre* 'call, read, study'; G *maqre* 'teach'

qṭ'   [ClAram √קטע; Sab277; Mutz374] G *qāṭe'* 'be cut, cut off, be resolved';
         qəṭya 'cut'; see *'āqəl*

qṭl   [ClAram √קטל; Sab277; Mutz375] G *qāṭəl* 'kill, beat up badly'; C *maqṭəl*
         'have killed'; see *qəṭla, qaṭəl, qaṭola*

qṭy   see *qṭ'*

qwr   [ClAram √קבר; Sab276; Mutz376] G *qāwər* 'bury'

qyd   [ClAram √יקד; cf. *yqḏ, qyḏ* Sab178, *yqð* Mutz376] G *qāyəd* 'burn' (intr.);
         qədla kāse 'he got angry' (§ 4.4.27.5); C *māqəd* 'burn (tr.)'; see *yuqdāna*

qym   [ClAram √קום; Sab278; Mutz376] G *qāyəm* 'stand up, arise'; *qemi xaprile*
         'they up (and) dig it' (§ 4.4.24); C *māqəm* 'set up'

r

r'y   [ClAram √רעי; Sab286; Mutz376] C *mar'e* 'to take to pasture'

r'š   [ClAram √רגש; Sab286; Mutz376] C *mar'əš* 'awaken'

r'd   [ModH רָעַד] G *rā'əd* 'tremble'

r'l   [ModH הִרְעִיל] C *mar'əl* 'poison'

rgš   [ModH הִרְגִּישׁ] C *margəš* 'feel, notice'

rḥq   [ClAram √רחק; Sab289; Mutz377] G *rāḥəq* 'go far, be far away'; C *marḥəq*
         'remove'; cf. *rəqqa, reqa*

rkw   [ClAram √רכב; Sab290; Mutz377] G *rāku* 'ride'; see *rakāwa*

rkx   [ClAram √רכך; Sab290; Mutz377] C *markəx* 'soften'; see **rakixa*

rpy   [ClAram √רפי; cf. D 'throw, let go' Maclean 1901:200; *⁺rpy* G 'be set free
         against, attack and D 'dispatch,' *rpy* C 'make loose, weak' Sabar 2002:291;
         rpy G 'be released' and C 'release' Mutz377] D *mrāpe* 'loosen, release,
         attack'; *'anna nāše mrupyālu 'əlləd 'Awrāham* 'those people let Abraham
         have it'; C *marpe* 'release'; *'āya ᴴməskenaᴴ murpyāla l-bəxya* 'that poor
         one broke out crying'

rqd   [ClAram √רקד; Sab292; Mutz377] G *rāqəd* 'dance'

rvḥ   [ModH הִרְוִיחַ] C *marvəḥ* 'earn'

rzdg   [K, P; cf. *⁺rzdg, rzk, rzg* Sab288] Q *mrazdəg* 'arrange (table)' (*haggada*)

ṛ

ṛḥm   [H רִחֵם, Ar √رحم; Sab289; Mutz378] D *mrāḥəm* 'have mercy'; see *maṛ-
         ḥāma, mraḥmāna*

ṛwy   [ClAram √רבי; Sab288, Mutz378] C *ṛāwe* 'grow, grow up'; C *marwe*
         'raise, bring up'

ṛym   [ClAram √רום; cf. *⁺rym, yrm* Sab289, *ṛym* Mutz378] C *māṛəm* 'lift';
         māṛəm télefon 'call on the phone' (calque on ModH הֵרִים טֶלֶפוֹן); see
         roṃāṇa

s

sbl   [ModH סָבַל; also ClAram √סבל] G *sābəl* 'bear, suffer' (tr. and intr.)

sdr   [ModH סִדֵּר 'arrange,' הִסְתַּדֵּר 'manage, get along'] D *msādər* 'arrange,
         manage, get along'

skm   [ModH הִסְכִּים] C *maskəm* 'agree'
skn   [Ar √سكن; Sab240; Mutz380] G *sākən* 'dwell'
skr¹   [ModH הִשְׂכִּיר] C *maskər* 'rent out'
skr²   [Ar √سكر; cf. ⁺*skr* Sab240, *skr* Mutz380] C *maskər* 'intoxicate'
skt   [Ar. سكت? cf. *sqṭ* (< Ar سَقَط) 'to die, used of a dog or a bad man, esp. of Mussulmans' Maclean 1901:230] G *sākət* 'croak' (used for non-Jews); cf. *qlql*
slb   [Ar √سلب; Sab240] G *sāləb* rob'
slm   [Ar √سلم; Sab240] D *msāləm* 'deliver, hand over'
smḥ   [ModH שִׂמַּח] D *msāməḥ* 'make happy'
smq   [ClAram √סמק; Sab241; Mutz380] G *sāməq* 'become red'
smx   [ModH הִסְמִיךְ] C *masməx* 'authorize, empower'
snq   [Syr √ܣܢܩ; Sab242; Mutz380] G *sānəq* 'need'; see *sniqa*
sny   [ClAram √סני; Sab241] G *sāne* 'hate'
spk   [ModH הִסְפִּיק] C *maspək* 'manage, succeed'
spq   [ClAram √ספק; Sab242; Mutz381] G *sāpəq* 'be empty'; D *msāpəq* 'empty (tr.)'; see *spiqa*
spr   [ModH סִפֵּר] D *msāpər* 'tell'
sqṭ   [Ar √سقط; Sab243] G *sāqəṭ* 'fall, land (fly on food)'
srq   [ClAram √סרק; Sab244; Mutz381] G *sārəq* 'comb'
sxy   [ClAram √סחי; Sab240; Mutz381] G *sāxe* 'bathe, swim'
syl   [?; cf. MishH √סלל 'act lewdly' Sab12 n.50, 239] G *sāyəl* 'fuck'

ṣ

ṣ'r   [ClAram √צער; Sab269; Mutz381] D *mṣā'ər* 'curse'; see *ṣo'rāsa*
ṣdr   [Ar √صدر] D *mṣādər* 'confiscate'
ṣfr   [Ar √صفر; Sab270] D *mṣāfər* 'whistle'; see *ṣfera*
ṣfṣf   [ModH צִפְצֵף] Q *mṣafṣəf* 'utterly disregard'
ṣlḥ   [ClAram √צלח G and C 'succeed'; ModH הִצְלִיחַ; Ar √صلح 'reconcile'; Sab269] D *mṣāləḥ* 'reconcile'; *maṣləḥ* C 'succeed'
ṣlm   [ModH צִלֵּם] D *mṣāləm* 'photograph'
ṣly   [ClAram √צלי; Sab269; Mutz382] D *mṣāle* 'pray'
ṣpy   [Ar √صفو; Sab270; Mutz383] G *ṣāpe* 'be clear, untroubled (mainly liquid)'
ṣrx   [ClAram √צרח; Sab270; Mutz383] G *ṣārəx* 'call, shout, summon'; C *maṣrəx* 'call for, summon'
ṣw'   [ClAram √צבע; Sab267; Mutz383] G *ṣāwe'* 'dye, color'; see *ṣawā'a, ṣəwya*
ṣyḥ   [Ar √صحح; Sab268] C *māṣəḥ* 'examine, check'

š

šbḥ   [ModH שִׁבַּח] D *mšābəḥ* 'praise'
šdd   [ModH שָׁדַד] G *šādəd* 'rob'
šfṭ   [ModH שָׁפַט] G *šāfəṭ* 'judge'
šḥrr   [ModH שִׁחְרֵר] Q *mšaḥrər* 'free, release'
škl   [Ar √شكل; Sab298–299; Mutz386] G *šākəl* 'begin'

škn   [ModH שִׁכֵּן] D *mšākən* 'settle (tr.)'
šky   [Ar √شكو; Sab298; Mutz386] G *šāke* 'lodge a complaint'
šlm   [ClAram √שלם; cf. D 'pay' < ModH שִׁלֵּם; C 'become or make a Mussul-
          man' Maclean 1901:203, C 'convert to Islam' Sab300] D *mšāləm* 'pay'; C
          mašləm 'convert (tr. and intr.) to Islam'
šlq   [ClAram √שלק] G *šāləq* 'boil (tr. and intr.)'
šlx   [ClAram √שלח; Sab300; Mutz386] G *šāləx* 'take off (clothes)'; see *šulxāya*
šm'   [ClAram √שמע; Hoberman 1989:219; Sab300; Mutz386 and 2002a:485]
          G *šāme'* 'hear'; *šəmya* 'heard'; C *mašme'* 'listen, pay attention'
šmd   [ModH הִשְׁמִיד] C *mašməd* 'destroy'
šmn   [LAram √שמן; Sab301] G *šāmən* 'be fat'
šmr   [ModH שָׁמַר] G *šāmər* 'guard, keep'
šmy   see *šm'*
šny   [ClAram √שני 'change'; Sab301–302; Mutz386] D *mšāne* 'change resi-
          dence, move, depart'
šql   [ClAram √שקל; Sab303; Mutz387] G *šāqəl* 'take'; *šqəlle baxta* 'he took a
          wife'
šrt   [ModH שֵׁרֵת] D *mšārət* 'serve'
šrṭ   [Ar √شرط; Sab303] D *mšārəṭ* 'stipulate'
šry   [ClAram √שרי; Sab303] G *šāre* 'untie'
štf   [ModH שִׁתֵּף; ClAram < Akk] D *mšātəf* 'let participate'
šthr   [*Gt אשתהר; LAram √שהר 'keep a vigil'; Sab305; Mutz387] Q *məštāhər*
          'go blind'; see *šahāra*
šty   [ClAram √שתי; Sab305; Mutz387] G *šāte* 'drink'; C *mašte* 'give drink,
          water, moisten'; *'ən 'āna pešən Zắwa-ži, baxtasexun 'āna lebi maštənnu*
          kullu 'Even if I should become the Zawa (River), I can't moisten all of
          your women'
šṭx   [ClAram √שטח; cf. G in Maclean 1901:304, Sab297, and Mutz387 (also
          šṭḥ)] C *mašṭəx* 'spread out'
švk   [ModH שׁוּק] D *mšāvək* 'market'
šwq   [ClAram √שבק; Sab296; Mutz388] G *šāwəq* 'leave, abandon'
šxn   [ClAram √שחן; Sab299; Mutz388] D *(m)šāxən* 'warm up' (tr.); see *šaxina*
šxnx   [ModH שִׁכְנַע; § 3.3.e] Q *mšaxnəx* 'persuade'
šy'   [ClAram √שוע or שעע; cf. *šy'* Sab297] G *šāyə'* 'plaster'
šydn   [denom. < *šidana* 'crazy' < ClAram שֵׁדָא 'demon'; Sab297; Mutz388] Q
          mšedən 'become crazy, make crazy'; see *mšidəna, šidāna, šidanūsa*

t

tfq   [Ar √وفق < إتَّفَقَ; Sab312; Mutz389] G *tāfəq* 'occur, happen'
tḥl   [ModH הִתְחִיל; Hoberman 1989:79] C *matḥəl* 'begin'
tkf   [ModH הִתְקִיף] C *matkəf* 'attack'
tkl   [Ar √وكل < إتَّكَل; Syr ܬܟܠ; Sab309] G *tākəl* 'trust'
tkn   [ModH תִּקֵּן] D *mtākən* 'fix'
tll   [Syr √ܬܠܠ; Sab310; Mutz389] G *tāləl* 'get wet'
tly   [ClAram √תלי; cf. *tâlî* Maclean 1901:321, *tlty, tly* Sab310 and Mutz389–
          390] G *tāle* 'hang (tr.)'; see *təlya*

tmx   [ModH תָּמַךְ] G *tāməx* 'support'

tpl   [ModH טִפֵּל] D *mtāpəl* 'take care of'

tql   [ClAram √תקל; Sab312] G *tāqəl* 'weigh (tr.)'

tvʿ   [ModH תָּבַע] G *tāvəʿ* 'sue'

twr   [ClAram √תבר; Sab307–308; Mutz390] G *tāwər* 'break (tr.)'; see *tŭra*

txnn   [ModH תִּכְנֵן] Q *mtaxnən* 'plan'

txr   [ClAram √דכר; < Gt *ʾtdkr/ʾdkr*?; Sab309; Mutz390; §3.2.d] G *tāxər* 'remember'; C *matxər* 'remind'

tym   [ClAram √תמם; Sab308; Mutz390] G *tāyəm* 'finish (intr.)'

ṭ

ṭ'n   [ClAram √טען; Sab170; Mutz391] C *maṭ'ən* 'load'

ṭ'y   [ClAram √טעי; cf. *ṭ'y* Sab170 and Mutz391] G *ṭāʿe* 'search, look for'

ṭlb   [Ar √طلب; Sab172; Mutz392] G *ṭāləb* 'request'

ṭlq   [Ar √طلق; cf. G and D Sab173] D *mṭāləq* 'divorce'; see *ṭalāqe*

ṭpr   [Anatolian Ar *ṭpr* 'catch fever'; Maclean 1901:113,325; Sab174] G *ṭāpər* 'burn (intr.)' (*haggada*)

ṭpy   [LEAram √טפי; Sab174; Mutz392 and 2005:101] G *ṭāpe* 'stick (tr.), kindle, be inflamed'

ṭrp   [ClAram √טרף; cf. 'strike, overthrow' Maclean 1901:114, 'applaud' Sab-175, 'attack' Mutz392] G *ṭārep* 'attack, fall upon'

ṭry   [ClAram √טרי; Sab175; Mutz392] G *ṭāre* 'drive (a car), set in motion'

ṭrṣ   [ClAram √תרץ; cf. *târiṣ* Maclean 1901:327, ⁺*trṣ* Sab313, *ṭrṣ* Mutz392] G *ṭārəṣ* 'be healthy, become healthy' see *ṭrosa*

ṭšy   (ClAram √טשי; Sab175; Maclean 2008:392] D *mṭāše* 'hide'

ṭw'   [ClAram √טבע; Sab171; Mutz393] G *ṭāwe'* 'fall asleep'

ṭwy   [ClAram √טוי; Sab171; Mutz393] D *mṭāwe* 'roast' (tr.)

w

wlwl   [Ar √ولول; Hozaya & Youkhana 1999:253] Q *mwalwəl* 'wail'

x

xbd   [ModH כִּבֵּד] D *mxābəd* 'honor'; see *kāwód*

xdr   [ClAram √חדר; cf. cf. *x/ġḏ/dr* Sab192, *xðr* Mutz395] G *xādər* 'go around'

xdy   [ClAram √חדי; Sab192; §4.4.23.5] G *xāde* 'rejoice'; with dummy 3 f.s. obj. suff. *xədyālu* 'they rejoiced'; see *xədyūsa*

xll   [ClAram √חלל; Sab197; Mutz396] D *mxaləl* 'wash'

xlp   [ClAram √חלף; cf. D (tr.) Sab197, G (intr.), D (tr.) Mutz396] G *xāləp* 'change, exchange' (tr.); more commonly D *mxāləp* 'change, exchange' (tr.)

xlq   [Ar √خلق; Sab197; Mutz396] G *xāləq* 'create'

xlṣ   [Ar √خلص 'finish, save'; Sab197; Mutz396] G *xāləṣ* 'finish, be saved, get rid of'; D *mxāləṣ* 'save'

xlw   [ClAram √חלב; Sab197; Mutz396] G *xālu* 'milk'

xm' [ClAram √חמע; cf. G 'be leavened, C 'leaven (tr.)' Sab198; G 'be leavened' Avidani 1959:46 and Alfiye 1986:55] C *maxme'* 'become leavened' (*haggada*)

xpq [ClAram √חבק; cf. *xp/bq* Sab199] G *xāpəq* 'embrace, hug'

xpr [ClAram √חפר; Sab199; Mutz397] G *xāpər* 'dig'

xrḥ [ModH הִכְרִיחַ] C *maxrəḥ* 'force'

xrw [ClAram √חרב; Sab200; Mutz397] G *xāru* 'be ruined'; C *maxru* 'destroy'; see *xarbé*

xṛxṛ [K; Sab200] Q *mxaṛxəṛ* 'have pity'

xrz [ModH הִכְרִיז] C *maxrəz* 'declare'

xss [ClAram √חדת; Sab202] D *mxasəs* 'renew'; see *xāsa*²

xšx [ClAram √חשח < Akk *ḫašāḫu*? Kaufman 1974:54; Sab201] G *xāšəx* 'be (religiously) proper'

xšw [ClAram √חשב; Sab201; Mutz397] G *xāšu* 'think, consider'

xtf [ModH חָטַף] G *xātəf* 'seize, snatch'

xtm [ModH חָתַם; cf. ClAram √חתם 'seal, end'] G *xātəm* 'sign'

xtr [Syr √ܚܬܪ; cf. G Maclean 1901:108 and Sab202] D *mxātər* 'boast, be proud'

xṭr [ClAram √חטר; Sab195; Mutz397] G *xāṭər* 'beat, hit'; see *xuṭṭa*

xwr [ClAram √חור; Sab194; Mutz398] C *maxwər* 'whiten'; see **xwāra*

xyk [LEAram √חכך; Sab196] G *xāyək* 'scratch'

xyp [ClAram √חפף; Sab196; Mutz398] G *xāyəp* 'wash oneself'

xyy [ClAram √חיי; Sab196; Mutz398] G *xāye* 'live'

xzd [ClAram √חצד; cf. *ġ/xẓd* Sab135, *xāzəd*, *ġāzəd* Mutz398] G *xāzəd* 'harvest'

xzy [ClAram √חזי; Sab195; Mutz398] G *xāze* 'see, find'; C *maxze* 'show'

y

y'y [ClAram √ידע; Sab176; Mutz399; § 4.4.28.19] G *yā'e* 'he may know'; *y'elox* 'you know'; *'āna lá-ki'ən* 'I am unaware'; *lá-či'ətte* 'you don't know him'(§ 4.4.9.c); C *mayde'* 'inform, announce, notify'

yd' see *y'y*

yhw(l) [ClAram -ל + √יהב; Sab176; Mutz399; § 4.4.28.20] G *yāwəl* 'give, pay'; *hiwa* 'given'

ymy [ClAram √ימי; Sab178] G *yāme* 'swear'; C *mayme* 'adjure'; see *momāsa*

ypy [ClAram √אפי; Sab178; Mutz99] G *yāpe* 'bake'

yrq [ClAram √ירק; Sab179; Mutz399] G *yārəq* 'become green'

yrx [ClAram √ארך; Sab179] G *yārəx* 'be long'; C *mayrəx* 'lengthen'; see *yarixa*

ysq [ClAram √סלק; Sab178; Mutz399] G *yāsəq* 'ascend'; C *māsəq* 'bring up'

ysr [ClAram √אסר; Sab178; Mutz399] G *yāsər* 'bind, tie'

yšr [ModH יִשֵּׁר] D *myāšər* 'straighten'

ytw [ClAram √יתב; Sab179; Mutz399] G *yātu* 'sit'; inchoative verb in *ytw* + *b* + Gerund; C *mattu* 'put, place'; *mətwáli* 'I placed her'

ywš [ClAram √יבש; cf. *wyš, ywš* Sab154, *wyš* (JBetan < JZakho) Mutz393] G *yāwəš* 'dry up (intr.)'

z

zbn   see *zwn*

zbr   [ModH הִסְבִּיר colloquially *hizbir*] C *mazbər* 'explain'

zd'   [ClAram t-stem of √זוע; Nöldeke 1868:195] G *zāde'* 'fear'; see **zad'ə-wāna*, *zde'sa*, *zdo'sa*

zgr   [ModH הִסְגִּיר colloquially *hizgir*] C *mazgər* 'hand over'

zky   [ClAram √זכי?; Ar أَزْكَى?; cf. G 'deserve,' D 'let someone possess a merit' Sab159] C *mazke* 'grant merit'; *'ilāha mazkela* 'May God grant her merit' (cf. *'ilāha mzākēlexun* Sab159); see *zxy*

zlṭ   [K *zrṭ*? cf. *zrṭ* 'prahlen mit reden (etwa vor dem kampf), ausschelten' Ritter 1990:228] C *mazl̲aṭ* 'convert (tr.)'

zmn   [ModH הִזְמִין] C *mazmən* 'invite'

zmr   [ClAram √זמר; Mutz400] G *zāmər* 'sing'; see *'mr, zəmrəyāsa*

zqr   [ClAram √זקר; Sab160; Mutz400] G *zāqər* 'weave'

zr'   [ClAram √זרע; Sab160; Mutz400] G *zāre'* 'sow, seed'

zrm   [ModH זֶרֶם] G *zārəm* 'flow'

zwn   [ClAram √זבן; Sab156; Mutz401] G *zāwən* 'buy'; D *mzābən* 'sell'

zwr   [K; Sab156; Mutz401] C *zāwər* 'go around'; C 'turn (around) (tr.)'

zxy   [ModH זָכָה] G *zāxe* 'deserve, merit'; see *zky*

zyč   [?] G *zāyeč* 'squeeze out, pull out'

zyd   [Ar √زيد; Sab158; Mutz401] G *zāyəd* 'increase (intr.)'; see *zodāna*, *bə́z-zodāna*

ẓ

ẓlm   [Ar √ظلم; cf. D (tr.) *zlm*, ⁺*d̲lm* Sab271, G (tr.) *ẓlm* Mutz401] G *ẓālem* 'oppress, force'

Nouns, Adjectives, and Particles

ﺀ

ʾā	see ʾāya
ʾabla	[T Hony 1957:1] f. 'older sister'
ʾabresəm	[LEAram < P; Sab89] m. 'silk'
ʾádlele	[ʾd + lele; Jastrow 1990:101; cf. ʾıḏlal Sab90, ʾədlel Mutz118] adv. 'tonight'; see lele
ʾafəllu	[H אֲפִלּוּ; Sab99; Mutz128] conj. 'even'
ʾaffandi	[T < Gr; Sab99] m. 'effendi, official'
ʾāġa	[T, K, P; Sab88; Mutz328] m. 'master, agha'; pl. ʾāġāye
ʾāġātūsa	[ʾāġa + K. abstr. suff. -at + abstr. suff. -ūsa] f. 'masterdom, state of being an agha'; bodi ʾāġātūsa 'they perform the duties of the agha'
ʾahāli	[Ar أَهَالِي; Sab90] pl. tant. 'population, people'
ʾāhat, ʾāt	[ClAram m.s. (ה)אנת, f.s. (י)אנת; Hoberman 1988 and 1990; Jastrow 1990; cf. ʾāhət m.s. and ʾāhat f.s. Sab88; Mutz328] indep. prn. 'you (c.s.)'
ʾakčən	[? + אך; cf. akchûn, akhchünta 'in so far as, whenever' Maclean 1901:8, ʾıxjın, ʾıkčın, ʾıqčin, qčīn, maxčın 'the size of' Sab95] 'the size of'; ʾakčən xa tora 'the size of a bull'; ʾakčən məzzəd rešox 'as many as the hairs on your head'
ʾako	[K] conj. 'when'; see čukun, ko
ʾāla	[K; Sab88; Mutz328] f. 'side, direction'; pl. ʾalāle; l-é-ʾāl 'in that direction'; mən d-axxa u-l-é-āl 'from here on'; mənne u-l-é-ʾāl 'from there on'; tam l-é-ʾāl 'from there on,' ʾatta-u-l-é-ʾāl 'from now on' (cf. JZakho mın ʾıdyo ulēʾāla Sabar 2005:202)
ʾaláy	[K, P, T; cf. ʾalāy ⁺qomandar 'the chief of Staff' Sab96] 'military regiment'
ʾaḷḷa	[Ar الله; Sab96] m. 'God'; see ʾilāha, ʾišaḷḷa, waḷḷa
ʾalpa	[ClAram אַלְפָּא; Sab96; Mutz328] 'thousand'; pl. ʾalpe
ʾamita	[Ar عَمِيد?] 'civilian police'
ʾamoya	[K amo, IrAr ʾammu < Ar عَمّ; Sab97; Mutz328] m. 'paternal uncle'; pl. ʾamawāsa; ʾamoyi 'my paternal uncle'; ʾamód d-é Šambi 'the paternal uncle of that Shambi'; ʾamo 'Uncle! (voc.)'; see ʾamta
ʾamra	[ClAram עַמְרָא; Sab97; Mutz328] 'wool'; cf. marʿaz
ʾamta	[Syr ܚܳܡܬܳܐ; Sab97; Mutz328] f. 'maternal aunt'; see ʾamoya
ʾan	see ʾanna
ʾāna	[ClAram אֲנָא; Hoberman 1988 and 1990; Jastrow 1990; Sab89; Mutz328] indep. prn. 'I (c.)'
ʾanəšk(a?)	[K Chyet 2003:7] f. 'elbow'; attested only in ʾanəškəd gyāne 'his own elbow(s)'
ʾanglisnāya	see ʾənglisnāya
ʾanglizi	[Ar أَنكليزي; cf. inglézi Maclean 1901:15, ʾ/ʿinglēzi Sab98 and 1990: 59] m. 'English'; see ʾənglisnāya

ʾāni   [JBA הֵנָא, Syr ܗܵܢܝ; PNENA *ahnin, āni* Hoberman 1988:569; Hoberman 1990; Jastrow 1990; Sab89; Mutz382] indep. prn. 'they (c.)'

ʾanna, ʾan   [JBA הֵנָא, Syr ܗܵܢܝ; cf. *ʾa/ınna/e/i* Sab97–98, *ʾanna* Mutz328; Jastrow 1990] dem. prn. 'these, those (c.)'

ʾaqalta   see *ʾaqla*

ʾaqla, ʾaqalta [ClAram עקל; Krotkoff 1985:130–131; Sab99; Mutz328] f. 'foot'; pl. *ʾaqle, ʾaqlāsa*

ʾaqqar, ʾáqqara [*ʾad* + Ar قَدَر; cf. *ʾoqad(da), ʾoqat, ʾaϑqa(da)* Sab91; *ʾoqad, ʾóqad-da* Mutz333] adv. 'so much, to such an extent'; see *qadər, qudrəta*

ʾaqubra   [TO and JBA עכְבְּרָא, Syr ܥܲܟ݂ܒܪܵܐ; Sab99; Mutz328] 'mouse'

ʾarʾa   [ClAram אַרְעָא; Sab99; Mutz329] f. 'land, earth, field'; *ʾarʾāya* (*haggada* = הָאָרץ); pl. *ʾarʾāsa, ʾarʾāne*

ʾarba   [ClAram אַרְבְּעָא; Sab100; Mutz114] 'four'; *kútʾarbeni* 'the four of us'; see *ʾarbaʾsar, ʾarbamma, ʾarbi, ʾarbūšeb*

ʾarbaʾsar   [Syr ܐܲܪܒܲܥܸܣܲܪ; cf. *ʾarbaʾsar* Sab100, *ʾarbáʾəssar* Mutz115] 'four-teen'; see *ʾarba, ʾarbamma, ʾarbi, ʾarbušəb*

ʾarbamma   [*ʾarba* + *əmma*; cf. *ʾarbeʾma, ʾarba-ʾımmāye, ʾarba ʾımma* Sab100; *ʾarbáʾəmma* Mutz329; § 4.3.3] 'four hundred'; see *ʾarba, ʾarbaʾsar; ʾarbi, ʾarbūšeb*

ʾarbi   [ClAram אַרְבְּעִין; cf. *ʾarbi, ʾarbıʾi* Sab100, *ʾarbi* Mutz115] 'forty'; see *ʾarba, ʾarbaʾsar, ʾarbamma, ʾarbūšeb*

ʾarbūšeb   [LAram ארבעא בשבא; cf. *ʾarbōšıb, ʾarbūšıb* Sab100, *ʾárbošeb* Mutz117] 'Wednesday'; see *ʾarba, ʾarbaʾsar, ʾarbamma, ʾarbi*

ʾarməlsa   [ClAram אַרְמַלְתָּא; Sab101; Mutz329] f. 'widow'

ʾarye   [ClAram אַרְיָא, pl. אַרְיְוָתָא; Sab100; Mutz329] pl. 'lions'

ʾarzūḥal, ʾarzuḥál [T *arzuhál* < Ar عَرْض حَال] m. 'written request, petition'

ʾaskanāne   [?] pl. 'type of cake'

ʾáškara   [K, P; Sab101; Mutz329] adv. 'openly, publicly'

ʾāt   see *ʾāhat*

ʾatta   [*ʾhā danta* < עדְנָא Mutz329; Sab101; cf. BiblAram כָּעֶנֶת, כְּעַן] adv. 'now'; *ʾatta-u-l-é-ʾāl* 'from now on'; *m-atta* 'from now'

ʾatxa   see *hatxa*

*ʾaṭrušnāya   [GN *Aṭruš* + gent. suff. *-nāya*] 'resident of Atruš (Iraqi Kurdistan)'; f. *ʾaṭrušnesa*

ʾavrāza   [K; Sab89] 'steep slope, hard climb'

ʾawwal   [Ar أَوَّل; Sab91; Mutzafi 2004:168] ord. num. 'first'; *yom ʾawwal* 'first day'

ʾax-   see *ʾaxxa*

ʾāxər   [Ar أَخِّر; cf. *âkher, âkhir* 'well!, to be sure!, at last' Maclean 1901:8] excl. 'well!'

ʾaxnan   [ClAram אֲנַחְנָא; Hoberman 1988 and 1990; Jastrow 1990; Maclean 1901:8; cf. *ʾaxni, ʾaxnēni, ʾaxnan* Sab96, *ʾaxnan, ʾaxni* Mutz329] indep. prn. 'we (c.)'

ʾaxona   [ClAram אַח + dim. suff. *-ona*; Sab95; Mutz329] m. 'brother'; pl. *ʾaxawāsa*; see *xāsa*[1]

’axtun [ClAram אנתון; Hoberman 1988; Jastrow 1990; cf. ’axtun, ’áxt/
nōxun Sab96, ’axtoxun, ’axtun Mutz329] indep. prn. 'you (c. pl.)'

’axūsa [LEAram אחותא < ClAram אח + abstr. suff. ותא-? < *’axwsā?] f.
'brotherhood'

’axxa, ’ax- [ClAram הָכָא; Sab95; Mutz330] adv. 'here'; l-axxa 'here, to here,'
mən ’axxa, m-axxa, mən d-axxa, 'from here'; ’áx-geb tán-geb
(ṭamắha-geb) 'when all's said and done, eventually'

’āya, ’ā [TO and TJ הַהִיא; Hoberman 1990; Jastrow 1990; cf. ’āwa 'he,'
’āya 'she' Sab88 and Mutz40] indep. prn. 'he, she, it'; also dem.
prn. 'that (one; c.)'

’ayāha [Sab92; Mutz330] dem. prn. 'that one over there'

’e [TO and TJ הַהִיא; Sab92; Mutz330] dem. prn. 'that (c.)'; see ’egā

’eda [Syr ܥܐܕܐ; Sab92; Mutz330] pl. ’edawāsa 'holidays'

’egā [’e + gā; Sab92; Mutz330] adv. 'so then, now then'

’eka [ClAram אֵיכָא; Sab93; Mutz330] adv. 'where?'; m-eka 'from
where?'; see ke¹

’ena [ClAram (Bibl Aram עַיְנָא, Syr ܥܝܢܐ, TO עֵינָא); Sab94 and Mutz-
330] f. (1) 'eye', (2) 'spring, well'; pl. ’ene 'eyes'; ’enāsa 'springs,
wells'; go ’eni 'willingly' (calque on Ar عَلَى عَيْني); cf. kāni

’eni [Syr ܐܝܢܐ; cf. énî Maclean 1901:10, ēmi Sab94, ’ema Mutz330]
interr. prn. 'which?'; adj. ’éni-əšti kiloye, šo’i kiloye 'some sixty
kilos, seventy kilos'

’era [Ar أَير; Sab94; Mutz330] 'penis'

’ewa see wewa

’əbb-, ’əbbəd see b-

’əč’a [ClAram תִּשְׁעָה; Sab90; Mutz115] 'nine'; see ’əčča'sar

’əčča'sar [Syr ܬܫܥܣܪ; cf. ’əčča'sar Sab90, ’əččá'əssar Mutz115] 'nineteen';
see ’əč’a

’əd- see d-, ’ədyo, ’ádlele

’ədyo [’d + yoma; Jastrow 1990:101; Sab90; Mutz331] adv. 'today'; see
yoma, palgədyo

’əġdād, ’ə́ġdāde [*ḥad + ḥad; LEAram Kutscher 1964:124; cf. ’ixḏāḏe, ’ix/ġzāze,
’ixḏe Sab95, ’əxðe Mutz332] reciprocal prn. 'one another, togeth-
er'; m- ə́ġdād(e), l-ə́ġdād(e), go ’əġdād, reš ’əġdāde

’əl-, ’əlləd see l-

’ələl see l-’ələl

’əl‘uwwa [ClAram לְגוֹ; < *l³-ġawwāya Mutz23; cf. (l)gâ-wâ-î Maclean
1901:46, lo’a Khan 1999:573, (l)’ōya Sab247, lawġəl, lawġul Tezel
2003:246, lo’a Mutzafi 2004:229 and 2005:96, ’oya, l-‘oya Mutz-
23] prep. 'inside'; cf. go, gaw-

’əlisa [TO אַלְיְתָא, JBA אֲלִיתָא, Syr ܐܠܝܬܐ; cf. ’ülīta, ’ilīta Sab96] f. 'fat
tail'

’əlla [ClAram אֶלָּא < לָא + אֵן; Sab96, Mutz331] conj. 'except, but
rather'; adv. 'certainly' see ’ən

’əl-tắma see tāma

’əltəx [ClAram ת(ו)חת; cf. txēṯ/txe, xēṯ, xē Sab309, ’əltəx Mutz331] adv.
'below, beneath'; ’əltəx ’əltəx 'way below'; see ’əltxé(t?), xe

ʾəltxé(t?)　　[ClAram ת(ו)חת; Sab309] prep. 'under'; see ʾəltəx, xe

ʾəmər　　[Ar أَمْر; cf. ʾımır, ʾımır Sab97] m. 'order'; see ʾmr, ʾmṛ, maʿmúṛ

ʾəmma　　[ClAram מאה; Steiner 1995; Hoberman 2007:149; cf. ʾımma, pl. ʾımmawāta, ʾımmāye/-he Sab97, ʾəmma, pl. ʾəmmāhe Mut331] 'hundred'; pl. ʾəmmāhe; -mma when enclitic to number, e.g., šöʾámma 'seven hundred'

ʾəmməta　　[K, T < Ar أُمَّة; cf. ʾümmıta Sab97] f. 'nation'

ʾəmḅāši　　[T onbaşı Hony 1957:275; cf. umbāši Spitaler 1967:89] m. 'corporal'

ʾənglisnāya, ʾanglisnāya　　[K, Ar < Eng + gent. suff. -nāya; cf. ʾ/ʿɪngliznāya Sab98, ʾəngliznāya Mutz334] m. 'Englishman'; see ʾanglizi

ʾən　　[ClAram אֵן; Sab97; Mutz331] conj. 'if, or'; ʾən la 'if not'; see ʾəlla

ʾənwe　　[ClAram עֵנְבָא; Sab98; Mutz331] pl. 'grapes'

ʾəpra　　[ClAram עֵפְרָא; Sab99; Mutz331] m. 'earth, soil'

ʾəqra　　[ClAram עֵקְרָא; Sab99; Mutz331] 'bottom, base'

ʾərba　　[LEaram: JBA ערבא, ארבא, Syr ܐܸܪܒ݂ܵܐ; Sab100; Mutz331–332] f. 'sheep'; pl. ʾərbe

ʾərbāla　　[ClAram עֲרְבְּלָא; Sab100; Mutz332] 'coarse sieve'; pl. ʾərbāle

ʾərota　　[LAram ערובתא; Blau & Hopkins 2006:439; Sab100; Mutz332;] f. 'Friday'

ʾərwāna　　[Syr ܚܘܵܢܵܐ Mutzafi (p.c.); Sab100] m. 'kindness, charity, good deed'

ʾəryāna　　[Syr ܝܵܢܵܐ; Mutz332] m. 'rain'

ʾəṛxe　　[ClAram רֵחְיָא; cf. ʾırxe Sab100, ʾəṛxe Mutz332] 'mill'

ʾəspa　　[ClAram √אסף Sab98; יוֹף < אסף? Mutz332] m. 'loan'; b-əspa 'on loan'

ʾəsri　　[ClAram עשרין; Sab99; Mutz115] 'twenty'; see ʾəṣṛa

ʾəstakāne　　[K < Russian Chyet 2003:286] pl. 'small glasses for tea'

ʾəṣṛa　　[ClAram עשרא; cf. ʾısra(?), ʾıṣra Sab99, ʾəṣṛa Mutz332] 'ten'; see ʾəsri

ʾəškāsa　　[LAram אשכתא; cf. pl. (ʾe)škāṯa, reškāsa Sab101, ʾəškəkϑa, pl. ʾəškāϑa Mutz332] pl. 'testicles'

ʾəšta　　[LWAram אשתא < ClAram שְׁתָּא; Sab101; Mutz114] 'six'; see ʾəštaʾsar, ʾəšti

ʾəštaʾsar　　[Syr ܥܸܣܬܲܥܣܲܪ(ܐ); cf. ʾištaʾsar Sab101, ʾəštáʾəssar Mutz117] 'sixteen'; see ʾəšta, ʾəšti

ʾəšti　　[TO שְׁתִּין, Syr ܥܸܫܬܝܼ, ܥܸܫܬܝܼ; Sab101; Mutz115] 'sixty'; see ʾəšta, ʾəštaʾsar

ʾəštắṛ　　[ModH?; (א)שְׁטַר Ben-Yaacob 1985:195 < H, Aram < Akk; cf. šaṭṭar Sab297] 'document'

ʾəšvaṭ　　[ClAram שְׁבָט/שְׁבַט; cf. ishwâṭ Maclean 1901:21, (א)שְׁבָט Ben-Yaacob 1985:189, šavaṭ Sab294, šawaṭ Mutz385] 'month of Shevat'

ʾətwa　　see ʾit

ʾəxre　　[LEaram חריא; Sab96; Mutz332] pl. tant. 'excrement, shit'

ʾəzla　　[Syr ܐܸܙܠܵܐ; Sab92; Mutz332] m. 'yarn'; pl. ʾəzlāle

ʾəzza　　[ClAram עֵזָּא; Sab92; Mutz332] f. 'goat'; cf. marʿaz

’ib-   see *’it*

’ida   [LAram אידא < ClAram יְדָא; Sab92; Mutz330–331] f. ‘hand, side, direction’; pl. *’idāsa*; *b-íya-’ida u-yǎ́-’ida* ‘when it comes down to it, at any rate’ (lit. ‘in this hand and this hand’); *āni zəllu ’idəd Pắras-ži* ‘They went (in) the direction of Persia too’

’ilāha   [ClAram אֱלָהָא; cf. *’i/ílāha*, *’ilā(ha)* Sab93, *’ilāha* Mutz331] m. ‘God’; see *’aḷḷa*, *’išaḷḷa*, *waḷḷa*

’ilāna   [ClAram אִילָנָא; Sab93; Mutz331] ‘tree’

’ile, -ile, -le, -yle [Sabar 93; Mutz50; §4.4.6.1] 3 m.s. present copula

’imal   [ClAram אמתי; cf. *’īman*, *’īmal* Sab94, *’imal* Mutz331] interr. adv. ‘when?’

’išaḷḷa   [K < Ar إِنْ شَاءَ اللّٰهُ; Sab95] ‘God willing’; see *’aḷḷa*, *’ilāha*, *waḷḷa*

’it, ’itən, ’ítəna [ClAram אית; cf. *’īṭ*, *’īṭın*, *’īs*, *’īsın* Sab95, *’iϑ*, *’iϑən*, *’íϑena* Mutz-331; §4.8.1] predicator of existence ‘there is’; *ətwa* ‘there was’; *’ibi* (< אית בי; §4.8.2) ‘I can’; *’ibe ᴴb-gilᴴ əšta šənne* ‘He is six years old’; *ətwāba* ‘she contained’; cf. *let*, *letən*

’ixāla   [ClAram √אכל; Sab93; Mutz331] ‘eating, food’

’iya, yā- [cf. *’a/ıyya(n)* Sab92, *’iyya* Khan 1999:563] dem. prn. ‘this (c.)’; *b-íya-’ida u-yǎ́-’ida* ‘when it comes down to it, at any rate’; filler *’iya mā kəmrila* ‘what do you call it?—’ (lit. ‘this is what they call it’)

’o   [JZakho *’o*] dem. prn. ‘that’

’oḍa   [Ar أُوضَة < T; cf. ⁺*ōda* Sab91, *’oda* Mutz333] ‘room’; pl. *’oḍe*

’ogā   [JZakho *’o* + *gā*] adv. ‘at that time’; see *gā*

’ordi   [T; cf. *ûrdû* Maclean 1901:6] f. ‘army’

’oṣmoḷḷi [T *Osmanlı* < Ar عُثْمَان; cf. ⁺*osmalli* Sab91] m. ‘Ottoman’

*’umra   [Syr ܥܘܼܡܪܐ; cf. *’umṛa* Mutz333] ‘monastery, church’

’uramarnāya [GN *’Uramar* + gent. suff. -*nāya*] m. ‘resident of Uramar (Turkish Kurdistan)’

’urxa   [ClAram אוּרְחָא; Sab91; Mutz333] f. ‘road, way; *b-’urxa b-’urxa* ‘along the way’ (cf. *’urxa ’urxa* Mutz294, 322); *’urxa düqāli* ‘I took the road (= I left)’; *mxele ’urxa* ‘he hit the road’

’uṛwa   [*’urwa* < *rurwa* Mutzafi 2006:126–127; cf. ClAram רַבָּא; Sab91, 288; cf. *ərwa* Mutz332] m. ‘big, important, grown-up’; *xa besa ’uṛwa* ‘a big house’; f. *ṛapsa*; *dūka ṛapsa* ‘large place’; pl *’uṛwe*; *baṛāne ’uṛwe* ‘large rams’; *škaftyāsa ’uṛwe ’uṛwe* ‘very large caves’; *təjjāre ’úṛwe-lu* ‘they are important merchants’; see *’uṛwāna*, *’uṛwanūsa*, *ṛāba*

’uṛwāna [’uṛwa* + suffix -*āna*] m. ‘leader’; pl. *’uṛwāne*; *kúllu-ži āġáye-lu ’uṛwáne-lu* ‘all of them are aghas, they are leaders’; see *’uṛwa*, *’uṛwanūsa*, *ṛāba*

’uṛwanūsa [cf. *rürwanūṭa* Sab288] f. ‘greatness’; see *’uṛwa*, *ṛāba*

’ušya   [K *ûşî* ‘bunch of grapes’ Chyet 2003:632] ‘cluster (of grapes)’

ʿ

ʿabba   [Ar عِبّ; cf. ʿubba Sab247, ʿoppa Spitaler 1967:82] 'inner pocket of garment'

ʿačāyəb   [T acayib < Ar عَجَائِب; cf. ʿajab 'wonder,' pl. ʿajābe, ʿajaby/wāṯa, ʿajabāṯa Sab247, ʿajabāϑa 'miracles, wonders' Mutz334] excl. 'how strange!'

ʿādəta   [K < Ar عَادَة; cf. ʿâdat, ʿâditâ, ʿâdé, ʿadât Maclean 1901:235, ʿāde Sab246 and Mutz334] f. 'custom'

ʿamaliya   [Ar عَمَلِيّة; Sab250] f. '(medical) operation'

*ʿamənnāya   [GN ʿAmədya + gent. suff. -nāya; cf. ʿamıdnāya Sab250, ʿaməd-nāya Mutz334] m. 'resident of Amidya'; pl. ʿammənnāye

ʿāni   [H עָנִי; Sab251] inv. 'poor person'

ʿanjil   [K, T, Ar < Gr; cf. ʾ/ʿınjil Sab98 and 1990:59, ʾənjil Mutz331] 'Gospels'

*ʿaqār   [K, Ar عَقَار; Sab251] 'immovable property'; pl. ʿaqāre

ʿāqəl   [Ar عَقْل; cf. ʿāqıl, ʾaqıl Sab246, ʿāqəl Mutz334] m. 'reason, mind, knowledge'; mād ʿáqəli qāṭe 'as far as I find reasonable'; ʿáqəli lá-qāṭeʾ 'my mind doesn't find (it) reasonable'; ʿáqəlu mpəllu 'they fell from their senses'

ʿaqida   [Ar عَقِيد 'colonel'] m. '(military) leader'

ʿāra   [Ar عَار; cf. ʿār Maclean 1901:243] m. 'shame'

*ʿarabāya   [Ar عَرَب + gent. suff. -āya; Sab252; Mutz334] m. Arab; pl. ʿarab-āye

ʿaraqin   [K, Ar عَرَق; cf. ʿaraqin, ʿaraqi Sab252, ʿaraqin Mutz334] m. 'ar-rack'

ʿaskar   [K, T, Ar عَسْكَر; cf. ʾaskar, ʿaskar Sab98, ʿaskar Mutz334] m. 'army, soldier'; lu wide ʿaskar 'they have done the army (service)' (calque on ModH עָשָׂה צָבָא?)

ʿaṣəl   [K, T, Ar أَصْل; ʿaṣıl Sab251] m. '(good) origin'; see be-ʿáṣəl, *ʿaṣ-lāya, ʿaṣli, māra (mare ʿaṣəl)

*ʿaṣlāya   [K, T, Ar أَصْل + gent. suff. -āya; ʿaṣlāya Sab251] m. 'of good origin'; pl. ʿaṣlāye; see ʿaṣli, ʿaṣəl, be-ʿáṣəl, māra (mare ʿaṣəl)

ʿaṣli   [K, T, Ar أَصْلِي] inv. 'genuine, of (good) origin'; see *ʿaṣlāya, be-ʿáṣəl, māra (mare ʿaṣəl)

ʿāṣərta   [Ar عَصْر; cf. ʿāṣırta, ʿāṣır Sab246, ʿāṣər, ʿāṣərta Mutz334] f. 'eve-ning'

ʿaširat   [K, T, Ar عَشِيرَة; cf. ʿašīrıta, pl. ʿašīrıtyāṭa, ʿašrıyāṭa Sab252; ʿaširat, pl. ʿaširatte Mutz334] tribe, clan'; pl. ʿaširatte

ʿaṭarka   [Ar عَطَّار + K suff. -k; cf. ʿŭṭâr Maclean 1901:238, ʿaṭāra Sab248] m. 'peddler'

ʿāwon   [H עָוֹן; Sab247; Mutz334] 'sin, guilt'; see qdāla

ʿaziza   [Ar عَزِيز; Sab248] m. 'beloved, dear'

ʿeba   [Ar عَيْب; Sab248; Mutz334] m. 'disgrace'

ʿeġəl   [H עֵגֶל; Sab247] 'the Golden Calf'

ʿel   'family' [Ar عِيَّل; cf. ʿéyâl (< عِيَال) 'family' Maclean 1901:238, ʿēl '(tribal Arab) populace' Sab249] 'family'

ʿeraqnāya   [Gn *ʿEraq* + gent. suff. -*nāya*] m. 'Iraqi'; pl. *ʿeraqnāye*

ʿᵊnād   [Ar عِنَاد; cf. *ʿᵻnyad* Sab251] 'mutual resistance'

ʿᵊnyān   [H, LAram עִנְיָן; Sab251] 'matter, affair'

ʿjiza   [Ar عَجِيز; cf. *ʿjiza* Mutz334] m. 'tired, weary'; pl. *ʿjize*

*ʿujna   [Ar √عجن; cf. *ʿᵻjna* Sab247] 'batch or bowl of dough'; pl. *ʿujne*; *ʿujne paṭire* 'batches of unleavened bread' (= עֻגּוֹת מַצּוֹת; *haggada*)

ʿumbāre   [Ar أَنْبَر, عَنْبَر; cf. ⁺*ʿümbar, ʿüm/nbāre* Sab250, *ʿambāre* Avidani 1959:41] pl. storehouses (*haggada*)

ʿurṭūsa   [Syr ܐܘܪܬܘ; cf. *ʿurṭīṭa* Sab248; *ʿrṭ* Mutz335; Steiner 1995:54–56] f. 'fart'

b

b-, ʾᵊbb-, ʾᵊbbᵊd   [ClAram -בְּ; Sab103; Hoberman 2007:149; Mutz335] 'in, at, on'

bāba   [Syr ܒܵܒܵܐ; T, K, Ar بَابَا; Sab103; Mutz335] m. 'father'; *bába-u-yᵊmma* 'parents'; pl. *babawāsa*; excl. *bāba, bābo* 'Father!, my God! (voc.)'

badal, m-badal   [Ar بَدَل; cf. *mbâdâl, mbădâl* 'instead of' Maclean 1901:153] prep. 'in place of'

*baġdannāya   [GN *Baġdad* + gent. suff. -*nāya*; cf. *baġdad(n)āya, baġdannāya* Sab104; §3.6.b] m. 'resident of Baghdad'; f. *baġdannesa*

bahar   [K; Sab106; Mutz336] 'spring season'

*bahūra   [Syr ܒܗܘܪܐ; Sab105; Mutz336] 'bright'; pl. *bahūre*

bahwarūsa   [K + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*; cf. *bahwari/ūta* Sab105] f. 'faith, trust'

baḥḥar   [K, Ar بَحْر; cf. *baḥ(ḥ)ar* Sab107, *baḥḥar* Mutz336] 'sea, lake'

baḥs   [K, T, Ar بَحْث; Sab107; Mutz121,336] 'report, talk, mention'; *godᵊt baḥse* 'you make mention of him' (cf. *me:so:ye baḥsox* לדבר עליך Avinery 1988:218)

bak   [T, K, Ar بِيك; cf. *bag, beg, bek* Maclean 1901:24, *bag* Sab104 and Mutz336] m. 'bey, lord'

bāla   [ClAram בָּלָא; Sab103; Mutz336] m. 'attention'

balamina   [Ar بَرِّيمَة, بَيْرَم < P? Lane 1863:195; Almkvist 1891:273 n. 2; Vollers 1896:628–629] 'iron pole for making holes in stones to insert dynamite'; pl. *balamine*

baláš   [IrAr; cf. *(b)balaš, mbalaš* Sab111, *baláš* Mutz336] adv. 'for free'

balāye   [K, Ar بَلَاء; cf. s. *bala*, pl. *balıtyāṭa, balāye, balwıtyāta* Sabar 2002a:110, s. and pl. *balāye* Mutz336; §4.2.3.1.d] f.s. and pl. 'trouble(s), disaster(s)'; see *dard*

bale, balé   [K, Ar بَلَى; cf. *bale* 'yes indeed, however, moreover' Sab111, *balé* 'yes as answer to negative question' Mutz336] conj. 'yes, indeed, however'

balki(t)   [K, T; cf. *balki(d/t), balku/in* Sab111, *balki* Mutzafi 2008a:336] adv. 'perhaps'

balo'ta   [LEAram בְּלוֹעָא; Sab111; Mutz336] f. 'throat'

bamba   [K < Eur; cf. ⁺*bımba* Sab111] 'bomb'

bāqe   [Ar بَقّ; LEAram בְּקָא; cf. *bāqa* Sab104, *baqta* Mutz337] pl. 'mosquitoes'

*baqqa [K; *baqqa*, pl. *baqqe* Sab113l, *baqqa*, pl. *baqqe*, *baqqāϑa* Mutz-336; Avidani 1959:36 פּקּאסָא] 'frog'; pl. *baqqe* (*haggada*)

bárakus [K *ber* + קובל(?) + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*(?); also in JDohok] prep. 'in front of, opposite'; *bárakus dide* 'opposite him'; see *barqul*

bārawanūsa [? + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] f. 'separation'

bárbara [K; cf. *bârâbâr* 'together' Maclean 1901:38, *barbar* 'towards' Sabar 2002:114] adv. 'together'

barda [ClAram בְּרְדָּא; cf. *barda*, *barabarda* Sab114] 'hail'

bargūze [K; cf. *bargūza*, *bargus* Sab114, *bargūza* Mutz336] pl. 'suit, traditional Kurdish men's homespun woolen jacket and trousers'

barqul [K *ber* + ClAram לקבל Sab116; K *ber* + קובל Mutzafi 2008a:336–337] prep. 'in front of, opposite'; see *bárakus*

bārux-xábba [H בְּרוּךְ הַבָּא; cf. *ḅārux-xábba* Sab114] excl. 'welcome!'

barwāra [K; Sab114] 'shortcut route'

barzanāya [GN *Barzan* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. 'resident of Barzan (Iraqi Kurdistan)'

baṛāxa [H בְּרָכָה; cf. [+]*bɪrāxa* Sab155, *baṛāxa* Mutz337] f. 'blessing'; see *bṛk*

bas, bassa [K, T, P, IrAr; cf. *bas(sa)* Sab112, *bas* Mutz337] adv. 'enough'; *bassa bassa* 'more than enough'

basər [ClAram בָּתַר < OAram באתר; Sab116; Mutz337] prep. 'after'; adv. *basər hādax* 'afterwards'; see *básbasər*

básbasər [בתר + בתר; cf. *báϑ-baϑər* Mutz121] prep. 'right after'; *básbasre* 'right after him'; see *basər*

basima [ClAram בַּסִּימָא; cf. *bassīma* Sab112, *basima* Mutzafi 2008a:337] m. 'pleasing'; f. *basəmta*; pl. *basime*; see *bsm*

*baškalnāya, *ḅaškalnāya [GN *Baškala* + gent. suff. *-nāya*] m.s. 'resident of Bashkala (Turkish Kurdistan)'; pl. *baškalnāye*, *ḅaškalnāye*

baxbāba [*bax* + *bāba*; Sab110] 'stepmother'; see *baxta*, *baxtūsa*

baxta [Sefire בכתה? Fitzmyer 1995:81–83; Syr ܐܢܬܬܐ? Krotkoff 1985: 131–132; Sab110; Mutz337] f. 'woman, wife'; cst. *bax*; *bax mədor* 'the wife of the mudir'; *ʾé-baxta* 'I (lit., 'that woman'); pl. *baxtāsa*; see *baxbāba*, *baxtūsa*

baxtūsa [*baxta* + abst. suff. *-ūsa*] f. 'wifehood'; see *baxbāba*, *baxta*, *gora (u-baxtūsa)*

baxxat [IrAr, P; cf. *báxad īlá* Meehan & Alon 1979:192 n.79, *bax(x)at ʾilāha* Sab110] 'mercy'; *baxxatəd ʾilāha* 'for the mercy of God!'

be [ClAram בית; EgAram, JPA, Syr abs. בי; Sab110; Mutzafi 2008a: 338] cst. 'family, household'; *be ʾamoyi* 'my (paternal) uncle's family'; *be ʾāġāye* 'family of aghas'; see *besa*

beʾta [ClAram ביעתא; Sab104; Mutz338] f. 'egg'; pl. *beʾe*

be-ʿáṣəl [K *be* 'without' + Ar أَصْل (good) origin] inv. 'bad origin'; see *ʿaṣəl*, *ʾaṣlāye*, *ʿaṣli*, *māra (mare ʿaṣəl)*

beb [ClAram -בֶּה בְּ Mutz121,338; K? Sab108] prep. 'together with'

be-čára [K *be* 'without' + K *čare* 'remedy' Maclean 1901:138] inv. 'helpless'

be-dắda   [K *be* 'without' + K, T, *dād* 'justice' Maclean 1901:60] inv. 'without justice'

be-dárd   [K *be* 'without' + K 'pain'] adv. 'painlessly'; see *dard*

be-dín   [K *be* 'without' + Ar دين 'religion'] inv. 'religionless'; see *din*¹

behna   [K; cf. *behna, bıhen* Sab105] 'moment'; *xá-behna* 'in a moment, suddenly'

be-hívi   [K *be* 'without' + K *hivi* 'hope'; Sab108] inv. 'hopeless'; see *hivi*

besa   [ClAram ביתא; Sab110; Mutz338] 'house'; pl. *bāte*; see *be*

be-nắmus   [K *be* 'without' + K, T, Ar نَامُوس < Gr; *nāmus* 'proper behavior' Sabar 2002:228] 'improper behavior'

bəndaqiya   [Ar بُندُقِيَّة, K; cf. *banüqtâ* 'small gun' Maclean 1901:34] f. 'rifle'; pl *bəndaqiye*

bənhe   [ClAram ב + (ו)נהא; cf. *bı'ınhe, bınhe, bıne* 'morrow, tomorrow' Sabar 2002a:104, *bənhe* 'tomorrow' Mutz339] 'morning'

bənjūka   [T Redhouse 1890:411] 'bead to avert the evil eye'

bər   [ClAram בר; Nöldeke 1910:137–139, Fassberg 2008a; Sab114; Mutz339] cst. 'son'; *kalba bər kalba* 'son of a bitch!'; *xmāra bər xmāra* 'what an ass!'; see *brona, brāta*

bərqa   [ClAram בְּרְקָא; Sab116; Mutz339] m. 'lightning'

*bəsla   [ClAram בְּצְלָא; Sab113] 'onion'; pl. *bəsle*

bəš   [K; Sab116; Mutz339] adv. 'more'; see *bə́š-ṛab, bəštor, bə́z-zodāna*

bə́š-ṛab   [K *bə́š* + *ṛāba*; cf. *bıš/ž-⁺rab* Sab116, *bə́š-ṛab* Mutzafi 2008a:339] adv. 'more'; see *bəš, ṛāba*

bəštor   [K *baştir* Mutz339; cf. *bıšto(f/m)* Sab116] adv. 'better'; see *bəš*

bəxya   [cf. ClAram בכיתא; cf. *bikhyâ* Maclean 1901:32, *bxeṭa* Sab110] 'crying'

*bəzmāra   [K < Ar مِسْمَار < Aram מסמר; Sab107; Mutz339] '(metal) nail'; pl. *bəzmāre*

bəzza   [ClAram √בזז Sab107] m. 'wretched person'

bə́z-zodāna   [K *bə́š* + *zodāna*; cf. *bə́š-zodāna* Mutz339] adv. 'more'; see *bəš, zodāna, zyd*

bəzzoṭe   [K; cf. ⁺*bızzəṭa, bızzodka*, pl. ⁺*bızzōte*, ⁺*bızzotkat* Sab107] pl. 'torches'

bomāxəd   [*b* + *'o* + *yoma* + *xeta*; cf. *bōmaxín/d/t* Sab106, *bomaxət* Mutz-340] 'the day after tomorrow'

brāta   [ClAram ברתא; Nöldeke 1910:137–139; Fassberg 2008a; Sabar 2002:113; Mutz340] f. 'daughter'; pl. *bnāsa*; *kaləpsa brāt kalba* 'what a bitch!'; see *bər, brona*

brona   [Syr ܒܪܘܢܐ < OAram בר + dim. suff. *-ona*; Nöldeke 1910:138; Fassberg 2008a; Sabar 202:114; Mutz340] m. 'son'; cst. *bron*, e.g., *bron 'āǧa* 'son of the agha'; pl. *bnone*; see *bər*

ḅ

ḅaṇḳ   [Ar بَنْك, T < Eur; Sabar 1990:59 and 2002:112] 'bank'; see *paṇqá-ṇoṭ*

*baṛāna   [K; cf. ⁺barāna Sab113, barāna Mutz336] 'ram'; pl. ḅaṛāne
baṛāza   [K; cf. bırāza, pl. ⁺bırāze Sab113, ḅaṛāza Mutzafi 2008a:341]
            'boar, pig'; pl. ḅaṛāze
ḅāš   [K; cf. ⁺bāš Sab104, bāš Mutz337] inv. 'good'; adv. 'well, very';
            pəšle naxwaš ḅāš 'he became very ill'
*baškalnāya see *baškalnāya
ḅəč̣'a   [T, K; cf. ⁺bıč'a Sab104, bəč'a Mutz338] m. 'bastard'; cf. ṃaṃzer

č

ča   [K Chyet 2003:82] adv. 'well, c'mon' (with imperative); ča méselu
            xanči ṃāye 'C'mon (and) bring them some water!'
čắdəra   [K, T; čādıra Sab130] 'tent'
čakke   [K; Sab131; Mutz341] pl. tant. 'weapons'
čalnāya   [GN Čalla + gent. suff. -nāya] m. 'resident of Challa'
čamča   [K; cf. 'ladle' Sab131, 'spoon' Mutz341] f. 'spoon'
*čanta   [K, T; Ar شَنْط; cf. čanta, pl. čanyāṭa Sab132, čanta, pl. čanāϑa
            Mutz341] 'satchel'; pl. čanyāsa
čāpole   [K; cf. châpûla Maclean 1901:137] pl. 'slaps'
čappar   [K; Sab132] f. 'palisade'
čappe   [K; Sab132; Mutz341] 'left'; only in 'ida čappe 'to the left (= left
            hand)'
čāwəš   [T; Sab130] m. 'sergeant'
čāy   [Ar, K, T, P; cf. chai Maclean 1901:129, čāy(i) Sab130, čāye
            Mutz341] f. 'tea'
čaydanka   [K, T; cf. chaidân Maclean 1901:130] 'teapot'
čayxāna   [K, T; cf. čāyixāna Sab130] m. 'tea house'
čenike   [K čeneḳ 'little' Rizgar 1993:55?] pl. 'pieces'; see čǝnye
čeri   [ClAram תשרי < Akk; Sab131; Mutz91,342] f. 'autumn'
čəčūke   [K çûçiḳ 'bird' Rizgar 1993:58] pl. 'birds(?)'; cf. čūka
čǝnye   [K çênî 'in small portions' Rizgar 1993:56] pl. 'pieces'; cf. čen-
            ike
čəpka   [K; cf. čəppəkϑa Mutz342; Sab132] f. 'drop'
čəxra   [ClAram √שחר; cf. ⁺šıxra Sab299] 'soot, ground charcoal'; see
            šəxxoṛa
čiroke   [K; cf. ⁺čīrōke Sab131] f. 'story, folktale'
ču   [K; ču Mutz342; Sab130; Correll 1974] 'no, not, not any'; čú-gā
            'never,' čú-xa 'no one, anyone,' čú-mǝndi 'nothing'
čūka   [K; 'chick' Mutz342] 'bird(?)'; cf. čəčūke
čukulāte   [ModH, Eur] pl. 'chocolates'
čukun, čuku, čunku [K, T, P; cf. chünki Maclean 1901:128, Sabar čınki, čıki/un
            2002:132, čukun Mutz342] conj. 'because'; see 'ako, ko

č̣

č̣o'a   [ClAram √שעע; Sab130] m. 'smooth'; pl. č̣o'e

d

-d, d-, ʾəd- [ClAram -ד/די; Sab136; Mutz343; §4.1.8] possessive-relative particle; see *dla, mād, tad*

da see *de*

dabāḥa [Ar √ذبح; cf. ClAram √דבח] m. 'ritual slaughterer'; see *dbḥ*

dabanja [T, K; cf. ⁺*d/ṭabanja* Sab137] 'pistol'

dāda see *be-dáda*

dahba [K, Ar دَابّة; Sab138; Mutz343] 'animal'; pl. *dahbe*

dāna [ClAram עִדָּנָא; Sab136; Mutz343] 'time'; pl. *dāne*; conj. *kud dān* 'whenever'

*dapá [ModH דַּף] 'page'; pl. *dapé*

daqiqa [K, T, Ar دَقِيقَة; Sab144; Mutz344] f. (1) 'thin', (2) 'minute (of time)'; pl *daqiqe*; see *pāre*

darbəta [K, T < Ar ضربة; cf. s. and pl. *darbīye* Sab144 based on Avidani 1959:36–39; cf. s. זַרְבָּא, pl. זַרְבָּתְיָסָא Alfiye 1986:47] f. 'blow from God (one of the ten plagues)'; pl. *darbiye* (*haggada*)

dard [K, T; Sab144] 'pain'; *dárd-u-balāye* 'pains and troubles'; see *be-dárd*

darga [K; Sab144; Mutz344] 'gate'

*darham [K, T, Ar دِرْهَم < Gr; cf. *dırhım* Sabar 1990:60 and 2002:145, *darham* Mutz344] 'dirham'; pl. *darhāme*

darwéž [K, T, P, Ar دَرْوِيش; cf. *darwēš(a)* Sab145] m. 'dervish'

dašta [K; JBA דַּשְׁתָּא; QAram דחשת; Greenfield & Shaked 1972:38–39; Mutz344] f. 'field'

dawāra [K, T; Sab138; Mutz344] 'riding animal'; pl. *dawāre*

dawla [Ar دَوْلَة; cf. *dâ-wiltâ* 'wealth, riches, government, the State, prosperity, good fortune' Maclean 1901:63] 'state'

dax, daxwás- [Syr ܐܝܟ; cf. *dıx, dax* Sab142, *dax, daxwáϑ-* Mutz344] prep. 'like'; *dax* before nouns; *daxwās-* before suffixes; *daxwaseni*; adv. *dax* 'as soon as'; *dax mundyālu l-ʾarʿa* 'as soon as they threw it on the ground'

daxla [K 'grains' < Ar دَخْل 'income'; Sab142; Mutz344] 'crop'

daxwās- see *dax*

de, da [K, T; cf. *dî, dé, dâ* Maclean 1901:59, *dı, day, de(h)* Sab140, *də* Mutz345] adv. 'so, now, well then'; *de mā ʾodax?* 'So what should we do?'; *de qū misi* 'So get up (and) bring (it)!'; *da* before gutturals: *da-ḥmól* 'So wait!'

de'sa [ClAram (דִּיעֲתָא; Syr ܕܘܥܬܐ) Sab137; *de'ϑa* Mutz344] f. 'sweat'

de'sāna [*de'sa* + suff. *-āna*] m. 'sweaty'

dehna [LEAram דּוּהְנָא; *dehna* Sab138] 'fat'

dehwa [ClAram דַּהֲבָא; Sab138; Mutz344] 'gold, goldpiece'

dena [K, Ar دَيْن; cf. *dēna, dehna* Sab141, *dena*, pl. *dene* Mutz344] m. 'debt'; pl. *dene*

denāna [*dena* + suff. *-āna*; Mutz344] 'debtor'; pl. *denāne*

desta [Syr ܕܣܬܐ < P; cf. *dasta* Sab143] f. 'portion of food given to guests'

dəbba   [ClAram דְּבָּא; Sab137; Mutz345] f. 'bear'; pl. *dəbbāsa*

dəd-   see *did-*

dədwe   [LEAram דידבא; Sab138; Mutz345] pl. 'flies'

dəmma   [ClAram דְּמָא; Hoberman 2007; cf. *dımma*, pl. *dımmāhe*, *dımm-āye*, *dımmāṭa* Sab142; *dəmma*, pl. *demmāhe* Mutz345] m. 'blood, blood money'; pl. *dəmmāhe* 'guilt of bloodshed': *lá-dāre-tun dəmmāhe zodāne qdāl gyānexun* 'don't put additional guilt of bloodshed on your necks'

dənga   [?; cf. *danga* 'big wooden mallet' Sab143] 'punch, blow'; pl. *dənge*

dəpna   [LEAram דפנא; cf. *dıpna, dıpınṭa* Sab144, *dəpna* Mutzafi 2008a: 345] 'side'; prep. *dəpən, l-dəpən* 'next to'

dəqna   [ClAram דקְנָא; Sab144; Mutz345] m. 'beard'

dərəst   [K; cf. *darsa(')ad, darset* Sab145, *dərəst* Mutz345] adv. 'correct, straight, straightaway'

dərmāna   [K, T; cf. *dırmāna* Sab145, *darmāna* Mutz344] 'medicine, remedy'; see *drmn*

dəžmən   [K, T; cf. *dıžmın, dušmın* Sab140, *dəžmən* Mutzafi 2008a:345] 'enemy'

did-   [דִי + יד ? דִי + ל ?; Sab141; Mutz41] indep. genitive prn. 'of'; *didi* 'mine', *didox* 'yours (m.s.)', *didax* 'yours (f.s.)', *dide* 'his', *dida* 'hers', *deni* 'ours', *dexun* 'yours (c.pl.)', *didu* 'theirs'; *dəd Wān* 'from Wan'

din[1]   [K, T, Ar دين Sab141; Mutz345] m. 'religion'; see *be-dín*

din[2]   [H דִין; Sab141] 'judgment'; *yoməd din* 'Day of Judgment'

dinar   [Ar دينار < Lat, Gr; cf. *⁺dīnar* Sab141 and 1990:60, *dinár* Mutzafi 2008a:345] 'dinar'; pl. *dināre*

dla   [ClAram לָא + דְ; Mutz345] prep. 'without'; conj. 'lest'; see *d-*

doktor   [T, K, Eur; cf. *⁺d/tuxtor* Sab138] m. 'medical doctor'

domóz   [K, T Chyet 2003:163] 'pig'

doṛ   [H דור; *⁺dōṛ* Sab140] m. 'generation'

*drangāya   [K; cf. *drangi* Sab145] adj. 'late'; f. *drangesa*

dugle   [Syr ܕܘܓܠܐ; Sab138; Mutz346] 'lie(s)' adv. *b-dugle* 'falsely'

dūka, duksa [ClAram דֻּכָּא, דֻּכְתָא; Sab139; Mutz346] f. 'place'; pl. *dukāne*; *dūkəd xlāṣa* 'place of refuge'

duksa   see *dūka*

dukkāna   [Ar دُكَّان; TJ דֻּכָּן; cf. *dık(k)āna* Sab142] 'shop, store'

dūma   [K; Mutz346] m. 'tail'

dumāyik   [K; cf. *dūmāy/hık* Sab139] adv. 'at the end'

dúnume   [Ar دُونُم, T *dunum*] pl. 'dunams'

dunye   [K, T, Ar دُنْيا; Sab139; Mutz346] f. 'the world, earthly existence'

dūra   [ModH דּוּרה, Ar ذُرَة] 'durra'

dūša   [ClAram דְּבְשָׁא; Sab141; Mutz346] m. 'honey'

f

falaq   [T, Ar فَلَق; *falaq* Sab263] 'bastinado'

falda   [< Ar فِلْذَة 'piece (of meat)'] 'strip of meat placed in cholent'

falxa	[colloquial ModH < Ar] 'work in the field'; cf. *plx*
faqír	[T, Ar فقير; cf. *faqīr(a)* Sab264, *faqir* Mutz347] inv. 'poor' (but also pl. *faqirím* [H pl. suff.])
farq	[Ar فرق; cf. + *farq* Sab265] 'difference'
farqūsa	[*farq* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] f. 'distinction, discrimination'
fasādūsa	[Ar فَسَاد + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; cf. 'gossip' Yona 1999א:361, 'corruption' Sab263] f. 'gossip'; see *ʾwd*
feka	[K, Ar فَاكِهَة; Sab262; Mutz347] 'fruit'
fišaka	[K, Ar فشَك < T; Sab263; Mutz347] 'bullet, cartridge'
flān, flāna	[K, Ar فُلَان; cf. ClAram פְּלָן; cf. *flān(a)*, *flānkas* Sab263, *flán-, flāna* Mutz347; §4.1.12.d] 'such and such, a certain'; *flān* is used with humans: *flān brāta* 'such and such a daughter', *flān nāša* 'such and such a person'; *flāna* is used with non-humans: *flāna māsa* 'such and such a village', *flāna dūka* 'such and such a place'; see *flānkas*
flānkas	[Sab263; Mutz347; §4.1.12.e] 'so and so, a certain person'; *flānkas ké-le* 'Where is so and so?'; see *flān(a)*

g

gā	[K; cf. *gāha, gaha, ga* Sab118; *gā* Mutz347] f. 'time'; *xá-gā* 'once'; *xá-gā xet(a)* 'once again'; *čú-gā* 'never'; *ʾé-gā* 'so then, when'; *ʾatta gā* 'now'; *xarāye gā* 'the last time'; see *ʾegā, ʾogā, gār*
gāla	[Syr ܓܠܐ; cf. גְּלֵא, גְּלָא Yona 1999א:85, *gāla* Sab18a and Mutz 347] 'kilim rug'
gali	[K; Sab122] 'valley'
gamiya	[T; Sab123] 'ship'
ganāwa	[ClAram גַּנָּבָא; Sab123; Mutz348] m. 'thief'; pl. *ganāwe*; see *gnw, ganawūsa*
ganawūsa	[*ganāwa* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab123] f. 'thievery'; see *gnw, ganāwa*
ganmoke	[K; Mutz348] pl. tant. 'maize'
gār	[K, Ar كَرَّة; cf. גְּרָא, גֵּרִי Yona 1999א:91, *garra, -gar* Sab123] 'time'; attested only in *čú-gār* 'never' (less frequent than *čú-gā*) and *gárgāra* 'from time to time'; see *gā, gárgāra*
garáč	[ModH גָּרָז', T, K, Eur; Yona 1999ב:253] 'garage'
gardāna	[K; Sab124] 'heavy gold or silver necklace' (*haggada*)
gāre	[ClAram אַגָּרָא < Akk; Sab118; Mutz348] 'roof'; pl. *garawāsa*
gárgāra	[*gār* + *gār*] adv. 'from time to time'; see *gā, gār*
garma	[ClAram גַּרְמָא; Sab124; Mutz348] 'bone'; pl. *garme*
*garūsa	[ClAram √גרס; Sab124; Mutz348] 'large'; pl. *garūse* 'large (vegetables)'
gaw-	see *go*
gazeṛa	[H גְּזֵרָה; cf. + *gazēra* Sab121, *gazeṛa* Mutz348] f. '(evil) decree'
gdāda	[LEAram גְּדָדָא; Sab119; Mutz348] 'thread'; pl. *gdāde*
geb	see *geba*
geba	[ClAram גֵּבָּא; cf. *gēba* Sab121, *geb(a)* Mutz348] 'side, direction'; *ʾeka geb zəlle* '(in) which direction did he go?'; *ʾáx-geb tán-geb*

(ṭamắha-geb) 'when all's said and done, eventually' (lit. 'here side, there side, way over there side)'; cf. JZakh *maxxa laxxa* Sabar 2005:195; JBetan *m-é-ʾāla m-é-ʾāla* 'for various reasons' Mutz207; JBetan *mən d-axxa l- d-axxa* 'eventually' Mutz330; *ʾáx-geb* 'hither' and *tám-geb* 'thither' Mutz34; Palestinian Arabic *min hōn la-hōn* 'when all's said and done' Elihay 2005:159)

gehənnam [TO and JBA גֵּיהִנָּם < H גֵּיהִנֹּם; cf. *gēhinnām, gēhinna, gēhanna* Sabar 2002:122, *gehənnam* Mutz348] 'hell'; *gehənne gehənnam* 'hell of hells' (Mutz348)

gen'edən [H גַּן עֵדֶן; cf. גֵּן-עֵדֶן Yona 1999א:90, *gan-ʿēḏın* Sab123, *ganʿedən* Mutz348] 'Garden of Eden'

gera [K; Sab122] f. 'threshing'

gəlda [ClAram גִּלְדָּא; Sab122; Mutz349] m. 'skin'

gəlla [ClAram גִּלָּא; Sab122; Mutz349] 'grass, plant, herb'; pl. *gəllāle*

gənāhe [K; cf. *günāha, gunah* Sab123 pl. 'sins' (haggada)

gərāni [K; Sab124] f. 'famine'

gərūsa [LEAram גּוּרְבָּא < P; cf. *gı/urūṭa*, pl. *gı/urwe* Sab124, *gəṛūϑa*, pl. *gəṛwe* Mutz349] f. 'sock'; pl. *guṛwe*

gərūwer [K; cf. גוּרוֹבֶר Yona 1999א:79, *gıruvír* Sab124] inv. 'round-shaped'

gəšṛa [LAram < Akk; cf. ⁺gıšra Sab125, *gəšṛa* Mutz349] 'bridge'

gəxka [LAram גחך Sab122; Mutz349] f. 'laughter'; see *gxk*

gəzra [ClAram √גזר; Sab121; Mutz349] m. 'pile of chopped wood'

giska [K; cf. *gizkâ, giziktâ* Maclean 1901:49, *gīsıka* Sab122] 'young goat'

go, gaw- [ClAram גוֹ < PrAram *gaww; cf. *go, ko* Sab119, *gu* Mutz350] prep. 'in, within, among'; with suffixes *gaw-*, e.g., *gawexun*; cf. *ʾəlʿuwwa*

gob'ena [גו + ב + אינא + ?Sab119; גו + בית + עינא Mutz350] 'forehead'

gopāla, gopaḷta [K; cf. ⁺gōpāla, ⁺gōpalta Sab120] m. and f. 'shepherd's stick'

gora [ClAram גַּבְרָא; Sab120; Mutz349] m. 'man'; pl. *gūre, gurāne*; *gora u-baxtūsa* 'husband-wife relationship (= being married)'

*goranāya [GN *Gorāni* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. 'resident of Gorani (Iraqi Kurdistan)' pl. *goranāye*

gorūsa [LAram גְּבְרוּתָא;] f. 'manliness (bravery)'

gova [K < גּוּבָּא?; cf. גּוּבָא Yona 1999א:75, *gowa* Mutz349] 'stall, den'; pl. *govāne*; see **govka, gūba*

*govka [K *gov* + *k*] 'stall, den'; pl. *govke*; see *gova, gūba*

*goza [Syr ܓܘܙܐ < P?; Sab119; Mutz350] 'walnut'; pl. *goze*

gūba [ClAram גּוּבָּא 'pit'; Maclean 1901:45; Sab119; Mutzafi 2008a:350] 'pit, loom (located in the pit)'; see *gova*

gūda [LEAram גּוּדָא; Sab119; Mutz350] 'wall'; pl. *gudāne*

gulange [K? cf. pl. *gulāge, gulangi* Brauer 1993:413, גּוֹלַגָּא Yona 1999א:76; *gulāga* Sab120] pl. 'sidelocks (of orthodox Jew)'

gulpanyāsa [ClAram גַּפָּא; cf. *gulpa* Sab120] pl. 'wings' (haggada)

gumrək [T; cf. *gümrüg* Maclean 1901:47, *gumrık* Sab120] 'customs'

guniya [K; cf. *gâ-wân* 'thorn for lighting fires, bramble' Maclean 1901:

47, *guniya* 'gunny sack' Sab120 and Mutz350] f. 'bramble, kin-
dling twigs'; pl. *guniye*

guník   [K *gûnîk, gînîk* Chyet 2003:230] 'gunny sack'

gupta   [TJ גֻּבְנָא, Syr ܓܒܬܐ, ܓܒܝܠܐ; cf. *gup/bta* Sab120, *gupta* Mutz-
350, *gupṯa ~ gubṯa < gubbᵊṯā < *gubnᵊṭā* Talay 2008:58 n. 98] f.
'cheese'

gwira   [ClAram √גבר] m. 'married'; f. *gurta*; see *gwr*

gyāna   [K; cf. *gyāna, gāna*, pl. *gyānāṯa* Sab121, *gyāna*, pl. *gyanāϑa*
Mutz350–351] f. 'self, soul'; *gyāni* 'myself'; pl. *gyanāsa* 'souls'
(*haggada*)

**gzira*   [ClAram √גזר] m. 'circumcised'; pl. *gzire*; see *gzr*

ġ

ġaẓab   [Ar غَضَب; cf. *ġaẓab*, ⁺*xazab* Sab135, גְדָאב Avidani 1959:38–39,
גֶּזֶב Alfiye 1986:47] 'anger' (*haggada*)

ġer   [Ar غَیر; cf. ⁺*ġēr* Sab134, *ġer* Mutz351] 'another'; *ġer dūka* 'another
place'

h

hā   [ClAram הָא; Sab148; Mutz351] adv. 'here, so, then'; *hā šqol
ḥaqqox* 'Here take your due!'

hādax   [ClAram איך + ד + הא Sab148; הֲדָא + הָךְ, ܐܝܟ + ܗܕ Mutzafi
2008a:351] adv. 'thus, so, like this'; *qam hādax* 'beforehand'; *basᵊr
hādax* 'afterwards'; see *hatxa*

haḷḷa haḷḷa   [K, P; ⁺*hallā-*⁺*hallā* Sab150] excl. 'how fortunate!'

ham   [K, T, P; Sab151; Mutz351; Blau & Hopkins 2006:455] adv. 'also'

har   [K, T, P; Sab151; Mutz351] adv. 'always, still, in any case, after
all, just'; *har hatxa* 'just like this'

hatk   [K, Ar هَتَك; cf. הָתִיכֵּא Yona 1999א:118, *hatīke* Sab152] m. 'dis-
grace'

hatxa, ʾatxa   [ClAram איך + ד + הא Sab149; cf. *had/txa* Sab149; **hād + *kā*
Mutz351] adv. 'so, such, like this'; see *hādax*

hawūsa   [**yhawūϑa?* Mutz351; *hawa* (< T *heva*) + abstr. suff. *-ūsa* Mac-
lean 1901:72] f. 'favor'

hay   [T, K; Sab149; Cohen 1995:398] excl. 'hey!'; see *he*²

hayāma   [K < Ar أَیَّام; cf. *hayam* Sab150, *hayāma* Mutz351] adv. 'period of
time'

hayya   [QAram הי, Sam Aram הי, JBA הייא, חיי Sokoloff 2002:375–376;
Sabar 2002:149–150; Mutz352] adv. 'quickly, early'

*he*¹   [ClAram הֵן, אֵן; Sab149; Mutz352] adv. 'yes'

*he*²   [ModH הֵי?; Mutz352] excl. 'hey!'; see *hay*

hedi   [K < Ar هَادِئ; Sab150; Mutz352] adv. 'slowly'; *hedi hedi* 'very
slowly'

hekkaratūsa   [GN *Hekkāri* + K abstr. suff. *-at* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] pl. 'residents
or region of Hakkari (Turkish Kurdistan)'

hekkarnāya   [GN *Hekkāri* + gent. suff. *-nāya*] m. 'resident of Hakkari (Turk-
ish Kurdistan)'

hermike   [K; Sab152] pl. 'pears'

heš   [K; cf. *hēš(tan)* Sab150, *heš* Mutz352] adv. 'yet, still'

hənna   [Syr ܗܢܐ, Ṭur *hnṓ*; cf. *hin-nâ, hin-nî* Maclean 1901:78, *hınna*
Sabar 2002a:151; Rubin 2005:78–79 n. 46; *hənna*, pl. *hənne* Mut-
zafi 2008a:352; Hoberman 2007:140] filler 'um, whatchamacal-
lit'; see *hnnl*

həšyar   [K; cf. *hıšyar, hıššar* Sab152, *həššar* Mutz352] inv. 'careful, awake'

hivi, hiwi   [K; cf. *hīvi, hīwi*, pl. *hīvīye* Sab150, *hiwi*, pl. *hiwiye* Mutz352]
'hope, plea, pleading'; pl. *hiwiye*; see *be-hívi*

hudá, hudāya   [ClAram יְהוּדָיָא; Sab149; Mutz352; § 3.15.a] m. 'Jew'; f. *hudesa*,
pl. *hudāye*

ḥ

ḥabibi   [ModH, Ar حَبِيب; Sab163; Mutz353] m. 'my beloved'

ḥafla   [ModH, Ar حَفْلَة] 'party'

ḥajj   [Ar حَجّ; cf. *ḥij* Maclean 1901:92] 'the haj (pilgrimage to Mecca)'

ḥajji   [K, P, T, Ar حَاجّ; Sab163; § 4.2.3.10] 'hajji, pilgrim (who has been
to Mecca)'; pl. *ḥajjāye*; *ʾedəd ḥajjāye* 'pilgrim festival'

ḥākəm   [K, T, Ar حَاكِم; cf. *ḥākım, ḥēkım* Sab163, *ḥākəm* Mutz353] m.
'judge'

*ḥakoma   [Ar √حكم; Sab165; Mutz353] 'ruler'; pl. *ḥakome*

ḥāl   [K, T, Ar حَال; Sab163; Mutz353] f. 'situation, condition'; *ḥấl-u-
masale* 'the upshot' (cf. Mlaḥsô *ḥāl w masale* Jastrow 1994:76;
JZakho *ḥāl-u- qısta* Sab163; JAradh *ḥāl-u-ḥwāl* Mutzafi 2002:
486); *narm u-ḥāle* 'soft and the like' (see *garma*)

ḥalāla   [K, T, Ar حَلال; cf. *ḥalāl(a)* Sab166, *ḥalāla* Mutz353] m. 'kosher,
lawful'; f. *ḥalalta*; pl. *ḥalāle*

ḥambaqisa   [conflation of Ar √حبك + ClAram חנק√? JNerwa *ḥabbaqisa*
'dense smoke, dusty weather'; JAmid *ḥambaqiϑa* 'dense smoke,'
JBetan *ḥambaqiϑa* 'dense smoke, suffocating smoke' and *ḥanba-
qiϑa* 'suffocating smoke' Mutzafi p.c.] f. 'dense smoke'; *ḥamba-
qisəd tənna* (haggada; cf. תִּנָּא חַבַּקִיסִיד = תִמְרוֹת-עָשָׁן Avidani 1959:
35)

ḥanukka   [H חֲנֻכָּה; cf. *ḥanu/ıkka* Sab167, *ḥanukka, ḥanukkoye* Mutz353]
'Hanukka'

ḥaqq   [K, T, Ar حَقّ; cf. Sabar *ḥaq(qa)* 2002:168, *ḥaqqa* Mutz353] m.
'right, true, salary, due'; pl. *ḥaqqāne*

ḥarám, ḥarāma   [K, T, Ar حَرَام; cf. *hârâm, harâmâ* Maclean 1901:79,106, *ḥarāma*
Sab168] m. 'forbidden'; f. *ḥaramta*; see *ḥaramūsa, ḥrm*

ḥaramūsa   [*ḥarām* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab168] f. 'prohibition, impurity'; see
ḥarám, ḥrm

ḥarb   [T, Ar حَرْب; Sab168] '(international) war'

ḥāxấm   [H חָכָם; cf. *ḥāxām, xāḥām* Sab166, *ḥāxam* Mutz353] m.
'rabbi'

ḥāxā́m bāši   [H חָכָם + T *baş*; Sab166] m. 'Chief Rabbi (of the Ottoman Empire)'

ḥayyāwe   [H חַיָּב; cf. *ḥayyāv* 'guilty' Sab165] pl. 'obligated'

ḥel   see *ḥil*

*ḥewan   [K, T, Ar حَيَوَان; cf. *ḥēwan, ḥaywan* Sab165, *ḥewan* Mutz353] 'animal'; pl. *ḥewāne*

ḥəzur, ḥə́zura   [K, Ar حَزْر; cf. ⁺*ḥızur* Sab164] 'estimation, conjecture'; pl. *ḥə́zure, ḥəzūre; 'üdli ḥə́zure* 'I estimated'

ḥil, ḥel   [LWAram להל; cf. *hā/l, hī/ıl, ḥīl* Sab148, *həl, ḥəl* Mutz23] prep. and conj. 'until'

ḥudud   [T, Ar حُدُود; Yona 1999א:136] 'border (geographical, political)'

ḥukum   [Ar حُكْم; cf. *ḥukum, ḥıkum* Sab164] f. 'government'; see *hukūma, hukumiya*

ḥukūma   [Ar حُكُومَة; Mutz354] 'government'; see *ḥukum, ḥukumiya*

ḥukumiya   [*ḥukum* + *iya*] 'government'; see *ḥukum, ḥukūma*

ḥušta   [Ar حُجَّة; Sab164; Mutz354] f. 'excuse, pretext'

ḥūt   [K, Ar حوُت; Sab164] 'large fish'

j

jalab   [Ar جَلَب; Sab128] 'herd'

jamadāni   [K; cf. *jımıdāni* Sab128] f. 'checkered kerchief or keffiya'

jandərma   [K, T, IrAr < Fr; Sab129 and 1990:60; Mutz354] m. 'gendarme'; pl. *jandərme*

jawāhər   [Ar جَوَاهِر; cf. ⁺*jawāhır* Sab126] 'gemstone' (*haggada*)

jeba   [Ar جَيْب; cf. *jēba*, pl. *jēbābe* Sab127, *jeba*, pl. *jebāne* Mutz354] 'pocket'; pl. *jebābe*

jemaʿ   [IrAr; Sab128] 'mosque'; cf. *məzgafte*

jeza, jezá   [Ar جَزَاء; cf. *jı/uza* Sab127] 'penalty, fine'

jəgāra   [IrAr, T, K < Eur; cf. ⁺*jıgāra, jəgāra* Mutzafi 2008a:354] f. 'cigarette'; pl. *jəgāre*; see *grš*

jəns   [Ar جِنْس < Lat; Sab129] 'type, sort'

jəwāb, jwāb   [K, Ar جَوَاب; cf. *jıwāb* Sab126, *jwāba* Mutz355] m. 'answer, response'; see *jwb*

jəzdān   [IrAr, K, T; cf. ⁺*jızdān* Sab127] 'purse, wallet'

jigra   [T, P, Ar √جكر; cf. ⁺*jıgra, jıkra* Sab126, גּוּרֵי Avidani 1959:38–39, גּוּר Alfiye 1986:47] 'wrath' (*haggada*)

*jirān   [K, Ar جِيرَان; cf. *jīran, jīranta*, pl. *jīrāne* Sab128] 'neighbor'; pl. *jirāne*; see *jirānatūsa*

jirānatūsa   [*jirān* + K abstr. suff. -*at* + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*] f. 'neighborliness'; see *jirāne*

jmətta   see **jmida*

*jmida   [Ar √جمد] m. 'frozen'; f. *jmətta*

julla   [K, Ar جُلَّة; Sab127; Mutz355] 'article of clothing'; pl. *julle*

jwāb   see *jəwāb*

k

ka-   [K; *ke* Wahby 1966:72] conj. 'when, since'; only in *ka-'égā* 'since
                 then'

kaččala   [K; cf. *kâchâlâ* Maclean 1901:131, *kaččala* Sab181] m. 'bald'

káfil, kafíl   [K, T, Ar كَفِيل; cf. *kafil* Sab188] m. 'guarantor'

kāfə̄r   [K, T, Ar كَافِر; Sab180] m. 'heretic, infidel'; cf. **kapora*

*kāka   [ClAram כַּכָּא; Sab180; Mutz356] 'tooth'; pl. *kāke*; *le dórya-lle*
                 ('ax)xa kutkākə̄d gyāne 'he has borne a grudge against him here'
                 (cf. דרילו כאכא Sab180)

kalamča   [K; Sab186] f. 'handcuff'

kalba   [ClAram כַּלְבָּא; Sab186; Mutz356] m. 'dog'; pl. *kalbe*; *kalba bə̄r*
                 kalba 'son of a bitch!'; *kálbe-u-malbe* 'dogs and the like' (see *m-*
                 in doublets Sab209); see *kalə̄psa*

kalə̄psa   [ClAram כַּלְבְּתָא; cf. *kalıb/pṭa* Sab186; § 3.22.b] f. 'bitch'; *kalə̄psa*
                 brāt kalba 'what a bitch!'; see *kalba*

kallax   [K; cf. *kallax, kallaš* Sab186] 'corpse'; pl. *kallāxe*

kamə̄sre   [Syr ܟܡܬܪ̈ܐ, خمثرا; cf. *kâmitrâ* 'pear' Maclean 1901:135; *ka-*
                 misre 'a fruit tree' Brauer 1993:416] pl. 'pears'

kāni   [K; Mutz356] 'spring'; *kāni Karačke* 'spring of Karačke'; cf.
                 'ena

kāpa   [JBA כפא, כַּפָּא < ClAram כַּתְפָּא; Sab180 Mutz367] f. 'shoulder';
                 pl. *kapāne*

*kapora   [Syr ܟܦܘܪܐ, خفورا; **kapora* Sab188 and Mutz356] m. 'faithless, cruel';
                 pl. *kapore*; cf. *kāfə̄r*

kar'a   [Syr ܟܪܥܐ, خرعا; *kar'a* Mutz356] 'butter'

karatūsa   [GN *Kāra* + K abstr. suff. *-at* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] pl. 'residents or
                 region of Kara (Iraqi Kurdistan)'; see **karāya*

*karāya   [GN *Kāra* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. 'resident of Kara (Iraqi Kurdis-
                 tan)'; pl. *karāye*; see *karatūsa*

karb   [K < Ar كَرْب; cf. *karba* Sab188] 'anger' (*haggada*)

karta   [Syr ܟܪܬܐ, خرتا; Sab189; Mutz356] f. 'load, burden'

kāsa   [ClAram כַּרְסָא; Sab180; Mutz356] f. 'belly, stomach'; *kāsu qə̄dla*
                 'they got angry'

kašxe   [IrAr; cf. *kašxa* 'show-off' Sab189] pl. 'fine, impressive'

kātə̄b   [K, Ar كَاتِب; cf. *kātıb(či)* Sab181] m. 'secretary'

kavra   [K *kevir* 'rock' Chyet 2003:808] 'cliff'; pl. *kavre*

kawdə̄nta, kawə̄nta [ClAram כּוּדַנ(י)א; Bar-Asher 1998:136–137; cf. *kawḍınta,*
                 kōzınta, koḍıne Sab182, *koðə̄nta*, pl. *koðə̄ne* Mutz357] f. 'mule';
                 pl. *kódə̄ne, kawdə̄ne*

kāwód   [H כָּבוֹד; cf. *kāvōḏ, kawód* Sab181, *kāvod* Mutz356] f. 'honor,
                 respect'; *kāwód ṛapsa* 'great respect'; see *xbd*

kawə̄nta   see *kawdə̄nta*

kčə̄kčab   [K?] m. 'type of rifle'

ke-¹   [ClAram כָּא; Sab93; Mutz356] *ké-le* 'Where is he?'; see *'eka*

ke²   [K; Sab184] adv. (used with imperative) 'c'mon, please!'; *ke sa*
                 'c'mon!'

kef, kefa	[K, T, Ar كَيْف; cf. *kef* Sab185 and Mutz3565] 'joy'; *māṭo kefox* 'How are you?'; *kefox sele* 'you rejoiced'
kelka	[K *keḻek* 'dry stone wall' Wahby 1966:73] m. 'stone wall'; *kelkəd ḥudud* 'stone wall marking the border'
kepa	[ClAram כֵּיפָּא; Sab185; Mutz357] m. 'stone'; pl. *kepe*
kəče	[K; cf. *kichî, kachâ, kichâ* Maclean 1901:131, *kaččе* Sab181] f. 'woman! (voc.)'
kəl	see *kəsəl, kəskəsəl*
kəliliye	[onomat.; cf. *kılīlīyat* Sab186, *kililiye* Mutz104] pl. 'ululations' (*haggada*); *mxāya kəliliye* 'make ululating sounds' (cf. *d-r-y kılīlīyat* Sab186)
kəndāla	[K; Sab187] m. 'steep slope'
kəpna	[ClAram כַּפְנָא; Sab188; Mutz357] 'hunger, famine'; see *kpn, kpina*
kəppur	[H כִּפּוּר; Sab177; Mutz357] '(Day of) Atonement'
kəra	[K, T, Ar كِرَاء; cf. ⁺*kıre* Sab188] m. 'rent'
kərāčiye	[K; cf. *kerajo* 'donkey-driver' Rizgar 1993:108] pl. 'muleteers'
kərma	[K; cf. *kırmıkta* 'worm,' pl. *kırmıkyāta, kırmıyāna* 'wormy' Sab189; *kərməkϑa* 'worm,' pl. *kərməkyāϑa* Mutz357] 'worms'; pl. *kərme*
kərmanj	[K *kirmanc* 'Kurd, peasant' Chyet 2003:325] m. 'Kurd, peasant'
kərya	[LAram √כרי] m. 'short'; see *kry*[1]
kəs	see *kəsəl, kəsəkəsəl*
kəsəl	[< *kislā 'loin' Mutz357 and 2006:93–97; cf. Sab187] 'to, with, by'; *kəslu; mən kəsəl, kəsəl dide, kəl* before nouns: *kəl muxtar* 'with the mukhtar,' *kəl xmāse* 'with his mother-in-law,' *kəl Rəḥovot* 'at Rehovot'; *kəs spindarnāye* 'with the residents of Spindar'; see *kəsəkəsəl*
kəsəkəsəl	[*kesel + kesəl*] prep. 'right with'; *kəsəkəsleni* 'right with us'; see *kəsəl*
kəsta	[JBA and Mand כִּיסְתָּא; Sab188; Mutz357] f. 'small bag, money-bag'; see *kis*
kətte	[K; cf. *kətte* Sab190, *katte* Mutz356] 'one (of two or of a group)'; see *kə́tt-u-māt*
kə́tt-u-māt	[cf. *kətt-u-māṭ* Sab190] 'odds and ends, bit by bit'; see *kətte*
ki'e	see *y'y*
kilo	[T, Ar, ModH < Eur; cf. *kēlo*, pl. *kēlōyat* Sab184] 'kilo'; pl. *kiloye*
kilometər	[T, Ar, ModH < Eur; § 3.18.a] 'kilometer'; pl. *kilometre*
kis	[Ar كِيس; Sab184] m. 'moneybag, pocket'; see *kəsta*
kma	[ClAram כְּמָא; Sab186; Mutz357] interr. adv. 'how much?'; *b-kma* 'for how much'; indef. prn. 'some'; *kma qorūše* 'some piasters'
knəšta	[ClAram כְּנִשְׁתָּא; cf. *k(ı)nıšta*, pl. *knıšyāta* Sab187, *knəšta*, pl. *knəšyāϑa* Mutz357] f. 'synagogue'; pl. *knəšyāsa*
ko	[K rel. prn. and conj. *ko* Chyet 2003:328] conj. 'because, that, since'; see *'ako, čukun*
kódəne	see *kawdənta*

kolāna   [K; cf. *kōlāna, kōlanka* Sab182, *kolāna* Mutz357] 'alley, path'; pl. *kolāne*

kolka   [K?] m. 'hovel'

koma   [ClAram אֻכָּמָא; Sab183; Mutz357] m. 'black'; f. *kumta*; see *kym*

kotakki   [K, T; cf. *kōtak, kōtakki, kōtakūṯa* Sab184] 'hardship'

kpina   [ClAram √כפן] m. 'hungry'; pl. *kpine*; see *kpn, kəpna*

ksesa   [Syr ܟܣܣܬܐ; cf. Sab190; 2008:358; Mutz358] f. 'hen'; pl. *kəsyāsa*

ksisa   see *kusisa*

kud, kut-   [כול + ד; Sab181–182; Mutz358] 'each'; *kúd-lel* 'every night'; *kúd-yom* 'every day'; *kutxa* 'each one'; *kút-xa-u-xa* 'each and every one'; *kútreni* 'the two of us'; *kútrexun* 'the two of you'; *kutru* 'the two of them'; *kútḷāhun* 'the three of them'; *kút'arbeni* 'the four of us'; *kutkāke* 'all the teeth'; see *kull-, kuššat*

kuləkyāsa   [K; cf. *kullıkt̠a, -ake* "ulcer," *kulıkyāṯa* 'hemorrhoids' Sab183] pl. 'ulcers'

kull-   [ClAram כל; Sab182; Mutz358] 'all'; *kulle* 'all of him'; *kulla* 'all of her'; *kullu* 'all of them'; see *kud, kuššat*

kur   [K, T; cf. *kürâ, kürrâ* Maclean 1901:128, *kōra* Sab183] 'blind'

kūra   [K; Sab183] m. 'young goat'

kurdi   [ModH כּורדי, Ar كُردِيّ; cf. LEAram קַרְדְּוָיָא; cf. *qûrdath, qûrdit* Maclean 1901:274, *kurdi* Sab183; *kurdi* = Jewish Neo-Aramaic, a term which arose in Israel Mutz358] 'Jewish Neo-Aramaic'; see *qurdəski*

kurdināya   [*kurdi* + gent. suff. *-nāya*; cf. 'a Kurd' Sab183, 'Kurdistani Jew' Mutz358] m.s. 'Kurdistani Jew'; pl. *kurdināye*; see *qurdāya, qurd-əski, qurdawūsa*

kursi   [K, Ar كُرسِيّ < ClAram כּורסְיָא < Akk; Sab184; Mutz358] 'chair'

kurtāke   [K; Sab184] pl. 'garments'

kusisa   [Syr ܟܘܣܣܝܬܐ; cf. *kusisa* Sab183, *kusiϑa* Mutz358, *ksila* Khan 1999:572 and 2004:607; § 3.18.a] f. 'hat'

kuššat   [כול + ד + שת; Sab181; Mutz358] adv. 'every year'; see *kud, kull-*

kut-   see *kud*

kutka   [K *kodk* Jaba 1879:347] f. 'knee'

kutwa   [Ar كُتبَة; cf. *kı/ütwa* Sab190] m. 'thorn'; pl. *kutwe*

kutxa   see *kud*

ḳ

ḳappāṛa   [H כַּפָּרָה; cf. ⁺*kappāra* Sab188, *kappāra* Mutz356] 'expiation'

l

l-, 'əl-, 'əlləd   [ClAram -ל; Sab203; Hoberman 2008:149; Mutz123,359] prep. 'to, at, for', object marker

l-'əl   [ClAram לְעֵיל; *'il'ēl* Sab93, *'lʼl* Mutz331] adv. 'above'

la, lā, la'   [ClAram לָא; Sab203; Mutz359; § 4.7.4] adv. 'no'; *lā* and *la'* are emphatic

lākən [K, T, Ar لاكِنْ; cf. *lâkin, lakin* Maclean 1901:149] conj. 'but'

lastike [IrAr, T < Eng *elastic*; cf. *lāstik* 'elastic rubber string' Sab203 and 1990:60] pl. 'sandals (made from tire tubes)'

lašša [K; Sab209; Mutz359] m. '(human) body or corpse'; pl. *lašše*

laxma [ClAram לַחְמָא; Sab207; Mutz359] m. 'bread'

lāzəm [K, T, Ar لَازِم; Sab203; Mutz359] 'necessary'

leb- see *let*

lele [ClAram לֵילֵי; cf. *lele,* pl. *lēlıwāṭa* Sab206, *lele,* pl. *lelawāϑa* Mutz-360] m.s. and pl. 'night'; *tre lele* 'two nights'; *kúd-lel* 'every night'; see *'ádlele, palgədlel*

let, letən, létəna [ClAram לֵית < לָא אִית; cf. *lēṯ, lēs, lē/īṯın, lēsın* Sab207, *liϑ, liϑən, líϑena* Mutz360; § 4.8.1] negator of existence 'there is not'; *lətwa* 'there was not'; *lebi* (< לֵית בִּי; § 4.8.2) 'I cannot'; see *'it*

ləbba [ClAram לִבָּא; Sab203; Mutz360] m. 'heart'

ləbne [Ar لِبْن; cf. ClAram לבינתא; cf. *lubna, lubınṭa,* pl. *lūne, lubne* Sabar 2005] pl. 'bricks' (haggada)

lətwa see *let*

lira [T < Eur < Lat; Sab206; Mutz360] f. 'Turkish pound (gold coin)'; pl. *lire*

lišāna [ClAram לִשָּׁנָא; Sab 206–207; Mutz360] m. 'tongue, language'; *lišāna deni* 'Jewish Neo-Aramaic'

lö'a [ClAram לוֹעָא; cf. *lo'ta* 'chewing gum' Sab204 and Mutz360] 'jaw'

ḷ

ḷappa [K; Sab207] 'lump, handful'

m

m- see *mən*

mā [ClAram מָא; Sab209; Mutz361] interr. prn. 'what?'; *má-le,* 'what's with him?'; see *kma, mād*

ma'alləm [Ar مُعَلِّم; Sab222; Mutz361; § 3.20.d] m. 'teacher' (who functioned also as rabbi, ritual slaughterer, cantor); *má'alləm!* (voc.); pl. *ma'almine*; see *'lm*

ma'aš [Ar مَعَاش; Sab222–223] m. 'income, salary'

ma'būde [Ar مَعْبُود; Sab222] pl. idols, gods (haggada)

ma'ṃúṛ [T, Ar مَأمُور; cf. *ma'mur* Sab210] m. 'officer-in-charge'; see *'ṃṛ, 'mr, 'ǝmǝr*

*ma'qūl [K, Ar مَعْقُول; cf. מעקול, pl. *ma'qūle* Sab222, *māqul,* pl. *māqūle* Mutz362] pl. *ma'qūle* 'nobles'

mābayn [Ar مَا بَيْن; cf. *mā-bayni/bēn,nābēn* Sab209,228, *mabáyn* Mutz-361] prep. 'between, among'; *mābayn nāše* 'among the people'; *mābayneni* 'between us'; *mābaynəd didu* 'among them'

mād [ClAram מָא + ד; Sab209; Mutz361] rel. prn. 'that which, whatever, as regards'; see *d-, mā*

madǎm [T, K, IrAr < Eur] f. 'Madam'

mādǎm [Ar مَا دَام; cf. מָדָם Yona 1999א:229, *mādām* Sab209; *mādǎm* Mutz361] conj. 'since, as'

máfəra [K *mefer* Chyet 2003:368; Ar مَفَرّ *mıfar* Sab223] 'opportunity, escape'

mahājər [Ar مُهَاجِر; Yona 1999א:231] m. 'refugee'; pl. *mahájəre*

maḥafūza see *muḥǎfəza*

máḥkama [T, Ar مَحْكَمَة; Sab215; Mutz361] 'court'

mal'ax [H מַלְאָךְ; cf. *mal(')ax, mal'āxa* Sab218, *mal'ax* Mutz361] m. 'angel'; pl. *mal'āxe*

malla [K < Ar مَوْلیٰ; cf. *mawlāyi* 'my Master' Sab213, *malla* Mutz361] 'mullah'; pl. *mallāye*

malbe see *kalba*

malək [K, T, P, Ar مَلَك; cf. 'headman' Maclean 1901:179, 'king' Sab219] m. 'chieftain'; pl. *malkāne*

mamnún [T, Ar مَمْنُون; Sab220] inv. 'grateful'

māma [K; cf. *māmo* Sab210, *māma* Mutz361] m. 'uncle'; *māmo* 'uncle! (voc.; term of respect)'; pl. *mamāni* 'my uncles' (§ 4.2.3.2 n. 50)

mar'az [Ar *עֲמַר עִזּי > مِرْعِزّ Sab225] m. 'cloth made of fine goat-wool'; cf. *'amra, 'əzza*

māra [ClAram מְרֵא; Sab210; Mutz362] 'master, owner'; cst. *mar, mare*; pl. *marawāsa, mar'āsa*; *mari* 'my Master'; *mare gora* 'married woman'; *mare ᴴkowaḥᴴ* 'powerful,' *mare 'aṣəl* 'possessing a good nature,' *mar dukkāna* 'shopkeeper'

margəlta [Syr ܡܲܪܓܠܐ and ܡܲܪܓܠܐ < Ar; cf. *marəgla* Sab224; *marəgla* 'cauldron' (larger than *margəlta*), *margəlta* Mutz362] f. 'cauldron'

maroknāya [GN *Maroko* (< ModH) + gent. suff. *-nāya*] m. 'Moroccan'; f. *maroknesa*; pl. *maroknāye*

marḥāma [T, Ar مَرْحَمَة] 'mercy, compassion'; see *ṛḥm, mraḥmāna*

māsa [ClAram מָתָא < Akk; Sab210; Mutz362] f. 'village'

masale [K, T < Ar مَسْأَلَة; Krotkoff 1982:135; Mlaḥsô *mǎsāle* Jastrow 1994:182;] f. 'matter, affair'; *ḥǎl-u-masale* 'upshot'; *'iya masale zəlla* 'this matter ended'

masta [K; Sab221; Mutz362] 'yoghurt'

maṣraf [K, T, Ar مَصْرَف; Sab223] 'expense'

māše [K; Sab210; Mutz362] pl. 'beans'

māt see *kə́ttu-māt*

maṭǎr [Ar مَطَار] f. 'airport'

māṭo [*mā* 'what' + *ṭev* 'report' Nöldeke 1868:162; *mā* + *ṭev* + possible influence of **ṭo* < טב Mutz362; cf. *māṭo(f/v)* Sab209, *māṭo* Mutz362] interr. adv. 'how?'; *māṭod* 'as soon as'

māṭod see *māṭo*

maṭbax [K, T, Ar مَطْبَخ; Sab215] 'kitchen'

maxəlta [LEAram מחולתא, מהולתא Sokoloff 2002:644; Sab218] f. 'fine sieve'; pl. *maxəlyāsa*

maxisa [ClAram √מחי; Mutz363] f. 'blow, hit'; see *mxy*

mazwāda [ModH מִזְוֶדָה?, Ar مِزْوَد ?] 'suitcase'; pl. *mazwāde*

mazza   [K, T, Ar مَزَّة; Sab214; Mutz363] m. 'appetizers taken with alco-holic drinks'

mažbur   [K, T, Ar مَجْبور; cf. *majbūr* Sab211, *majbur* Mutz361] inv. 'forced, reluctant'

m-badal   see *badal*

*mbušla   [ClAram √בשל] m. 'cooked'; pl. *mbušle*; see *bšl*

metər   [K, ModH מֶטֶר < Eur; cf. *mētar* Sab217 and 1990:61, s. *metər*, pl. *metre* Mutz363; § 3.18.a] 'meter'; pl. *metre*

*məbisa   [ClAram √בות]; m. 'food cooked overnight'; pl. *məbise* (*hag-gada*)

mədor   [K, T, Ar مُدير; cf. *mudur* Sab212] m. 'mudir, Turkish governor of a subdistrict'; pl. *mədore*

məl   see *mən*

məlkəta   [T *mülkiyet*?; Ar مِلْكِيَّة?; cf. *mɪlk, mɪlkīni* Sab219] f. 'property, possessions'

məlləta   [K, T, Ar مِلَّة; cf. *mɪllɪta, mɪllate* Sab219, *məllat* Mutz2002:363] f. 'ethnic group'

*məlyón   [K, T, ModH < Eur; cf. *mɪlyon* Sab219, *məlyón* Mutzafi 2008a: 363] 'million'; pl. *məlyone*

mən¹, m-   [ClAram מִן; Sab220; Mutz124] prep. 'from, with'; *mənne u-l-ál* 'from here on'

mən², məl   [§ 4.4.7.e] jussive particle: *mən hāwe* 'let it be'; *məl ʾāzəl* 'let him go';

məndi   [PrAram *maddaʿ; TO and TJ מִדְּעַם; Syr ܡܶܕܶܡ; JBA מִידֵי; Mand מינדאם, מינדא; reanalyzed as *mən + di*?; Tal 1975:16–17; Sab220; Mutz363] 'thing'; *kulle məndi* 'all sorts of things'; *ču-məndi* 'noth-ing'

mərrūta   [K; Sab225] '(sullen) face'; pl. *mərrūte*

məskena   [ClAram מסכן < Akk; cf. *mɪskɪn* Sab221, *məskenūϑa* 'poverty' Mutz363] m. 'poor fellow'

məssər   [K, T, Ar مِصر; Sab223] 'Egypt'

məṣwá   [H מִצְוָה; cf. *mɪṣwa* Sab223] f. 'religious duty, good deed'

məšəlmāna   [Syr ܡܘܼܫܠܡܵܢܵܐ; cf. *mušɪlmāna* Sab213, *məšəlmāna, mušəlmāna* Mutz364] m. 'Muslim'; f. *məšəlmanta*; pl. *məšəlmāne*

məšpāḥa   [H מִשְׁפָּחָה; Mutz364] f. 'family'; pl. *məšpāḥe*; also attested with H pronunciation *məšpāḥá*.

məšša   [K *miše* Chyet 2003:392] inv. 'many'

məšxa   [ClAram מְשְׁחָא; Sab226; Mutz364] 'liquid butter, cooking oil'

məzāda   [Ar مَزَاد; cf. *mazâdâ* Maclean 1901:166, *mɪzād* Sab214] 'auction'

məzgafte   [K < Ar مَسْجِد; cf. *mɪzgafte* Sab214, *məzgaft, məzgafte* Mutz364] f. 'mosque'; cf. *jemaʿ*

məzze   [LEAram מזיא < מעזיא? Sokoloff 2002:652; Sab214; Mutz363–364] pl. 'hairs'

mḥakesa   [NeoAram √ḥky < Ar √حكى; cf. *maḥəkēṭa, mḥakēṭa* Sab215] f. 'talk, tale, story'; see *ḥky*

*milāna   [Syr ܢܝܠܟܐ < P; Krotkoff 1985:129; Sab216; Mutz363] 'blue'; pl. *milāne*

misa   [ClAram מִיתָא; Sab217; Mutz363] m. 'dead'; pl. *misāne*; see *mys*

momāsa   [ClAram מוֹמְתָא; Sab213; Mutz364] f. 'oath'; see *ymy*

mosa   [ClAram מוֹתָא; Sab214] 'death'; see *mys*

moxa   [ClAram מוֹחָא; Sab213; Mutz364] 'brain'

m-qam   [ClAram מִן קֳדָם; Sab280; Mutz124–125] prep. 'due to'; *m-qam qaṛačke* 'due to highway robbers'; see *qam, qamqam*

mṛaḥmāna   [ClAram (מִ)רַחְמְנָא; Sab225; Mutz365] m. 'merciful'; *'ilāha mṛaḥmǻna- le* 'God is merciful'; see *ṛḥm, maṛḥāma*

mšidəna   [NeoAram √šydn] m. 'crazed'; see *šydn, šidāna, šidanūsa*

muč_u   [onomat.] 'smack! (sound of kissing)'

mufti   [T, Ar مُفْتِي; Sab213] m. 'mufti'

muḥáfəza, maḥafūza   [T *muhafaza* Hony 1957:245, K *mihafeze, muhafeze* Chyet 2003:385,398, Ar مُحَافَظَة] f. 'guarding'

muḥtāj   [K, T, Ar مُحْتَاج] inv. 'in need'; *lewu muḥtāj* 'they weren't in need'

muṣlāya   [GN *Moṣəl* + gent. suff. *-āya*; cf. *mōṣɩlnāye* Sab213] m. 'resident of Mosul'; pl. *muṣlāye*

mutaṣarrəf   [T, Ar مُتَصَرِّف; cf. *mûtaṣarîp* Maclean 1901:165, *mĭtaṣarrif* Khan 1999:575] m. 'provincial governor'

muxtar   [K, T, Ar مُخْتَار; Sab213] m. 'mukhtar, headman of a village'; pl. *muxtāre*

mxabine, xabine   [K, Ar غبن?; cf. *(m)ġabīne, mxabīne* Sab134] excl. *(m)xabine* 'what a loss!'; *xabinox* 'what a loss for you!'

ṃ

ṃāḷ   [K, T, Ar مَال; cf. ⁺*mal* Sabar 2004:112, *māl* Sab209, *ṃāḷ* Mutz365] 'property, possessions, wealth'

ṃamzer   [H מַמְזֵר; ⁺*mamzēr* Sab220] m. 'bastard'; cf. *baǰ'a*

ṃāye   [ClAram מַיָא; Fassberg 1997; cf. ⁺*māya,* ⁺*māye* Sab209, *ṃāye* Mutz365] pl. tant. 'water'

n

nāmus   see *be-nǻmus*

naqda   [Ar نَقْد; cf. *naqda, niqda* Brauer 1993:111, *nəqda* Mutz367] 'bride price'

naqətta   see **naqida*

*naqida   [ClAram √נקד; Sab235; § 3.6.b] m. 'thin'; f. *naqətta*

naqla   [K, Ar نَقْل; Sab235; Mutz366] 'time'; pl. *naqle; naqəl ṭlāha* 'third time'

naqoṣa   [Ar √نقص; Sab235; Mutz366] 'minus, less, lacking, few'; pl. *naqoṣe; tre'sar naqoṣ 'əṣṛa, ruba'* '11:50, 11:45 a.m./p.m.'; see *nqiṣa, nqṣ*

nar'a   [LEAram נרגא; Sab235; Mutz366] 'axe'

narm   [K *nerm* Chyet 2003:409] inv. 'gentle, soft'; *narm u-ḥāle garməd dide* 'He is a pleasant fellow' (lit., 'his bones are soft and the like'

(cf. *garme xafife/yaqūre* He is pleasant/unpleasant [lit., his bones light/heavy] Sab124); see *ḥāl*

nāsa [pl. of ClAram אִדְנָא; Mutz366 and 2005; Sab230] 'ear'; pl. *nasyāsa*

naṣūsa [ClAram מַצּוּתָא; Sab234; Mutz366; < *naṣwsā? f. 'fight'; pl. *naṣwāsa*; see *nṣy*

nāša [ClAram אנשא; Sab228; Mutz366] m. 'person'; pl. *nāše*

našāma [H נְשָׁמָה; cf. ClAram נשמתא, *nıšāma* Sab235, *našāma* Mutz366] f. 'soul'

nawāga [P; Sab230; Mutz366] m. 'grandson'; f. *nawagta* 'granddaughter'

nāwí [H נָבִיא; *nāvi* Sab229, *nāw/vi* Mutz18 n.42, 366] m. 'prophet'

naxira [ClAram נְחִירָא; Sab233] m. 'nose'; pl. *naxire*

naxwaš [K; Sab232; Mutz366] inv. 'ill'; see *xwaš*

nečir [K; ClAram נחשר < P Greenfield 1970:183; cf. *nēčīr* Sab232] 'hunting'

nehra [ClAram נַהֲרָא; Sab230; Mutz367] m. 'river'; pl. *nehrawāsa*

nerwāya [GN *Nerwa* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. 'resident of Nerwa' (Iraqi Kurdistan); f. *nerwesa*; pl. *nerwāye*

nəqwa [ClAram נִקְבְּתָא; cf. *nüqwa, nüqva, nüq(q)ūṭa* Sab231, *nəqwa* Mutz367] f. 'female'; pl. *nəqwe*

nəxpūsa [ClAram √נכף + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab233] f. 'embarrassment'; see *nxp*

nəxṛāya [ClAram נוּכְרָיָא; cf. *nuxrāya, nıxrāya* Sab231, *nəxṛāya* Mutz367] m. 'foreigner'

nəxta see *nixa*

nəzima [K?; cf. *nızım* Sab231] m. 'low, inferior'

*nəžda [K, Ar نَجْدَة; cf. נְשָׁדָא Yona 1999א:327, *nıj/žda* Sab229] 'gang'; pl. *nəžde*

nixa [ClAram √ניח; Sab232] 'the late' (lit., 'rested' = euph. for 'dead'); *nixəd sawoyi* 'my late grandfather'; f. *nəxta*; see *nyx*

nqiṣa [Ar √نقص; Maclean 1901:218] m. 'lacking'; see *naqoṣa, nqṣ*

nūra [ClAram נוּרָא; cf. *nūra, +nūra* Sab231, *nūra* Mutz368] m. 'fire'

p

pa [K; Mutz368] adv. 'so, then'

palga [ClAram פַּלְגָא; Sab256; Mutz368] 'half'; *tré-u-palge* 'two and a half'; *šát-u-palge* 'a year and a half'; see *pálsā'a, palgədlel, palgədyo, pálpaṇqàṇoṭ*

palgədlel [*palgeh* + *d* + *lele*; cf. *palgıd lēle, palgızlal* Sab256, *palgədlel* Mutz368] 'midnight'; see *palga, lele*

palgədyo [*palgeh* + *d* + *yom*; cf. *palgıd yōm* Sab256, *palgədyom* Mutz368] 'noon'; see *palga, yoma*

palgūsa [*palg(a)* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab56; Mutz368] f. 'middle, center'; *palgus māsa* 'center of the village'

pálpaṇqàṇoṭ [*palg(a)* + *paṇqáṇoṭ*] f. 'half lira'; pl. *pálpaṇqàṇoṭe* 'half liras'; see *palga, paṇqáṇoṭ*

pálsāʿa   [*palg(a)* + *sāʿa*] 'half an hour'; see *palga, sāʿa*

panjāre   [K, T; cf. *panjârâ* Maclean 1901:254, *panjarīye* Sab256] f. 'win-
              dow'

pappūka   [K; cf. *pappūka/-ūke* Sab257, *papūka* Mutz368] m. 'pitiful'

paqʾa   [LEAram פקעא; cf. *piqʿâ, piqyâ* Maclean 1901:256] 'crack'; pl.
              paqʾe

pāre   [K, T; Sab253; Mutz368] pl. tant. 'money'; *pāre daqiqe* 'small
              change'

*parsnāya   [ClAram פרס + gent. suff. *-nāya*; פרסנאיא Sab259; § 3.22.d] m.
              'Persian'; pl. *parsnāye*

pāsa   [ClAram פָּאתָא; Sab253; Mutz369] f. 'face'

pāša   [T, K; cf. ⁺*pāša* Sab253, *pāša* Mutz371] m. 'pasha'

pastela   [ModH פַּסְטֶל < Judeo-Spanish Nehama 1977:416] 'pie'

*paṭira   [ClAram פַּטִּירָא; Sab254; Mutz369] 'unleavened bread'; pl. *paṭire*
              (*haggada*); see **ʿujna*

payṭūna   [Eur *phaeton* < Lat, Gr] m. 'carriage'

pehna   [K; Sab253] 'kick'; pl. *pehne*; see *ndy*

pelafta   [K; cf. *pēlavta* 'slipper' Sab255] f. 'shoe'; pl. *pelāwe*

pəmma, pumma [ClAram פֻּמָּא; Nöldeke 1910:177–178; cf. *pɪ/ümma, kɪmma*
              Sab256, *pu/əmma* Mutz369] m. 'mouth'

pənčāya   [GN *Pənča* + gent. suff. *-āya*; cf. *pənšāya* Mutz369] m. 'resident
              of Pinianish (Turkish Kurdistan)'; pl. *pənčāye*; see *pənčatūsa*

pənčatūsa   [GN *Pənča* + K abstr. suffix *-at* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] 'residents or
              region of Pinianish'; see *pənčāya*

pəsra   [ClAram בִּשְׂרָא; cf. *pɪsra, pɪṣra?* Sab257, *pəsra* Mutz369] m. 'flesh,
              meat'

pəšūke   [T پشجك 'little gnat or musquito' Redhouse 1890:450; cf. K *pêšî,
              pêšûle* 'gnat, mosquito' Chyet 2003:452, Syr ܒܩܥܘ, MishH
              פִּשְׁפֵּשׁ] pl. 'gnats'

pəzaǧāya   [K *pis* 'son' + *ʾāǧa* 'agha'?] m. 'village noble'; pl. *pəzaǧāye*

piča   [K *pič* Wahby 1966:108] 'small quantity, a little'

pis   [K; cf. *pīs, pīsaka, pīsake* Sab255, *pis* Mutz369] inv. 'filthy, dirty';
              see *pisyatūsa*

pisyatūsa   [K *pis* + K abstr. suff. *-at* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] 'filthiness'; see *pis*

potine   [T, K < French *bottine*; cf. *pōtine* Sab254 and 1990:55] pl.
              'boots'

poxa   [Syr ܦܘܚܐ; cf. *pōxa, pūxa* Sab254, *poxa* Mutz370] m. 'wind'

prāge   [Syr ܦܪܓܐ; Brauer 1993:422; Mutz370] pl. tant. 'millet'

priṭa   [ClAram √פרט] m. 'torn'; see *prṭ*

prəzla   [ClAram פַּרְזְלָא; Sab258; Mutz370] 'iron'

pṭixa   [Ar √فطح?; cf. *pṭōxa* Sab254 and Mutz371] m. 'wide'

pumma   see *pəmma*

p̣

pal̲əstināye [ModH פַּלֶסְטִינַאי < Eur] pl. 'Palestinians'

*paḷla   [K; Sab256; Mutz371] 'live coal'; pl. *paḷle*

paṇqáṇoṭ	[K *banqanot, panqanot* < Eng *banknote* Chyet 2003:23,430; cf. *banqanōṭ* Sab112] f. 'lira, paper money'; pl. *paṇqáṇoṭe*; f.s.?: *mpulṭāle xamši paṇqáṇoṭe* (§ 4.4.23.5); see *baṇk*; *pálpaṇqàṇoṭ*
pássaporṭ	[T, K < Italian; cf. *⁺passaport, ⁺pastapor* Sab257] 'passport'
poṣṭa	[K, T < Eur; Sab254] f. 'post, mail'

q

qabəl	[Ar قَبْل; cf. *(m)qabıl* Sab273, *qabəl* Mutz372] prep. *qabəl mən* 'before'; conj. *qabəl mən* 'before': *qabəl mən 'axnan 'āsaxwa* 'before we used to come'; adv. *qabəl hādax* 'beforehand'
qačax	[K, T; cf. *qačax/ġ* 'smuggler' Sab273, *qačāġa* 'robber' Mutz372] m. 'smuggled goods'; see *qačāxa*
qačāxa	'smuggler'; see *qačax*
qaddiš	[H קַדִּישׁ; Sab273] 'memorial prayer'
qadər	[Ar قَدْر; cf. *qadra, qadır, qadda* Sab273–274, *qadar* Mutzafi 2008a:372] 'size, quantity'; see *'aqqar, qudrəta*
qadome	[ClAram √קדם; Sab273; Mutzafi 2002:482] 'tomorrow'
qahwa	[K, T, Ar قَهْوَة; cf. *qahwa, qahwe* Sab274, *qahwa* Mutz372] 'coffee'
qaḥba	[Ar قَحْبَة; cf. *qaḥba/e, qaḥbike* Sab276, *qaḥba* Mutz372] f. 'daughter of a whore!'
qⁱāla	[ClAram קָלָא; Sab272] m. 'voice, sound'
qalāma	[K, Ar قَلَم; Sab278] m. 'pen'
qal'a	[K, Ar قَلْعَة; Sab278; Mutz372] f. 'fortress'
qalūla	[Syr ܩܠܝܠܐ; Sab279] m. 'quick, fast'
qalunka	[K; Sab279; Mutz372] m. 'narghile'; pl. *qalunke*
qalya	[ClAram √קלי; Sab279] 'fried and heavily salted meat; meat cooked for the winter'
qam	[ClAram קֳ(וֹ)דָם; Sab280; Mutz372] prep. 'before (temporal and spatial); *xa zo'a bargūze le qāmi* 'I am wearing a woolen suit'; *qam tar'a* 'outside'; *qam hādax* 'beforehand'; see *m-qam, qam-qam*
qamāya	[ClAram קַדְמָיָא; cf. *qamāya* 'first, before' Sab280, *qaṃāya* 'first' Mutz372] m. 'previous'
qamāye	[ClAram בקדמיתא; cf. *qamāye* Sab280, *qaṃāye* Mutz372] adv. 'at first'
qamqam	[ClAram קֳ(וֹ)דָם; *qáma-qam* Mutz372] prep. 'right before' (spatial); *qámqāman* 'right before us'; see *qam, m-qam*
⁎qāna	[ClAram קַרְנָא; Sab272; Mutz372] 'horn'; pl. *qanāne* 'horns'
qānun	[Ar قَانُون < Gr; Sab273] 'law'
qaprāna	[K; Sab281; Mutz372] 'hut, booth'; pl. *qaprāne*
qapṭắn	[K, T < Eur; cf. *qapṭan* Sabar 1990:62 and 2002:281] 'captain'
qarantina	[T *karantina*, Ar كَرَنْتِينَة, ModH קָרַנְטִינָה < Eur] 'quarantine'
qaraqól	[T; *qaraqōl* 'head of robbers' band' Sab284] 'garrison'
qarətta	see *qarire*
⁎qarira	[ClAram קְרִירָא; Sab283; Mutz372; § 3.6.i] 'cold, cool'; f. *qarətta*; pl. *qarire*

qarsa   [Syr ܩܰܪܣܐ; Arnold 2008:309–310; cf. *qarṭa* Sab284, *qarϑa* Mutz373] f. 'cold, cold weather'

*qaṛačāya [K, T + gent. suff. *-āya*; cf. *qaṛačāya* Sab282, *qaṛačāya* Mutz372] 'gypsy, highway robber'; pl. *qaṛačāye*; see *qaṛačke*

*qaṛačka [K, T + suff. *-k*] 'gypsy, highway robber'; pl. *qaṛačke*; see **qaṛa-čāya*

qaṣra   [K, Ar قَصْر; Sab282; Mutz373] m. 'mansion, palace'; pl. *qaṣ-rāne*

qāṣud   [K *qasid*, Ar قَاصِد; Sab272] 'messenger' (*haggada*)

qāša   [Syr ܩܰܫܐ; Sab272; Mutz373] m. 'priest'

qatxa   [Syr ܩܕܚܐ, K, T, < Ar قَدَح; cf. *qatxa, qaṭxa, qadxa* Sab284] m. 'cup, glass'; pl. *qatxe*

qaṭəl   [Ar قَتْل; cf. NENA *qəṭla* 'beating'; cf. *qṭl, qəṭla, qaṭola*

qaṭiʾa   [Syr ܩܛܝܥܐ; Sab277; Mutz373] m. 'stick'; see *ndy*

qaṭola   [ClAram קָטוֹלָא; Mutz373] m. 'killer'; pl. *qaṭole*; see *qṭl, qaṭəl, qəṭla*

qaṭṛa   [Syr ܩܛܪܐ; Sab277; Mutz373] 'rock, boulder'

qaṭwāsa [Syr ܩܰܛܘܣܐ, ܩܛ; Sab272] pl. 'cats'

qay   [cf. *qay, qawi, qavi* Sab277–278] interr. adv. 'why?'

qāymaqam [K, T < Ar قَايِم مَقَام; Sab272] m. 'local governor'

qāzi   [K, Ar قَاضِي; cf. *qāzi* Sab272] m. 'qadi'

qdāla   [ClAram קְדָלָא; Sab273; Mutz373] f. 'neck'; *āwón didox b-qdālox* 'you are responsible for it'

qdila   [Syr ܩܠܝܕܐ < Gr; cf. *qḏīla* Sab273; *qðila* Mutz373] f. 'key'

qeṭa   [ClAram קֵיטָא; Sab278; Mutz373] m. 'summer'

qəbla   [Ar قِبْلَة; Maclean 1901:269] f. 'qiblah'

qəṭʾa   [Ar قِطْعَة, ClAram קִטְעָא; Sab277] 'piece, item, flock'; pl. *qəṭʾe*; *ʾərbəd Spindarnāye lu l-tāma, ṭlāha ʾarba qəṭʾe* 'the sheep of the residents of Spindar are there, three, four flocks'

qəṭla   [ClAram קִטְלָא; Sab277; Mutz374] 'killing, murder'; *sele qəṭla* and *mṭele ʾəlləd qəṭla* 'he was killed'; *qəṭəl dide* 'the killing of him'; see *qṭl, qaṭola, qaṭəl*

qəṭma   [ClAram קִטְמָא; Sab277; Mutz374] 'ashes'; *qəṭma go reše* 'May ashes be on his head!'

*qəṭya   [ClAram √קטע] m. 'broken'; f. *qṭeʾta*; see *qṭ*

qəwya   [Ar. √قوى; cf. *qūya, quwya, quyva* Sab275; §3.14]. m. 'strong, harsh'; f. *qwita* (*haggada*); pl. *qəwye* (*haggada*); see *qəwyūsa*

qəwyūsa [cf. *quwwəta* 'power, strength' Sab275; §3.14] f. 'strength' (*haggada*)

qida   [ClAram √יקד] m. 'burnt'; f. *qədta*, pl. *qide*; see *qyd*

*qliwa   [√qlw] m. 'clean'; pl. *qliwe*; see *qlw*

qolčiye   [T *kolcu* Hony 1957:206] pl. 'custom-house guards'

qólordi   [T *kolordu* Hony 1957:207] m. 'army corps'

qoma   [Syr ܩܘܡܬܐ; Sab275] f. 'stature'

qora   [ClAram קַבְרָא; Sab276; Mutz374] 'grave'; pl. *qorāsa*

qorbāna   [ClAram קֻרְבָּנָא; cf. *qûrbânâ* Maclean 1901:274, *⁺qurban, qurbon* Sab282] 'sacrifice'

qorúš	[K, Ar قِرْش; cf. *qirûsh, qürûsh, qrûsh* Maclean 1901:285, *qıruš* Sab283] 'piaster, small coin'; pl. *qoruše, qoruške*
qotiya	[K, T; Sab276] m. 'small box'
qozzəlqorṭ	[T; cf. ⁺*qızzıl/rqōt* Sab276] excl. 'hell!, disgusting!'
qudrəta	[K < Ar قُدْرَة; Sab274] f. '(Divine) omnipotence'; see *ʾaqqar, qadər*
qūjəke	[K; cf. *qūja* Mutz375] pl. 'martens'
quṇṣul	[K, T, Ar قُنْصُل, ModH קוֹנְסוּל < Eur; cf. *qünṣûl, qünṣûr* Maclean 1901:273; ⁺*qunsor* Sab275] m. 'consul'
quṇṣulya	[ModH קוֹנְסוּלְיָה, Ar قُنْصُلِيَّة, < Eur; cf. *qünṣûlkhânâ* Maclean 1901:273] f. 'consulate'
qurʿān	[K < Ar قُرْآن; cf. *qurʿan* Sab276] 'Quran'
qurdā́, qurdāya	[*qurd* + gen. suff. *-āya*; LEAram קַרְדְּיָא; Sab276; Mutz375; §3.15.a] 'Kurd'; f. *qurdesa*; pl. *qurdāye*; see *kurdināya, qurdawūsa, qurdəski*
qurdawūsa	[*qurdā́* (?) + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] pl. 'Kurds'; see *qurdāya, qurdəski, kurdināya*
qurdəski	[**qurdā'iṭ* + K suff. *-ki*; cf. *kurdi* Sab183, *qurðəϑ, qurðəϑkí* Mutz375] 'Kurdish (language)'; *lišāna qurdəski* 'Kurdish language'; see *kurdi*
qura	[K; cf. *qurra, qurrōna* Sabar 202:276, *qura* Mutz375] m. 'boy'; *quró* 'boy! (voc.)'
qurwa	[LEAram קורבה; cf. *qûrbâ* Maclean 1901:274, *qırwa* Sab282, *qərwa* Mutz373] 'vicinity, nearness'; prep. 'near'; *qurwəd tāma* 'near there'; *qurwəd ḥanukka* 'near Hanukka'
quṣur	[K, Ar قُصُور; cf. *qiṣûr* Maclean 1901:283, *qıṣūr(i)* Sab281] 'defect, deformity'
qūṭa	[Sab274] 'vagina'
qwita	see *quwya*
qyāmǝta	[K < Ar قِيَامَة; Sab278] 'resurrection'

r

raḥat	[K, Ar رَاحَة; Sab289; Mutz376] adv. 'calmly, relaxed'
rakāwa	[ClAram רְכָּבָא; Maclean 1901:293] m. 'rider'; see *rkw*
*rakixa	[ClAram רְכִיכָא; Sab290; Mutz376] m. 'soft'; f. *rakəxta*; see *rkx*
rakəxta	see **rakixa, rkx*
ramazán	[T, Ar رَمَضَان; Maclean 1901:294] 'Ramadan'
rašādi	[T *Reşad* < Ar رَشَاد] 'gold lira (minted by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed V (Mehmed Reşad)'
rekanāya	[GN *Rekan* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. 'resident of Rekan (Iraqi Kurdistan)'; pl. *rekanāye*
reš	[ClAram רֹאשׁ, רֵישׁ; calque on K *ser* 'head, upon' Khan 2002:239, Mutz125; cf. *rıš/ž* Sab290, *reš* Mutz376] prep. 'on, upon'; *ʾit rešexun* 'you owe'; see *reša, rešreš*
reša	[ClAram רֹאשָׁא, רֵישָׁא; Sab290; Mutz376] 'head'; pl. *reše*; *xa tremma reše* 'about two hundred head (of cattle)'; *reše reše* 'from one end to the other'; see *reš, rešreš*

rešreš [ClAram ריש‎, ראש‎; cf. *réša-reš* Mutz125, 376] prep. 'right above'; see *reš, reša*

rəʾola [ClAram √רעל‎; Sab286] 'shivering' (*haggada*)

rəqqa, reqa [LEAram רוחקא‎; cf. *riqqâ, raḥqa, raqqa* Sab289, *rəqqa* Mutz24, 378] 'distance' *m-rəqqa* 'from afar'; cf. *rḥq*

riviya [K *rîvî, rêvî, rovî* Chyet 2003:523; cf. *rūvīka* Sab287] m. 'fox'

rqāʾe [LEAram רוקעתא‎; cf. pl. *raqāʾe* Sab292, pl. *rqāʾe* Mutz377] pl. 'patches, rags'

rubaʿ [Ar رُبْع‎; cf. ClAram רבְעָא‎; cf. *rübɪʿ, rubʿ/ʾa* Sab287] 'quarter'; *xá-rubaʿ* 'a quarter'; *rúbaʿ-sāʾa* quarter of an hour'; see *naqoṣa*

rūt [K; Sab288] inv. 'naked, bare'

ruxta see *rwixa*

rwixa [LEAram רויחא‎; cf. *rwixa* Sab288, *ṛwixa* Mutz378] m. 'wide,' f. *ruxta*

ṛ

ṛāba [ClAram רַבָּא‎; cf. ⁺*rāba* Sab286, Mutz377 and 2006:126–127] adv. 'many, much, very'; *ṛāba nāše ʾuṛwe* 'many important peo-ple'; see *ʾuṛwa, ʾuṛwāne, bə́š-ṛab*

ṛaḅḅi [Ar يَا رَبّ‎] *yā ṛaḅḅi* 'My Lord!'

ṛaḍyo [T, K, IrAr < Eur; cf. ⁺*rādɪyo* Sab286] 'radio'

ṛapsa see *ʾuṛwa*

ṛaṣṭe [K, T; cf. *rastî, rasṭî* Maclean 1901:294, ⁺*rāst* Sab286] 'right' (as against 'left'); only in *ʾida ṛaṣṭe* 'to the right (= right hand)'

ṛeṃa [P; Sab290] 'pus'

ṛəzza [K, P, Ar رُز‎; cf. LAram ארוזה‎, אורז‎, ܐܪܘܙܐ‎, ܐܪܘܙܐ‎; cf. ⁺*rɪzza* Sabar 2002:288; *ṛəzza* Mutz378] 'rice'

ṛoṃāna [ClAram √רום‎ + suff. *-āna*; cf. ⁺*rō/ūmāna* Sab288, *ṛoṃāna* Mutz378] m. 'high'; f. *ṛoṃanta*; pl. *ṛoṃāne*; see *ṛym*

ṛūbar [K; cf. *rōbar, rūbar* Sab287, *ṛūbar* Mutz378] 'stream'

s

sāʾa [Ar سَاعَة‎; cf. *sāʾa, ṣaʿʿa* Sab236, *sāʾa* Mutz378] f. 'hour'; pl. *sāʾe*; see *pálsāʾa*

sahāda [ClAram סְהֶדָא‎; cf. *sahḍa* Sab237, *sahða, sahāða* Mutz378] m. 'witness'; pl. *sahāde*

salāmat [T, K, Ar سَلامَة‎; cf. *sâlâmat* Maclean 1901:226; cf. *salāme*, pl. *salāmatīye* Sab240] 'welfare, prosperity'; *b-salāmat* 'safely'

sahma [Ar سَهْم‎; Sab237; Mutz378] m. 'portion, lot'

sántimetər [ModH סֶנְטִימֶטֶר‎ < Eur; cf. *santín* Mutz379] 'centimeter'

*sapöxa [ClAram √ספי‎?; cf. *sapōya* Sab242; contamination with *laxma* 'bread'? Mutzafi p.c.] 'wrap sandwich'; pl. *sapöxe*

sartuk [K; cf. *sartîke* Sab244, סַרְטִיכֶּה‎ Yona 1999:341, *sertika, sertun, sertur* Brauer 1993:425] 'cream'

sāwa [ClAram סָבָא‎; cf. *sāwa* Sab236, *sawoya* Mutz379] m. 'grandfa-ther'; *sāwi* 'my grandfather'; see *sota*

sayyəd, sayyəda [K, T, Ar سَيِّد; cf. *sayyıd, sayda* 'sir' Sab239] m. 'sayyid, descendant of Muhammad'; see *sayyədka*

sayyədka [K, Ar سَيِّد + suff. -*ka*] m. 'sayyid, descendant of Muhammad'; see *sayyəd, sayyəda*

se'ra [ClAram סְעָרָא; Sab236; Mutz379] 'goat hair'

séfarṭora [H סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה; cf. *sēfar +tōra* Sab243, *sefərṭora* Mutzafi 2008a:379] 'Torah scroll'

sepa [ClAram סֵיפָּא; Sab239; Mutz379] 'sword'

setira [K *se* 'three' + *tir* 'shot'] 'long three-shot rifle'

səfərṭās [T, Ar سَفَر طَاس; Sab243] m. '(traveling) lunch box'

səjjāda [K, T, Ar سِجَّادَة] f. 'prayer rug'

səkkina see *skina*

səksa [ClAram סְכְּתָא; Sab240; Mutz379] f. 'peg'

səmbela [K, Ar سنبل; Sab241] 'mustache'; pl. *səmbele*

sənjāqe [K, Ar سَنْجَق < T; Sab241] pl. 'flags, banners'

səpsa [ClAram סִפְתָא; Sab243; Mutz380] f. 'lip, edge'; *səpsəd 'ar'əd gy–ānu* 'the edge of their land'

səswa [ClAram סְתְוָא; Sab245; Mutz380] m. 'winter'

skina, səkkina [ClAram סַכִּינָא; cf. MishH סַכִּין; cf. *skīna, sikkına* Sab240, *skina* Mutz380] 'knife'; pl. *skine, səkkine*

sməxta [ClAram √סמך; Sab241; Mutz380] f. 'pregnant'; pl. *smixe*

smoqa [TO סָמוֹקָא, סְמוֹקָא; Sab241; Mutz380] m. 'red'

sniqa [Syr √ܣܢܩ] m. 'needy'; pl. *sniqe*; see *snq*

sota [LAram סבתא; Sab238; Mutz380] f. 'grandmother'; see *sāwa*

sparəgla [LEAram אספרגלא; Sab243; Mutz380] 'quince'; pl. *sparəgle*

spindarnāya [GN *Spindar* + gent. suff. -*nāya*] m. 'resident of Spindar (Iraqi Kurdistan)'; pl. *spindarnāye*

spiqa [ClAram √ספק; Sab242] m. 'empty'; see *spq*

spisa [probably ClAram Mutz381; NeoAram √sps < Gr? Sab242] m. 'rotten'

*sqila [LEAram √סקל 'polish'; Sab243; Mutz381] m. 'beautiful'; f. *sqəlta*

surāya [Syr ܣܘܪܝܐ; Rollinger 2006; cf. *sōrāya, surāya* Sab238, *surāya* Mutz381] 'Christian'; f. *suresa*; pl. *surāye*

sūsa [TO סוּסְיָא, Syr ܣܘܣܝܐ; cf. *sūse, sūsa* Sab238, *sūsa* Mutz381] m. 'horse'; pl. *sūse*

swa'ta [ClAram סבעא; Sab237] f. 'satiety, satisfaction'; *xəllox swa'tox* 'you ate your fill'

*swi'a [ClAram √סבע; Sab237; Mutz381] m. 'satiated'; pl. *swi'e*

ṣ

*ṣa'arta [ClAram סְעָרְתָא; cf. +*sa'arta*, pl. +*sa'āre* Sab242, *ṣa'arta*, pl. *ṣa'āṛe* Mutz382] 'grain of barley'; pl. *ṣa'āṛe* (1) 'grains of barley', (2) 'barley'

ṣabo'ta [ClAram צבעתא(א); Sab266; Mutz382] f. 'finger'

ṣābun [T, K, Ar صَابُون < Gr; Sabar 1990:62 and 2002:266; Mutz382] 'soap'

ṣadra [T, Ar صَدَر; cf. ⁺*sadra* Sab267, *ṣadra* Mutz382] m. 'chest'; cf. *ṣudra*

ṣaqāṭe [Ar سَقَط; cf. ⁺*saqat, saqaṭōka, saqaṭōke* Sab243] pl. 'cripples'

ṣawā'a [LEAram צַבָּעָא; cf. *ṣabāġa* Sab266, *ṣawā'a* Mutz382] m. 'dyer'; see *ṣw', ṣəwya*

ṣāx [K, T; Sab266; Mutz382] inv. 'healthy, alive, intact, well'

ṣəḥya [ClAram √צחי; cf. *ṣeḥya, ṣehya, ṣiḥya* Sab268, *ṣəḥya* Mutz382] m. 'thirsty'

ṣəwya [ClAram √צבע; § 3.14] m. 'dyed, colored'; see *ṣawā'a, ṣw'*

ṣfera [Ar صَفِّر; cf. *ṣafīra* Sab270] 'whistle'; see *ṣfr*

ṣiwa [LEAram ציבא; Sab268; Mutz382] m. 'tree, wood'; pl. *ṣiwe*

ṣlosa [ClAram צְלוֹתָא; Sab269; Mutz382] f. 'prayer'

ṣo'rāsa [Syr ܨܘܚܬܐ 'invective'; cf. *ṣu'ırta, ṣı'urta*, pl. *ṣu'rāṯa* Sabar 2002a:267] pl. 'curses'; see *ṣ'r*

ṣofi [K, T, Ar صُوفِيّ; cf. *ṣôpî* Maclean 1901:263, *ṣōfīka* Sab267] m. 'sufi, ascetic'; pl. *ṣofyāne*

ṣopa [K, T; cf. *ṣūpa* 'ante-room' Sab267, *ṣopa, zopa* 'stove' Mutz383] f. 'stove'

*ṣrifa [ModH צְרִיף] 'hut'; pl. *ṣrife*

ṣṭaġfərəḷḷá [K < Ar أَسْتَغْفِرُ آلله] excl. *bāba ṣṭaġfərəḷḷá* 'I ask God's forgiveness!'

ṣudra [Ar صُدْرَة; Sab267; Mutz383] f. 'shirt, vest'; cf. *ṣadra*

ṣulḥe [K, Ar صُلْحَة; cf. *ṣulḥ* Sab267] s. or pl? 'peaceful reconciliation(s?)'; *'axnan ču ṣulḥe la godax* 'we won't make any peaceful reconciliation(s)'

ṣurta [K, P, Ar صُورَة; Sab268] f. 'face'; pl. *ṣuryāsa* 'cheeks'

š

šafqa [IrAr < Russian; Sab302] f. 'hat (with a brim)'; pl. *šafqe*

šahāra [LAram √שהר 'be vigilant'; cf. *ša/ıhāra* Sab294, *šahāra* Mutz-384] m. 'blind'; f. *šaharta*; see *šthr*

šākar [Syr ܫܟܪܐ, JBA שכר < P; K, T; Sab293 and Mutz384] 'sugar'

šāla [K, Ar شَال < P; Sab293] m. 'fabric shawl used by men as belt'; pl. *šāle*

šalla [K; Sab299; Mutz384] m. 'Kurdish woven pants of fine wool, worn usually together with **šapukta*'

šapsa [ClAram שַׁבְּתָא; cf. *ša/ıbta, šab/psa* Sab294, *šabϑa* Mutz384] f. 'Sabbath'

šamina [ClAram שַׁמִּינָא; Sab301; Mutz384] m. 'fat'; pl. *šamine*

*šaqfa [Ar شَقَفَة; 'piece (of land)' Sab303] 'piece'; pl. *šaqfe* 'pieces (of fur)'

šaqisa [Syr ܫܩܝܬܐ; cf. *šaqqīṭa* Sab302, *šaqiϑa* Mutz384] f. '(water) channel'; pl. *šaqyāsa*

šaqqa¹ [Ar شَتَّ; cf. *shaqâ* 'slap, half' Maclean 1901:311, *šaqqa* 'half' Sab302] 'half, section'

*šaqqa² 'slap'; pl. *šaqqe* 'slaps'; see *šaqqāme*

*šaqqāma [K; cf. *šıqqāma* Sab302, *šaqqāma* Mutz384] 'slap'; pl. *šaqqāme* 'slaps on face'; see *šaqqa²*

šar'a [Ar الشَّرْع; cf. *šar'* Sab304] f. 'religious law'; pl. *šar'e*

šargūme   [LEAram שַׁלְגֻּם Sokoloff 2005:1146; Sab303] pl. 'turnips'

*šarṭ   [Ar شَرْط; Sab303] 'covenant'; *šarṭəd mila* 'covenant of circumcision' (= ברית מילה) (*haggada*)

šarwāla   [BAram סַרְבָּל, Syr ܣܲܪܒܵܠܐ < P; cf. ⁺*šarwāl* Sab303, *šarwāla* Mutz384] f. 'long underpants, trousers'; pl. *šarwāle*

šaṛūsa   [ClAram שָׁרוּתָא; cf. *šarūṭa* Sab303, *šaṛūϑa* Mutz384] f. 'lunch'

šāta   [ClAram שַׁתָּא; Hoberman 2007; cf. *šāta, šinna* Sab293, *šāta* Mutz385] f. 'year'; pl. *šənne*

šaxina   [Syr ܚܲܡܝܼܡܐ; Sab298; Mutz385] m. 'warm'; f. *šaxənta*; *šaxína-le* 'he is hot(-headed); see *šxn*

šawa   [ClAram שִׁבְעָא; cf. *šōʾa, šawwa* 'seven, week' Sab295] 'week'; pl. *šawe; šawəd basra* 'the week after'; cf. *šōʾa, šōʾamma, šōʾi, šwaʾsar*

šes-béš   [K, T, P; Sab304] 'backgammon'

šex   [K, T, Ar شَيْخ; cf. *šex*, pl. *šēxyāne* Sab297 and Mutz385] m. 'sheikh'; pl. *šexāye*

šəmma   [ClAram שְׁמָא; Hoberman 2007; Sab300; Mutz385] m. 'name'

šəmme   [ClAram שְׁמַיָּא; Hoberman 2007; cf. *šimme*, pl. *šimmāhe* Sab300–301, *šəmme* Mutz385] pl. tant. 'sky, heavens'

šəmša   [ClAram שִׁמְשָׁא; Sab301; Mutz385] 'sun'

šənsa   [ClAram שְׁנְתָא; Sabar 202:302] f. 'sleep'

šəqya   [JBA שִׁקְיָא* Sokoloff 2002:1174; Mutz386] 'glue'

šərika   [K, Ar شَرِيك; Sab304; Mutz386] m. '(business) partner'

šərma   [Syr ܫܲܪܡܐ; Sab304; Mutz386] f. 'ass, buttocks'; pl. *šərme*

šərṭa   [Ar شُرْطَة; cf. *šurṭa/i* Sab296, *šərṭa* Mutz386] 'policeman'; pl. *šərṭe*

šəryoxa   [Ar شراك?; Sab304] m. 'shoe-string'

šətya   [ClAram שְׁתִיָא; cf. *ši/atya* Sab305, *šətya* Mutz386] 'warp'

šəxda   [ClAram שׁוחדא; cf. *šix/ġda* Sab298, *šəxϑa* Mutz386] 'good tidings'

šəxta   [Syr ܫܲܚܬܐ 'sediment, secretions'; Sab299; Mutz386] f. 'dirt, filth'; see *šəxtāna*

šəxtāna   [*šəxta* + suff. *-āna*; Sab299; Mutz386] m. 'dirty'; pl. *šəxtāne*; see *šəxta*

šəxxoṛa   [ClAram √שחר; cf. ⁺*ši/axōra* Sab298, *šəxxoṛa* Mutz386] 'coal, charcoal'; see *čəxra*

šidāna   [calque on K, P; ClAram שֵׁדָא 'demon' + suff. *-āna*; Sab294; Mutz385] m. 'crazy, mad'; pl. *šidāne*; see *mšidəna, šidanūsa, šydn*

šidanūsa   [*šidāna* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab294] f. 'craziness'; see *šydn, mšidəna, šidāna,*

škafta   [K; cf. s. *škafta*, pl. *škafyāϑa* Sab299 and Mutz386] f. 'cave'; pl. *škaftyāsa*

šoḥad   [H שׁחד; cf. *šōḥaḏ* Sab295] 'bribe'

šōʾa   [ClAram שבעא; cf. *šōʾa, šawwa* Sab295, *šoʾa* Mutz386] 'seven'; see *šawa, šōʾamma, šōʾi, šwaʾsar*

šōʾamma   [*šōʾa* + *ʾəmma*; cf. *š(o)waʾma,* Sab295; *šoʾáʾəmma* Mutz396; § 4.3.3] 'seven hundred'; see *šawa, šōʾa, šōʾi, šwaʾsar*

šö'i	[ClAram שבעין; Sab295; Mutz386] 'seventy'; see *šawa, šö'a, šö'-amma, šwa'sar*
šuftiya	[K *şiftî* Chyet 1993:581; *šəftiyya, šəptiyya* < Beduin Ar *dəbšiyya*? Talay 2008:61 n.106; cf. *shiptîyâ, shaptîyâ* Maclean 1901:310; *šiftiya* Khan 1999:581] f. 'watermelon'; pl. *šuftiye*
šūla	[Syr ܫܽܘܠܳܐ ܥܒ < Ar شُغْل; *šūla, šu'(ā)la?* Sab296, *šūla* Mutz387] 'work, deed, affair'; pl. *šu'āle*
šulxāya	[ClAram √ שלח + suff. *-āya*; Sab296; Mutz387] m. 'naked'; pl. *šulxāye*; see *šlx*
šūqa	[ClAram שׁוּקָא; Sab296; Mutz387] 'market'
šwa'sar	[Syr ܫܒܥܣܪ; Sab295; *šuwá'ssar, 'əšwá'əssar* Mutz115] 'seventeen'; see *šawa, šö'a, šö'amma, šö'i*
šwāna	[K; cf. *šivāna, šüvān, šüwān* Sab294, *'ašwān, šwāna* Mutz329] m. 'shepherd'

t

ta, ṭas, ti	[Syr ܠܠ, ܠܠܗ; cf. *ṭla, ta, da, ṭlāṭi, ṭāṭi* Sab172; *ta, ṭāli, ṭālox* Mutz388] prep. 'to, for'; conj. 'in order to'; *ta-lá* 'lest'; *ṭas dide, ṭāse* 'to him'; *ti gyāne* 'for himself'; see *tad*
tābur	[T, Ar طَابُور; cf. *tâbûr, tâbûr* Maclean 1901:109, *tābur* Sab306] 'battalion'
tad	[Mutz388] *ta* + *d*; conj. 'in order to' see *ta*
tagbir	[K, Ar تَدْبِير; cf. *tag/kbir* Sab306, *tagbir* Mutz388] 'counsel, conspiracy'; *'üdlu tagbir* 'they conspired'
taḥqiqát	[Ar تَحْقِيقَات; Sab308] pl. 'investigations'
talga	[ClAram תַּלְגָּא; Sab309; Mutz388] m. 'ice, snow'
talma	[Syr ܛܠܡܐ; Sab310] m. 'water-jug'
talya	[LEAram תליא 'part of stomach' Sokoloff 2002:1209; cf. 'entrails' Sab309] '(human) lung'
tāma, tam, 'əl-tắma, 'əl-tám, tan-	[ClAram תַּמָּה; cf. *tāma, tam, ltam, mın tam, tangıb/tangēba* Sab306, *tam, tāma, l-tam, l-tāma* Mutz388] adv. 'there, to there'; *'áx-geb tán-geb (ṭaṃắha-geb)* 'when all's said and done, eventually'; *tam lé-'āl* 'from there on'; see *'axxa, geba, ṭaṃāha*
tan-	see *tāma*
tangāwi	[K; Maclean 1901:323] f. 'distress'
tar'a	[ClAram תַּרְעָא; cf. JPA תרא Kutscher 1967:70 n. 64; cf. *tar'a, tara* Sab312, *tar-, tar'a* Mutz389] m. 'door'; pl. *tar'āne; qam tar'a* 'outside'
tārix, ṭārix	[ModH תַּאֲרִיךְ, Ar تَأْرِيخ; cf. *târikh* 'history, an account, date of event' Maclean 1901:326, *t/ṭārīx* 'length of time, period' Sab306–307] f. 'date'
tawərta	[ClAram (TO תּוֹרְתָא, Syr ܬܘܪܬܐ); Sab308; Mutz389; § 3.22.b] f. 'cow'; pl. *toryāsa*; see *tora*
tāxa	[K; Sab306] 'quarter of town'; pl. *tāxe*
tāza	[K, T; inv. Sab306 and Mutz389; *tāza* and *tāze* Nöldeke 1868:135] c. 'new, fresh, precious'; pl. *tāze*

télafon, télefon [K, T, ModH טֶלֶפוֹן < Eur; cf. *telefun* Sab310 and 1990:62] m. 'telephone'; see *ṛym*

tena [ClAram תֵּי(נ)תָא; cf. *te'na, tēna* Sab306, *te'na* Mutz389] f. 'fig'; pl. *tene*

ter [K; Sab308] 'sufficient'; *wəllu qurdāye terax ter yəmmax ter xaswāsax ter kulléxun-'ilu* 'Right now the Kurds are enough for you, enough for your mother, enough for your sisters, enough for all of you'

tera [K; cf. *tér* Maclean 1901:320, תירא Sab309] f. 'large bag, saddle-bag'

*teška [?; cf. תִּישְׁכָּא Yona 1999א:434, *tēšika, tēška* Sab309] 'whelp'; pl. *teške*

təffaq [K; cf. *tfang, tfakke* Sab311, *təffaq* Mutz389] f. 'rifle'; pl. *təffāqe*

təhome [H תְּהוֹם; cf. *tıhōm* Sab307, pl. tant. *təhome* Mutz389] pl. tant. 'abyss'

təjjāra [Ar تُجَّار (pl.); *tıjjar, tājır* Sab306, *təjjāra* Mutz389] m. 'merchant'; pl. *təjjāre*

tək [onomat.] 'knock (on door)'

təksa [ClAram תִּכְתָּא; Sab309] 'waistband'

təlqūna [T, K, Ar تَلْقِينَ] 'final rites at a funeral'

təlta'sar [TO תְּלָת עֲשַׂר, Syr ܬܠܬܥܣܪ; cf. *tılta'sar, +talta-sar* Sab310, *təltá'əssar* Mutz115] 'thirteen'; see *ṭḷāha, ṭḷāsi, ṭḷāḥūšeb*

təlya [ClAram √תלי] m. 'hung'; f. *tleta*; see *tly*

təmmal [TO תְּמָלִי, Syr ܐܬܡܠ; Hoberman 2007; Sab310; Mutz389] 'yesterday'

təne, b-təne [K, P; cf. *b-tıne* Sab310, *təne, b-təne* Mutz389] adv. 'alone, only'

tənna [ClAram תננא; cf. *tənna, tehna* Sab310, *tənna* Mutz389] m. 'smoke'

təqla [ClAram תִּקְלָא; Sab312] 'weight'

tərte see *tre*

təttun [T, K; cf. *tütün, tıtūn* Sab308, *tuttun* Mutz390] 'tobacco'

ti see *ta*

tiqa [ClAram עַתִּיקָא; cf. *'atīqa* Sab103, *'atiqa* Mutz329; § 3.17.d] m. 'old'; f. *təqta*; pl. *tiqe*

tmanya [ClAram תְּמְנְיָא; Sab310; Mutz114] 'eight'; see *ṭṃāne'sar, ṭṃāni*

tola [K; cf. *tûlâ* Maclean 1901:317, *to'la* Mutz390] f. 'revenge'; *tola mpārəqlax* 'you take revenge'; *tol babexun* 'revenge for your father'

tona [T, K, ModH < Eur] 'ton'; pl. *tone*

tora [ClAram (Syr ܬܘܪܐ, BAram and TO תּוֹרָא); cf. *tōra, tawra* Sabar 2002a:308, *tora* Mutz390] m. 'ox'; pl. *tore*; see *tawərta*

traq [onomat.; Sab175] 'thwack! (sound of beating)'

tre, tre' [ClAram תֵּרִי(ן); Sab312; § 4.3.1.e] 'two'; *tre* 'only two' (pausal)'; f. *tərte* (haggada); *kutru* 'two of them'; see *tre'sar, tremma, trūšeb*

tre'sar [TO תְּרֵי עֲשַׂר, Syr ܬܪܥܣܪ; cf. *tre'sar* Sab313, *tré'əssar* Mutz115] 'twelve'; see *tre, tremma, trūšeb*

tremma [*tre* + *ˀəmma*; cf. Mutz390 *tréˀəmma*; § 4.3.3] 'two hundred'; see *tre, treˀsar, trūšeb*

trūšeb [LAram תרי בשבא; cf. *trušēba, trōšıb, trūšıb* Sab313, *trošeb* Mutz-117] 'Monday'; see *tre, tremma, treˀsar, trūšeb*

tūkəla [K? cf. *tekeḻtû* 'saddle-cloth of felt' Wahby 1966:143] m. 'piece of clothing'

tūsa [LAram תּוּתָא; Sab308; Mutz390] 'mulberry tree'

tūsi [K?] 'type of thorn'

tuxma [K, P, T; cf. *tuxum* Sab307, *tuxma* Mutz390] 'type, kind'; *tuxməd xorox* 'type like you'

tūra, twira [ClAram √תבר] m. 'broken'; see *twr*

türkāya [*Türk* + gent. suff. *-āya*; cf. *tırkāya* Sab313] m. 'Turk'; pl. *türkāye*

türki [K; cf. *tırki* Sab313, *turki* Mutz390] 'Turkish (language)'

twira see *tūra*

ṭ

*ṭabāqa [T, Ar طَبَقَة; Sab170; Mutz391] 'story, floor'; pl. *ṭabāqe*

ṭahora [ModH or H טָהֹר] m. 'clean, pure'

ṭalāqe [Ar طَلَاق; cf. *ṭalāqe* Sab173] 'divorce'; see *ṭlq*

ṭamǎ [*ta* 'for' + *mā* 'what'; cf. *ṭ(l)amá(ha)*, תַּמָא, טה מַה Sab172, *ṭamǎ* Mutz391] interr. adv. 'why?'

ṭaṃāha [ClAram תַּמָּה; cf. *tamā/ōha* Sab306, *ṭaṃāha* Mutz391] adv. 'way over there' in phrase *ˀáx-geb tán-geb ṭaṃǎha-geb* 'when all's said and done' (lit. 'here side, there side, way over there side'); see *tāma*

ṭánəke [K, T, Ar تَنَك; cf. *tanîkâ, ṭŭnîkâ* Maclean 1901:323, *tanak, tanı-kāye* Sab311] pl. 'large tin cans'

ṭanəšta [K *teniṣt, ṭeniṣt* Chyet 2003 605] f. 'side'; pl. *ṭanəšyāsa*

ṭappǎ [Syr ܛܦܐ 'side'; cf. *ṭappāya, ṭappēṭa* Sab174, *ṭapoya* Mutzafi 2002:483; § 3.15.a] 'hillside'

ṭāpu [K, T; Sab170] m. 'title deed'

ṭaraf [T, Ar طَرَف; Sab175] 'side, part'; only in *mən ṭaraf ḥukum* 'on the part of the government'

ṭarefa [H טְרֵפָה Ben-Yaacob 1985:78; Sab175] 'non-kosher meat'

ṭārix see *tārix*

ṭarka [K *teṛik* 'green stick' Rizgar 1993:183; *terik* 'wet firewood' Chyet 2003:608] m. 'stick'; pl. *ṭaṛke*

ṭarma [K; Sab175] m. 'corpse'; pl. *ṭarme*

ṭarrašta [Syr ܛܪܫܐ; Sab175; Mutz391] f. 'thicket, bush'; pl. *ṭarrāše*

ṭas see *ta*

ṭayyāra [Ar طَيَّارَة; Sab172] 'airplane'

ṭeˀna [ClAram טענא; Sab170; Mutz391] m. 'load'

ṭélgəraf [K, T < Eur; cf. ⁺*telġrāf* Sab309 and 1990:62] 'telegraph'

ṭélgəram [K,T < Eur; cf. ⁺*telġrām* Sab309] m. 'telegram'

ṭera [Syr ܛܝܪܐ; cf. 'bird, fowl' Sab172; 'hoopoe' Mutz391] 'fowl, bird'

*ṭəyarāya   [GN Ṭəyāra + gent. suff. -āya] m. 'resident of Tiari (Turkish Kurdistan)'; pl. ṭəyarāye; see ṭəyarnāya

ṭəyarnāya   [GN Ṭəyāra + gent. suff. -nāya] m. 'resident of Tiari'; see *ṭəya-rāya

ṭima   [ClAram טימא < Gr; Sab172] 'price, cost'

ṭina   [ClAram טִינָא; Sab172; Mutz391] 'mud'

ṭiq   [onomat.] 'bang! (sound of gunshot)'

ṭlōxe   [ClAram טל(ו)פחיא; Sab172; Mutz392] pl. 'lentils'

ṭlāha   [ClAram תְּלָתָא; cf. ṭlā(ha) Sab172, ṭlāha Mutz391] 'three'; kúṭlā-hun 'the three of them'; see ṭlāhūšeb, ṭlāsi, təlta'sar

ṭlāhūšeb   [LAram תלתא בשבא; cf. ṭlāhošıb, ṭlāhūšıb, ṭlāhūšab Sab172, ṭlá-hošeb Mutz117] 'Tuesday'; see ṭlāha, ṭlāsi, təlta'sar

ṭlāsi   [ClAram תְּלָתִין; cf. ṭlāṭi, ṭlāsi, ṭlāhi Sab172, ṭlāϑi Mutz115] 'thirty'; see ṭlāha, təlta'sar, ṭlāhūšeb

*ṭmira   [ClAram √טמר; Sab173; Mutz392] m. 'hidden'; pl. ṭmire; (hag-gada)

ṭmāne'sar   [Syr ܬܡܢܥܣܪ; cf. tmāne(-)'sar, +tmāne'sar Sab310, ṭmāné'əssar Mutz115] 'eighteen'; see ṭmāni, tmanya

ṭmāni   [ClAram תמנין; cf. tmāne, +tmāne Sab310, ṭṃāni Mutz115] 'eighty'; see tmanya, ṭmāne'sar

ṭrambel   [K < Eur automobile + T tulumba; Sab175 and 1990:56,63] 'automobile, bus'; pl. ṭrambele

ṭrosa   [LAram √תרץ; cf. +trōṣa Sab313, ṭrosa Mutz392] 'truth, true'; marri ṭrosa 'tell me the truth!'; lewe ṭrosa 'it is not true'; see ṭrṣ

*ṭupra   [ClAram טפרא (BAram טִפְרָא, TO טוּפְרָא, Syr ܛܦܪܐ); cf. tüpra Sabar 2002a:172, ṭupra Mutz392] 'nail, claw'; pl. ṭuprāsa

ṭūra   [ClAram טוּרָא; Sab172; Mutz392] 'mountain'; pl. ṭurāne

v

veza   [K wisa Chyet 2003:647] adv. 'so, in such a way, like this'

w

-wa   [K -hawa; Mutzafi 2004:85–86; §4.4.26] repetitive-reversive postverbal particle 'back, again'; lu d'íre-wa 'they have returned back'

wa'dūsa   [Ar √وعد + abstr. suff. -ūsa; Sab155] f. 'promise'

wājəbūsa   [Ar واجب + abstr. suff. -ūsa; Sab153] f. 'obligation' (haggada)

wakil   [K, Ar وكيل; Sab154] m. 'agent, deputy, substitute'

wal   [Polotsky 1967:111; Sab154] adv. 'indeed, surely'

walāya   [Ar وَلاَيَة; Maclean 1901:81] f. 'valayet'

walḥāṣəl   [Ar وآلخَاصِل; Sab154; cf. Mlahso warḥaṣel Jastrow 1994:193] adv. 'in short'

wāli, walya   [Ar وَالِي; Sab153] m. 'vali, (Turkish) governor'; walyá-bak 'the Vali Bey' (< T vali ağabey 'His Honor the Governor'?)

waḷḷa   [Ar وٱلله; cf. +*walla*, +*wallahi*, *wü/ɪnne* Sab153, +*wulla* Sabar 2005:
                  176,178, *waḷḷa* Mutz393] excl. 'By God!', 'indeed'; see *ʾaḷḷa*, *ʾilāha*,
                  ʾišaḷḷa

wānesa   [GN *Wān* + adj. suff. -*esa*] f. 'resident of Van'

warāqa   [Ar وَرَقَة; cf. +*warāqa* Sab155] f. 'paper, document'; pl. *warāqe*

waxt, waxta   [K < A وَقْت; cf. *waxt, waqt* Sab155] m. 'time'; pl. *waxte*

warde   [TJ, LAram < P; Sab155; Mutz393] pl. 'roses, flowers'

wewa, ʾewa, -ewa, -wa   [Mutz52; § 4.4.6.4] 3 m.s. past copula

wəl-   [*u* + *ʾəlla* Mutz 57–58,393; Hoberman 1989:33; § 4.4.6.3.a] deic-
                  tic copula; *wəlle* 'he is right here'; *wəlla* 'she is right here'

wəždān   [K, A وجْدَان; cf. *wɪj/ždān* Sab153] 'conscience'

wiza   [T, K < Eur; Maclean 1901:81] 'visa'

x

xa¹, xaʾ   [ClAram חַד; cf. *xa, xaʾ* Sab191, *xa, xaʾ* Mutz114,393–394] 'one';
                  indef. prn 'a(n), a certain'; *xá-yalunka* 'a certain child'; *xaʾ* 'a
                  single one, only one (pausal)'; *pə́šwāle xaʾ* 'it remained the only
                  one'; preceding a numeral adv. 'about, approximately'; *xa ʾəṣra
                  ʾalpe* 'about ten thousand'; *xá-gā* 'once'; *x́a-b-xa* 'one by one';
                  multiplicative; *xá-u-tre* 'double'; *xá-u-ʾarba* 'fourfold'; *xá-u-šöʾa*
                  'sevenfold'; see *xədda*, *xadeʾsar*, *xošeba*

xa-²   see *xe*

xabine   see *mxabine*

xabra   [K, T, Ar خَبَر; Sab192; Mutz394] 'thing, word'; pl. *xabre*

xabūša   [LEAram חַבּוּשָׁא; Sab192; Mutz394] 'apple'

xadeʾsar   [TO חַד עֲשַׂר, Syr ܚܕܥܣܪ; cf. *xadeʾsar* Sabar 202:192, *xadéʾəssar*
                  Mutz115] 'eleven'; see *xa*, *xədda*

xaloya   [Syr ܚܠܐ; Sab197; Mutz394] m. 'maternal uncle'; *xaloyi* 'my
                  maternal uncle'; *xalóx* 'your maternal uncle'; see *xalta*

xalta   [Syr ܚܠܬܐ; Sab197; Mutz394] f. 'maternal aunt'; *xalti* 'my mater-
                  nal aunt'; see *xaloya*

xalwa   [ClAram חַלְבָא; cf. *xalwa, xɪlya* Sab197, *xalwa* Mutz394] m.
                  'milk'

xam   [K, Ar غَمّ; cf. *kham, gham, ghâm* Maclean 1901:101] m. 'care,
                  trouble,'; *b-xāmox* 'in your care'

xamša   [ClAram חַמְשָׁא; Sab198; Mutz394] 'five'; see *xamšaʾar*, *xamšam-
                  ma*, *xamši*, *xamūšeb*

xamšaʾsar   [Syr ܚܡܫܥܣܪ; cf. *xamšaʾsar* Sab198, *xamšáʾəssar* Mutz115] 'fif-
                  teen'; see *xamša*, *xamši*, *xamūšeb*

xamšamma   [*xamša* + *ʾəmma*; cf. *xammɪšma, xamša ʾɪmmāye* Sab198, *xam-
                  šáʾəmma* Mutz394; § 4.3.3] 'five hundred'; see *xamša*, *xamšaʾsar*,
                  xamši, *xamūšeb*

xamši   [ClAram חַמְשִׁין; Sab198; Mutz115] 'fifty'; see *xamša*, *xamšamma*,
                  xamšaʾar, *xamušeb*

xamūšeb   [ClAram חַמְשָׁא בְּשַׁבָּא; cf. *xamšūšɪb* Sab198, *xámšošeb* Mutz117]
                  'Thursday'; see *xamša*, *xamšamma*, *xamši*

xamxāme   [P; Maclean 1901:134] pl. 'steep places'

xanči   [NeoAram *xa* + K *pič*?; *xanči* Sab199] indef. prn. 'some, a few'; *xanči qṭililu* 'some they killed'; *xanči zəmrəyāsa basime 'amrət* 'you should sing some nice songs'; cf. *piča, xapči*

xānəm   [K, T; cf. *khânim* Maclean 1901:103, *xānme* Sab191] f. 'Madam'

xanjar, xanjāra   [K, T, Ar خَنْجَر; cf. *xanjar* Sab198 and Mutz394] m. 'dagger'; pl. *xanjāre*

xanuqta   [ClAram √חנק; cf. *khânüqtâ* 'neck' Maclean 1901:103, *xunuqta* 'throat' Sab194] 'throat'

xapči   [NeoAram *xa* + K *pič*?; cf. *xapča* Sab199 and Mutz394] adv. 'a bit, slightly'; *'iya masale pəšla xapči* ^H*šeket*^H 'this affair remained a bit quiet'; cf. *piča, xanči*

xarāye   [ClAram (א)חריתא; cf. *x(a/ı)rāye* Sab199, *xaṛāye* Mutz395] adv. 'later, finally'

xarbé   [K *xirbe* Rizgar 1993:200, Ar خَرَابة; cf. *xırābi* Sab199, *xarābe* Mutz394] pl. tant. 'ruins'

xāsa[1]   [ClAram (א)חָתָ(א); Sab191; Mutz395] f. 'sister'; pl. *xaswāsa*; see *'axona*

xāsa[2]   [ClAram חדתא; cf. Sab191, Mutz395] 'new'; f. *xasta*; pl. *xāse*; see *xss*

xāṣa   [ClAram חרצא, חצא; Sab191; Mutz395] m. 'back'; *pəšlu xa xāṣa* 'they were of one opinion'; see *xərxāṣa*

xāṭər   [Ar خَاطِر; Sab191; Mutz395] 'sake, wish'; *ta xaṭərexun* 'for your sake'; *ta xāṭər 'ilāha* 'for the sake of God'

xāye   [LEAram חַיֵּי); Sab191; Mutz395] pl. tant. 'life'

xazina   [Ar خَزِينة; cf. *xızēna, xazīne* Sab195] m. 'treasure, safe, cashbox'

xe[1], *xes*-, *xa*-   [ClAram תח(ו)ת; cf. *txēt/txe, xēṯ, xē* Sab309, *xe, xeϑ*- Mutz395] prep. 'under, beneath'; *xese* 'under him'; *xa* before *reš* (Sab200): *xa-réšəd dide* 'under his head', *m-xa-réšəd dide* 'from under his head'; see *'əltəx, 'əltxé(t?)*

xe[2]   *see xeta*

xes-   see *xe*[1]

xet   see *xeta*

xeta, xeta, xe[2]   [BiblAram אָחֳרִי, TO אָחֳרִנְתָא, Syr ܐܚܪܢܐ; cf. *xēta, xı/et* Sab196, *xeta, xət* Mutz395; §4.1.10.b] inv. 'other'; *xá-gā xet(a)* 'once again'; *xa xet šqəlle* 'he took another'; *xa səjjāda xe* 'another prayer rug'; *ṣrəxlu xá-l-e-xet* 'they shouted to each other'; *xa lu mšaboḥe 'əl-xé* 'One is praising the other'

xədda   [ClAram חֲדָא; Fassberg 1985; cf. *khdhâ* Maclean 1901:92, *ḥda* Jastrow 1988:90, *xḏa, xıdda* Sab192; Hoberman 2007:149] indef. prn. 'someone'; see *xa*

xəddamta   [Ar خَدَّامة; cf. *xıddamta* Sab192] f. 'maidservant'

xədyawāsa   [ClAram חַדְיָא; cf. pl. *xıḏyıwāṯa* Sab192, *xəðyawāϑa* Mutz395] pl. 'breasts'

xədyūsa   [ClAram חֲדוּתָא; Sab192; Mutz 2008:395] 'joy' (*haggada*); see *xdy*

*xəlya   [ClAram חַלְיָא; Sab197; Mutz395] 'sweet'; pl. *xəlye* (*haggada*)

xəmyāna   [Syr ܚܡܝܢܐ; Sab198; Mutz395] m. 'father-in-law'

xəpyāya   [Syr ܚܦܝܝܐ; Sab199; Mutz396] m. 'barefoot'

xərxāṣa   [K *xir̭* + *xāṣa*; Sab200; Mutz396] 'cummerbund'; see *xāṣa*

xəška   [Syr ܚܫܟܐ; Sab201; Mutz396] m. 'darkness'

xətna   [ClAram חַתְנָא; Sab202; Mutz396] m. 'bridegroom, son-in-law'

xəṭṭa   [ClAram חִטָּא; cf. *xɪṭṭīta*, pl. *xɪṭṭe* Sab195, *xəṭṭiϑa*, pl. *xəṭṭe* Mutz-
                 396, *xiṭṭa*, pl. *xɪṭṭe* Khan 1999:585] 'grain of wheat'; pl. *xəṭṭe*
                 'wheat'

xəyyāra   [K, T, Ar خِيَار; cf. *xɪyyāra* Sab196] f. 'cucumber'; pl. *xəyyāre*

xəzma   [K, T; Sab195] m. 'in-law'; pl. *xəzmawāsa*

xiṭka   [K?; K *xeṭ* Chyet 2003:657, Ar خَط 'line' + suff. -*k*?] m. 'bar
                 indicating military rank on a uniform'

xlima   [LAram חלימא 'healthy'; Sab197; Mutz396] m. 'thick'; pl. *xlime*

xlūla, xulūla [Syr ܚܠܘܠܐ, JBA and Mand הילולא; Nöldeke 1875:118 n. 2; cf.
                 h/ḥ/xɪlūla Sab150–151, *xlūla* Mutz396; § 3.18.a] m. 'wedding
                 feast'

xmāra   [ClAram חֲמָרָא; Sab198; Mutz396] m. 'ass, donkey'; pl. *xmāre*;
                 xmāra bər xmāra 'what an ass!'; see *xmarūsa*

xmarūsa   [ClAram חֲמָרָא + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*; Sab198; Mutz396] f. 'stupidity';
                 see *xmāra*

xmāsa   [ClAram חֲמָתָא; Sab198; Mutz397] f. 'mother-in-law'

xola   [ClAram חַבְלָא; Sab194; Mutz397] 'rope'

xor   [ClAram חַבְרָא; cf. *xōr* Sab194, *xur* Mutz397;] prep. 'like'; see
                 xora, xorūsa

xora   [ClAram חַבְרָא; cf. *xōra, xōra* Sab194, *xūra* Mutz397] m. 'friend';
                 see *xor, xorūsa*

xorūsa   [ClAram חברא + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*; Maclean 1901:91] f. 'friend-
                 ship'; see *xor, xora*

xošeba   [LAram חד בשבא; cf. *xu/ošēba* Sab195, *xošeba* Mutz117] 'Sun-
                 day'

xruwiye   [K; cf. *khrüryé* 'millet' Maclean 1901:106, *xro:win* 'buckwheat'
                 Krotkoff 1982:155, *xrowiye* 'sorghum' Mutz397] pl. tant. 'sor-
                 ghum'

xudreš   [חיי דראש Sab191; Tezel 2003:99,112] 'Take my word for it!' (= [I
                 swear by] the life of the head of-'); *b-xudrešox*; see *xāye, reša*

xulāma   [K, Ar غُلاَم; cf. ⁺*gulāma* Sab134, *xulāma* Mutz397] m. 'servant';
                 pl. *xulāme, xulamawāsa*

xulma   [ClAram חֶלְמָא; cf. *xɪ/ulma* Sab197, *xulma* Mutz397] 'dream';
                 ʾāna kiʾən xulma lu xəzye xulma lewu xəzye 'Do I know if they
                 have dreamt or not?'

xulūla   see *xlūla*

xumma   [TO חוֹמָא; LEAram חוּמָא; cf. *xɪmma* Sab197, *xəmma* Mutz395]
                 m. 'heat'

xurga   [LAram חורגא; Sab194] m. 'step-son'

xurṭ   [K; cf. כורט Yona 1999א:172, ⁺*xurt, xurɪt* Sab195] inv. 'aggres-
                 sive'; see *xurṭūsa*

xurṭumāne   [Syr ܚܘܪܛܘܡܢܐ, ܚܘܪܛܘܡܢܐ; cf. *xurṭmāne* Sab195, *xurṭumāne*
                 Mutz398] pl. 'chickpeas'

xuṛṭūsa   [*xuṛṭ* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; cf. כּוֹרְטוּסָא Yona 1999א:172, ⁺*xurtuṭa*
              Sab195] f. 'force'; *b-xuṛṭūsa* 'forcefully'; see *xuṛṭ*

xuṭba   [T, Ar خُطْبَة] f. '(Muslim Friday) sermon'

xuṭṭa   [ClAram חוּטְרָא; cf. *khüṭrâ* Maclean 1901:94, *xiṭra* Sab195] 'stick,
              roḏ'; pl. *xuṭṭe*; see *xṭr*

xuwwa   [TO חִוְיָא; Hoberman 2007:140 cf. *xuwwe* Sab193, *xuwwa/e*
              Mutz398] m. 'snake'; pl. *xuwwe*

*xwāra   [ClAram חִוּרָא; Sab193; Mutz398] 'white'; pl. *xwāre*; see *xwr*

xwaš   [K *xweş* Chyet 2003;674; cf. *xōš* Sab195; *xoš* Mutz397] inv. 'gooḏ';
              see *naxwaš*

xwazí   [K; cf. *xwazī, xuzzī* Sab193] excl. 'would that!'

y

yā-   see *'iya*

ya'ni   [K, T, Ar يَعْنِي; cf. *yânî* Maclean 1901:121, *ya'ni, ya'nu, ya'nix*
              Sab178, *ya'ni* Mutz398] adv. 'that is to say'

yāla   [ClAram עוּל ?יַלְדָּא?; Ar عِيَال?; Sab92; Mutz399] m. 'child'; pl.
              yāle, yalunke; *yāl 'amawāsa* 'cousins'; *kalbe yāl kalbe* 'sons of
              bitches!'; see *yalunka*

yalunka   [*yāla* + dim. suff. *-ūn + ka*; Sab92; Mutz399] m. 'child'; pl.
              yalunke; see *yāla*

yāma   [ClAram יַמָּא; Sab176; Mutz399] 'sea'

yarixa   [ClAram אֲרִיכָא; Sab179; Mutz399] m. 'long'; f. *yarəxta*; pl. *ya-
              rixe*; *lišāna yarixa* 'cheeky' (lit. 'long tongue'); see *yrx*

yarxa   [ClAram יַרְחָא; Sab179; Mutz399] m. 'month'; pl. *yarxe*

yārūsa   [K; cf. *yārūsa* Sab176 and Mutz399] f. 'camaraderie'; *b-yārūsa*
              'jokingly'

yatumta   [ClAram יַתְמָא; Sab179; Mutz399] f. 'orphan'

yəmma   [ClAram אִמָּא; Sab177; Mutz399] f. 'mother'

yoma   [ClAram יוֹמָא; Sab177; Mutz399] m. 'day'; pl. *yomāsa, yome*;
              yoməd din 'Day of Judgment'; *ḥil yoma gənya* 'until the sun (has)
              set' (§4.4.16.g); *yom basra* 'the next day'; *kúd-yom* 'every day';
              see *palgədyo*

yuqdāna   [Syr ܝܩܕܢܐ; Sab177] 'conflagration' (*haggada*); see *qyd*

z

*zad'əwāna   [NeoAram *zado/u'a*? + suff. *-āna*; Maclean 1901:83] 'fearful,
              cowardly'; pl. *zad'əwāne*; see *zd', zde'sa, zdo'sa*

zamāra   [LAram זַמָּרָא; Sab159; Mutz400] m. 'singer'

zanqa   [Syr ܙܢܩܐ < P; 'flesh under the chin, the larynx' Maclean 1901:88;
              'chin' Sab160] f. 'chin'

zaviya   [K; cf. *zawīya, zavīya* Sab157] f. 'field'

zaxonāya   [GN *Zāxo* + gent. suff. *-nāya*; Sab156, Mutz400] m. 'resident of
              Zakho'

zde'sa, zdo'sa [ClAram אזדעזע; cf. *zde'ṭa, zdo'ṭa* Sab156, *zdo'ϑa* Mutz400] f.
              'fear'; see **zad'əwāna, zd'*

zdo'sa	see *zde'sa*
zebarnāya	[GN *Zebar* + gent. suff. *-nāya*] m. 'resident of Zebar (Iraqi Kurdistan)'; pl. *zebarnāye*
zəbla	[Ar زِبْل; Sab156] 'garbage'
zəmrəyāsa	[TO זְמַר; Syr ܙܡܪܐ; cf. *zmârâ, zmârtâ* Maclean 1901:87, *zɪmmurta* Sab159, *zəmra* Mutz400] pl. 'songs'; see *'mr, zmr*
zindān	[T, K; cf. Syr ܙܝܢܕܢܟ 'jailer' < P; cf. *zɪndāna* Sab160] 'dungeon, prison'
zo'a	[LAram זוגא < Gr; Sab157; Mutz400] 'pair'; pl. *zo'e*
zodāna	[Ar √زيد + suff. *-āna*; Sab157; Mutz400] m. 'more, additional'; pl. *zodāne*; see *bə́z-zodāna, zyd*
zoma	[K; Sab157] 'summer camp'
zozān	[K; cf. *zōzān(a)* Sab157] f. 'mountain (summer) pasture'; pl. *zozāne*
zöra	[LWAram זעור and Syr Kutscher 1976:23–25; cf. *z'ōra, zōra* Sab 2002a:156, *zora* Mutz400] 'small, little, young'; f. *zürta*; pl. *zöre*
zūna	[ClAram זמנא < P < Akk; cf. *zūna, zōna* Sabar 2002:157, only *m(ən)- zūna* Mutz401] 'time'; attested only in *m-zūna* 'long ago'
zūna, zwina	[ClAram זבן√] 'bought'; see *zwn*
zyāṛa	[K, T, Ar زِيَارَة; cf. ⁺*zyāṛa*, ⁺*zyarta* Sab158, *zyāṛa* Mutzafi 2008a: 401] f. 'visit to a shrine'; *'edəd zyāṛa* 'Feast of Weeks, Pentecost (שבועות)'

ẓ

ẓoṛ	[K, T, Ar زُور; cf. *zōr,* ⁺*bɪzzōr* Sab157] 'force'; *b-ẓoṛ* 'forcefully, reluctantly'

ž

žang	[K Chyet 2003:809] f. 'rust, rusty'; pl. *žange*
-ži, -ž	[K; cf. *ši(n), šɪk(ēne), žī(g)* Sab297, *-ši* Mutz385; Cohen 2008b] conj. 'also, too, even'
žwanta	[K *jivan* 'rendez-vous, date, appointment' Chyet 2003:292] 'expecting, waiting for'; *bābi le ḥmila žwanti* 'my father has been expecting me'; ᴴ*bet kvarót*ᴴ *la ḥməlta žwantox* 'the cemetery has been expecting you'; (cf. חְמַל-היביתא 'צפה' Yona 1999ב:405)

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